



ANTHROPOLOGY:

Range and Relevance

(A READER FOR
NON-ANTHROPOLOGISTS)

Edited by

MARIO D. ZAMORA, Ph.D.

and

ZEUS A. SALAZAR, Ph.D.





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Edited by

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FOREWORD

The editorial collaboration that went into the production of this distinguished book — **Anthropology: Range and Relevance** (A Reader for Non-anthropologists) — is distinctive in that although both had their undergraduate training in the University of the Philippines, one editor did his graduate work in France and Germany while the other did his masterate in this University and his doctorate in the United States. Professor Zeus A. Salazar finished the baccalaureate in history with highest honors and for over a decade until 1968 studied in institutions of higher learning in Europe where he obtained a number of advanced degrees including a doctorate in Ethnology from the Sorbonne, University of Paris. Professor Mario D. Zamora obtained his bachelor's degree in sociology with honors and the master's degree, also in sociology, from the University and then went on to Cornell University where he did the doctorate in Anthropology. Still in their middle thirties, Professors Salazar and Zamora have travelled far and wide and not unexpectedly have ventured into fields outside their original areas of specialization.

The editors' background and interests are amply reflected in this work. The product of their collaboration is basically and largely Filipino, almost two-thirds of the contributions being under the authorship of Filipinos. The academic age range of the contributors extends over three generations, from the pre-war through the post-liberation years to the quite recent past. It is to be expected that although basically Filipino, the orientation of the Filipino contributors transcends the national boundaries, many of them having studied and done research in many countries in both East and West. Until recently most Filipino scholars have been American-trained if not always American-oriented; now a growing number of our intellectuals have gone to Europe and to Asia for

advanced studies. The chronological and academic age range of the contributors is assurance that both tradition and change, the old and the new, are reflected in the various contributions.

My interest in anthropology has not been that of an expert but that of the student of general education. Of course I have studied and associated with the late Professor H. O. Beyer and Professor Emeritus Marcelo Tangco and I have known both the late Professor Robert Redfield and Professor Fred Eggan at Chicago. I also can count with the acquaintance of such younger American anthropologists as Professors Harold C. Conklin of Yale and Donn V. Hart of Syracuse and the more recent visiting lecturers at the University of the Philippines. At the University, the older and younger members of the staffs of the departments of Anthropology and Linguistics have been kind enough to invite me to participate in their colloquia and less recondite seminars. However, I have also tried to keep up with the more significant advances in anthropology through its literature because I believe that the educated man, whatever fields of specialization he may profess, cannot afford to be ignorant of the main general developments in this science of man.

I like to think that the editors of this volume decided to invite me to write a foreword to their book, not because of whatever expert knowledge I may have of the science or of any of its subdisciplines, but because of the interest I have taken in general higher education during the more than twenty years that I have served in the University. As early as during my first year in the service, I recognized the urgency of a program of general education for our students before they go into specialization either in the basic academic disciplines or in the professional curricula. It took some time for the idea to be accepted and instituted into a university policy. It may take a little more time to convince the general education curriculum makers of the University to allot more time to the anthropology portion of the general education curriculum; but one is happy to note that interest in anthropology has become more noticeable in the academic community in recent years.

Fifteen years ago I had the occasion to refute a reference made by a local writer and academic to anthropology as a lowly science. I said that the author of the statement perhaps had conveniently forgotten, that anthropologists, who essentially are descriptivists, have contributed more to international understanding and fellowship than men of sectarian religion, who essentially are prescriptivists. Racism, I said, has been fought by an increasing number of anthropologists, but has been encouraged, although not overtly, by sectarian religionists. Of course, if the critic of anthropology meant that many of the research instruments of the science are not as refined as those of the mathematical sciences, then she may be right, for even in radio-carbon dating archaeological objects, only approximate dates may be arrived at. But as in all other sciences, the conclusions of anthropology are only tentative, to be kept only as hypotheses and to be discarded if found untenable or proven false.

At any rate the non-anthropologist will find in this book ample introductory material into this broadest of the sciences. Here he will discover the range of the science which embraces the subject matter of the biological and physical sciences as well as of the humanities and social sciences. In other words, it cuts through the whole body of human knowledge and utilizes the knowledge and instruments of many other disciplines for deducing and verifying its own conclusions and for resolving its own problems. The contributions made by Filipino and foreign students of anthropology should prove useful, in truth, not alone to the non-anthropologist but even to the anthropologist himself because of the variety and range of the subject matter taken up. The non-expert may profit from the knowledge of the expert; but so may the expert profit from the popular writings of his fellow experts, especially if these are found between the covers of a single book. Furthermore the level of cultural literacy of a society can be raised only if specialized knowledge becomes available in popularized form to the mass of the population.

It should be pertinent to consider here the question of relevance of anthropological knowledge in human society, particularly

Philippine society, which is in transition from the traditional to the modern and technological. It has become the consensus not only among anthropologists and other behavioral scientists but among statesmen and competent administrators that any planned cultural change, whether national or local in scope, will need the active participation of anthropologists. A scientific approach to planned or guided change for national development will require a thorough knowledge of the national society and its various segments — in diachronic or synchronic perspective — and the expertise of the anthropologist will be indispensable in understanding the needs and setting the goals for the planned change.

There is reason to consider the publication of this book as an important event in the history of our people's struggle for the advancement of learning and for the attainment of a fuller and more abundant life.

LEOPOLDO Y. YABES
Dean
Graduate School
University of the Philippines

Quezon City
12 November 1969

Pagaalay

Ang aklat na ito'y handog kay
E. Arsenio Manuel (Llb., M.A., Ph.D.),
Propesor sa Antropolohiya, Pamantasan ng
Pilipinas, sa kanyang makahulugan, marami't iba't
ibang nagawa, higit sa lahat sa larangan ng Dalubtauhan
Pilipino at, gayon din sa U.P. Anthropology Department (Sa-
ngay sa Dalubtauhan, Pamantasan ng Pilipinas); at sa kanyang pina-
kamarangal na paglilingkod sa Pamantasan ng Pilipinas bilang
guro, mananaliksik at tagapangasiwa. Ang kikitain sa
aklat na ito'y tutungo sa E. Arsenio Manuel Graduate
Fellowship sa Dalubtauhan para sa mga
dukha nguni't matatalinong
Pilipino.

Dedication

this book is dedicated to
e. arsenio manuel (llb., m.a., ph.d.),
professor of anthropology, university of the
philippines, for his significant multifarious contri-
butions to philippine anthropology in general and the u.p.
anthropology department in particular; and for his distinguished
career in the u.p. as professor, researcher, and administra-
tor, the royalty on this book will go to the e. arsenio
manuel graduate fellowship in anthropology
for poor but bright filipinos.

PREFACE

The main purposes of publishing this book are: (1) to introduce our readers, especially the non-specialists and the non-anthropologists to the various fields of anthropology (archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics and cultural anthropology); (2) to show the different ways in which anthropology is useful to humanity, and to related realms of knowledge; (3) to make available to our general readers as well as to serious research workers and scholars of anthropology the rich body of literature available as well as the journals, bulletins and other sources and resources in anthropology and related sciences from different parts of the world; and finally (4) to introduce some aspects of Filipino culture and society to non-Filipinos interested in our country.

Anthropology: Range and Relevance is a modest attempt on the part of the editors to put together original as well as reprinted articles which could shed some light on the scope, techniques, theory, and application of general anthropology. It does not claim to be a general textbook in anthropology though it can perhaps serve as a sourcebook in the absence of a text. It is neither complete in coverage nor adequate in graphic illustration; the editors feel that many major principles, concepts, ideas etc. have been presented as springboard for further discussion. Although many of the papers deal with Philippine materials and are written in English, the editors have included articles dealing with other cultures and societies such as India and France. We have likewise experimented on the use of Pilipino and French by including papers in these languages.

The editors wish to emphasize the following: the book is not meant for the carping intellectual but for the general readers, especially the non-anthropologists. It is intended as an "experimental" book for students and laymen.

We would like to acknowledge the help and support of the following institutions and persons:

To the editors of the **General Education Journal No. 12** of the College of Arts and Sciences, for permission to reprint the articles originally published in the journal; Prof. Ronald Cohen of Northwestern University and Prof. Seymour Lipset of Harvard University for permission to reprint Dr. Cohen's paper on anthropology and political science. The U.S. Agency for International Development, Cornell University Department of Anthropology's program of research in comparative change, and Dr. Morris E. Opler of Cornell University for permission to reprint his article on education change. The editors of **Education Quarterly** and the **General Education Journal** for M. D. Zamora's article on sociocultural change.

We wish to acknowledge the generosity and scholarly commitments of Dr. Jaime Laya, Mrs. Silvina Laya, Mr. Elias Ronas and his staff for publishing the book. We thank Preciosissima Z. Binarao, Ducella N. Zamora, Marlies Salazar, Samuel K. Tan, Evangeline Menguito, Aurora Salazar, Benefa Dayao, Alice Rillo, Violeta Pallera, Carlos Rubite, Leticia Cailao, Lorna L. Guevarra, Celia S. Agulto, Pacita Pascual, Ramon A. Obusan, Daisy Y. Noval, June Prill, Noel Mondejar, Luisa Lucas, Emelita Ceniza, Isabel S. Panopio, Maria Teresa S. Servida, Dario S. Polintan, Susan Natividad, Zenaida Benitez, Avelina Nazario, Wilfredo Ronquillo, Ma. Lorena Barros, Ma. Lourdes L. Logan, Jose P. M. Cunanan, Leah Makabenta, Katie Bennett, Ma. Pilar Luna, and Rene Lamzon, for help in proofreading and preparing the index.

We also wish to thank the staff members of the Kayumanggi Press for their help!

We want to thank all the co-authors of this book for their generous donation to the proposed E. A. Manuel graduate fellowship in anthropology. Mr. Robert Lawless, Miss Natividad Noriega, Mr. Cris Pambid and Dean F. Nemenzo deserve also our gratitude for their earlier help and support.

Finally, the editors would like to inform the readers of this book that the contributors have been given the freedom to choose their own bibliographic style as long as they follow the rule of internal consistency and accuracy.

The Editors

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INTRODUCTION

Les hommes sont faits pour s'entendre
Pour se comprendre pour s'aimer
Ont des enfants qui deviendront pères des hommes
Ont des enfants sans feu ni lieu
Qui réinventeront les hommes
Et la nature et leur patrie
Celle de tous les hommes
Celle de tous les temps.

—Paul Eluard.

Anthropology is as vast and varied in range as the circumstances of man, its focus of study. It also can be true to its object only to the extent and the degree that it remains a humane science — i.e., relevant to man, this constant yet ever mutable product and creator of himself and his world. Measuring all things (including man himself) through man, it fashions a "mirror for man" that is also that of the universe as human work and category. It is therefore man and the human condition which provide Anthropology with its *raison d'être*, its range and relevance.

The articles in this volume may serve to give the general reader an idea of the scope of Anthropology and its bearing on the human situation. The two parts into which they are grouped correspond to the theoretical-conceptual and the practical or "field" aspects of the discipline.

The first part deals in reality with a subject-object relation — that which obtains between the anthropologist and his object of study, the human phenomenon. Everything human interests the humanist because he is a man, but the anthropologist's professional concern with all things human is often made to imply the restriction, if not suppression, of his essential humanity. This derives from the anthropologist's anguished yearning to approximate the natural scientist. It is the infelicitous source of all his striving for quantification, which beclouds the basically humane

character of his science. In the effort to join another scientific in-group, he is led to deny or conceal the proudest of his qualities, his innate virtue: the common essence shared with his object which, if not allowed to become mere extended subjectivity, is generative of the most profound insights, of authentic understanding.

In recognizing his natural self, the anthropologist may be able to (and thereby let man) breathe through all the statistical mechanisms and programmed matrices he devises for him in imitation of the mathematical sciences. An aspect of this limiting and limited pertinence of numerical schemes to anthropological investigation is treated in the opening article by MARIO D. ZAMORA. It implicitly underscores the importance of the anthropologist as human subject in the face of his very human study. Along this line, the need is in fact urgent for an Anthropology of the anthropologist within a total anthropological science comprehending both subject and object as mutually determining poles of a single human continuum, of man's unremitting pursuit of self-knowledge.

Aside from this natural involvement in man, the anthropologist's conceptive function makes him a crucial moment in the study of man. MA. LORENA BARROS touches this domain of categories and conceptual orientations in her review of the major theoretical vantage points from which the anthropologist contemplates human behavior and achievement. Expressions of the fundamental diachronic and synchronic-descriptive directions of anthropological research, two of these outlooks receive special attention from NATIVIDAD V. GARCIA and MARIO D. ZAMORA. While the former throws some light on the human aspect of theory in her appraisal of cultural evolutionism as conceived by three anthropologists from different backgrounds, the latter extracts the implications of functionalism to his own Philippine environment in his analysis of this approach to culture as a system whose interdependent elements follow the logic of human and biological necessity.

Whether its elements evolve towards modern patterns of complexity or find integral functioning for the satisfaction of fundamental needs, culture is not one but numberless when viewed as existential fact. Anthropology does not study "man and his works" but their (interplay) — i.e., human beings interacting with one another and with their works in different contexts, which are also styles of cultural being. Man and his culture exist and are meaningful only as human groups, organic units molding and molded by time and space.

The importance of ecological determinants is common to both Anthropology and Geography. Their interrelated interest in and concomitant explanations of man are therefore explored here by TELESFORO W. LUNA. Nowhere is time as actual and yet distant in man's ethnic determination as in this Ethnology of the past that is Archaeology. Its methods, problems and viewpoints are outlined in E. ARSENIO MANUEL's contribution. In his article, Z. A. SALAZAR considers the ethnic "group" as the condition of man's becoming in time and space, as the basic unit of anthropological comprehensibility. Ethnic reality appears to him as the true object of Ethnology as a descriptive and comparative science, since ethnicity or ethnic character distinguishes human groupings at all levels, from the simplest ethnographic clusters to the more sophisticated "masses" like nations, contact cultures and integrated patterns of concordance among interrelated groups.

It is within or in relation to these individual ethnic "states of being" that man becomes comprehensible as variety and identity, as humankind and humanity. NATIVIDAD V. GARCIA sees him as a social being whose "regularities in behavior" are traceable to social structure as perceived in the kinship group, this "microcosm of the society of which it is a part". LETICIA A. LAGMAY shows how man can be viewed as psychological entity reflecting cultural values, interacting with them, or simply partaking of the "modal personality" of his group.

These social and psychic determinations stemming from ethnic or group difference may or may not have at the same time some

biological basis, but the physical nature of man has been considered up to now to have very little bearing on his cultural achievements. On the contrary, Physical Anthropology makes JEROME B. BAILEN realize that while "man's capacity for culture is rooted in his biological make-up, the role of culture in biological development is important." The biological is, however, an essential human facet whose broader research may elucidate relations between nature and culture, on a different base from that of Lévi-Strauss, for example. INDERA P. SINGH'S survey of Physical Anthropology barely touches this point, the better to underline the uses of his discipline to society. In an attempt to clear an interdisciplinary ground for Anthropology and Political Science, RONALD COHEN is preoccupied with "levels" for the study of political man, levels which, in effect, cover the entire range of Salazar's "ethnic states of being". As a matter of fact, it is also in relation to ethnic reality that ERIC CASIÑO construes art, as experience and hence as object of study.

Human beings and their "works" have therefore salt and marrow only in so far as they constitute ethnic individualities — even if these are understood as total social phenomena in constant process of change. For change happens and is meaningful only to and within a social group, in whatever dimension this may be conceived. One symptom of change is when certain elements of culture, ceasing to be vital to the group, are relegated to the realm of folklore, where they acquire meaning or function on another level of ethnic being. The *tinikling*, for instance, is terpsichorean entertainment to the Filipino "nation" but still ritual to Moro and East Indonesian "groups". The *bulol* may yet be fraught with moribund Ifugaw religiosity as it gauges the young Filipino's appetite in the *cañao* room of some indigenist hotel. The *Nibelungenlied* partook of the substance of faith before it became stuff for operatic sentiment. Folklore, one may readily see, is Anthropology — but with problems and methods all its own. These E. ARSE-NIO MANUEL examines in his article on Folklore and Anthropology:

Other aspects of social change are considered by MILTON L. BARNETT and LEOTHINY S. CLAVEL. While the former relates it to home economics, the latter dwells on it in the context of the bearing mass communications have on Anthropology. As the initial one, the article which closes the first part is by MARIO D. ZAMORA. Again it is concerned with man, no longer in order to ask the extent of his quantifiable being, but to plead that he be allowed to undergo inevitable change without loss of dignity and essential humanity. The Anthropologist's involvement in his object of study, his responsibility to man, is more cogently underscored, for the study of change implies value judgements, the moral problem of intervention or manipulation, the idea of alternative choice.

If the theoretical identity of the anthropologist and his object may thus be argued in the first part of this book, the opposite must be assumed in the second part. This deals with the study and object of anthropology, with the actual scrutiny of man's behavior. It opens with a contribution by E. ARSENIO MANUEL on bibliography making, library work being as primordial as soliciting material support in the preparation for field research. The field may encompass just a single ethnic group (uni-cultural), or it may refer to more than one "community" (cross-cultural). ROBERT LAWLESS deals with the former type, ALLEN C. TAN with the latter. It is the "village" which serves MOISES C. BELLO as field unit for the application of his research methods. As for the field report, its difficulties and procedures are illustrated by ARAM A. YENGOYAN from his Australian experience.

His theories and methods learned, financial search and library research accomplished, the anthropologist can leave for the field. His first contact and subsequent rapport with the chosen community reveal the human qualities of both the observer and the observed — and the personalized character of ethnographic work. This very important aspect of the anthropologist's task, his observing-while-being-observed relationship with "his" people, is portrayed with warmhearted humor by PONCIANO L. BENNAGEN through his experience with the Isabela Agta. If goodwill

or acceptance is gained, the ethnographer can proceed with his investigation — but only by beginning with most immediately palpable objects and relations, the material culture. BARTON L. McELROY's article on the "economic anthropology" of the Manobos exemplifies this stage.

The researcher can delve into the non-material culture of a group only if he acquires proficiency in its language. This may even give him a window into the native "mind", as LESTER O. TROYER purports to show in his article on the Gaddang time segmentation. Among the intimate spheres which language proficiency and, of course, trust can help to penetrate, are religion and the related phenomenon of death. JEROME B. BAILEN's report on the Pala'wan medium's views on diseases, comprehensibly, only skims the surface of religion. ESTEBAN T. MAGANON's introspective analysis of Kalinga religion goes deeper, since it is the product of what one may call a native anthropologist's "observing participation" in his own culture, in contrast to any foreign anthropologist's "participating observation" of an alien culture. Here again, the anthropologist's involvement in his object is a positive value, a source of insight. Even the participant observer's half-way integration is proof of this, despite the ludic nature of his method.

ENYA P. FLORES-MEISER's participant observation of a Sulu barrio makes her assign to religion (as concentrated in the mosque) an integrative role in contrast to the divisive one of social organization. The same approach allows Z. A. SALAZAR to view, in respectful banter, death in Thuboeuf (France) as a total social phenomenon involving rites of passage for the dead person, internal social tensions and solidarities, levels of social being, pre-capitalistic exchange, agricultural and color symbolisms, etc.

The synchronic-descriptive orientation of all the preceding articles in part two contrasts with the preoccupation with change of the remaining ones. JOSE B. CADUYAC proceeds from the framework of rural/urban polarity to examine problems relative to the

socio-cultural transformation of farmers and their traditional milieu, whereas MARIALITA TAMANIO views change from within a group, Ifugaw "society", as it engages in the normal but ramified activities of customary and modern exchange. The articles by HAROLD FREEMAN and MORRIS E. OPLER document two ways of effecting change through desired intervention or assistance from outside forces. While the former deals with foreign technical assistants and their relative ineffectiveness due to mutual misconception of means and goals, the latter analyzes the role of education in the gradual metamorphosis of an Indian community under the leadership of a native school principal. Thus, if the technical assistant could perhaps gain in effectiveness through "participant observation" before action, the native agent of change relies on and, in fact, illustrates the opposite but complementary principle of "observing participation".

The meaning of change itself is primarily a philosopher's meat, but the sense that man gives or may give to it, concerns the anthropologist — and anyone from the humane disciplines. The ever rising, revolutionary tempo of movements for human rights on the world scale and minority rights within coherent national or regional groupings, constitutes the personal and historical backdrop to SALVADOR P. LOPEZ's analysis of the contributions of the minorities to the total American civilization. This serves to emphasize cultural plurality as human value, as fountainhead of fertile ferment in a world hastening toward technological uniformity. But human diversity is likewise caught in the cogs of constant change, in ever novel combinations craving totality, requiring integration. And one can view the process from this other end, through the silhouette of the new identity it is forming. It is quite natural, therefore, that ALFREDO T. MORALES should filter Anthropology's relation to Education through the emerging image of Filipino culture, our vision of national being, our personality as a people.

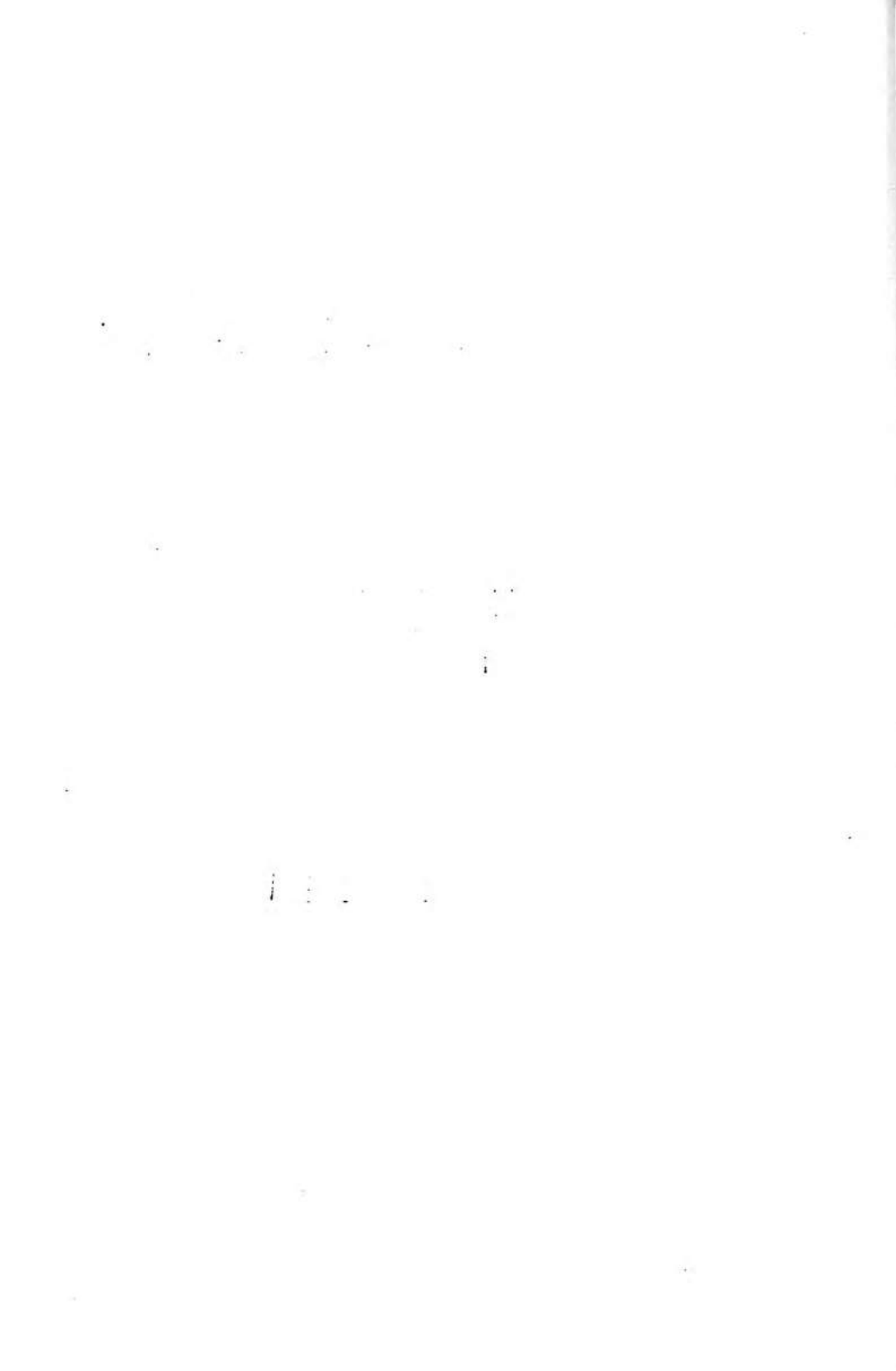
The approach is that of an "observing participant" in any culture. Its constructs fall or stand on the same criteria of rigor and inner logic as those derived from "participant observation".

The difference between the two sets lies in the former's more intimate insight: the participant observer draws near, the better to observe acts, sentiments and relations; whereas the observing participant withdraws, the better to understand what he has all along acted, felt and accepted. The one needs and cultivates empathy; the other, distance. Distance, however, can be attained through training, whereas empathy is a gift and there is no guaranty that it will not remain mere projected sensibility. The native anthropologist or "observing participant", therefore, is eminently suited to understand and explain his culture — primarily to his kind, then to other men and cultures. The participant observer's viewpoint is of complementary value, in the same way that another's opinion is of some import to the sensible individual.

Doesn't this, after all, result in cultural solipsism? If so, whence the humanity in humane Anthropology? Whence the understanding for which our quoted poet thinks men are made? Whence the hope that they ". . . will reinvent men/And nature and their fatherland/That of all men/That of all time"? Self-knowledge, hence dignity, of men and cultures is a fundamental value, the condition for transcending the time-space contingency. It is the conscious man, the conscious culture, that perceives other men, that lives other cultures. Empathy presupposes self-awareness which, at the same time, it enhances. It was at the moment the French were becoming conscious of themselves as a nation that they were proclaiming and actually discovering universal themes for Man. Hebrew monotheism springs from a profound sense of identity, just as Christianity solicits, merges with or submerges cultural consistencies. Ethnology is a product of a conscious West, of self-conscious Westerners. Marxism is self-analysis of a highly self-conscious — if not just self-conceited — nineteenth-century Europe.

It is therefore on the perception of the self and others that understanding can be grounded. It is from participant observation and observing participation that Anthropology gains insight

into cultures and Culture. It is through man comprehending his and other cultures that Anthropology can discover Man. The anthropologist's responsibility is immense. He works out the meeting grounds for humankind, the prerequisites for understanding. He holds elements of the code for all human cultures. Like the object of his study, he is the measure of all things. And as such, he should also be gauged, if Anthropology is to be complete.



Part One

CATEGORIES



**CAN IT BE DONE WITH FIGURES?
STATISTICS IN ANTHROPOLOGY***

Mario D. Zamora
University of the Philippines
Quezon City, Philippines

This preliminary paper has two main objectives: First, to consider the scope and significance of the method of cultural anthropology, and second, to underscore the contributions and limitations of the statistical method as a tool for social research.

It is often pointed out by well-meaning social anthropologists that human beings can never be measured with precision and

*A preliminary draft of this paper was prepared for the Annual Convention of the Philippine Statistical Association, June 16, 1967, Philippine Columbian, Manila. The author is grateful to the PSA, to Dr. Gloria D. Feliciano, Mr. Robert Lawless, and Miss Natividad Noriega for their help. The views and limitations of this preliminary paper are solely the author's. For a very informative book on methods in cultural anthropology, see Adams and Preiss (1960). See also the rich bibliographies on methods in anthropology by John J. Honigsmann, University of North Carolina, and Donn V. Hart, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University.

rigor because they are human beings. The implication of this statement is that human beings are the exclusive subject matter of the humanistic studies and the non-quantitative social sciences and that statistics as a discipline is not of much use to the study of society and personality. On the other hand, social scientists are often accused of making unwarranted generalizations about Philippine culture and society on the basis of what statisticians sometimes call impressionistic studies based on limited sampling. This mutual antagonism and suspicion between the social anthropologist and statistician can be explained by a number of factors. One crucial factor is the mutual ignorance of the scope and limitations of each other's discipline.

It is my view that each discipline can make a positive contribution to the other and that each plays a significant role in the field of social research. With these preliminary remarks, let me now point out the methods and approaches in the research process of cultural anthropology.

THE METHODS OF CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

There are four distinctive ways or approaches: (1) the holistic approach, (2) the prolonged participant-observation, (3) the significance of language, and (4) the significance of context and meaning with respect to the anthropologist's informants.

(1) **The holistic approach.** By holistic approach here I mean that the cultural anthropologist tries to study human society and culture in their totality. Culture means the way of life of a people which has been learned, shared, and transmitted from generation to generation by means of language and symbols. In order to carry out a study in cultural anthropology one should consider the total way of life of a people. All aspects of culture — politics, religion, social life, economic life, aesthetic life, educational problems, philosophical view of the world — should be included in the investigation. The anthropologist studies the integration of that way of life, and therefore to understand this integration process one must comprehend the matrix of their total life and their relationships with one another. It is perhaps impossible, for

example, to understand fully the land reform program of our government if it is viewed only in terms of its economic implication; it is believed that an ambitious program like land reform is more than an economic arrangement between a landlord and his tenants. Land reform has social, political, and moral implications. It is therefore the method of the cultural anthropologist to study the economics of land reform in the context of its social, political, religious, and other consequences.

2. **Prolonged participant-observation.** The second distinctive method of the cultural anthropologist is the **prolonged participant-observation** approach. An anthropologist does not only stay in one **barrio** or tribe or nation for one day and write a book out of this stay. The anthropologist lives with the people and participates in their day-to-day existence in an effort to understand the totality of their way of life. He does not ask questions right away because he believes that to obtain valid, reliable, and significant information or data he should first gain the respect and goodwill of his informants. / How does he go about establishing rapport with the village or the community he is studying? The anthropologist, first of all, has to clarify his objectives to his informants. He has to be honest and sincere in his dealings with the subjects of his study. He has to be respectful so that he can gain respect in return. The villagers or his informants will first do research on him, and when his informants are satisfied, then and only then does the anthropologist start probing into the details of their lives and the intricacies of their culture. After gaining rapport with his informants he then records as accurately and as faithfully as he can the way of life of this people. He asks all sorts of questions ranging from economic activities to such intimate areas as sex and religion.

I have underscored here the term **prolonged** because the anthropologist believes that to gain valid and reliable information one has to have the trust of his informants so that in the process the informants will tell him the truth. The way he interviews should be carried out in an atmosphere of trust and sincerity. It is done as much as possible in an informal way for the convenience

of the natives. The anthropologist should therefore make an effort to stay long for accuracy in the recording and reporting of day-to-day events and in probing into the intimate lives of the natives. This can only be possible by overcoming the language problem.

3. Language problem. A genuine anthropologist who is studying another culture or way of life other than his own should know the language of his informants for a number of obvious reasons. It has been pointed out by students of language and culture that language tells much about the way of life of a people, and therefore by knowing something about language the anthropologist will be able to know and understand many of the complexities of the society and culture under study. It is important therefore that the anthropologist should study the language of the natives. The other alternative for the researcher is to use interpreters. The danger of this method lies in the fact that interpreters may not be as effective as the anthropologist would like. Full reliance on the interpreter, to some extent, works against valid and reliable data in anthropological research.

4. Problem of Context. One other significant point I want to stress here is that in any attempt to analyze and interpret behavior or data about human behavior the anthropologist considers the problem of cultural context and meaning. He feels that social phenomena can better be understood when viewed against their social and cultural milieu or setting.

All these factors, methods, or approaches — holistic approach, prolonged observational approach, language and context — indeed make anthropology a more demanding and flexible science. With this approach in cultural anthropology, let me now review some of the recent developments in the use of statistics in anthropological science and later the limitations of the statistical methods.

RECENT TRENDS IN STATISTICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

In a special issue of *American Anthropologist* (Vol 65, No. 5, October 1963), a number of anthropologists wrote papers dealing with some uses of statistics for the anthropologists. I will review

briefly these papers before going to the limitations of the statistical method in the social sciences.

Edward T. Hall, in a penetrating article entitled "A System for the Notation of Proxemic Behavior," (1963) underscores the significance of the field of proxemics which is concerned with "how man unconsciously structures microspace." (1963:1003) Hall's method "refines categories of observation down to a finite scale of particulars that is rare in social and cultural anthropology, outside of studies in linguistics and terminological systems." (Spindler 1963:1001)

Paul Kay, (1963) on the other hand, has evolved "a formal model that can handle certain ethnographic data and demonstrates the kinds of predictions that the model can, and cannot, make." (Spindler 1963:1001)

Marcia and Robert Ascher (1963) of Cornell University's Department of Anthropology have discovered "a systematic way of deriving an ordered matrix from unordered data so that it can be fed to a computer." To the authors, "programming for a computer forces research to have a clear goal in ordering data, and forces the researcher to proceed to it in an orderly way. This byproduct may prove to be as important in similar programs as the final results." (Spindler 1963:1001)

Raoul Naroll and Roy G. D'Andrade (1963) have explored a problem in cross-cultural survey in order to help the analyst see whether the relationship between factors considered "functionally related . . . is an artifact of common historical circumstance or truly functions. The underlying logic of probability theory, and culture diffusionist theory, is used in the form of two relatively simple statistical techniques." (Spindler 1963: 1002)

Frank Cancian (1963) considers a way by which "more or less psychologically real descriptions . . . utilizing informant errors about public offices" can be differentiated. (Spindler 1963:1002) Duane Metzger and Gerald E. Williams, (1963) for their part, have come out with "an analytic procedure resulting in an ethnographic description that parallels the categorizations (of events and their

contextual meaning) of the people under study." (Spindler 1963:1002) The author's method is based on replicability, recoverability, and its being microanalytic. Replicability here implies that another analyst should come out with the same conclusions, given the same techniques and data, while recoverability here means that "the original data can be recovered from the analytic categories." (1963:1002) Microanalytic here implies that "analytic categories are reduced to smallest possible units commensurate with the analytic task." (1963:1002)

THE LIMITATIONS OF THE STATISTICAL METHOD IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Although some eminent anthropologists have utilized statistical methods in their researches and publications (e.g., Franz Boas, Alfred Louis Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Harold Driver, among others), still other anthropologists feel that since anthropology is more of a humanistic discipline, no amount of statistical correlations or computer techniques can make the study of man and his works scientific (see Opler 1964). The significance of context, meaning, and cultural relationships cannot be over-emphasized. Some anthropologists feel that the flavor or *élan* of a particular culture should be explained and described in depth to be truly meaningful. The historic, sociocultural and ecological context of any social phenomenon or of human behavior should be largely considered for a better understanding of human beings and their social interaction. Cultural process and values simply cannot be reduced to sheer mathematical computations.

For example, how much of the values, the inner thoughts and feelings of the people can be revealed in a statistical table? How much of human interaction goes on in a hurried interview? How accurate and faithful to the truth are informants **not known** by the researcher or investigator? Is it possible that much cultural bias is done in an impersonal and brief researcher-respondent interview situation? And as one social scientist once asked: Suppose all of your informants are not really telling you the truth? Where then is your science? I believe this is where the cultural

anthropologists can contribute greatly to problems of reliability and validity. The anthropologist's stress on rapport between researcher and respondent, the emphasis on language learning, cultural context, and the holistic approach discussed earlier might be crucial factors that can neutralize the impersonal, brief, and sometimes hurried interview based on set questionnaires.

This is not, however, to discount the usefulness of statistics. A broader and bigger sample can complement the case-study in depth of the anthropologist. The rigor and precision of the statistical method can likewise supplement and complement the approaches of the cultural anthropologist.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The scope of this paper is limited. I have not discussed the uses of statistics in the other subdisciplines of general anthropology: archaeology, physical anthropology, and anthropological linguistics. These three subdisciplines lend themselves to quantification more easily than does cultural anthropology, and statistics play a very significant role in their methods. Suffice it to say that cultural anthropological field research techniques can contribute to statistics and vice-versa. But before this can happen anthropologists will need to re-examine the uses of statistics and statisticians will need to re-examine their discipline and perhaps propose new methods better suited to the needs of a field-oriented science.

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THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY: AN OVERVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

The main purpose of this article is to introduce to the non-specialist, in summary fashion, some of the major schools of thought in anthropological theory. As such it does not pretend to be exhaustive or original; and the interested reader is referred to a partial bibliography of excellent articles and books from which he might pursue in depth our discussion and perhaps obtain a more competently drawn picture.

The science of anthropology as we know it today is primarily, for good or ill, a Western development. This cursory review, therefore, starts with the origins of anthropological thought in philosophical inquiry in the West, up to the period in Western

culture known as the Enlightenment. The 19th century saw the flowering of anthropology in which **evolutionism** was the dominant theme, if not the seminal influence. Accordingly, this is discussed next, and then **diffusionism** and historical **particularism**, which developed in response to it. It might be said that **functionalism**, the next important phase, was a significant result of the debate between the followers of evolutionism on the one hand and the votaries of diffusionism and historical particularism on the other. Finally, the contemporary scene is witnessing a revival of **evolutionism** in reaction to the cultural relativism of the past half century or so.

I ORIGINS IN PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY

It has been remarked that the point at which the history of anthropology may be begun depends upon the definition of anthropology. If by anthropology we mean a science of man embodying systematic fieldwork, anthropology is just about a century old. If subject matter rather than technique is emphasized, anthropology can be shown to go back to ancient Rome, Greece and China. In fact, any people's symbolic system invariably includes a body of myths and common-sense judgments regarding both themselves and the various groups they encounter.

At whatever time and place, the sphinxian riddle that has generated much of anthropological thought has been this: "All men are alike. Some men are alike. No two men are alike."

Plato and Aristotle considered that beneath men's *prima facies* differences — in size, color, ability, behavior — were fundamental differences. Thus, in their view, barbarians were barbarians in their souls. This justified both their inferior status and treatment.

Social studies progressed very little in the period between Plato and Aristotle and the Enlightenment. The revival of social studies at this time was based on a different metaphysical view of man: all men are equal in the eyes of God — *prima facie* dif-

ferences are only *prima facie*. Underlying the factual diversity of men is a fundamental moral equality.

The Enlightenment thinker John Locke provided the metaphysical foundation upon which anthropologists were to rear the first formal definitions of culture in his *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690). As Marvin Harris (1968:11) affirms, "In fact, John Locke's Essay was the midwife of all those modern behavioral disciplines, including psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology which stress the relationship between conditioning environment and human thought and actions." Locke attempted to prove that the mind was an "empty cabinet" at birth, later filled with ideas which are all acquired through the process which we call today *enculturation*. There are thus no innate ideas; all of man's understandings are acquired through sense impressions. If there are no innate ideas there can be no innately comprehended truths; consequently, there can be no social order based on innate truths, as Plato and Aristotle claimed, since change in environment results in change in thought and behavior.

Another thinker of the Enlightenment whose contribution to anthropological thought should be acknowledged was a young French genius, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot. In 1750 (the very year for which Kroeber and Kluckhohn, in their study of the definitions of culture (1952), assert that there was no culture concept in existence) Turgot wrote his *Plan for Two Discourses on Universal History*, which contained a clear expression of the culture concept implicit in Locke's metaphysics. Turgot wrote: "Possessor of a treasure of signs which he has, the faculty of multiplying to infinity, he (man) is able to assure the retention of his acquired ideas, to communicate them to other men, and to transmit them to his successors as a constantly expanding heritage" (quoted and discussed in Harris, 1968: 14).

Enlightenment thought, however, had a serious weakness. This was the prevailing faith in reason which led Locke and his contemporaries to believe that reason would lead men everywhere

to the same truths. The differences between human cultures were therefore explained as differences in effectiveness of ratiocination. What happens when the observer comes up against a culture that is utterly unfamiliar? The tendency would be to dismiss the unfamiliar as irrational. The Enlightenment philosophers did not realize that reason might have culture-bound definitions.

Moreover, the thinkers of the Enlightenment were culture idealists, and this led them around and around a mind-culture-mind tautology which was incapable of explaining anything. Men's minds are formed by the social environment — culture. The character of this social environment is determined by the social order. The social order arises from conscious human activity. This conscious activity in its turn depends upon the will of the persons acting. And so we are back where we started.

Just as positivist rethinking of the Enlightenment belief that men were religiously or morally on par was about to knock off the supporting metaphysics of the embryonic science of man (how could a positivist base scientific studies on such ineffables as 'God' and 'moral'?) a wonderful panacea offered itself: the theory of evolution.

II EVOLUTIONISM

Evolutionism, even in the 19th century, was nothing new. A theory of sociocultural evolution is present in the Old Testament. The Enlightenment thinker John Millar attempted to trace the evolution of the family in 1771; William Robertson, writing in 1777, argued on the basis of evidence from both ethnology and archeology for an evolutionary sequence of savagery-barbarism-civilization. Condorcet, in 1795, expounded an evolutionary scheme with ten stages. All Enlightenment thought on evolution, however, was based on the assumption that the prime cause of evolution was increasing effectiveness of ratiocination, and, as has been mentioned, this was inadequate in explaining the ethnological facts.

In 1850 the English social philosopher Herbert Spencer published a series of essays on *Social Statics* (almost a decade before Darwin's *Origin of Species*) in which he had begun to consciously attempt to prove that human nature, like everything else, was an evolutionary product. Spencer staunchly believed in human perfectibility; he defined imperfection as 'unfitness to the conditions of existence.'

It was the storm which broke over Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859), however, which drew attention to evolutionary theory. Darwin's evolutionism seemed to have the answer to the problem of human diversity, which the explorers of the 19th century were documenting abundantly. Man's equality and his differences are both real, because his differences are simply stages of development. His potential development remains equal.

Evolution was the paramount theme of 19th century anthropology. Edward B. Tylor and Lewis H. Morgan, often cited as the founders of modern anthropology, postulated a "substantial uniformity" in the development of cultures which allowed their classification into recognizably distinct stages.

An evolutionary thinker whose contributions to anthropological theory have until lately been ignored or suppressed was Karl Marx. In his preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* (1904; orig. 1859), Marx summed up his strategy for achieving an explanation of cultural evolution — the closest equivalent to Darwin's principle of natural selection in the social sciences, and the first to deny that 'mind' and 'mentality' were the key variables in the evolution of culture. Marx wrote:

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society — the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite

forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence which determines their consciousness (quoted and discussed in Harris, 1968:229).

An important ingredient of Marx's theory of cultural evolution was the pre-eminence of culture over race. Unfortunately for anthropology, this emphasis was virtually ignored by his contemporaries, and the theory that societies evolve gradually degenerated into the simplistic idea that any institution in a society which seemed freakish to the (Western) observer could be explained away as an element which had for some reason not evolved into the next, higher stage.

Contrary to a common misconception, none of the 'classical' evolutionists held to a unilineal evolutionary scheme. Spencer, frequently mentioned as the typical unilinealist, was not even a linear evolutionist. He explicitly stated that social progress is not linear but divergent and re-divergent. Similarly, neither Tylor nor Morgan asserted that all cultures developed in identical series of transformations; Morgan in particular pointed out that the American Indian cultures he was studying were leap-frogging under the impact of U.S. civilization.

✓ The evolutionism of Spencer, Tylor and Morgan were, however, particularly vulnerable to racist interpretation. The emphasis that Spencer put on hereditary factors as causal elements in the explanation of behavioral variations of *H. Sapiens*; and the comparative method of Tylor and Morgan, based on a naive equation of contemporary primitives to primeval ancestral forms, provided a convenient rationale for the barbarous treatment given the natives of European colonies.

By the turn of the century the situation had degenerated to such an extent that it was quite the thing to speak of 'the white

man's burden.' Pseudo-professionals were debauching evolutionary theory for all sorts of ulterior motives.

Harris (1968) gives several examples of this. In 1901, William McGee, the first president of the American Association of Anthropology could say: "The savage stands strikingly close to sub-human species in every aspect of mentality as well as in bodily structure."

Similarly, Daniel G. Brinton, president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, in 1896 reaffirmed the standard Spencerian position thus: "The black, the brown, and the red races differ anatomically so much from the white, especially in their splanchnic organs, that even with equal cerebral capacity, they could never rival its results by equal efforts."

At this point reaction to evolutionism set in, in the form of historical particularism and diffusionism.

III HISTORICAL PARTICULARISM

As we have seen, the situation in anthropology when Franz Boas came on the scene in the early 20th century warranted his extreme reaction to the evolutionism of the time. However, Boas rejected not only racial determinism but also environmental and economic determinism as well.

Although he did not completely discount the determinative influence of economic, demographic, and geographical factors, he maintained that they were determinative in unpredictable degrees and in a pattern unique to each ethnographic instance. Moreover, he questioned the assumption of evolutionism that the same phenomena are always due to the same causes. This assumption had been proven false in a number of concrete instances, in his view. Clans, for example, seem to have resulted among the Northwest tribes from the fission of villages, but among the Navaho they arose from the fusion of separate groups.

Thus, although by previous academic training a physicist, and throughout his career an earnest campaigner for true scientism and high standards of proof in anthropology, Boas actually — at the same time — argued for the importance of history over science (1948). Boas was so impressed by the uniqueness of cultural phenomena and their complexity that he held that "nothing will ever be found that deserves the name of a law excepting those psychological, biologically determined characteristics which are common to all cultures and appear in a multitude of forms according to the particular culture in which they manifest themselves" (Boas, 1948:311; orig. 1936).

Boas introduced the modern emphasis on fieldwork, although he certainly did not invent the notion. The weight placed on fieldwork has been both beneficial and misleading, however. The essence of the so-called Boasian method was to gather facts and more facts and let them speak for themselves. Harris (1968:286) has pointed out that Boasian thought was "inductive to the point of self-destruction." Its basic philosophic error was, in Einstein's words, the belief that "theory comes inductively from experiences" (quoted in White, 1947b: 406).

The particularizing trend in Boasian thought logically led to an emphasis on the individual human personality and the relation of an individual to his culture. Eventually it gave rise to a new field, culture-and-personality, which has produced most, if not all, of the anthropological best-sellers. Two of Boas' students, Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead, have been brilliant contributors to culture-and-personality studies.

Boas and his students introduced a new metaphysical view of man: they asserted that equality is not only potential but actual in all human groups. Since each culture was the product of a unique historical pattern, there could be no basis for comparing differences cross-culturally. The institutions of a society should be viewed only in their particular context. Indeed, Boasian relativism states that there are no human differences, only human

diversity.¹ To paraphrase Jarvie (1964:12), a social system good enough for man to live in is as good as any other. The task of the anthropologist therefore is to document the diversity of human cultures before the great levelling force of Western technology wiped it out.

IV DIFFUSIONISM

Reaction to simplistic evolutionism also took the form of diffusionism, which was an equally simple idea and, from a metaphysical point of view, not much different from it. The diffusionists rejected the theory that customs evolved and got frozen at various stages as an explanation of cultural diversity. In its place they put the theory that customs differ as a result of their being invented at one place and being passed on differentially. Thus the diffusionists maintained, as did the evolutionists, that man's equality and his differences are both real; his differences are simply a function of differential diffusion. His potential development remains equal.

In the European continent, diffusionism has been most enthusiastically espoused by German and Dutch anthropologists. In particular, the culture-historical school founded by Friedrich Ratzel has postulated the notion of *Kulturkreise*, or culture circles, large complexes of traits which had lost their former geographical unity and were now dispersed throughout the world. Ratzel's pupil, Leo Frobenius, tried to prove the migration not merely of individual culture elements but also of whole culture circles. Father Wilhem Schmidt and Fritz Graebner elaborated the *Kulturkreise* scheme. On the whole, as remarked by Harris (1968:

¹ Franz Boas, considered to be a leading pioneer in American anthropology, repeatedly stressed the importance of sociocultural and historical context to explain "human diversity." This great emphasis on context led to his extreme reticence to generalize, a fact criticized by some of his colleagues in the anthropological profession.

379), the *Kulturkreise* school, dominated as it is by members of the Catholic clergy, represent one last grandiose attempt to reconcile anthropological prehistory and cultural evolution with the Book of Genesis.

The most enthusiastic British diffusionist was, like the diffusionists on the mainland of Europe, greatly influenced by the current attempts to reconcile anthropological findings with the Biblical account of cultural evolution. Grafton Elliott Smith developed the *idée fixe* that practically the entire inventory of world culture had evolved in Egypt. This took place 6000 years ago. The Egyptians then sowed the seeds of culture by colonization and diffusion throughout the world, which was at the time inhabited by 'Natural Man,' a cultureless *H. sapiens* type.

The American diffusionists have been somewhat more sober. In their elaboration of the concept of *culture areas*, relatively small geographical units based on the contiguous distribution of cultural elements, they almost managed to make the 'non-principle of diffusion' a fruitful one. The culture-area approach has been a useful heuristic device for mapping and classifying the tribal groups of North and South America.

Clark Wissler, who was, incidentally, a student of Boas, postulated a 'culture center' from which the assemblage of traits diffused outwards. He sets forth a law of diffusion to the effect that anthropological traits tend to diffuse in all directions from their centers of origin. This law constitutes the basis of the *age-area principle* which has been so useful, in particular, to folklore studies: the most widely distributed traits around a center would be the oldest, if the direction of diffusion were always from the center outwards.

The concept of diffusion, even the more reasonable American variant, is ultimately a sterile one. It does not explain anything but merely passes the buck in infinite regression.

V. FUNCTIONALISM

Into the non-quarrel between the evolutionists and the diffusionists stepped Bronislaw Malinowski. Malinowski represents

in a sense, one step further along the Boasian path. His position might be expressed thus: "All men are equal but diverse, and all diversities are equal" (Jarvie, 1964:12). Malinowski maintained that all surviving societies must be viable; further, that they are equally viable, hence equally good.

For Malinowski, therefore, the only criterion was: did a social system function? And the only criterion of whether it did was whether it survived. The logical implication of this is that functioning social systems are perfect. They are perfect because to survive, according to the law of natural selection, they must eliminate all non-functional or useless elements.

Malinowski affirmed the programme of anthropology set out earlier by Boas: to observe, describe, and catalogue human diversity.

The significant difference between Malinowski and his colleague and contemporary Radcliffe-Brown (who has been termed a functionalist of the hyphenated variety, i.e., a structural-functionalist) is the former's emphasis on the 'seven basic individual biophysical needs' for the satisfaction of which the social organism or culture was a 'vast instrumental reality.' Through collective instrumentalities such as institutions these needs, expressed in a series of direct and indirect, primary and secondary collective needs, were satisfied.

Radcliffe-Brown, on the other hand, propounded a theory of society in terms of structure and process, interconnected by function, which he maintained had "nothing in common with the theory of culture as derived from individual biological needs" (1949:322). Radcliffe-Brown speaks of the function of a custom within a social structure and the needs of societies.

Radcliffe-Brown adopted the concept of 'function' from the French sociologist Emile Durkheim; it is defined as the 'contribution' an institution makes to the maintenance of social structure. 'Social structure' in turn derives its main inspiration from Durkheim's emphasis on social solidarity. All differentiated social positions or statuses derived from a consideration of member-

ship in social groupings constitute parts of social structure, which is the totality of arrangements by which an orderly social life is maintained (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952: 193). The basic assumption of the structural-functionalist is that social systems maintain themselves for significant intervals of time in a steady state during which a high degree of cohesion and solidarity characterizes the relationships among its members (Harris, 1968: 515).

The outstanding weakness of both Malinowski's and Radcliffe-Brown's functionalism, as has been pointed out by White (1949: 1939) is the heavy dependence on psychobiological components of behavior. Radcliffe-Brown, for example, while insisting on a doctrinal opposition to psychological reductionism, yet fell back on a psychological basis for the structural-functional significance of the Thonga joking relationship. (See Harris, 1968: 529-530, for an alternative, cultural-materialist analysis.) Institutions are interpreted by Malinowski in terms of the needs, values, and purposes of individuals; by Radcliffe-Brown, in terms of unity and solidarity of groups. But since the metaphysical assumption is that the unity of mankind is real, and therefore all men are equipped with the same psychobiological tendencies, all socio-cultural systems should be identical. This is most certainly not the case. As White (1949: 139) put it so succinctly, constants cannot explain variables.

Not only is functionalism incapable of explaining cultural diversity, it cannot deal with the problem of social change (Jarvie, 1964). The functionalist emphasis on equilibrium does not allow for the role of conflict and tension in bringing about significant disruption and change in the social process. A functionalist analysis of conflict by Gluckman (1963), for instance, only ends up with a conclusion that conflict is a normal, healthy feature of social life, and therefore not at all incompatible with the maintenance of social order and solidarity.

The arguments of the functionalists against evolutionism are not valid, for the simple reason that the latter attempts to answer an entirely different set of questions. Malinowski criticized evolutionism because it could not explain the hows and whys of

a society flourishing at this time. However, the fact is that the evolutionists were not primarily interested in how and why an institution worked; they were concerned with why an institution is as it is, and looked to its development in the past for the explanation.

VI STRUCTURALISM

Functionalism in France has taken a somewhat different route, though not divergent enough to escape the same pitfalls. It derives its inspiration from Durkheim's work, as does the structural-functionalist school; like structural-functionalism it has adopted Durkheim's position rejecting the primacy of individual psychological factors in the explanation of socio-cultural phenomena, but has not been able to avoid psychological reductionism of another sort: the dependence on 'certain universal structures of the human mind.'

Durkheim asserted that, "The determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of the individual consciousness" (1938:110). A 'social fact,' according to Durkheim, has an existence of its own. Individual behavior is a reincarnation or reflection of social entities enjoying an existence which is independent not only of the concrete expression in a given individual but also of the observer's logico-empirical procedures.

Durkheim was a spiritual heir of the positivist philosopher Auguste Comte. This is not to say that he adopted a position opposed to Hegelian idealism. Durkheim was a cultural idealist. He maintained that social facts are general and coercive, and that they derive their generality and coercive restraint from the exterior and collective 'consciousness'. Durkheim postulated a super-organic culture which exists *sui generis*, deriving its *sui generis* status from the alleged existence of a group mind. This group mind is in every respect the heir of a mixture of Hegelian and Comteian idealism.

The most prominent follower of Durkheim was Marcel Mauss. Mauss, in his study of sacrifice (Mauss and Hubert, 1899) attributed the worldwide manifestations of sacrificial phenomena to

the collective idea of a sacred domain or realm. The sacrificial victim is the medium through which communication with this realm is achieved. Later, (Mauss and Hubert, 1904) the explanation of magic was sought in the idea of *mana*, a collective belief in an impersonal force accounting for the efficacy of magical as opposed to religious behavior. In his most influential work (*The Gift*, 1924) Mauss, according to Levi-Strauss, achieved the threshold of a specific discovery concerning the 'unconscious teleology of the mind' in accordance with which sociocultural phenomena unfolded. This 'unconscious teleology of the mind' was to provide the basis for Levi-Strauss' own work, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship* (1949) and for the entire pattern of French structural anthropology (Harris, 1969: 486-8).

Marcel Mauss' intellectual heir, Claude Levi-Strauss, has been greatly influenced by the developments in structural linguistics. Levi-Strauss used a linguistic model of binary contrasts which was developed by the Prague circle of linguists founded by N. Trubetzkoy. There is, according to him, a basic propensity of the human mind to build logical categories by means of binary contrasts. Such oppositions or dualities lie at the bottom of large portions if not the totality of socio-cultural phenomena. This suggests Hegel's dialectical process. Indeed, Levi-Strauss employs throughout a dialectical mode of analysis: first, the superficial facts, then the hidden negation, and finally the *synth  sis* of a new and more fundamental view of reality.

Structuralism can only explain specific cultural similarities but not similarities and differences, for the same reason that functionalism cannot: constants cannot explain variables. Besides, as Harris (1968:492) has remarked, "In order to analyze the variants of marriage and descent as exchange systems, (for instance), the positing of a subconscious panhuman mental 'structure' governing reciprocity is entirely superfluous."

VII NEO-EVOLUTIONISM

The last two decades or so in American anthropology has witnessed a revival of evolutionary thought. (See the article by

Natividad Garcia, of this volume.) Morgan and Tylor have been appreciatively re-examined; more importantly, there has been greater recognition of Marx's contribution to anthropological theory.

For many years Leslie White was a lone voice in the wilderness of Boasian cultural relativism. White's explanation for cultural diversity was differential effectivity of energy exploitation. The so-called 'advanced' cultures were simply those whose technology exploited the available resources more efficiently. In White's view, efficiency in energy exploitation was the objective criterion for classifying societies in an evolutionary sequence.

Like Malinowski, White started from the obvious idea that men are physically the same and have similar biological needs. Like Malinowski, he arrived at the conclusion that, "The human struggle for existence expresses itself in a never-ending attempt to make of culture a more effective instrument with which to provide security of life and survival of the species" (White, 1943: 339, underscoring mine).

White also held the view that human nature is constant: "From the standpoint of human behavior all evidence points to an utter insignificance of biological factors as compared with culture in any consideration of behavior variations" (White; 1947: 688). He avoids the impasse in Malinowski by making the further point that the non-human factors in energy use are variable, such as the efficiency of the technological system, and these account for cultural differences. For White, culture is a thing *suu* *generis*, with a life of its own and its own laws, so that this or that culture cannot be explained by appealing to man's structure or nature. Thus, "In a consideration of the differences between the behavior of peoples we may therefore regard man as a constant, culture as a variable . . . the differences of behavior are simply the responses of a common, constant human organism to varying sets of cultural stimuli" (op. cit., 688).

Why or how there came to be varying sets of cultural stimuli is a question that remains unanswered (unmasked?) in White's

theoretical scheme. His students have attempted to answer it, indirectly, by relating culture to the environment, although White considered environment a constant along with the human organism (White, *op.cit.*). Meggers (1954:815) has postulated a law of environmental limitation of culture: The level to which a culture can develop is dependent upon the agricultural potentiality of the environment it occupies. The greatest flaw of this law is its postscript: The variable 'technology' accounts for most of the "exceptions" to this law. Meggers concludes that where the environment is Type I (no agricultural potential) or Type 2 (limited agricultural potential) no amount of opportunity for diffusion can effect a cultural advance beyond the limitations set by the environment (*op. cit.*, 822). The fact that presently Israeli technologists have been able to make arid wastelands bloom points to a serious weakness in this argument, although Meggers would probably answer that Israeli technology is not based on an arid wasteland environment.

Sahlins and Service have attempted a modification of White's position by treating culture as an adaptive mechanism: "Culture provides the technology for appropriating nature's energy and putting it to service, as well as the social and ideological means of implementing the process" (1960:24). Thus cultures vary, for, "logically as well as empirically, it follows that as the problems of survival vary, cultures accordingly change, that culture undergoes phylogenetic, adaptive development . . . Specific cultural features arise in the process of adaptation . . . These can be interpreted in relation to selective pressures and the available means of maintaining a cultural organism given such pressures" (*op. cit.*, 24-26).

The position taken by Sahlins and Service is actually a synthesis of White's theoretical scheme and that of Julian Steward.

Steward rejected the position of the Boasians and the functionalists, who regard culture as a closed system in which all parts are of equal importance and are equally fixed. He held that, "Some features of culture as more basic and more fixed than others and that the problem is to ascertain those which

are primary and basic and to explain their origin and development" (1949: 6). If these more important institutions can be isolated from their unique setting so as to be typed, classified and related to recurring antecedents or functional correlates, it follows that it is possible to determine regularities of form, function and process which recur cross-culturally, among societies found in different times and places.

Steward set three requirements for formulating cultural regularities: First, there must be a typology of cultures, patterns, and institutions. Second, the causal interrelationships of types must be established in sequential (diachronic) or functional (synchronic) terms, or both. And third, the formulation of the independent recurrence of synchronic and/or sequential interrelationships of cultural phenomena must be a scientific statement of cause and effect, regularities, or laws (1949: 3).

Steward emphasized the importance of parallel cases in the social sciences. Parallel cases provide evidence that causality is operative, and enable the formulation of nomothetic (generalizing) theory. But perhaps the most important contribution of Steward to anthropological theory is the cultural ecological approach to the study of sociocultural phenomena. The method of cultural ecology consists of three fundamental procedures (Steward, 1955: 40-41). First, the analysis of the interrelationship of exploitative or productive technology and environment. Second, the analysis of the behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of a particular area by means of particular technology. And third, the determination of the extent to which the behavior patterns entailed in exploiting the environment affect other aspects of culture.

Harris (1968: 655) finds that the principles embodied in Steward's theoretical formulation had been made explicit in Marx's preface to *The Critique of Political Economy*. Marx's law of cultural evolution, in Harris' paraphrase, is not really a law but a strategy of research strikingly similar to Steward's. The 'law' states that the explanation of cultural differences and similarities

is to be found in the techno-economic processes responsible for the production of the material requirements of biosocial survival. It states that the techno-economic parameters of sociocultural systems exert selective pressures in favor of certain types of organizational structures and upon the survival and spread of definite types of ideological complexes. It states that in principle, all of the major problems of socio-cultural differences and similarities can be clarified by identifying the precise nature of these selective parameters.

As Morton Fried has commented (1966:313M), evolution today is the major integrating theme in anthropology. It is a theme which is capable of linking all major branches of the field into a unified discipline; in its absence, they would tend to separate and go diverse ways, as indeed has been the case in European anthropological science.

THE PROSPECTS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The most outstanding characteristic of anthropological theorizing today is greater flexibility, avoiding formal model in favor of statistical approaches. This emphasis on statistical 'truth' must not be viewed as sterile quantification, as some "humanistic" anthropologists do, but as a closer approximation of "what actually happens." To this writer's mind there is no basis for the fear that computers may someday take over the anthropologist's job — and the greater fear that they will prove to be better at it. The great difference between man on the one hand and animals and machines on the other is the fact that man is self-programming. He not only has a receptor system and an effector system, but possesses a third which is unique to him: a symbolic system (Cassirer, 1944: 24). Through symbols man is able to conceive of both 'real' and the 'possible,' and thus to determine and constantly change his world.

Anthropology today reflects the advantages and drawbacks of this uniquely human position. As in any science, there are advocates of 'pure' anthropology and there are those who argue

that anthropological knowledge should be put to human use. The issue in anthropology is complicated by the fact that here man is both the subject and the object; it does not take a skeptic to realize that the field is mined with all sorts of defensive prejudices. The application of genetics to animal husbandry has produced superior animal breeds; it does not seem likely, however, that a similar application to human reproduction will ever be countenanced by geneticists themselves.

And yet anthropology is finding increasing use in almost every aspect of modern life. The rise of new subfields such as industrial anthropology and educational anthropology, and the witting or unwitting employment of anthropologists in cold war strategies and neocolonial ventures, indicate the absurdity of the 'purist' position. When Karl Marx said, "The point is not to interpret the world, but to change it," he must have been aware that any increment in human knowledge inevitably changes the human world, whether we like it or not, and that, therefore, the least we can do is to determine the direction of the change. It is heartening to note that, judging from the response of Sol Tax's program of committed anthropology — what he calls 'action anthropology' — more and more anthropologists are becoming convinced that anthropology must be made more directly relevant to the problems of human existence today.

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**MORGAN, WHITE, AND STEWARD: A JOURNEY
INTO THE NEVER-NEVER LAND OF THEORY**

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This article is an attempt to appraise three adherents of cultural evolutionism, namely Lewis Henry Morgan, Leslie A. White, and Julian H. Steward, in terms of their theoretical positions, contributions to anthropological theory, limitations of their theoretical stand, and their background influences. A crucial phase of this study will be the delineation of the similarities and differences among them.

But before going into a consideration of these three scholars, perhaps it would be worthwhile to devote a part of this paper to an elucidation of what cultural evolution is.

With the increasing knowledge of the prehistory of Europe, as recovered by archaeological research and as gleaned from travellers' and missionaries' accounts of the customs, beliefs, artifacts, and

techniques, of nonliterate peoples, nineteenth century anthropologists embarked on a series of theoretical formulations purporting to explain the relationship of these so-called nonliterate cultures to the great civilizations of Europe and America. Previously, the answer to this was sought in the degradation theory, based on the assumption that man had been created a civilized or semi-civilized being. Nonliterate were those who had fallen from their original status of civilization to a status only a little above that of the animals. This hypothesis, however, became untenable in the light of the growing body of data on nonliterate peoples.

Hence, nineteenth-century anthropologists had to reformulate their theories attempting to explain the diversity of human customs, and this body of doctrines has come to be known as cultural evolutionism.

The concept of evolution had already been developed in the biological sciences with the appearance of the *Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin in 1859. While there had been a trend towards postulating that cultural evolution was an extension of Darwinian evolution, there was little evidence pointing to such influence.

Another scientist who perhaps had influenced the cultural evolutionists in their theoretical formulations was Herbert Spencer, a biologist, who in 1860 came up with his theory of social evolution. Spencer held that the development of organic and social life of mankind are instances of a single kind of process and that the idea of progress is a necessary feature of evolution. In other words, he subscribed to the idea that whatever happens in organic evolution happens also in super-organic (social) evolution. Evolution, therefore, is both a process of diversification in the forms of organic and social life and a process of advance of organization. (Srinivas 1958:179)

Cultural evolutionism, therefore, is similar to biological evolution in the concept of progress and growing complexity of form. However, there are certain points at which they differ. As Steward says:

In biological evolution it is assumed that all forms are genetically related and that their development is essentially divergent. In cultural evolution, on the other hand, it is assumed that patterns are genetically unrelated and yet pass through parallel and historically independent sequences, while divergent trends such as those caused by distinctive local environments are attributed only secondary importance. (1959:131)

Evolution as applied to culture is seen as a single or unilinear thread throughout cultural history. The basic principle behind this idea is "psychic unity," which assumes that all human groups have the same potential for evolutionary development and that developmental disparity among groups may be explained by differences of climate, soil, and other factors. (Keesing 1959:142) Resemblances or similarities, therefore, are explained by parallelism or independent invention. In other words, the unilinear evolutionists would attribute the growth and development of culture to the inventiveness of man, and whatever similarities exist among societies are attributed to the "psychic unity" of mankind. Divergent trends may be caused by distinctive local environments, though this claim is given only secondary importance.

Long an unfashionable concept, cultural evolution as propounded by Tylor, Morgan, and others has commanded a renewed interest in the last two decades. (Steward 1959:313) The revival of cultural evolutionism was not due to an adherence to the particular historical reconstruction of the nineteenth-century evolutionists but rather to a belief that cultural evolution offers potential methodological tools for contemporary research. Scholars who are notably responsible for this renewed interest in evolution are Leslie A. White, V. Gordon Childe, and Julian H. Steward, each giving a different slant to it. According to Steward, while cultural evolutionism may be defined broadly as a quest for cultural regularities or laws, nevertheless, there are three distinctive ways in which evolutionary data may be handled: (1959:315)

- (1) Unilinear evolution, the classical nineteenth-century formulation, dealt with particular cultures, placing them in stages of a universal sequence.

(2) Universal evolution, which is a rather arbitrary label to designate the modern revamping of unilinear evolution, is concerned with culture rather than with cultures.

(3) Multilinear evolution, a somewhat less ambitious approach than the other two, is like unilinear evolution in dealing with particular cultures, but it is distinctive in searching for parallels of limited occurrence instead of universals.

Morgan represents the first way; White, the second; and Steward, the third. Basically, therefore, this paper will dwell with three scholars, each representing the three distinctive ways in which evolutionary data may be handled.

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

Background Influences (Hays 1958; Stone n.d.)

Lewis Henry Morgan was born in Aurora, New York, in 1818, the ninth of 13 children. His father was a politician and this could have influenced his choice of a legal career which, later in his legal practice, endeared him to the Indians for having defended them in their land rights claim.

He attended Cayuga Academy in Aurora, the heart of the Iroquois country. Morgan was aware of the Indians from his earliest years. While still at school, he organized a secret society called the Gordian Knot. Like most young Americans, Morgan had a flair for playing Indian. As a matter of fact, the rituals of the society that he formed were patterned after Indian ceremonies.

When he finished his law, he went to Rochester to practice. However, business was bad and the young lawyer had no clients. He then reformed the Gordian Knot and admitted Ely Parker who, later on, exerted a profound influence upon his inclinations to study the Indians. Together they visited the nearby Seneca reservation where Morgan was exposed more to Indian lore and life. His familiarity with the Seneca gradually developed into a

scientific interest. He transformed the club into a serious historical society with the end in view of recording the fast-disappearing Indian culture. Henry Schoolcraft, imbued with the same love for the Indian, became a member of the society.

Morgan continued his visits to the Seneca where he was presented with a land case. He won the case for the Indians and the grateful Seneca adopted Morgan into the Hawk clan of the Tonawanda Band in 1846.

In the actual ceremony adopting him into the clan, Jimmy Johnson gave a long speech explaining the intricacies of kinship and gave the young men their Indian names. Perhaps it was at this point that Morgan's interest in kinship system was ignited. With Ely Parker as mentor and interpreter, Morgan learned more of Indian culture and published in 1851 the *League of Iroquois*, a two-volume study known as the first scientific account of an Indian tribe.

In 1851 the study of anthropology was not a profession. To Morgan it was a fascinating but unprofitable hobby. When he settled down to found a family with Mary Steele, his cousin, he became involved in railroad building. He made money from the railroad but he was not able to put aside the Indian subject. Instead, as he expanded westward in railroad building, he came in contact with other Indian tribes which he found to be holding the same views on kinship relations as the Iroquois. This rekindled his desire to know more about the Indians. So in 1858 he sent a questionnaire to all Indian agents in the United States designed to elicit information on the kinship systems and marriage customs. He himself travelled in Kansas and Nebraska and accumulated more significant data. In his travels, he met a missionary from southern India from whom he learned that the Tamils had the same kinship system as the Iroquois. This set Morgan into thinking how similarities between two groups far removed from each other could be explained. Perhaps the germination of his idea of a universal scheme into which different societies can be fitted was generated then.

In spite of the proddings of Rev. James Hall McIlvaine, the keeper of Morgan's conscience, to limit himself to the North American Indians, Morgan was not to be controlled. He was bent on knowing the principle behind all these similarities of mankind. Through the Smithsonian Institution he obtained the cooperation of General Cass, then the Secretary of State who was already swayed by Schoolcraft on the importance of ethnological inquiry. Morgan sent out questionnaires to United States consular agents all over the world and leading scientists as well as missionaries. It was from these data that he based his theoretical formulations which are embodied in his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society* (1877).

Theoretical Position

In his book, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, Morgan compared all types of kinship classifications all over the world. After comparing these kinship systems he believed he had found evidence of a series of customs and institutions which marked the development of human society "from a state of promiscuous intercourse to final civilization."

He held that the people of the world could be divided on the basis of the method by which they described kinship. It may be descriptive or classificatory. In the former, kin not in the direct line of descent had to be identified by combinations such as brother-in-law, father-in-law, etc. Husband, wife, father, brother, etc. were all descriptive of single specific blood or affinal relationship. In the latter, relatives are divided into great, seemingly arbitrary classes and did not emphasize the actual facts of blood or marriage relationship. A man's clan brother's sons were his sons.

According to Morgan, the descriptive kinship system is characteristic of civilized societies whereas the classificatory system is practiced by primitive societies. Morgan reasoned out that the classificatory terms were used at a stage characterized by a primitive sexual free-for-all where individual paternity could

not be established — thus, a man considers all his clan brother's children to be his children. Following this line of reasoning, Morgan constructed a theoretical series to show the development of human marriage from promiscuous intercourse — cohabitation of brothers and sisters — communal family — clan organization — marriage between single pairs — the patriarchal family — polyandry — development of private property — and finally to civilized marriage and the change to the descriptive system.

In the 1870's, he was working on his **magnum opus**. With the availability of new information as supplied to him by Lorimer Fison, an anthropologist living in Australia, he extended and perfected the theory embodied in his **Ancient Society**. His theory consisted of the following assumptions:

(1) Because the brains of all men are essentially the same, all men think along essentially the same channels and thus follow certain common patterns of behavior and organization. All men had a common origin and the patterns developed after groups of men separated are based upon common germs of thought formulated when men were together.

(2) Savagery preceded barbarism in all the tribes of mankind, as barbarism is known to have preceded civilization. Culture begins in a **lower status** of savagery wherein man was but little advanced over the animals and progressed therefrom to a **middle status** characterized by the use of fire and fish subsistence and finally to an **upper status** of savagery characterized by the use of the bow and arrow. From here culture moves into a lower status of barbarism (use of pottery); middle status (domestication of animals), and upper status (smelting of iron). Finally culture achieves the seventh status (civilization) marked by the invention of writing and the beginnings of European culture as it is known today.

(3) Societies may pass to a more advanced state through the adoption of an invention from another society, but this adoption cannot take place unless the society is prepared through its institutions being in a certain state of development.

(4) The most convenient way of dividing ethnical history is in terms of arts of subsistence.

(5) In addition to progressive development in types of subsistence, there is also development in social organization, from a kin-based society to a territorially-based one.

(6) The family has gone through similar stages of developments — the monogamous primary family of our society is necessarily preceded by patrilineal clans, matrilineal clans, a "consanguine" family based on group marriage, and a period of promiscuous intercourse, in that order.

Limitations

Morgan's theoretical pronouncements have been subjected to severe criticism by his colleagues, notably Robert H. Lowie. While Lowie praises him for his observations and discoveries, especially among the Iroquois and the Crow, he points out the weaknesses of Morgan's theoretical formulation, such as: (n.d.)

(1) His "sheer" ignorance of facts well known in his time resulting in a distortion of the picture he gave of ancient society.

(2) Lack of historical mindedness and derivation from an abstract evolutionary scheme of historically unknowable conclusions.

(3) Contradiction between his unilinear evolutionism and his acceptance of diffusion in particular cases in such a manner as to expose the weakness of the entire scheme.

(4) Assumption of racial affinities to explain terminological resemblances, leading to "manifestly absurd historical conclusions."

(5) Premature generalizations on primitive society.

(6) His neglect of religion, art and the economic life.

(7) He explains differences in some instances in terms of "unequal endowments" of the two hemispheres. He fails to recognize that like causes will not necessarily produce like results. (Stone n.d.)

(8) His failure to recognize significant patterns and processes of change in particular cases. The inadequacy of unilinear evolution lies largely in the postulated priority of matriarchal patterns over other kinship patterns and in the indiscriminate effort to force the data of all precivilized peoples into the categories "savagery" and "barbarism." (Steward 1959:316)

Contributions

In spite of his shortcomings, Morgan contributed immensely to the development of anthropological theory. His penetrating insights into the mechanics of social life, his keenness of observation and his impassioned love for the strange, the exotic all yielded a tremendous store of knowledge which spurred many a scholar to look more deeply into the intricacies of social relationships in order to resolve the controversies ignited by Morgan's theoretical formulations.

His contributions may be briefly summarized as follows:
(Lowie n.d.)

- (1) He established the study of kinship.
- (2) His imperfect yet comprehensive outline of North American social organization is impressive.
- (3) He pioneered in getting into the nexus between kinship terminologies and social usage.
- (4) He pioneered in establishing in practice an ethnographic basis for ethnology.
- (5) His avowed purpose to encourage a kindlier feeling towards the Indians founded upon a truer knowledge of their civil and domestic institutions and their capabilities for future elevation smacks of an applied anthropological approach.

LESLIE A. WHITE

Background Influences (Dole and Carneiro 1960; Staff 1960)

Leslie A. White, even before he entered high school in Zachary, Louisiana, had decided to become a teacher and that his academic career would be in the natural sciences, specifically physics and astronomy. This inclination of White was influenced to a large extent by his father, who was in natural philosophy himself, thereby enabling him to explain any natural phenomenon that aroused the curiosity of White as a boy. His reading of a small book which his father had used in college, *Natural Philosophy*, whetted his desire to go into physics and astronomy. However, he was not able to enter Louisiana State University for a degree

in physics or any allied field after graduation from high school in 1916 because of an illness, but he entered the university in 1919, after serving in the Navy during World War I.

His experience in the war brought about a profound change in his intellectual interests. He was veering towards psychology and the social sciences because he discovered during the war that what he had been taught formally and informally about "my society, my country, and related subjects was a gross distortion of reality." Thus, when he entered college, he determined to find out why people behave the way they do. However, his original love (physics) was still in him. He majored in history and political science during his first two years at Louisiana State University but found out that these disciplines did not give the answer to his problem. He transferred to Columbia University for his last two years in college and studied psychology, sociology, and philosophy. He received his A.B. degree in 1923 and a year later he obtained his M.A. in psychology.

Although he had no subjects in anthropology as an undergraduate and graduate student in Columbia, nevertheless, he took courses at the New School for Social Research in New York City under Goldenweiser and William I. Thomas. He also took courses in economics under Thorstein Veblen, in behavioristic psychology under John Watson, and in psychiatry under Frankwood E. Williams. In addition to these, he even enrolled in clinical psychology at Manhattan State Hospital for the Insane, for there was a time when he thought of going into psychiatry via clinical psychology. However, he abandoned this idea and instead went to the University of Chicago to study sociology so that he might learn more about peoples. Still unsatisfied, he shifted his major interest to anthropology. In 1927, he received his Ph.D. after having written a dissertation entitled, "Medicine Societies of the Southwest," under the direction of Fay-Cooper Cole.

Dr. White began his teaching career at the University of Buffalo where he taught for a year before transferring to the University of Michigan. He has been with that university since

then but interspersed with his teaching stint there are visiting professorships at several universities. He is reputed to be a stimulating and highly competent teacher and is much in demand as a visiting professor in the United States and other countries.

Dr. White has two principal research interests: The Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest and ethnological theory. His Pueblo research, which occupied most of his earlier research career, was fruitful in terms of a number of monographs and articles on the Pueblo Indian. (1932a; 1932b, 1935; 1942) His second major research has been devoted to the revival and clarification of cultural evolutionism as enunciated by Morgan, among others, in the 19th century. He set himself the task of defending Morgan from the onslaught of criticisms levelled against him, but by no means was he a blind follower of Morgan. Where Morgan was wrong, he felt no compunction in pointing it out. (White 1947)

The major works embodying his theoretical formulations regarding cultural evolutionism are **The Science of Culture** (1949) and **The Evolution of Culture**. (1959)

His contributions to anthropological theory and research were amply rewarded and recognized when in 1959, on the recommendation of the American Anthropological Association, he was awarded a Viking Fund Medal by the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

Although White was exposed to the anti-evolutionist ideas of Boas, he was, by no means, completely swayed by them for as "he began to teach, he found, first, that he could not defend this point of view, and later that he could no longer hold it." (1959:ix) As a matter of fact, he has attacked the position of the anti evolutionists in a number of articles.

The mid-twentieth-century exposition of evolutionist theory has been dubbed as "neo-evolutionism" by Lowie, Goldenweiser, Bennett, and others. But White would consider the label misleading for the theory of evolution which he propounded "does

not differ one whit in principle from that expressed in Tylor's *Anthropology* in 1881, although of course, the development, expression, and demonstration of the theory may — and does — differ at some points" (1959:ix)

Theoretical Position

In his article, "Energy and the Evolution of Culture," 1953 he expounded on his laws of culture development. They are the following:

(1) Other things being equal, the degree of cultural development varies directly as the amount of energy per capita per year harnessed and put to work.

(2) Other things being equal, culture evolves as the productivity to human labor increases.

(3) The social organization of a people is dependent upon and determined by the mechanical means with which food is secured, shelter provided, and defense maintained. In other words, social evolution is a consequence of technological evolution.

(4) The relationship between social systems and technology is mutual though not necessarily of equal interaction and influence. A social system may so condition the operation of a technological system as to impose a limit upon the extent to which it can expand and develop. When this occurs, cultural evolution ceases. Neither evolution nor progress in culture is inevitable. When cultural advance has thus been arrested, it can be renewed only by tapping new sources of energy and by harnessing it in sufficient magnitude to burst asunder the social system which binds it.

White, for many years, was virtually alone in his uncompromising support of the nineteenth-century cultural evolutionists. He was undeviating in his dedication to the principles of cultural evolutionism. His method is largely deductive in that he treats cultural phenomena as the manifestation of principles that are universal and in many cases cosmic. Rather than seek for universal laws as in the case of his contemporary evolutionists, he explains cultural phenomena in terms of universal culturological principles.

White is interested in the culture of mankind as a whole and he considers culture as a generalized world wide phenomenon governed by universal principles rather than as a series of partially distinctive areal patterns that result from local processes or causes. Together with V. Gordon Childe, he tries to keep the evolutionary concept of cultural stages alive by relating these stages to the culture of mankind as a whole, rather than to particular cultures. (Steward 1959:316)

Culture, according to White, underwent two stages in its development. The first was the primitive kin-based societies which correspond to Morgan's *societas*. They evolved one million years ago and lasted until the agricultural revolution, after which a new type of society emerged — an internally differentiated agrarian state where the concept of property is the key to social relationships. This corresponds to Morgan's *civitas*.

Limitations

The limitations of White's position stem largely from his tendency to overgeneralize. His inferences are decidedly of a highly generalized order, according to Steward. (1960)

His attempts to explain all primitive and agrarian societies as manifestations of universal principles have been made shaky with the emergence of new empirical evidence. He does not care to give to ecological factors their due importance in cultural causality. According to White, one does need to consider the natural habitat at all for the features of the natural habitat become significant only when and as they become incorporated as cultural elements. (1959:51) The process of incorporation is in turn determined to a very great extent by the degree of cultural development. Kroeber agrees with White in this regard for he says:

While it is true that cultures are rooted in nature, and can therefore never be completely understood except with reference to that piece of nature in which they occur, they are no more produced by that nature than a plant is produced or caused by the soil in which it is rooted. The immediate causes of cultural phenomena are other cultural phenomena. (1939:1)

As the writer sees it, this stand of White in regard to environmental determinism is quite unconvincing. White over-emphasized the role of **culture** in begetting **culture** without taking into account other factors in cultural development — one variable being the environment. Perhaps, to strike a compromise between the stand of the environmentalists and the culturologist would lead to a better understanding of cultural processes and growth.

While he has somewhat established the validity of his argument for the place and need of the science of culturology, Dr. White has not told much about the processes. He has not gone far beyond emphasizing the relation of the volume of available energy and its successful utilization to the grades or types of culture, the rapidity of the changes in cultures, and the trends in their development. (Barnes 1960)

His postulations on kinship are also another limitation to his theoretical formulations. He contends that human society developed from higher primate society at first, when the nuclear family became patterned, followed then by an extension of intrafamily kinship relations to a wider circle of individuals through the growth of a classificatory system. From this it may be inferred that there are no nuclear families in primitive societies, which is not so at all.

Contributions

The contributions of Leslie A. White to the social sciences in general and anthropology in particular are varied and many. However, there are three achievements for which he is best known and for which he is likely to be long remembered. (Barnes 1960:xxiv) They are:

- (1) The revival and rehabilitation of the doctrine of cultural evolution in a discriminating manner, validated and buttressed by a wider range of information than was available to the older, classical evolutionists and clarified by a more closely reasoned analysis than any of the earlier evolutionists was able to bring to bear on the subject.

(2) The further development and precise definition of the concept of culture as the core of anthropological interest and investigation.

(3) The forceful presentation of the contention that culture, in both its descriptive phases and its evolutionary development, must be entrusted to a new and independent science, namely, culturology.

The contributions of White to theory building lie largely in the controversiality of his theoretical stand on certain aspects of social organization. His stand on kinship no doubt will generate a testing of the tenability of his theories on kinship, which are but a revival of Morgan's own ideas.

White also makes a good case for technological change as the underlying cause of social change. The theory that technology or control of nature directly affects society and indirectly shapes religion and philosophy is substantiated by the broad contrasts between the technological, social, and religious patterns of society before and after the agricultural revolution.

White is also reputed to be a good administrator, having been largely responsible for the growth and expansion of the University of Michigan Department of Anthropology. Despite this interest and activities in teaching, research, and writing, he has managed somehow to attend to the needs of a growing department. He endeavors to project a good image of anthropology not only by maintaining good relations with other departments at the University of Michigan but also by being a good classroom teacher. He presents his ideas in the classroom clearly, forcefully, incisively, unequivocally, uncompromisingly, but never arrogantly dogmatic. (Barnes 1960:xxi) He conducted his courses with a certain amount of "aliveness" by throwing in ideas that are thought-provoking and usually controversial.

On the whole, White's great contribution lies in his scholarship and ability to generate excited interest among students. His influence therefore, has spread to a great number of students having served as a visiting professor in a number of leading

departments of anthropology in the United States and even for a year in Peiping, China.

His adoption of a scientific frame of reference in his writings and his broad and precise knowledge of the interrelation of the sciences constitute another contribution of his to theory. He enriched the body of anthropological theory through his keenness and precise analysis of problems. His batting for the application of a scientific frame of reference may be attributable to his background in the natural sciences as mentioned earlier.

JULIAN H. STEWARD

Background Influence

Steward, like White, had been under the influence of Boas in his "formative" years in the field of anthropology. He obtained his B.A. degree in anthropology from Cornell University in 1925. A year later, he was conferred an M.A. degree by the University of California and a Ph.D. in 1929.

Although Steward veered away from the Boasian school known for its anti-evolutionary ideas, nevertheless, a strain of Boasian influence is still discernible in his theoretical formulations. The empiricism of the Boasian School is still evident in Steward's ideas.

Theoretical Position

Although Steward was trained in the atomistic, idiographic tradition of the Boas School, he feels that followers of this school have not done much towards the formulation of laws that may explain cultural causality. He feels that attention was centered on cultural differences, particulars, and peculiarities without any attempt to know the causes of these phenomena. Steward proposes therefore to attempt such a formulation and not "to achieve a world scheme of development" as Morgan and White did "but

to establish a genuine interest in the scientific objective and a clear conceptualization of what is meant by regularities." The ultimate aim of anthropology, he says, is to search for regularities — "to see through the difference of cultures to the similarities, to ascertain processes that are duplicated independently in cultural sequences, and to recognize cause and effect in both temporal and functional relationships... To achieve the formation of cultural regularities, three requirements are needed." (1949:3)

(1) There must be a typology of cultures, patterns, and institutions.

(2) Causal interrelationship of types must be established in sequential or synchronic terms or both. Any reconstruction of the history of a particular culture implies though it may not explicitly state, that certain causes produced certain effects. A deeper insight into causes is gained when the interrelationships of phenomena are analyzed functionally. Where no historical data are available, only the synchronic approach to cause and effect is possible.

(3) The formulation of the independent recurrence of synchronic and/or segmental interrelationships of cultural phenomena is a scientific statement of cause and effect, regularities, or laws.

Steward's preoccupation with cultural regularities has culminated in a theory of culture change which he calls **multilinear evolution**. It is a point of view which is like unilinear evolution in dealing with developmental sequences, but is distinctive in searching for parallels of limited occurrence instead of universals. (Steward 1955:14-15) Using a methodology based on the assumption that significant regularities in cultural change occur, Steward is interested in historical reconstruction with the end in view of knowing more about particular culture, not like the universal evolutionists, who would force historical data into a scheme of universal stages. While multilinear evolution is concerned with particular cultures, it is not interested in finding local variations and diversity. Instead, it deals only with those limited-parallels of form, function, and sequence which have empirical validity.

Rather than seek for universal laws as White would, Steward starts with the particulars of local area cultures and sequences and then makes inferences and generalizations which may be tested for their cross-cultural applicability.

His approach, therefore, to the study of cultural phenomena is historical and particularizing. He is concerned with the occurrence of phenomena in time and place, the uniqueness of each constellation, and the ethos or value systems which characterize culture areas. (Steward 1955:3) He claims that significant cross-cultural regularities exist but they do not pertain to all human societies. Each culture has a distinctive way of development, although this assertion does not negate the existence of similar cultural processes in different societies as brought about by similar conditions.

To pursue his avowed objective of finding out causes of culture change, he makes use of certain concepts, among which are cultural ecology, levels of socio-cultural integration, and culture type. Cultural ecology, a concept which is to be distinguished from the sociological concept of human ecology or social ecology pertains to the adaptive processes through which a historically derived culture is modified in a particular environment. However, it is not only the organic features of the environment that solely cause this change but also the human component with its concomitant characteristic — cultural behavior. In other words, cultural ecology takes into account man's rational and emotional potentials. White does not hold a similar view.

The concept of levels of sociocultural integration is simply a methodological tool for dealing with cultures of different degrees of complexity. (Steward 1955:53) It does not presuppose any particular evolutionary sequence; it simply means that sociocultural integration may take place at different levels — the family, the folk society, and the state, other levels not excluding. Each of these levels requires a different integrating factor or factors. In other words, each stage of sociocultural

development entails new forms of cooperation and interaction, thus indicating culture change. The concept of levels, therefore, may be used as an analytic tool in the study of changes within any particular sociocultural system, for each system consists of parts which develop at different stages and through different processes and which, though functionally specialized in their dependency upon the whole, continue to integrate certain portions of the culture.

Culture type, on the other hand, consists of core features that are determined by cross-cultural regularities of cultural ecological adaptations and represent a similar level of sociocultural integration. (Steward 1955:89)

Limitations

The Boasian tradition in Steward places him in a dilemma when, on one hand, he seems to be very much interested in generalizations, while on the other, he anchors himself to the particular which, according to White, "tends to inhibit the formulations of broad generalizations." (Tax et al. 1953:72) Much as he wants to make generalizations, he cannot for he is impeded by his cautiousness — a trait which apparently he inherited from Boas. ✱ In other words, he is torn between two poles — the idiographic and nomothetic, the particular and the general. An idiographic inquiry is concerned mainly with establishing as acceptable certain propositions or facts; nomothetic inquiry, with arriving at acceptable general propositions. Science can only grow with broad generalizations and not through piling of fact after fact.

Steward also confuses history and evolution. While both are temporal processes, they differ in the sense that the former is particularizing and idiographic while the latter is generalizing and nomothetic. This confusion between these processes, therefore, generates another error of Steward when the examples he posits as instances of evolution are not evolutionary in any sense in which the term has been used before. (White 1957)

On the whole, the limitations to Steward's theoretical formulations stem largely from a timidity to use concepts and theories, the validity and fruitfulness of which were demonstrated by Tylor and others long ago. His emphasis on "facts before theory" has stunted somewhat the accretion of his contributions to anthropological theory.

Contributions

Steward is said to have an acumen sharper than that of the average field ethnographer. He records data on everything that transpires in the society he studies. Thus, his analysis of data is done with a penetrating insight which can only be possible through a thorough and intimate knowledge of the society being studied.

His underscoring the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in area research may be considered as a contribution too. This awareness is largely an offshoot of his emphasis on the importance of the sociocultural whole or system as the basic concept for area research and the necessity of interrelating the special segments and divisions within this system. (Eggan 1951)

His attempt to break away from the clutches of Boasian tradition is also commended by his colleagues in the field in spite of its not being a complete and clean break. Be that as it may, Steward is recognized to have done much to remove the stigma placed upon the concept of evolution and White is confident that he can do even more to establish the kind of scientific interpretation to cultural phenomena. (White 1957)

He has also amply shown the effects of ecology on the development of sociopolitical institutions. (Steward 1938) But he also admits the possibility of culture conditioning ecology. Steward's open-mindedness as evidenced by his admission of alternatives in culture causality and growth does not, in any way, impair or weaken his theoretical stand. It is the writer's belief that dogmatism can only do harm to the development and growth of theory.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES AMONG THE THREE SCHOLARS

It may be expected at the outset that Morgan and White more often agree than disagree in their theoretical positions. White has taken over the thesis enunciated by Morgan in the 19th century purporting to show the process of cultural development. However, White has expounded on it in somewhat different form and words. Thus, the broad outline of cultural evolutionism is still in White's own formulation although at one point he made a significant change in the theoretical scheme of the nineteenth-century evolutionists. This change has been necessitated by the law of energy which White believes to be the underlying cause of cultural development.

To illustrate the working of his law, White applies it to Morgan's theoretical scheme that culture evolved in three major stages namely, savagery, barbarism, and civilization. In a stage of savagery, man has access only to the energy of his own body. Thus, his culture is limited, both in technology and social organization. As man became more proficient in the harnessing of more energy through improvement in technology, he advanced to a stage of barbarism, which began with the domestication of plants and animals. Within barbarism, culture continued to evolve but only through technological gains like the addition of metals to stone for tool-making, invention of the plow. It was not until the Industrial Revolution when a new energy source emerged (steam engine) that civilization blossomed, and not, as Morgan and Tylor thought, by the invention of writing. This is the major difference between Morgan and White in their concept of cultural evolution.

According to White, writing is not a motive force in cultural development; there is no additional energy harnessed in writing. To classify cultures as "wild food, domestic food, and literate" as Morgan did is illogical; it is like classifying vehicles as "three-wheeled, four-wheeled, and pretty." Cultures should be classified according to the way or ways in which they harness energy and the manner in which it is put to work to serve human needs. (White 1943:355)

It was not writing that produced civilization; it was the development of agriculture — the harnessing of energy (solar) in the form of plants and animals — that produced civilization, of which writing was a significant element. (White 1943:356) Agriculture provided a new kind of technological basis for cultural development. It made possible the emergence of inventions so vital in cultural development — inventions which would not have arisen if man were tied down by his perennial quest for food.

It can be seen, therefore, that White's emphasis on the importance of the harnessing and exploitation of energy in cultural evolution is not a fundamental departure from the doctrines of the classical evolutionists, especially Morgan, who laid primary stress upon technology as the principal factor in cultural development and social progress.

To White, sequences of kinship system should not be correlated with forms of the family but with the evolution of societies as wholes. The family cannot be treated as an independent and autonomous system, for it is an integral part of a larger unit, the society, and must be treated as such. (White 1959:135)

While Morgan and his fellow nineteenth-century evolutionists dealt with particular cultures, placing them in stages of universal sequence, White is concerned with culture rather than with cultures. Thus, White would consider as irrelevant distinctive cultural traditions and local variations. His main concern is to formulate universal laws of cultural development.

Morgan and White have similar views on the concept of progress as characteristic of cultural evolution. According to Morgan, culture developed as man extended and improved his control over his environment, especially with regard to the food supply. From this it can be seen that Morgan had a materialistic interpretation of culture. Similarly, White says that technology underlies social change. He says further that man's primary and fundamental need is food; his second is protection from his enemies, human and non-human. All aspects of cultural development depend upon progress in the technological sector.

In recapitulation, we can say that White has certainly taken over most, if not all, of Morgan's evolutionary ideas but has modified them in some parts, though basically not disrupting the essence of cultural evolutionism.

While Steward may be considered as sympathetic to cultural evolutionism, nevertheless, his theoretical stand differs significantly from those of Morgan and White. He does not subscribe to a unilinear scheme of cultural development into which all societies may be classified, but rather he would consider each ~~x~~ particular culture as having its own distinctive way of development. His theory of multilinear evolution encompasses the latter idea wherein no a priori scheme or laws of cultural development are assumed.

Steward's history of change also concerns itself with historical reconstruction, but it does not expect that historical data can be classified in universal stages. Steward is interested in historical data only to the extent that it sheds light on the understanding of a particular culture with a view to gaining insights into form, function, and process which may be found in other cultures situated. White does not believe so much in the value of historical reconstruction.

Steward and Morgan are similar in their concern for particular cultures but differ in their objectives in studying particular cultures. While Steward would study particular cultures with a view to ascertaining regularities or patterns that may be tested for their cross cultural applicability, Morgan would study them with a different aim — to classify them into a unilinear scheme of cultural development. White, on the other hand, is not concerned with particular cultures but with culture. He proposes to formulate laws of cultural development that may apply to the whole culture of mankind without taking into consideration distinctive cultural traditions and local variations.

Because of the above-mentioned differences, it is expected that Steward and Morgan would consider environment as a factor in cultural development while White would altogether discount

the effect of environment in the evolution of culture. According to White, "in a consideration of culture as a whole, we may average all environments together to form a constant factor which may be excluded in our formulation of cultural development." (1949:368) White considers human behavior to be so completely determined by culture that environmental adaptations have no effect. Steward subscribes to the idea that society's cultural level as well as environmental potentials are factors in cultural development.

Perhaps the common ground on which these three scholars meet is their adherence to evolutionism with its basic tenet of increasing complexity of form as one moves from one point to another in time. Steward's allusion to the direct relationship of subsistence patterns as cultural development puts him in the same category as Morgan and White. They are all agreed on one point: that technology underlies social evolution.

Steward and White are similar in their views in regard to differential levels of integration. They only differ in the terms they use for it — White speaks of the process of segmentation and integration, (White 1959:177) while Steward speaks of levels of sociocultural integration.

On the whole, we can say that Morgan and White are adherents of the scientific generalizing approach while Steward advocates the historical particularizing approach in cultural studies. Steward does not attempt to formulate universal laws or explanations for human behavior as White does. Rather, he adheres to the belief that particular patterns of behavior among one or more, but not all groups of mankind must be explained in very different terms than behavior common to all people. (Steward 1955:16) White, on the other hand, is persistent in his search for universal laws for he believes that a truly scientific formulation must explain all modes of behavior.

Each of these scholars has his own strengths and weaknesses and perhaps it would be a safe move to just cull out the strengths and synthesize them into a coherent body of theory. Thus, the

academic value of a paper such as this would become more meaningful if this synthesis will materialize. The ironing out of difference in interpretation of basic notion is not altogether unlikely.

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FUNCTIONALISM: MAN AND MALINOWSKI

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"The social sciences, at once the most ancient of the tasks which have intrigued the human intellect, and yet the newest in their rebirth, are today in a most healthful state of development," one social scientist wrote in 1929. (Gee, ed. 1929:viii) In 1967, there seems to be a more "healthful state of development" with the increasing trend from the narrow compartmentalization among the social science disciplines toward greater and better integration. (See Greenwood 1955) It is felt that this kind of interdisciplinary approach is needed to reconstruct the social science structure, once "broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls."¹ It is therefore my main aim in this paper to contribute — in a modest way — to social science integration by

¹ Quoted from the poet Rabindranath Tagore's "Where the Mind is Without Fear" in *Gitanjali*.

examining one key concept in anthropology and explaining its implications for community organization and community development.²

The analysis includes (1) a brief exposition of the nature of culture and the key concept of functionalism in culture; (2) a demonstration of this functional operation in one community; and finally (3) an explanation of some of the implications of this concept in general programs of directed cultural change like community organization and development.

THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

One of the most fundamental concepts in social science, particularly in the fields of cultural anthropology and sociology, is the concept of culture. Culture refers to the social heritage of a human group transmitted from one generation to another.³ As an eminent British anthropologist Edward B. Tylor wrote in 1871:

Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. (1924:1)

Culture includes both material and non-material elements. Material elements of this "complex whole" consist of physical objects which man uses to survive. Non-material components, on the other hand, include ethics, beliefs, and values. A school building, a fraternity house, the food we eat, the clothes we wear, the books we read, and other material equipment of man are

2 For an informative book on methods of social work, particularly on community organization, consult Friedlander (1958). Community development is said to be an offshoot of "community organization" and "economic development." Community development objectives approximate some of the generic principles of social work.

3 The discussion of the concept of culture draws heavily from the author's Telluride Association: Dynamics of Norm and Personnel (1959b). For a full and detailed analysis of the functionalism in the light of a small group like Telluride Association and on the concepts of "definition of the situation" and "conformity," this paper is informative.

examples of these physical objects. Folkways and mores, justice, freedom, dignity, and democracy exemplify in some ways some non-material aspects of culture. Many authors use various expressions like "learned ways of behavior," "social heritage," "the super-organic," and "design for living," (See Bierstedt 1957) to refer to culture. Culture, in short, consists of "everything we think and do and have as members of society." (Bierstedt 1957: 106)

What man **thinks about** refers to ideas. These ideas may be scientific truths, religious beliefs, myths, legends, literature, superstitions, aphorisms, proverbs, and folklore. (Bierstedt 1957:136-140) What man **does** constitutes the norms of the group. A norm is the expected behavior considered appropriate in a given situation. These norms vary from one society to another; they consist of laws, statutes, rules, regulations, customs, folkways, mores, taboos, fashion, rites, rituals, ceremonies, conventions, and etiquettes. (Bierstedt 1957:140-148) Norms give order, stability, and predictability to social life. What man **has** refers to material aspects of culture such as machines, tools, utensils, buildings, boards, bridges, artifacts, objects of art, clothing, vehicles, furniture, foodstuffs, and medicine.

What man **thinks, does, and has** are organized and integrated into a "complex whole," each component functioning in relation to other cultural items. Democracy as an idea, for example, may best be expressed in terms of norms like statutes and laws and manifested concretely in government buildings like the Congress of the Philippines and Malacañang Palace. The idea of education may be expressed in a body of scientific knowledge and in the University of the Philippines with its research facilities, faculty, and student body. Current theory (see Herskovits 1955:411-429) holds that each item of culture is integrated functionally in such a way that each component contributes to the smooth working of the whole. To use a common analogy, a stone thrown into a stagnant pool forms ripples that have repercussions within the pool. Similarly, if someone cuts his finger, his whole body is adversely affected. Theoretically, then, a change in one cultural

item may affect another. And since culture is said to be dynamic (Herskovits 1955:494-495) in the sense that it is constantly undergoing change, then culture is subjected consequently to many forces or change agents. The change may be from within the society or from forces outside the society. It is the latter kind of change — that is, directed cultural change — that we try to relate with our key concept of functionalism in culture, whose principal proponent is the late anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski.

Functionalism in Culture

Malinowski's concept of functionalism assumes that "human institutions, as well as partial activities within these, are related to primary, that is, biological, or derived, that is, cultural needs." (1944:159) Functionalism presupposes the integration and organization of human activity in the process of satisfying a biological need or cultural necessity. Malinowski's general axioms of functionalism are as follows: (1944:150)

- A. Culture is essentially an instrumental apparatus by which man is put in a position the better to cope with the concrete specific problems that face him in his environment in the course of the satisfaction of his needs.
- B. It is a system of objects, activities, and attitudes in which every part exists as a means to an end.
- C. It is an integral in which the various elements are interdependent.
- D. Such activities, attitudes, and objects are organized around important and vital tasks into institutions such as the family, the clan, the local community, the tribe, and the organized teams of economic cooperation, political, legal, and educational activity.
- E. From the dynamic point of view, that is, as regards the type of activity, culture can be analyzed into a number of aspects such as education, social control, economics,

systems of knowledge, belief and morality, and also modes of creative and artistic expression.⁴

Malinowski's functional approach is seen better in his unit of analysis — the institution. An institution is

a set of traditional values for which human beings come together. It also implies that these human beings stand in definite relation to one another and to a specific physical part of their environment, natural and artificial. Under the charter of their purpose or traditional mandate, obeying the specific norms of their association, working through the material apparatus which they manipulate, human beings act together and thus satisfy some of their desires, while also producing an impression on their environment. (1944:39)

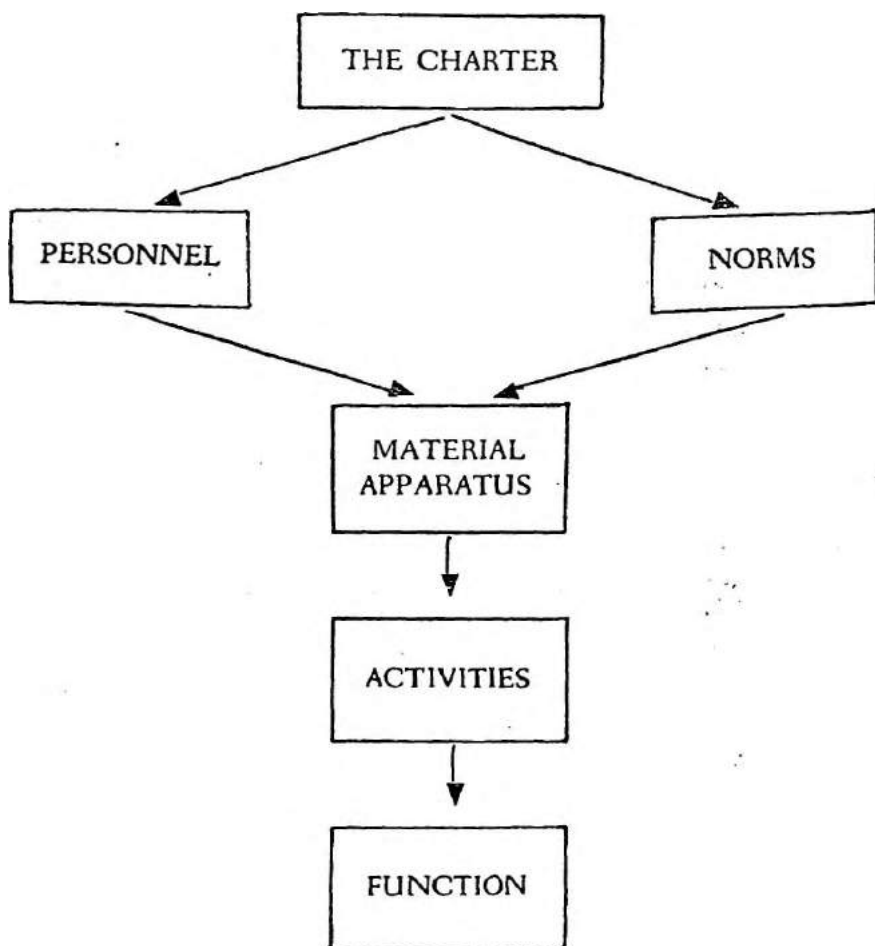
Malinowski then divides his unit into a charter — norms, personnel, material apparatus, and activities. The integral result of all these organized activities is called a function. (The dynamics of these four institutional elements are illustrated in Chart I.) Malinowski defines each element as follows: (1944:52-53)

1. Charter — "... the system of values for the pursuit of which human beings organize, or enter organizations already existing."
2. Personnel — "... the group organized on definite principles of authority, division of functions, and distribution of privileges and duties."
3. Norms — "... the technically acquired skills, habits, legal norms, and ethical commands which are accepted by the members or imposed on them.... In a way both the personnel and the rules are derived from, and contingent upon, the charter."
4. Material Apparatus — "... all organization is invariably based upon and intimately associated with the material environmental setting. No institution is suspended in the

⁴ For an evaluation of Malinowski's contribution to anthropological theory, particularly on functionalism, see Firth (1959). The "complex integrated whole" has been criticized by Ruth Benedict and others.

air or floating in a vague, indefinite manner through space. One and all have a material substratum, that is, a reserved portion of the environmental outfit in wealth, instruments, and also a portion of the profits accruing from concerted activities."

CHART I: *Bronislaw Malinowski's Institutional Unit of Analysis in Functionalism.*



5. Activities — "... organized on the charter, acting through their social and organized cooperation, following the rules of their specific occupation, using the material apparatus at their disposal, the group engages in the activities for which they have organized.... The activities depend on the ability, honesty, and goodwill of the members.... The activities, moreover, are embodied in actual behavior."

With this brief review of the concept of culture and of Malinowski's functional approach, we now take a definite example for a better understanding of functionalism. In the light of this theoretical framework we analyze a village community in the Philippines where this writer lived for several years. In a diagram, a Philippine *barrio* as a unit of institutional analysis is shown in Chart II.

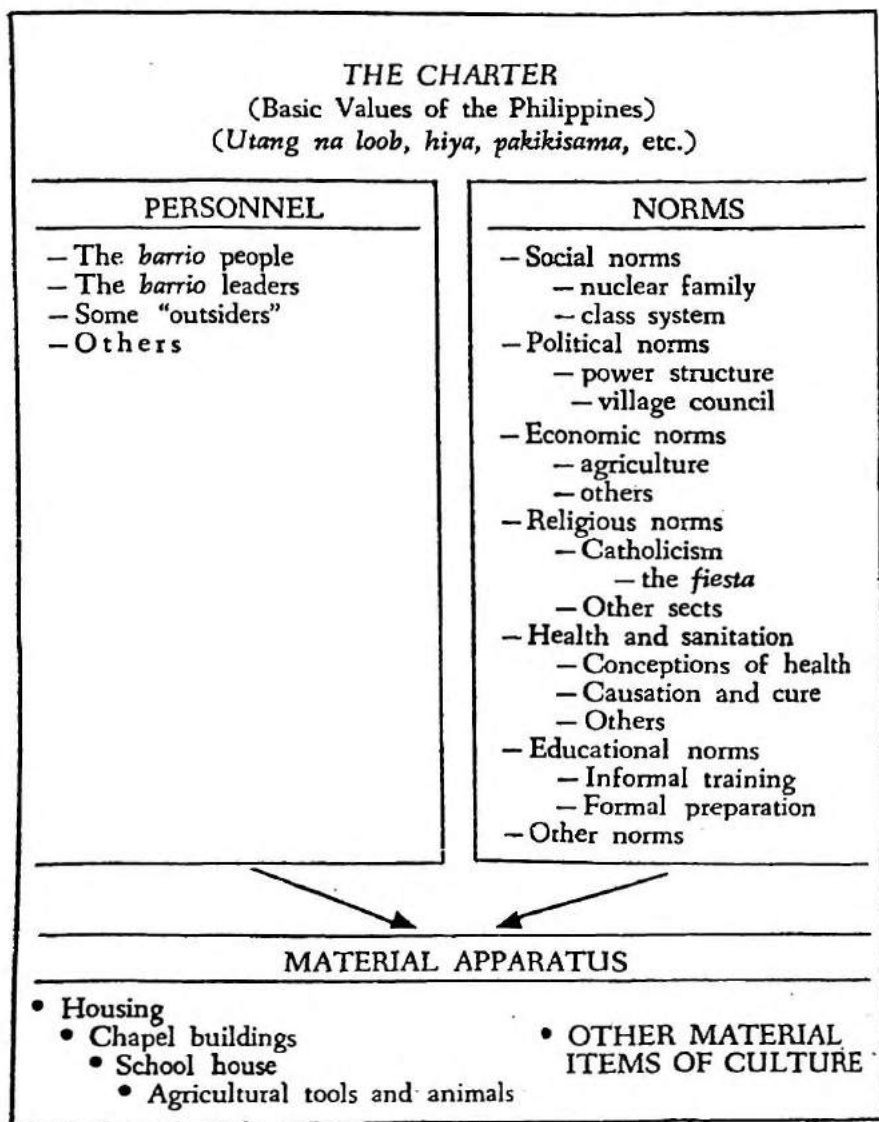
The diagram shows all the elements of personnel, norms, material apparatus, and activities. Each element is composed of several units. We can break each unit (as shown in the diagram) into smaller ones. We can make an exhaustive inventory of this village community. But this is already beyond the scope of this paper. We shall, however, pick out from the norms one unit — the religious structure of a Philippine village. From the religious structure, we can elaborate on one component: the *fiesta* (literally, feast). What is a Philippine *fiesta*? What are its implications for the total structure of a Philippine *barrio* community? The answers to these two questions might throw some light into the interrelationships of the various institutional elements functioning as an "integrated and organized whole."

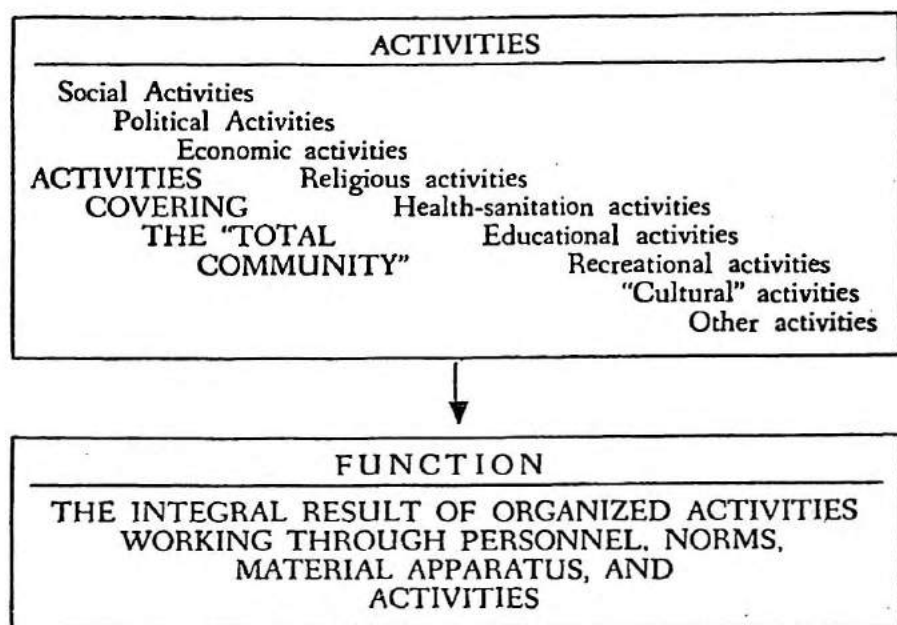
Fiesta and Functionalism

A Syracuse University anthropologist once wrote that the *fiesta* complex is "as typical of the Philippines as corn, coconuts, and carabaos." (Hart 1955:37) This expression means very much to a Filipino family.⁵ This is so because the *fiesta* is the

⁵ Some of the materials on the *fiesta* in this paper are drawn from the writer's *The Peasant Cultures of India and the Philippines* (1959c).

CHART II: *A Demonstration of Functionalism in a Philippine Village*
(Bronislaw Malinowski's Scheme)





core of a Filipino family's religious, economic, social, and political life. A *fiesta* involves personnel — all the villagers and their officials and people from outside the village. A *fiesta* involves norms — as expressed in rituals, ceremonies and traditional folkways and mores. In addition, the *fiesta* makes use of material apparatuses in the form of playgrounds, chapel buildings, school buildings, decorations, arches, food, money, etc. Moreover, the *fiesta* is considered to be the main activity of the year, which involves a series of other activities. All these elements of per- (buildings, equipment, etc.) are integrated into a common pattern (buildings, equipment, etc.) are integrated into a common pattern resulting in a function.

Every day in the year, *fiestas* are being celebrated in some barrio, town, or city in the country. The *fiesta* which Catholic Spain brought to the Philippines is held in honor of a patron saint of a locality, who is supposed to be the barrio guardian. He safeguards the villagers' health, happiness, and general

welfare. The patron should be propitiated so that he will continue to shower his grace and blessing to the villagers in the form of good rain for the crops for a bountiful harvest.

Barrio Lawy, Capas, Tarlac, where this writer lived for several years, is a case in point. A *fiesta* is held for the Lawy patron saint San Felipe from May 21 to 23. About one or two weeks before the *fiesta*, itinerant merchants from other places install their improvised booths around the *plaza* in the central part of the village. Food, clothing, and other special goods and commodities not found during ordinary days, like fine linen, mats, and special ice-cream, are sold by these merchants. Jugglers, magicians, travelling road shows, and gambling operators come to Lawy and pitch their tents or construct their stalls around the *plaza*. All these people serve as a signal of the forthcoming *fiesta*.

On the part of the Lawy villagers, a *fiesta* executive committee is formed. This committee is composed of prominent families in the *barrio*; it draws its members from the different segments of the population — from men and women, from young bachelors and old ladies, and from the various village sections. Sub-committees formed include a sub-committee on the mass, which contacts the town parish priests to offer three masses for the villagers. The finance sub-committee collects money from all Catholic (and even non-Catholic) villagers, ranging from a peso to a hundred pesos or more depending on the family's socio-economic status. An entertainment sub-committee is in charge of hiring one or two orchestras for three days. This group is also responsible for an elaborate program of folk-dancing, *zarzuelas*, (native operetta) or even for ballroom dancing for the young bachelors. The decoration group also takes charge of the bamboo arches, a platform of multi-colored lights and even fireworks.

One important sub-committee has the power to canvass for the traditional *fiesta* queen and her princesses. The selection is done in two ways: either through a real beauty contest where

the queen and her princesses are chosen on the basis of grace and beauty or through a popularity contest on the basis of a family's ability to solicit money-votes (i.e., family supporters contribute money to help a queen-candidate). The latter procedure takes place in Lawy because it is beneficial financially to the executive committee. Under this arrangement the executive committee receives about one half or sometimes even two thirds of the amount raised by the candidate while the rest of the money goes to the winning candidate for her dresses and for her other expenses. Thus, the executive committee coordinates all the plans and activities of the different sub-committees. They work feverishly for days and nights to insure the success of the festival. A keen American anthropologist describes accurately this Philippine ritual which fits a Lawy fiesta:

The patron saint's name day begins with early masses, often fireworks, and various athletic contests. Gambling continues day and night, never stopping until the fiesta is over — and sometimes continuing several days after the fiesta's end. At twelve noon the church bells are rung, the orchestra marches around the poblacion, playing loudly and enthusiastically. Competition is rampant among the principalia to attract the most prominent visitors to their residences for the "big feast" that is served. For many barrio-folk, these meals include items not present in the daily diet — American whiskey, wines imported from Spain, new varieties of canned and fresh food. Since for most Filipinos food is synonymous with hospitality the tables sag under the weight of many different meat and vegetable dishes. (Hart 1955:41)

This is just a rough outline of the whole series of activities in a fiesta which involves practically all the personnel (villagers) and all the activities from the pre-fiesta planning and preparation up to the end or even after the celebration, using all sorts of material apparatuses (money, food, chapel, orchestra and many other material items) which are too long to enumerate. The norms may best be seen through the answer to our second question on the implications of the fiesta in the total cultural context: religious, economic, social, and political.

The **fiesta** has religious significance in that villagers feel a sense of psychological security in propitiating their saint through the masses they offered for him. This act is considered necessary for their economic well-being. Propitiation of the saint will mean peace and prosperity for the community; non-propitiation may result in hunger, sickness, and death.

A controversial issue once raised in the Philippines is the reform or possible abolition of the **fiesta** because of the strain it places on family finances.⁶ Farmers abandon temporarily their work for weeks in order to prepare for and celebrate the **fiesta**. Though this means a great loss to them in terms of man-hours of farm work and in terms of the expenses for a **fiesta** preparation and celebration, still the **fiesta** is said to have some psychological and social functions. It relieves the farmer for a few days from the monotony of rural life. Social class statuses are also validated during the **fiestas**. In Lawy, the rich land-owners and other personnel or villagers of higher status have prominent guests, give more contributions to the executive committee, and have reserved seats in all the social functions. The tenants, laborers, and other poor personnel give smaller donations and are often relegated to the back seats in social events. During **fiestas**, friends meet friends, relatives pay respects to their kin, and the whole village demonstrates generosity and hospitality through offerings of food and other special dishes. Friends and relatives travel a long way just to attend "and not to miss" the Lawy **fiesta**.

Two other unintended consequences of a **fiesta** are the introduction of some new ideas and practices into the community and the effect the **fiesta** has on some villagers' conception of the world beyond their own communities. (See Hart 1955)

The **fiesta** has moreover a political function — especially during an election year. Political candidates shake the hands of the voters and crown queens, donate money to the executive

⁶ This writer recalls one Laguna congressman who filed a bill in the Lower House to abolish **fiestas**. The bill was not passed.

committee's coffers, and use the fiesta platform for political campaigns.

Thus, we see, the fiesta as one unit of the total cultural matrix of a Philippine barrio — with all the four elements functioning as an "integrated and organized whole" to fulfill a fundamental human need. One can just imagine the total effect on the whole community — on the personnel, norms, activities, and material apparatuses — if the Philippine fiesta would be abolished suddenly from community life. It is probable that there would be a dysfunctioning of the institutional elements within the Lawy village community. What then is the implication of functionalism as concretely exemplified in the Philippine fiesta? This question leads us to the third topic in our analysis: some implications of this key concept in social work practice, particularly in community organization and community development.

FUNCTIONALISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Empirical research in community development in India and in the Philippines points to several cases of community projects either accepted, reinterpreted⁷ and/or rejected. These failures, reinterpretations, and successes are conditioned to some extent by the degree of understanding of the dynamics of the four institutional elements we have just reviewed on the part of innovators or community organizers and partly on the degree of the challenges posed against these elements by the introduction of new material apparatuses, new norms, new activities, and even new personnel. Before we review these empirical findings, we shall first define community development and its basic objectives. Community development, according to a United Nations report, is a process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with its active

⁷ Herskovits defines reinterpretation in the following words: "It is the process by which old meanings are ascribed to new elements or by which new values change the cultural significance of old forms." (1955:492)

participation and the fullest possible reliance upon the community's initiative. (Bureau 1955:6)

The ultimate goal of this program is to enrich rural life through self-help with the government playing a secondary catalytic role.⁸ The two phases of change envisioned include some psychological and physical changes. Psychological change may involve an educational process — a transition from apathy and resignation to activity and self-determination. It means a change in attitude, especially in old habits that tend to hamper the healthy growth and development of a happy, self-sufficient, and enlightened individual, family, and community. This psychological change is believed to be greatly enhanced through a series of physical changes — changes brought about by the introduction of new material apparatuses and norms within the community. Such new material apparatuses include modern agricultural implements like an iron plow, new variety of seeds, a new library, a school house, a new sprayer, the use of toilet, a coconut grinder, a new road, or a new method of planting rice. It may also be in the form of a new cooperative organization, an elective village council, or even institutions of land reform.

With the United States' aid and guidance, India and the Philippines have formally launched and are implementing vigorously their programs. Evaluation reports⁹ show that in many of their own material apparatuses they have failed miserably while in other projects they have succeeded relatively. For instance, in a north Indian village where this writer did field work for several months¹⁰ a *gram sevak* introduced nine

⁸ The ideas are from Binamira (1957). Besides drawing from his own experiences, the writer has also read a number of pamphlets, articles, and books on the subject — particularly on Indian and Philippine programs. See Zamora (1959a).

⁹ The Indian Ministry on Community Development has an evaluation body called Programme Evaluation Organization while the Philippines has its University of the Philippines Community Development Research Council.

¹⁰ This village called Rajinderpur (this is fictitious) is in Gurgaon, Punjab, North India. The writer gathered materials for his Master's Thesis (1959a) in 1957-1958 on a grant from the Philippine Board of Scholarships for Southeast Asia, University of the Philippines.

projects, namely the construction of a children's park, repair of a panchayatghar (village council building), the construction of street, the purchase of school furniture, the repair of school building and village well, the construction of a small village library, and finally the organization of a Farmer's Club. Of the nine projects seven were accepted while the other two were rejected. This acceptance and rejection pattern is explained by the fact

that the appraisers (meaning the villagers) try to define the situation in terms of their own traditional patterns of expectations and social needs . . . Acceptance or rejection of innovation then depends largely upon what appraisers think they need and what they prize most. Anything that is not within the appraisers' perception may not easily be accepted, particularly in an integrated, stable community like Rajinderpur. (Zamora 1959:161)

In other words, most of the projects centering on livelihood and public improvements were accepted because they were within the Indian villagers' norms and expectations and perceived within their own material apparatuses and activities. The library had to close because the community development worker failed to take into account some socio-cultural factors involved, such as literacy, occupation, reading habits, and recreational activities. On the other hand, the Farmers' Club, supposedly organized for mutual aid among Rajinderpur farmers, illustrates the introduction of a new norm or material apparatus competing with institutional elements within the Rajinderpur village community. Villagers, especially the *kisaan* (farmers) advanced the opinion that they do not need a farmers' club because the panchayat (village council) through the *sarpanch* (council chairman) takes care of the farmer's welfare. They believed that this newly-organized association merely "duplicated the functions of the gram panchayat." (Zamora 1959:164)

In Philippine villages libraries were once introduced. Several of these innovations have been utilized for purposes other than those originally intended. Most of these libraries have been used for cattle shelter, for loafing places, or even as gambling dens.

In other words, the libraries have been virtually reinterpreted by the villagers in terms of their own perception of the village institutional elements.¹¹

McKim Marriott (1952) cites the unsuccessful introduction of a more efficient irrigation project — the Persian Wheel — in a north Indian village. The reasons for failure include a highly kin-oriented group; the continued teamwork among several families was needed to run the Persian Wheel and allocate its benefits. Another obstacle was the round-the-clock attention needed to prod the bullocks turning the wheel. This situation is aggravated by darkness that terrifies villagers due to thieves and supernatural "evil spirits." In another village, however, the water-pipes introduced were accepted.

The introduction of water-pipes . . . has affected our life . . . During the months of (water) scarcity, women had to do the fetching and storing of water at night. They worked in teams which fostered team spirit and cooperation, as against aloofness, which now seems to be increasing. (Chapekar 1954:169)

A new variety of corn or maize failed because of additional problems for the recipients:

The new variety of maize with which farmers of Madhopur experimented admittedly gave a greater yield than the kind to which they were accustomed. But it required a larger growing period and interfered with double cropping and so was discarded in favor of the old kind. (Opler and Singh 1952:12)

Traditional norms should be considered in any program of directed change. Any effort to go against institutional norms may result in failure. In an Indian village, for instance, norms governing folk conceptions of health and disease should not be overlooked, for in a *gaon* (village) it is believed that the

smallpox, a disease that is thought to result from an invasion by the goddess Mata, must be treated circumspectly

11: Observations are based on the writer's field research with the University of the Philippines Community Development Research Council on the functional literacy program of the Philippine government.

through magical and religious techniques alone. If vaccination or medication of the skin were applied to any child of the village at a time when Mata was also present in his body, the touchy goddess would be angered and would surely kill . . . those victims whom she had already seized. (Marriott 1955:253)

Traditional personnel in a community should not be ignored. Besides the villagers, key leaders should be made channels of communication and introducers of innovations. As Dube pointed out:

For effective penetration to the grassroots the promoters of change will have to find out the key individuals who function as decision-makers on the levels of organized kin groups and castes. (1956:25)

An appropriate case of working through traditional personnel in the community deals with the introduction of iron plows:

Normally blacksmiths fitted steel tips to the traditional wooden plows. They saw the introduction of a different implement, which they did not know how to service, as a threat to their economic position. The technical assistance workers decided to engage the blacksmiths to become agents for implements and to train them in servicing the new tools with result that the opposition against the introduction of iron plows was converted into active co-operation. (Hoselitz 1954:266)

Edward H. Spicer in his stimulating casebook **Human Problems in Technological Change** (1962) and George M. Foster in his **Traditional Cultures: and the Impact of Technological Change** (1962) cite several cases of acceptance and rejection of new material apparatuses. We could perhaps make a long list of these cases of acceptance, reinterpretation, and rejection based on the literature in cultural change to illustrate the thesis that community organization or development efforts should work through traditional norms, activities, material apparatuses, and personnel in a community in order to facilitate the introduction of innovations. The institutional framework of functionalism as propounded by Malinowski could probably serve as a key toward studying the traditional cultural milieu and working through this functional

unit for the innovators' benefit. A knowledge of functionalism in culture as it operates within a specific area is indispensable for any community organization worker, community development agent, or a group worker in social work.

RECAPITULATION

In the preceding discussion, I tried to outline the concept of functionalism in anthropology and explain its implications for social work practice — particularly in the fields of community organization and community development. I reviewed briefly the nature of culture and the concept of functionalism in culture, took a concrete example in the functional dynamics of a Philippine ritual — the *barrio fiesta* — and finally stated some implications of this concept through a series of illustrations drawn from my own experiences in India and the Philippines and from many social scientists' findings. I came out with one tentative conclusion: that anthropological theory can contribute something to community organization and community development. My conclusions and inferences are in the main tentative and never definitive. A more rigorous examination of my conclusions and inferences will prove most revealing and rewarding.

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GEOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPOLOGY: ROLES AND RELATIONS

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I. Introduction

Methodological writings of social scientists are introspective. Thus, most efforts are usually confined to defining a common ground and discovering what is unique or exclusive about the data, methods or concepts of a particular field. Only infrequently is attention directed to the problem of relations with other fields. The introspective methodological literature of a particular field, therefore, usually fails to provide orientation for someone whose substantive work takes him toward or across the borders of a neighboring or adjacent field.

II. Background and Structure: A Review

Geography and anthropology had a common background in the past. The concept of culture which can be regarded as the founda-

tion of both fields became more specific in a generalized manner in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a development usually attributed to Gustav Klemm and Edward Tylor (Mikesell 1967:618). The first successful attempts to synthesize the vast and inchoate literature on peoples and places accumulated during that century were made by both geographers and anthropologists. Friedrich Ratzel contributed to the development of both fields. Together with Eduard Hahn, he is cited as an outstanding pioneer by Heine-Geldern in a recent survey of the history of ethnological thought in German-speaking areas. (Heine-Geldern 1964:407-418) Ratzel and Hahn are likewise regarded as the founders of cultural geography which for a time was referred to as anthropogeography.

The two fields also share a common rationale. Evans-Pritchard (1951:61-62) wrote that the work of anthropology can be divided into three phases: 1) the period of observation when the principal objective is to become familiar with language, customs and values of a particular society; 2) a period of creative effort designed to discover the structure or order of the society; and 3) the comparison of the society with other societies. Although cultural geographers tend to emphasize land and livelihood rather than the social structure or they pay more attention to distributions than anthropologists, this is less important than their ultimate objective which is similar: proposal of generalizations based on comparative study of different societies or cultures.

Although generalizations were then proposed, anthropology like geography began reacting in the 1920's against pre-mature ones, e.g. evolutionism and diffusionism in anthropology and environmentalism in geography. This reaction encouraged in both fields a search for synthesis and generalization based on empirical observations and the use of inductive logic. For a while geography, like anthropology, was polarized between the advocates of historical and functional studies. Anthropology, however, has largely overcome this dichotomy and has even refurbished discredited but salvageable theories. Thus one can speak of "neo-evolutionism" in anthropology but "neo-environmentalism" is only faintly evident in geography. The willingness of contemporary anthropology

to construct generalized models of cultural development as shown in their investigation of complex issues, such as the relations of nature and culture, display an optimism that alarms the still skeptical and empirical spirit of most cultural geographers. (Mikesell 1967:619).

Areas of research relevant to both geography and anthropology have not diminished as the years passed by. Geography, like anthropology, has functioned both as a natural and social science. The former tradition (as a natural science) is most clearly represented in physical geography (e.g. climatology, physiography and biogeography) whereas the latter (as a social science) is expressed in cultural geography and related subfields. Physical anthropology is classified as belonging to natural science whereas cultural or social anthropology and related subfields belong to social sciences.

Anthropology has been broken down into a number of subfields like geography but the former differs from the latter in giving specific recognition to its pluralism. Breaking down anthropology into subfields meant sharing with neighboring fields certain concepts or theories. Thus, cultural anthropology shares a few concepts with, but at the same time differs from, sociology, economic anthropology with economics, anthropological studies in culture history with history, physical anthropology with anatomy, physiology and genetics, and so forth. This is also true with geography, e.g. cultural geography with anthropology, political geography with history and political science, economic geography with economics and recently with economic anthropology, climatology with meteorology, physiography with geology, biogeography with biology, and quantitative geography with statistics and mathematics. (Fig. 1 shows the circumference of geography.)

Anthropologists are well aware of their interdisciplinary sprawl, but this has rarely inhibited research and until recently has not been regarded as a serious methodological problem. In this respect, rightly or wrongly, anthropologists seem to be more self-confident than geographers.

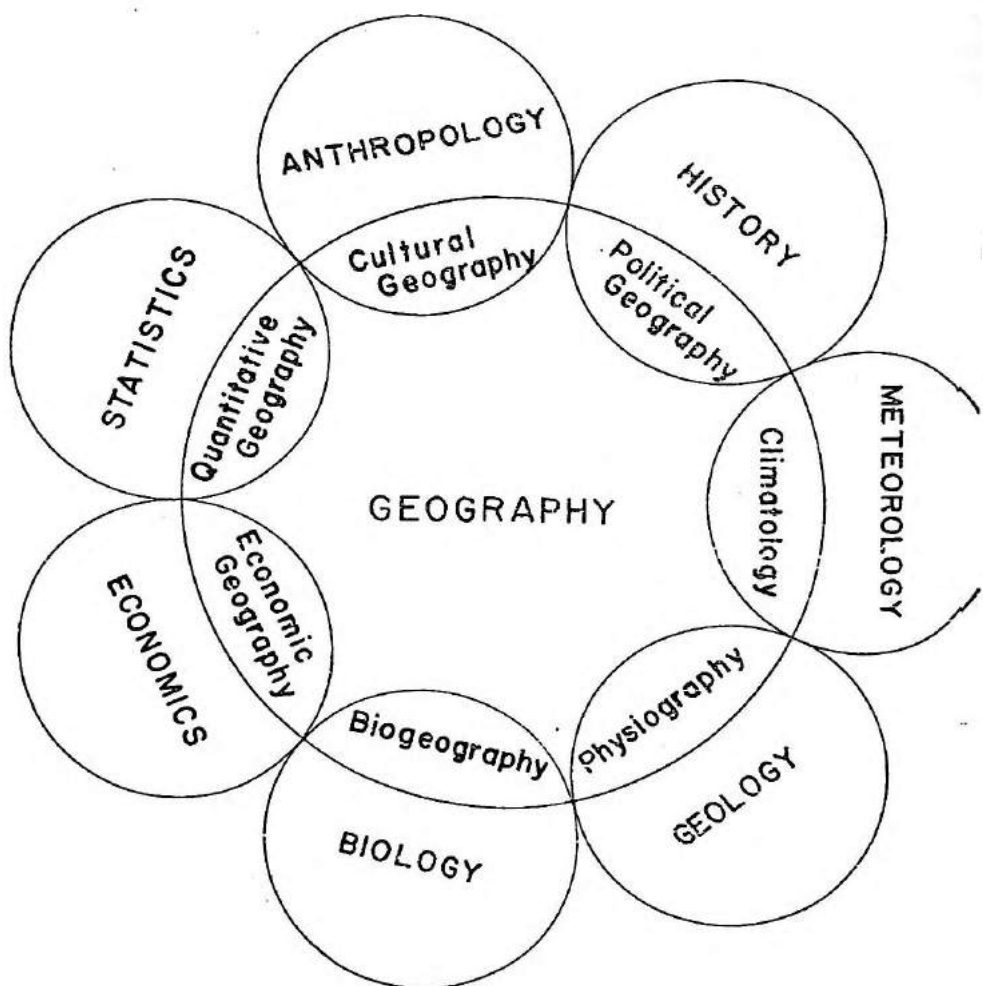


Fig. 1. The Circumference of Geography

Cultural Geography

Of the several subfields of specialization in geography, cultural geography has the closest past relation with anthropology, specifically that with cultural anthropology. Nevertheless, it is surprising to note that although the concept of culture is basic to both, the relations between them have not been quite close. To be sure many geographers have referred to anthropological studies, some have contributed to anthropological journals and a few collaborated with anthropologists in carrying out researches. At the same time anthropologists have been engaged in studies that are relevant to geography. Yet, very few (and in most instances these were limited to geographers) tried to clarify and articulate on the mutual interests or common responsibilities of geography and anthropology as autonomous but overlapping fields.¹ Towards this end and to comprehend better the areas wherein cultural geography and cultural anthropology overlap one another a review in capsule form of the concepts and themes in cultural geography is in order.

The application of the idea of culture to geography problems is an important and distinct feature of cultural geography. In common with the other subfields of geography, it shares a concern with the study of spatial distributions and associations and with area interrelationships. More specifically, cultural geography studies man-made geographic features; it takes account of differences among the human communities that create or have created them and formulates the special ways of life of each as cultures. Cultural geography compares the changing distribution of culture areas with distribution of other features of the earth's surface in order to identify environmental features characteristic of a given culture and if possible to discover what role human action plays or has played in creating and maintaining geographic

¹ W. L. Thomas, Jr., *Land, Man, and Culture in Mainland Southeast Asia* (Glen Rock, N.J., 1957 privately published; P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell (Eds.) *Readings in Cultural Geography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962); H.C. Brookfield, "Geography and Anthropology", *Pacific Viewpoint*, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 11-16 and "Questions on the Human Frontiers of Geography", *Economic Geography*, vol. 40 (1964), pp. 282-303; and P. Brown, "Anthropology and Geography", *Pacific Viewpoint*, vol. 3 (1962), pp. 7-11.

features. It distinguishes, describes, and classifies the typical complexes of environmental features, including the man-made ones, that coincide with each cultural community, as **cultural landscapes**, and looks behind them into **culture history** for origins. Finally, it may study the specific processes in which human manipulations of the environment are involved, together with implications for the welfare of the community and humanity, as **cultural ecology** (Wagner and Mikesell 1962:1-24)

These themes—culture, culture areas, cultural landscape, culture history, and cultural ecology—together constitutes the core of cultural geography. Geographers who do not consciously employ the notion of culture in their studies often allege that the cultural tradition belongs to anthropology rather than geography. They overlooked the fact that cultural geography, of any school, concerns the earth and does not claim to put forth new generalizations about intrinsic character and development of cultures or cultural communities as such. They disregard as well the pre-dominant role that standard geographic methods or procedure play in any cultural geography.

Using the culture concept wherever possible, and welcoming all the help he can get, the cultural geographer surveys a world-wide panorama of man's work and asks Who? Where? What? When? and How? The themes of culture, culture areas, cultural landscape, culture history, and cultural ecology respond to these queries. The geographic study of culture exposes challenging problems, suggests procedures for their solution, and opens the way to an understanding of the processes that have created and are creating new environments for man.

Research Areas in Anthropology With Relevance to Geography

With the possible exception of some highly technical work in kinship, language and human biology, a great portion of anthropological research is intelligible to geographers and relevant to geography. However, work of direct and immediate importance is more clearly evident in the literature on culture areas and cultural ecology in which cultural geographers and cultural anthropo-

logists may benefit from one another's expertise. Economic anthropology likewise has areas in common with and of rich significance to economic geography. The list though can be extended considerably by taking account of the work on cultural evolution, diffusion, political anthropology, culture and personality, the relationship between social organization and settlement patterns as well as other topics that can be grouped under culture change or acculturation.

Cultural Areas

The problems of areal classification has engaged the interest of a number of anthropologists if only because the artifacts in museum collections require such a label. However, as Kroeber stated, the concept of the culture area had a "gradual, empirical, almost unconscious growth. (Kroeber 1939:4) Anthropologists to be sure were more concerned with cultural dynamics—growth, spread, and intensity—rather than distribution *per se*. Needless to say, the anthropological concept of culture area can usually be equated with the geographic concept of the uniform rather than the nodal region. Language plus economic activities and various elements of material culture provide the basis for most delimitations. Consequently, criticism of the culture area concept has entailed the use of a *a priori* argument that distribution of such elements seldom reveals absolute or even sharp breaks. Although this manner of thinking has tended to discourage any persistent effort to refine cultural delimitations, it has not inhibited areal studies for the culture area concept has rarely been more than a classificatory device useful at an intermediate level of analysis (Mikesell 1967:621-622).

There are probably only a few scores of anthropologists at present who regard the delimitation and classification of culture areas as a major professional commitment. However, even the Department of Anthropology of the University of the Philippines offers areal or regional courses such as "Peoples of the Philippines," "Peoples of Southeast Asia and Oceania," and "Seminar on India and South Asia." The methodological problems implicit in regional courses offered by anthropologists are in all probability similar to those faced by regional geographers.

There are two approaches available to geographers in regional study: the regional and topical. The regional approach starts with the homogeneous area, accepted as a hypothesis. The area is then examined with a view to discovering its components and connections. The region is analyzed with respect to the various elements which in association give it character, and is interpreted as thoroughly as possible against the investigator's background and grasp of topical geography. The region, seen as a complex association of features, guides the method of study. The topical approach, on the other hand, starts with a problem. There is the question of cause and effect to be answered or a question of policy to be clarified. The topics or features relevant to the problem are defined and their regional patterns brought out separately and compared. Accordant areal relations are identified by cartographic analysis. The complex association of features seems less important than do the component regional systems that make it up. For both of these approaches the concept of region is fundamental, and for both of them some parts of the regional method are employed. Yet the results can be strikingly different. The one seeks the greatest possible synthesis, the other the most complete analysis. (James and Jones 1954:32)

After World War II, many anthropologists enthusiastically participated in the area studies programs that were established in many American and European universities. The interest of anthropologists in the culture concept should be extended into those studies devoted to processes that promote cohesion within an area,² studies that treat territoriality as an expression of political authority or social organization,³ studies of cultural frontiers,⁴ or

2 An example is A. L. Kroeber, "The Ancient Oikoumene as a Historic Culture Aggregate," in his book *The Nature of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 379-395.

3 Examples are G. and M. Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change Based on Observations in Central Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 24-44; and B. Benedict, "Social Characteristics of Small Territories and Their Implications for Economic Development," in M. Barton (Ed.), *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies*, Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs, No. 4, (New York: Praeger, 1966), pp. 23-35.

4 Examples are M. H. Fried, "Land Tenure, Geography and Ecology in the Contact of Cultures," in P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell, op. cit., pp. 302-317; and E. R. Wolf, "Cultural Dissimilarity in the Italian Alps," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 5 (1962), pp. 1-14.

the studies on space requirements or preferences of individuals.⁵ Concern for the spatial articulation of culture also underlies the growing interest among anthropologists in settlement morphology.⁶ In brief, scale is perhaps as important to anthropologists as to geographers in spite of the fact that the former usually show a bias toward intensive studies of a particular village or tribe. As Steward (1955:79) mentioned in one of his works, "the culture area concept has become so crucial a tool in the operation of anthropologists that to question it might seem to throw doubt on anthropology itself." Here again, one can point to a parallel in geography where the regional concept, however, unclearly defined it may seem, continues to be regarded as an essential tool in both teaching and research.

Cultural Ecology

Quite a number of anthropological studies are devoted to the analysis of the causal relationships between culture and nature. Among some of the earlier work along this line in the United States, although approached from different views, are those of Wissler (1926), Kroeber (1939a), and Forde (1934). Today, anthropologists continue to study the environmental context of cultural groupings but more often than not a description of environment is treated merely as a background in an introductory chapter.⁷ Such a treatment has been due to the attitude that the natural environment came to be regarded as an inert configuration of possibilities and limits to development, the deciding factors of which were to be found in culture itself and in the history of

5 An example is E. T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966).

6 Examples are R. McC. Adams, *Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement in the Diyala Plains* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); R. K. Beardsley, et al., "Functional and Evolutionary Implications of Community Patterning," in P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell, op. cit., pp. 376-398; G. R. Wileý (Ed.), *Prehistoric Patterns in the New World*, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 23 (196).

7 A local example is F. Landa Jocano, *The Sulod Society* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 1968). E. R. Leach discussed the practice of treating the environment as merely a background in introductory chapters in his work *Pul Elya: A Village in Ceylon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961). In particular see his introductory and concluding chapters.

culture. (Sahlin 1964). Even when treated in detail as in Evans-Pritchard's study of the Nuer, descriptions of environment and culture were poorly integrated that each can be understood without reference to the other. (Evans-Pritchard 1940). In short, the writings of anthropologists on the relations of nature and culture invariably suggest a neutral interpretation, roughly comparable to the geographic concept of possibilism.

Recently there has been a revival of interest in the relations of nature and culture. This development is not just confined to anthropology but throughout the entire range of social science which includes sociology, psychology and international relations.⁸ In any case, the ecological orientation now evident in anthropology is exemplified by Steward, Barth and Meggers.

According to Steward, cultural ecology to be valid scientifically must be based upon an empirically derived chain of causes and effects. Since the features of culture that involve the utilization of environment are obviously tied to environment and hence influenced by environment, cultural ecology should begin with an analysis of subsistence activities and exploitative technology. The interrelationship of environment and livelihood provides the first link in a logical chain to which is added another link consisting of behavior involved in the exploitation of a particular habitat by a particular technology. The final phase in the study of cultural ecology is the establishment of a link between behavior patterns involved in the exploitation of an environment and other aspects of culture. Linkages of this sort may be easy to establish or extremely difficult. The progression, however, from environment to subsistence activities and from exploitative technology to social organization clarifies a substantial part of the configuration of a culture, and hence may contribute to understand-

8 G. A. Theodorson (Ed.), *Studies in Human Ecology* (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1961); R. G. Barker "Ecology and Motivating," in M. R. Jones (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), pp. 1-49; J. F. Wohlwill, "The Physical Environment: A Problem for Psychology of Stimulation," *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 22 (1966), pp. 29-38; H. and M. Sprout, *The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs with Special Reference to International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

ing of such vital issues as a group's capacity for evolution. Most anthropologists have followed Steward (1955:11-29; 30-42; 43-63) in retaining a biological definition of ecology.

Fredrik Barth (1956, 1953, 1959) in his work stated that culture areas might be best described as mosaics of separate ethnic groups and natural areas as associations of ecological niches. He is, thus, credited with the evolution of the technique of using the analogy of mosaic and niche in the ecological analysis of complex cultural and environmental situations.

For her part in the development of cultural ecology, Betty J. Meggers suggested in one of her works that the concepts of environmental limitation and potential should be regarded as a basic consideration in the study of cultural evolution. In another related work, she went further to suggest that the environment of the Amazon Basin, by setting bounds and giving a definite direction to cultural evolution, should be regarded *a priori* as a case of "environmentalism." (Meggers 1954, 1957) The significance of Megger's writings is that they have provoked vigorous debate among anthropologists not only on the specific issue of environmental limitation but also on the more general question of the reasons for the rise or decline of major civilizations. It should be noted here that environmentalism in geography has been discontinued as a concept for a generation now although discussions on the subject persists. (See Lewthwaite 1966:1-23)

Cultural geographers usually start their work in cultural ecology by a careful comparison of observational data. Numerous cases are shifted to find out what conditions on the landscape are associated with certain known practices; what types of human activities appear in all available instances to be linked with given landscape developments; what concrete technique of land resource use and artificial developments are associated with different cultural and social systems; what conditions of livelihood are consistently associated with a particular kind of cultural landscape; what if any special natural circumstances are regularly coincident with any aspect of human activity or welfare under

one, some, or all societies and cultures. Correlation or rather uniform coincidence of this kind proves nothing but it leads toward alternates. (Wagner and Mikesell 1962:20.)

Cross-checking of cultural landscape features serve to identify the requisite or necessary conditions of a given process. By comparison of closely similar cases in which a few critical differences stand out, the researcher may be able to show, for example, that the lack of certain tools (metal blades) or the presence of a prohibition (religious taboos) has acted to protect forests in a region, or that only when a certain commercial function is carried on do people exploit a particular mineral. The present world distribution of most crops, food or commercial, can be correlated with distributions of climate, soils, techniques and economics. (See Whittlesey 1936:199-240)

Another research procedure used in cultural ecology by geographers as well as anthropologists is direct discovery, description and analysis of actual processes.⁹ For example, a careful study of farming techniques often reveals just how a soil is degraded or gradually enriched and stabilized or an investigation of the skillful pursuit and systematic utilization of fish or game demonstrates how a given people grow and prosper in an otherwise stern habitat. By following step by step the process that creates a given feature, the researcher can understand at least one set of significant conditions. To establish a secure correlation, however, he must go a step further, and show that no other conjunction of circumstances could produce the feature he is studying. The possibility of confident explanation runs down a gradient from geographic features which are clearly the works of man to features and circumstances in which the mark of man is dimly visible. Thus, the study of transformation processes anywhere this gradient brings results.

⁹ Examples are C. O. Sauer, "Man in the Ecology of Tropical America," *Proceedings of the Ninth Pacific Science Congress, Bangkok, 1957*, vol. 20 (1958), pp. 104-110; and H. C. Conklin, "An Ethnoecological Approach to Shifting Cultivation," in P. L. Wagner and M. W. Mikesell, op. cit., pp. 457-464.

Cultural geography provides to some extent a review of the utilization of environments by man as well as a "geographic feedback" that can illuminate and guide man's development and enjoyment of space. To be sure various branches of technology and planning already treat these matters adequately. But ordinary geographic methods of observation and investigation emphasizing spatial order and zonation both bring to light and help to solve problems that otherwise go unperceived. Also as a consequence of the wide perspective of cultural ecology, cultural geography qualifies as an instrument or tool for the study of culture and nature.

As a meeting point of geography and anthropology, cultural ecology concentrates itself to problems of the habitat of cultural communities of every stage and condition. If it seemingly withholds its emphasis from modern highly technical societies, the causes are due to their peculiarity and complexity, and in the fact that other means of self-analysis have become incorporated into them. Because of the difficulty of applying cultural concept to the study of such complex communities, geographers have to develop economic and technological, rather than cultural concepts as research tools. (See Wagner 1960)

Economic Geography and Economic Anthropology

Concern for economic activity has always been evident in anthropological literature. However, in contrast with economic geography, economic anthropology has come to be regarded as a major field of specialization only in the past decade. Prior to the late 1950's the economic studies undertaken by anthropologists were inductive and empirical and displayed a skeptical attitude toward the relevance of economic theory. (See Herskovits 1952). Anthropologists tended to place livelihood in the context of cultural evolution, to place production, exchange, and land tenure in the context of social organization, and to demonstrate that classical or neo-classical economic theory was of limited utility in the study of primitive societies. The more recent works though differ with the earlier ones in that they are

more specifically functional in seeking to be deductive and showing a better appreciation of economic theory. (Nash 1965: 121-138.)

On the other hand, economic geographers although they have developed their own research procedures, have always appreciated the value of economic theory. This is particularly so in location theory which is receiving considerable attention in geography. At any rate, the relationship between geography and economics is along the same kind of relationship between climatology and meteorology, and other subfields of geography as previously mentioned and graphically illustrated in Figure 1. Many economists are concerned with the formulation and evaluation of laws and principles through the examination of isolated processes; but many are also concerned with the application of general understanding to the problems of specific places or specific businesses. To map or describe the distribution patterns of economic activities is not, of itself, geography. But if the similarities and differences from place to place are to be described and their significance weighed in terms of causes and consequences, geographic methods can be properly applied (Jones and Jones 1954:244.)

Returning to economic anthropology, it seems clear that this field is experiencing rapid growth as evidenced by studies involving an explanation for the economic conservatism of peasant societies. (See Foster 1965; Kaplan 1966). Another indication of the lively interest is the increasing number of studies on economic theory in relation to economic anthropology.¹⁰ One hopes, however, that the growth of economic anthropology will not be curtailed by its entrapment in a methodological dilemma, i.e. continually posing the question of whether economic theory is relevant in the study of primitive societies. Another dilemma is the relationship of economic anthropology to economic geo-

¹⁰ Some examples are G. Dalton, "Economic Theory and Primitive Societies," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 63 (1961), pp. 1-25; E. E. Le Clair, Jr., "Economic Theory and Economic Anthropology," *ibid.*, vol. 64 (1962), pp. 1179-1203 and other articles on the same subject appearing in the more recent issues of the same journal.

graphy. Geographic research of most obvious value to economic anthropologists has been undertaken by geographers interested in location theory who have shown little or no inclination in studying the social or cultural context of economic activity.¹¹

Conclusions

Geographers probably have most to learn from anthropologists on social organization, the delimitation and classification of cultural areas, and the processes that produce cultural changes. On the other hand, geographers can offer anthropologists guidelines in the study of settlement patterns, land tenure and land use, and the more general aspects of cultural ecology. (Mikesell 1967:632.) These broad topics offer unlimited opportunities for collaboration. Unfortunately, there are very few collaborations. In the University of the Philippines, it remains whether the geographers and anthropologists will attempt to undertake research projects in collaboration with one another, i.e. projects that have common theme and interest to both.

There is little evidence the world over that anthropologists are well aware of the interests of geographers or that they have profited to any considerable degree from study of geographic literature. The growing anthropological literature on land use and land tenure takes little account of the prior studies made by geographers.¹²

Studies in cultural ecology by anthropologists are also self-contained where the works of geographers and others of deforestation, erosion and reclamation are seldom mentioned. It is

11 E. L. J. Berry, *Geography of Market Centers and Retail Distribution*. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967); M. Dacey, "The Geometry of Central Place Theory," *Geografiska Annaler*, vol. 47B (1965), pp. 111-124; and M. Woldenberg, "The Identification of Mixed Hexagonal Central Hierarchies with Examples from Finland, Germany, Ghana, and Nigeria," *Harvard Papers in Theoretical Geography*, Paper No. 5 of series "Geography and the Properties of Surfaces," Oct., 1967 are some recent examples.

12 Examples are C. Geertz, *Agricultural Involvement: The Process of Ecological Change in Indonesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); and H. C. Conklin, *Hanunoo Agriculture: A Report on an Integral System of Shifting Cultivation in the Philippines*, FAO Forestry Development Paper No. 12 (Rome, 1957).

hard to find in the anthropological literature adequate discussions of climate, vegetation, landforms, or soils. The only geographic philosophy mentioned consistently by anthropologists is the discontinued concept of environmentalism. The misrepresentation of geographic thought on the nature of environment can, however, be attributed to the introspective character of methodological writings. It should also be mentioned that the concept of an ecosystem embracing the totality of nature and culture is beyond the grasp of any one scholar or scholarly discipline.

It can be stated though that the boundary between geography and anthropology is arbitrary and that researchers in these two fields of endeavor may find it worthwhile to collaborate on certain studies to which they can make significant contributions.

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MAN IN TIME AND SPACE: ARCHAEOLOGY

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I. Introduction

Aims.—This paper is intended for non-anthropology students and other people whose profession is other than that of an anthropologist. The intentions are twofold mainly: (a) to introduce the science of archaeology, its general scope, goals, principles, and application to the common man with a liberal education; and (b) to show to all Filipino citizens the importance and value of archaeology in this part of the world. Besides, I suggest that every college student and teacher of any school should know something about the subject and there is no reason why one cannot participate in one way or another in archaeological work from the time a site becomes known or is located up to the preservation of the artifacts that might be recovered.

In this paper, the practical aspects are emphasized and the elementary principles of archaeology are discussed in a simplified fashion. Those who will get interested later on might enroll in any

of the courses that the Department of Anthropology, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, is offering, or join any dig that might be undertaken under a trained archaeologist. This statement, of course, underscores the importance of both theoretical and practical training.

Definition.—A dictionary definition of Archaeology is simple enough to start with: "the scientific study of the life and culture of ancient peoples, as by excavation of ancient cities, relics, artifacts, etc." There are a number of ideas that must be explained right away. (a) Archaeology certainly follows a scientific procedure as will be explained in these pages. (b) Its goal is the discovery of the lifeways and culture of ancient peoples usually, though not always, for archaeology might uncover not only prehistoric material but also protohistoric and historic as well that might be useful to the historian as will be illustrated below. (c) The means of discovery is by excavation, but it is not always ancient cities that are dug, for shell heaps or rock shelters may also be valuable. Ancient cities, relics, and artifacts are man-made, but the remnants of many of the things that ancient peoples ate are not, but may have importance, as well.

The dictionary, however, does not describe an important aspect of archaeological work, and this is the interpretation of whatever remains have been uncovered. Without this intellectual activity, archaeology loses much of its significance. The collection of relics and artifacts in this case becomes an antiquarian's curio shop of interesting and marvelous objects of odds and ends.

Scope. — In general the archaeologist does not know what he is digging, except that it is a site that may yield remains of the past. He cannot see deeper than the surface of his site. The past is a flexible or wide-ranging concept which may cover both the remote and recent past. The site may not necessarily have a deposit that belongs to ancient civilizations either, for it must be remembered that the surface may be quite close to the present culture and society.

For this reason, there is a necessity of differentiating prehistoric from historic archaeology. The distinction is based on

the existence of written records. If the society started to have a system of writing say about 3,000 B.C. or 700 A.D. and records are available showing the march of events from that time on, then it might be proper to designate these dates as the demarcation line between prehistoric and historic times. This is a rough way of establishing the dividing line. The prehistoric times may also be divided into the strictly prehistoric and protohistoric, the former being characterized by absence entirely of written records; whereas the latter may have evidences of monuments with some inscription on them, stray bits of records on clay or stone, and so on. The demarcation line is established by consensus of scholars called prehistorians and historians.

In the Philippines where written records about prehispanic culture have been destroyed or lost, the term prehistoric, protohistoric, and historic may have particular application. The year 1521 is an accepted date dividing the historic from the protohistoric period. Pigafetta's account of the circumnavigation of the world is therefore the starter for Philippine history; before that is protohistoric, a period which is rather hazy and whose beginnings are more cloudy. The late Professor Beyer thought that the Birth of Jesus Christ is as good as any date that can be proposed for the beginning of the protohistoric. Other students are now reexamining this opinion. It should be remembered that this periodization is from the point of view of the existence or non-existence of written records.

But it must not be forgotten too that writing is just one of the manifestations of cultural advance. Deeper into the past, longer cultural stages had been experienced by different peoples. Classical Archaeologists viewed these advances from the tools that these peoples used. So we have different categories such as the Palaeolithic or rough stone age, the Mesolithic or semi-polished stone age, the Neolithic or polished stone age, the Metal Age which persists up to the present time. In European prehistory these cultural ages are further subdivided into finer categories. The basis of the periodization is on the nature and material of the tools recovered.

Among a later breed of archaeologists, this periodization of the past has undergone reexamination. To contemporary prehistorians what is important is knowledge showing the way of life of the different peoples who used these tools. Archaeologists are now interested in knowing when primitive men started to raise the grain that would support the population. In other words, when men began plant domestication or animal domestication. This was the revolutionary step taken by men on the threshold to settled existence, the establishment of villages, which later on grew into cities. Writing was a late invention of men when regarded in the context of human history.

Aside from digging up cities, therefore, the interests of archaeologists are manifold. They may spend their lives on particular cultures, areas, or subjects. The Leakeys for instance, are particularly bent on knowing what the antecedents of man were and Mr. and Mrs. Leakey are seeing to it that when the senior workers are gone there will be replacements to dig deeper below the beds they are at the present time studying.

Goals. — The reader might ask why archaeologists spend their lives digging up the past. Have they nothing else to do? Can't they do something else productive, something else useful? These questions necessarily bring us to the goals of archaeology.

Being an important branch of anthropology which is the study of man, his works and past, necessarily archaeology occupies an indispensable place in the science of man. Since the archaeologist excavates for evidence of the presence of ancient man or his ancestors, it is one of his goals to know how these ancestors looked like (their physical traits) and how they lived (what things they ate, used as tools, the kinds of dwellings they built, or how they lived). Knowledge of these things does not of course give us the know-how to improve our diet nor does it give us added information that is utilitarian. But it may give us a deeper view of the nature of things and man, the concept of evolution, the destiny of man, or . . . other new ideas. In brief, the archaeologist is engrossed in the reconstruction of the beginnings of man and his ancestors whoever they were, how they got humanized, and later civilized.

For particular societies, like the Philippines, archaeology will play a definite role in revealing the past. The history of man in this part of the world has just begun to be known. There are no sites that go beyond the last glacial epoch, no counterparts of the Java man or the Peking man. The Tabon man dug in Palawan is just 22,000 years old more or less. There are no village sites yet discovered; all finds point to burial sites that have partial diagnostic value. No significant finds on ancient inscriptions or written records have been uncovered. No prehistoric kilns have turned up. All these matters, and many more, are of interest to archaeologists and prehistorians for by excavating such sites reconstruction of our prehispanic past and culture becomes feasible.

When Professor Beyer stated that weaving was a contribution of the last waves of migrating peoples from the south, what is the evidence? He did not show this in his writings. This is cited to point out the importance of archaeological work. When Professor Beyer stated that weaving came from the south, what is the proof? When he said that it was introduced during the Iron Age, what was his basis for saying so? These points, to cite just one item of culture, weaving, are brought out by opinion, an opinion that is most often swallowed up hook, line and sinker by historians.

Relationship with other Sciences. — The closest relative of archaeology is history as can be seen from the above paragraphs. Historians are wont to say that where there are no written records there is no history. Since archaeology deals with another class of records of human behavior in the form of artifacts, tools, the remains of the handiwork of man or his existence, one might say that archaeology is one arm of history. In practice this figure is correct, for historians become helpless in the face of the scarcity of records the deeper into the past they go. Where they refuse to go farther, the archaeologists take over to explain the past.

This is really but a part of the picture. There are phases of the historical period that might be poorly documented and which archaeology might elucidate. It is a well known fact that not all events get written about, so there may be no records about

them. Of the variety and diversity of man's activities and interests, a small percentage of the same gets described or recorded. I will just cite one example to bring home the point. Every student of Filipino culture has consulted, perhaps many times to a point of familiarity, *The Philippine Islands*, the magnum collection of 55 volumes containing documentary sources of Philippine history. But there is nothing in that monumental work that ever noted the existence of subterranean passages in Intramuros, Manila.

This late discovery on our part really belongs to historic archaeology. Since available writings do not even mention these underground passages, archaeology can start the job of studying them. Supposing indeed that all records have been destroyed regarding these passageways, then archaeologists can step in and proceed along this manner: (a) excavation or discovery work (which structures are connected by these passages, location of the center of the network); (b) collecting the artifacts; and (c) interpretation (purpose for constructing the passages, by whom, at what period of colonial history in this country, etc.).

After World War II, we have been able to locate a site that show such underground passages, their possible connection with the nerve center of religious power. What added shades of meaning could such a study contribute to an understanding of the history of colonist Spain in this country! Jose Rizal perhaps could have woven a more glamorous or picturesque plot in his novels if he knew of their existence.

Because of the far-reaching interests of archaeology in its search for the beginnings and advance of man and his culture, many other sciences get involved in archaeological work. But this short paper cannot go into these relationships because of space consideration.

II. Theory and Practice in Archaeological Work

Training for Archaeological Work. — I am not certain whether the aptitude tests devised in recent times have provided any guide for students who might have a desire to go into archaeology. But I would say, based on limited personal experience, that people who have general scholarly interest, particularly in history, might

succeed in archaeology provided they have no materialistic inclinations. The prospects for contributing to knowledge are vast and varied, what with the shortcomings of historical studies. If the student has patience and industry to start with, an analytical mind in reserve, and has had general anthropological background and training, then he might embark on this very exciting branch of anthropological work.

Whereas there are now available a number of courses in anthropology offered in a few institutions of higher learning in this country, it is only the Department of Anthropology, of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, that offers a variety of courses that might be useful to the interested student. Besides, there are a couple of courses in archaeology which include training in the basic principles, reading of original reports, some practice in the field and exercise in the writing of findings, both in the undergraduate and graduate level. This prepares him in a way to undertake archaeological work. In the graduate program of the U.P. Department of Anthropology, there are also a couple of courses that involve work in the field or in the laboratory in order to enable the student to write a M.A. thesis in archaeology.

These formal courses in archaeology do not indeed make an archaeologist of the student. But if he has deep interest in the subject, these will give him the fundamentals for work. The other courses in anthropology are intended to round up the student's preparation.

This is one way of saying that no one without any training in archaeology should ever attempt to make an excavation of any kind. This is precisely what is happening in the country today; everyone who has a pick and shovel has the nerve to dig in his or anybody else's yard. This is the great sin of many collectors and pot traders too who just want to have the nice specimens, throwing out the broken or unsaleable ones.

What is a Site? — Before anyone could ever attempt to make an excavation, there must be a site. The question that is frequently asked by people is: How do we know that this one is a site?

That is, a site worthwhile digging. In Egyptian or Near Eastern archaeology, these sites are often easily identified because of the huge structures (pyramids, large mounds, outcrops) that stand out in the landscape; these are the evidence of the site itself. This is also true, in some measure, of American Indian sites where there are mounds (burial places, shell heaps), or in Mid-American archaeology where ruins could not be mistaken for a site.

In the Philippines there are theoretically several possibilities:

- (a) The easiest place to find a site is in caves or rock shelters where potsherds or skeletal remains draw attention at once and these are reported (the Batunggan caves in Masbate worked by Solheim, Manuel, and Evangelista; the Malaking Pulo caves dug by Manuel in Marinduque; the Tabon caves dug by Fox and company);
- (b) The open sites, as most of the Neolithic sites uncovered by Beyer in Batangas and Rizal provinces;
- (c) The burial sites, as those discovered by Beyer in Santa Ana, made possible because of outcrops showing at the river bank during low tide; and the extensive Calatagan site discovered in pre-World War II years, and studied to some extent by Beyer, Janse, and Bantug; and after the war by Fox and company;
- (d) Shoulders of hills, like what Beyer found in the Novaliches Dam area before the recent war;
- (e) Along rivers, like what Beyer found in Tanay along the Tanay River bank, which is still not excavated;
- (f) Along coasts, as the burial grounds in the San Narciso peninsula excavated earlier by Galang and later by Solheim and Manuel;
- (g) Interior inland waters, like the numerous sites around Laguna de Bay area; and
- (h) The basements of cities, like Manila and Cebu.

There are in some cases outcrops of the site which are tell-tale marks of the existence of an archaeological site. One on

reconnaissance is struck by potsherds of a different shape, make, or design than contemporary pottery. This is a sign that there may be a good deposit below. Caves, especially burial caves, display skeletal remains on the surface which are indicative of use of the place by contemporary or prehistoric peoples. Accidental diggings do occur in cities and other places. The late Professor Beyer profited very much from foundation work done for buildings in Manila before the recent war. In excavating for foundations, in Manila, there was usually a mine of artifacts uncovered below (under the Cu-Unjieng, Post Office, Cine Ideal buildings for example); literally, cans and boxes of specimens, especially porcelain, were retrieved and added to the wealth of the Beyer Collections.

Reports from provincial areas were also received by Professor Beyer who tried to expand his collecting activities far and wide. In plowing a field, artifacts or jars are uncovered from their ancient beds, and it is worthwhile to check whether the place is of some importance. Thousands of artifacts were picked up by farmers from the fields in Batangas and Rizal and turned in by collectors to Beyer in pre-World War II years. But it was rather regrettable that this pioneer prehistorian did not do any digging himself, nor did he make site reports of his findings except in one or two cases (the Nakpil site for instance in Manila) that got published. Site reports are basic in archaeological work. They usually contain the actual findings, an interpretation of the assemblage; and sometimes an opinion by the archaeologist of the place of the site in the over-all prehistoric picture.

In the San Narciso Peninsula area, the limestone covers of burial jars show out on the surface. When one has located one such lid, one could be sure of finding a burial jar below and many others. In the Batangas and Babuyan Islands the burial mounds stand out prominently in the ground, so that there is not much difficulty in locating them.

Kinds of Sites. — Viewed from one aspect, there are two kinds of sites: the undisturbed and the disturbed site. The first kind is an ideal one to excavate. Perhaps such ideal sites in the

fullest meaning of the term do not exist or are very rare. For it is not an easy matter to determine whether a site has been disturbed or not. Generally speaking, where the artifacts have been preserved in the original way or level in which they were deposited, we have a case of an undisturbed site.

An illustration in our daily lives will be given. If our subscription to a newspaper started on January 1, 1969, and we kept piling the daily issues religiously by dropping the same in one corner of our room, the pile will be an ideal site if this heap consisted of artifacts instead. A hollow filled by garbage trucks might offer a better example a thousand years from now, provided the area was not bulldozed or disturbed otherwise. The only difference is that the newspaper is dated, whereas prehistoric artifacts are not. It is one of the jobs of the archaeologist dating the layer of artifacts.

The other kind of site is the disturbed one. A number of factors may disturb a site which otherwise might be an ideal one, and these are the following: (a) natural factors, (b) human activities, and (c) others. An earthquake can create cracks in the site and shake materials out of place from a top layer to a lower layer. Erosion by water, especially under tropical conditions in the Philippines where there is a heavy annual rainfall, can cause a great deal of displacement of artifacts from their original deposition. Erosion by water can be very telling on hillsides or a rough terrain where materials are likely to get mixed up in many sorts of combination.

The human factors that could cause disturbance are many: diggings made by man himself, when building a house for instance, or excavating the earth for foundations of large structures. The plowing activities of farmers, the irresponsible diggings made by pot-hunters, collectors who gather from the surface and below it superficially — all these add to the confusion of archaeology. Ditch digging, dam construction, mining operations, guano collecting, road construction which cut through sites, and all sorts of construction work done by modern man do not of course exhaust the possibilities. We have no complete

picture really of the destruction of sites done by contemporary man. Many of the tektite sites known to Beyer in Kubaw for example are now covered by houses or large buildings and there is no way of ever studying these sites anymore. The U. S. National Cemetery while in the process of construction yielded stegodon fossils, but the site is no longer as it used to be for study purposes.

digging
 Many of the sites in the Visayan Islands have been disturbed one way or another by previous workers, one or two of them supposed to be archaeologists. Guthe from the University of Michigan is one example of a scientist who never published the exact location of the sites that he rummaged, so that subsequent workers are really at a loss what the previous record was of a cave that he might presently be excavating. This statement has a particular reference to the sites along the coast of islands in Central Philippines. This is an instance of modern vandalism in archaeology, and unless Guthe publishes all the details that he did with the various sites by giving the exact location and description of the assemblages gathered from each cave, pit, etc. he will remain so charged.

The activities of other animals may also be disturbing. One kind of disturbance was reported by Fox in the Tabon caves where some bird species in laying their eggs dig and in so doing disturb sites. Rodents may bore holes where small artifacts may be carried down to lower stratum; and this might give some trouble in interpretation if the quantity becomes significant.

Erosion itself may not be destructive in some instances. One such example is a cave that was located in San Narciso Peninsula. The mouth of the cave was closed by rocks and soil falling from above, thus sealing it off, perhaps forever, unless by chance future archaeologists discover it once more.

Property Rights. — The archaeologist is likely to meet with a number of problems in doing his work. One of these problems has something to do with property rights. Is the site located in the property of a private individual? If so he must make arrangements with the landowner to avoid trouble. Since the artifacts may have commercial value, the landowner may change

his mind when agreements are not made on paper. Oral contracts therefore are not to be relied upon. In the Laguna de Bay area contracts are made with the landowner detailing the provisions which give exclusive rights to the artifacts to the digger or collector. A lawyer should prepare such contracts and should be notarialized.

If the site contains artifacts of no commercial value, it may not be dangerous to rely on oral contracts. The archaeologist could hire the property owner to work for him for a daily wage and this might be enough assurance of good cooperation and the smooth transporting of the material to the home base. Even so, a written contract is safer than most any kind of verbal agreements. The only danger is the landowner's head might get swelled up by the prospect of wealth and he might demand later an unreasonable percentage or consideration.

There is a national law making all treasures from sites national property and therefore no one could literally dig without permission from the government. The responsibility for controlling diggings is with the National Museum. But this law is better known in the breach. The National Museum people have a ready disclaimer, saying that they do not have enough personnel to enforce the law. At this point, it might be pertinent to ask where is the sense of spending so many millions on the Cultural Center project of the First Lady to the neglect of an institution such as the National Museum which deserves attention first.

The reason for establishing rights on a firm ground is to have complete control over the site. This cannot be overemphasized if the work is to be conducted on a scientific basis. The archaeologist should not be disturbed in the midst of his work, and his plans should not be disrupted by changing whims or interests of landowners. Complete control over the site is, therefore, a prerequisite for good work.

Not only must one win the confidence of the landowner right from the start, but must maintain it as the work progresses until the end. His ego should be bolstered by explaining to him and to his neighbors the historical importance of the digging and that the

artifacts in themselves can only have meaning if studied in their totality and relationships. The necessity, therefore, of smooth relations with the people in the village or surrounding vicinity must be cultivated.

Around Laguna de Bay the moment digging unearths porcelain, neighbors are aroused immediately and they start a rampage digging in their own yards. The only way to control digging is for the government to step in and enforce the law.

Tools for Excavation Work. — Archaeological work, generally speaking, is an expensive affair. One should not venture to engage in excavating a big site unless he has financial support.

The tools that might be needed to conduct work depend on the nature of the site. In San Narciso Peninsula, along the coast where the sites are located, the sand is easily worked with shovel, trowel, pick, brushes, some of which we made ourselves from coconut husks. Measuring devices such as steel tapes, (long and short), measuring cloth, foot rule completed our needs. We gave up our meshes because these became cumbersome and employed villagers instead to sift the sand with their bare hands, which became more efficient. The camera was the only expensive mechanism that we used.

For marine archaeology one might consult the Navy people for support (diving apparatus, use of submarine craft, a special type of camera for taking pictures, etc.). Under salvage conditions, one has to depend upon a dredger in some instances. Professor Beyer got some late Neolithic tools from the Pasig River through the engineer in charge of the dredging operation. In this case one can but approximate depths and stratigraphy may be nil; but it would be better to be on the spot during the dredging operations.

In a salvage work we did during the excavation of the foundation of the GSIS building at the corner of Concepcion and Arroceros Streets, Manila, there was a limited use of the shovel, but much use of the trowel and the pick for the reason that the spaces between the piles could be worked only by small-

sized tools and we did not have any control over the site. More than a thousand piles were driven into the ground as foundation support for the structure and whatever available space there was for retrieving objects and porcelain sherds was a cramped one and hence the trowel and pick were very efficient tools under the conditions; often, the bare hands were used in retrieving the pieces from the mud or under the water. The huge steel scoops did much of the work and one had to keep an eye on which direction the booms swayed to preserve life or limb and do one's work at the same time.

Cave archaeology may need shovels, trowels, picks, brushes wide open baskets for carrying out the dirt, or a wheelbarrow for transporting the soil. Canvass or plastic material could be used for keeping the unassorted soil-laden material; screens might be needed, these of different meshes depending upon the sizes of the artifacts, beads, gold ornaments, etc. that might be present. Tags, large and small, are useful for labeling artifacts; paper pockets and bags of all sizes may be needed to contain artifacts. Paper wrapping material is always useful, though dry banana leaves might just as well be used in some instances. Skeins of strings of different strength, abaca ropes, etc., are always useful. Boxes, large and small, are convenient.

In salvage archaeology in the U.S.A., for instance during the construction of dams, the archaeologist or his assistants may be seen trailing behind tractors to pick up ancient remains or artifacts. There is not much control over the site, and the workers have to work almost as fast as the tractor turns up the soil.

A compass is always an indispensable tool: so also drawing boards, a table, folding chairs for mapping purposes, cataloguing, and rough drawing or sketching. For the reason that an exact location of the site must be made, maps of the place must be obtained from the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey before the start of the excavation; also, for the reason that the prehistoric environment of the site must be considered, a study of the topography of the place, geographical features (locality with respect to a river system, streams, coast, mountains, hills, bays, lake, etc.) and ecology might just as well start during excavation

work. Graphing paper should not be forgotten; this becomes handy in mapping out the different blocks of the site in relation to one another and for drawing purposes. Jars very much fragmented but in partial situ may be drawn immediately facilitating illustration (height, width of specimen, shape) of specimen. Of course this can be photographed at the same time with the necessary measurements, but there are positions that cannot be easily photographed.

In large scale excavations where there is a team of workers (archaeologists, palaeontologist, botanist, zoologist, geographer, or geologist, etc.) that may be involved, the need for a field station should be looked into, even if a temporary one. Tents may be functional, or a number of houses might be rented if available to carry on preliminary storage, study, labeling, cataloguing, and ~~so on.~~ ^{data} ~~A vehicle or vessel~~ ^{ing} (as in the case of the Tabon cave excavation) ^{p.} may be needed for transporting personnel and artifacts. In cave archaeology, one must face the problem of lighting; a generator might then be needed to furnish light in the interior of the site. Each site, in other words, must be studied according to needs and actual conditions obtaining, size of the operation, length of time it will take to finish the operation, and the financial aspect. In the Malaking Pulo site, Marinduque, we had no water available in the site except sea water and so potable water had to be taken from the mainland of Marinduque and transported in drums. Facilities should therefore be provided for special situations.

A first aid kit should be tugged along, even if the site is not far away from town. Caves and other sites house many conceivable insects and animals that may harm or kill (snakes, scorpions, centipedes, ants, mosquitos, and an array of other insects that live in rock shelters, crevices of caves, etc., in the passageways, thickets, grassland) the worker. Medicines for common bodily ailments should be in the medicine kit too; plus remedies or ointments against poisonous plants.

Mapping out the Site. — This activity could be carried out during the process of excavation or before. The idea is to give an exact location of the site in order to inform future workers that

the area had been dug previously, whether completely or partially. There is unfortunately no center in this country keeping records of sites that have already been worked upon. One is left to his own devices or incentive finding out what the previous record was.

Basic to mapping is to indicate in a precise and exact manner where the site is located. This can be done with respect to some permanent landmark (river, mountain, hill, coastline, cave, bay, lake, etc.), to man-made structures (road, street, bridge, kilometer marker, building, wall, etc.). Such permanent structures should enable one to locate the site. This is important, especially when it is not excavated totally. The late Professor Beyer was oblivious with respect to this requirement; his records lack the preciseness of spot location of his hundreds of sites, except where a large building stands over it now (as in his Manila sites). Probably he was not to blame for this shortcoming: the province of Batangas, Rizal, and Bulacan, on Luzon, and Cebu and other islands in the Visayan group become too large under the circumstances for he had to depend only upon his collectors for the site information which in many instances he never visited himself. There was no problem of location when he gathered from particular sites now occupied by large structures in Manila, for this can be identified without having a map; but in many other cases, his practice was to take along his guests to the sites themselves to let them know that these really existed. Perhaps it was not necessary in many cases because his Neolithic finds for example were 99.99% [though this is impressionistic based on my long association with him] surface specimens. But just the same a mapping of these sites would be of some value to future workers.

Since not every archaeologist can make a good map, a surveyor might be hired to do so; this might be advisable when the site covers a large area, for example the Calatagan area and the Palawan cave series. This then would require more funds for archaeological work. How much more impressive and informative would have been the result were the Calatagan diggings photographed from the air! I have not seen aerial photographs of this unique site, although it could have been done. Perhaps, this would have entailed more expenses. Aerial photo-

graphy is now common practice outside the country. It facilitates the location of sites, the discovery of archaeological features such as has been done in the vicinities of Angkor Wat and other ancient sites.

Other Preliminaries. — Some sites might need the assistance of other knowledgeable persons such as the information that a geologist or geographer might furnish. Sites that are ancient, deposits that have been made in glacial times, etc., may require the employment of a geologist to examine. Stratigraphy is one aspect of archaeological work in which the geologist is an expert and this is always a basis for dating in the absence of other more reliable means (carbonized material lending itself to C14 dating for example).

The geographer may provide the needed information or explanation for certain problems related to environment and human existence at certain periods during the use of the area; and together with the botanist, zoologist, palaeontologist, may reconstruct with the archaeologist a more rounded or acceptable picture of the ecological setting for human life to subsist. Other specialists may form as members of the archaeological team, depending, once more, upon the special problems, conditions, financing, etc.

III. Actual Excavation Work


The Datum Point. — This is the starting point from which all distances are measured, the grid and maps are drawn in reference. It is a convenient spot decided early by the archaeologist which may be a street corner, a *mojon* or corner monument of the lot or piece of land; it could be a rock on a hillside or at a river bank large enough to have some permanency in the site and heavy enough for a freshet to displace. Trees are sometimes used, but since these may be cut down or die, the tree is not the best point. In caves the datum point may be a prominent protruberance or ledge. It must be remembered that the datum point serves the purpose of locating the site, making the grid, and for mapping; hence it must be of some permanence and durability.

The Test Trench. — For the reason that excavations are always expensive, a test pit can be tried in narrow caves to find how deep is the deposit, or whether it is worthwhile digging at all. Usually in open sites where the extent of the deposit could not be determined, a test trench of one meter wide and several meters long may be tried depending upon expectations or previous calculations. A cross ditch might be attempted to locate the extent of the deposit.

If the site is quite extensive, test diggings could be tried at other places. These test diggings may start the regular excavation and so the accompanying methods of recording, photography, labeling, stratigraphical note-taking, associations, etc. are observed right away. These things will be explained in the body of this paper.

The Grid. — The Grid which divides the site into squares of the same size or area (usually a square meter each) is used for a number of purposes. One could use strings and stakes on the ground to do this. The grid is the start of order in the whole excavation process, since every science must follow a certain order. The squares are marked from number 1 up to the limit of the site, as in the following illustrations:

VI	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59
V	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
IV	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
III	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
II	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
I	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9



To remember relationships, it is suggested to have the rows of squares bear mnemonic digits so that one row of squares will have a digit in common, at least the terminal digit. This can be accomplished if the site is small; but if it is too large for carrying this scheme out, the rows may be given Roman numbers like I, II, III, etc., and the squares numbered 1, 2, 3, etc. All holes on the same row will be identified therefore either by (a) the Roman number, (b) or as having the same Arabic number crosswise, thus:

I-1,	I-2,	I-3,	I-4	I-34
II-1,	II-2,	II-3,	II-4	II-34
III-1,	III-2,	III-3,	III-4	III-34, etc.

This system of numbering can be carried out to the numbering of the artifacts and will have some utility later for arranging them in the laboratory, for identifying relationships when the archaeologist is ready to interpret his assemblage. Some order must be devised, therefore, to have control over the facts so necessary when making the final report.

In cave sites which are narrow, aside from the map of the cave, a simpler grid system might be adopted. If there were three rooms in the cave, these rooms can be marked also with Roman numerals I, II, and III, and the corresponding squares made or sketched with the assigned numbers. In cave sites, it is advisable to take pictures of the surface, or to make a sketch of the same noting down the distribution, placement, or associational features. This step helps in determining the extent of disturbance of the site.

In Calatagan the grid system was not carried out fully because of the extent of the site. Nevertheless, the deposit was a radiating affair and never had any stratigraphy to speak of but in the Palawan cave excavations, the grid system was rigidly observed for purposes of better control and to attain greater efficiency in the excavation work, and in transporting the dirt out. There is another reason for the adoption of the grid system. If the plan is not for total excavation, with the datum point unobliterated, future work can be resumed on the site without much problem. Details of stratigraphy could also be studied with

minuteness when digging has advanced, providing the student with good comparative display of artifacts *in situ* in relation to the different layers.

Under marine conditions or sites washed by tides, there are certain problems posed for carrying out any grid system. Under salvage conditions, the system could be approximated by assigning large areas perhaps to a square. Control is attainable with difficulty or not at all. The very trying conditions under which the archaeologist works make excavation more taxing of his ingenuity. The principle involved is to be able to recover the whole assemblage of artifacts, which is next to impossible; and to establish definitely the association of artifacts with one another. The second principle requires a definite knowledge of the stratigraphy of the site, if it has any, which may be done roughly at most. The principle that should be observed is to retrieve all pieces *in situ*, while the tide is low, or if this is ever feasible. Many a time is difficult of accomplishment because of the displacement of the material.

Excavation Work.—Conditions are favorable to archaeological work in the Philippines after the wet season which is roughly from June to October. After October the weather in many parts of the country is tolerable and the sea hazards are much lessened if the site is on an island. In many parts the ground may harden and this condition poses a problem. Cave work may be impeded by foul odor caused by bat manure and urine. Inter-island passage may be safer too. The roughest part of the country during the rainy season is the Babuyan and Batanes group and it is only possible to land there at certain months of the year.

The work plan that must be decided early at the start is whether to carry out a total excavation or not. This can be answered by (a) the size of the deposit, (b) its importance, and (c) the financial outlay of carrying out the work. Small caves may be excavated fully. Larger sites, like Calatagan, are sometimes excavated entirely, for good or selfish reasons, though in the case of Calatagan there were small spots that were never reached by the diggers' shovels. In the Near East sites of cities cannot be dug entirely. What archaeologists do is to dig a section of it, a

longitudinal or cross-section that may reveal the whole. In other words, it will be beyond human resources and scientific objectives to dig up whole cities. It is better to leave many parts of it undug. To house the assemblage of man-made articles, tools, parts of habitations, implements, would pose a big problem to museum administrators.

In the Philippines, however, monumentality is almost absent. There are no signs of ancient cities yet discovered. Village sites are practically unreported from. There was such an ancient site of a village settlement in Novaliches, but Professor Beyer was not prepared to do the task. He had no assistants, nor had he trained any. So the Novaliches collection is an antiquarian's odds and ends, though rich and was very promising. Perhaps it will be for sometime before a site like the Novaliches area could be found again.

When it is finally decided to excavate only a part of the site, some rows of the grid are spared. Each row may be assigned to a worker to excavate. The excavation itself is a gradual process, performed almost in a leisurely way. The use of the spade may be resorted to, but rarely; perhaps the trowel is a better working tool because it is more manageable and handy; also, picks, brushes, and smaller spatula are safer and maybe more efficient. The heavier the working tool, the greater the likelihood of damage to artifacts as a general rule.

It must be decided by the archaeologist whether to dig by a certain depth at a time. This is determined by test pits or trenches discussed previously. I suggest the use of the decimal system of measurement. So it may be convenient in some instances to dig by half-a-meter at a time. This can be done when there is no stratigraphy visible.

Otherwise, it may be convenient to follow the depths of layers if even or not thick. If the layers are very thick, however, it may be convenient to scrape off gradually by say 20 centimeters at a time. Better control is attainable, at times, when thinner depths are worked.

✓ When the excavation is in process, at every stage of the work, pictures of the square should be taken as part of the record. It

should be kept in mind that excavation work is destructive and sequence pictures may show relationship of artifacts with one another more than pages of notes sometimes. This relationship can also be sketched if the worker has facility in drawing from still life. Sometimes this must be done because photography may not give a good reproduction due to cramping of space, poor lighting, or some mechanical shortcoming, etc.

The reason for making photographs at every stage of the excavation is based on common sense. In the first place it is part of the record. As stated above when archaeological work is done, it is practically a destruction of the site. It is only the archaeologists' record of the excavation work that remains to testify as to the nature of the deposits, their stratigraphical position, and relationships with one another. The artifacts and other cultural evidences brought to the museum are the material proof of the activities of man, but without the associational data, stratigraphical information, etc., reconstruction of past cultures becomes futile.

Here is the reason for not making a total excavation. It can be elucidated at this point more clearly than at any other part of this paper. The none-too-careful archaeologist may trust too much on the work of assistants who may not observe the rules all the time. If there were parts of the site that were untouched, these could be done again by other workers to confirm hunches or verify data. The results of two records conducted by two different people may countercheck each other's findings.

People, however, who have located porcelain sites become selfish and they would not leave any square foot of ground unturned until the whole horde has been brought home. This may be warranted procedure in view of the presence of hundreds of pot-hunters in this country. The government neglect has added to the confusion and loss of many prehistoric treasures and reconstruction of the Filipino people's cultural history becomes more difficult every day.

Not to be neglected is the packaging of soil samples from every layer, sufficient in quantity for vegetable matter or pollen analyses. Samples of shell remains should be brought home to the

laboratory; counts can be made of shell heap. A kilogram of shells from each layer is sufficient for testing purposes if there is no charcoal found. Bones and fins of all kinds in the deposit can be identified later. All these may show the kind of food that the people consumed.

There is the problem of how much of the assemblage is to be taken home to the museum or laboratory. Because of the quantity and expense involved, it may be advisable to pack such material that may be meaningful in the interpretation of the site. It may be useless to take home every fragment found in the site. No rule can be offered to satisfy all situations. But a few pointers can be offered:

- (1) Pack up every tool identified or suspected as such (of whatever material it is made of: stone, bone, shell, metal, horn, etc.);
- (2) Be careful in sifting material to be able to bring home to the museum every conceivable ornament or jewelry or parts of the same since these are small and light and easily transportable;
- (3) Every utensil found such as dishes, spoons, forks or such-looking implements (of shell, earthenware, porcelain, etc.);
- (4) Pots and containers (shells, earthenware, porcelain, etc.). But the earthenware may be of such quantity that it is not feasible to pack up everything in which case, the matter of completing the types should be the criterion in the selection of sherds, though whole or near whole fragments should be brought home at any cost. Rims and necks and shoulders and sides are very telling in pottery typing; besides these, every fragment that has a design or bears decor-motifs should be brought home to the lab. The large fragments of big jars should be transported home and whatever fragments may be found in place that form the whole.
- (5) All skeletal remains of all kinds should be packed and transported home, unless pulverized or in a bad state of composition. But if quantitatively not possible, a physical anthropologist may do the selection or physical measure-

ments right in the field. Certainly good specimens, whole ones, typical or not, deformed or not, should be brought home.

- (6) For exhibit purposes, the whole grave including the skeleton and grave furniture, etc., may be transported home. The best typical samples should serve the purpose well. This was done by the National Museum from Calatagan.
- (7) Sculptured objects, art pieces or any kind, etc. should by all means be preserved and care taken that they arrive home without getting fractured.
- (8) Coins or objects suspected as such are part and parcel of the whole assemblage that must be brought home.

In Mediterranean or Mid-American archaeology the array of artifacts, tools, ornaments, pottery, and other man-made articles may not be duplicated even superficially in this country and for this reason every effort must be exerted to preserve every single artifact found in Philippine soil. Besides climatic conditions are not favorable to preservation in the ground and so this ideal goal has more meaning for Philippine archaeology.

The Archaeological Record.—The best way to keep a record of the excavation is to have a book or journal with numbered lines from one up. The first artifact that shows up in square 1 or I should have a number like this: I-A 1-1, where I stands for the row, A for the level, 1 for the square, and 1 for the number of specimen. Succeeding artifacts may be numbered thus:

I-A-1-2, I-A-1-3, I-A-1-4, etc.

If there is another worker digging at an alternate row, the second worker would have a record for his artifacts something like the following:

III-A-1-1, III-A-1-2, III-A-1-3, etc.

Arriving at the second level of scraping, the first worker will have a numbering like the following:

I-B-1-63, I-B-1-64, I-B-1-65, etc.

This numbering system is somewhat cumbersome, but it lessens confusion later. This numbering must be carried out on

the artifact; that is, each artifact must have a tag and label bearing the identification number; and this must be recorded on the register or journal with a brief description of the artifact and the full identification to start with.

If this system were adopted, no confusion can happen. Besides, when the archaeologist is back in his work-room, he can rearrange his artifacts by layers and in groups duplicating in a way the disposition and arrangement of the artifacts in a case provided with shelves, the shelves corresponding roughly to the layering of the materials in the site. For purposes of interpretation, this procedure will help him to arrange his ideas in some logical way, to show relationships, interpret or reinterpret ideas that may have formed in the field, and review the whole assemblage for the grand work of reconstructing history.

For display purposes also, a complete record such as the one being proposed here will be of much pertinence in arranging the artifacts in relation to one another. The pictures taken will synchronize these objectives, but without the full record the identity of one object against another, especially when the assemblage consists of thousands of tools, artifacts, etc., the tasks set forth above will be beset with many problems.

The rolls of films must be properly numbered too and identified, usually with the row, hole, and level number of the first and last shots. Besides, these rolls must also be marked from 1 up, so that the first roll will have a label like this:

I-A-1-22 — I-D-1-234, plus a big number 1 somewhere on the tube.

This means that the roll contains pictures of hole number 1 down to level D.

All these procedures can be simplified in small scale diggings. The idea behind all these details and attention is to make an accurate and complete archaeological record of the site. Whether large or small, the same procedure is applicable and the workers must display the same interest, meticulousness, and care in all cases. Be reminded of this fact once more: that an excavation once done destroys the site and there is no other means of re-

constructing the past but from the full record of the archaeological work.

Stratigraphy and Culture Layer.—The stratigraphy of any site is the layering of the material remains of culture. There may be one, two, three or more of them. These layers are sometimes called beds; these vary in thickness just like a layered cake. Layers have meanings.

There may be a correspondence of the thickness of the layers with time (recall the pile of newspaper in your room). A thin layer may indicate a short time use or occupancy; whereas a thick layer may mean a longer period, comparatively speaking, or it may mean a thicker population. The one layer site, if extensive, however, may demonstrate time in space. The extent of the Calatagan site gives a time span of more than 200 years. There was no layering of burials, however.

When there are two or more layers of material, these may be an evidence of a longer time span generally speaking than a one layered site. This is an instance of time indicated vertically; it may also mean periods in the cultural history of the people. If the two layers are separated by a dead layer (one that does not contain any material remains), this may be interpreted to mean discontinuous use or occupancy of the site. It may also mean that there were two cultures, depending upon the kind of artifacts found in each. In this case, each layer may be called a cultural horizon.

It is not an easy matter to define what makes a horizon a different cultural layer from the one above it. This is a matter of interpretation. Perhaps, this were better resolved when the artifacts have been studied as a whole rather thoroughly. The marked differences in the types of tools and artifacts recovered from one layer and the next might define the number of cultural layers. Another evidence may be the presence of new artifacts, tools, etc., in that particular layer.

Carbonized Material for Dating.—Charcoal is the best item for C-14 dating; hence, it should be part of the record in whatever layer or depth it may be found. This is wrapped in plastic bag or

tin-foil or paper or box with the necessary label. The laboratories in the U.S.A. charge a fee of 100 dollars per analysis or sample. It gives a positive date for the particular layer or depth of the site. From this dating calculation might be made for the other layers, if no charcoal were found in them. If the layers yielded such charcoal or any carbonized material at every stratum or at intervals, well and good; greater accuracy in dating then becomes feasible. Shells and burnt organic material should also be retrieved for C-14 analysis. Uncontaminated specimens are ideal for testing purposes.

The Evidence of Culture.—All material objects that are man-made are brought home to the laboratory for processing; also, all remains of animals and vegetable matter that might be preserved. This is the ideal goal, though not always feasible (be reminded of the pointers suggested previously).

Each artifact should bear the necessary label and number. Smaller objects such as beads when found together in the same spot are put in one bag or bottle and duly labeled. Pottery fragments, if found together, may belong to the same pot and should be put in one box or wrapping if typologically significant. Fragile objects may need special treatment (wrapping, boxing). Disintegrating objects should be photographed at once before handling. Under damp conditions poorly fired or unfired earthenware may become soft and hence should be exposed or dried first before further handling, especially if it has unique designs and so on. Many artifacts are lost due to lack of workers to retrieve the same in the right manner. There is no time to give them attention when these needed extra care before transporting them to the home lab.

Botanical and zoological evidences form part and parcel of the total deposit. Husks, fibers, nuts, seeds, kernels, bark, wood, etc. may be preserved under exceptional conditions; so also all sorts of bones, human and other animal skeletal fragments. Teeth get preserved very much longer than any portion of the animal frame. In the mud below the water level in Manila sites, many articles get preserved for study (coconut shells, fibers, bamboo, wood, etc.) materials that ordinarily rot under exposed conditions.

The coconut shell become jelly-like, and the bamboo too, but the fibers and wood get preserved well enough; when the coconut shell get exposed to the sun it gets hardened once more. But the clay pots, if well burned, stay intact in the mud, the poorly fired earthen kalan, however, gets soft and may disintegrate into pieces easily upon touch.

The burial jars in San Narciso Peninsula become wet by seepage during high water and when excavated may be too damp for handling; but upon exposure to the sun for a few days they become hardened once more. These jars were poorly fired.

Orientation of the burial and position of the body may be related to certain beliefs. Fox photographed each grave in Calatagan or had it sketched by an artist, a member of the team. The arrangement, disposition etc. of the grave furniture may also have meaning.

The relationship of objects with one another is best recorded by photography. However, when a large area is involved, photography may become useless and an artist may show this to scale by sketching. I have never seen this done with the Kulaman diggings by Maceda. This can be done with paper and pencil and the use of graphing paper. Part and parcel of the training of the archaeologist should be some facility for drawing from still life besides mapping.

Large structures are difficult to sketch and photography may be the best means. Even with small objects photography is an excellent way for documenting relationships, identifying artifacts (sometimes photographs of the objects are sent to experts for identification), and often for accuracy.

The Bottom of the Site.—When do we know that we have reached the bottom of our site? Sometimes this is not an easy matter to determine. The only way is to dig deeper and deeper. The Leakeys have not given up digging deeper for the site appears to be an exceptional one that may yet reveal the beginnings of human or prehuman history.

Sites in this country are rather thin. They do not compare with sites in the Near East for example. The deepest that I

have a knowledge of is at the Escolta, Manila. Here the floors of Manila may be studied with much profit and the bottom floor may be more than 5 meters deep; but this is so because the area has been sinking since Spanish occupation. Here we have the evidence of a wonderful stratigraphy of human habitations one succeeding the other. Though the Escolta site belongs to historical archaeology, the down-town Manila area is a good place to observe contemporary layering of material, what with the street asphaltting, cementing etc., leaving the store floors below the street surface.

What to avoid is the premature cessation of excavation. A dead layer may become the unwanted signal, but this is not a safe one. Tests pits should be undertaken, and deep enough. We were confronted with this problem at the Malaking Pulo cave site in 1957. I decided to stop excavation work after a test pit which reached tide-water level and the layer was barren. The basis for this decision was done by rationalization. Since the site was a burial site, people, we thought, would not bury their dead in a level reached by tide water. We reached this conclusion in consonance with our experience in San Narciso, where the burials along the beach were made at a safe distance and level not within the reach of tidal waters. This was confirmed by empirical evidence.

Other Matters that Should be Done in the Field.—Longitudinal and cross sectional studies of the deposition of materials in relation to stratigraphy must be accomplished in the field. Full archaeological reports contain such illustrations and the student should familiarize himself with them. The Bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology contain good models for making them. These studies become useful in interpretation and reconstruction work. It is not too much a requirement if every square of the grid had such diagrams. These are some of the things that require patience and dedication from the archaeologist.

Even in disturbed sites, such diagrams may illustrate the extent of the disturbance and will be necessary when writing the final report.

IV. Interpretation

Preliminaries.—Transporting the haul to the home base, laboratory, or museum involves much attention, care, expense; and

such details can be multiplied by the site's distance to vehicular communication. The greater the distance from the site to one's museum, the greater the attention and so forth.

The unpacking is time consuming too and may need many hands. The artifacts are best arranged in shelves and may temporarily be deposited according to the layering of the materials in the original site. This can be done not without some difficulty, but the labels are good guides for this kind of arrangement, preparatory to interpretation. The photographs, sketches and diagrams may come in handy.

Many of the specimens probably need restoration work to have a better look at the designs, shapes and for purposes of identification, classification, and typological interpretation; others may require cleaning, brushing, washing, drying, etc.

Charcoal or carbonized matter is sent immediately to some lab in U.S.A. for C-14 analysis. This may require time to perform.

Archaeological Reports. — The kinds of reports that may have to be written may be of two broad classes: I, progress reports and II, final report. The first kind consists of the progress of the work at certain intervals during the duration of the excavation work which may be required by the government or by the sponsoring institution. It is descriptive in nature and may contain remarks about problems met in the field, unforeseen needs, and suggestions. It is well to make such periodic reports from the field; it does not only keep the archaeologist busy, but such reports may form the basis of the final report.

The final report may be in the form of (a) a preliminary report of the findings, (b) a fuller one, and (c) special reports on certain aspects of the culture. The first is done to meet any contractual obligation with the sponsoring institution funding the work; or, it may be accomplished with an eye to publication in some journal to announce the completion of an archaeological project and the general results. The second requires much longer time to prepare, and may become monographic in extent and content. After that is finished, certain aspects of the assemblage may be dealt with in shorter articles.

Descriptive Aspects. — The catalogue of the excavation is a permanent source of information where the artifacts are briefly described and identified (a boring tool, adze, axe, bead, etc.), if this is ever possible. Later on a more detailed catalogue is prepared after the material of the tool, ornament, etc. has been identified (obsidian, andesite, glass, shell, etc.), if this has not yet been done previously in the field.

The function or use of the article or artifact may be inferred from the general classification to which archaeologists or anthropologists may assign them. Sometimes it is not easy to arrive at complete identification. This is the beginning of interpretation in fact. When one identifies the artifact or tool, the archaeologist is making use of his general and special knowledge about many things. He has seen in the literature similar tools and articles, or has himself handled them by the hundreds. The act of identification therefore is an exercise in interpretation. The harder part perhaps of this function is the identification of the use to which the culture put the tools or ornaments.

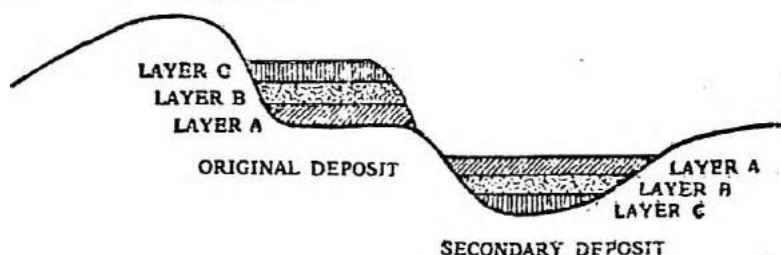
Chronology and Dating. — Both historical and archaeological studies are time oriented and ordered, and in this respect the two sciences are similar; but this similarity is along broad lines mainly. In establishing date, the historian has before him documents which are often dated; this fact facilitates the arrangements of events and making inferences as to motivations, cause and effect, social movements, and so on. On the other hand the prehistorian has only the material remains of the culture, a small portion of the totality on which to base inferences, sequences, and the ordering of events. The difficulties of the prehistorian are compounded by the nature of the material he has under command.

Chronology in archaeology may be established in several ways. In the same site, if this is an undisturbed one, the bottom materials would be older than the one in the middle or in the surface. This is based on common sense and stratigraphy. But if the layer is thin, it might not be possible to establish chronology.

Single deposits may, however, be dated by C-14 method. If there were numerous small deposits which could be dated thus,

chronology then becomes feasible. Sometimes single deposits like these may become useful to establishing typologies, also to indicate relationships or movement of people.

When the deposit has been disturbed by natural causes for instance, temporal interpretation suffers a setback. An example might be cited. Suppose a site is on a hillside had undergone three periods of occupancy, but that water erosion had taken the artifacts below and redeposited them there. The secondary deposit will then have an inverted sequence of deposition compared with the primary site, like the following (which is simplified to drive home the point):



Something like the above happening took place in the Novaliches dam site which posed a problem to the late Professor Beyer. It was only a wide and broad acquaintance with undisturbed sites that he came to know the explanation or what really happened. In a cave site, however, this could happen but rarely. The important thing to find out, therefore, is to determine whether the site is disturbed or not. This has been discussed briefly above.

Where sites are datable by C-14 methods or other scientific means, the problem of chronology can be solved. But not all sites can be dated so. Therefore recourse to relative dating is done. Professor Beyer based his broad sequences by general classification and typology. He also used comparative methods based on evidences in Southeast Asia and Eastern Asia. Before World War II, there was no C-14 method yet developed and so the prevalence of the typological approach. It is based on the assumption that the same age or culture or group of people produces the same type of tools. That if two or more groups of

people separated by distance or barrier happen to produce the same types of tools, containers, or artifacts, it is for the reason that at one time in the past they belonged to the same original group of people. Hence, if two or more sites separated by distance contain similar artifacts, the peoples who produced the same must have some kind of relationship.

Movements of peoples. — Societies are not static groupings of human beings. Peoples move in space through time. Such movements are sometimes documented by the artifacts they produce and leave behind as they moved. Depending upon the length of time they stay in one place and the amount of tools they manufacture during their stay, the thickness of the deposit may indicate. Such movements or occupancy of particular places are indexed by stratigraphy or the presence of sites in different places of varying dates or ages. When there is a dead layer between two culture layers, this may mean temporary or permanent disuse of the locality depending upon the thickness of the barren layer. The dead layer may also mean abandonment of the area. A top layer would mean reoccupancy or a new group of people taking possession of the locality depending upon the kinds of artifacts. If one had a series of sites in a particular area, periodization can be achieved in broad terms.

.. Movements of peoples may be determined if there are enough sites worked out from the coastal to inland areas. Sites at the mouth of a river and its interior or middle courses may be studied to show these movements. For example, all sites so far known indicate that the settlements at the mouth of the Pasig River were very much later than the Laguna de Bay area. It means that the mouth of the Pasig River was probably not fit for habitation, or that the Laguna de Bay area was a safer place for settlement or the establishment of villages sometime before the coming of Spain. Based on the porcelain deposits recovered from these two areas, this conclusion was arrived at by Professor Beyer.

Porcelain, Movements of Peoples, and Chronology. — It was Professor Beyer who made extensive use of the evidence of porcelain for dating purposes and establishing chronology. He did not

however, write the details of his methodology. For the reason that porcelains are datable, their presence or absence in any site is a criterion for dating. Professor Beyer was very reticent about the application of his methods, but he usually provided some 50 years allowance before breakage; this length of time was therefore deducted from the date of the site. This is an instance of relative chronology at a small scale.

Since porcelains are identifiable as to place of origin, if they are found in places where they are not manufactured, this fact is an evidence of trading activities. The quantity and quality of the porcelains may indicate the extent and nature of such trading relationships.

The settlement of the different islands may be studied in this manner also. If there were enough sites studied, there is much promise in the reconstruction of the prehistory of the Philippines. Solheim has initiated a series of excavations both in this country and in Southeast Asia demonstrating prehistoric contacts or relationships. This was based mainly on pottery. Earlier Beyer and subsequently Fox made unilateral diggings which also proved extensive trading relationships of the Philippinesians with China and Southeast Asia based on the porcelain evidence mainly.

V. Concluding Remarks

By way of summary, we wish to emphasize the following points:

1. Archaeological work should be undertaken by qualified people only, that is, by people who had had a general anthropological education and had some actual experience in the field.
2. If one had no such training and experience, it is suggested that the discoverer of a site report the presence of such site to the National Museum on Herran Street, Manila, or to the Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines, at Diliman Campus, Q. C. Both institutions have men qualified to do archaeological work.
3. In view of the fact that our historical records start from 1521, and before that date is prehistory or protohistory,

every Filipino citizen should make an effort to preserve archaeological sites. Digging them up prematurely and haphazardly might mean another document lost to posterity. The hope of scholars for the reconstruction of national history is pinned on archaeology for the achievement of such work.

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L'ETHNOLOGIE ET LE FAIT ETHNIQUE

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L'Ethnologie tend à saisir le phénomène humain à travers trois éléments qui semblent entrer pour une large part dans la constitution de cette unité dont l'intégrité ontologique peut par ailleurs paraître évidente. Biologique, psychique et ethnique, ces "composants" sont en effet également des voies qu'emprunte la science pour atteindre le coeur du problème de l'Homme. Mais il s'agit là des voies qui ne sont abordables qu'à travers la Culture — au sens où ce mot s'oppose à la Nature¹ — que crée l'Homme dans et au moyen de l'Histoire. On en conclut parfois qu'il existe une antinomie entre la discipline historique et l'Ethnologie. En réalité, une fois traversée la masse touffue de phénomènes culturels

¹ Il ne s'agit pas ici de la distinction que l'on trouve en allemand entre "Naturvolk" et "Kulturvolk" mais de celle — plus vaste — que fait, parmi d'autres, C. Lévi-Strauss (1949: chs. 1 et 2). Au centre d'une telle antinomie se trouve l'Homme qui, de surcroît, en apparaît lui-même la "cause." C'est en effet par son effort "culturel" qu'il arrache à la matière sa propre définition.

(qu'encadrent celle-ci dans une durée et celle-là dans le mouvement du temps), l'une et l'autre prennent la même triade de chemins vers l'Homme, pour en revenir de la même façon, rapportant de ce double trajet des éclairages analogues² sur les données qu'il leur faut toujours mettre en ordre. Cela revient à dire que, sur le terrain de la Culture, nos "éléments" fonctionnent comme des catégories par lesquelles il est possible d'en expliquer certains aspects d'ensemble. Ce qui implique qu'au moins au niveau de la théorie, des points de rencontre s'aménagent entre ces deux disciplines dont Lévi-Strauss (1958:1-33) a souligné dans un autre contexte la complémentarité.³ En tout cas, nos "composants" fournissent à l'Ethnologie les points de départ pour un certain nombre de tentatives d'explication dont le coloris "historicisant" des unes montre, au-delà d'une confusion apparente, cette convergence des points de mire.

Sous l'angle "biologique", on n'a pas jusqu'ici élaboré des faits ethnologiques (et, en particulier, de ceux qui touchent à la religion) d'hypothèses explicatives moins partielles que celles de B. Malinowski (1955; 1949)⁴ ou de certains théoriciens des rapports entre race d'une part, et histoire et culture, d'autre part. Inversement, on a relevé en Ethnologie comme dans d'autres sciences connexes des déterminismes psychique et ethnique sur le "biologique", sans qu'il en ressortent des théories d'ensemble sur la culture (et encore moins sur la religion).⁵ Cela s'explique sans doute par le caractère ambigu de cet "élément" dont l'en-

2 En Histoire, on songera à De Gobineau et sa "race," à Hegel et son "idée," à Michelet et sa "nation."

3 Cf. également R. Bastide "Lévi-Strauss ou l'ethnologue à la recherche du temps perdu."

4 Cette opinion ne vise, bien entendu, ni l'aspect "dynamique" de son fonctionnalisme ni l'idée très féconde (qui n'y est d'ailleurs qu'implicite) sur les phénomènes socio-culturels formant un tout. Ils s'inscrivent dans l'un l'autre sens de la polarité des théories ethnologiques dont il sera question plus bas. En expliquant l'origine et la nature de la religion, P. Radin, malgré un certain éclectisme, va dans le même sens "biologique."

5 Cf., toutefois, Lévi-Strauss (1949: chs. 9 et 10) où ces phénomènes sont ramenés à leurs structures "mythiques", lesquelles traduisent un mode de pensée dont on retrouve des analogies en psychanalyse. On sent que le maître s'achemine déjà vers la détermination de la structure propre à l'esprit humain, préoccupation commune à notre "pôle" psychique (*infra*).

chaînement à la Nature contribue à obscurcir, pour les timides aussi bien que pour les audacieux, les liens primordiaux que l'on pourrait raisonnablement supposer avec la Culture.

En revanche, relevant uniquement de la Culture, les catégories "psychique" et "ethnique" se sont dès le début présentées à l'Ethnologie comme deux pôles entre lesquels oscille la pensée théorique sur la religion. Vers le pôle "ethnique", on tend à considérer les données dans leur particularité. On les y ordonne par rapport à l'Ethnie, dont les contours se laissent d'autant plus facilement esquisser du dehors et à tous les niveaux de complexité spatio-temporelle que le concept en reste imprécis. A l'autre bout de ce cercle magique du particulier se trouve l'autre domaine, le psychique, où les faits se comparent d'une ethnie à l'autre pour leur portée sinon universelle au moins générale.

Pôle "Psychique"

Le pôle "extra-ethnique" où l'aspect général des faits intéresse davantage que leur spécificité, pourrait à priori se caractériser autrement que par le terme de "psychique". Néanmoins, c'est ainsi que se laissent désigner la plupart des théories qui découlent de ce point de vue, si l'on se sert, comme base de classification, de leur rapport avec le concept de l'esprit (au double sens de "principe immatériel, âme" et de "jugement, entendement"), lequel remplit dans leur élaboration la fonction d'une sorte de prisme réfracteur.

Deux groupes relativement distincts se dégagent d'un tel classement. Si tous les deux s'accordent pour considérer les données comme des produits, des manifestations de l'esprit, les conséquences qu'ils tirent de cette conformité initiale sont divergentes. Dans un sens, ces manifestations ne constituent que des matériaux pour comprendre l'esprit lui-même, tandis que dans l'autre, elles servent à reconstruire un ou plusieurs états primitifs de la Religion.

Cette dernière attitude provient en fait d'un souci "historisant" d'interroger les faits ethnographiques sur les origines soit

de la Religion elle-même soit d'un état donné de croyances. Les réponses qui en ressortent sont assez diverses et dépendent souvent des questions posées. Certains théoriciens trouvent avec le Père W. Schmidt (1910:138-9) que l'idée (très répandue dans le monde "primitif" d'un "Etre Suprême" investi des attributs que les grandes religions s'accordent à reconnaître en Dieu) laisse deviner la présence à l'origine d'un pressentiment (presque équivalent à une Révélation) monothéiste que les vicissitudes d'une Histoire dans ce cas rétrogressive ont empêché de s'épanouir mais non de se conserver en l'Homme.⁶ En revanche, élargissant leur champ d'investigations, d'autres s'appuient sur l'ethnographie pour projeter au tout début de la conscience religieuse un ou des ensembles plus ou moins déterminables de croyances qui, formant parfois une antinomie avec la Religion, s'inscrivent dans un processus-modèle de progression vers un état actuel de celle-ci. Au beau milieu des tentatives de ce genre se trouve la théorie animiste, dont l'aspect évolutionniste a produit beaucoup plus de résonance que celui sous lequel l'animisme, "doctrine d'êtres spirituels" dans et hors de l'homme, est conçu comme base de toutes les religions, s'opposant en tant que "philosophie spiritualiste" au matérialisme et, en tant que "religion naturelle" à la "théologie moderne". En effet, partant de ces considérations philosophiques, E. Tylor⁷ met sur pied un schéma de développement religieux selon lequel,

6 "Nous sommes . . . en mesure d'atteindre jusqu'aux stades pré-mythologiques, mais nous y trouvons déjà un véritable Etre Suprême. Celui-ci est unique . . . , tout-puissant, onniscient, miséricordieux, obligeant, toujours bon. Il est Juge et Législateur de l'ordre éthique, châtie le mal et récompense le bien — aussi dans une autre vie. Il est Créateur du monde et de l'homme, dirige et régit le destin des deux . . . (Mais cette) . . . Religion est progressivement absorbée par la Mythologie . . . évolution . . . (que l'on ne pourrait appeler) autrement que dégénération." (Schmidt: 1909, 258-9). Dans son *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, le Père Schmidt donne des exemples pris de partout à l'appui de cette théorie qui voit la Religion de l'Etre Suprême précéder même le naturisme (avec ses dieux de la Mythologie) qui, lui, n'est que la première étape vers la dégradation de l'idée de Dieu.

7 Cf., surtout, vol. I, pp. 383-386 et vol. II, pp. 1, 99, 100-01, 168, 225. Goblet d'Alviella, se basant sur Tylor, Spencer, Frazer, etc., met toutes les religions non-théologiques sous l'étiquette d'animisme, divisant celui-ci en nécrolâtrie (avec totémisme), spiritisme et naturisme — ce qui adopte le point de vue "synchronique" qui oppose (notre) "théologie moderne" à la "religion naturelle" (des autres). La disparité d'une telle antithèse est évidente: le contraste se fait entre unité et multiplicité, un terme qui tend vers l'uniformité et un autre qui recouvre une grande diversité (dont pourrait faire partie justement le premier terme).

sur la base des "dogmes" de l'âme individuelle (dont l'idée serait venue à l'homme primitif par l'image qu'il a de lui-même pendant le rêve) et des esprits (qui ne seraient pour lui que les âmes individuelles qui survivent la décomposition du corps après la mort) se construisent successivement dans l'histoire le culte des ancêtres (ou des morts), le naturisme et le polythéisme précédant le monothéisme des grandes religions. Bien que Tylor semble avoir considéré toutes les étapes (à l'exception probablement de la dernière) comme parties constitutives d'un animisme intégral, les deux premières, parce que "primitives," constituent pour beaucoup l'animisme par excellence.⁸ C'est dans cet esprit qu'on a pu parler de "pré-animisme", dont les caractéristiques principales (tirées presque exclusivement des pratiques "magiques") seraient, d'après un de ses théoriciens,⁹ l'idée des substances ou des corps remplis de "forces" et l'interprétation anthropomorphique de la nature. On a trouvé d'autres termes tels que "dynamisme", "animatisme", "spiritisme", etc. pour préciser, limiter et même dénaturer la construction de Tylor. Karutz a cru devoir remédier à cette inflation terminologique en proposant une "théorie générale" qui expliquerait mieux que les autres jusqu'alors en vogue tous les aspects de la religion primitive jusqu'à l'animisme restreint. Il s'agit de l'émanisme, "doctrine" qui enseigne que les "émanations" de propriétés provenant de la matière — physiques des corps inorganiques, physiologiques des êtres organiques, psychiques ou intellectuelles des hommes et des animaux — se transmettent à l'entourage et aux autres choses et organismes. Quoiqu'il en soit de cette tentative, il reste que toutes ces théories

⁸ Cf., par exemple, B. Anckermann qui pourtant critique la pratique courante de prendre de tous les côtés pour arriver à une théorie et demande qu'on étudie seulement les données de certains "cercles culturels". Pour P. C. van der Wolk, l'animisme se concentre uniquement sur l'idée de l'âme (laquelle, à l'encontre de l'opinion que s'en fait Tylor, est double) et consacre par conséquent la majeure partie de son étude à ce "processus corporel élémentaire", cette fonction vitale et consciente qu'est pour lui l'animisme.

⁹ A. Vierkandt (pp. 62-3). Pour la doctrine, cf. également R. R. Marett, F. D. E. van Ossensbruggen, et C. Spat. Si Durkheim a raison de voir dans l'animisme et le naturisme les deux conceptions principales de la religion avant la sienne (infra) le pré-animisme est à l'animisme ce que la théorie de l'Être Suprême "pré-mythologique" est au naturisme sorti de la mythologie comparée.

se ressemblent en ce qu'elles restent au niveau des croyances, y mettant un semblant d'ordre explicatif en dehors des systèmes ethniques. Les phénomènes à rassembler en système y intéressent davantage que la nature de l'esprit dont ils sont les manifestations.

L'inverse est vrai pour l'autre groupe de théories "psychiques". Le double sens de l'esprit y constitue une ligne approximative de partage. Les unes se penchent vers l'âme considérée comme un complexe de sentiments et de prédispositions de la sensibilité, tandis que les autres tendent vers l'entendement, vers la pensée. A l'encontre de l'histoire des religions qui vise les faits et de la psychologie religieuse qui analyse comment ils viennent de la *psukhê*, la phénoménologie de G. van der Leeuw (1925), visant celle-ci, tente de comprendre la religion à travers notre propre vie spirituelle (laquelle confère aux faits un certain ordre, une certaine organisation) afin d'arriver au contenu affectif (*Erfahrungsinhalt*), au "noyau psychique" des phénomènes. La religion est ainsi sentie et ressentie à travers le sujet et non analysée comme objet. Mais on n'atteint le sujet qu'au moyen d'une introspection provoquée par un contact immédiat avec les faits religieux, ce qui implique une sensibilité commune sinon à l'humanité toute entière au moins à la fois au "primitif" et au savant qui se propose de le comprendre en tant que vie intérieure dans son rapport avec le sacré.¹⁰ En ce sens, on ne comprend que très mal la faveur qu'a trouvée chez Van der Leeuw¹¹ la mentalité primitive de L. Lévy-Bruhl. Car celui-ci (1928; 1960) distingue très nettement la mentalité moderne (logique et même positiviste) de la loi de participation (en rapport avec le principe d'identité et le refus de la contradiction) qui caractérise l'attitude pré-

10 Dans son *Traité d'Histoire des Religions*, M. Eliade ne se différencie de Van der Leeuw que par son insistance sur les "hiérophanies" qui d'ailleurs n'impliquent point l'intervention d'un élément extérieur (Révélation), étant considérées par rapport au sujet.

11 Cf., 1928 et 1937, où la mentalité primitive, tout en s'opposant à la "nôtre" (la moderne), s'étend à celles des malades mentaux et des enfants, ce qui fait sortir cette théorie des manifestations purement religieuses. Par contre, S. Freud, en éclairant certains faits religieux à travers le psychisme anormal, reste sur le même plan que Lévy-Bruhl, avec la seule différence que l'altérité du Primitif n'est en fait pour lui qu'une aliénation.

logique et mystique des primitifs, dichotomie que l'on n'a pu décrire que par l'emploi de la raison analytique, laquelle diffère complètement du procédé intuitif par lequel la phénoménologie parvient à dévoiler la sensibilité du sujet religieux. On ne comprendra Van der Leeuw que si l'on pose en principe que la pensée mystique n'est intelligible qu'à travers ses propres lois, sa propre nature, — ce qui rendrait sans intérêt sinon inutile l'analyse de Lévy-Bruhl. Toutefois, il semble que les deux auteurs ne divergent que sur la méthode que chacun préconise, car ils se retrouvent dans leur réduction du chaos de faits bruts en "système" de sentiments psychiques traduisant une mentalité différente de la "nôtre" tout en lui étant compréhensible (par analyse ou par intuition).

Leurs théories diffèrent ainsi de celles qui, mettant l'accent sur l'entendement, tentent d'intégrer soit dans une vue du monde soit dans la pensée humaine unitaire l'image que leur apporte de l'esprit l'analyse des faits ethnologiques non limités à la religion. En effet, si la "Völkerpsychologie" de W. Wundt extrait de la langue, de la religion et des mœurs, produits des communautés ethniques (Volksgemeinschaften), des indications sur l'esprit, elle inscrit ce dernier dans une évolution spirituelle de l'Homme à quatre époques (primitive, totémique, des héros et des dieux, de l'état national lié à une religion nationale), tandis que l'étude que C. Lévi-Strauss, en s'inspirant de la linguistique moderne, consacre aux faits religieux et sociaux, conduit au constat de l'unité de l'esprit humain, la pensée sauvage (substrat du "paradoxe néolithique" dont le règne — le signe — s'étend entre les domaines du concept et du percept) rencontrant au moins sur le terrain de la communication l'esprit domestiqué de la Science, effet et cause de la Révolution Industrielle.¹²

12 Il s'agit ici, bien entendu, d'une réduction nécessairement approximative de la pensée du maître jusqu'à l'étape du Totémisme aujourd'hui et de la Pensée sauvage. Toutefois, dès lors qu'on voit le but de l'Ethnologie dans "un inventaire de possibilités inconscientes, qui n'existent pas en nombre illimité; et dont le répertoire, et les rapports de compatibilité et d'incompatibilité que chacune entretient avec toutes les autres, fournissent une architecture logique" (1958: p. 30), on se dirige déjà vers la détermination de l'esprit humain, c'est-à-dire, en définitive, vers une anthropologie où le fait ethnique perd à priori toute réalité, parce qu'il ne pourrait y être qu'une valeur différentielle, un "événement." Ce n'est pas par hasard, en ce sens, que Lévi-Strauss appelle son "structuralisme" une "anthropologie structurale".

Tout en étant partiellement analogue aux démarches à la fois de Lévi-Strauss et de Tylor, l'analyse que fait E. Durkheim du totémisme australien (1960)¹³ se rapproche du pôle où dominent des considérations purement "ethniques". Comme Lévi-Strauss par la suite, Durkheim aborde les phénomènes religieux pour en arracher des éléments susceptibles d'éclaircir le problème de l'esprit. Toutefois, tandis que ces faits religieux, avec d'autres données du continuum culturel, livrent au premier les structures d'un esprit construit et construisant, à mi-chemin entre le concept et le percept, sur le signe, ils apparaissaient au sociologue à l'origine même des catégories de l'esprit, super-concepts formant les "cadres de la vie mentale" commune aux membres d'une "société" donnée. Mais la tentative de Durkheim ressemble également à celles dont le prototype est l'animisme de Tylor: à leur base à toutes se trouve l'idée d'une séquence de développement. En effet, Durkheim place son totémisme, "la religion la plus primitive et la plus simple qui soit connue" (parce que "produit" d'une société primitive), dans une succession qui inclut, après lui, l'animisme et le naturisme, lesquels ne pouvant point se réclamer du titre de "primitif" parce qu'ils tirent la religion ex nihilo l'un de l'homme (rêve) et l'autre de l'univers (sentiment d'écrasement) quand il faut reconnaître son origine dans la société, laquelle possède un caractère sacré.

C'est d'ailleurs par cette thèse de l'origine "sociale" de la religion que Durkheim semble rejoindre le pôle "ethnique". En rattachant la religion à la société, il répond à un besoin depuis longtemps ressenti de traiter les phénomènes religieux dans un contexte pour ainsi dire existentiel — à l'intérieur d'un système de références qui leur est propre. Dans la mesure où l'on peut

13 En particulier, pp. 1-124, 592-638. Ch. 8 analyse le naturisme qui, en s'appuyant sur la mythologie comparée inaugurée par M. Müller et A. Kühn pour la famille linguistique indo-européenne, dérive la religion primitive des forces naturelles auxquelles les fonctions "dénominatives" de la langue ont accordé des personnalités distinctes. Les dieux sont nés, en ce sens, de l'effort de l'homme primitif de penser à travers le langage les phénomènes naturels. De là découlent les autres étapes de l'évolution religieuse. Cette théorie s'inscrit dans notre pôle "psychique" tout en s'opposant à l'animisme de Tylor (supra).

considérer les Australiens comme une ethnie,¹⁴ la systematisation qu'il a su faire de leur religion serait ainsi "ethnique" à sa manière, les faits étant expliqués à l'intérieur d'un tout bien délimité. Le concept même de "société" ne paraît guère très loin d'avoir le sens que l'on pourrait comprendre par "ethnie" — tout au moins dans le cas particulier des Australiens, lesquels constituent pour Durkheim à la fois une société (en tant que type auquel correspond une religion primitive, le totémisme) et des sociétés (en tant qu'unités minima, qu'ensembles organiques). Dans ce dernier sens, Durkheim semble concevoir sa "société" hétérogène dans le temps et dans l'espace (d'où ses "sociétés définies et individualisées" à organisations spatio-temporelles différentes) et homogène dans les limites d'une collectivité vécue de l'intérieur (d'où les catégories de l'esprit qui servent de "cadre" commun à ses membres). Tout cela ressemble à la conception que l'on pourrait avoir de l'ethnie et rapproche effectivement du point de vue "ethnique" l'interprétation durkheimienne de la religion. Mais l'idée qu'une religion constitue un tout dont la cohérence tient à sa particularité ethnique n'a qu'un caractère implicite (quoique nécessaire) dans l'édifice durkheimien. A la base de celui-ci se trouve plutôt l'opposition société/religion, dont l'utilité ne devient compréhensible qu'à la lumière de ce qu'il faut bien appeler un pléonasme méthodique — à savoir, la tentative de résoudre (en dehors de l'Histoire mais pour et à cause d'elle: paradoxe "ethnologique" s'il en est) le problème de l'origine de la religion, en dérivant celle-ci d'une "société" dont elle est par définition partie intégrante intégrant elle-même l'ensemble.¹⁵ En

14 Ce qui est parfaitement défendable. En constant devenir, la personnalité ethnique restera toujours fuyante, insaisissable — sauf à des niveaux et dans les limites dont la variabilité est fonction moins d'une réalité toujours mouvante que d'une certaine convention à laquelle contribuent des facteurs externes et internes. Prof. Leroi-Gourhan préfère au terme d'ethnie les mots volontairement vagues de "groupe" et de "masse" pour désigner, d'après leur importance et leur cohésion, les ensembles ethniques dont l'instabilité spatio-temporelle ne doit aucunement obscurcir l'existence effective ou virtuelle. (1945: pp. 326-338, 357, 368-369, 433-450). Cf. *infra*.

15 "Ce qui ressort des faits . . . (amassés par Durkheim)", souligne à ce propos le Prof. R. Bastide (1960: pp. 5-6), "c'est . . . l'impossibilité de détacher la religion du phénomène social global . . . car ces exemples montrent bien tous que la religion est toujours incarnée dans le social, non que le social crée la religion . . . (point de vue qui d'ailleurs ne fait pas sortir) d'une recherche causale que nous avons déjà repoussée comme philosophique."

ce sens, Durkheim, en ne succombant (ou résistant) qu'à moitié à la tentation de l'Histoire, va au-delà et en même temps en deça de l'attitude "ethnique" envers la religion.

Pôle "Ethnique"

A l'encontre du pôle "psychique" vers lequel tend par son historicisme Durkheim, le point de vue "ethnique" pourrait se caractériser d'abord par un refus de voir les données ethnographiques comme simple matière à des considérations sur l'Histoire en tant que processus extra-, supra-ethnique, voire universel. S'il y a un "problème" d'origine, il ne se pose et n'a de sens que dans le cadre de l'Ethnie.

C'est toute la différence entre Diachronie et Histoire. Peu embarrassée par la pesanteur des particularismes ethniques, celle-ci plane au-dessus d'eux pour mieux suivre dans un temps irréversible le mouvement des phénomènes, dont le sens et les causalités à priori déterminables par diverses méthodes d'analyse s'expriment en des "lois" de développement (linéaire, cyclique ou spiral) ou tout simplement de régression (biblique ou laïque).¹⁶ En revanche, la Diachronie, dirigée en linguistique comme en ethnologie sur le passage d'un état synchronique à un autre et, partant, sur les formulations successives des éléments d'un tout, ne fait que compléter la Synchronie dans l'examen qu'entreprend celle-ci des phénomènes relevant d'une totalité circonscrite dans le temps et dans l'espace — c'est-à-dire, en fin de compte, une langue ou une ethnie.

16 L'évolutionnisme en Histoire générale est linéaire (idée reprise en sociologie et en ethnologie sous la forme de la théorie des âges souvent calquée sur le modèle tripartite: Antiquité, Moyen Age, Epoque moderne et contemporaine), la philosophie de Spengler cyclique. Toynbee présente une idée "spirale" de l'Histoire, vue intermédiaire où le progrès reste réel (d'ailleurs ici dans le sens religieux) malgré le caractère passager des civilisations. La Technologie tend à présenter la même vision, les techniques ayant un effet cumulatif malgré le déclin multiple et successif des groupes culturels. On connaît la doctrine biblique de l'origine et de la chute de l'Homme (Histoire) conduisant à sa rédemption ou à sa damnation (fin du Temps historique, début du Temps cosmique). La "christogénèse" teilhardienne s'inscrit dans cette tradition apocalyptique, tout en ayant un aspect optimiste dans sa partie historique avant le cataclysme du point "oméga."

Objet chacune d'une science dont le nom par surcroît en dérive, la langue et l'ethnie se ressemblent également par le paradoxe de leur imprécision en tant que concepts opératoires. En effet, leur délimitation spatio-temporelle ne tient souvent qu'à une convention, si elle ne dépend pas tout bonnement de la discrétion de chaque chercheur. La langue (au sens où ce mot englobe en même temps la distinction saussurienne entre "langue" et "parole") n'acquiert des contours spatio-temporels que par le volume et l'extension d'un "corpus" arbitrairement extrait du *continuum* idiolecte-dialecte-famille linguistique. De son côté, la configuration d'une ethnie résulte moins d'une conscience interne (dans la pratique confinée à des unités restreintes) d'appartenance que d'une appréhension externe variable, voire multiple, selon les points (et les buts) d'observation.

On pourrait presque dire que l'ethnie se définit par rapport à son inventeur. Si, par exemple, J. Warneck a besoin de l'ensemble des Batak de Sumatra pour échauffer son "paradigme" des religions "animistes" en Indonésie, les Toba suffisent à J. Winkler pour retrouver le même système. Bien que D. C. Worcester, considérant les classifications antérieures trop gonflées parce que basées sur les noms des unités villageoises (*rancherias*), divise les montagnards du Nord de Luzon en sept "tribus" dont les "negritos" nomades et non-indonésiens,¹⁷ M. Vanoverbergh les considère, à l'exception des derniers, comme constituant essentiellement une ethnie, laissant très prudemment de côté la question de savoir s'ils l'étaient à l'origine ou le sont devenus.

De nature diachronique, ce dernier problème est lié par le Prof. Leroi-Gourhan, dans son examen de la personnalité ethnique,¹⁸ à celui — en grande partie synchronique — de l'indétermination ethnique. De cette analyse, l'ethnie apparaît moins comme un passé que comme un devenir, l'unité ethnique n'étant que convergence instable sur "un point conventionnel" des

¹⁷ Par contre, F. Keesing tente de prouver l'identité originelle des sections de cet ensemble à des ethnies correspondantes des plaines.

¹⁸ *Supra*, note 14.

éléments qui "mènent en deça et au delà une existence indépendante", ôtant de cette manière à l'ethnologie "la sécurité que possède l'Histoire générale, en usant de noms de peuples, de dates et de lieux d'événements" (pp. 326-8). De là le souci d'éviter le dilemme de l'insaisissabilité ethnique en s'y prêtant au niveau spatial. En effet, dans le but de s'adapter au fait que "la surface du globe est occupée par des groupements humains temporaires qui ont reçu dans la mesure vague de durée où ils sont cohérents, le terme de groupes ethniques" (p. 368), on substitue au terme d'ethnie ceux de "groupe" et de "masse" (pp. 433-50), lesquels mettent mieux en relief l'extensibilité et l'aspect pour ainsi dire "gigogne" du phénomène des ethnies. On pourrait en effet concevoir un "emboîtement" par niveaux, une intégration spatio-temporelle progressive des "devenirs ethniques" les uns dans les autres — comme, par exemple, dans la série qui va du groupe "breton" ou "bavarois" jusqu'à la grande masse "européenne" en passant par le grand groupe "français" ou "allemand" et la masse "latine" ou "germanique." De bas en haut, on peut en considérer chaque unité à la fois comme un ensemble cohérent dans une "mesure de durée" et comme élément d'un devenir conduisant à un autre palier de stabilité provisoire. Ce qui fait apparaître beaucoup plus clairement qu'en introduisant ainsi dans la multiplicité de devenir ethniques un découpage en "groupes" et "masses", on tire avantage de l'imprécision même du concept de l'ethnie. En effet, la détermination exacte d'une ethnie en devient moins importante (parce que moins féconde) que l'appréhension interne des contours qui servent de coordonnées aux deux modes de comportement que reconnaissent dans les phénomènes la Synchronie et la Diachronie. Car, que les données ethnologiques soient considérées comme convergence cohérente d'éléments dans une durée ou comme un devenir constant en deça et au-delà de ce moment privilégié, elles sont, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, enfermées, comprises (aux sens propre et figuré du mot) dans un système de référence — système qui, du groupe à la masse, se dessine ainsi de l'intérieur dans la continuité spatio-temporelle "ethnique." L'ethnie est en ce sens moins une configuration qu'un double axe de rapports internes.

Dans la pratique, un tel point de vue laisse évidemment à chaque adepte le soin de délimiter son ethnie. Mais c'est une délimitation "individuelle" qui acquiert par son rattachement complémentaire à une conception précise de son objet, une certaine rigueur méthodologique par rapport à l'autre plus répandue, dont on a déjà signalé les critères variables d'un observateur à l'autre. En d'autres termes, en dépit d'une certaine ressemblance formelle, ces deux procédés de détermination ethnique diffèrent dans le fond: tandis que l'un vise le sens des phénomènes dans leurs rapports réciproques à l'intérieur d'un double "référentiel" statique et dynamique, l'autre aborde les faits à travers leur forme extérieure variable, pour ce qu'ils peuvent signifier à l'observateur — c'est-à-dire, hors de leur contexte, le concept de l'ethnie ne servant en fin de compte qu'à coller une étiquette aux phénomènes dont les facteurs explicatifs appartiennent à un autre ordre de réalités que celui d'une ethnie particulière.¹⁹ C'est la différence qui sépare une étude de caractère "ethnique" véritable d'une simple description ethnique aux accessoires de provenance diverse.

Ce dernier genre de compréhension ethnique est en réalité tributaire des idées du pôle "psychique."²⁰ La religion des Bahau-Kenja de Kalimantan, par exemple, prouve pour A. W. Nieuwenhuis le schéma évolutionniste de Tylor, bien qu'il y reconnaisse lui-même en co-existence synchronique des croyances relatives aux "âmes" (animisme), aux "esprits" (spiritisme) et aux "dieux" de la nature (naturisme). Warneck, moins au courant de la pensée de

19 L'Ethnologie étant, malgré tout, un épiphénomène de l'expansion historique d'une grande masse "en devenir", il s'agit ici bien souvent d'un ordre global constituant l'Autre par rapport à un Nous européen (au sens variable, d'ailleurs) — à moins qu'on ait entre temps résolu l'antithèse par la découverte de l'unité de l'esprit humain. Ce qui implique qu'on a auparavant retourné la conscience ethnologique sur l'Europe, donnant naissance de cette manière à un conflit peut-être factice entre l'Histoire que ce continent a et l'Ethnologie qu'il s'impose parce qu'elle s'est imposée à lui par l'Histoire.

20 Sans en exclure même les productions de l'époque héroïque de ce qu'on pourrait appeler la proto-ethnologie, lesquelles tiennent dans l'ensemble leur "facteur" explicatif externe de l'esprit missionnaire, du besoin administratif ou du goût du pittoresque — ce qui explique sans doute le caractère d'altérité expressément ou implicitement attribué à un bloc "primitif" ou extra-européen dans les premières grandes théories que lui consacre, en se basant essentiellement sur les faits "proto-ethnologiques", la période proprement ethnologique suivante.

Tylor que de l'interprétation qu'en a faite Kruijt pour décrire les faits indonésiens, retrouve également chez les Batak un "animisme" caractéristique lié à une "image" d'un monde de "dieux" et à la peur des "esprits" et des "ancêtres," tandis que Winkler considère la religion des seuls Toba comme "animiste-spiritiste" parce qu'il s'agit d'un culte des âmes (animisme) lié à un "spiritisme" et à un "polythéisme." Pour H. Geurtjens, la religion des gens des îles Kei n'est qu'un "assemblage incohérent d'idées animistes, magiques et totémiques" et il la décrit en conséquence. Peu de temps après sa formulation, l'émanisme de Karutz fut enregistré dans presque toutes les ethnies micronésiennes étudiées par une grande expédition allemande du début du siècle. D'autres exemples dans le même sens s'ajouteront plus loin à liste que l'on pourrait d'ailleurs allonger indéfiniment. Pour le moment, il en ressort déjà assez clairement que la plupart des chercheurs de cette catégorie découvrent dans les religions "ethniques" qu'ils tentent de décrire, justement les mêmes idées qu'émet périodiquement la littérature théorique sur la religion. On comprend alors plus facilement pourquoi les limites ethniques peuvent et doivent même rester floues du dehors. Elles ne servent pratiquement qu'à classer les faits qui prouvent ou constituent des vues générales sur la religion et son sens. La religion ethnique n'en apparaît que comme un amas amorphe de phénomènes auquel on ne pourrait donner une forme, une cohérence, qu'en le forçant dans des moules préexistants.

Il n'en est pas de même avec les études de caractère véritablement "ethnique." Les deux grands travaux que le professeur R. Bastide²¹ a consacrés aux religions afro-brésiliennes en constituent des exemples de premier ordre — d'autant plus que chacun repose sur un concept qui, avec l'autre, éclaire mieux ce

21 Les religions africaines au Brésil, dont la portée théorique dépassée évidemment le point qui nous occupe (cf., en particulier, pp. 1-38, 519-558), et Le Candomblé de Bahia (Rite Nagô), où l'on étudie une religion en tant que "... système harmonieux et cohérent de représentations collectives et de gestes rituels. . . . que réalité autonome, sans référence à l'histoire ou à la transplantation des cultures, d'une partie du monde à une autre" sans l'encadrer dans "... des systèmes de concepts, empruntés à l'ethnographie traditionnelle ou à l'anthropologie culturelle. . ." (pp. 9-10).

même "double axe de rapports internes" que nous avons cru pouvoir extraire des idées du Professeur Leroi-Gourhan sur l'ethnie. En effet, si le destin "diachronique" des religions africaines porteuses d'une culture particulière n'est discernable ni compréhensible qu'à l'intérieur d'un phénomène social total brésilien en mouvement — c'est-à-dire, en somme, par rapport à un ensemble ethnique en devenir, à un palier virtuel de concordances provisoires (grand groupe ou masse), le candomblé de Bahia, de son côté, se définit synchroniquement moins par son "enkystement" en tant que religion et culture dans le grand corps social brésilien en train de se faire, que par le jeu des éléments liés les uns aux autres à l'intérieur des coordonnées qui en font un phénomène social global — c'est-à-dire, en fin de compte, un groupe ethnique vivant d'une vie interne. Autrement dit, puisque le phénomène social global totalise et, partant, rend cohérents des rapports internes et le phénomène social total reflète un ensemble global en train d'acquiescer une consistance, tout s'enferme et tout s'explique en réalité dans les limites d'un tout. Et ce "tout," parce que variant en importance selon les niveaux, peut s'appeler "groupe" ou "masse" sans perdre de ce fait les traits de l'ethnie classique.

La compréhension "ethnique" au sens de l'intelligence synchronique des rapports internes, se limite toutefois dans la pratique à des groupes relativement restreints. Aux niveaux plus élevés, l'ethnologie tend à céder le pas à la sociologie ou à l'histoire — surtout quand il s'agit comme dans le cas du Brésil, d'un résultat virtuel de rencontre de civilisations de natures différentes.²² Ce n'est pas par hasard que le Professeur Bastide considère son étude des religions afro-brésiliennes comme une sociologie et sa description d'une d'elles, le candomblé de Bahia, comme une eth-

22 A ce niveau "national", une ethnie possède ou atteint à un passé, c'est-à-dire paradoxalement, une conscience historique qui ordonne les faits par rapport à un présent auquel tout mène et dont tout peut résulter. L'ethnie proprement dite pense normalement le présent en fonction d'un autrefois dont tout découle et par rapport auquel tout s'organise dans une durée. C'est en ce sens qu'elle reste imperméable à l'Histoire, conscience "contemporaine" projetant son regard pour ainsi dire sur un "éparpillement" de petits rayons lumineux qu'absorbe l'épaisseur d'une nuit où s'engloutit le "passé".

nologie. On éclaire de l'intérieur, dans un cas, la formation, dans l'autre, la forme d'une totalité. Mais, on le verra, là où il s'agit non d'une résultante de rencontre dans l'Histoire mais seulement d'un état ethnique supérieur sur la base de groupes apparentés, le point de vue "ethnique" conserve sa valeur en s'armant de la comparaison, alors devenue nécessaire. Quoiqu'il en soit, les travaux de M. Griaule sur les Dogons,²³ tout comme celui de G. Dieterlen sur les Bambara, répondent à un souci de définir une religion dont les éléments renvoient les uns aux autres pour constituer un tout cohérent à l'intérieur des limites ethniques relativement réduites, indépendamment du fait que certains principes fondamentaux peuvent en être comparés à ceux d'autres religions de la même aire culturelle, révélant peut-être de cette manière "les traits principaux d'une seule religion et d'une seule conception sur l'organisation du monde et la nature de l'homme." En analysant pour sa part la religion des Niassais à travers et à l'intérieur de leur propre culture, P. Suzuki se garde même de faire allusion à la possibilité de ce niveau "régional" de coordonnées ethniques (dans ce cas, l'ensemble indonésien).

Le noyau ethnique restreint apparaît ainsi comme le cadre normal d'une explication synchronique de la religion. Au-delà jusqu'aux confins du pôle théorique où tout se réduit à une anthropologie, une psychologie ou une histoire, s'étend un *no man's land* d'autres niveaux ethniques dont on pourrait supposer qu'ils recèlent, à côté des phénomènes sociaux totaux des ensembles en devenir, d'autres ordres statiques de cohérence ethnique.

Le domaine intermédiaire

On a pu dire de la pensée bouddhique et, partant, de la connaissance en général que les "formes fluides (y) font place aux structures et la création au néant," tout effort pour comprendre n'aboutissant qu'à "l'unique présence durable . . . où s'évanouit la distinction entre le sens et l'absence de sens, là même d'où nous

23 Masques Dogons, "parole de face" mais également produit d'une intelligence participante par rapport aux Dieux d'eau, systématisation plus "interne" parce que presque une initiation à la théorie indigène l'une religion "naturelle".

étions partis."²⁴ Mais si le fait brut et la pure abstraction semblent boucler ainsi un cercle vicieux pour le philosophe, cela n'enlève pas pour autant toute valeur pratique à une intellection dont ils forment les limites extrêmes. En tout cas, la polarité des théories ethnologiques dont il est question dans les sections précédentes paraît être en ce sens une dimension par laquelle les phénomènes acquièrent pour l'ethnologue une certaine intelligibilité entre le chaos de leur multiplicité toujours plus immédiate et leur volatilisation par abstraction toujours plus subtile, deux conditions correspondant en fin de compte à un défaut d'objet, c'est-à-dire au futile.

Si les deux pôles, en divergeant jusqu'à la limite, se retrouvent ainsi dans une sorte de cul-de-sac de la cognition, ils dévoilent à l'intelligence ethnologique, dans un mouvement inverse, le terrain peu parcouru des groupes étendus et des masses. C'est à ce niveau que se situe le devenir brésilien, phénomène social total auquel se rapportent les religions étudiées diachroniquement par le Professeur Bastide. Mais il ne serait guère possible dans un examen synchronique de rattacher à un tel groupe étendu un ensemble correspondant de représentations religieuses communes, comme cela a été possible pour "l'enkystement" ethnique du *candomblé*. En revanche, on ne peut qu'approuver G. Dieterlen quand, ayant fait l'explication interne d'une religion ethnique, elle plaide pour une recherche comparative qui décèlerait une "même ossature de représentations" chez tous les "peuples" soudanais "comme il l'a été notamment chez les Dogon et les Bambara," un "canevas unique" sur lequel chacun d'eux agence des "figures propres à son génie" (pp. 228-9). Il s'agit dans ces deux exemples brésilien et soudanais de deux genres de groupes étendus ou de masses. L'un est avant tout une réalité organique que sous-tend la conscience interne d'un destin engendré par un passé démontrable (ou que l'on cherche à démontrer) dans le sens du présent, tandis que l'autre est tout simplement une texture de concordances observables à travers un certain nombre de groupes restreints formant chacun

²⁴ C. Lévi-Strauss (1955: 446, 445). Les citations sont tirées des contextes différents mais contigus et allant dans le même sens.

un phénomène social global. En d'autres termes, l'un intègre un temps linéaire pour devenir un corps lancé dans l'histoire, tandis que l'autre, tirant son "essence" de l'ethnie restreinte, en partage également "l'existence" dans une durée dont il s'imbibe pour avoir une certaine permanence interne. Ce qui revient à dire que la question d'origine, dans le dernier cas, est chose secondaire sinon tout simplement oiseuse, la matière ne se prêtant aucunement à ce genre d'analyse. En tout cas, en se la posant, Durkheim n'a fait que détourner l'attention d'un véritable mérite de son travail sur le "totémisme" australien — à savoir, la définition (d'ailleurs sans comparaison préalable d'ethnie restreinte à ethnie restreinte) d'une religion à partir et à l'intérieur d'une masse appelée par lui la "société" australienne.

C'est dans le même sens qu'il faudrait interpréter les travaux qu'a consacrés G. Dumézil postérieurement à son *Festin d'Immortalité* aux faits religieux "indo-européens." Malgré ses attaches à la mythologie comparée dont sortait naguère le naturisme, G. Dumézil s'y intéresse moins à l'origine de la Religion qu'à la détermination à travers leurs "plus vieilles traditions," d'une religion propre aux "peuples parlant des langues indo-européennes" et dont "les autres peuples de l'ancien monde n'offrent pas d'équivalent." (1958: 5, 90-2). Un tel examen comparatif engagerait à voir

"... la structure fondamentale commune aux formes les plus anciennes de ces religions (dans) l'idée que l'organisation divine comme la vie collective des hommes suppose l'agencement harmonieux de trois fonctions bien distinctes et assurées par des personnages distincts: celle de souveraineté magique et juridique, celle de force physique, celle de fécondité, d'abondance..." (1956:5).

Irréductible aux religions ethniques historiquement constituées, (1945: 182 et seq.), dont les parallélismes sous forme de "traces" décélabes par la méthode comparative s'articulent dans ses "fonctions" solidaires les unes des autres, cette "théologie tripartite" des Indo-Européens remonterait à l'époque "avant leur dispersion" (1959: 1, *passim*). Un tel "historicisme" semble toutefois occuper

une place secondaire dans la pensée de Dumézil et s'applique en tout cas **uniquement** à l'intérieur de la **masse** indo-européenne, la religion en question lui étant **particulière et non comparable** aux systèmes attribuables à d'autres masses. On comprend d'ailleurs aisément pourquoi le grand comparatiste fait ainsi de "l'histoire" pour ainsi dire en dépit d'une volonté "structuraliste" proclamée. (1952:79-103). D'une part, il travaille sur des sources dont se servent à la fois l'historien et le linguiste historique. Plus proche de celui-ci, le mythologue-comparatiste tend naturellement à voir dans les correspondances qu'il met à jour, des témoins (Dumézil parle, à propos des faits romains et iraniens des "fossiles" et des "empreintes") d'un "état primitif" sur lequel l'Histoire amoncèlerait des éléments différentiels également constatables d'un ensemble mythologique à l'autre. En ce sens, le naturisme se donnait une portée autrement plus ambitieuse, dépassant les limites en somme "ethniques" de la mythologie comparée. D'autre part, les peuples dont Dumézil détermine ainsi la religion commune ont franchi relativement tôt le seuil de l'Histoire, laquelle leur a forgé des destins divers aux consciences internes correspondantes. Pour atteindre leur "noyau" commun, il faudrait par conséquent passer par l'épaisseur d'un certain nombre de données "historiques." Néanmoins, il faut également remarquer qu'au moment où les documents permettent de saisir les "religions anciennes" et les "vieilles traditions" des peuples parlant des langues indo-européennes, elles formaient déjà des ensembles cohérents en soi et pour soi comme, à notre époque, celles des Dogon et des Bambara. Dumézil en est d'ailleurs conscient, constatant que

"... la religion romaine, aussi haut que nous remontions par les documents, et de même la religion iranienne avec ses diverses formes, présentent chacune un type original ... irréductible à l'autre" (1945:182).

Autrement dit, dans chacun des deux cas "soudanais" et "indo-européen", malgré la distance qui les sépare dans le temps, on est en présence des "correspondances" qui, décélables sur un nombre bien délimité d'ethnies, s'organisent en un tout cohérent au niveau du groupe étendu ou de la masse. La question de savoir

si ces éléments communs formaient jadis une unité (religieuse ou communautaire) originelle est assez intéressante. Mais chacun, en s'appuyant sur les seuls moyens du bord de l'ethnologie ou de la linguistique, peut y répondre à sa guise. Les documents manquent à priori pour que l'Histoire puisse départager les opinions. Projeter l'image statique d'un état ethnique dans un passé que ne peut atteindre et, par conséquent, démontrer l'Histoire devient dès lors affaire de personnalité ou de goût.

Il reste que dans le domaine intermédiaire entre les pôles "ethnique" et "psychique" se définit ainsi un genre particulier de grand groupe ou masse qui, tout en se distinguant (par son manque de vie interne) des corps "historiques" comme le Brésil et d'autres "nations" ou "civilisations" en devenir ou constituées, tient aussi bien qu'eux de ce que nous appelons ici l'Ethnie. Résultats souvent d'une rencontre de plusieurs souches ethniques dans l'histoire, ceux-ci constituent proprement avec l'ethnie restreinte ce que le Professeur Leroi-Gourhan appelle des "devenirs ethniques." A l'encontre de l'ethnie simple, ils font plus fréquemment l'objet d'étude de l'Histoire ou de la Sociologie. En ce qui concerne la masse ethnique qui tire son "essence" des ethnies apparentées, elle apparaît comme un terrain d'investigations où l'Ethnologie pourrait encore, tout en comparant, rechercher ce que nous croyons être son but primitif — à savoir, le fait ethnique.

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SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: KINSHIP AND BEHAVIOR



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To the initiate in social anthropology, the first big task is to inquire into what this particular field encompasses. In other words, the delineation of what are and what ought to be included in social anthropological studies seems a legitimate starting point before getting into the details of the science, like techniques and methods used in the study and the substantive application of such techniques.

Perhaps to attempt to formulate a definition of social anthropology without any background reading and previous exposure on the part of the student would smack of over-ambitiousness, if not pretense. However, an understanding of social anthropology and what it encompasses can be obtained through reading books on social anthropology. (Nadel 1958, Srinivas 1958)

It is popularly believed that social anthropology is synonymous with cultural anthropology and that the term social anthropology

is just the British counterpart of what is known as cultural anthropology in the United States. Social anthropology, however, is more aptly considered one of the subdisciplines of cultural anthropology and dealing with the study of man as a social being. The term "social" connotes interactions and relationships and therefore it is the business of the social anthropologist to study the regularities in human behavior, especially as they relate to interactions with other human beings. In the process he comes up with generalizations that may tend to explain why people behave the way they do. As Hays puts it, "Social anthropology is an attempt to describe, analyze, compare, understand, and evaluate group behavior and the products of group behavior." (Hays 1958:vii)

In its inception, social anthropology was known to be a study of "primitive" people. This is, however, no longer true, for social anthropologists have turned to literate societies for their research locales. Perforce, the earlier definitions formulated by Frazer and Malinowski have to be reformulated in the light of this change. Therefore, social anthropology may be defined as a study of society which is characterized by a certain mode of investigation (inductive method) which can be applied either to primitive peoples or to communities of limited size in civilized societies, and in the pursuit of its theoretical aims, social anthropology is obliged to pay special attention to the societies we call primitive.

A legitimate question that may be raised at this juncture is "Why does the social anthropologist study primitive societies?" Since the avowed aim of the social anthropologist is to establish generalizations and universal laws that govern social phenomena, it is necessary for him to study the whole gamut of a social existence, and the preliterate societies are as social as the "advanced" societies. In other words, primitive societies reveal forms of social life different from those found in civilized societies. Further, the social anthropologist has to study the preliterate societies before embarking on a study of more advanced ones because surviving primitive societies are gradually being destroyed

or changed by the oncoming tide of acculturating forces that are sweeping over the world.

How is social anthropology different from ethnology and sociology? There seems to be some confusion of thought about these distinctions, for all of these fields study society. The ethnologist studies societies by means of historical reconstruction. He seeks to draw inferences about prehistoric events and conditions by a consideration of the distribution of peoples in recent or historic times and by a study of their resemblances, racial or cultural. The social anthropologist, on the other hand, studies primitive societies with a different aim, that is, he endeavors to make use of his knowledge about primitive societies to establish valid and significant generalizations about social phenomena:

Ethnology uses the historical method, which explains a given institution or complex of institutions by tracing the stages of its development and finding wherever possible the particular cause or occasion of each change that has taken place. Social anthropology uses the inductive method, which subjects all social phenomena to natural law and which applies certain logical methods to discover and prove certain general laws.

The distinction between sociology and social anthropology is not well defined. In fact, George Peter Murdock writes, "Social anthropology and sociology are not two distinct sciences. They form together but a single discipline, or at the most two approaches to the same subject matter — the cultural behavior of man." (1965:61) But this difference in approach leads to several differentiating characteristics: social anthropology emphasizes complete descriptive publication of data; sociology, problem-oriented selected data publication. Social anthropology relies on personal experience; sociology, on statistics. Social anthropologists work chiefly among preliterate societies; sociologists, among Western civilizations. In other words, social anthropologists are interested primarily in patterned behavior; and sociologists, in unpatterned behavior. Murdock explains:

American "voting habits," to an anthropologist from a different culture, would mean, first of all, such patterned practices as being transported to a polling place in a car provided by a political party's headquarters, checking with the registrars, and X-ing a ballot or pulling a lever on a voting machine; to an American sociologist, on the contrary, the term refers exclusively to such nonpatterned behavior as how many people turn out to vote and how many vote Republican and how many Democratic. (1965:25)

Now we turn to the empirical reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned. He studies the processes of social life which consist of a multitude of actions of human beings, more particularly their interactions and joint actions. The individual human beings, thought of as actors in the social life, are arranged in a pattern of relationship, and this constitutes the social structure of the group. The structural feature may take the form of person to person relationships (dyadic) or it may involve interactions between groups. An accompanying concept to social structure is social organization, which is the execution of activities that are called for by a certain type of relationship. In other words, it is the dynamic aspect of social structure.

In any of the relationships involved in social structure there is an expectation that a person will conform to certain rules or patterns of behavior. These rules or patterns of behavior, which define for a person how he is expected to behave and how he may expect others to behave, are called **social institutions**. However, there are deviations from these social institutions which, in turn, are met by a corresponding sanction or sanctions. These sanctions may be either formal or informal.

Social structure, therefore, consists of the continuing arrangement of persons in institutionalized relationships and this is the main concern of the social anthropologist in the pursuit of his study.

As a starting point for a social anthropological study, many investigators work intensively in the realm of kinship structure.

The present study is an attempt to describe some aspects of kinship structure within the writer's own group and to explain the nature of her behavior toward relatives differently situated in the positional picture of her family. (Family home is extended in that it includes the writer's siblings and their children, first cousins, aunts and uncles, consanguinal and affinal, and grandparents on the paternal side.)

Why does the writer behave the way that she does in given situations? What mechanisms are at work in the generation of a feeling of closeness or remoteness to one's relatives though they belong to the same generation? These are questions which never occurred to the writer until she began studying social anthropology. Then she discovered that kinship relationships offer a fruitful field to explore in an attempt to understand the nuances of role behavior.

An attempt such as this necessitates a clearer elucidation of the concept of **social structure** than this paper has so far offered.

The empirical reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned in the pursuit of his study is the process of social life. This consists of a multitude of actions of human beings in their relations with one another. For behavior to be called sociologically relevant, it must be exhibited in an interaction setting. One behaves toward or in regard to others and there is always a mutuality or a linkage that exists between two or more individuals in so behaving.

The principal conceptual tool developed by the social anthropologist to help him in studying and analyzing social life processes is **social structure**. This term has been used by sociologists, notably Herbert Spencer and Emile Durkheim as early as the latter half of the 19th century. However, it is used in a somewhat broad and blanket fashion, "referring to any or all features contributing to the makeup of societies." (Nadel 1957:2) Thus, it becomes simply a synonym for system, organization, complex, pattern, type, and indeed does not fall very short of being synonymous with society itself.

The further refinement and precise definition of the concept is attributed to the efforts of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, together with his students and followers. Nonetheless, there are several anthropologists who still seem to be doubtful of the usefulness of the concept as narrowly and precisely defined by Radcliffe-Brown. They would prefer to use the concept in the manner it has been used before, that is, with a broad, loosely defined, or unspecified meaning.

Even among those who advocate a clear-cut definition of social structure, there seems to be little agreement as to the nature of the parts that make up the total entity or "whole" to which the concept of structure is applied. (Nadel 1957:4) One will say that "the components of social structure" are human beings, the structure itself being an "arrangement of persons in relationship institutionally defined and regulated." (Forde and Radcliffe-Brown 1950:82) Another will find the components of social structure in the interpersonal relations, which "become part of the social structure in the form of status positions occupied by individuals." (Eggan 1950:5) Still another will consider social structure as a model abstracted from the social relations but which "can, by no means, be reduced to the ensemble of the social relations to be described in a given society." (Levi-Strauss 1953:525)

A cursory review of all the definitions of social structure would reveal that "relationship," interpersonal or intergroup, is the common denominator. The main concern of the social structuralist is the interaction between individuals as manifested in the way they behave toward or in regard to each other. The behavior exhibited by one individual is influenced to a great extent by the behavior of another in an interaction setting. In order to effect a smooth run of things within the social group, a mutual adjustment or co-adaptation of behavior, which is contingent on a recognition and respect of one's position relative to the other in a given situation, is imperative.

In any social group, an individual is expected to behave in such a way that he conforms to the socially recognized system

of norms or patterns of conduct of the group. These rules or patterns of behavior which define for a person how he is expected to behave and how he may expect others to behave are called **social institutions**. Deviations from the norm or imperfect role performance are not altogether ruled out, for not every one always behaves as he ought or as he is expected to. Sanctions, formal or informal, may be applied to erring individuals, thus tending toward a state of equilibrium. The imposition of sanctions may be considered as one of the integrative forces that tends to minimize if not altogether eliminate frictions and conflicts within a social system, thus preserving the unity or insuring the cohesion of the group.

How, then, does the social anthropologist go about studying social behavior. Using the concept of social structure, he tries to observe individual behavior in interactional situations, abstracting from it "the pattern or network (or system) of relationships obtaining between actors in their capacity of playing roles relative to one another." (Nadel 1957:12) It would seem, therefore, that before a structural analysis can be made, a stock-taking or inventory of roles in the society should be done. Nadel does not subscribe to this idea for he believes that the analysis of roles and of the social structure will tend to proceed side by side. (1958:60) Since the concept of role is crucial in structural analysis, it would be necessary to develop an adequate theory of role but according to Nadel, none has yet been advanced in a systematic fashion. (Nadel proposes to do this in his *The Theory of Social Structure* [1957].)

The kinship group is a logical starting point for a study of social structure. It represents a microcosm of the society of which it is a part, and patterns of behavior that may be delineated in it may apply to society at large. Kinship relationships are also assumed to exhibit a certain articulation of society's parts, a kind of ordered arrangement just like the quality exhibited by society as a whole. Any society contains within it smaller and simpler replicas of itself, the kinship group being one of them. The kinship group represents as much an "articulation

as does the division of society into role-playing actors." It is also composed of people in determinate stable relationships whose actions are guided by the social norms underlying the role that each has to play in the maintenance of the social system.

It is from this theoretical frame of reference that the writer proposes to describe and analyze social behavior in her kinship group. This description of social behavior is largely ego-centered in that it shall dwell mainly on how the writer behaves towards or in regard to others in the group.

The writer invariably finds herself in several relationships, namely with a grandmother, uncles and aunts (consanguinal and affinal), siblings, first cousins, and nieces and nephews. (It may be noted that there is no parent-child relationship in this instance. It is so because the writer was orphaned of a mother and a father when she was one and eleven years of age, respectively. A mother surrogate, in this instance, the grandmother, raised her. This could explain her attachment to the grandmother.) Consequently, the assumption of different roles (five to be exact) is inevitable. She is a grandchild (*apó*), a niece (*kaanakán*), a sister (*katsát*), cousin (*kasinsín*), and aunt (*íkit*). This is the relational structure of the writer's kin groups, and certain rights and obligations are associated with each of these structural positions.

While differential social behavior may be attributed to the different positions or statuses that may be assumed by the writer, how can differential social behavior within the same structural position be explained? In other words, why does an individual consider some relatives within the same generation as emotionally close and some others as not? One does not feel uniformly close to one's siblings, cousins, aunts, and uncles, and so forth.

In the writer's case, she feels closer to her father's half brother's children than to her father's full brother's children. This is so because she grew up with them, lived together with them under the same roof. Besides, the feeling of gratitude (*utang na loob*) for what their grandfather had done for the writer seems to be a more potent force in bringing about this

type of relationship. It was the step-grandfather who spent for this writer's education for he was propertied and grandmother is not. The writer would even feel more constrained to help these cousins than her own siblings. Again this differential attitude may be attributed to the fact that the writer's siblings are older, economically independent and have their own property to fall back on in case of need. The writer's father's half-brother's children are still young and not yet economically independent.

Thus, one of them stays with the writer in Manila while in college, and perhaps to charge her for board and lodging would incur criticism not only from within the kin group but also from townmates who are aware of the many great things that her step-grandfather has done for the writer. The writer would be called an ingrate (*walang utang na loob* or its Ilokano equivalent *awan utangna nga naimbag a nakedim*).

This feeling of indebtedness tends to become perpetual and all the more so with the turn of events in the writer's family. Her grandmother willed a small part of property left by the husband (writer's step-grandfather) to the writer. This incident will surely have its repercussions in social behavior, especially among the writer's aunts and uncles, who while having more right to have a share of the property than the writer, were entirely left out of the will. It is expected that they will feel bad about it, but those who will openly express their resentment perhaps will be those uncles and aunts whose children have not as yet boarded with the writer for free while in college.

It can be seen that it takes more than blood relationship to bind together members of a kin group. The consanguinal relationship has to be reinforced by other mechanisms, like *utang na loob*, contained within the concept of "alliance system," which is a "network of reciprocal relationships whose members extend to one another and expect mutual assistance and loyalty." (Hollnsteiner 1963:63) One would feel emotionally closer to an individual to whom he is beholden for a past favor than one to whom he is not. Reciprocity is a basic principle in ordering relationships. A person cannot be a sucker all his life!

This analysis could be expanded to include collateral kin, kin by affiliation, and even on into *compadrazgo* relationships (ritual kin). But from this brief peek into the meaning of social anthropology and into the methods of the social anthropologist, it can be seen that the concepts of social structure, social organization, and social institutions offer us unique tools with which we may begin to gain an understanding of the behavior of mankind that we see around us everyday.

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PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY: A BRIEF OVERVIEW

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The Department of Anthropology of the University of the Philippines offers a course in culture and personality at the undergraduate level in the College of Arts and Sciences which is ordinarily required of anthropology and psychology majors. Other programs, however, prescribe it as an elective, so that classes usually include students in economics, speech, education, mass communications, home economics, and sociology.

The graduate student is allowed to take it for graduate credit, as a cognate requirement to his major subject. As a result, individuals of very radically different backgrounds are brought together, with different conceptions, images, and expectations of what the course will be like. One of the beginning tasks of the course invariably is to give the student a clearer conception of the range of the course and to focus definitions, so that lay conceptions of "culture" as well as "personality" are immediately

discarded. Another one of the main jobs is to explain how a psychological orientation, its method and techniques give rise to knowledge in this field. If they could be appraised early enough on what work is involved for the course, the student would be in a much more effective position to program his readings and activities to fit the requirements, or alternatively, to decide whether it is something he needs or not. The following short exposition, therefore, is addressed to him and not to the advanced scholar who might be expecting a sophisticated rationale of somewhat advanced topics on the subject.

This is a miniature snapshot of the course as currently offered by the Department of Anthropology. The suggested readings at the end of the article should, in my opinion, be adequate for the purposes of the beginning student as well as the curious.

What is culture and personality as a subject matter of anthropology? Many attempts have been made to define its limits, coverage, its essential nature. It is easy to see what is meant by such terms as medical anthropology or educational anthropology, since the subject matter is immediately implied by the terms used.

The study of culture had traditionally been a stronghold of anthropology, and that of personality, mainly of the discipline of psychology, so that it is not surprising to find views which assert that the study of culture and personality might more accurately be called psychological anthropology. (Hsu 1961).

Historically, the utilization of psychological methods in anthropological studies started during the 1920's and 1930's in the United States. It was the works of Benedict (1946), Mead (1950), and Sapir (1961) which established the great usefulness of psychology for describing with more clarity and detail the characteristics of people — their hopes, aspirations, values, and mental functioning as they interact with their cultural environment. Because it dealt with basic processes, the generality of the

conceptual apparatus of psychology was shown to be of some advantage.

Honigmann (1954) states that "culture and personality remains largely a pursuit of cultural anthropologists who are familiar with psychological methods and principles... (it) lifts the lid of social behavior and enables us to see culture as it is carried out on the level of individual thinking, feeling, and doing."

Barnouw (1963) defines the field as an "area of research where anthropology and psychology come together — more particularly where the fields of cultural and social anthropology relate to the psychology of personality." Early anthropologists, he continues, "had little to do with personality, and it is only in recent years that psychiatrists and personality-psychologists have concerned themselves much with culture. But obviously the two are closely related. Culture and personality is the area of research concerned with this mutual relationship."

On the importance of the culture and personality field, Kaplan (1961) writes:

The culture and personality field is no less important for an understanding of personality functioning. The question that is most generally posed by psychologists and psychiatrists concern the nature of the influence of the social environment in which the person develops, and its effect on the course of his development. Almost all of our present theories hold that this social influence is a profound one. There is much room, however, for more differentiated theories to tell us what sort of environmental conditions will produce what kinds of effects. Cross-cultural personality studies have a vitally important role in providing the necessary data. The problem of influence itself is an interesting one. Work in the field of communication has been especially concerned with what actually goes on when one person influences another. One might ask as well, what happens when a person is influenced by a culture pattern.

There are, however, a significant number of workers who feel that the time is not ripe for defining the exact limits of culture

and personality studies. It is still developing and, therefore, too early for setting up of boundaries, which might actually be more harmful to the healthy growth of the subdiscipline. (Hsu 1961)

Psychological anthropology, or culture and personality, may be arbitrarily set off from other courses: it deals primarily with those ideas, feelings, and behaviors that form the basis of interaction between the individual and his society. (Hsu 1961). Those cognitions and motives that are shared by the members of the group are basically part of its content, for example, the values and aspirations of a people, such as one finds in current studies on the Filipino personality (Bulatao 1962; Guthrie 1961; Sechrest 1963, to name only a few). Psychological anthropology is also concerned with the description of the most frequent or dominant characteristic in the group, sometimes known as national character or modal personality.

Social psychology can be differentiated from psychological anthropology in that the latter is likely to be distinctly cross-cultural in approach. But psychological anthropology, being new in the field is not as quantitative as social psychology, however aware it may be of the need for rigorous design in research and measurement. Furthermore, while it is the concern of both social psychology and psychological anthropology to study the effect of society and culture on personality, psychological anthropology puts more emphasis on that part played by personality characteristics on the development, formation, and change of culture and society (Hsu 1961).

The main topics in culture and personality would normally encompass the socialization process within any particular group of people. Child-rearing practices, therefore, take a good deal of space, for it is assumed that one of the main components in the formation of basic personality structure of the individuals within society is learning and patterning of behavior during the early years of childhood. It has been noted by psychologists that the nucleus of early childhood experiences tend to carry over into adult patterns. Consequently child-rearing practices across

different cultures are compared in order to get at a more meaningful understanding of the various alternative projections of the culture through childhood learnings. The concept of basic personality structure is analyzed through processes within primary institutions (e.g. the family) that shape and sustain it, since basic personality pattern of the group generally is another way of talking about cultural type, which is the supporting foundation of all social change or innovation.

It is obvious that for this part of the course, a knowledge of basic principles of learning theory aids considerably in understanding the formation of basic childhood experiences, because methods in this area of psychology are quite sophisticated and very highly conceptualized. It affords a kind of micro-method for attacking anthropological materials.

The methods that are used are distinctly psychological. Indeed, the origins of the subject matter can be traced to men who had psychological or psychiatric training. The clinical psychological sciences have been the chief tool of psychological anthropology. The favorite instruments are the Rorschach Inkblot Test, the Thematic Apperception Test (a picture-story test), doll play, drawing test, etc., all of which give materials which are analyzed through specialized techniques requiring the conceptual apparatus of psychology.

The student is introduced very early into the fundamental historical and contemporary research materials of culture and personality. As mentioned previously, the field is not much older than four decades, so that much of the literature is by authors who are still quite alive today. It is not very difficult to trace the evolution of the "grand hypotheses" with which they worked and the superstructure upon which latter-day investigators built upon them. DuBois' *People of Alore* finds many contemporary parts all over the world that are still being carried out. One of these is research work going on among the Mangyans of Mindoro under Reynolds of Silliman University. The spirit of Mead breathes in current psychological anthropology with fresh vigor

in spite of the years since her *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Scientific validation of findings in her time are being conducted at present on a massive cross-cultural basis which should be obvious even to the student who has had a passing acquaintance of the literature.

One of the things that the student needs to bring with him after he finishes a course in psychological anthropology is some kind of a framework for judging, by rough methods at least, the value of the numerous articles, research or otherwise, that are published in the journals and mass media. He needs to read them with a critical eye, to be able to separate those which are not worth much from the genuine and insightful contributions. The course, therefore, ordinarily provides for critical discussions; reports and lectures on problems of technique and method in personality research within the anthropological setting. Some feeling for sampling problems in field work and the necessity for control and design in the gathering of data is given in order that the student may be able to judge how a research report is made with respect to reliability and validity, not only of the data but also of the conclusions. A brief treatment of these, of course, is all that is provided; details are for the more advanced courses. The beginnings of a research orientation, even at this early stage, can be built into the attitudes of the student during his brief exposure to primary materials, original documents and papers on the subject.

The deviant personality is also considered in the field of culture and personality just as much as the modal. Personalities showing psychopathological characteristics actually throw considerable light on the modal personality. Furthermore, a good deal of material seems to have been accumulating for some time now which shows that psychotic patterns of behavior and thought are determined to a large extent by culture. The processes that operate with respect to the modal personality share a good deal with those that give rise to deviant or psychological members of the group.

Students who enroll for our course in culture and personality come from various fields of interest, such as home economics, nursing, education, economics, political science, humanities, and, of course, anthropology, sociology, and psychology itself. The psychology majors, most of whom have taken such courses as personality, abnormal psychology, and principles of learning theory clearly have a real advantage, since the entire course is concerned mainly with the application of psychological principles and techniques to problems of anthropological research on personality of groups and the impact of culture on the individual.

Since a greater part of the literature is made up of contributions by outstanding psychologists and psychiatrists in their own right, knowledge of a special psychological language would help very much. It is true, however, that the readings can be understood at various levels, even at a level with less or no psychology background at all.

Some of the following recommendations would seem to follow from experience in the offering of culture and personality at the University. Several courses in psychology might be required as a prerequisite, particularly for psychology, anthropology, and sociology major, who will be needing anyhow a good basic background in personality, principles of psychopathology and learning theory for their major fields.

The section on techniques and methods for studying personality across cultures, for example, necessitate explaining of the TAT and the Rorschach Test to the students. This requires a little bit of time and this could be more meaningful if they learned something about the tests in some other course which is offered for the purpose.

In addition, the potential of the course for stimulating students to pursue psychological anthropology becomes an opportunity lost if the subject cannot be presented to them in a way that logically results in stimulation towards advanced work. The psychology, anthropology, and sociology majors, in my

experience, seem to respond in this direction; there were those who could see the possibilities of a fascinating subject.

Some of the assigned readings are to be found sometimes also in the syllabi of other disciplines, in social anthropology and social psychology, for example. In these other courses, they may be given the same reading materials for some of the topics. Might we, therefore, not say that these are mere repetitions of subject matter in culture and personality already found in other courses? The answer is if it were just a mere reporting of content without regard to an analytical framework for understanding them, then, it would be a mere repetition. First and foremost, the student has to learn, in a general way, techniques and methods of study especially from the psychological point of view. The student examines conclusions and the reasoning that led to them in terms of sampling and the techniques for the gathering of data.

Another requirement is, as mentioned previously, the emphasis on the cross-cultural approach. In psychological anthropology, there is usually a special effort directed to this aspect of the subject, which, using the same materials is not present to the same degree in other courses. For example, the topic on socialization of the child, as well as that on psychopathology, in different cultures are quite developed to an extent that is quite marked. The literature is well stocked with studies in many different countries, especially for the Asian and Philippine area, the fund of materials for which is improving in number and quality (Guthrie 1966; Nurge 1965; Sechrest 1966, to mention only a few).

Lastly, one aim of the teaching of culture and personality, which has been generally recognized by teachers as fundamental, is to enable the student to become aware of the applications of the subject to the better understanding of both his own values and the courses of his behavior by reason of his membership within a group. Even this may not be sufficiently effective until he is given opportunities for systematic exploration of data offered by studies of other groups or societies.

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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND ITS PLACE IN GENERAL EDUCATION

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The courses included in the U.P. general education curriculum are calculated to acquaint the student with man's achievements and to promote the necessary skills and insights which facilitate the appreciation and understanding of these achievements. Conspicuous, however, among this battery of courses is the lack of a prescribed course which focuses our attention on the understanding of the biological nature of man, by which such achievements are made possible and in terms of which these achievements acquire their value.

What the planners of the general education curriculum seem to have overlooked is the fact that man's achievements in the field of language, philosophy, religion, technology, and in all areas of human endeavor are in a large measure conditioned by his needs and shaped by his capacities and limitations as a biological entity. Man is able to do what he can do and behaves the way

he does partly because he is "wonderfully and fearfully made" in a uniquely human way.

How different is man from the rest of the biological world? What are the claims to humanity which every member of *Homo sapiens* possesses? What are the biological differences which we observe among human groups and what factors may have given rise to such differences? Are the biological differences which we observe among human groups sufficient to explain differences in their cultural achievements? To what extent can man's biological make-up influence his individual and social behavior? In what ways may man's use of tools, his aesthetic values, and his marriage patterns affect the biological development of his species? Are there human groups which are innately inferior to others?

Physical anthropology deals with these and other related questions in its attempts to understand the biological nature of man.

Undoubtedly, answers to these questions can lead to a more informed and fruitful discussion of man's place in nature, his achievements, values, and behavior. These answers can also provide the bases for the formulation of useful and realistic rules of conduct for individuals and for nations.

One of physical anthropology's main areas of concern is the question of man's origin. Through the study of human origins the fascinating story of the development of mankind from non-human ancestors unravels before the student. During the course of this study the student will come to share the intellectual experience of some of the greatest minds of his century. He will be acquainted with the concerted efforts of physical anthropologists and others who share their interest in establishing man's unity with the rest of organic life — a towering achievement in the history of biological thought. A survey of the evidence and critical appraisal of the explanations and theories regarding man's origin and development will expose him to the "nature of science as an intellectual process." His study of the anatomical and behavioral similarities and differences with his kin in the

biological world, will enable the student to develop an insight into the use of animal models, especially non-human primates, in illuminating problems relating to man's behavior and functioning. But above all, he will be acquainted with the idea of evolution — a fundamental concept which pervades all thinking in the biological sciences and which has had tremendous impact on all branches of knowledge—as it is considered in terms of the origin and development of his species.

The subject of biological differences between human groups also concerns physical anthropologists. The student will learn in what ways the human group of which he is a part differs from other human groups. Equally stressed will be the factors and the processes which might have given rise to such differences. He will come to know that not all differences which he observes in other human groups are biologically given, that is to say, the lifeways, values, food habits, or culture in general, as well as features of the physical environments, play a part in the fashioning of the biological traits of human populations. The student will learn that the specific form which characteristics like head-shape may take, may be genetically inherited and or may result from certain practices by which members of a society approximate a cultural ideal. Similarly, other important factors which determine body built, for instance, nutrition, may depend not only on body requirements or on the availability of food supply but also on culturally-prescribed food preferences which an individual acquires as a member of society.

The study of these differences will introduce the student to the concept of "race." The various meanings and importance given to this concept by the layman and the physical anthropologists and other biologists will impress him deeply. He will also come to know how the physical anthropologist uses biological differences to relate human groups and to settle questions of affinities and origins. Furthermore, the study of the development of "race" as a scientific concept will provide the student with an instance in which a purely scientific concern has been misused to promote non-scientific ends—a poignant reminder that man's

achievements in all fields are not at all totally divorced from his more mundane needs. He will then come to understand more clearly why differences in the physical characteristics of peoples have been misused to support the undemonstrated and scientifically unacceptable claims of racial superiority.

The student will come to appreciate the real significance of racial differences. He will realize that racial differences represent different modes of adjustment to unique problems encountered by human groups. Far from convincing him that racial differences are badges of inferiority, such differences will impress him as unique solutions by which human groups have adjusted to the matrix of geo-climatic, biological, and socio-cultural factors which confront them.

But more important, as far as playing his role as a citizen in the larger world, the student will realize that racial differences among human groups are insignificant compared to their underlying similarities. Being members of the same species, peoples everywhere have potential access to a common pool of genes, and barriers to the exchange of genetic material between human groups have been largely due to cultural and geographical factors. He will know that there is no biological basis for preventing intermarriage between human groups.

Most important for tearing down the student's prejudices against members of other groups — a heritage which we all share in varied degrees, is the wealth of biological findings that will be made available to him which show the absence of significant correlation between achievements in the cultural realm and racial characteristics. He will come to the conviction that the capacity for achievement is not significantly different among racial groups and that differences in their present cultural achievement cannot be accounted for in terms of undemonstrated genetic or innate differences among human groups.

While it is not claimed that a rational assessment of racial differences can do away with all forms of racial prejudice, it will do much in clearing away the debris of pseudo-scientific camou-

flage which blinds even well-meaning persons to their own selfish interests. One should never underestimate the press of insight into people's actions, nor the influence of reason in shaping people's values and beliefs.

Frederick S. Hulse, physical anthropologist at the University of Arizona, pointed out that physical anthropology does not attempt to bridge the gap between the social and the biological sciences but to demonstrate that such gaps do not exist. A student exposed to physical anthropology will readily appreciate the merits of the statement, for he will learn that while man's capacity for culture is rooted in his biological make-up, the role of culture in biological development is important.

Man's use of tools, the organization of his society, patterns of economic activity, dietary habits, aesthetics values, and marriage patterns are some of the aspects of his culture which may influence the kind and incidence of biological traits possessed by his group. Aspects of his culture such as the use of medicines may act to maintain otherwise deleterious genes in a population. The marriage patterns of his group may operate in restricting and perpetuating some genes and in preventing the flow of others into the gene pool of his group. All these insights bring home to the student the point that a thorough understanding of the biological nature of man has to reckon with the contributions of biological as well as non-biological factors in the shaping of man's make-up. This insight reinforces the student's belief in the usefulness, nay necessity, of the holistic approach in attempts to understand the complex and complicating being that is man; an approach which anthropologists, notwithstanding their respective specializations, are wont to emphasize.

The stress on viewing man against the complex geo-climatic, biological, and sociocultural factors which affect his physique and his behavior does a lot to impress upon the student the inter-relatedness of the disciplines of the natural and social sciences. He will come to realize that as far as the understanding of the biological equipment and patterns of adaptation of human groups is concerned, the neat, clean-cut boundaries which practitioners

of diverse disciplines arbitrarily set up for convenience and often times for fear of poachers from other disciplines more often prove to be blinders which keep us from getting an accurate picture of the whole man. If a general education program puts a premium on an appreciation of man's place in nature, society, and culture, then the contributions of physical anthropology to this desired end cannot be ignored.

A lot of people still associate physical anthropology with the study of bones and imagine that the course is as "dry as the very bones it studies." While a part of the history of physical anthropology is marked by the over-enthusiastic attempts of its practitioners to make gratuitous conclusions from numerous measurements of bones, physical anthropology is as interested in the living as in the dead. Detailed observations and measurements of skeletal remains can tell us a lot about the biological characteristics of long dead populations. Such studies have also found applications in areas like forensic medicine. From his acquaintance with the different factors which determine bone characteristics, the physical anthropologist can usually tell the age, sex, the racial group to which the person possessing the bones belongs; the height, build, and condition (healthy or not) of the person when he died; and whether the assortment of bones found in a site belongs to the same person. Many instances can be cited especially in the United States, in which the expert opinions of physical anthropologist were called upon to decide court cases.

Research on present day human groups has found practical applications in diverse areas (see Kluckhohn 1949: chap 4). Studies in anthropometry — the measurement of human groups — have found applications in such areas as clothing, equipment, and furniture design. A celebrated example is the research conducted by E. A. Hooton, late professor of physical anthropology at Harvard, which a railroad company used to design seats that would suit the widest possible sizes and shapes of human bottoms.

Studies which attempt to find relationships between certain body build and to certain types of behavior, as well as to the susceptibility to certain diseases — studies which belong to the

domain of constitutional anthropology — have been applied to a lot of interests. It is used by some insurance firms to determine whether some types are better risks than others. It has also led to the elaboration of preventive measures for persons whose body types are strongly correlated with certain diseases.

A well-known American psychologist W. H. Sheldon believes strongly that the study of man's physique, its careful measurements, and the understanding of the biological-hereditary factors pertaining to it is indispensable to our understanding of human behavior. He has written:

It has been growing increasingly plain that the situation calls for biologically oriented psychology, or one taking for its operational frame of reference a scientifically defensible description of the structure (together with the behavior) of the human organism itself. This is perhaps tantamount to saying that psychology requires a physical anthropology for its immediate foundation support. More than that, it requires a physical anthropology couched in terms of components, or variables, which can be measured and quantified at both the structural and behavioral ends — the anthropological and psychological end — of the structure-behavior continuum which is a human personality (Sheldon 1949:xv).

A course in physical anthropology could provide would-be physicians, nurses, and other practitioners of the medical professions an introduction to the key concepts in anatomy, physiology, genetics, immunology, to mention but a few of the courses in medical schools which share some of the interests of physical anthropology. More importantly, it would also develop in them, according to Clyde Kluckhohn, late professor of anthropology at Harvard, the need of assessing the whole man. For a given set of symptoms can only be meaningfully interpreted against the patient's age, sex, body build, racial and ethnic group. A condition that might be abnormal for one member of a society may be normal for another from a different society.

Other problems encountered in other medical specialists like obstetrics and orthopedics can also be made more understandable

when viewed, in the words of W. Krogman, physical anthropologist from the University of Pennsylvania, as "scars of human evolution." He means by that phrase, that a lot of the body difficulties encountered in those professions arise from man's imperfect adaptation to an erect posture and to a bipedal mode of locomotion.

To a future dentist, an introductory course in physical anthropology could provide a background on the evolution of human dentition, the inheritance of some dental conditions, racial differences in dental characteristics as well as the relationship of the teeth both in conditions of health and disease to the cultural practices of the society of which his patient is a part. Exposure to the rudiments of body structure and function via a course in physical anthropology will stand a law student in good stead when he takes his legal medicine in law school.

A whole volume can be written on the relevance of insights gained in physical anthropology to problems in other fields of knowledge and applied disciplines. I have tried to emphasize that knowledge of and about the human body — how it got to be what it is, how it works under different conditions, and the changes it has undergone through time and space, as well as the factors and the processes which might underlie such changes — is central to any discussion of man. Furthermore, any prescription for man, moral, medical, or for any purpose, has to be tailored to the needs, capabilities, and limitations of the human organism if it is to be of any use.

Physical anthropology, like all the other fields of anthropology, affords the student the experience of being confronted with the "simultaneous sense of the unique and the universal in our fellowmen." But more than the other disciplines, physical anthropology forces the student, in the words of physical anthropologist Ashley Montagu, "To discover man as a human being, no matter what the texture of his hair, the color of his skin, or the shape of his skull."

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PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN PERSPECTIVE

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Recent years have witnessed a revolution in the scope and extent of physical anthropology. It no longer remains only the science of dry bones, but is becoming increasingly concerned with various aspects of human biology. In its new orientation, the emphasis has shifted to a more progressive research leading to an understanding of complex problems of human biology and evolutionary origin of human species. This has been due specially to the recent advances in genetics, cytogenetics and biochemistry as well as the new discoveries of fossil remains. The emphasis laid on the study of primate behaviour as an aid to understanding the evolutionary conditions from which early man developed is an added factor. Currently, questions have been posed as to the importance of physical anthropology in the curricula of anthropological studies. Some consider it to be the core while others would like to give it only a nominal place in their courses.

Increasing use is being made of the services of physical anthropologists in practical projects involving human engineering. In India too, opportunities for contributing towards the development of the health and other social welfare programmes; human growth and nutrition and problems of national integration etc., are vast. One needs to define one's role in relation to the country's immediate needs and stresses. With this end in view, I have ventured to take a look in retrospect at the achievements of physical anthropology in India as well as at its present status in relation to the advances made in the subject elsewhere. An attempt has been made to assess the causes of our failings and weaknesses and over and above this to suggest the role of physical anthropology in India taking into consideration our limitations.

I

Various Developmental Stages: A review of the development of the subject will show that certain periods or stages can be envisaged. Before I set forth to venture on enunciating such stages I must, however, state that these have to be examined purely on conjectural basis. The stages proposed are:

- A. The Early or Formative Stage—up to 1935.
- B. The Middle or Descriptive Stage —up to 1952.
- C. The Present or Converging Stage—after 1952.

A. The Early or Formative Stage

Anthropology as a recognised discipline became well known among the Indian fields of sciences from the beginning of this century. Starting with Risley's comprehensive attempt to classify the Indian population in 1915, various other workers from diverse fields have been found to be interested in understanding the Indian population both in chronological and spatial aspects. Most of these works show resemblance with Sergi's (1895) and Haddon's (1898) attempts on broader scale. Works of entirely inventory nature have also been undertaken. Mitra's (1933) attempt to discover the influence of blood groups in certain pathological

conditions is one of such attempts appearing in that early stage of knowledge on blood groups. Between 1922 to 1931 Mahalonobis attempted to elucidate segregation and combination of anthropometric traits among the Anglo-Indians. Though this series of works by Mahalonobis did not vary much from that of Fischer (1913) on his S. W. African Bastards, yet in statistical sophistication and estimations Mahalonobis's work is more elaborate.

Palaeontological work conducted in the Siwaliks by Lydekker (1886) and Pilgrim (1915, 1927) opened for the first time the hunt for evidence of Plio-Pleistocene evolution in this country. Anatomic and taxonomic study of the Chalcolithic skeletal material from Indus valley and south by Sewell & Guha (1929, 1931), Turner (1899) and Zuckerman (1930), on the other hand were slowly revealing the problem of racial origins for India. The works appearing in this respect remain inconclusive to a large extent.

B. The Middle or Descriptive Stage

With the publication of Guha's report in 1935, a renewed development and expansion in the subject has been witnessed. It is significant to note that, unlike the earlier works, Guha did not overemphasise any hypothetical migration to explain the basic variation as it exists. On the other hand, his main aim was to split up the details of the physical characteristics within the various groups and attempt an understanding of contacts, if any, within India rather than outside India. A large number of similar studies followed this publication. Most of these studies end up with either examining Guha's classification for various unstudied populations or describing the same populations with added morphological and/or genetical markers. Addition of blood groups and dermatoglyphic factors gained popularity in these series of ethnic discrimination studies. The works of Biswas (1936) and Sarkar (1936) deserve special mention here for their attempts of popularising dermatoglyphics and multiple genetic studies respectively. Buchi, in the later years (1953) kept on adding newly understood genetic traits to his genetic surveys of

the various tribal and non-tribal Indian populations. Majumdar (1943) and Ghurye (1937) working in their areas of interest helped in the accumulation of large series of original information about various races and castes in India. Karve's (1949) work on Maharashtrian caste groups also deserves special mention here for its empirical worth. In the palaeontological field Sankalia and Karve (1944) reported microlithic men of Gujrat.

C. The Present or Converging Stage

From the beginning of the fifties of this century, a significant change is observed in the trend of physical anthropological studies in India. Fundamental problems of human genetics with added use of bio-statistic tool and generalised increase of interest in the field of genetic surveys becomes apparent. Two important studies, which might be mentioned to illustrate the widening of the scope of the subject are those of Sanghvi (1953) and Das (1956). While Sanghvi evaluated and elucidated group distance within a caste level by using multiple genetic factors, Das studied the pattern of inheritance of P.T.C. in human groups. These studies set in an extremely rewarding example for the future scope of work both in fundamental aspects of genetics as well as population problems of specific interest within India. More and more studies (like that of Sirsat, 1956) are being taken up in both these lines of human genetics and an interesting series of data are being accumulated. In the recent years, a series of palae-anthropological studies have been appearing from mainly Chalcolithic and Megalithic cultural periods. The studies of Erhardt (1960), Kennedy (1966), Malhotra (1965), Chatterjee (1957), Ayer (1960) and Sarkar (1960) deserve special reference here for their attempt towards throwing some light on the ancient races of India. Sarkar (1962) has recently gone one step further in developing his thesis of Indo-Scythian authorship to the Vedic destructors of Indus Valley Civilization. Studies in other fields of physical anthropology like growth, development, and population genetics also appear to get increasing attention throughout this period.

II

An Appraisal of the Present Status

A brief pause at this stage to examine the trend of physical anthropology in other parts of the world may perhaps be helpful in understanding the trend in India. It cannot be denied that a large series of descriptive racial studies appear around 1950 from both Europe and the New World. And yet there is an increasing evidence of interest towards evolving theories of historical and ecological clines. Studies relating to establishing micro-evolutionary forces with demographic slants become more popular in the subsequent stages. There is an increasing tendency to use genetics as key to the interpretation of descriptive racial data. The role of breeding group size in evolution, the forms of recessive mutations, and the association of disease with blood groups are other popular themes of population genetics. Osteological and dental metamorphosis in the contemporary races are also receiving attention. In addition, some anthropologists are found to be interested in the effect of radiation, as also role and effect of hormones in different human groups.

While the above may be taken in short as the areas covered under population studies, a large series of studies concerning environment vis-a-vis growth, applied anthropometry in military and industrial problems and body constitution of psychotic patients are found to form the other fields of interest for the physical anthropologists. Fundamental discoveries of Pleistocene fossils and their systematic analysis is another major achievement of this period. Many changes in the earlier views about phylogenetic position of primate and man have resulted from these.

During the last decade, however, a phenomenal change has occurred in the interest of the physical anthropologists all over the West. There have been an overwhelming number of appeals to follow adequate methodology and to attempt for understanding the biological processes rather than to run for an accumulation of facts. Newer approach and definition of scope of the

subject has been argued and reargued from both Europe and United States of America. Some anthropologists have rejected the gradual disregarding of anthropometry as an out of fashion branch. They have emphasized the need of utilising anthropometry in athletic anthropology and have shown fruitful results. Studies of various syndromes, ossification areas and their ratios, cellular and immunological genetics have become major areas of interest. Immunogenetic and taxonomic coverage of the living primates is another field in this rapid developmental phase.

Population genetics, however, maintains the groove of thought suggested in earlier studies. More rare genes, hitherto unknown, have been discovered which cannot only be used as markers but also help in the qualitative estimation of several population characteristics like the co-efficient of inbreeding, genetic load and balanced polymorphism etc. Human adaptation to varying environmental conditions has been an added field of interest for the physical anthropologists in the last decade. Growth demography and applied physical anthropology have covered newer fields with better technical knowledge. Photoscopy, photogrammetry, surface anthropometry along with better estimation of exchange of body chemicals has enriched our understanding in growth and associated facts of physical development. Numerous publications dealing with modern perspectives in child development have appeared in recent years. The other fields getting attention in growth appears to be dynamic morphology and growth research in medicine. Further, another group of scientists are actively working to uncover the biological changes in the development of the maternally deprived children. Socio-ecological factors in general, seems to be overriding as a greater causal force in growth and development than race. Lastly a world wide phenomena of increase in some body measurements seems to be an added field of investigation for these scientists. This secular change, though little understood till today, has drawn wide attention of the growth workers in the West.

One of the most noteworthy contributions of the anthropologists has, however, been in the unique assistance which they have

been extending to the designer of equipment and protective assemblies for the primary use of the Defence Services and specially the Air Forces. The designers of the aircraft during the second World War realized that the potential aeroplane was not really complete until the man actually entered and engaged it in flight. It would be quite apparent that the operational behaviour of an aeroplane of unlimited potentialities is actually no better than the behaviour characteristics imposed upon it by the physiological capabilities of the human being involved. It has been the experience of the Army, and Air Forces during the progress of World War II, that many problems relating to inefficiencies on the part of the flight personnel could have been eliminated, had the designers of aircraft and protective equipment had assemblies been fully cognizant of some of the problems of human biology.

The extensive use of anthropology -- the science of body measurements to the problem of aircraft design went a long way in solving many orthodox problems confronting aircraft designer and engineering. In England and America specially, many workers started collecting extensive data on Army and Air Force personnel. Both static and dynamic measurements were utilized for this purpose. The result was that the Human Engineer became an important member for the design of the equipment for the Defense Services. The most important areas were: application of human body size to the design of cockpit, gun-turrets, catwalks, seats for the passenger aircraft, design of tank and gun-sight, protective equipment like air ventilated suits, pressure suits, pressure helmets, P & Q masks, pressure shoes and socks, flying coverall, anti-gravitational suits etc.

Even in the field of industry, extensive use of body dimensions have been made by the designers. The designers of automobiles, in particular, have relied considerably on the anthropometric data while laying specifications for the automobile manufacture. Similarly the designers of the furniture and other machinery have taken into account the various static and dynamic body measurements.

The status of the subject in India, if considered in the light of the above developments in the world, will bring forth some salient points of departure. It is needless to say that the amount of work appearing in physical anthropology in this country has been almost insignificant when compared with that of the rest of the world. This low production has certain very genuine and explainable reasons and should in no way be taken to judge the standard of the subject in India.

Fields like growth, constitution, adaptation and population genetics still appear to be arousing little interests in the majority of the anthropologists. The same may be said about the position of such fields as immunogenetics and demography. It is true that a large body of data are still being accumulated on various groups within Indian populations but a proper synthesis of the material with biometric and genetic analysis in order to evolve theoretical models is awaited. Addition of data with advanced techniques like spectrophotometry for skin colour and ionic disassociation method for identifying genetically determined constituents of Blood etc., are not altogether lacking. The limited number of such studies, however, has not been able to give a substantial picture for any single region. Dermatoglyphics, which receives a great deal of attention at present, is also largely being used for ethnic evaluation. Pathological conditions and syndromes do not seem to interest the dermatoglyphicists. Studies in anthropometry as also serology appear to have not advanced much from what Majumdar and Buchi did a decade ago. Signs of attempts towards setting up large research bodies to cope with this low production are visible, the outcome of these laboratories, however, is not very satisfactory.

The endeavor of the great scientist, late Prof. Haldane towards meeting such a need was a very timely action. Unfortunately after his sad demise, not much work has been done. A similar organisation with a slant towards researches in population genetics with changing population density, migration and cultural patterns has very recently been set up as a cell within Central Family Planning Institute at Delhi. It can only be hoped

at this stage, that significant contribution in this field will result out of this endeavor. A large scale growth study scheme was sponsored by the Indian Council of Medical Research some fifteen years ago to develop a growth standard of our nation. Unfortunately nothing is known of the outcome of this study. Even if it is hoped that the result of this important study will be known to us in the future, I must dare say that this will be entirely outdated, as the socio-economic standard of our country has changed tremendously during the last decade and likely to change further. Besides the above-mentioned attempt in growth study, mention must be made about the work of the Nutrition Research Laboratories at Hyderabad that in fact have gone into the imminent problems of our country's national health. Ramakrishna Mukherjee's (1963) work on the body development of Calcutta children is one of the few growth studies that has come from an anthropologist. Mukherjee has proved how social class plays a dominant role in influencing the development of the sex differentiating characters in the children of Calcutta.

Another encouraging development is witnessed in the field of primatology. Researches on Siwalik fossils in the beginning of this century have not been pursued since then. Presently, Panjab University, Chandigarh has taken up the pursuit again in collaboration with Yale University, and it can be hoped that a substantially meaningful contribution results from them. The research and teaching at Delhi University also can be said to have faced this challenge in its own way. The headway made at Delhi in studies of Hptoglobin, Haemoglobin and G6 Phosphate dehydrogenase deficiency variants in normal human population is already yielding very rewarding results. In the field of growth and applied anthropology also significant amount of work is being done there. Using of skin spectrophotometer to assess the mechanism of skin colour formation and its quantitative assessment is now in common use at that University. Studies of genetic variation in different Mendelian groups of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madras as well as Parsees and other groups continue to be conducted by Sanghvi and his colleagues at the Indian Cancer Research Institute. Similar works have appeared from Deccan College

(Karve & Malhotra 1968) specially in an attempt towards the understanding of sub-caste origin. Sen's work (1960, '62) on Bengali ethnic elements also deserves mention here for using some of the new genetic markers, in this area, for the first time. In the field of dermatoglyphics also considerable advances have been made in both methodology as also in covering areas like toe, planter, and mid-phalangeal papillary regions. Lastly, I must mention that the Anthropological Survey of India is also fast covering up many hitherto unworked fields of investigation. They have only now begun to tackle such problems of fundamental nature in the field of biometrics and population studies. The large areas covered and the huge amount of data gathered by this organisation is commendable.

III

The Prospect and Problems that Lie Ahead:

It will appear from the above that India has yet to traverse a long way in order to reach a stage of research comparable to international standards. The genesis of this lagging behind can be clearly seen as having nothing to do with intrinsic ability of the anthropologist here. I say this because this falling out of the run becomes perceptible only within the last three decades. Various arguments may be given to explain this departure. Firstly, it may be that the West has increasingly concentrated on focusing attention into minutest being of man in both time and space and thus gathered altogether new sets of methods and processes not counted earlier within the purview of anthropology.

The second argument can be mainly the lack of sophisticated technical facilities and resources which act as a serious impediment in the conduct of such investigations.

Another question which might arise at this stage is: why we did not get equal share for research resources in the nation's research blue-prints? Have we ever asked ourselves the reasons for this utter lack of interest at the higher levels? Is it merely because we are shy to impress our role in these areas, or is it

because the authorities have not realised the worth of the physical anthropologist, or for that reason of anthropologists as a whole, in their developmental programmes? It is difficult to hold one or a group of factors responsible for this state of affairs. But, as we shall see shortly all these factors jointly have caused our stagnation.

As regards the problems of specialisation, there cannot be two opinions about the fact that it has definitely led to a better understanding of many pure anthropological problems which remained vague or little understood earlier. Such a trend ultimately in large cases has been extremely rewarding, though it remained a source of discomfort to the traditional physical anthropologists.

This trend of research on the face value cannot be discouraged so long as the results derived from them are fruitful and meaningful towards the understanding of human variation in both causal and resulting factors. Nevertheless, this diversification, if carried on to an indefinite extent, can very well throw the aim and scope of research to such a distant and relatively insignificant branch which may have little to do with the trunk and root of the subject. It is difficult to say if the West has already reached this, otherwise unwelcomed, stage in its research. But a large group of anthropologists from the Continent seem to be already on the verge of raising their dissent. Some countries in the Old World have welcomed this stand of development on the one hand, and on the other, made no secret of the fact that they prefer to redefine the scope of physical anthropology in view of their country's specific needs and aptitudes. In India, however, the anthropologists seem to have not yet confronted such situation squarely. This has resulted in a state of inner weakness in this field which survives by resigning to horizontal investigations of the previously known characters. This trend of the subject, as it appears to me to-day, if allowed to continue will definitely not be very conducive to the future.

The second argument, when examined at our practical level is very significant. There are institutes, I know, where research work had to be stopped for want of some minor reagent or

apparatus. We are aware that it is not possible under the present circumstances to provide the research facilities and equipment to scientists like the one available to scientists abroad. But there are no reasons to explain the stoppage of research for want of a minor reagent or apparatus. This frustrating situation can in many cases be avoided by pooling resources from all over the country. Again for this, we need to define our role first and clearly declare the branches of other sciences with which our activities are interconnected or interdependent. That we need a redefining of our scope into the applied aspects mainly is needless to emphasize. Yet a complete divorcing of fundamental researches from the fold of physical anthropology will be suicidal. There are several fields bordering medical research which could be handled by the physical anthropologists. It seems that the medical scientists and the anthropologists are looking at each other with the expectation of taking initiative for these studies. Viewing at these untouched problems and the activities of physical anthropologists in our country, it will appear that we have fallen into the rut of a complexity. On the one hand we appear to be attempting to discard anthropometry as an old fashioned tool of human study just because the advanced countries have done it; on the other we seem to shrug our shoulders to the advanced genetical trend with a helpless attitude. As a result, problems are framed merely to add a local colour to otherwise already proved facts. Such a situation calls for an immediate attention of the Indian anthropologists. The universities which are preparing anthropologists in this country are mainly to share the burden of blame for not having taken adequate care to imbibe interest in such facets of the study which are primarily pertaining to the country's need and also those facets which are essential for interdisciplinary research in the field of human genetics.

I should, therefore, like to appeal to the universities teaching physical anthropology to meet together and chalk out a commonly acceptable programme for directing future line of researches. Even a distribution of certain fields to specific universities may be desirable on the basis of technical facilities available in each of them.

The aim, at present, cannot be said to cover the unstudied populations; on the contrary the aim has to be to study the nation's outstanding problems like public health, family planning and the like. I may, here, be allowed to lay out some of the prospective fields of research as I see them.

IV

Problems Needing Immediate Attention:

Growth, Fertility and Adaptation — Studies in growth along with the different aspects of constitution and socio-economic environment is an imminent problem needing attention on war footing. Various aspects of the established processes of growth and its complementary functions need to be given a compulsory share in the teaching curriculum of physical anthropology. Biometric techniques of analysis and computer processing like-wise has to be emphasized greatly. If this can be done in the teaching level as well as at the research level a future generation of physical anthropologists will be well equipped to investigate the problems of growth with special emphasis towards child-development and nutrition of our nation.

Dental-eruption pattern and dental measurements with other morphological diameters on the face can open an important possibility of predicting denture types. More and more of the population now seem to be using artificial teeth but lack of any such data as mentioned above is a great inconvenience to the dentists. Researches in anthropometry can evolve out such indices on body measurements which are least affected by age. (Ascertaining correct age is a specific problem of India). Needless to say that these may be found to vary in populations, but a range of reliability may not be difficult to compute.

Socio-cultural and ecological environment in India also affords an extremely diverse field to work upon and deduce the causal processes of a 'Man to Environment' equation. To extend my opinion a little further, I may also impress upon the fact that the vast areas of arid zones in India have attracted little attention

of the anthropologists for such studies. The rate of body transpiration and water intake along with the increased ambient temperature is likely to set up such differential activities in the body chemistry that growth theories for such areas may need rechecking.

Problems in fertility, fecundity, menarche and menopause, post partum amenorrhoea and aging are some of the branches for which we have very little empirical information from Indian populations. Demographic data, on the other hand, have been accumulating through the demographic agencies but their significance with such relevant problems as age of mother at birth, birth number or spacing etc., have not been fruitfully used to understand child development on wide scale. Taking of alcoholic and narcotic substances, constant use of antibiotics, antihistaminic, sedative and analgesics can further be examined across these fundamental demographic investigations to bring about more light on the unknown facets of fertility-fecundity. Though sexual behaviour does not fall within the purview of physical anthropology in strict sense, yet its examination with varying physique and chemical situations cannot be altogether disregarded by the physical anthropologists. The importance of these problems in the light of the nation's intensive drive of Family Planning Schemes needs no emphasis.

A fourth area of vast interest that lies entirely untouched in India is ecologic-anthropology. Today with the changing course of rivers through dams, slow shifting of climatic belts from certain regions and mass migration from different areas under various rehabilitation programmes, we are faced with a situation of forced change in immediate environment. Depth studies carried in diachronic manner on these areas can also bring forth many interesting finds in the sphere of growth, fertility and adaptation.

Applied Anthropology, Defence, and Industry:

The question of defending India has never been so grave as in recent years. The age old concept that the Himalayas afforded as invincible barriers is no longer acceptable after what we have seen in 1962. Similarly on the northern borders, Pakistan has

been posing a constant threat to our independence. The frontiers of India being very wide, and terrain in which our soldiers are required to operate in varying height and climate, the problem of equipping our armed forces with protective clothing to counteract the effects of the environment is not so simple. Besides our aeroplanes have to operate from airfields like Chusul and Leh which are perhaps the highest operating airfields in the world. Our soldiers are, thus, required to be stationed on these heights and watch the enemy activities thereby paralysing attempts, if any, by the enemy to invade our territory.

In recent years, the Indian Army and the Aviation Medicine Unit of the Ministry of Defence have conducted certain surveys of armed forces personnel to provide data to the designers of equipment and aircraft on Indian population. But such data is very limited in scope for obvious reasons. It is, therefore, very essential that we should undertake bigger surveys with the idea to earmark basic potential which can be switched into actual force within limited time. As the future requirement of warships and aircraft is likely to be met from the indigenous sources, it is imperative that sufficiently large and reliable data on functional anthropometry is available for the construction of such equipment in accordance with Indian specification of standards.

The adaptation of our soldiers to high altitude is another burning problem which needs our immediate attention. The various biochemical and physiological changes which occur in human system along with the mechanism of adaptation to these varying altitudes is very useful ground to break through. This is very essential for devising ways and means for counteracting the effects of high altitude.

Similarly, people in industry needs our help. The Indian Standard Institution is emphasizing on our industries to plan industrial production on the basis of Indian standards as against British standards which has been the practice till today. Here, however, they are faced with the lack of data on Indian population. The ready-made garment industry like shirts, slacks, inners, cardigans etc. find it very difficult to formulate sizing tariffs in the

absence of extensive data on Indian population. Bata and other shoe making industrial units are organizing surveys to collect data for their own use. The furniture industry is still working on British standards. All the three cars manufactured in India, i.e. Hindustan, Standard and Fiat have been designed in accordance with non-Indian standards. Hence it is imperative that this rich field should be exploited fully.

Population Genetics: Problems regarding the propagation of known genetic characters within an inbreeding group has largely been covered by the scientists from the West. Nonetheless, the culturally determined mating regulations specific of our country provides excellent laboratory condition for understanding more about the behaviour of genetic traits common here. Anthropogenesis in smaller and relatively isolated populations in various parts of India still remains little understood. Each of these isolates with their varying social customs and differential genetic and environmental endowment are capable of yielding a large series of very rewarding information, if properly formulated studies are undertaken.

Biological Studies: Heat tolerance, mine and high altitude conditions are capable of producing different changes in the physiologic functioning of the body. These changes have been tentatively predicted for the whites. In India, however, the expected change for heterogenous populations must vary in different degrees. The International Biological Programme has already recommended the need of collecting such information from all over the world.

Pathology, Syndrome, and Health: Certain pathological conditions which are largely accepted to be endemic in certain populations in India like Ectinomycosis in Madurai, Malaria in Terai of U.P. and Yaw for certain groups in Madhya Pradesh and the like need to be thoroughly understood through both population genetics and pedigree studies. Disease correlation with blood groups and plasma characteristics unleash many interesting processes in the genesis of these conditions. For this we may first create caste and communitywise registry of all genetic

diseases, syndromes and little understood, yet geographically localised occurrence of any pathological condition.

Primate Study: A large number of Asian monkeys and lower primates are facing extinction. A thorough study of their behaviour with special reference to their faculties of speech and co-ordination can throw much light on the understanding of evolution.

Lest I am misunderstood, I may hasten to add that all these perspectives of research as laid out here may not be immediately or simultaneously undertaken. What may be said to be the barest minimum necessity is the need of an urgent steering our attention towards programmes of growth, applied anthropometry and demography. Physical anthropologists in our country need to impress the authority about their role in such programmes by bringing forth relevant research results.

It may be said in the end, with a calculated amount of risk, that specialization of individual scientists should not appear discouraging so long as the interest of the specialist groups move around man in 'age and space' perspective. It would, in other words, mean one scientist's interest forming only a complementary part of a second scientist's interest and both together going to solve a series of current problems in physical anthropology in India. To achieve such an end we have to assume a far greater degree of co-operation from various other fields of knowledge, than what is forthcoming at present.

Further, I would like to mention that the stress laid by me on the role of physical anthropology is not because I consider the other branches — cultural anthropology and prehistoric archaeology as not important but because I felt more competent to talk about physical anthropology.

I am of the firm opinion that the studies suggested to be undertaken cannot be conducted by physical anthropologists alone. They require a multi-disciplinary approach. The geneticists, biochemists, medical researchers, zoologists, biologists, statisticians, demographers, engineers, economists, historians and many

others have to pool their specialized knowledge to tackle these multidimensional problems.

This is much more important in case of the intra-disciplinary processes. The physical anthropologist cannot study man in the 'age-space' perspective, in his natural setting unless he makes adequate use of the cultural theories and concepts. He needs to know as much about human behaviour as he does about strictly biological subjects. Determining a true breeding population is essential for any study of micro-evolution of population genetics. It is the cultural anthropologist who can provide the relevant information regarding the social structure of the society, its distinctive motivational patterns and cultural practices. The study of the normative patterns of culture is not only necessary for the physical anthropologist but also the knowledge of mating practices, which are dependent upon explicit and implicit cultural attitudes. The attitudes towards sex, marriage and divorce are extremely important to the population geneticists. Similarly the studies of growth and development, human engineering and others require a deep understanding of the relationship of social and eco-systems of the people under study. Equally important for such studies are the relationships between man and his environment, both geographical as well as social.

Man's evolution is not being guided only by natural selection, but also by social selective processes as determined by the gradual development of culture and technology over centuries. Moreover, we, specializing in different sub-divisions of anthropology need to evolve a language and such terms which can be understood by each other. It seems to be a big order, but there is no escape from it, if we want to survive as a discipline.

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HOMO POLITICUS: ANTHROPOLOGY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

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INTRODUCTION: THE COURTSHIP

When disciplines begin exchanging materials one may say that they are attracted to one another. If this behavior continues the situation may well develop into a full courtship. In this latter case, consistent references to one another become quite common and concepts from the one discipline may be widely accepted by the other. However, such proto-unions are, in my view, not fully consummated until an area of overlap between the two fields begins to emerge as a new sub-field of the two that were originally attracted. Thus physical chemistry, social psychology, even political sociology, are today accepted areas of research and teaching that overlap into neighboring disciplines. In general the stimulus for such development comes from some theory, some research and some faith that utilizing a mixture of the two

disciplines can provide insights and explanations that were hitherto unavailable. The question then becomes where in this process of marital and premarital relations can we place anthropology and political science, and what are the prospects for the union . . . if such is to take place.

Although my own knowledge is severely limited to African research and my experiences as a member of one department of political science, I will try to assess the situation and make some prognostications about whether there is a blossoming love affair developing that has any real contributions to make to both of the disciplines concerned.

In a recent article on New Nations and their contributions to the development of political theory, Lucien Pye (1964) borrows a number of terms that have a familiar ring to the anthropologists — cultural relativism, social evolution, cultural diffusion and acculturation — all seem to be concepts that Pye is able to use in order to focus on processes of nation building. As he says, theories developed from western nation states cannot do the job of describing something as different as the new national entities of the non-western world. On the anthropologist's side, terms such as "regime," inputs and outputs (as these have been used in recent political theory), are now becoming quite common . . . especially among American anthropologists interested in political phenomena. The fact that Pye does not feel it is necessary to define his terms, and that a number of terms from political theory are now commonly used in anthropology, indicates that a readership has developed that is becoming familiar enough with these terms so that definitions are unnecessary.

In terms of contact indicated by citations it is becoming, again, ordinary to see political scientists quoting anthropologists and vice versa. However the emphasis is still strongly rooted in one discipline or the other. Thus Glickman (1965) in his review article of political science in Africa refers to a hundred and seventy-three separate works by political scientists and twenty-nine by anthropologists, while a recent book on political

anthropology does exactly the reverse and only authors trained in anthropology were invited to contribute to this volume.

Furthermore, unlike physical chemistry, social psychology, or political sociology, I know of only one (my own) appointment at the university level which allows either anthropologist or a political scientist to actively join in the work of both departments and have formal access to graduate students in both fields. In some ways, then, it would be difficult to assess the present situation as one of marriage. However, there does seem to be enough mutual attraction going on so that a number of people in both disciplines can now honestly say of each other: "Some of my best friends are . . . !"

THE ROLE OF THE INTERDISCIPLINARIAN

Because there is as yet no established sub-field unifying political science and anthropology, the role of the person who attempts to create such linkages is a particularly difficult one. Training is thoroughly rooted in one or the other of the disciplines and a great deal of this training may, at least in the short run, seem inapplicable. Depending upon the types of problems, the background of the colleagues and students with whom interaction is taking place, the time of day, and several other factors having to do with the personalities involved, the interdisciplinarian is either a pioneer or a fraud. As a pioneer he sees complexities and opportunities in an original and often stimulating way usually because very few students have actually viewed things from this vantage point. As a fraud he is a person who may refer to competence beyond that of his critics in each of his "fields" — thus having an extra defense against criticism, and an extra set of barbs among his own critical arrows. In other words it is not unthinkable that a person of fairly weak talents in several disciplines could survive by straddling all of them.

Nonetheless, as I shall try to show, the need for interdisciplinary work between anthropology and political science does

exist. The danger exists as well, however, that in pioneering such interstitial positions we can create areas of refuge for the incompetent, or at least until recognizable demands of training and background become more standardized. This leads to the conclusion that for the persons involved in interdisciplinary work there is a commitment to gain some definite measures of competence in all of the fields he is attempting to fuse or straddle. The ideal in this regard is well-nigh impossible, so that in practice the would-be interdisciplinarian generally hovers between the poles of pioneering and fraud hoping somehow that the goals of the game are, in the end, worth the strain. Whether such goals are in fact worthwhile depends upon the issues that have stimulated the courtship and whether a combined effort using the energies and resources of both disciplines has anything creative and worthwhile to contribute to problems being raised within each discipline.

THE ISSUES

(1) POLITICAL SCIENCE

As political science has expanded its field of interests beyond that of the formally instituted governmental system it has come more and more to appreciate and study the socio-cultural milieu of political life. Pressure groups, voting behavior, social movements, and political socialization are just a few of the directions that have given political scientists a more general social science orientation. In doing so political science has turned to sister disciplines — especially sociology and psychology. These disciplines were already equipped with a body of theory and techniques directed at the new variables that came more and more to be included within the purview of political science research. Thus, in terms of actual empirical research, political scientists have in the past two decades widened their conception of what is politically relevant to include a large number of factors related to the formal structure of government and how the activities of the political system are related to both internal and environmental conditions. This move into society and culture

using empirical research has created a mood of receptivity and openness among political scientists that serves as a background within which other developments have taken place.

Along with this development has come an increase in variance occasioned primarily by the rise of new nations during the last ten to fifteen years. With a plethora of new states to be studied the variance in political phenomena has increased in a sudden spurt and stimulated interest in the functional approach to political systems such that particular and novel societal structures can be viewed as adaptations to universal requirements of political life. However such claims to universality require broad testing. Many of the new nations are made up of traditional non-western societies whose local political organization is often not that of the nation state. Do the so-called universal categories of political activity apply to these societies as entities in and of themselves, or only as sub-units of the larger nation state whose political life is the main focus of the political scientists? Theoretically, if such an entity as the political system exists, political theory should be applicable to all societies no matter how simple or complex they happen to be. If, for example, political activity is an aspect of all human social action, and "interest articulation" is a universal function of all systems — then how is this function performed among a small isolated hunting band in the high Arctic? In other words the gambit of societies known to the anthropologists represents a highly varied set of policies for whom political theory should be applicable if such ideas lay claim to universality. The data of the anthropologists, basic descriptions of non-western societies around the world, provide a wide spectrum of behavior against which political theory should be tested.

It is naive, however, to think such testing is easy. I have tried with students to apply Almond and Coleman's ideas as well as those of Easton concerning the political system to a variety of non-western politics. In general I think that such work has taught us that applying a complex set of categories to a very simple political system constantly involves the danger that one behavior

or set of role activities can easily become an indicator for several variables in the political theory model. Thus if an Eskimo band articulates interest at the time a decision is to be made, the activity of decision making and interest articulation is fused into one behavior which if counted for each variable means measuring the same behavior twice in order to make a correlation. On the other hand the application of theory from political science to anthropological data can point out weaknesses in the anthropological materials. Thus one student, in trying to apply some of Riker's ideas on coalitions to a very simple island society in the Pacific, found that the requisite data were unavailable. There were wide areas of relevant political activities simply not reported by the ethnographer.

For the political scientist the presence of the anthropological literature is not only a stimulus to theory testing but forms a basis for understanding local political situations as well. Coleman (1960) realized this when he said "traditional political systems have largely shaped the political perspectives, orientation to politics and attitudes towards authority of all but a small fraction . . . of Africans involved in modern political activity" (1960:258). Certainly a number of individual case studies have taken this approach to heart. Thus Young and Fosbrooke (1960) have looked at local political organizations in analyzing the effect of a modernizing program in Tanzania, and Apter (1961) utilized such materials in attempting to understand the Buganda contribution to Uganda political development. However, systematic work along these lines is still quite rare (cf. Zolberg 1966: 153). In this regard John Paden and his colleagues at Northwestern have begun a study of internal stability and national integration in Africa. Through the use of aggregate data they hope to outline some of the major variables which are related to stability and instability among modern African states. Their approach involves taking into account the major traditional political systems within each country, so that the characteristics of these traditional societies will be able to compete with each other as variables in assessing what is related to the differences between more and less stable systems. In order to carry out the

study, of course, the researchers have had to utilize the ethnographic materials on major tribal societies in each country.

At both the substantive and theoretical levels the most important reason why there is a coming together of anthropological and political science research interest stems, I believe, from the relative weakness of the so-called country study among the new nations. By country study, I mean that many of the earlier field investigations by political scientists in places like Africa focused on national elites, colonialism, the growth of nationalism and independence, central government policies and other national data such as constitutional history, national elections and party politics. When local politics are mentioned they are generally summarized quickly or typed as to indigenous political features that might have an effect on the national scene. In some cases we are left in doubt as to what the traditional system is and only the most meager data is presented for quite abstract generalizations about local populations.

Thus Kilson (1966) in his work on Sierra Leone characterizes peasant disturbances from the 1930s to the mid 1950s as a political awakening of this group. We are not told, except through colonial reports and comparative interpretations by researchers from elsewhere in Africa, why in fact the peasants were causing disturbances — except that it seemed to be related to taxation. Was taxation felt to be excessive? Was it never accepted in its Western form? Were the peasants attempting to destroy the traditional authority as Kilson (1966: 61) claims? Or were they trying to restore an older precolonial situation of relationship between themselves and their leaders? Unfortunately the research emphasis is from the point of view of the central government, not the peasants; therefore there are no data from peasants themselves to substantiate one of several possible interpretations of their rioting. However, since the general trend of change in the country as a whole (especially in the cities) has been away from tradition, the researcher feels justified in assuming that a peasant riot must be in the same direction as well — that is to say, away from tradition. But given the method of argument,

the generalization still remains an assumption rather than a validated conclusion.

Country studies are nevertheless important as first steps, since they have helped us to map out and describe the variety of national units that make up the new nations. However, the very nature of such studies has tended to reinforce theoretical developments in political science that embody the weaknesses of such a research approach.

Let me explain. If the political scientist working in a new nation has to comprehend the entire national entity and its sub-parts, it is simpler to classify the entire nation as being of a particular type. This classification is then assumed to have causal power which determines the way that social change and political developments are taking place. Supporting data for such a position then comes from an analysis of the elite — who are assumed to have ultimate power and authority in the new nation. Thus Pye claims that "in these systems [the new countries] the source of dynamic change often resides largely with the small governing elite who control the formal structures of government which in turn do not represent the institutionalization of indigenous cultural patterns but rather foreign importations" (1964:7).

A concrete example of such theorizing is given by David Apter, who has recently attempted to characterize modernizing nations. Out of his experience with various approaches in political theory and his rich understanding of new nations, he sets up ideal categories for the modernizing countries. The implied assumption here is that the characterization of a whole unit — the new nation and its government — will allow us to predict and understand, its parts and their development: the institutional infrastructure and the attitudes of the people. Thus a "mobilizing" state is doing one set of things having some effect throughout the entire nation, while a "reconciliation" state is doing something quite different.

Although characterizing whole nations this way may be in fact quite an accurate account of a national policy through the

efforts and activities of central government agencies — is it an accurate picture of what is really going on inside the nation? And how deterministic is such a characterization? Is a "mobilizing" state that much different from a "reconciliation" one over time? Or are these sets of internal determinants such as traditional political systems and their interrelationships, the natural resource base, population pressures, etc., that predict to developmental paths more accurately than the apparent structural and ideological characterization of the whole nation (cf. Zolberg 1966)? Put in other terms, can we say Russia and the United States (which are both modern industrial nations) have reached similar or different societal results because they have different political structures and ideological features? (See Galbraith 1967). Can we trace out the similarities and differences and explain them by simply analyzing each society as a whole?¹ Obviously research on the internal features of such societies is required before we answer such questions — and research on the local areas and institutions of the new nations brings the political scientist and the anthropologist into the same area treating with the same populations and many of the same behaviors.

In many parts of the non-western world, local political systems are heavily dependent on forms of socio-political structures that are still strongly influenced by their traditional cultures. To say that these are "traditional" or "primitive," hides the fact that there is a bewildering array of such systems. Furthermore, the means by which they are articulated and are becoming incorporated into larger systems are as yet poorly known and many of the results we have are often contradictory. Thus we have hypotheses to suggest that traditional state-like societies adapt

¹ I wrote this before reading Professor Zolberg's interesting and useful account of the West African party states. He too questions the usefulness of such characterizations as "reconciliation" and "mobilization" because they do not take account of changes in such states over time in which reconciliation and mobilization are simply aspects of state politics. He then builds up an alternate configuration (viz. the party side). My criticism can, however, also be leveled at his typological analysis (as he readily admits), since we still know very little, if anything, about the micro-politics of these new nations and much of these characterizations are based on analyses of national elites and nationally-based ideological developments.

more easily to incorporation within a larger modern state than do acephalous tribal societies in east Africa (Fallers 1955) — while others working close by in central Africa claim just the reverse (Apthorpe 1959). Each different variety of traditional political systems has its own means of recruitment to office, its own structures for making decisions, and there are, probably, different varieties of political culture and attitudes toward authority that go along with such systems (cf. Levine 1966).

Besides the type of traditional political system that is being incorporated, there are different effects of modernization itself on the population at large. Terms like "development," "modernization," "national immigration," mean that processes of change are operating at both the institutional and the individual behavioral level. We can describe and analyze changes in national and local institutions often by using documents alone. However the effects of these changes on the people and their behavior in both political and non-political roles can only be achieved through field work. Urbanization, labor unions, western education, agricultural developments, new industry and new forms of political participation must be studied among local segments of the population to gauge their effects. In such studies ethnicity is a variable, as is the traditional socio-political structure. Thus Southall (1965) points out that in Kampala urbanities from acephalous ethnic groups have many more voluntary associations and more official office holders per organization than those from ethnic groups organized traditionally into centralized polities. In my own work, secondary school students from non-centralized tribes in Northern Nigeria report that their future marriage and family relations will be more independent of those around them than people from traditional state societies who see themselves as having a marriage and family unit embedded into larger grouping to which they will defer for many of their decisions. The research strategy here is a well developed one in anthropology. Each of these studies focuses on a modern situation and then asks what effect traditional cultural variables have in determining the paths of change. Thus, to be precise about the actual direction of development, research at the local level is essential—

and only when such work is carried out can we assess whether or not national policies or local contingencies (or what combination of both) decided the direction of national development.

In the sphere of methodology and techniques, political science has moved very quickly in recent times towards a hard science approach—so that research design and quantitative measurement have become heavily emphasized. Anthropology has been much slower to adapt such techniques, although changes are evident. However, research at a local level in developing areas presents the political scientists with field work conditions not unlike those the anthropologist has been facing for years. It is these conditions, and not the conservatism of anthropologists, that have slowed down the growth of more rigorous research techniques in anthropology—and because that is so, the political scientist must face up to many of the same problems.

The problems are complex but can be summarized. First, the language of almost all but a few of the local people is not English and meaningful research must be carried on through an interpreter or by learning the language or a combination of both. Secondly, there is often a vast difference between the standard of living of the researcher and that of his informants. Thirdly, the cultural milieu of his informants is to an unknown degree different.

To solve such problems many anthropologists try to learn the language and they are all trained within a mystique from their own disciplinary past which preaches that endurance of physical hardship in field work is somehow ennobling and fruitful with respect to the goals of science. The assumed (but not yet rigorously tested) rationale here is that being able to cope with, and appreciate, differences in living standards enable the field worker to interact on a daily basis with members of another culture—while remaining within his own western living standard produces a shield between the researcher and those whom he seeks to understand. Thus differences in standard of living are often not only expected but welcomed—by the doctoral candidate

as part of the initiation into full professional status, and by the experienced field worker as a validation of his professional abilities.

For data collection in a strange culture, anthropology has developed participant observation using both directive and non-directed interviews, as well as living in and observing on a full day to day basis the behavior of people acting out their local roles in their local institutions. The essence, or fundamental assumption, of this anthropological field technique is easily stated but not so easily learned. In any non-western situation an anthropologist assumes that all behavior, all representations, and manifestations by other people are not fully understandable unless placed in their own context. Thus a spoon may not be just a spoon as we know it; or a leader and his follower may conceive of their relationship in terms that are totally unfamiliar, but which make sense given the full understanding of the local ideology of leader-follower relationships. For such work the personality of the investigator, his patience, continual curiosity, and ability to systematize everyday life into some set of meaningful categories for data analysis become the essentials for what has become a highly sensitive technique. Certainly it is not only the method available for studying local political activity in non-western areas. Both anthropology and political science will use many techniques in these local areas in the coming years. However, some use of this traditional anthropological approach is probably essential for any social scientist who wishes to obtain an intelligent basis for more restrictive and focused data collection having to do with a well developed research design in a non-western area.

At the level of theory construction, it has been suggested that anthropology (along with sociology and general systems theory) has stimulated an emphasis on functionalism in political science (Glickman 1965: 149). This is probably true, although I suspect it would have happened anyway with or without anthropology. I say this because requisite functional theory is one of the few ways (and perhaps the most efficient) of handling a sudden burst invariance which is what happened to political

phenomena once the plethora of new nations arrived on the scene. However, just as in anthropology such "theory" has contributed to the description of variety, so too in political science requisite more than descriptive categories which allow for unknown amounts of variety in the structures that express such theoretically universal functions.

Much still remains to be done within the new nations. But once the variety has been mapped there is still the much more essential job of explaining why such variety exists. Thus in anthropology knowing about widely varying forms of kinship, marriage, religion, and politics has been only an initial step in "explaining" why such variety has occurred and what factors condition its change over time. The reason requisite functional models seem appropriate at the present time in political science, is that older typologies in comparative politics simply have not been applicable to the wide variety now available for study. Using a structural approach to theory construction is, in effect, complementary to functionalism. As political anthropologists have recently tried to show (Cohen 1965, 1967; Smith 1966) such an approach still provides a fruitful way of building theories and designing research once the range of variance has been dealt with. Thus functionalism can answer the question: "How is a certain purpose performed?" Structuralism then takes over and directs our attention towards explaining why certain forms differ from one another and how they change through time.²

Another theoretical contribution that anthropology is making to political science, related to functionalism, is the evolutionary point of view (cf. Barringer, Blanksten, and Mack 1965). Explicitly or implicitly, anthropologists have almost always ordered the societies they study into an evolutionary framework. Theories that discuss how societies change from simple to complex, and from one type to another, are viewed as evolutionary although

² Functionalism is concerned with the contribution a partial activity makes to the total activity of which it is a part. Structuralism is concerned with the relations of parts to one another and the conditions which are correlated with such relations to effect their change and/or stability.

they may not always meet the conditions that such studies demand (see Cohen 1962). However by attempting to see a large gamut of societies with the same point of view as that of biology, the anthropologist assumes that developmental direction is a natural quality of his comparative material. As a theorist he arranges material in order to ask what creates the changes or differences as one set of systems develops into another. In large scale comparative work, evolution involves as a constituent property differentiation. This approaches to a Guttman scale, since each "higher" or more evolved system contains, theoretically, many of the same elements as the "lower" or less evolved ones, plus new aspects not present in the earlier, less differentiated systems. Such evolutionary analysis can help us to develop typological characterizations of new nations based on empirical data. Structural analysis can proceed from there to guide research towards an understanding of why societies differ at higher and lower ends of the scale. In effect, this is what Adelman and her colleagues (1967) have been doing by dividing a large sample of underdeveloped countries into low, middle and high groupings based on GNP per capita and then attempting to analyze them through factor analysis and discriminant function analysis in order to see just what social, political, and economic variables are associated with these different levels of development.

Another possible realm of theoretical and empirical interchange between anthropology and political science is in the area of international relations. If we assume that theoretical work in international relations is intended to create generalizations about the way in which independent polities interact across political boundaries, then such theories (to be truly general) should help to explain interaction between preindustrial polities as well. In turn, such comparative data can help stimulate new insights into the nature of international interaction. However, such work must, if it is to be seriously approached, use the full gamut of inter-polity relations found among non-western peoples. To create a comparative model of international relations by examining one type of system, such as the segmentary lineage societies (which

vary among themselves), is to avoid the very quality that anthropological data has to offer—i.e., its ability to extend and increase variance such that we are in fact talking of the political life of mankind. Here anthropology has been somewhat remiss in developing comparative analyses and theoretical schemas. However, there is available in the literature a respectable amount of material on inter-tribal relations. How such phenomena as blood brotherhood, joking relations between tribes, intercommunity alliances through marriage and trade, clan alliance, cooperative economic activities, hostages, and warfare, all fit together is still virtually an unworked area of comparative analysis within anthropology. What is needed here are functional categories that systematize the nature of interpolity relations, which can then be directed at pre-industrial societies. Only when such work has been done will we have a fully comparative basis for the study of international relations.

(2) ANTHROPOLOGY

In my view, anthropology has experienced two major stimuli in the last half century, each of which has seriously changed the direction of its development. The first was a field work revolution that had its roots in natural history prior to the twentieth century, but which (as a method) provided a new thrust away from the somewhat simplistic evolutionism of the latter nineteenth century. How the field work tradition played itself out as "normal" research in England, United States, France, and elsewhere was a function of local academic conditions and the particular areas of the world where each national group did most of its field work. Out of this research came the holistic approach, social structural studies, psychological anthropology, acculturation studies and above all, a unit—the tribe or ethnic group. Anthropologists became identifiable as those chaps who knew about the Bongo Bongo. In so doing they achieved an academic niche in the universities, as well as an identifiable role in the overseas colonies of the imperial powers. As long as the groups studied by anthropologists remained isolated or semi-isolated, field work rested on something mildly real, i.e. these groups had some meaningful in-

tegrity as wholes. Thus, the interrelationships of their parts, and the comparisons of these relationships across a number of such ethnic units, was methodologically appropriate, defensible, and enriching to the general social science community.

The second major change in anthropology began with the end of World War II. During the last two and a half decades, with ever quickening pace, the tribal societies have come more and more to play a role in modern nation states—whose leaders envisage rapid social change as a basic assumption in any ideology they expound for their country as a unit. Thus in a flash, as it were, the older unit of anthropology — the ethnic group — has lost much of its wholeness because one of its most significant features is that fact that it is now part of a larger nation state. In some instances (i.e. Fallers 1955; Cohen 1963; and others)—where the ethnic group maintains its corporate identity, politically and economically—we have been able to study how the national and local systems intermesh, what the effect of role conflict is in the intermediate role, and how each system affects the other. But many local community activities are new and emergent. Trade unions, neighborhood and ward organizations in cities, political party organizations at the local ward level, student organizations, attitudes to modern versus traditional ways of doing things—all of these are interesting and vital features of contemporary social life in the new nations. However there is one major difference to the traditional field situation of the anthropologist. In these modern situations ethnicity is only one among many properties of local community life and thus it becomes one variable in the new research situation.

This is the stimulus to change that has provided the anthropologist with a new research orientation; indeed it forces these orientations upon the field worker. By looking at the field situation in these ways, new kinds of data emerge which are derived from different sources and the use of different techniques. Furthermore, whereas twenty years ago the anthropologist was almost alone in his interest in the social, cultural, economic, and psychological behavior of non-western man, today he has been

joined by many others—all of whom, from their various disciplinary orientations as well as their interest in new nations, are studying specific aspects of behavior among non-western peoples. The anthropologist then has to choose which particular problem he wishes to study; he is no longer an expert on everything. As one of my African colleagues suggested, commenting on this point, he could see no reason whatsoever for any anthropologist trying, under contemporary conditions, to write a book that attempted to describe all of Yoruba culture or all of Buganda culture; to do so, he claims, would be to remain superficial in a scholarly sense and probably condescending in a normative one.

Rapid change is taking place over the underdeveloped world. Urbanization, western education, nationalism, and other forces are producing wide variations in attitudes and behavior. To simply gather data using participant observation techniques means that one must attempt to assess a pattern that is some kind of central tendency, or give some estimate of the ranges of variation using several independent variables as a means of grouping the population. Thus, in speaking of political participation, the writer may note what overall differences there are according to sex, age, class, rural-urban residence, in terms of the observations he has made on each of these categories of people through using participant-observation techniques. Obviously, to be precise such generalizations require some quantitative measures of the variance involved, and this requirement again forces the anthropological researcher to limit the scope of his problem. In turn, this means that, in the future, general ethnographic techniques will probably be used to understand the local context, while more precise social science techniques will become common in order to gather data on specific problems.

In overall terms, what these developments mean for social and cultural anthropology as a discipline is that the foundation of its unity—the study of a whole ethnic group (often through intensive work in only a few settlements) — is proving to be a less durable study than anyone twenty years ago would have believed. It also means that some specialties within anthropology

—such as economic anthropology and political anthropology, psychological anthropology — are developing and moving out towards other social sciences. In fact a regrouping of interests across disciplinary boundaries is taking place. This can be seen at Northwestern University — where the Anthropology Department, out of nine faculty members, has six with joint appointments in other social science departments. Although this situation is probably extreme, I suspect that it represents a trend not just towards the breaking down of disciplinary boundaries in the social sciences, but towards a reshaping of these boundaries based on the common interests of the people concerned.

In the realm of theory, anthropologists have traditionally had an over-simplified view of what the political system is, and what kinds of categories of behavior must be observed in order to fully report on the political life of the people. Through the work of contemporary theorists much more adequate conceptualization of politics is being diffused into anthropology (cf. Easton 1959, 1966; Almond and Powell 1966).

Perhaps the best example of such interchange is in the area of conflict theory. Many anthropologists, with their traditional interests in understanding how exotic systems work, have tended to ask functional questions and create interpretations of data, including conflict, in terms of the contributions such activities make to the ongoing system. Political scientists have more often used conflict as a causal engine to explain adjustments, social and political movements, and change in general. Although it is always important to assume that conflict may have positive as well as negative effect given a rapidly changing social milieu, I suspect that anthropologists will become progressively interested in conflict as a stimulus to change — not only in terms of role conflict, and class conflict, but also in terms of social or inter-ethnic rivalries and interregional ones and so on. Here hypotheses and theories abound in political science which could be meaningfully tested by anthropologists working at the local level in the new nations. For example, Karl Deutsch has developed a theory (1953: 179-180) that a policy which includes sharply differentiated living

standards should also have an intensity of nationalistic feelings: (a) inversely proportional to mobility between classes and regions, (b) directly proportional to the barriers against cultural assimilation, and (c) directly proportional to the extent of economic and prestige differences between culture, classes and regions.

What Deutsch is suggesting here is that inequalities produce tensions and frustrations while nationalism provides a social and political catharsis or channel through which collective aggressions may be expressed. This may be true, at least for the modernizing world, but it needs testing in local areas; and I suspect it needs refinement in terms of types of the traditional systems to which it is applied. Thus, I would suspect the hypothesis to produce very different sets of results for India, as compared with Eastern Nigeria. In the latter case, people have practically no sharp class distinction traditionally and —achievement has been described as relatively high — at least in relation to other Nigerian groups (Levine 1966). The hypothesis might be strongly validated in Eastern Nigeria where economic and prestige differentiation can be theorized to be a new and frustrating characteristic of the modernizing situation. However India, with its ancient and locally developed inequities of class status and economic positions, must have already developed in its traditional life non-nationalistic modes of adaption to these same conflicts . . . and these could be utilized, at least partially, in the modern situation as well.

In terms of method, the behavioral techniques being developed in both political science and sociology are also diffusing over into anthropology — although this movement can be seen most clearly among those doing cross-cultural surveys of large samples of societies. Nevertheless, within the next ten years, I expect that training in research design, questionnaire construction, statistical techniques and computer analysis will become much more common in social anthropology than it is at the moment; on the other hand the relativism of anthropology will be expressed in a strong emphasis on the use of culturally specific indicators for theoretically derived variables. This means that the traditional emphasis on understanding the local cultural context will not be

given up, but rather used as a building block or stepping stone to the more restrictive problems derived from comparative research and theory.

CONCLUSIONS: THE RESULT OF COURTSHIP AND THE PROMISE OF CONSUMMATION

As I have already pointed out, the relations between anthropology and political science have gone beyond the point of dalliance to a situation of courtship. However marriage is not yet, indeed may never be, because social science itself is moving towards group marriage. However a number of things are clear:

(1) For the political scientist, anthropological data provides an increase in variance such that theory may be tested on wider samples of political systems. In order to accomplish this, political scientists should have courses and texts available to them in political anthropology and such materials should introduce the student to the range of political variety known to the anthropologist. A start has been made in this direction and it will expand in the future (see Schapera 1956; Mair 1962; Gluckman 1965; Swartz, Turner and Tuden 1966; Almond and Powell 1966; Cohen and Middleton 1967; also **Rural Africana: Research Notes on Local Politics and Political Anthropology**, edited by Norman Miller Michigan State University).

(2) For research purposes, political scientists should be made aware of aggregate data sources in anthropology — such as the HRAF files — and research must be designed at the local level in the new nations (cf. Zolberg 1966). This latter feature is well advanced already and seems to be a growing trend in political science research in foreign areas.

(3) Anthropology can aid political science in the analysis of ethnicity and in preparing researchers for the use of participant-observation techniques in the field.

(4) Anthropology on its side has a great deal to gain from political science, in terms of theory and more precise behavioral methods — which at this point in its development the discipline sorely needs.

DISCUSSION

The overall conclusion toward which all of these statements point, is that outside the milieu of the industrialized western nations in particular, and for comparative purposes in general, anthropology and political science are both facing issues and specific research problems that must eventually bring them closer together. However such convergence is not simply a matter of each discipline reaching over into the other's bailiwick and grabbing for a solution. The issues raised in this article call for new and different kinds of work in both disciplines in order that something constructive come out of their mutual attraction. Unfortunately, work already completed can only partially solve new problems for which such research was not intended.

Let me illustrate this point with a problem that is plaguing some of us at Northwestern — that of local unit definition. To say, as many do these days, that research must move to the local or micro-political level in new nation research is one thing; but it begs a number of difficult operational and research design problems. As of now, there are a number of studies going on at the local level among the African nations. But in order to coordinate and systematize such research we need to know what are the significant units of study at the local level; are they the ethnic groups? the towns? local institutions such as trade unions, local government or combinations of these? Unfortunately much of the best traditional ethnography in Africa is concerned with small (often isolated) groups, while larger more complex and variegated "tribes" are usually less well studied. Furthermore, such ethnographic accounts are often time-bound, in that they describe conditions at the time the research was carried out. How then can a researcher use this literature to characterize the ethnic properties of a new African nation?

In addition, ethnicity may not be a stable entity. So-called ethnic groups can coalesce and subdivide over time and in the face of different situations. Indeed one anthropologist (Fried 1966) has suggested that the sense of ethnic identification is a

reaction formation that results from the nature of a wider political unit of which the ethnic group is a part. Thus "easterner" and "northerner" may be emergent ethnic groups in Nigeria, but if these areas were to become separate political entities, then subdivisions within them such as Hausa, Fulani, Ibo, Ijaw, etc., would become more important politically. Thus choosing local ethnic units may be somewhat arbitrary. Zolberg (1964) has tried to work out "culture centers" for the Ivory Coast and my colleague John Paden is working with the idea of constructing local ethnic entities that are politically relevant in the modern era.

The question can then be posed as to whether these units have any significant effect on national developments. If so, we must ask what is it about these groupings that produces such results. Another way of solving the same problem may be to devise some means of isolating "natural" developmental units or regions within or even across the new nations. Such units could be isolated, hopefully, through the objective measurement and analysis of various kinds of transaction flows such as telephone calls, trade, use of natural resources, road use, migration patterns, etc. Then, traditional ethnicity, local political structures, traditional authority patterns, attitudes, national policy goals, and other socio-cultural and political variables could be studied in relation to these units.

Whether or not these solutions are the "right" ones is not as important as the fact that the problem exists. Neither political science nor anthropology has a simple, pat answer already worked out. And this is only one example. As already noted above, comparative work in international relations involving non-western policies requires that data in anthropology be organized with this purpose in mind. Thus a convergence of goals in anthropology and political science means that some significant restructuring of both field research and their comparative foci must be accomplished before common interests can be pursued. Marriage often results from courtship but unless it results from complete self-deception it creates as many new problems as it solves.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC ART OF THE PHILIPPINES: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH*

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Within a people's culture, art holds a privileged position as a reflection of a people's creative genius, the source of its vitality, inventiveness, and adaptive capacity. Art viewed from an anthropological viewpoint becomes even more meaningful because it is seen not only in terms of its styles and craftsmanship but in its dynamic role in the socio-cultural and historical context. Anthropology gives meaning to art by studying it in functional interaction with all the elements constituting human life and culture. Haselberger (1961:343) notes that "one can never make a detailed study of a work of art without determining its place in the total structure of the culture as well as in historical style sequences." The holistic and functionalistic conception of society and culture

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is a central principle in anthropology, and Haselberger lays this down as a basic principle in the study of art:

Since each civilization constitutes an indivisible entity, the investigator studying any part of culture, such as fine arts, should always keep the total culture in mind. A structural study of art, therefore, should be designed to analyze the structure of a civilization, and the relationships and intertwining of its various fields; and to show the position of art in the culture, as well as the order in which individual arts are ranked. (1961:351)

It will be in the light of this general functionalistic principle that we will approach the subject assigned to us.

The topic — Ethnographic Art of the Philippines: An Anthropological Interpretation — needs careful delineation. Haselberger discusses at length the problem of designating the art of non-European peoples. The arts of these peoples have been variously labelled as primitive, tribal, traditional, native, indigenous, folk, or popular — or sometimes, more esoterically, as autochthonous. All these terms, although they may have been useful in the past, are today less serviceable and acceptable in the climate of rising nationalism and modernization. Anthropologists (Hsu 1964:169) are even seriously rethinking the concept of "primitive."

The growing dissatisfaction with these terms is due mainly to the host of negative value judgments underlying them. Haselberger, rejecting all these terms as unsuitable, settles on the term "ethnological art," which she defines as "all art objects that do not belong to cultures usually included in studies of art historians." The title of our topic uses "ethnographic art." If these two related terms were to follow the arbitrary definition of Haselberger, nearly all the art objects in Philippine culture would logically fall under the ethnological or ethnographic category, in so far as the Philippines has been historically and functionally a part of the culture-area of Malaysia. But this coverage of the term ethnographic or ethnological cannot be used here, for besides ethnographic art, we may cover other such art areas as painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, music, and drama.

Ethnographic art, therefore, must be understood to cover some of the other specialized areas of Philippine art.

It may be noted that in anthropology, ethnology and ethnography are not interchangeable terms. Although both are derived from the Greek "ethnos" (people), ethnography is descriptive in nature: it describes the customs and cultures of specific peoples, ethnology, on the other hand, is analytical: it uses comparative methods and the historical approach. Moreover, these two terms are normally used in the context of contrasted cultures: a "civilized" versus a "less-civilized," or "literate" versus "non-literate." In the Philippines these contrasts are expressed in religious terms: Christians and non-Christian; or in demographic terms: majority groups, minority groups. And it is to these latter groups that the terms ethnographic and ethnological are usually applied.

Consequently, ethnographic art, in this paper, will be that found among the minority groups which are distributed throughout the archipelago, in mountain areas and in fringe, relatively, inaccessible places. Ethnic groups in the Philippines, both major and minor, have usually been divided along linguistic-cultural lines—Ilocano, Tagalog, Bicolano in Luzon; Waray, Ilongo, Cebuano in the Visayas; Manobo, Maranao, Maguindanao in Mindanao. A less natural criterion, that of religion, has also been utilized to classify the peoples of the Philippines. In this classification, Filipinos fall into three main categories: Christian, Muslim, and Pagan. The "ethnographic" peoples, and by extension, their "ethnographic" art" are generally limited to the non-Christian minorities.

The two regions, aside from Palawan and Mindoro, where there is a great concentration of minority groups are the mountain areas of northern Luzon and the South, predominantly Muslim. Our paper will deal substantially with these two areas—the Pagan North and the Muslim South. Ethnographic art in both places is extensively developed and relatively well documented. Although some nationalistic art critics tend to regard the arts of these areas as uncontaminated by colonialism and more representative of pre-Spanish Philippines, the validity of this view may suffer.

Changes in style and popularity are subject to innovative principles from within and cultural borrowings and influences from without. However, the ethnographic art of the non-Christian Filipinos has enough distinctiveness to deserve a special treatment, especially from an anthropological point of view.

ART AND ANTHROPOLOGY: GENERAL

From the viewpoint of anthropology, ethnographic art is characterized essentially by the fact that it is human, i.e., a phenomenon of culture and not a product of random biological determinism. As a human, social product, ethnographic art becomes the focus of intentional and functional relations. The raw material of art — wood and stone, brass and iron, shell and clay, sound and color, motion and time, and so forth — are subjected to a process of patterning and emerge as a thing of design. The forces behind this process of patterning are generated both from the fertile mind of the individual artist and from the needs and transactions of society. On the side of the artist, the immediate determining factor of art is the artistic-aesthetic intent. The aesthetic intention is what separates art from non-art; it confers a surplus meaning to sheer biological purposefulness. On the side of the community, the forces of patterning spring from human purposes and the interplay of human needs and institutions.

In the study of ethnographic art there are four approaches that can be combined to yield maximum information and understanding. Haselberger (1961-934) outlines them as follows:

1. **Detailed systematic study of individual art objects.**

This would entail the analysis of material, technique, purpose, content, form and their mutual interaction within an artistic structure.

2. **The artist's biography.**

The study of the artistic agent is designed to yield insights into personality structure and community status and their effects in the creativity and works of the artist.

3. **Study of art in the whole structure of the culture.**

This would look into the interplay of art with the economy, social organization, and intellectual life of the community.

4. The history of art.

This would investigate the age-area of space-time dimensions of art. It will look into the stages and development of art styles but also into their geographic distribution.

These approaches are to be combined in order to pool the insights and techniques of both art critics and anthropologists. The multilevel method, suggested by Haselberger, has yet to be tried in the study of ethnographic art of the Philippines. Our own treatment will be, in a limited sense, a testing of the Haselberger method. To date there is no work we can point to which uses this approach. We hope our mentioning of this experimental method will serve as a point of departure for some ambitious students in art and anthropology interested in a deeper study of Philippine ethnographic art.

Details of the artistic structure

For a detailed study of individual art objects, account must be taken of such elements as raw material, artistic intent and purpose, technique, content, form, and the mutual interplay of these factors within a structure.

The raw material of art is practically limitless. The artist can embody his aesthetic insights in colors and shapes, in sounds and movements, in the unfolding situations and actions of fiction. Art classification can base itself in the materials used, which run the gamut from the inorganic stone, clay, and metals through the organic shells, wood, bamboo to the finer products of plants like fiber, dyes, and seeds. Anthropology has long been aware of the material factor as an essential clue to the study of man. In fact, the venerable stages in the development of civilizations were keyed to materials shaped by man. Thus, prehistory set up the traditional stages of stone age, bronze age, and iron age. Although these sequences belong to a discredited unilinear evolutionary

theory, it nevertheless suggests the importance of the raw materials which received the imprint of the artist.

Next to material, purpose and aesthetic intention are responsible for the reshaping and repatterning of raw matter and give it an individual and social function. Among the possible purposes given to art objects, Haselberger (1961) lists the following:

1. Utilitarian — e.g. different types of shield for war.
2. Ritual — e.g. a statute in which an ancestor is to reside; the clay figures on a burial jar from Palawan paddling their way to the other world.
3. Educational — e.g. Australian bark paintings, used as initiation and age-grading ceremonies to teach young men the myths and folkways of the tribe.
4. Commercial — e.g. art objects produced as trade goods, such as the modern "tourist art."
5. Social prestige — e.g. artistic creations representing the power and wealth of a ruler.
6. Social control — e.g. masks to maintain order and discipline; fearsome idols guarding the entrance of Igorot villages.
7. Art for art's sake — e.g. the Maranaw ceremonial *danganan* or weapon handle which is too ornate or too large for practical use.

The third element is technique. Technique is important in understanding the genesis of an artistic object and style. Boas (1955:19) observed that "productive artists are found among those who have mastered a technique." And there is, he said, an intimate correlation between complete automatic control of a technique and regularity of forms and surface pattern. Moreover, differences observed between tourist art objects and similar objects in their original community function are due as much to differences in purpose as to differences in technique. Mass production techniques often adversely affect the quality of art, although this is only a general rule that admits exceptions. Technique also is important for indicating the object's place of origin and its place in the developmental stages in art styles.

The fourth element, content, points to the symbolic and representational aspect of an art object. Ethnographic art ranges from extreme realism through various degrees of symbolism to extreme abstractionism. If purpose is the answer to the question "What is it used for?" or "What is its function?" Content is the answer to the question "What does it represent?" or "What does it symbolize?" The analysis of artistic content is for anthropologists a most important means for understanding society.

The fifth element, form, may be equated with style and as such can be considered a duality of both technique and content. Form as style is necessary in the study of distribution and variation of ethnographic objects. Form analysis has been very important, for instance, in the study of stone tools in archaeology. A study of the *kris*, for instance, in the southern Philippines and in southeast Asia would have to rely on form analysis to describe the range of variation.

The last element is structure. All the previous five elements are analytic components in ethnographic art. Structure analysis, on the other hand, will reveal the interaction and combination of these various elements. The emphasis on one element, for instance, if the purpose is ritualistic, then the choice of material, technique, content, and form will correspondingly be affected. A given material will likewise determine and limit the technique, content, form, and purpose. Structure puts together what analysis distinguishes for the sake of understanding. Thus structure is important as the synthetic movement in the study of ethnographic art.

The Artist: Types and Roles

An analytical and structural study of art objects must be complemented by a psychological and sociological study of the artist. The nature and qualities of an art object are definitely affected by whether the artist is male or female, an old or young person, temperamentally intuitionist or analytical, an aristocrat or a commoner, a warrior or a medicine man. These personal variables are strongly correlated with the kind of art produced.

For instance, the art of a warrior and that of a medicine man would obviously be differentially characterized due to their social role and preoccupation. Other categories used in approaching art through the artist include the various human constitutional types (leptosome-schizothym, pyknic-zyklothym, etc.) and the different types of aesthetic talent. Different artists have different sensory preferences: some love colors and shapes; others like space and motion; still others live on intuition and emotion. There is also an eidetic type of artist who possesses a powerful image-forming ability. This talent, though natural, can be enhanced and heightened by vision-producing agents. Peyote of the Mexicans and Pitcherie of the Australians are well known halucinogenic agents associated with religion, and artistic vision-cults.

Art in Culture: Relation and Interaction

That there is a definite and multiple relation between art and the culture and society of its origin is a basic anthropological assumption of this paper. Here we can only indicate in outline some of the aspects of sociocultural reality that bear on the understanding of ethnographic art.

The first level of influence of the economy on art is in the area of raw material. The availability of material, either locally or obtained from trade, has traditionally affected the fate of certain art objects and styles. In the Philippines, for example, there used to be a strong tradition of sophisticated pottery characterized by incisions, dots, and geometric designs. Archaeology has repeatedly revealed a prevalent pottery design known as the Kalanay type, after the name of the barrio in Masbate Province where the complex was first discovered and described. But the coming of glazed and durable Chinese porcelain discouraged and practically exterminated the sophisticated pottery art traditions in the Philippines.

Another favorite relation between art and the economy is expressed in the surplus-leisure-specialization theory. Surplus economic goods provide leisure for some people to enable them to devote time to develop special technologies and new arts. In

the study of ethnographic art, this theory has been both confirmed and refuted. It is true that artistic activity, especially in the classical tradition, was an offshoot of a leisured life, it is equally true that extreme necessity in the face of mystery has resulted in one of the most interesting art traditions in the world. The Australian aboriginals and the Eskimos, both living on subsistence level economics, have developed remarkable art traditions.

A third relation between art and the economy is best seen in the recent development of tourist art. The tourist market has generated such a demand for ethnographic art objects that the market is flooded with such products and crafts. The materials, techniques, styles, and contents of ethnographic art have been transformed so that it would not be surprising if such products also transformed the cultural context which necessitated the creation of such art objects in the first place. We have yet to study in detail the possible effects not only of the tourist market but also of the Christian and urbanized Filipino on ethnological art. On the other hand this is evidence that ethnographic art is influencing artists who do not necessarily live in sociocultural context. Motifs originally expressed in one or two mediums have been found in modern functional and decorative designs. The Maranao Sarimanok, for example, has been expressed by Galo Ocampo in a stained-glass medium.

The social structure can influence art on two levels. Where a society has developed to such a degree that leaders, like sultans, princes, kings, and the priesthood, are established institutions, there arises the need of expressing and strengthening this social position through symbols, such as crests, monuments, insignias, and seals. Thus the maintenance of a hierarchical social structure directly encourage the development of certain art objects. Among the Maranao the possession of a sarimanok and other art objects are associated with social prestige. Another level of influence of the social structure and art occurs when, for instance, a dominant pastoral nomad group achieves a symbiotic relationship with a submerged agricultural group. The resulting structure is clearly marked by strong cultural differentiation manifested in the art

traditions of the dominant and the submerged group. It may also happen that in a relatively homogeneous society, some art techniques and styles are limited to a certain subgroup of specialists.

Ideology, which can include religion, morality, world-view, ritual, and magic, has traditionally influenced art all over the world. Religious art objects such as statues, idols, and masks cannot be explained in themselves without recourse to the religious orientation which determined their genesis and functions. Certain systems of beliefs, like Islām, can inhibit art representations of animals. This is how some art historians and critics explain the non-representational character of Arabic art. Other beliefs, like animism, can stimulate representative art by requiring spirit seats and masks. In prehistoric Philippines the boat-designs of burial coffins were evidently determined by the belief in spirit sailing to the next world.

The History of Art

The fourth approach in the study of ethnographic art is historical. It is the attempt to see developmental stages and changes diachronically. One important concept in anthropology is the age-area concept. A cultural item, like an art object, not only follows a developmental sequence but also has a distributional dimension that can point to its distance in time. As a general rule, the wider an object is distributed, the older it is. In anthropology, the search for temporal origins, or historicalism, is an important technique in the study of institutions and cultural items. The same technique can be applied to the study of ethnographic art. For instance, a diachronic approach can give important light to the study of the development of shield designs among the peoples of the Mountain province. Also style analysis of a certain artist will be better understood if studied developmentally from his earliest works to his latest.

We have tried in the above to outline the principles and relevant concepts in the study of ethnographic art from an anthropological viewpoint. The four-level approach in the study of ethnographic art, a rough summary of Haselberger, can likewise

serve as a framework for the description and interpretation of selected Philippine ethnographic art. In the following two sections we will deal with the ethnographic art of the pagan peoples of the Mountain Province and of the Muslim peoples of the southern Philippines.

The Pagan North

The peoples in the mountains of Northern Luzon are popularly known as Igorots. The early Spaniards indiscriminately called them "Ygolotes" or "Igorrote," meaning mountain people. But anthropologists tell us that there is not one but eight ethnolinguistic groups in this area. These groups have been studied and labelled as Isneg (Apayao), Tinguian (Itneg), Kalinga, Ilongot, Bontoc, Nabaloi (Ibaloy), Ifugao, and Kankanay. The most extensively studied group has been the Ifugao in the Banawe area, primarily because of their association with the famous rice-terraces. But the other groups are no less important from the standpoint of anthropology and art. Each group exhibits its own peculiar way of life, world view, subsistence pattern, ceremonial practices, and art traditions. Mountain Province culture, in fact, was the object of intense study in the early days of the American period, so much so that today the literature on these peoples forms a significant portion of anthropological writings on the Philippines. Accordingly the main source of information regarding the life and arts of these mountain groups are the writings and photographs of the early American ethnologists like Barton, Jenks Fay-Cooper Cole, and Keesing; and European missionaries like Lambrecht and Vanoverbergh. To complement these documents and photographs, the National Museum has accumulated some specimens of ethnographic arts from these peoples. With these sources and these specimens, it is possible to arrive at an appreciable estimate of the beauty and significance of the ethnographic arts of these pagans of the north.

In line with the methods and framework we outlined above the first aspect of ethnographic art of the northern pagans is its raw materials. The dominant material is wood. Wood of many

types is used in the manufacture of artistic shields, decorated containers, dishes, spoons, bowls, figurines and religious images called *bulol* and *bihang*. Mountain Province artists have their choice among the hard narra wood, the rust-bright or brownish *ada-an* wood, the fine-grained clayish red *gutmu* wood. The tree-fern trunk is commonly used in carving the *bihang* or village guardian figure. Bamboo is also used, as in many parts of the Philippines, a fact which led Alfredo Roces to coin the term "Bamboo culture." Bamboo, together with clay, bronze, brass, is used in the making of Bontoc anito pipes. For graphic art and two-dimensional designs, extensive use is made of fabric and color. Iron is a necessary material in the making of spears and headaxes elaborately designed by peoples where headhunting was until recently an integral part of their way of life.

The aesthetic intent and purpose in Mountain Province art can be revealed only by analysis of individual art objects or category of art objects. Mountain Province shields, for instance, are classified as art objects. For although shields have an obvious utilitarian and banal purpose, their harmonious design and elaborate overlay of decorative motifs make them true expressions of an aesthetic intent. Shields, therefore, may be classified under the category of household articles as containers, bowls, dishes, spoons, and ladles. These everyday objects reveal designs and motifs belonging to the representational or purely decorative types. The aesthetic intent and decorative function of these articles are unmistakable. The persons who fashioned these objects consciously or unconsciously added something for an effect beyond sheer usefulness.

A slightly different category of art objects is the wooden religious images placed in rice granaries, burial caves, and the entrance to villages. Here the practical utility so prominent in shields and household utensils disappear. The purpose of these objects is ritualistic. The motives in their fashioning spring from the depth of the people's spirit world. If one's criterion of the aesthetic is what pleases the beholder, then these objects may not seem to qualify as art objects. Many of these images and

figurines, like the masks found among the Indians of the north west coast of North America, were designed not to please but to control social behavior through fear or to reinforce people's beliefs. However, if one looks at the formal elements of these carved figures, one sees the most intense artistic insight and skill in their formation. On the formal side, therefore, these objects are true objects of art belonging to a category defined according to their purpose in ritual and social control.

A third category of art objects according to purpose is the famous Mountain Province pipes. The artistic efforts that go into the making of pipes are rivalled only by the same care in the making of betel boxes among the Muslim peoples of the south. Pipes are made of clay or bronze or brass with bamboo stems. Invariably the pipe bowls are elaborately decorated, sometimes with human representations as among the Bontoc. The art found in pipes are more than utilitarian. The function of prestige is more dominant here. The more elaborate and more unusual one's pipe is, the more prestigious one becomes. Hence pipes are objects that may be classified by their purpose to enhance prestige.

A fourth category of Mountain Province art may be called commercial or tourist. While it may be true that objects of this kind are recent, they nevertheless constitute an important group of Mountain Province art. Art critics using a finer discrimination of what is true art may not condescend to term tourist art as art, but anthropologists with their wider concern with human behavior do not hesitate to call tourist art, in spite of its commercial function, legitimate art.

But if one were to reduce all Mountain Province art to its basic uses, then one can easily divide them into types: the decorative and the ritualistic or magical. Shields, containers, pipes, fabric color and designs, and even tourist art objects belong to the decorative type. The bulol and bihang and other religious images belong to the ritualistic type.

As we turn our attention to the technique factor by which the Mountain Province artists transform raw material into works of

art serving decorative and ritualistic uses, we see how intimately technique enters into their formation so as to make them distinctive of a people. One technique, for instance, which characterizes the artwork of the pagan artists is the practice of blackening wood carvings by rubbing oil and soot on them. Thus the grim, brooding appearance that the *bulol* shows is due partly to this practice of blackening. The practice is used not only on wooden images but also on shields and carved containers.

Besides blackening, carving itself is a technique. The similarity and variety of styles in dishes and figurines point to carving as a widespread skill and highly developed technique. The Mountain Province artists, because of their mastery of the technique of carving, using only a simple adze, succeeded in creating a proliferation of woodcarving. Boas, in his book *Primitive Art* (1955) shows that the mastery of a technique is a decisive factor in the diversification of certain styles. A skilled carver, a virtuoso, takes so much joy and pride in his skill that he naturally shows off his mastery by experimenting in new forms and new styles. Thus variations are born. Yet mastery of technique is also responsible for uniformity and persistence of certain forms and styles. An artist cannot repeat the same form in the same style unless he has enough mastery of his material and technique to insure the repetition of the same design more than once. Rhythm, symmetry, and persistence are signs of skill and mastery. Thus, among the artists of the Mountain Province, the mastery of the carving technique can be said to be so highly developed and widely distributed, particularly among the Ifugao and Bontoc, as to insure a rich variability and strong similarity in the forms and styles of carved objects of art.

The interplay of raw material, purpose, and technique must now be viewed more fully in the light of content and form. Consideration of content and form requires a preliminary discussion of the symbolic and representational tendency of art, whether graphic or in the round. The nature of an artistic representation is usually expressed by a juxtaposition of realism and abstractionism. Conceived as a bipolar concept, one pole is realism or

naturalism, where representation is in a reasonably recognizable correspondence with its objective referent; the other pole is symbolism or abstractionism, where representation is sufficiently distorted as to lose its usefulness as an image of its referent and instead assumes a symbolic function pointing to or expressing a new idea or reality. Some art critics express the juxtaposition as between representational versus non-representational or figurative versus non-figurative. In the former there is a recognizable object depicted; normally human or animal. In the latter the designs are generally geometric or assemblages of leaf and floral motifs. The extreme degree of the non-representational tendency is pure abstractionism where form is completely disengaged from content. At this extreme art becomes non-objective, expressionistic, non-figurative, a projection of inner psychological states.

Mountain Province art, especially in woodcarving, can be generally characterized as highly representational, that is, it has a high content of human and animal form. This feature makes the art of the Pagan North markedly different from the art of the Muslim South. Among the mountain peoples, the human form, quantitatively speaking, is profusely illustrated in various postures and degrees of abstraction. Mountain people iconographies show the human form standing or squatting, with arms straight or crossed, with elbows resting on knees; with or without sexual characteristics; standing alone or in sexual embrace; complete figures or anatomical parts; in the round or relief figures bulging on spoons, bowls, and pipes.

The portrayal of the total human form, however, is not found among all the mountain groups; it is found fully developed only among the Bontoc, Ifugao, and Nabaloi. But the portrayal of animal motifs is more widespread. A favorite animal motif found in wood carving is that of reptiles (lizards and snakes) and that of pigs. These motifs are not normally found as separate objects of art like the irons; they are carved as relief on spoons, bowls, and other home utensils. Other animal motifs are found represented in two-dimensional art, as in blanket designs and bamboo incisions. Fay-Cooper Cole wrote that some decorated bamboo

showed realistic motifs such as fish, birds, snakes, and lizards. Weaving designs in blankets show representations of fish, crab and horse. Plant motifs, like flowers and the pineapple, are also found in bamboo and blanket designs. Cole, however, added that strictly geometrical motifs are dominant in blankets and bamboos and baskets. The latter objects and the techniques employed in their making lend themselves easily to non-figurative patterning and this probably explains the relative frequency of non-figurative patterns found in them.

Non-figurative art is also found in the shapes and designs on shields, spears and head axes. These objects make effective use of the elements or rhythm and symmetry. Mountain Province shields have been analyzed artistically; their basic forms and shapes have been identified and classified by Nettleship (1958: 55). The most common form is the 3/2 points, a technical designation derived from the symmetrical projects which spring from the upper and lower ends of the shield-body. There are three projections one pointing upward and two downward. Nettleship (1958) listed some variations of or deviations from this basic pattern. One variation is the 3/flat, i.e. no downward projection; the other variation, a more radical departure from the design, is the 1/1 point motif found limited to the Isneg. The 3/2 points shield motif is widely found among the Tinguian, Kalinga, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kankanay, and Nabaloi.

Before closing this section on content and form, it may be pointed out that commercial and tourist art of the Mountain Province variety shows an astonishing exuberance of representational art designs in the round. A quick tour through the antique shops in Baguio City or even in downtown Manila reveals a profusion of wooden art objects in animal and human forms. The human form can be seen expressed in a wide-ranging style from the most abstract and "modern" to the most bizarre and "primitive." These representations, of modern, commercial origins, should not be confused with the traditional representations found in the original social context of the Mountain Province peoples. Thus distinguished, the anthropological interpretation of ethnographic art of the Pagan North can proceed more clearly.

The structural elements of Mountain Province art object — material, purpose, technique, content, and form — have been treated above only in a limited, suggestive fashion. The approach is (1) from the side of structure, the first level suggested by Haselberger. If we are to complete the multilevel approach as suggested by her, we would have to move on to the next three levels: (2) the psychological approach, from the side of the artist; (3) the sociocultural approach, from the side of the sociocultural context; and (4) the historical approach, from the side of successive forms and development of styles. However, for the purpose and anthropological limits of this paper, it will be more profitable to dwell at length on the sociocultural implications of the artistic factors we have analyzed above.

Accordingly, we might ask what possible anthropological interpretations can one make of the materials, purposes, techniques, and contents found in Mountain Province art? Granted that there is a definite correlation and mutual determination between the art and culture of the mountain peoples of Northern Luzon, how does an anthropological interpretation render their art and society mutually understandable and meaningful?

An anthropological interpretation of Mountain Province ethnographic art, to be truly anthropological, must approach the subject in terms of the major principles of anthropology, one of which is the organic or functional integration of society, culture and habitat. In this respect, art analysts and critics differ from anthropologists in their view of art, because the former are often limited to the formal or objective aspects of art objects, that is in its morphology consisting of shapes, lines, surfaces, and colors in their patterned relationships. Anthropologists, on the other hand, are interested not only in these objective aspects but also in the subjective aspects containing the answers to such questions as why it was made (motivations), how it was used (functions), and what significance (meaning) was given to it by the members of society. Paul S. Wingert, who has the advantage of being both an art historian and an archaeologist, in his book, *Primitive Art*, called attention to the fact that:

the subjective or inner aspect of an art form is unique to the culture in which it evolved. This uniqueness, or cultural identity, results from the numerous differences in physical and historical circumstances which separate one culture complex from another. Because for primitive peoples there was such a close correlation of art to culture, or even to their very existence both as individuals and as a group, it is essential to examine the forms as closely as possible within their cultural context. (1962:75).

It must not be supposed that the mountain peoples of northern Luzon are unique in having decorative and religious art forms. Anthropologists had long ago pointed out that an aesthetic orientation and artistic product are universally found among all human groups. *Homo sapiens* are essentially artistic. The relevant questions, therefore, regarding Mountain Province art, is why it has taken this particular expression. What is it in the culture and history of these pagan peoples that accounts for the characteristics of their decorative and religious art traditions? We have seen, for instance, the dominance of animal motifs in their wood carvings. Hartendorp, writing of Ifugao wood carvings, listed such animal motifs as the pig, dog, crocodile, lizard, deer, carabao, python, cobra, rooster, duck, and pigeon. These dominant animal motifs are particularly noteworthy in comparison with the predominantly plant-inspired motifs of the Muslims of Mindanao and Sulu. What lies behind the contrasts?

A first approximation to an exploration of the predominance of animal motifs in Mountain Province art lies partly in the hunting tradition of these pagan peoples of the north and partly in their negative belief in some plants. Anthropologists have long since held the view that preoccupation with a certain aspect of reality results in the elaboration of value-charged rituals and behavior around this aspect. For instance, the animal paintings in the caves of Altamira, Spain, have been interpreted as a reflection of a preoccupation with the hunting of those animals. In the Mountain Province, it is true that agriculture, especially in rice and camote, is currently widely practiced; but in the past agriculture was carried on side by side with a major hunting

economy. The organization of hunting parties and the use of hunting dogs among these mountain peoples are eloquent testimony to this tradition. It is, therefore, not surprising that this constant interest in the animal world in the framework of survival should be reflected in the arts and crafts of hunters.

However, this preoccupation with animals is not without limits. Mountain Province art is notable in the relative absence of fish motifs. The fish, so prominently associated with the Maranaw Sarimanok, is conspicuously absent in Mountain Province art. The reason that suggests itself to explain this curious lack is the selective control that beliefs and taboos impose on the portrayal of fish. A number of the Northern Luzon groups believe that fish is something unclean. The role of belief here as a selective factor is even more remarkable because we know that the Tinguian for instance, practice fish-trapping among the fast mountain rivers. But the negative belief about fish among the other groups is strong enough to make fish motifs relatively rare. The selective role of beliefs can be seen operating similarly against the portrayal of the pig among the non-pork eating Muslims of the South.

Lambrecht (1962:39) also pointed out that Ifugao religion was sustained by an undercurrent of fear — fear in displeasing the deities, fear of sickness and disease believed to be caused by the gods. The fear motive is clearly demonstrated in art by the creation of fearsome images called *bihang*. The *bihang*, carved out of giant fern-tree, is placed at the entrance of a village to inspire fear in the heart of the village outsiders. The fear inspired by the *bihang* is generated both by the savage and devilish appearance of the idol and also by the psychological apprehensions of people of the malevolent influences that the *bihang* can inflict on careless persons. Eric Torres describes the fearsomeness of the *bihang* thus:

The frightening aspect of the *bihang* image is concentrated around the eyes which are milky white, made out of sugar-cane pulp, occasionally out of mother-of-pearl. . . . [One] carver chose a giant-fern stalk, deeply grooved

fine grains, with a harsh soot-black appearance due to shadows within these grooves; then a head was fashioned by hollowing out the top portion of the stalk and filling up this hole with dark soil from which sprouted stalks of rice plant; two white blank saucer eyes were carved and an oval mouth, with human teeth filled in, completed the picture. The impact of all this is overpoweringly gruesome. (1959:3)

Spirit beliefs, however, cannot account for all the abundance of human representations in Mountain Province art because many of these images are used in a non-ritualistic context. Human and animal figures are found in ordinary secular objects such as plates, spoons, wine dippers, bowls, pipes, etc. How to account for his profusion of human forms in a decorative context? What anthropological interpretation can possibly render this art tradition understandable?

We have already alluded to the fact that Mountain Province woodcarving has a high figurative content of human forms. Is there anything in Mountain Province culture that can shed light on this special characteristic of Mountain Province art? A most promising source of explanation on this matter is the belief system and practices of the Mountain Province peoples. The spirit world and animalistic beliefs of these peoples are one of the richest in the world. For instance the Ifugao has a complicated spirit world geography consisting of the Downstream Region or *Lagud*, the Upstream Region or *Daya*, the Skyworld or *Kabunian* or *Angadal*, the Underworld or *Dalom*, and the Earth or *Pugao* (Lambrecht 1962:35). The spirit world is inhabited by a multitude of deities such as the Thunderer and his subordinates who dominate the skyworld and who control lightning, landslides, typhoons, winds, and rains. In the Underworld live the Earthquaker and his servants. Other deities dwell in the Downstreams and Upstream regions; these are the rice culture deities as well as the gods of reproduction, gods of hunting, and the gods of weaving.

This absorption in gods and supernatural beings found expression in the rituals and arts of the Mountain Province peoples

in general. The importance of rice agriculture was underscored by rice gods and granary guardians represented in carved figures that were believed to be the seat of the spirits. During and after harvest the village shamans invoke the rice spirits to come and dwell in the wooden idols standing in the houseyards. After which the shamans dance around them, sprinkling and besmearing them with blood from sacrificed victims, giving them rice wine and finally, after the ceremonies, leading them to the granary to guard the rice supply. These granary gods, called *bulol*, were so important in the rice culture of these rice planters that they were given personal names. Usually represented in pairs, the male *bulol* is called *Punholdayan* and his wife, *Bugan in Punholdayan*.

It would be difficult for an anthropologist to give a more definite explanation of how such tradition originated. For one thing, human representations are not equally practiced among all the mountain groups but are limited to the Ifugao, Bontoc, and Nabaloi groups. For another, the practice is found in the arts of Africa, Melanesia, and the northwest coast of America. Any light that an anthropologist could shed on it would be on the fact that the practice has become widespread and accepted as a tradition to be perpetuated.

Once the practice is sufficiently recognized, the social expectation for its maintenance becomes practically automatic. Thus for the Ifugao, Bontoc, and Nabaloi decorative art must, by their aesthetic expectation and artistic taste, deal with the human form. And because the social expectation is constantly there to demand this type of decorative motifs, the artist on his part becomes oriented and sensitized toward depicting human representations. And here comes also the principle of skill-play; the artist, having mastered the carving skill, feels the artistic urge to experiment in the application of his skill and to display his virtuosity. His creativity and productivity is thus reinforced both by the demands of society and the approval and remuneration he gets from society and by the innate artistic drive to show off and to delight in execution of the artistic act. Given this extrinsic and intrinsic reinforcement, the practice of depicting human forms as decora-

tive motifs easily becomes widespread and traditional. In this fashion Mountain Province human representational art becomes understandable as a practice and tradition even if its original remain is shrouded in an unknown historical artistic choice.

This analysis of the pervasive practice of using human forms as decorative motifs is confirmed by the appearance of tourist art from the Mountain Province. The high artistic quality of Mountain Province woodcrafts showing both human and animal motifs early established these motives as characteristics of the area. A stereotype was formed and a growing demand stimulated the creation of variants of the basic human and animal forms. The point is made that the social demands for Mountain Province woodcrafts served as a stimulus to producing woodcrafts and afforded opportunity for the artists of the Mountain Province to develop their carving skill and technique. To date the social demand continues and native skills are steadily exercised to manifest themselves in an increasing range of carved objects. It is true, strict art critics find fault with tourist art as being cheap imitations or as of little artistic value, but from the viewpoint of anthropologists tourist art is but an extension of an ethnographic art tradition in a modern, commercial context. Tourist art reveals the same sociological mechanics that governed the genesis and growth of ethnographic art.

A final sociocultural note on Mountain Province art is the status and role of the artist in the society. Mountain Province society has reached a sufficient level of division of labor for specialization to become possible. Before the development of tourist art there were already persons who specialized in woodcarving. In every Ifugao village, for instance, there were always two or three skilled in woodcarving and whose services and products were in demand among the wealthier Ifugaos as well as among the chiefs and priests of the villages. These skilled carvers were sometimes guided in what to depict by the specifications of priests and leaders in need of *bulol* or *bihang* or *anitos* (Hartendorp, 1951). With the coming of demands for tourists art, these native carvers intensified their carving activities and

production. Not only was the carving skill multiplied among other families but woodcraft itself become a family enterprise ensuring the perpetuation of the carving skill in the younger generation. The demand for tourist art is significant in the development of ethnographic art in that it insures the survival of the carving skill among the artists of the Mountain Province.

THE MUSLIM SOUTH

The Philippine South has traditionally stood for the Filipinos who embraced the Islamic Faith some two centuries before Christianity reached the Philippines. The Muslim Filipinos stand in a greater contrast to the rest of the Philippines than the Igorots of the Mountain Province. The dynamics of history seemed to have conspired to draw a demarcation line between the Christian and Muslim Filipinos. But history and religion aside, the similarities between these two groups of Filipinos in terms of a generalized Filipino culture are as close as, say, between the Ilocano and the Ilongo groups. When one comes down to the basic structure of family, kinship, and subsistence pattern, the religious and superficial differences appear less important. This is not, however, to deny the observable contrast, particularly in the realm of art and dress. In fact, the whole point on the second part of this paper on ethnographic art is premised on the assumption that the Muslim Filipinos developed an art tradition that is sufficiently distinctive to merit a separate treatment.

Just as the Mountain Province peoples are not one people, so the Filipino Muslims are not a single homogeneous group. There are nine ethno-linguistic groups traditionally classified under the name Muslim Filipinos. They are the (1) Taosug, (2) Maranaw, (3) Maguindanaw, (4) Samal, (5) Yakan, (6) Sanggil, (7) Badjao, (8) Molbog, and (9) Jarna Mapun. These groups are largely based on linguistic characteristics.

The nine Muslim groups in the Philippine South have been conveniently grouped under the general rubric of "Muslim." In the eyes of some orthodox Muslims, however, only the Taosug, Maguindanao, and Maranaw are formally and traditionally con-

sidered Muslim. The other groups may be considered "more or less" Muslim depending on their degree of Islamization. Some Badjaos are still considered "Kafir" or pagans by Filipino Muslims. Nevertheless the term "Muslim" has over the years served as a unifying symbol for all the groups.

The term, Muslim Art, like its counterpart, Igorot, or Mountain Province art, needs some clarification. Muslim Art is abundantly represented by Maranaw Art but the latter in no way exhausts the application of the term. The art of all the Muslim Filipino groups would equally and adequately be understood as Muslim Art. Some writers prefer to be precise by mentioning the specific group. Thus Hartendorp (1953) wrote of "The Art of the Lanao Moros"; Maceda (1959) described "The Setting of Maguindanao Music"; and Saber and Orellana (1963) discussed the "Maranao. Decorative Designs and Patterns." Others, like Szanton (1963) followed regional lines when he wrote about "Art in Sulu." In this paper we will use the term Muslim Art to designate the art of all the Muslim groups and indicate the particular group only when necessary for a better understanding.

The first area of consideration is the predominant raw materials in Muslim ethnographic art. The most common, of course, are wood, brass, and cloth. But no less important are silver and gold, iron, horn, ivory, leather, bamboo, and matting materials. A study of raw materials will reveal not only the limits imposed by their nature on the types of designs and motifs that can be expressed in them, it also gives some glimpses into the trading contacts that Muslim Filipinos had. Some brass materials come from such places as Borneo or Kalimantan, Celebes, and Sumatra. Although some time in the past there were elephants roaming in Sulu, said to have been gifts to the Sultan of Sulu from a Sumatra Prince, ivory used in the handle of bladed weapons had to be imported from the commercial emporium of Singapore and other sources in Indonesia and Mainland Asia. The material that most characterizes Muslim ethnographic art is brasswork and bladed weapons. If woodcarving exemplifies Mountain Province Art, brasswork epitomizes Muslim Art.

We turn now to consider the aesthetic intent and purposes that underlie the transformation of the raw materials we mentioned. First let us consider the highly stylistic woodcarvings of the Muslim Filipinos. The general term applied to this type of art is *okil* or *okir*, which etymologically means to carve or to sculpt, a word closely related to the Tagalog *ukit*, also meaning to carve. Szanton, Dacanay, and Imao, who all did some art research in Sulu, equally refer to woodcarving as *okil*. Imao, a Taosug, used a variant spelling *okkil*. The Maranaw version is *okir*, a spelling that reflects the Maranaw preference for r-phonemes in place of l-phonemes. In this paper we will use *okil* to woodcarving both as a technique and an art type.

Muslim *okil* is found exemplified both in individual objects of art like the Maranaw Sarimanok or the Luwaan gravemakers of Sulu or in larger objects like house beam-ends or boat prows. The *okil* is likewise found even in ordinary objects like plows and coconut graters. From these examples it is clear that the *okil* is a general decorative and ornamental design used by Muslim Filipinos to embellish a great variety of objects for ordinary or special use. From these same examples too it becomes evident that the artistic orientation is rather widespread among the Muslim Filipino groups. This phenomenon receives strong confirmation from a survey of the range of objects decorated with the *okil*: house-posts, house beams, boat prows, coconut graters, forges, dippers, grave-makers, and chess pieces. In all these artifacts the *okil* serves a decorative and ornamental purpose.

Next to the *okil* or woodcarvings, Muslim art is best represented by brasswork. In Muslim brasswork one sees a rare blending of the aesthetic, the utilitarian, and the social-status purposes. Brass pieces are invariably ornately decorated and aesthetically shaped, but they are all used for utilitarian ends in ordinary or special occasion, and their possession serves as an indicator of social rank and status.

Brass art are best exemplified in the following (Maranaw) items: *kabu*, *gadur*, *langguway*, *kendi*, *salapa*, *lutuan*, and *talām*.

The **kabu** and **gadur** are the jar-like containers with stately covers. The **langguway** is open, coverless containers with decorated rims. The **kendi** is the common teapot uncommonly shaped and ornamented. The **salapa** and the **lutuan** are both associated with the betel-nut chewing complex common among all Muslim Filipinos. The **talam** is the gorgeous tray that sometimes is used as table tops or wall decorations. Brass seems to take place of pottery for the Maranaws, for even their cooking pots, the **kodon**, is of brass. In all these brass containers the aesthetic and artistic intention is always present even while their production is obviously for utilitarian purposes.

A third group of Muslim art objects is weaponry. As a fierce freedom-loving people, the Muslim Filipinos developed a wide assortment of weapons for offense and defense. But the amazing thing is that these weapons are not bare instrument of violence; they are invariably dignified and softened by artistic effects. The handles of the **kris**, **kampilan** and **barong** are not simply shaped to fit the hand comfortably; they are shaped to please the beholder and to give pride to the owner. These artistic effects are found in the **lantaka**, or brass cannons, and in their shields, **taming** (circular) and **klong** (rectangular). A Maranaw armor is made either of carabao hide or of plates of carabao horn and brass rings; both types are effective and are attractive pieces of warrior's attire. The role of art in glorifying weaponry is probably most exemplified in **danganon**, the ceremonial, ornate sword handle sometimes made of ivory.

A fourth group of art objects is musical instruments. For percussion music the Muslim Filipinos have the **kulintang** or brass xylophone and the large gongs accompanying it; the **gabbang** or bamboo xylophone is found particularly among the Yakans and the Sulu Muslims. The Maguindanao and Maranaws have the **kudyapi** or boat-lute. Another common musical instrument is the **kubing's** or jew's harp and the bamboo flute. The drum is also found among them.

A fifth and final group of Muslim art objects is the tomb markers and frames found in Sulu. Szanton in his survey of

Art in Sulu has an excellent account of these grave arts. Sulu artists use both wood and coral stones to carve arabesque designs and representational images of various sorts. The Maranaws and Maguindanaos do not have this distinctive grave art found in Sulu; a fact that raises questions on representational art among the Muslim Filipinos. We will comment on this question later under form and style.

Muslim Art, like Mountain Province art, can be reduced to two basic purposive types. One is the decorative, the other is ritualistic. On the whole, Muslim art has less ritualistic expression than Mountain Province Art, a peculiarity which may be ultimately due to religious orientation.

On the question of technique, Muslim carving is highly skilled, well-developed, and broadly based. Carving in wood requires skilled handling of a few instruments. Sulu artists use an axe (*kapa*), planes (*katam*) having rounded or flat blades, gauge (*sanga*) for scouring, a knife (*lahot*), a drill made from a half-round chisel and rotated manually. For simple carving, sometimes a chisel and a knife are the only instruments used (Szanton 1963:51). Muslim artists are very particular in the choice of wood for carving, especially in carving weapon handles. Narra is used; but the favorite wood for beautiful handles is the kind called *banati* (Maranaw) or *bunti* (Taosug). The wood has a natural, fine-grained sheen almost like red marble. The technique for carving the handles of *kris*, *kampilan*, or *barong* is practically a separate art in itself; blacksmiths only fashion the blade; a specialist carver makes the wooden handle. Muslims have a special regard for weapon handles. The three common Muslim blades — *kris*, *kampilan*, and *barong* — are all fitted with distinctive handles following traditional types. The *barong*, favorite weapon of the Sulu Muslims, has the most elaborately carved handle. The *kris* is usually wrapped around with fine thread; so is the *kampilan* handle, except for the additional distinctive pattern of a gaping crocodile mouth. Another quality of Muslim carving skill is that Muslim artists do not normally follow a written design or blueprint; they carve directly from a mental image of a form which

often is spontaneously varied to fit the raw material being worked on.

Muslim art technique is likewise highly developed in brasswork. Today brasscraft is a specialty among the Maranaws, especially those of the town of Tugaya, a most prolific brasswork center. But in the past, brasscraft was found also among the Maguindanao and the Taosug. The technique in brass working is complicated but deeply rooted in tradition. A clay mold is made for every brasspiece; the mold is broken after the molten brass has been poured. For the next piece, another clay mold must be fashioned with all the desired designs and motifs included. Maranaw brass artists also work on thin brass plates for light objects, e.g. the brass trays or *talam*.

Wood carving and brass working are only two examples of techniques in Muslim art. But the widespread use of these techniques is enough to show how highly developed the techniques are. For lack of space we can only mention that other techniques, like gold and silver-smithing, as well as weaving highly patterned colorful cloth (*malong*), are no less developed among the Muslim Filipinos.

Such techniques applied on a wide range of materials and governed by the aesthetic insights and social purposes of the Muslim Filipinos have produced a significant class of artistic contents and forms. Let us first turn to the non-representational types of Muslim art, contents and forms. Already we have mentioned the *okil* as a general art type. As a general term for designating carvings on wood, the *okil* is limited in number and is analyzable in terms of basic forms and nature. A combination of these elements give the *okil* a distinctive decorative pattern which is reminiscent of baroque and arabesque art.

In the analytic study of Maranaw art made by Saber and Orellana (1963), these elements were shown to have been mainly drawn from leaf and flower motifs. Thus Maranaw artists refer to the *okil* components in terms of *potiok* (bud), *dapal* or *raon* (leaf), *pako* (fern), *pako rabong* (growing fern), and *todi* (*katorial*

flower). Other design elements are called by such descriptive names as *naga* (dragon or serpent), *binitoon* (star-like), *kianoko* (fingernail like), *tiali-tali* (rope-like). The impression of flowing lines of full, exuberant interlacings is the net effect of combinations of all these elements. The impression has led some art critics to call the *okil* as arabesque. And this observation is borne out by the definition of arabesque as "a motif of interlacing lines and flourishes growing usually out of, or around, one central unit. This unit may be present visually as a tree, a stem, an animal, etc., or it may represent just a hollow in which or around which, spread the flourishes."

The major combinations of all the elements constituted distinctive motifs which Saber and Orellana (1963:33) listed as follows:

Birdo — a motif of growing vine or crawling plant, often in horizontal movement, although the object bearing design may be placed obliquely or vertically.

Pako rabong — a motif of growing fern generally flowing upward and arrested sideward movement. Some artists classify these designs with the *birdo* type.

Magoyoda — a combination of dragon and plant component motifs, with the former as the dominating motif.

Niaga or niaganaga — a repetitious form of *naga* (dragon) the abstract "serpent" used as the dominant theme with interplacement or interlacement of imitation of leaves, ferns (spirals) and flowers called *todi*.

Obid-obid or tiali-tali — rope motif used for border lining enclosing the other designs.

Armalis — a combination of fern ("pako"), leaf ("raon"), (as used by wood-carvers), and flowers usually the bud of the *todi* or *katural* tree common in the locality.

Although *okil* originally expressed the notion of artistic carvings, its meaning was eventually extended to include all decorative designs even those found in Muslim cloth or *malong* where decorative patterns are generally geometrical. Cloth designs expressed in color also show motifs which can be analyzed into their component elements. Saber and Orellana (1963:45) gave the following design elements found in the Maranaw *malong*:

- Onsod** — zigzag line or a sequence of staggered squares; sometimes called **obid-obid**.
Patindug — straight border line.
Pinatola — alternately contrasting squares in colors.
Pinagapat — any four-sided design placed in a series or other arrangements.
Saragonting — cross; also called, **salangat** or **sialak**.
Olan-olan — "artificial moon" referring to circle; also called **matilak** (in wood-carving).
Binitoon — "star-like."
Siniko — wave line or serpentine.

These design elements observed by Saber and Orellana in Maranaw art are likewise found in other Muslim groups in Sulu. Szanton (1963), Dacanay (1965), and Imao (1965), have made similar studies in Sulu art but not as thoroughly and analytically as Saber and Orellana (1963). However, from what they found so far, it is safe to say that both Maranaw and Sulu art share the same basic tradition of ornamental elements. Already we noted the fact carved art is equally referred to as **okir** or **okil** in Sulu and Mindanao. All the other terms may not be identical, but the elemental forms would be similar. That the Sulu **okil** is similar to the Maranao **okir** is confirmed by a Taosug artist name Imao in an article on the Sulu **okil** where he said that "the **okkil** is distinctly a flower form." Such similarities can even be extended to the weaving designs in cloths and mats where the predominance of geometric designs are very obvious.

So far we have considered only non-figurative art exemplified in carved decorations and weaving patterns. Although non-figurative art is predominant among Muslim Filipinos, there are a number of notable figurative types found among them. The most obvious, of course, is the Maranaw **Sarimanok** where both bird and fish representations are clearly depicted. Perhaps because of the great popularity of the **sarimanok**, little notice was given to other representative art such as the dragon or **naga**, often taken as an abstract **sarimanok**, the crocodile or **buaya** found in **kampilan** handles and in the **kudyapi**, the horse or **kura-kura** in the Sulu gravemakers, and the abstract human figures in gravemakers also in Sulu.

Saber and Orellana (1963) have done great service to art critics and historians through their basic research on the **sarimanok**. Before their work came out there was great confusion regarding the **sarimanok**. Artists and popular writers used to talk on an "abstract" **sarimanok** represented by neck, head, and flourishing cock's comb. Saber and Orellana later found out that this abstract **sarimanok** was really another distinct motif which native Maranaw artists called **naga** (dragon) or **niaga** (dragon-like). The **naga** is a favorite Maranaw motif and is often incorporated in woodcarving patterns on large wooden objects; the **naga** is even found in inlaid designs in brass. The **naga** is unmistakable by its S-shape which is topped by a bud-like head. Sometimes dragon scales are represented on the neck region of the **naga**. In contrast, the **sarimanok** is unmistakably fowl-like in form. The head and wings are always present. A fish invariably is associated with it, either as leaning from the beak, held in the claw or serving as a base for the **sarimanok**. The most important quality of the **sarimanok** in its traditional form is the fact that it is always executed on the round and never, like the **naga**, as a component motif in a carved pattern on larger objects.

Together with the little known **naga** motif is the **buaya** motif. This motif is not as realistic as the **sarimanok** but it is rather common in the two-stringed guitar or **kudyapi** and in the **kampilan** handle. The **kudyapi** is believed to have originated from the Maguindanao Muslims of Cotabato where the crocodiles abound in the great Cotabato river. In fact one of the ancient settlements in Cotabato is called "Buayan" i.e. **buayahan**, or the place of crocodiles. The **buaya** motif as found in the **kudyapi** is expressed chiefly by the guitar shape which is elongated, showing some resemblance of a **buaya** tail at the handle and a **buaya** head at the base. The representational design of a **kudyapi** is sometimes so very abstract that some people discern not a crocodile but a boat. Hence the **kudyapi** is also called a boat-llute.

A symbolic representation of the **buaya** motif is found in the handles of **kampilan**. The traditional **kampilan** handle shows a V-shape at the base; the form is believed to represent the gaping

jaws of a crocodile. Near the base of the V is usually found a round spot that could well symbolize the eyes.

Representational art is more common in Sulu than in Mindanao. The gravemarkers of the Samals, carved out of wood or corals, show distinct human and animal figures. Szanton (1963) reported two types of Samal gravemarkers, the grave-frame (kubal) built around the burial spot, and the upright pieces (sundok). The grave-frames are all filled with *okil* designs and do not show figurative art. The uprights are composed of two sections: the upright itself and the base to which it is inserted. Both the upright proper and the base often show representative and symbolic carvings. A series of uprights in graves located in Muso, Siasi, show realistic human figures on the round mounted on boat forms. Some uprights are mere symbolic forms, but others show horse and crocodile-forms. The crocodile-form bases are specially distinguished by the gaping jaws like that found in *kampilan* handle. Incidentally, the crocodile motif is also found in boat prow in Tungkalang, Sanga-Sanga Island.

One interesting upright in Sitangkai Island is a symmetrical, three dimensional form mounted on a base which Szanton called bird-like. But a closer look at the base shows that the form is that of a naga or dragon. Szanton must have been led by the then current confusion between the real *sarimanok* (which is a bird form) and the "abstract" *sarimanok* which later turned out to be really a naga. It should be noted however that the reason for the confusion is that Szanton's paper on Sulu art came before Saber and Orellana (1963) made their revealing studies on Maranaw art.

Examples of decorative and figurative arts of the other Muslim groups, e.g. the Maguindanao, the Sanggil, and the Yakan are still very limited. These are research areas in art that anthropology and art students might profitably look into.

We might consider now the anthropological implications of Muslim Filipino artists using a wider range of materials. Aside from wood, bamboo, weaving materials for cloths and mats, Mus-

lim Filipinos use brass, ivory, silver, gold, stone, and animal parts such as horn and hide. The use of brass and ivory immediately leads to the insight that the Muslim Filipinos are a more active and mobile group, or at least are more open to outside influences than the Mountain Province artists. Actually both assertions are true. Muslim Filipinos are more mobile in terms of trade activities and geographically more exposed to outside trade influences. Historically the Muslim Filipinos roamed far and wide in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia; for centuries Jolo and Cotabato were important trading centers for Arab and Chinese sea traders. These facts are especially noted by Mednick (1957:39):

Until 50 years ago, the Moros were the major cultural influence in the southern Philippines. Because of their geographic position, they were both the recipients and bearers of the great cultures of southeast and eastern Asia. The mouth of the Cotabato River and the Sulu archipelago early became important in Malaysian trade. Jolo, lying midway between Mindanao and Borneo, and the Celebes and Sulu Sea, was the gateway to the Philippines for ships coming out of the East Indies, and the gateway to the Spice Islands for ships going south from China. The mouth of the Cotabato River was also of strategic importance because it offered access to the interior of Mindanao and settlements here became trading centers.

From these continuing contacts, it becomes easily understandable why Filipino Muslim art shows a wider range of materials which includes those not ordinarily found in the Philippines, e.g., brass and ivory. These outside influences manifest themselves not only in materials but even in the types and names of artifacts. Some Muslim brass pieces are qualified by the name "burunai," for instance a Maranaw brass teapot called "kendi a burunai." This designation is a clear reflection of influences from Borneo (from which derives from Brunei or "Burunai"). Some Muslim Filipino brass artifacts are either imported from Brunei or are made according to styles found in Brunei.

The geographical accessibility of Mindanao and Sulu and the trading mobility of the Muslim Filipinos made them more susceptible to outside influence and change. These conditions are especially reflected in weaponry and in the art designs found among them. The brass canon or *lantaka* is not peculiar to Filipino Muslims; it is found practically among all Muslim Malays in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. This common tradition in weapons is true also in the use of the *kris*, *kampilan*, *barong*, and the *gunong* or knife. The care in the shaping of steel blades, as found in the *kris* and *kampilan*, and especially the practice of embellishing handles is a trait shared by the Muslim Filipinos with other peoples in Borneo, Celebes, Ternate, and Sumatra. Likewise the use of protective armor made of plates of hide or carabao horn linked with brass, rings was a common practice. When the Maguindanao fought the Spaniards in Mindanao Muslim warriors from Ternate fought side by side with their fellow Muslim from Mindanao. Probably the common armor used by these Muslim Malays would have made the Spaniards think they were one people.

From the viewpoint of anthropology, these historical and geographical considerations can only lead to the conclusion that Muslim Filipino art is but a part of wider regional artistic traditions that cut across recent political boundaries. This common derivation from a similar artistic source is shown even in the similarities of motifs. The wavy *kris*, the ray-like *kampilan* blade, the *naga* form are all found in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia. Perhaps the term *okil* itself best summarizes these wider regional artistic traditions. For this term, as pointed out by Dacanay (1965) is also used in Indonesia (*ukir*) to designate artistic carving. The *okil*, therefore, may be regarded as the common denominator and archetypal symbol of woodcarving art of the Muslim Filipinos as well as of their Muslim neighbors in Malaysia and Indonesia.

Geography and trade, however, are not the only anthropological considerations that can shed light on the nature and characteristics of Muslim Filipino Art. As in the case of Mountain

Province art, ideology, as expressed in rituals and beliefs, is a significant factor which bears on the art of the Muslim Filipino. For instance, a popular assumption among some art critics of Muslim art is that the Islamic faith discourages the depiction of human and animal forms. If this assumption is pushed to its logical conclusion, these critics would be hard put to explain the animal forms in the *sarimanok* as well as the figurative art in the Sulu gravemarkers.

Earlier students and critics of Muslim art perhaps exaggerated the influence of the Islamic religion on Muslim Filipino Art. Their assumption overlooked the fact that the Islamic influence in the south, like Christianity in the rest of the Philippines, has not really penetrated into the psychological depths which evolve artistic images. The shallowness of the Islamic penetration is attested to by contemporary Arab missionaries who deny that Muslim Filipino Art is inspired by Islam. The traditional roots of the artistic practices of Muslim Filipinos are too deeply ingrained in their psychology to be easily dislodged. The Muslim Filipino subconscious is still inhibited by prehistoric animism and traces of earlier Hinduism.

Let us take, for instance, the *sarimanok* motif. By no stretch of their imagination can one regard this as Islamic in origin. The motif of the *sarimanok* is most probably autochthonous mixed with some Hindu influences. The assertion is borne by an analysis of the deeper symbolism of the bird-and-fish motif. A National Museum caption of the *sarimanok* exhibited during a Muslim Art Exhibit had this to say:

The *sarimanuk* is a royal bird. The word *sari* is related to the word *hari*, king, royalty. Hence *sarimanuk* means a royal bird. The symbolism of the *sarimanuk* has a long and magnificent history whose sources may well be the land of exotic India with its many legends.

The elements of the symbols are the bird and the fish, either held in its claws or hanging from its beak. The essence of the *sarimanuk* is a symbol of a messenger, a royal messenger.

How did bird and fish give rise to the symbol of a messenger? Some scholars believe that the bird stands

for the Indian peacock, a royal bird, and traditional messenger between the gods and mortal men.

The fish like birds are the greatest migrants and travellers in the animal kingdom. In some Arabian and Indian legends, the fish is said to have carried the ring of a lover to his beloved in a distant kingdom.

Great travellers over the wide expanse of aid and ocean, the bird and the fish thus lend themselves naturally to the symbol of a messenger, and by extension to message and communication.

If the dominant ideology of the Muslim Filipinos is Islam, it is not the orthodox, Middle Eastern Islam but one that has been highly modified and has undergone a filtering process through India, Sumatra, and Malaya. The Islam in the Philippines is folk syncretic Islam. This is not an assumption but a fact. Many practices and beliefs of the Muslim Filipinos are still highly charged with animism which would never be tolerated by such a strongly monotheistic religion as Islam. This fact explains much of the figurative manifestations of Muslim Filipino Art, particularly that found in Sulu. The human, animal, and boat forms found in the Sulu gravemarkers are characteristically Filipino.

The earliest example of jar burial in the Philippines was found in Palawan. The clay jar shows a cover topped by two clay figurines paddling a death boat — symbol of the soul sailing to the region of the dead. Likewise many boat-shaped wooden coffins have been found in burial caves in Mindanao and the Visayas. This again is a confirmation of a sea-oriented animistic belief in the spirit world. Thus the presence of human boat forms in association with graves in Sulu can be regarded simply as a facet of a wide-spread and ancient Philippine burial art tradition. From the viewpoint of orthodox Christianity and orthodox Islam, these art-forms have "paganistic" connotations. But from the viewpoint of anthropology, these forms are but survival of a genuine burial art tradition kept alive by animistic and spirit beliefs that go back to prehistory. These beliefs are still active in the subconscious of many Filipinos and will probably continue to express themselves in art and literature.

We might perhaps end this paper with a sociological note on the role of art among Muslim Filipinos. According to a popular myth among the Maranaws, art descended from the great Tominaman sa Rogong, the supposedly patron of art from the famed mythical city of Bumbaran, the seat of the kingdom ruled by Bantugan. Tominaman sa Rogong was a relative of Bantugan, the mythical hero of the Maranaw epic, **Darangen**. Like the Greek myths, the **Darangen** teaches that art is from the gods, and that it was a god, Tominaman sa Rogong, who first founded and studied art. At first Tominaman played with colors and lines. He spent lonely days and nights studying the secret of designing. Finally, he succeeded in discovering the "first decorative designs" which consisted of flourishes, spirals, circles, and geometric lines. Happily, he applied these designs to the **Rinamuntao Marananon**, the fabulous boat which was manned at all times by the bravest of the Bumbaran braves. It is said that the **Rinamuntao Marananon** was incomparable in its beauty. It had colors of the rainbow and the glow of the evening light. Truly the decorative designs on the **Rinamuntao Marananon** was a work of a god. The myth goes on so to say that before Tominaman sa Rogong died he bequeathed to Bumbaran's people his artistic skill. He told those who were especially interested in continuing his artistic work: "Those of you who love art, revere me. Before you start thinking with decorative lines and colors, you must show honor to me. You must perform a ritual so that I may not be forgotten." (Abdullah Madale's unpublished manuscript at the National Museum.)

This ritual is actually still performed by some Maranaw artists. The ritual is something like this. Small round rice cakes are fried in coconut oil. In addition, yellow rice and chicken are prepared. These are placed in a low brass tray or **tabak**. Then a person who knows his way with **malaikata** (spirits) is called. This person calls the **malaikata** of art including Tominaman sa Rogong. Later when he is sure that the **malaikata** have arrived, he invites them to partake of the feast prepared. The ritual is concluded with the washing of the beginner artist's hands and tools with the blood of the chicken killed. The act supposedly

makes the artist's hands surer and firmer. It also gives the artist all the imagination he needs in inventing new artistic designs based on the prevailing motifs.

Whoever invented art, whether that of the Mountain Province or that of the Muslim South, it can be said that these traditions are undergoing a renaissance in the general thrust of Philippine nationalism. We may not remember Tominaman sa Rogong or the other mythical patrons of arts, but we do pay tribute to those obscure artists of prehistory whose aesthetic insights and genuine skill have come down to us in the forms of artifacts and decorative designs that continue to grace the homes and places of social gatherings of the Filipinos here and abroad.

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FOLKLORE AND ANTHROPOLOGY: CONSIDERATIONS ON METHOD

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I. Introduction

There are two aspects of the cultural heritage of any people that might be considered with regard to preservation: the material and the non-material. The preservation of the material products of culture may include the artifacts which might be excavated in archaeological sites which may belong either to the pre-historic or historic period; and preservation may also include the things, objects, structures, tools, inventions which the living peoples make, produce, and manufacture either using the bare hands, or with the aid of man-made tools or machinery. These material things usually find their way into the hands of fanciers and collectors, private and public institutions called museums and libraries.

On the other hand, the non-material side of culture consists of lifeways, thoughts, experiences, behavior and oral traditions. When

these matters are the subject of observation and study by students and they get written about in some tangible form (manuscript, typescript, print, for example), these become the basic stuff of libraries, private and public. Not until then are these non-tangible manifestations of the culture reduced in recorded form can we speak of preservation, properly speaking. This is necessarily so because of the nature of, for instance, oral traditions which are still on the lips of carriers and hence must be "caught" so to speak and reduced in some more permanent media before they could be kept for posterity. These oral stuff are the myths, legends, folktales, folksongs, ballads, epics, folk-drama, proverbs and riddles of a people. These are some of the classes of traditional materials to which anthropologists and folklorists address themselves.

In this paper, my discussion will be limited to the non-material aspects of our cultural heritage. This self-imposed narrowing of the scope of the paper has the advantage, it is thought, of concentrating efforts on a phase of preservation work which is not much understood.

II. Recording and Collecting Work

The verbal arts (which may include folk narratives, folksongs, and folk sayings) are observed best among non-literate people, though literate societies practice them just as well. Because of their oral or floating character, they cannot be preserved unless one took the initiative and patience to record them first. Recording may involve the use of paper and pencil or ink, tape-recording, or a moving picture of the act of story-telling, singing, drama, or folk game. The least expensive is the first method; it is also the least demanding of technical preparation and training.

One of the main concerns of the student of traditions is to record all these as fully and faithfully as human ingenuity could make it. He is neither interested in recording *Mutya ng Pasig* as sung by a barrio lass, nor the speech of town politicians speaking in favor of this or that candidate. The folklorist's interest is focused in recording traditional material, not the creation of

a particular composer, not even the story of a known short story writer. This does not imply that the singing may not have any artistic or historical interest, but this is not usually the aim of folkloristic activity.

The majority of Filipino students who collect folklore material do not seem to understand the fundamentals of collecting. They not only fail to indicate in their records the ethnolinguistic group to which the folktale or folksong belong, but the particular place and date of collecting, the name of the singer or informant, his or her birthplace, where he grew up, his education, occupation—in short, his brief biography. And most important of all is the information from whom he heard the story, riddle, etc. In order to establish the traditional character of any folktale and so on, it is necessary to check on this point—the source. If the folktale was read from a magazine or book, the folktale ceases to be the object of interest for purposes of recording.

Other concerns of the study of oral traditions might be mentioned here. The collector does not only record folktales, for example, but he attempts to understand the socio-cultural context of story-telling, its roots in the culture, its relationship with other aspects of the culture, and the value which the society attaches to it. The myths of folktales may have certain functions in the religious life of the people, and the folksongs may have some other meanings. These matters could be abstracted from the behavior of the story-teller or myth-maker himself, his immediate audience, or the larger society itself.

Exhaustive coverage is one of the aims of collecting. There is, however, no certainty, even after long periods of work, that one has recorded everything from a group. Besides this goal, Filipino students do not understand the importance of variants, for these they neglect. Variants of a folklore or riddle have a place in interpreting date, reconstructing the type of archetype and in tracing movements of the tale and so on. Collectors vary in their technique of collecting. Some start with the best story-tellers first; others can begin with any person who has a tale to tell. Whatever method is followed, it is advisable to read

back the record of the story-teller, for it is possible that he has missed an incident or two, or even an important character in the story. I cannot but over-emphasize the importance of this procedure.

It is advisable to concentrate collecting efforts in one place first, and after exhausting the area, to extend activities in the surrounding communities. Any place can be the starting point, though culture pockets might be tried first. Villages away from modern centers can be better located for collecting work than those close to provincial capitals or cities. Unacculturated groups, if found, should draw attention.

Who should participate in recording these traditions? Anyone interested in the preservation of our heritage, students, teachers, almost anyone, provided they observe the fundamental rules. Schools and colleges may devise ways and means for collecting folklore in the area of their location and interest. St. Mary's School at Sagada, Mountain Province, for instance, did profitable work along this line under the direction of its principal teacher, Mr. William Henry Scott. Every high school, college, and university in the country could do the same, for the enterprise does not entail much expense. Private individuals can do the same with the least outlay of funds.

Preservation:

Once the initial record has been made, the oral tradition has a chance to be preserved. The record, however, can be lost, if copies are not made. Copying can be done by longhand, with a typewriter, or by machine (mimeographing or printing, for instance). Copying by longhand is a tedious process, but printing multiplies the chances that the material will be distributed far and wide, and hence could minimize the accident of loss. By printing on good paper, the record can be kept much longer in libraries and private collections.

Certain materials, like folksongs, need special treatment and attention. Tape-recording is indispensable in this instance. The tape can be copied on another tape, or the lyric and music trans-

cribed on paper and printed. The process involves technical training and knowledge. Native music is the subject of study by highly trained students called ethnomusicologists. In the Philippines, I know of only one person having such training.

The next point to be considered under preservation is where to keep the records. If the collector is a private individual, he is likely to keep his collection in his house where it is subject to all kinds of hazards. While the work of preservation has started, the matter of how long this collection could be preserved is another question. If he dies and has no educated children who understand the value of his work, the collection is likely to be neglected, dispersed, and ultimately lost. Unless the collector makes it a point to entrust such collection to some more permanent institution, like a library.

Should the collection be undertaken by a school, the chance of it being kept for a longer period of time is enhanced. Nevertheless, the hazards are forever present and there can be no assurance of the material being preserved ultimately for posterity. Unless the material is mimeographed or published in some school organ, such material is likely to face the same fate as many other collections—to be dissipated and finally lost.

In many technologically advanced countries (to be found in Europe and in the United States, for example) collection of folklore material are kept in national, state, regional, or institutional archives where the raw records are classified, typed, and indexed in every detail useful to the layman and specialist alike. Once the government takes an interest and permanent buildings are constructed to house such collection, preservation problems are reduced to a minimum. Of course, there are still the hazards of fire, water, insects, worms, and so on, but once the more important items get published these hazards are minimized.

Another way of minimizing the dangers to which such collection could be exposed is to establish regional centers, instead of concentrating the materials in the national capitol, for instance. Such centers could be supported in Central Philippines and pos-

sibly two others in Mindanao. This idea does not preclude the establishment of provincial and city museums or archives. Such a distribution of materials in many centers is warranted by our experience in the recent war, when the three major libraries and only museum in Manila lost their collections and treasures. Much can be said in favor of regional centers. Concentration of interest and collecting activity could produce much more exhaustive collections. Cultural variation exhibited in the various centers could incite competition and hence better collecting efforts. The different ethnic groups might just as well be proud of their own cultural heritage in a narrower sense. In a larger sense, we could see the flowering of Filipino culture in so many blooming gardens.

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ANTHROPOLOGY, HOME ECONOMICS, AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

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Considerable concern has been expressed within the Philippines and elsewhere in the agricultural world about the need to increase agricultural productivity and to integrate the rural sectors of the population with the socio-economic life of the national culture. Numerous meetings in the form of conferences, seminars, and workshops have been held. Research directed at many facets of the problem area has been useful and, sometimes, provocative. Field evaluation of action programs have been conducted at various levels of depth in an effort to assess the effectiveness of methods employed to accomplish the several goals embraced by agencies concerned with social change.

It is reasonably safe to say that with the exception of particularistic details varying from situation to situation and from project to project, the essential conclusions of most studies have tended to follow similar lines. Few people can dispute the general for-

mulae which have emerged in recent years. To be sure, we may demur and wish to add another point here or there or to say, "But on the other hand, in Batangas (or Mountain Province or Camarines Norte) things aren't exactly that way." Undoubtedly we would be justified in offering the reservations of the regionally knowledgeable person. But on the whole, one can only agree with the general conclusions of most studies and conference recommendations when they deal with the broader questions of channeling the directions of agricultural change.

A major problem underlying proposed approaches rest in the conviction that the way to get farmers to increase their productivity or adopt proposed changes in farm procedures is to work with farmers. Farmers seldom modify their behavior unless there is one or another form of social impetus impelling them to do so—a better method which they have observed or heard about, a new technique which someone describes or demonstrates, a new seed variety which comes into their possession. Of course, one works with farmers if one wishes to influence the behavior of farmers. But there has been a false premise underlying much of the work itself. The tendency has been to treat the farmer as though he were a social isolate—an island unto himself. He somehow has been stripped of wife and children, of family relationships and community ties. All too frequently, he has been shorn of a social heritage, of beliefs and sometimes, cultural practices and even of his possession of a unique personality which makes him in some respects different from his fellow farmers in the *sitio* or *barrio*, as the case may be. He has been placed in the field as it were, instead of the household wherein most basic decisions are made.

To be sure, deference to these points is sometimes made in action programs, but we know of few integrated programs of change that actually take these social phenomena into account. A so-called comprehensive approach may include the presence of a home economist or social worker, but in general she is at best merely tagged onto a team of agricultural technicians. What she is to do is planned in isolation from the core of the program

(if it is planned at all). Usually, she must go her own way while the other members of the team function as a unit. It is as though a statement of faith had been made: "Women are undoubtedly important. They must be, for they exist. Let us have a program for the women." Once the words are intoned, the ritual is completed and the matter dropped or relegated to a position of unimportance. The home economist is left on her own or in the company of fellow home economists, in effect divorced from the heart of the program.

The "integrated approach" is not merely to have a home economist on a farm and home development team as a weakly supported afterthought but rather to move away from the distorted focus that has for so long plagued farm extension work. Merely giving lip-service to the problem presages failure. Only when the farmer and the farm family are placed in their proper social setting and when programs are directed to that setting, will we begin to see tangible marks of program impact.

What does the anthropologist have to recommend here? It is surely not how to tell the technician the methods for carrying on his or her work. We cannot presume to prescribe the best way to eliminate yaws or mosquitoes, to increase the yield of rice, or to prepare chicken adobo. If any one point has been learned in the several decades of inter-disciplinary field activity, it is that one must have respect for the knowledge and technical competence of one's colleagues in joint enterprises.

On the other hand, we do have something to say (or hope that we do). Knowing the people you are working with, and knowing about them in the particular way that anthropologists do, is as important as knowing the habits of the stemborer in rice plants or being aware that the concept of "hot" and "cold" foods is crucial to understanding indigenous health practices in Mexico or the Venezuelan Andes.

If any recommendation can be made at all to technicians working in the rural field, it is that before they embark on their village programs, they spend some time actually in a village, observing and knowing the people to some degree, and in this way

develop an awareness of the realities of *barrio* life. One of the most difficult things to cope with is the preconception of technical people that they know what happens in the rural *sitio*, that they know its mode of life and ways of thinking. The occasional weekend spent with one's kin, or walking through the Baguio market, somehow gives one the feeling of being a rural expert. We either view rural people through the lens of nostalgia and assume the presence of a gay *barangay* spirit (which indeed is empirically questionable) or see them as superstition-ridden, narrow-minded, and simplistically driven by conformity into a position of resistance to all change. Neither perceptual set is conducive to effective programmatic action.

Several basic principles of social analysis, along with certain easily overlooked facts and findings about the people for whom development projects are primarily designed, may be useful here. These may not appear to be of significance until we bear in mind that there are many "experts" going around the world assuming that all they have to do is give the same lecture, on say nutrition, in the Cagayan Valley as they did in Tompkins County, New York or for that matter, on a lesser scale, citing what was learned in the vicinity of Los Baños and automatically assuming it to be applicable to Tawi-tawi. This is no less realistic than instructing mothers on how to supplement a baby's diet without a moment's thought about the relationship between the cost of purchasable nutritious foods and limitations of family income.

Lack of awareness of the existence of cultural as well as class differences within the Philippines or, for that matter, on Luzon alone, has been a serious impediment to successful implementation of agency programs. A simple, if sad, illustration will suffice to establish the point. A home economist working for an extension agency convoked a meeting of Ibaloi farm wives living in Mountain Province. It was to be the first of what she hoped would be a series of home demonstration sessions. Appropriately she spoke in Ilocano, which most Ibaloi women can use. She had elected to show them how to make chicken salad and was nonplussed when her hostess not only lacked the mayonnaise re-

quired by the recipe but did not know what was meant. Pre-knowledge of the dietary habits and beliefs of the Ibaloi, as well as some sensitivity to the economic subsistence level of the people with whom she hoped to work.

The subsequent failure of most women to attend announced demonstrations of the home economist was predictable. Only the felt pressure of courtesy would bring them together again for this purpose, and then only in dwindling numbers. The attraction of some diversion from the routines of daily life also played a limited role before diminishing into indifference. The extension worker here may blame the failure to respond to her proffered help and proposed "innovations" on Igorot stupidity and their reluctance to attend demonstrations upon their laziness. But Ibaloi women, like most other farm wives, have a great deal to do at home or in their gardens despite the impressions of the outsider who sees them merely sitting in front of their houses. During the growing seasons, time must be rationed intelligently, and their allocation of time is as rational as the extension worker's exposition on the virtues of chicken salad as part of a family's fare.

Extension worker's criticism of farmers who have not accepted recommended practices is often stronger but less valid than the tendency of the farmers to carefully scrutinize and consider the recommendations themselves. The farmers react with varying degrees of caution from past experience with extension workers whom they felt were not in tune with their particular needs and problems.

Obviously, the problem at hand is not the matter of chicken salad, nor is it our function to provide a cultural recipe for its diffusion in Mountain Province. The pertinent questions are: How do we determine which innovations are socially useful to a particular population, and what set of strategy and tactics should we employ in demonstration that they are in fact beneficial? Even when the first question is answered in a specific program, the latter task is not a simple one.

A Spanish doctor arriving in an isolated valley in the Venezuelan Andes had noted the widespread incidence of rickets and

related signs of vitamin deficiencies. He immediately called a public meeting of parents in the villages in which he worked, described the symptoms which they well knew, and recommended that infants be fed the juice of lemons, which grew plentifully in the valley. To his consternation, his suggestion was met not only with indifference but also indignation and resentment. His aid or advice was seldom sought thereafter, and what might have been a significant health role in the village and nearby communities was never fully realized.

Comprehension of a people's culture is an essential prerequisite to any program involving the transmission of cultural ideas, techniques or other modes of behavior. Had the doctor been aware of this precept, he would have taken pains to ascertain what cultural response to his suggestion might be expected. Within the complex of beliefs, attitudes, and behavior associated with health and disease that obtains in this sector of the Andes is the conviction that citric fruits are extremely dangerous for young children and may cause their death. For a health practitioner to prescribe a patently "harmful" measure was interpreted by the local populace in terms of the cultural explanation they had for such behavior; the doctor was perceived as a bearer or *mal de ojo*, "the evil eye." A person with such malevolent ideas was to be shunned, not heeded.

One need not cross the Pacific to cite illustrations of this sort. Freedman, in his work in Java, has shown the intensity of local beliefs impeding effective programs for post-natal care. Lactating mothers refuse to supplement their protein intake with fish, and, in fact, nurses undercut the recommendations of nutritionists. The Farm and Home Development Program of the University of the Philippine College of Agriculture has encountered numerous problems involving a conflict between folk beliefs in Laguna and Batangas and scientifically established practices developed on the campus. That a farmer will refuse to have his chickens or pigs inoculated against disease when his wife is pregnant, after having earlier cooperated with the program's technicians, is not to be seen as an act of perversity. On the country, from

the viewpoint of local cultural imperatives, the demurrer is a step designed to prevent disease, in this case, of the foetal child. It is a prophylactic measure taken by the farmer in the same manner that the specialist in animal husbandry inoculates animals.

One potential role for the rural home economist is implicit in the present discussion. If we are accruing stores of information on rural life, major gaps still exist in the area of knowledge about Filipino folk beliefs concerning health and disease, diet and food preparation, and those centering upon birth and child rearing. The strategic position of the home economist can facilitate filling in the ethnographic void and so lay a foundation for sounder planning and more effective implementation, not only for themselves but also for other technicians in the field.

It has been suggested by some that folk beliefs are no more than "superstitions" and that to take them seriously is to pamper rural people and to delay the inculcation of a more rational approach to life phenomena. We would suggest that, on the contrary, to ignore these modes of thinking is foolhardy. People cling tenaciously to traditional modes of thought and modify them only as they pragmatically develop new ways of thinking and behaving. The doctor, the field nurse, the agricultural extension worker, and the home economist are not being asked to desist from disturbing the existing cultural scheme of things. This would be the antithesis of what most action programs are designed to do — generate and promote selected changes in a community. To be aware of and better understand a set of beliefs in order to cope with them is not to condone or accept them.

If the only task we had was to collect the quaint ways of rural people, life for the field worker would be relatively simple. More is involved in generating social change in rural life than merely understanding the resistance that occur due to deeply ingrained cultural beliefs.

Edward Spicer, in his *Human Problems in Technological Change* (1952), introduces a long list of analytical questions intended to help assess a human situation in which changes are occurring or in which they are being planned. Thus, for example,

he proposes that the technician ask: What will the intended change replace? Which techniques are likely to be altered as a result of introduction? What social relationships will be affected by changes that are introduced? The last question demands careful consideration; seldom does an innovation influence only the individual who tries or accepts it. Its impact affects other persons associated with the innovator, and their reactions may be as pertinent as those of the change recipient himself. One, therefore, has to be aware of the nature of the social relationships and the cluster of cultural restraints, approbations, and compulsions — what the anthropologists call "sanctions" — sustaining these relationships.

Acceptance of a new practice by an individual encompasses more persons than we may suppose. The problem of the deleterious effect of rate on crops and stored produce is a case in point. Despite the ravages of rodents, in some parts of the Philippines there is a strong aversion to killing them. More is involved than convincing a farmer to use the appropriate poisons which may be effective in ridding his fields of pests. He may be prepared to apply these without fear that fat spirits will plague him afterwards; and this fear will not be the cause of his having stopped using poisons, even when he has tried using them and has seen their effectiveness. It is concern over what his neighbors will think or say — that he may be accused of endangering the agricultural life of the community which will deter him. The anticipated disapproval of his father or other elders who are unwilling to disturb the natural equilibrium for religious or other reasons may be the serious inhibitor of remedial step. By extension, we may note that most households take into account the reactions of their neighbors prior to making any move drastically different from the community's norms of behavior.

The foregoing comments suggest that what social scientists call primary group relationships are of major importance in human involvements in social change. The individual is more sensitive to the constraints imposed by those encountered in daily living than to those who are in the sitio for only a few hours. A barrio development worker or a home economist working for

an agricultural extension agency may embarrass a person or make him feel awkward by not having followed some recommended practice, but neighbors and kin can make him feel more disquieted more easily.

It follows then that no plan for programmatic change can work without support in at least some sectors of the community. Given acceptance of this proposition, there remains the question of where to find this support. There may, in fact, be no barrio council actively operating, although, to be sure, there will be one in name. One might approach local individuals of social prominence, like the *pangat* in Kalinga or the *mambunung* among the Ibaloi or, for that matter, an *hacendado* in Negros Occidental. This often makes for difficulty; the individual approached, perhaps by virtue of his local status, may prove to be an archconservative antagonistic to changes in his community. To ignore him would be risky, possibly engendering his hostility. Again, there may be factions with a *barrio* split along family or political lines making a unitary approach difficult. Identification with any faction would mean alienation of others. The possibility of social pitfalls for the extension worker exists in every situation.

How can the cultural anthropologists advise the home economist trying to set up a program in such a situation? There are no cultural recipes to prescribe. We can forewarn a development team that situational risks may be encountered, and we can urge that the more comprehensive the knowledge of the community and the people living within it, the more likely the opportunity for effective action. On the somewhat higher level of program planning, anthropology can scarcely be expected to provide full answers, but it probably does have the capacity for furnishing a wide range of cultural information and comparative knowledge which could materially assist in analyzing, and later, reassessing and indicating directions for readjusting institutional patterns in a dynamic community.

Finally, it is well to point out that most crash programs are doomed to flounder if not fail. The proof of the proverbial good pudding is a product of time and patience — these are two essen-

tials in programs of change. Short-range programs in social change will be short on tangible, let alone intangible, results. By working with people long enough, it may be possible to gain insight into their point of view, their own perception of their needs, and thus enhance the construction of meaningful program content. . . .

Home economics, as a research-based and action-oriented discipline, can play a strategic role in planned social change, provided that it deals with central questions that demand investigation and experimentation. It has as its focus of inquiry the family — the basic social unit of all societies. Within it is the individual farm operator and those he holds most dear. It is generally within the context of the family situation that the fundamental decisions are made to change its level of living, aspire to new standards, and adapt more productive ways of doing things. The dynamic community, after all, is a conglomerate of family units, bound together by common values, kinship, and all those other elements we call culture. This is the social matrix against which we place our plans and determine whether the effect of harmony or culture clash or sheer indifference is the result.

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND MASS COMMUNICATION: SYNTHESIS AND SYMBIOSIS

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1. INTRODUCTION

In 1968, the Filipino Muslims were probably the ethnic group widely covered by the various mass media — that is, the press, radio, television, and cinema. The media carried lengthy features on their ways of life, problems and challenges, especially when the news on the Corregidor massacre and the secessionist movement broke out.

Creating sensational headlines, the press was the most comprehensive in reporting incidents involving the Muslims and other minorities.¹ But the radio and television, although brief

¹ These minorities include the Manobo, Tagabili, Samal, Badjao and Tausog of Mindanao; the Bontoc and Ifugao of the Mountain Province; the Ilongot; Aeta and Dumagat of Nueva Ecija; and the Tagbanuwa and Pala'wan of Palawan.

in their reports, did not fall short of their role as disseminator of information. In many of their broadcasts, they reported adequately many stories about the minorities' affairs. In like manner, the Philippine cinema, influenced by the other mass media, got interested in the cultures of the minorities. In 1968, movies about three minority groups were either being produced or about to be produced — and these are Nepomuceno Productions' *Igorota* and NGI Productions' *Mindanao and Kalinga*.

These developments suggest that mass media, once conscious of their social responsibility, should not only reflect the true picture of Philippine society through objective reporting but crystallize the new values that derive from events of national consequence. Thus, at a time when the nation was focusing great attention on the minority groups and was concerned about their plight, the September 29, 1969 special issue of the *Sunday Times Magazine* on the minorities and the filming of three pictures about the Igorots and Kalingas of Luzon and the Muslims of Mindanao, were doubly significant, as they deepened the national interest in the minorities and defined these people's social places in the national community.

As in the past (Feliciano 1968), however, the media were inaccurate in their reporting of the cultures of the minorities.² Probably this is because the media practitioners who covered the minorities' affairs had distorted pictures of the lives of these people and even though they wanted to be objective in their reports, could not do so as they could not free themselves from their already fixed understanding of the minorities' cultures. For example, a journalist who reports and explains the minorities' traditional affairs, will do more harm than good to the minorities, if he explains these affairs solely from his point of view, thereby disregarding the cultural history of these people and the values

² This writer conducted a content analysis of the September 29, 1968 issue of the *Sunday Times Magazine*; of the movie *Igorota*; and of television telecasts featuring some minority groups visited by the group from the Office of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN). The results of his study showed that these media materials were not objective and reflective of the cultures of the featured minorities.

they attach to it. Hence, this paper maintains that the media practitioners can give meaningful and accurate reports on the minorities, if they have some anthropological background, that is, they should at least know and understand the function and characteristics of culture, as well as its influence upon the behavior of men.

Anthropology is the "science of man and his works" (Herskovits 1948) and as such deals with the study of man as a biological phenomenon (physical anthropology) and as a political, social, economic, and religious individual (cultural anthropology). Because it offers a great amount of information about man's various ways of life, it, therefore, constitutes an indispensable tool to mass media practitioners in their analysis of events involving the cultural minorities.

This paper discusses, in short, the relevance of anthropology to mass communication. It aims to: 1) show how communication takes place within the context of culture; 2) discuss the concept of culture and point out how it can be of help to mass media practitioners; 3) determine important anthropological concepts that are relevant to mass communication, and 4) define the anthropological methods used in communications research.

II. THE NATURE OF COMMUNICATION

There are two types of communication: the face-to-face and mass communications. The former aims at eliciting immediate response, or what may be called **feedback**, from the receiver of the message. The latter, in contrast, gets some response from the receiver after some time. This is because in a mass communication situation mass media are allowed to disseminate information to a large group of individuals, who, in return, analyze it and form public opinion based on the same.

Face-to-face communication is therefore distinguished from mass communication, as the former involves the use of more senses (i.e., sight, touch, smell, taste, hearing) than the latter.

In face-to-face communication there is some immediate confrontation between the source and the receiver of the message. Such confrontation is brought about by the personal contact the source establishes with the receiver, thereby inviting faster feedback. In mass communication feedback is delayed or at a minimum.

Historically, face-to-face communication started with the "primitive" man who, in his struggle for life, gradually acquired some means of communication and self-expression. He invented signs, signals and sounds and made them permanent in signifying certain ideas. Through these means of communication the "primitive" man promoted in his tribe tremendous cooperation and understanding of each other.

On the other hand, the era of mass communication came about as a result of the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century, when interest in social and technical proficiency started to spread in many parts of the world. The development of mass media is associated with the idea that a society should have certain channels of communication, through which information may be made available to the members of that society. These members may be able to form public opinion, only when information is fed to them, which they can discuss freely.

This is a big departure from the fact that three centuries ago, long before the Industrial Revolution of 1869, man's knowledge of the affairs of villages other than his own was limited. Untutored by mass media, he was informed only about the affairs of the immediate area of the village "where he was born, lived and died". (Albig 1956:18).

Now, let us consider a basic question: What is the nature of communication? Or, how does communication take place?

In our previous discussion, we have shown that before communication takes place there should be some observable conditions. There should be the source of the message, the message itself, the channel and the receiver of the message. For our purposes, let us reduce these conditions into a simple model. And let us call it the SMCR Model.

Through this Model the communication process can be understood easily. The capital letters S, M, C, and R stand respectively, for the words, **source, message, channel, and receiver.**

When we speak or write we are the source of the ideas involved in the communication process. Being so, we must be very careful in choosing the words we use. If we fail in this, we can never be sure that we put our message across our listeners or readers.

Our purpose in speaking or writing is to enable the listener or reader to get the information we relate. At this point we may be just informing him, proving a point, or simply entertaining him. In either case, we want him to react to our message. We want him to see the sense in what we say or write.

Since a message may not be understood by its receiver, its source should consider many factors. He should know the receiver's attitude, culture, social system, values, and educational background. If he knows these, he can determine the various words to be used in communicating to him.

This leads us to the content of communication, or simply the message.

We have learned earlier in this paper that the "primitive" man might communicate through sound, sign or signal language. But he had to be sure that the "language" he used was understood by the others. The symbols had to be conventional, that is, they had to be inventions of man himself. There had to be an agreement that a certain symbol should stand for a given thing, idea, or place.

The message, in other words, establishes contact between the speaker and the listener. The communication process is never complete unless the latter gets the message of the former. Now, let us explain two technical words, **encoding and decoding**, in the layman's terms.

When we encode, we look for certain symbols (in our time they may be either the spoken or written words) to represent

the ideas we want to convey. For example, I am thinking of a thing with a hard cover, consisting of several leaves with printed words, and which is used in school by both the student and the teacher. Immediately, the words that are available for my use are book, manual, pamphlet, and other related words. But if I mean a book I should be clear by saying so.

Of course, I am assuming that when I say book the listener will think also of an object "with a hard cover, consisting of several leaves with printed words, etc." He should reconstruct in his mind some image of the book. Which act must be due to my use of the word book and his association of that word with the particular object I am referring to.

When the listener hears the word book he starts to recall his past experience with it. He might have heard the word for the first time from his mother, teacher, or friend. Or he might have been using the object book for quite a time, so that a mere mention of it brings to his mind the picture of that particular thing.

"Decode" on the other hand, is the opposite of "encode." In decoding we think of the object or idea to which a certain word symbol refers. In encoding we think of the word that appropriately represents that object or idea.

Symbols, in the communication situation, should be transferred from one person to another through some suitable medium or channel. This may be the vocal chord, the hand, or, in the larger scale, the radio, press, cinema, or television.

Like what everybody usually does, we may communicate to a friend by using our vocal chords, hands, or a pencil and paper. But when we want to reach a big audience (readers, listeners, buyers, or any other specific groups) we should choose the right channel for our message. We may run an advertisement in one of our metropolitan dailies, announcing the opening of our theatres, bazaars, shops, etc. Or we may plug it in one of our television shows in town. One thing should stand out in our mind: we are communicating to a mass audience. As such we

should use the right channel through which we can achieve utmost effectiveness of our message.

A sound and solid background in anthropology — especially in linguistics, which is one of its branches — can help a student understand the nature and development of communication. Through anthropology, he can trace the cultural progress of the world with respect to communication. Anthropology will show him, for example, that there had been two essential factors in the development of modern communication, and these are the invention and use of the alphabet to construct verbal symbols and the invention of the printing press to communicate symbols to social groups.

Anthropology will also show that if one would like to influence the action of a society through communication, he should first know, among other things, its values, attitudes, social, economic and political systems, religion, and technology. Thus if an American soap company would like to sell its product in the Philippines, it should not associate it with Muslim users, who may be depicted in the advertisement with three or four wives flanking at him. Philippine society is largely Catholic, and so the product may not sell in the country. The Catholic buyers may form unpleasant attitude toward the product, once they see it used by Muslims. On the other hand, a Muslim product to be used by Muslims should be displayed in the advertisement with Muslims as users. A Catholic recommending the product may generate among the Muslim users, unfavorable ideas about it and therefore will prejudice its sales. Copywriters, among other mass media practitioners, should, therefore, know the culture of the intended readers, before they ever start writing their advertisement copies.

III. CULTURE AND COMMUNICATION

At this point, we see that there is a significant correlation between communication and culture. Edward Hall (1959) even said that communication is culture and culture is communication.

What is communicated, really, reflects culture and that which constitutes culture is a probable communication content (message).

Let us further clarify this point by discussing the concept of culture.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn, two noted anthropologists, had collected 164 definitions of culture (see Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952) but for our own purposes, we define it as a people's way of life that can be transmitted from one generation to another through the use of symbols.

This "way of life" includes accumulated and learned ways of behaving, which the anthropologist classifies into: 1) **technology**, the ways of behaving by means of which men utilize natural resources to meet their various needs; 2) **economics**, the patterns of behaving and the resultant organization of society with respect to the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services; 3) **social organization**, the ways of behaving and the resultant organization of society relative to the preservation of smooth and harmonious relations between individuals and groups within a society or its segments and other societies; 4) **religion**, the patterns of behaving relative to man's relations to supernatural beings; and 5) **symbolic culture**, the systems of symbols and the techniques of using them, that are operant in the transmission of knowledge. (Beals and Hoijer 1965:287-288).

Symbols, as has been pointed out earlier, may be signs, signals or sounds that represent certain realities. You are, of course, familiar with the sign of the cross, the traffic light signalling the stopping of vehicles, and the sound produced by knockings on the door. In any of these cases, you exactly know the communication taking place. Actually, in our culture we have conventional meanings for said symbols, so that when we are confronted by them we find them understandable.

The meanings we attach to a sign, signal or sound have been handed down to us by our elders, otherwise they must have

been established in our generation. In recent years, new words have been absorbed by the *lingua franca* of Manila, many of which are considered "salitang lansangan" (language in the streets). Examples of these "salitang lansangan" are "pogi" (handsome), "takwar" (money), "diyahe" (ashamed or shameful), and "bebot" (woman). If we know that these words are "salitang lansangan," we can tell immediately that a group using them is not well-educated and must be rough in manners. The culture of this group influences the kinds of words they use in their everyday life.

But the words "pogi," "takwar," "diyahe" and "bebot" are unintelligible to people who have not been informed about their meanings. Before these word symbols can be meaningful there should be some conscious or unconscious agreement as to what they represent or indicate. Language, in this sense, is something whose wide varieties of words have been agreed upon by the people using it.

The function and power of words spoken by a people are defined by culture. The questions of when, where, how and why a given word is used constitute a particular behavior, and when this behavior is shared by most — if not all — members of a society, a pattern is established. The pattern of using certain words for certain time, place and occasion represents an aspect in a "way of life."

The anthropologist who studies a people's technology, economics, social organization, arts, beliefs, etc., is aware of the importance of the word, spoken or written, in maintaining, or in overhauling, order in society. A word in a communication situation may drive men to action or render them passive and unaffected by the things that transpire around them. On the other hand, the journalist may write a newspaper copy using words that either inform, argue, or entertain. Interesting enough, the words he uses reflect any of the culture categories vividly advanced by the anthropologist. In fact from the anthropological point of view, the journalist, in using written words, actually describes culture itself, or any of its aspects.

This leads us to a fundamental question: What is the nature of culture?

Culture has the following characteristics: 1) It is learned and shared. 2) It is patterned. 3) It is adaptive. 4) It is composite. And 5) it is changing.

Culture is learned and shared. Initially, we come to know of the world and of the various ways of living in it through the teachings of our parents, brothers, sisters, friends, professors, etc., and through personal observation and imitation of what others do. As we grow, we learn of the do's and don't's of our society and in return tend to spell out the same to others. These constant processes of learning and of sharing certain patterns of behaving result from the fact that men are aiming at almost the same social, economic, educational, political and religious goals, and meeting the same biological needs although in different ways. The urge to preserve oneself — socially, physically, morally, psychologically — forces man to learn or share the various ways of behaving that are accepted in his community. These ways help him minimize, if not at all eliminate, conflicts with any member of his group.

Culture is patterned because any of its parts or categories is composed of specific ways of behaving common to all or some of the members of society. In many Philippine barrios, for example, the kissing of the old people's hands after the angelus is an act common to most people there. Such kissing behavior constitutes a pattern.

When we go to Batanes Island we see that the houses there are low and built with strong materials. This is because the Island is facing an ocean, where strong winds often come. Culture in this Island adapts to the environment; an indication of this is the structure of the houses.

In the early part of this section, we mentioned that culture is composed of several categories or parts. We pointed out economics, social organization, technology, religion, and symbolic culture. All of these categories are helpful to one another. For

example, a society that is highly religious has yet to engage in economic pursuits and to maintain certain organization, and must need certain tools to secure or produce food and language to transmit information and knowledge. Being a conglomeration of integrated ways of behaving, culture is therefore composite.

Finally, culture is changing. We understand that the members of a society are always interacting and sharing values and experiences with each other. From this situation arises the birth and growth of new ideas. The appearance of new, revolutionary but acceptable ideas usually leads to changes in the society's various activities. In this particular case, the changes which may be gradual or abrupt, originate from within.

One of the greatest agents of change today is mass media. Take the movies as an example. How many times have they changed the Filipino's attitude toward many things? There are the dances they feature, which the Filipino viewer likes to imitate upon seeing them. And there are the songs and fashions of coats which easily impress him.

An indication that these movies are effective in changing our outlook or attitudes, is the fact that we are slowly being assimilated into Western culture. We now want to dress like the Westerners, speak like them, think like them, act like them. And we tend to measure the things we see around us against Western standards.

Recall the kind of society we had just before the coming of Western influences in the early part of this century and contrast it with the kind of society we have today — and you will see a great difference. Owing to these influences, changes have occurred in all aspects of the nation's life. Therefore, changes in a society may also be effected by outside sources.

Now, we may ask: What can the journalist, or any other media practitioner, profit from the knowledge of culture?

The journalist has the social responsibility of reporting, accurately and objectively, events that are both of local and national

significance. He should not distort his facts so as to sell his stories. His professional code of ethics tells him to stick to facts and present them as they are. If he were to analyze them, he should get rid of his biases.

As much as possible, generalizations should be avoided in news reports. An irresponsible journalist, for example, may report a case of a Negrito who took revenge against another Negrito by murdering him, stating somewhere in the story that Negritos are a violent people, uncivilized and brutal. If he knows that such behavior is not necessarily patterned in the Negrito culture, he should not give that conclusion. Therefore, knowledge of the anthropological concept of culture can help him very much. In fact, with this knowledge, he can turn out a good newspaper copy. For then he may point out why of all weapons the Negrito criminal used a poisoned arrow, indicating at the same time the functions and significance of the arrow in the Negrito culture. Or he may be able to explain why the criminal had to resort to murder, if there were other ways of taking revenge.

With the knowledge of culture, in other words, the journalist can treat his interpretative reporting with great care, always seeing to it that the reports he turns out are accurate and comprehensive and therefore reflective of the culture of the people reported about.

Furthermore, he can somehow predict the reaction of his intended readers toward his reports. He can construct his message in such a way that it does not offend their sensibilities and temperaments. Thus, if the journalist's readers are Muslims, he should avoid calling them "juramentados," and if Ilongots, he should not refer to them as "headhunters." These words, "juramentados" and "headhunters," are derogatory to these people, as they connote unpleasant ideas.

This implies that culture predetermines the type of message that can be relayed smoothly in a communication situation. There are a number of words that are taboo to a particular group and therefore should not be used to transmit information to its mem-

bers. If used, the communication will not be as effective as it is intended to be, for said members, naturally, will not pay adequate attention to the message transmitted to them by the journalist.³

IV. ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONCEPTS RELEVANT TO MASS COMMUNICATION

Undoubtedly, mass communication influences our daily life. As we wake up in the morning a newspaper or a news broadcast over the radio greets us and before we reach our office or school, we have been exposed to various posters and billboards along the streets and on buildings. These media of communication always feed us with ideas, oftentimes repetitious, to a point that we are sort of hypnotized by their messages.

How many times did we believe the printed or spoken words? And how many times were we moved by them to action?

During one of your vacant periods, you must have skimmed over the movie pages of the newspaper, and have come across a movie advertisement announcing the showing of a movie in which your favorite actors and actresses shared starring roles. If you went to that movie, what was your real reason? Was it because of the picture that accompanied the text of the advertisement, or was it because of the text itself? Or, better still, was it because your favorite actors and actresses starred in the movie? You might have other reasons for seeing the movie, but one thing was sure: The advertisement had aroused your interest in the movie and had driven you to action.

What we have illustrated is just two of the workings of mass media: to generate interest in an idea, product, institution or person and to drive someone to action. Actually, mass media may

³ Attention or "exposure" of the receiver to the message is one determining variable to effective communication. The other variables are the changes in the medium used, interpersonal relationship (of the receiver) with other people, and the content of the message. (See Katz and Lazarsfeld 1960: 22).

also create desire for a person, place or thing, generate public opinion, give such information as "what-to-buy-from-whom-some-where", and provide their audience with entertainment.

Because of these delicate tasks, the various professions in the field of mass communication have formulated codes of ethics to regulate the behavior of mass media practitioners. So there are canons of journalism and ethics of advertising and of radio and television broadcasting. Also, we have the Board of Censors for Motion Pictures, which screens all the movies that are to be shown in our theatres. The purpose of all this is to see to it that the media do not expose the public to those materials that endanger national security, threaten social order, and foment violence and immorality.

In the Philippines, there is freedom to disseminate public information, provided such dissemination does not violate any laws on libel, sedition, immorality, and the like. Mass media may inform, entertain or argue as long as they want, within the confine of this freedom.

With this philosophy of freedom, mass media carry out their roles as teacher, watcher, and forum of ideas. As teacher, mass media should inform and shape public opinion. As watcher, they should check the ills of society, they should denounce the systems that paralyze its activities. And as forum of ideas, they should publish opposing opinions on issues of local, national, and international interests.

What are some anthropological concepts that can help mass media play these roles?

First, there is the concept of **change**. As mass media carry out their functions as teacher, watcher and forum of ideas, they shall inevitably cause changes in many aspects of society.

Change may be defined as a quantitative or qualitative variation of the present state or form. Hence, change may be in the physical appearance of things or in the emotional state of people.

But the change mass media effect is usually qualitative in nature, meaning it is in such variables as choices, preferences, tastes, moods, values, attitudes, and ideas.

Among other things, mass media inform people about recent happenings in the economic, political, literary, religious, social and educational circles. In doing this they give people various ideas that may change their outlook in life. For example, a presidential candidate for the 1969 elections is exposed by the media as corrupt and morally bad, with the necessary documents and specific examples to back the claim. As a consequence, many supporters of this candidate will lose their respect for him, which means a great deduction from his probable number of votes come election day.

If mass media are aware of their influence on the attitude and thinking of the people, they should watch out for inaccuracies in their reports. They should also present as many sides as are possible, of the issues they ventilate. Whenever possible, they should give the people a chance to form opinion, by not swaying their thinking to their side through some rhetorics. They should not give them canned opinion, which might have been formed by a minority group in an attempt to further their own vested interests once such opinion is adopted by the people.

Today, the government uses the various mass media — radio, television, cinema and press — in effecting changes in the rural and urban areas. Among the changes that the government aims to bring about, is the departure of the cultural minorities from their traditional ways of curing illness. Thus, we always learn that such agencies as the Presidential Arm on Community Development (PACD), the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN) and the Commission on National Integration (CNI) send their respective medical teams to the hinterlands to introduce our modern medicines to the people there and to teach them better ways of treating their sicknesses. But to facilitate their teaching, these groups should use pictures and illustrations, if not slides, that show people undergoing certain practical treatment of wounds, bruises and skin and other diseases

These visual aids, however, should not touch on such topics as are tabooed among the minorities, who should view them. These people might resent it if these ridicule them or their ways of life, or make them feel they have been careless in conducting their affairs.

The mass media practitioners engaged in the same task of teaching the minorities the proper treatment of illnesses, should understand that the minorities tend to cling to their traditional ways. So if they want to change said ways, they should know the significance of these in the culture of the people and decide on the best approach to realize the desired change.

Another anthropological concept that is relevant to mass communication is **diffusion**. By diffusion we mean the "transfer of culture elements from one society to another". (Linton 1964: 324).

As you know, many of the things we use — from kitchen utensils to ballpens — are not made in the Philippines. We import them. This importation, actually, indicates diffusion. The fact that we use the articles people in other countries use, shows that these have "spread out". While we have allowed their sales in our market, our culture has "absorbed" them and we regard them as our own.

Ideas may also be diffused into a culture. Thus the American opinion on the Vietnam war may be adopted by many Filipinos and this can be brought about by mass media. The Associated Press and the United Press International, two American-owned news agencies, feed us with news on the war. And the *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, which often justify American presence in South Vietnam, reach many of our homes. Furthermore, in 1968 a movie, *Green Berets*, was shown in one of the theatres in Manila, also justifying American involvement in the war. The tremendous amount of ideas we get from these materials conditions our mind to a point that many of us are led to believe that the United States is a "savior" in South Vietnam.

The media practitioner who knows what diffusion is and how it comes about, will understand that contact between two

cultures will most likely result in the borrowing of one culture of some traits (e.g. way of dressing, speech habits, lines of thinking, etc.) from the other. This contact may be made physically, by having the members of one culture meet the members of the other, or simply through mass media. So one does not have to go to the Western countries to learn and adopt Western ways of behaving and thinking. One does not have to meet an American to be able to understand American culture. Publications, movies and radio and TV broadcasts are enough means for one to acquire such knowledge. Mass media, therefore, shorten the cultural distance of two societies, by making them aware that they can learn and profit from one another's experiences and cultural heritage.

With the knowledge of diffusion the media practitioner can trace the movement of an advertised article, say a pipe, from point A, passing through points B, C, D, etc., to point Z. He can determine how the members of the society at point A influence the product preferences of the members of the society at point B. Then, the influence of the members of the society at point B upon the product preferences of the members of the society at point C, may be known, and so forth. One area of investigation or study for the media practitioner is therefore the acceptability of the article at various points. Perhaps, among the interesting things to know are the factors that enhance the acceptability of the article, and how, when and why it was accepted. Throughout the study he will understand the meaning and cultural implications of diffusion.

Our next concept is **integration**. Linton (1964:348) defines integration as the "progressive development of more and more perfect adjustments between the various elements which compose the total culture". This concept suggests that the introduction of any new cultural element into a culture will cause the disequilibrium of the various parts composing that culture.

For instance, a Catholic missionary introducing Christianity to a group of Ifugaos who believe in *anitos* (deities), will make these people feel emotionally unstable as they come to accept

little by little the doctrine of Christianity. This disturbance results from the fact that while they want to change their religion, they tend to cling to it. But once they find in Christianity better meanings and ideas relevant to their life, they can get over with such disturbance and thus "integrate" this religion into their way of life.

This concept of integration offers mass media two salient points. First, it underscores the fact that any idea, product or institution which mass media introduce to a society should in the end be able to adjust with the ideas, products and institutions already held or accepted by the members of that society. In other words, a knowledge of the types of ideas, products and institutions earlier introduced to and accepted by a culture, will help mass media succeed in selling new ideas, products, or institutions. Secondly, the acceptance of the same depends on whether they can satisfy needs and desires and/or eliminate emotional insecurity. These things may be "integrated" into one's life when they can make him wealthier, happier, and healthier.

With the knowledge of integration mass media can know when, where and how — and probably why — new ideas, products or institutions are acceptable. Thus they know that in December Christmas ideas and products can sell. They know that by advertising schools and universities during the opening of every term they can increase the enrollment of these institutions. And they know that Christmas ideas and products are easily sold in December because it is the season for gift-giving, and that schools and universities should be publicized so that students can choose where to enroll.

The fourth anthropological concept we will here consider may be understood in the light of the three concepts we have already discussed. This is **acculturation**, defined as the "modification of a culture through more or less continuous contact with another" (Keesing 1958:426). Applying this definition to individuals, we define acculturation as the process in which a person belonging to a culture adopts certain traits of another culture.

so that he ends up with values, outlook and temperaments not exactly the same as those of the members of either cultures. Except in isolated cases, an acculturated person demonstrates traits of his original culture and of the second culture he is exposed to. He is considered by his original group as a "different" or "changed" member and by his second group, as an "incoming" or "accepted" member.

Let us take a Kalinga as an example. When he goes out of his village for the first time and enrolls at the University of the Philippines, he carries with him the values and interests upheld by his community. If after three or four years in the University he no longer observes the values he has acquired from his village and he acts and thinks like most members of the academic community, we can say that he has been acculturated. His friends, in effect, will find him a "different" person, somebody who has "changed". And his friends at the University will allow him to participate in their activities as they have already accepted him as one of them.

Thus we see that the University and its constituency direct change to him and while we consider him as some sort of a container, he accumulates ideas and materials diffused into him by its environment. As these ideas and materials prove useful and meaningful to him, he integrates them into his particular "way of life". Our product in short is an acculturated Kalinga.

How do mass media enter the picture? At the University, we have various media of mass communication. There are the Philippine Collegian, the official publication of the student body, and other student organs. There is also a radio station, the DZUP. And controversial films like *The East is Red*, *China* and *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* are shown to students. Also, there is the UP-ETV project of the Institute of Mass Communication which runs a series of educational television telecasts over Channel 13. Finally, there is the theatre which has presented plays, musical extravaganzas, operas, and debates. In one way or another these media must have contributed to the acculturation of the Kalinga.

In specific terms how can mass media use the concept of acculturation? The answer lies in the way mass media plan and execute programs. Let us assume that the foreign students enrolled for the first time at the University of the Philippines are ignorant of the Filipino culture and mass media would like to orient them to it. The first thing the media should do, as is expected, is to plan programs. Generally, programs like these include a field trip to museums and art galleries, a tour of scenic spots, a teach-in on Philippine values, folkways and mores, a series of presentation of Philippine plays, songs and dances, and meetings with barrio people. But how can mass media carry out programs like these with the least physical mobility?

We suggest that films on art and Philippine culture be shown to the foreign students at one of the theatres on the Diliman campus, and publications on the same be distributed to them. Slides on the country's scenic spots may also be used to impress upon them that in the Philippines there are many beautiful places to see. DZUP may, furthermore, feature a series of lectures on Philippine values and mores, and the UP Mobile Theatre, the UP Mixed Chorus, the Filipiniana Dance Troupe and the UP-ETV may present festivals of Philippine plays, songs, and dances.

In doing all this, the various media should aim at one thing: to orient them to Philippine culture. As foreign students act and think like Filipinos, acculturation must have taken place — and this time it is through mass media.

V. ANTHROPOLOGICAL METHODS IN COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

Each discipline — be it in the physical or social sciences — has specific ways of approaching its various research problems. One thing, however, is common to all tools or methods used: they aim at the reliability and validity of research findings. The researcher strives to be as objective as possible in recording, classifying and analyzing the data he has gathered.

Because data gathering is an extensive task, the various disciplines borrow research techniques from each other. Thus the archaeologist borrows the techniques of the geologist in determining the stratification of soils, the psychologist borrows the anthropologist's techniques in understanding the relationship between culture and personality, and the educator borrows the communication researcher's techniques in assessing the readability of reading materials.

As it encounters research problems that cannot be solved by the methods it has developed, mass communication may also use research techniques of other disciplines. In this section, we shall discuss the various anthropological methods that may be of use to a researcher in mass communication.

In brief, these anthropological methods are the participant observation and the holistic approach.

According to Schramm (1966:5-6), there are three research areas in mass communication. These are:

1. Mass communication as a social institution — its organization, its social control, its place in social structure and function, its content, its audiences, its responsibilities and performance.

2. The conditions of its effectiveness — the choice of channels, the nature of messages, the self-selection of the audiences, the nature of attention, the problem of transmitting meaning, the relation of group structure and predispositions to effect.

3. The nature and evidence of effects — what mass communication does to the individual life and what it contributes to social change or lack of change.

A cursory look at these areas will tell us that they actually deal with cultural situations, thereby strengthening our stand that anthropological methods may be used in communications research. Let us take these methods — participant observation and holistic approach — one by one.

Participant Observation. There are two key words here, namely, "participant" and "observation". The term "participant" connotes emotional and/or physical involvement and the term "observation" suggests keen perception of visual events. In the method of participant observation, the researcher gets "involved" in the events he "perceives". He practically does what the people he is studying, are doing. For example, an anthropologist doing some participant observation on the Sulod or Mundo of Tapaz, Capiz, should take part in the various activities of the people. He should be present both to participate in and to observe the celebrations and rituals of the community. This way, he can easily understand the characteristics of the Sulod and the peculiarities of their culture.

In the Philippines, there has been so far no serious mass media research that uses the method of participant observation. But the technique of observation (without "participation") can be well applied to studies of power structure, of patterns of influence, and of interaction processes in the newsroom or the editorial conference (Carter 1966: 83).

The technique or method of observation was used successfully by mass media researchers in other countries. In many of their research designs observation of media exposure was a big part. There was, for example, Walter Steigleman's study (1949) of headlines and newsstand sales in which he used observation technique. In their "Yankee City" study of social class, Lloyd Warner and Paul Lunt (1945:54) posted helpers at newsstand to know who bought what papers and magazines and also stationed observers at a theatre to record movie attendance. Another example is H. C. Ludeke's and R. A. Inglis' study (1942), in which subjects were given an eye-fatigue test, seated in a reading room, and handed an advance copy of a magazine to read. Subjects' reading behavior was recorded through one-way glass.

Our concern in this section, however, is not only the technique of observation but also that of participation. In anthropological researches the techniques of observation and of participation, of

simply referred to as the method of participant observation, are widely used. The researcher tries to understand cultures by getting involved in what their members do. Thus if he studies their religion, he should attend and participate in their rites and ceremonies and while participating, should observe their various ways of behaving.

Communications research may borrow this method of participant observation. For example, the influence of mass media upon a society may be determined by observing the reaction of its members to the nature of messages and by participating in the activities inspired by these.

In the study of the nature and evidence of effects of mass media, the researcher may also use the method of participant observation. He may join a group of people watching the television on-the-spot coverage of an armed clash between the Philippine Constabulary and some dissidents of Central Luzon, and record their reaction to the grim pictures of dead bodies soaked in blood and mutilated by bullets. Or he may join a group of women gathered at a *sari-sari* store to listen to a radio program. He might also be interested in determining the amount of attention the moviegoers pay to certain advertisements flashed on the screen after a movie has been shown.

Holistic Approach. When one wants to study human society and culture in their entirety, he should use the holistic approach. This approach will help him know how the various parts of culture — economics, religion, politics, literature, ideologies — fuse into a meaningful whole and how this whole functions with respect to its part. If he is studying the Filipino Muslim's annual trip to Mecca, his investigation should not concentrate on the trip itself or its religious implications only. For, definitely, the trip to Mecca has social, economic and political meanings among these people.

How can the mass media researcher use the holistic approach?

The mass media researcher should be aware of the fact that the various media serve as agents of change and that the change

mass media effect may be felt in the different aspects of culture. In view of this, he should see culture in its totality and determine how the change mass media effect, deepens or alters the values associated with its various parts.

Let us take, for instance, the mass media coverage of the Corregidor massacre. We remember that the newspapers and magazines carried lengthy articles on the incident, and the radio and television broadcast numerous reports on it. Given this case, the researcher may aim to determine how these articles and reports changed the Muslim's attitude toward the national community and especially the government, or to know how these people reacted to the news on the massacre. He may be interested to know how they first learned of the incident — whether it was through a newspaper or a magazine article or through a radio or, for those staying in Manila and suburbs, television broadcasts. Other areas of investigation may include the assessment of the role of word-to-mouth communication in the dissemination of information on this incident and a content analysis of all "letters to the editor", written by Muslims.

Applying the holistic approach, the communication researcher may determine how the news affected the daily activities of the Muslims. Did it become the conversation piece in the markets, in the schools, at home, at parties, at the barber shops, in the streets? Did people gather at the mosque to pray for those who died in the massacre? Did they feel like revolting against the government upon hearing the news? To what extent did the news morally paralyzed the Muslim communities? With this approach, the researcher would like to know the effect of the media upon the entire culture, not only in one or two of its parts.

VI. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this part of the 20th century mass media are effective agents of change; they can deepen or alter values held dearly by culture. For, today, more than any other period in the history of man, they are confronted with the challenge to mold society

into a progressive, emotionally stable and active entity. Their responsibility is enormous: to serve as teacher, watcher, and forum of ideas. Their ultimate end: to change man, ideas, and events for the better.

Thus mass media practitioners could not afford to misguide society. The effectiveness of the media to improve society lies in their hands. They should therefore be equipped with theories or concepts evolved by the various disciplines, that will help them carry out their responsibilities effectively.

We have pointed out concepts and techniques in anthropology which are relevant to mass communication. These concepts and techniques can serve as tool for analyzing culture growth and communication in a changing society. They underscore the fact that human beings behave according to certain patterns or designs and as such can be studied. Mass media practitioners will find it helpful to know and apply these in their various tasks.

In our country, we have cultural minorities that should be integrated into the body politic, and it has been claimed that national integration⁴ may be attained with the help of mass media (Feliciano 1968). It is time we involved the minorities in the various activities of the national community, we should have national unity. In this respect mass media have a significant role to play: that of a go-between. They should be able to harmonize the conflicting traits of both the Christian majority and the Non-Christian minorities. They should avoid reports that antagonize one or more groups or make one group antagonize the other. They can do this if they know some basic anthropological concepts that explain the workings of a heterogenous society. Mass media should reflect society, and it is for this reason that they must be objective and prudent.

4 To this writer, national integration is the "fusion of a nation's cultural groups — normally classified into the majority and the minority (ies) — into one body politic, with a view to granting the minority (ies) under a common government all the rights and privileges enjoyed by the majority, and getting it (then) involved in the usual efforts to further that nation's interests." (Clavel 1968:16). It may also mean "political cohesiveness", or the "over-all attraction of the majority and minority groups to the political life, ideas, and institutions of the national community." (Clavel 1968:16).

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HOMO SAPIENS AND SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

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I. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the most important subject matter of general anthropology — the human being and his achievements and problems in a world undergoing both slow and drastic changes. Specifically, this preliminary paper raises serious questions on the human being as an object and product of sociocultural change, his human qualities which often lead to his unpredictable behavior and the ethics of social research involved in the process of dealing with the problem of change and prediction. Finally, I have included a few comments on the role of the social scientist in nation-building, especially in the determination of what I call "the national purpose" — the success or failure of which depends to a large extent on the knowledge about and predictability of man in his sociocultural and ecological setting.

II. The Human Being and Sociocultural Change

The Republic of the Philippines is one of the countries of Asia that is now on the threshold of what is believed to be remarkable "progress." To use the traditional jargons of our social scientists, this country is a good case study of "modernization" or "westernization" or even of "innovation" (Barnett, 1953): how to transform this society of about 35 million human beings into a community of healthy, wealthy, wise, and politically conscious people under a regime of justice, democracy and freedom. How can we best usher into the 20th century a society that once was a colony of Spain for 400 years, a commonwealth territory of the US for some 50 years, and a prized possession of Japan for some 5 years (Agoncillo and Alfonso, 1967). What shall we do in our effort to catch up with the technological advances that America and other industrial nations now possess?

It has often been pointed out by serious students of sociocultural change, that the first step in this so-called directed modernization process is knowledge of the cultural context or milieu. We should know the seemingly simple yet complex web or network of relationships of values, institutions and other facets of culture of the society being changed. (See Mead, 1955; Foster, 1962; Spicer, 1952). For how can we ever change more effectively that which we do not know? How can we even prescribe solutions to a problem when we do not even know anything about the problem? To use an analogy, it is like the doctor who prescribes certain medicine without proper diagnosis or the criminal lawyer pleading his case before the court of justice without appropriate legal research. Unfortunately, this seems to be what is happening today in some of the so-called developing countries in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America; we modernize structures or institutions based on cultural ignorance. In our preoccupation with a higher living standard, with hemispheric common markets, big factories and giant machines we neglect not only the cultural moorings or foundations of society itself but also the one single force — the *primummobile* or prime mover of all these forces — the human being himself. What do we know about this human

being—his hopes, his dreams and aspirations for himself and his families, his mundane problems of existence, his feelings, his values, and traditions? Have those who seek to change his habits, his attitudes, and his institutions ever thought of him as a human being—very sensitive and very much alive, very much human and humane? Or is he just a tool or an instrument to “develop” or “modernize” a society at the risk of dehumanizing or debasing him in the process?

This is the great challenge to all of us today: how to make that human being in Asia or Africa or Latin America more comprehensible; how to gather a systematic body of knowledge about him that is useful in any bold and imaginative attempt to change or modernize him. In this age of computers and transplanted hearts, I believe this understanding is important and is crucial to the theory and practice of what they label as “modernization.”

III. The Human Being and the Problem of Predictability

The rigorous, the scientific, and the measurable oftentimes does not tell us much. For to paraphrase Prof. Morris E. Opler of Cornell University, the human being can be manipulated by the IBM machine or by computers but he is still a human being capable of biases, of love and hate and jealousy which make him often imprecise and uncertain. As sociologist Robert Bierstedt (1951) aptly states, “man is the only creature on earth that drinks even when he is not thirsty and makes love all season.” I sometimes wonder whether all these factors of change or modernization are clear about their goals and objectives. I sometimes pause to ponder whether we as agents of change are merely indulging in futile attempts to reform society based on ignorance of what we want and what we wish to be. Have we ever asked ourselves what is all the hurry in acquiring more machines, more gadgets, more weapons and other bacteriological weapons of destruction? Have we often wondered how much life could be perhaps more meaningful and more enjoyable if we but walk and work leisurely under the moonlight instead of dashing to our destruction in cars, of making that clock our slave instead of

being slaves of the clock, of taking care of our heartbeats by maintaining a little pace in this jet-like movement in time and space? This is perhaps a moot philosophical question, unanswered but needing more sober thought..

IV. The Human Being and Human Ethics

With all these preliminary remarks, I should like to go back to my thesis: the **human being in social research and application**.

Someone asked me once, what right do we have as sociologists and anthropologists to probe into the intimate lives of human beings in the name of advancing science? What right do we have in gathering basic information about man—data about what he believes in, how he governs himself, his sense of beauty, his economic life, how he educates his children, how he procreates? What right do we have as sociologists to know about how he adjusts himself to different geographic and cultural environments, or whether he belongs to any class or caste, upper, lower, upper-upper-upper or lower-lower-lower class?

These questions seem to be relevant in so far as problems of ethics in research theory, method, and application are concerned.

Perhaps I need not catalogue a series of cases of abuse against our research informants, of misusing such information to put down certain people and institutions. I need not underscore some cases discovered where human rights of privacy are abused in the name of advancing the social sciences. For example, Prof. Ralph Beals of the University of California, Berkeley, in an explosive report to the American Anthropological Association observed that a number of people have been masquerading as anthropologists to gather data for intelligence purposes in some "developing countries;" some anthropologists have become wittingly or unwittingly the tools of government or even so-called philanthropic foundations to perpetuate a system.

Along with ethical problems connected with sociological and social anthropological research is the crucial problem of ethics

in applied social science research and in applied social science in general. What rights do social scientists have to engage in social reform? What right do the agents of social change have to engineer drastic changes in the lifeways of societies or peoples? What right do we have to introduce new methods and techniques in science and technology, in education and in religion, and in other areas of national life which we know will alter, perhaps beyond recognition, the elan and the distinctiveness of the way of life of a people? I have read for example the complaints of cultural minorities in many parts of the world—complaints which of course can be historically traced and verified and that reflect the patterns of assimilation and integration of a minority lifeway into the main stream of the national life. This pattern is repeated again and again in various countries where tribal societies still exist.

How do we, then, justify change and justify our role as social scientists and as agents of change in this great drama of modifying human behavior, attitudes and even life philosophy? Although I do not pretend to be a social philosopher, I feel that there must be some rationale for all these.

It is often pointed out that there are cultural universals or what Professor George Peter Murdock of the University of Pittsburgh calls the "common denominators" of all cultures. (Linton, 1945). Every human being, for example, perhaps prefers life to death, good health to disease, pleasure to pain, enlightenment to ignorance, prosperity to hunger (once in a while you will find of course culture heroes who want to be martyrs—Jose Rizal the national hero of the Philippines preferred to face a firing squad for his country). It is, therefore, a basic assumption of many agents of change that human beings everywhere, though different in a thousand and one ways, may have certain common fundamental problems which have to be solved in order to make them active, prosperous, intelligent, and wealthy members of a free society. (Beals and Hoijer, 1965; Zamora, 1959, 1963). For this reason, agents of change feel that all these programs of community development, urban renewal, crash education, common

markets and of a variety of policies and projects designed to "modernize" human communities can now be rationalized and justified.

V. The Human Being and the National Purpose

All these questions raised before us seem to point to the direction of goal-clarification, very much related to the general problem of values. (See Williams, 1963; Kluckhohn, 1949; Zamora, 1959, 1963). What is important to a society or to different societies in general? What is the so-called American national purpose or the Pakistani national purpose? How do we try to dissect the national purpose?

To determine the national purpose, the services of the sociologists and the anthropologist are perhaps indispensable. For it cannot be denied that one sensitive dimension in any critical dissection and serious examination of that national purpose demands an equally sober scrutiny of the basic goals, premises, and themes of a society. For example, it is often remarked that India and Pakistan offer themselves as concrete proofs of societies that have evolved "a national purpose." India's national purpose is based on what they term as the development of "a socialistic pattern of society" where the nation's wealth and resources are shared within the framework of a free and peaceful community (Zamora, 1959, 1963). Pakistan's national purpose is fundamentally based on the Islamic creed and in the words of President Ayub Khan himself: "I believe that Allah, in His infinite mercy, created Pakistan to give the Muslims of these regions a homeland in which to mould their lives in accordance with the principles and the spirit of Islam." (Khan, 1967).

The mounting and monumental domestic and international problems faced by the U.S. as leader in world affairs—Vietnam, urban problem, race relations, air pollution, etc.—should not becloud the basic premises which in a sense constitute the cornerstone of a national purpose: the premises of efficiency in American life, of rationality, of equality, of the reliance on science and technology—basic premises that anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn

and sociologist Robin Williams have already properly identified. It seems to me that a number of countries including my own, have not clearly and positively arrived at a definite conclusion on the national purpose. Here is where I believe the social scientist can make a crucial contribution. **The systematic study of the basic premises of the society, using all the theoretical and methodological tools and techniques of social science with a view to helping clarify and hopefully evolve a covenant of national purpose for the society.** A series of serious and systematic sociological and social anthropological researches on cultural values that will shed more light on what people treasure most in their lives, what is important to them as a people, what preoccupies all their time and talents in the pursuit and fulfillment of their hopes and dreams—these I feel will make a substantial contribution to the proper study and understanding of the Asian man, of the African man, of the Latin American man. Those of us in the social science profession can no longer afford to dream in our ivory tower and look at the whole world in complete detachment because whether we like it or not we are social scientists—social in the sense of association, association with the ideas, beliefs, and institutions of mankind, association with the day to day problems of the human being we are supposed to comprehend and we are supposed to help change and change without too much breakdown in mental health and in his other human faculties. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that we can no longer afford to undertake serious research purely on what is interesting but it is likewise perhaps our obligation to be greatly immersed in what is useful.

VI. Summary and Concluding Remarks

In summary, I believe that the human being—the most precious of our subject for research as social scientists—should be studied not just an object of curiosity and a tool to manipulate in order to discover scientific laws of human behavior. He must be studied and respected as a human being. Our theoretical formulations, our methodological tools and techniques and our instruments for social change should be fully utilized only to

the extent that they do not dehumanize and debase his pride and his freedom as well as his dignity and humanity. The human being, as our focus of study, should be probed as intensively as we can to find out what is important to him; for in discovering what is significant in his life we might obtain more clues and more insight for the serious investigation of the national purpose. A clear definition and comprehension of the national purpose can serve as an effective guide to sociocultural change in transitional societies such as those in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It is the crucial task of the sociologist and of the anthropologist to contribute his time and talents and the theory and tools of his profession to the definition and comprehension of that national purpose.

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Part Two

OBJECT AND STUDY

OWT 111

YOUNG OF THE YEAR

SCOPE AND NATURE OF PHILIPPINE BIBLIOGRAPHY MAKING

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The subject of bibliography making may be conveniently divided into national and special. Currently there is no bibliography that can be called national. Retana's *Aparato* (1906) had all the features of national coverage at the time of its issue, but it has not been brought up to date and hence has lapsed into a period bibliography. Since bibliography making of national scope is not usually a one-man job, even such a valuable contribution as Retana's did have shortcomings as to exhaustiveness and language coverage.

For our purposes, shall we just complete Retana or bring it up to date or do something else? His work is excellent but covers only the Spanish period. There is a need to work out another one for the succeeding American period, and then for the contemporary period from the year of independence. Exhaustive

efforts for certain periods have the advantage of concentrating energies if funds are limited or when there is no expectation of continued support. But a national bibliography would meet many needs and would generally be more useful. Selective inventories may be worth undertaking too (see Eggan and Hester 1956; Pardo de Tavera 1903), especially if time and financial means would not warrant exhaustive measures.

For specialists on certain areas and subjects, special bibliographies could be compiled. Examples are Yabes (1936) on the Iloko people, not duplicated elsewhere for any other group. Conklin (1962) is working along the same lines, though the literature is not as extensive for the Ifugao. Much more numerous are the works on narrow subjects — the one on Tagalog periodical literature by Agoncillo (1953), another on numismatics by Garcia (1961), and so on. Larger fields as the one by Lopez on the social sciences (1956), and a bibliography on the published contributions in agriculture from the College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, from 1909 to 1950 undertaken by Basio and Aquino (1959) are also available.

It is needless to state that specialists will have to cope with their own bibliographical problems as they tackle these individually (see Conklin 1962) and as they narrow down the scope of their work (see Bernardo's work on palaeography 1953), and hence will probably be given less attention by other scholars. If the entries in a national bibliography will be annotated, however, and the contents analyzed and indexed, much of the initial work of the specialist will be lessened. It is only when there is a need of outside comparative material that the specialist may bring to the attention items that may not be Filipiniana (as Retana defined the scope of his work, 1906). But I think such material will not come under the scope of a Philippine national bibliography.

There is no gainsaying that special bibliographies may still be broken into narrower fields (see Manuel on folklore 1962, 1965; and on folk epics 1963). Such subjects will certainly be covered in a bibliography of Philippine anthropological literature.

But since national bibliography making takes a longer time to finish, bibliographers want to work out narrower areas of interest. (This writer, as an instance, has been working on Philippine anthropological literature for the last several years and at the same time on Philippine linguistic literature and Philippine musical composition.) When bibliographers work individually, they can finish something tangible within a shorter period of time.

Time coverage may certainly be limited and the advantage of a period bibliography is obvious as has been pointed out above. But time marches on and soon the work ends up as a period bibliography (see Retana 1906). Hence the goal of a national bibliography from a certain period to another, and so on, becomes understandable.

Language limitations may be illustrated by Yabes (1958), but a national bibliography will have no language restrictions. The literature could be in any language—Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Tagalog or any other Philippine language — provided it has substantial bearing on the Philippines. This points to the need of employing scholars who can read the writings in these languages and the need for a joint effort in this kind of task.

When classes of material are considered, the planning group might take up first the major libraries and private collections where these materials could be used in the Philippines and then abroad (in the U.S.A., Spain, Mexico, and elsewhere in Europe). Such information on the availability in this country and abroad will undoubtedly facilitate research. Many Filipino scholars speak of foreign archives without surveying the rich possibilities on the local and national scene, in Manila and other places, for instance. Knowledge of archival resources in this country will be useful to Filipino scholars and foreign workers as well. This brings us to the necessity of establishing a National Archives and a National Bibliographic Center (see Bernardo 1950; Velasco 1964). It will be worthwhile to consider whether such a center were better attached to a national institution such as the National Library or the University of the Philippines.

There is much scholarly stuff hidden in learned and semi-learned journals; some popular articles are based actually on first-hand information. These may be included in a national bibliography. Another way of treating them would be to put them together in an Index of periodical literature. But there has of late been some bookmaking going on under the rubric of reprints or separata which merit attention and inclusion in a national bibliography, if a definition of scope were to be made. Whatever be the consensus later, this class of material is one of the sources of rare Filipiniana, and is sometimes very useful too. (See *Ang Comediang Tagalog* by Isabelo de los Reyes which appeared in *Ang Kapatid ng Bayan*, Aug. 2-Sept. 21, 1904. Whereas this periodical used to be available in the National Library before the recent war, I have not seen it again listed in any bibliography or catalogue after World War II, and what remains is but one copy of a folletin out from that newspaper.)

There is also a tremendous amount of printed and mimeographed material coming out of every congressional mill. I am not sure how much of these materials ever reach library shelves. To the lawyer, judge, jurist, as well as the historian and political scientist, these will be of documentary and interpretative value.

There is a trend to regard unpublished material, microfilm, and so on, including maps, as worthy of notice in any national bibliography undertaking. Even fiesta programs sometimes contain useful historical or folkloristic information. Often such programs are the only evidence of any historic celebration, especially in distant provinces where news fails to reach national media centers. For certain types of studies (linguistic, ethnomusicological, folkloristic) taped material becomes indispensable too. To be comprehensive it may be useful in this case, to register documentary films (as Conklin's work with the Hanunóo).

Lastly, notes will add materially to the usefulness of any bibliographic work. Bare listing is still the practice in scholarly monographs and articles. But in a work of national character and scope notes will almost be indispensable. Notes may be descriptive or critical and evaluative, historical, biographical, and

so on. For some of the areas of knowledge an indication as to whether the data have been gathered first-hand or otherwise will also be most useful. Abstracts can be added, too, whether these be mediocre or extensive.

In addition to including the classes of materials outlined above, an indication should be made in the entries of the availability of many items, especially rare ones. Scholars often tear their hair locating the place where they could take hold of needed reference. The above desideratum is understandable because of the destruction of library resources in the last war.

The nature of bibliography making is hard to describe in a short space like this. To meet scholarly needs, however, it must be comprehensive, even exhaustive. On the national level the work will be demanding of careful planning and financing. This must necessarily be so because of its many requirements. Once begun, national bibliography making cannot stop; hence it must receive continued support, financial and otherwise. The work is technical in nature and therefore the workers must be qualified and have proper training. In view of the existence of more than one hundred ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, the project should involve many workers versed in a number of languages (Philippine and foreign).

There also is another phase of the work that merits consideration. Everyone today is aware of the destruction of the three major public libraries in Manila during World War II. After the war, in spite of rehabilitation work, the pre-war Filipiniana collection of the Scientific Library, the National Library, and the University of the Philippines Library could never be recovered fully again. But these three libraries have recuperated nevertheless, the achievement in the University of the Philippines library being outstanding. It is axiomatic that national bibliography making cannot go on without library resources so essential in this kind of work. It would be incumbent upon the planning group to decide a number of things: (a) whether or not a bibliographic center is in order; (b) whether this should be undertaken by the

government or private enterprise; (c) whether this should be attached to a government institution or have an independent existence. Above all, there is the delicate problem of securing cooperation.

SUMMARY

Scope

I. Subject coverage

A. National

- a. Comprehensive
- b. Selective
- c. Comprehensive-selective
- d. Checklist

B. Special

- a. Ethnolinguistic
- b. Politico-geographical
 1. Provincial
 2. Cities
 3. Islands

c. Subject

1. General or wide fields of interest (e.g., Social sciences)
2. Particular discipline (e.g., Anthropology)
3. Narrow subject (e.g., Linguistics)

II. Time coverage

- A. Retrospective
- B. Period bibliography (e.g., American regime)
- C. Current

III. Language coverage

- A. Inclusive (in any language)
- B. Exclusive (e.g., Yabes 1958)

IV. Classes of material

A. Printed

- a. Books and pamphlets
- b. Reprints

- c. Leaflets and broadsides
 - d. Programs, souvenirs, annuals
- B. Musical compositions
- C. Mimeographed materials, etc.
- D. Unpublished material
 - a. Manuscript
 - b. Typescript
- E. Maps
- F. Picture, slide collection
- G. Microfilm
- H. Taped material, etc.
- I. Documentary film

V. Notes

- A. Minimal bibliographic data
- B. Maximal bibliographic data (including an indication of illustrations, maps, graphs, etc.)
- C. Annotations by compiler
 - a. Descriptive
 - b. Critical

Nature

- I. National bibliography making
 - A. Usually comprehensive
 - B. Technical nature of work
 - C. Scattered nature of resources
 - D. Continuing nature of work
 - E. Linguistic aspect of work

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VILLAGE-COMMUNITY STUDIES IN GENERAL EDUCATION

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Many Western writers, in analyzing new nations like the Philippines, speak of a search for national identity among these nations' educated elites. This is often echoed by popular writers here that plaintively ask "Who is the Filipino?" and then answer their own question by saying that the Filipino is a mixture of foreign influences and does not know who he is.

They are right, in my opinion, in saying that he is the result of a mixture but this is not significant, for all peoples are a mixture of "foreign" influences. But they are wrong, I believe, in saying the Filipino does not know who or what he is. There is the Filipino and he lives in villages throughout the Philippines, and sometimes he lives in Manila and other large cities. He is the jeepney driver, the college student, the barrio captain.

This Filipino knows as much about what it is to be a Filipino as a German, American, Burman, Russian knows what it is to

be a German, American, Burman, or Russian. He can only be amused and puzzled by Manila columnists whose search for their own identity is confusedly attributed to all Filipinos. These columns probably reflect a frustrated elite raised as Americans or Spaniards but accepted neither by Americans as Americans, Spaniards as Spaniard, nor by Filipinos as Filipino. But, then, they are less than one tenth of one percent of the population, and to worry about them occasionally only because they happen to be rich and therefore control newspapers, magazines, and writers.

Those interested in discovering the real Filipino would do well to forget the few in Forbes Park and begin with us in an adventure into the village-communities of the nation. It is the villager, the *barrio* citizen that is least confused about who he is, where he is going, and what he is doing. So here, then, is where to search for the answer to "Who is the Filipino?" And here, also is where we find many investigators from that branch of science interested in discovering who man is — the anthropologists.

Of course, many people besides anthropologists are interested in the community, and they know many things about the community. The politician, for example, is interested in getting votes, and he knows key leaders in the community, about who is obligated to whom and about the community's needs in terms of public works. The businessman interested in improving his sales must know much about the people's buying habits. The police chief should know about troublemakers and troublespots. But all this is rather personal, common-sense knowledge that cannot be put to use on a nation-wide, inter-community basis. And such knowledge usually does not meet the strict requirements of science.

The anthropologist may be interested in the big questions. He may want to know about the entire Philippines. What makes Filipino stick? Why do they do the things they do? Do we want to make a better Philippines? Do we want to change the Filipino? What is the Filipino really like in the first place? Or he may want to know only about Manila.

But how can a person study even the whole of Manila — much less the Philippines? It is difficult to find enough trained personnel to help the investigator, it is difficult to find enough money to finance such a study, it is almost impossible to decide where to begin studying and where to stop. It is impossible to make the people stay put, for in Manila they are always moving in and out. And finally even if the investigator did manage to study something in Manila, he is not really certain whether his study was of the "real" Filipinos he was looking for or for an assortment of strange city folks.

To see how village-community studies answer these problems, we can compare such studies with early investigations of man's body. Biologically man is too complex to be studied without some idea of what to look for in the first place. The workings of the reflex, for example, were first discovered and investigated in a frog's leg, then the reflex action was studied in more complicated animals up to the monkeys and the apes, and then finally it was satisfactorily investigated and its workings explained in man.

But without the knowledge first of its simple operations in simple organism, the reflex in man could never have been properly accounted for by biologists. Indeed, without the foreknowledge of the simple things, there probably could never have developed a science of biology. This is the method of science: To go from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown. And so it is in the science of man's society.

What the anthropologist needs, like any true scientist, is a laboratory — a small, quiet, controlled area where he can study what he wants, intensively and at leisure; that is, again, a small village-community. — A *barrio* where the inhabitants' families have lived for several generations, where there is little movement in and out, where expenses are not so great, and where the investigator can know everyone. Here the scientist of Philippine society moves with the assurance and competence of the biologist in the laboratory, here the anthropologist gathers the material that will lay bare the fabric of Philippine society — its weaknesses

and strengths, its needs to be fulfilled and its contributions to be made.

But not just anyone can walk into a *barrio* and begin such a study of it. Years of special training and generations of experience on the part of his predecessors have given the anthropologist a set of instruments for dissecting the community and examining it inside out. The scientist of communities, in studying the village, may use many different methods. He may begin by mapping out the community's social structure; that is, the kinship relations, the *compadrazgo* relations, the employer-employee relations, and the friendship patterns — who makes friends with whom, when, and why.

He may use statistical sources, such as government records of births and deaths and incomes; questionnaires, such as attitude scales to uncover the views of the people; interviews with selected persons. He may analyze newspapers, collect local folktales and proverbs, and even elicit information from children, for often the young speak a truth adults cannot admit.

The anthropologist may investigate the behavior of people, such as the community's communications network — who talks to whom, when and why and about what. He may study the community simply as a place — its location, its appearance, its shape, and how each of these affects the people in the community. Or he may study the community as a trade center — its commercial activity, its employment and industrial opportunities.

He may collect biographies from selected persons and construct a composite story of the typical *barrio* citizen. Perhaps he will give personality tests to many persons and then from the materials construct a typical personality for the *barrio*. Whatever he does he will probably want to include a history of the village.

All these things are done by personal observation and hard work and involvement in the community by a person trained to know what to listen for and what to see and how to record it, and, finally, by a person trained to think through what he has seen and heard and recorded.

In this way the anthropologist tells us much about the Filipino and the Philippines; but we must remember that anthropology is a world-wide science, and the seemingly small contribution of the single report on one *barrio* is a piece of the larger whole that tells us something about all mankind. For in addition to being simply very interesting, village-community studies give us much-needed information about the way man orders his life and the way he meets all the difficulties that confront every generation in every part of the world.

There are many other reasons for studying the village community. In the community we find a wholeness, a completeness that is lacking if we limit our study to the family or to small groups, but we also find a limitedness in the small *barrio* that is a relief from the confusion in cities we may attempt to study. The community is a product of man that is found almost everywhere that man lives. Hundreds of interesting and helpful comparisons can then be made between Philippine communities and other communities around the world. The way others have solved their problems may give valuable clues for helping Filipinos solve theirs. And the reports from Filipino anthropologists will, in turn, add to a world-wide search for answers to all man's problems.

Also community studies will help us see how society produces the kind of adults it does, because the community, second only to the family, determines the kind of person each child will become, and the community also influences the way the family raises the child.

Further, knowledge of the community is essential to successful development. Every community project encounters embarrassing questions about who will do it, why do it, and how to do it; and every time there is no answer, the enthusiasm for the project weakens. Detailed village-community studies will provide answers to these questions so the projects can be completed, and the studies will give valuable clues to possible future projects that might otherwise never have been thought of.

And, finally, knowledge leads to power, and local knowledge leads to local power. The power of local areas to determine their own needs and to supply facts and local enthusiasm to back up this determination is the basis for grass-roots participation and national development. Knowledge of the village-community, where approximately 80 percent of the Filipinos live, is essential for developing a national government reflective of true Filipino values and needs.

There are still many questions that need answers before we can begin to develop the kind of Philippines we want. Some basic questions are: How important is the small community in a developing nation such as the Philippines? How is the small community involved in national decision-making? How representative of the Philippines is any one community? We need hundreds of community studies and the findings put together before we can begin to give useful answers and make meaningful statements about the Philippines and Filipinos. We need to note changes in community life and to measure these changes in detail, say, every five years to see where the Philippines is going as a nation.

We should look for clues to the substance, the body, and the meaning of the Philippine nation through the study of small parts of it. Perhaps after enough community studies, we can have regional studies (only through enough community studies can we be certain where the regional boundaries actually are), then we can have studies of different forms of communities (for again only through community studies will we be able to discern types of communities), then we can investigate patterns of movement from community to community and begin to see the structure of a network of communities that can be studied at several levels from several angles, and then, finally we can say Yes, we know who the Filipino is and what the Philippines is.

SUGGESTED READINGS

For an introduction to village-community studies by one of the outstanding figures in the field, read this two-volumes-in-one paper-back book.

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Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (In paperback;
Phoenix Books P53.)

But perhaps the best way to gain an appreciation of this field is to read the actual case studies themselves. Often exciting reading, the books listed here are studies by highly trained observers that offer the curious reader insights into customs, behavior, expectations, and ways of thinking of different peoples from around the world.

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METHODS IN CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH: THE CASE OF CHINESE AND FILIPINOS

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In recent years, many anthropologists and psychologists, especially in the field of culture-and-personality, have been engaged in cross-cultural studies. These scientists have sought to investigate the similarities and differences of certain personality and/or cultural variables¹ over two or more cultures. In doing so they have generally taken one of four different approaches as discussed by Strodtbeck (1964).

First, cultural experience may be equated to a laboratory treatment administered to an individual subject. Investigators using this approach are often interested in testing the universality

¹ A variable is any property common to a number of individuals in which these individuals differ among themselves. All books have the property of pages, but the number of pages differ from book to book. The number of pages may therefore be considered to be a variable. See Ghiselli (1964) for a good discussion on the concept of variables.

of certain phenomena. Or they may want to determine whether some kind of experience peculiar to certain cultures may affect individuals in a particular way. This approach is best illustrated by what is probably the most extensive cross-cultural study to date. Two psychologists and an anthropologist (Segall, Campbell, and Herskovits 1966) were interested in finding out whether the perception of visual illusions was genetically determined or influenced by the experiences of individuals. Tests to measure the proneness of individuals to various visual illusions were then administered to 1878 subjects representing 14 cultures. Results gathered from the study support the view that such illusions are experience-influenced. Based on observations that Americans and Europeans were more prone to visual illusions than most "primitive" peoples, it was further hypothesized that individuals living in cultures with more carpentered structures, hence more straight lines and angles in the visual environment, are more prone to the various geometric illusions.

Second, the investigator may have no specific theory in mind but simply goes to the field to examine the frequency or differential incidence of some variable over a number of cultures. After establishing differences in incidence, he may then suggest an explanation for these differences. This explanation may be viewed as a hypothesis.² This approach was first utilized by Durkheim (1951) who, after examining the suicide rates of different countries suggested that individuals may be motivated to commit suicide if they are either too highly integrated or only superficially integrated into society. Opinion surveys are also classified under this approach. A recent example of such a survey is Cantril's (1965) study on the pattern of human concerns in various parts of the world, including the Philippines. Currently, however, this

² It is of interest to note that the type of logic underlying this approach is neither induction nor deduction, but rather, abduction or retrodution. This has been summarized by Hanson (1958:1087) as follows:

- a. Surprising phenomena p1, p2, p3 . . . are encountered.
- b. The phenomena p1, p2, p3 . . . would not be surprising or astonishing if the hypothesis were true — they would follow as a matter of course from the hypothesis.
- c. (One may, therefore) elaborate the hypothesis and propose it as a possible hypothesis from whose assumptions p1, p2, p3 might be explained.

approach is most widely used in studies on health and illnesses. The present study may also be classified under this approach.

Third, cross-cultural research may be conducted with the end in view of revising the investigator's own culturally given classification of human experience. He therefore views "culture as a locus for the development of a new category of experience" (Strodtbeck 1964:226). Said to be the focal point of the "new culture-and-personality," (Wallace 1963) which emphasizes the study of cognitive processes, some of the pivotal studies along this line have been done in the Philippines by Frake (1961) among the Subanons of Mindanao and Conklin (1955) among the Hanunuos of Northern Luzon.

Fourth, the modal behavior of a homogeneous culture group may be used as the basic unit of analysis in studying certain personality variables. This procedure provides greater extremes on relevant variables than can be obtained within a single culture, as is the case with ordinary research methods on personality in which the modal behavior of an individual is the unit of analysis. A good example of such a cross-cultural survey is Whiting and Child's (1953) study of the relation between childhood discipline and the explanations and curing of sickness. Barnouw (1963) summarizes this and a number of other cross-cultural surveys as well as evaluating the method itself.

A whole range of variables may be studied more meaningfully cross-culturally. The main difficulty, and perhaps the limit, of cross-cultural research is the availability of conceptually equivalent instruments for measuring the variables. The study that follows is short and simple but serves to illustrate this and some other difficulties often encountered in cross-cultural research.

Introduction

Though a number of good studies have been made on the Chinese in the Philippines (Amyot 1960; Weightman 1952), these

studies have usually been emic in approach.³ Very seldom have attempts been made at direct and well-controlled comparisons between Filipinos and Chinese in the Philippines. Such studies are essential since a recognition and understanding of similarities and differences is a prerequisite to more mature and harmonious relations between the two groups. It is hoped that the present study may serve as a start for more extensive and sophisticated studies along this area in the future.

A study on the occupational inclinations of Chinese students was decided upon mainly because of the simplicity and manageability of such a study as well as the availability of comparative data from Filipino students. Some years back, Castillo, (1961) performed a study on occupational evaluation in the Philippines. As part of the study, data was gathered on the occupational inclinations of 450 (231 male and 45 female) subjects used in the study. These subjects were senior high school students from six different schools. Our task, therefore, was to gather similar data among Chinese that would enable us to make comparisons between the two groups.

Method

Subjects.

The Chinese sample consisted of 225 subjects with 109 males and 116 females, all students of a Chinese school located in the outskirts of Chinatown in Manila.⁴ As with the Filipino sample used in Castillo's study, they were senior high school students.

3 The emic approach has been described by Pike (1954:8) as "an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of a particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the function of that particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that culture." This is often contrasted from the etic approach, which analyzes "a particular culture to see its separate events, primarily in relation to their similarities and their differences, as compared to the events of their cultures, rather than in reference to the sequences of classes of events within that one particular culture" (Pike, 1954:10). See Harris (1964) for a thorough discussion on emic and etic.

4 See Murray (1964) for a good description of the Chinese educational system in the Philippines and Southeast Asia.

The subject's ages ranged from 15 to 18. The various socio-economic classes were fairly well represented, but not equally.

The Chinese and Filipino samples were therefore matched with respect to sex ratio and educational attainment. There is also good reason to believe that they also matched in terms of age range and socio-economic status. Controlling samples along these variables have become almost routinary in cross-cultural research. Though far from being ideal, this may be justified by the fact that a whole constellation of relevant variables are correlated with these matched variables. However, these controls become very inadequate if the range of differences *within* a culture is actually greater than the range of differences *between* cultures. The ideal sampling design, as pointed out by Trandis (1964), would be to have a representation of various classes of certain cultural features, e.g., have a sampling of the various religions, linguistic groups, etc. With the aid of some statistical techniques, one can then compare the range of differences within and between cultures.⁵

Procedure.

A questionnaire similar to the one used by Castillo (1961) was administered to the Chinese subjects. On the aspect of occupational inclination to which this paper is limited, the subjects were provided with a list of twenty-five different occupations and asked to check as many of the occupations as they would consider taking if these occupations were available to them.

One may wonder whether a questionnaire identical to the one used by Castillo should have been used instead to enhance, or at least ensure, cross-cultural comparability. This is a misconception often encountered in cross-cultural research. Two non-identical instruments may be used so long as they are conceptually equivalent, i.e., they mean the same thing for the culture groups being compared. It is often the case, in fact, that using an identical

⁵ See Winer (1962) for a worthwhile description of such a factorial research design and the statistical procedures involved in analyzing the data.

instrument for both groups results in conceptual non-equivalence and consequently, non-comparability.⁶ It is possible, for instance, that the phrase "becoming a doctor" would imply obtaining a Doctorate degree in one culture while it may simply mean becoming a physician in another.

Related to conceptual equivalence, there still exists another important obstacle to cross-cultural comparability: response styles. Studies have shown, for example, that certain groups of people have a tendency to agree with almost any statement. Some other groups may have a tendency to give what they consider to be the socially desirable response. In the present study, subjects were asked to check any number of occupations as they were willing to take. It is not difficult to conceive of a situation wherein the members of one group would check from fifteen to twenty occupations each while the members of the other group would be checking only one or two occupations each. One would therefore expect huge differences between the proportions in the two groups willing to take on any occupation. Such great differences only serve to cast doubt on the comparability of the two groups. To quote Campbell: 'Discrepancy can be noted and interpreted only against the background of an overwhelming proportion of nondiscrepant fit, agreement, or pattern repetition (1964:327).. Great differences only result in the inability to determine whether these resulted from differences in actual behavior or merely from a total failure of communication.

A tally of the total number of checks in the present study revealed that the average Filipino subject checked 6.68 occupations while the average Chinese subject 6.49. Considering that in the Chinese sample the number of occupations checked ranged from one to nineteen, these differences may be considered negligible.⁷

6 See Bulatao (1963) for a case wherein an identical, but conceptually non-equivalent instrument was used to compare the intensity of 15 needs among Filipino and American students. Needless to say, this has made the reported findings questionable.

7. A more conservative course to take would be to test the significance of the difference statistically. However, Castillo, did not provide the information needed for this.

Results and Discussion

The essential findings on the occupational inclinations of Filipino and Chinese students are summarized in Table I. Columns (1) and (2) present a rank ordering of the twenty-five occupations in terms of the number of Chinese and Filipino students, respectively, that expressed willingness to take them. A measure of similarity of the rankings between Filipino and Chinese students obtained through the Spearman rank correlation⁸ was .84, statistically significant beyond the $p = .01$ level.⁹

In Columns (3) and (4) are tabulated the proportion of Filipino and Chinese subjects that expressed willingness to take different occupations enumerated on the left side of the table. Significance tests of differences between the proportions in Columns (3) and (4) were performed and the results summarized in Column (5).¹⁰

It may be observed from Table I that Chinese senior high school students, to a significantly greater proportion, are more inclined to become authors, doctors, and corporation executives than their Filipino counterparts, who are in turn more inclined to become department store sales clerks, government clerks, officer workers, and soldiers. If Castillo's statement that occupation is one of the best indicators of social status were to be accepted, then our findings could be interpreted as an indirect reflection of higher aspirations in terms of social status among the Chinese students.

With respect to the positions of author and soldier in the hierarchy of the Chinese students' occupational inclinations, it is of interest to note the portrayal of these two characters in Chinese literature. Heyer (1953) has pointed out that the two most com-

8 See Siegel (1956) for a good description of the procedures involved in obtaining a Spearman rank correlation as well as an elucidation of the assumptions underlying it.

9 "Significant beyond the $p=.01$ level" simply means that the observed similarity reflected in a correlation of .84 could occur by chance less than once in a hundred times. The corollary therefore is that the similarity cannot be attributed to chance.

10 See Edwards (1964) for a description of the statistical procedures involved in testing the significance of the differences between two proportions.

mon male characters in Chinese stories are the scholar (often a poet or essayist) and the military man (the brave warrior type). The military man is often a symbol of ferocity and strength, and may be cunning and exploitative. The scholar, on the other hand, is invariably described more intimately and is always the more human character, arousing much sympathy from the readers.

Table I. Occupation Inclinations of Filipino and Chinese Students

Occupation	Occupations Ranked in Terms of Subjects' Inclinations		Proportion of Subjects Inclined to Take the Occupation		(5)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Significance of differences between (3) and (4)
	Chinese	Filipino	Chinese	Filipino	
Author	5	13	.39	.26	.01
Beautician	10	14	.27	.25	n.s.
Carpenter	24	21	.12	.13	n.s.
College professor	4	3	.44	.43	n.s.
Corporation executive	2	7	.48	.37	.01
Department store sales clerk	16	12	.20	.27	.05
Doctor	1	1	.59	.50	.05
Elementary school teacher	9	11	.29	.28	n.s.
Farm Laborer	23	22	.13	.12	n.s.
Farm owner	11	9	.25	.30	n.s.
Government Clerk	12	4	.24	.41	.01
Labor union leader	18.5	23.5	.16	.11	n.s.
Lawyer	8	10	.31	.29	n.s.
Movie artist	14	15	.22	.25	n.s.
Nurse	3	6	.45	.38	n.s.
Office worker	6	2	.36	.48	.01
Policeman	20	19.5	.15	.18	n.s.
Priest or minister	21.5	23.5	.14	.11	n.s.
Private secretary	7	5	.33	.39	n.s.
Skilled factory worker	15	19.5	.20	.18	n.s.
Small factory owner	13	17	.23	.20	n.s.
Small store sales clerk	21.5	18	.14	.19	n.s.
Soldier	18.5	8	.16	.31	.01
Storekeeper	17	16	.18	.21	n.s.
Unskilled factory worker	25	25	.07	.08	n.s.

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METHODS OF FIELD RESEARCH IN A BENGUET VILLAGE*

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It should be appropriate to start this paper with a somewhat personalized narration of my earlier experiences in attempting to find the village of Bakun, the site of my field research. The region was practically unknown when it was first broached to me as an area for ethnological investigation, and there was hardly anyone who could guide me to the place. Both the circumstances surrounding the beginning of the study and the trip to the region later should serve as background to the discussions that follow.

The trip should be of interest to the social anthropologist and other social scientists particularly because it was made in

*The material contained in this paper are derived from Chapter I of the author's earlier manuscript, *Kankanay Social Organization and Cultural Change*. They are reproduced here with the permission of the Community Development Research Council, University of the Philippines, under whose auspices the study was undertaken.

unknown territory. It might provide some points useful to any similar study that may be undertaken in the same region or its vicinity. Method must indeed include not only the planning of research design but also the various steps necessary to prepare oneself to reach the place in which the needed data are to be gathered. Because the social anthropologist has to deal with societies usually remote and alien to his own, he must adopt a kind of planning not often employed in other types of social research. One initial problem in field methods, for instance, is how to know the region before one goes into it and later on how to reach it; another is the problem of rapport.

THE PREPARATION FOR FIELD WORK

The first steps in the preparation had to do with recruitment of assistants to aid the researcher in the field. The initial task was not difficult to accomplish because an assistant was recommended to me while I was still in Manila. The second task, however, was not easy because there were very few people who really knew anything about the region. The preparation took place mainly in Baguio City; and according to the map, Bakun was located in Mountain Province to the north of Baguio City.

The assistant I employed in this study had previous experience in doing research in Mountain Province, but he came from Lepanto, a different region. Like the researcher therefore, he was a complete stranger to the place. While he knew Kankanay, the language which is also spoken in Bakun, he was not quite sure whether he would understand the dialect there because of local differences. Nevertheless, he was eager to explore the region with me. Field studies usually depend for their success upon the kind of people involved. In fieldwork of this nature, it is often necessary to take in men who are willing to undergo all possible difficulties. In their eagerness, one finds some encouragement to go on with the study even under difficult circumstances. I had found such a man in my assistant.

The first thing we did in Baguio was to contact a friend who was then teaching at the Baguio Colleges, hoping that he might

give some assistance to the project. Unfortunately, he could not provide much. He turned out to be a native of Bontok, and he had never been to Bakun. He did suggest the names of a few teachers at the Trinidad Agricultural School, who might have some acquaintances or students coming from Bakun.

The following day therefore we went to La Trinidad valley looking for these teachers. Luckily they were not difficult to find. Like our earlier acquaintance, however, they did not know much about the area. They had heard about Bakun, of course, but according to them, it was a very remote place which could not yet be reached by roads. They also suggested the names of some persons whom we tried to contact a day later, but again unfortunately they could not be located. Not being able to elicit any useful information, we left somewhat discouraged. We had already spent three days in Baguio and still could not find a person who could tell us how to go to the region and what sort of place it was. Our next move was to consult the provincial government offices where, we thought, we might find some one to help us.

Upon being informed that the governor of the province was in Manila, we decided to go to the office of the deputy-governor for Benguet subprovince in La Trinidad Valley. We were advised that the people there were more in direct contact with village officials and so would be in a better position to furnish the information we sought. Unfortunately the deputy-governor was also out. He had been sent to a remote village east of Baguio to settle disputes over rice lands and would not be back for about a week. Summer apparently is a very busy period for officials in Mountain Province; this is the time when trails in the hinterlands are passable and therefore the best opportunity for them to visit some distant municipalities.

But the provincial secretary was there to accommodate us. Although he did not know much about Bakun, he offered us some useful advice. He informed us that the region is mountainous, that the trails were long, winding, and often dangerous, and that we should be prepared for a long and perhaps even hazardous trip. He drafted a letter introducing us to the mayor of Bakun.

whom he knew only by correspondence, and then explained to us the various routes we could follow to reach the place.

According to him, there are three possible routes that lead to Bakun region. Two of these start at Baguio City while the third must be taken either in the province of La Union or in the province of Ilocos Sur. The first route brings the traveler by bus northward to the settlement of Sinipsip, passing through the Baguio-Bontok road. He spends the night in Sinipsip and in the following morning descends by trail to Ampusungan, a *barrio* of Bakun. Here the traveler will have to spend the second evening. On the third day, he then follows a trail that will ultimately bring him to Bakun. In using the second route, the traveler can also take a bus which will bring him to the municipality of Kibungan, a western Benguet town. This is the road terminal so the traveler must spend his first evening here. From this place he takes guides who will bring him by trail to the village of Palina, a *barrio* of Kibungan, where he must spend the second evening. Then the following day, he takes another trail that will lead to Bakun. The third route starts at Bangar, La Union, or in Tagudin, Ilocos Sur. There a bus takes the traveler to the eastern settlement of Alilem where he must also spend the night. From here a long trail will also lead him to Bakun region in about two days.

The two Baguio routes were reported to be shorter and easier to follow and I was advised to choose between them. Two reasons guided me in reaching the necessary decision. Earlier I was told that spending the evening in Sinipsip might be discomforting because it was much colder than Baguio, its elevation being about six thousand feet above sea level, and also because accommodations there could not always be assured. There were also reports of a robbery taking place in Ampusungan a week before, a situation that would make travelling by a stranger there a little precarious. Whether the reports were true or not — later on I found out that they were not true — my main object was to arrive in Bakun region safely so that I could gather the needed data for my research. I therefore decided in favor of the second route, that is, the Baguio-Kibungan-Bakun route.

Furnished now with this information and a letter of introduction, we felt greatly relieved that an important step in our research was finally undertaken. But there were still other things to settle before we could leave. We were bothered particularly by conditions in the regions we would be passing through. To whom should we go for shelter in Kibungan and Palina where we were supposed to spend our first nights? Then who would guide us to Bakun, our final destination? In case the mayor of Bakun should be absent, who would take us in and help us in our study? In places quite remote from urban settlements, these questions take on some significance because the success of the study also depends on them. But our first two worries were immediately dispelled when we were told that we could spend our evenings either in the house of the mayor, in the *presidencia* (the municipal building), or in the school house; in more remote settlements we should seek the hospitality of the *barrio* lieutenant. In Mountain Province, there is apparently a standing tradition that the local officials should take in or help out strangers that happen to stray into their region. This is one of their official duties, as will be indicated later on.

However, our third worry remained and it was not until a day later, after meeting an official in a local college, that we were able to find some way of solving it. Our new friend offered to give us some letters of introduction to the teachers in the Bakun elementary school. He added that he knew them well because they were his former students. Upon hearing this, we felt further gratified, knowing that now we had only to prepare for the actual trip to Bakun. We then tried to see the provincial governor whose permission we thought was necessary for making our trip an official one.

We visited him in the afternoon before our final departure. We found him very encouraging and quite glad that such a distant and unknown place should be studied by us. He gave us also a letter of introduction to the Bakun mayor and counseled that the people there would understand our mission and provide all the assistance that we wanted.

Before leaving for Bakun we had to acquire a number of things that would be indispensable for our brief residence there. Some of these were to be used directly or indirectly as tools for research; others were miscellaneous items which would make our stay there more comfortable. As is customary for research of this type, we brought a camera together with several rolls of films, black and white as well as colored, several notebooks, pencils, ball pens, pad papers, and envelopes. We bought a few bundles of tobacco leaves and a pack of matches which we planned to give as gifts to the old folks we might meet. We brought two flashlights and several spare batteries, several water canteens, water purifiers, medicine (chiefly the sulfa drugs), a gas cooker, and other utensils that might not be available in the region. We brought some thick blankets and mosquito nets because we were advised to beware of malarial parasites.

For our food supply, we brought a box of canned goods, a few boxes of biscuits, and a package of dried fish. We were told that these things would be much needed in an area where at times we would go for days with no other food but rice or sweet potato (camote). Also these could be exchanged for rice if we were to run out of it.

With all these preparations completed, we felt ready for the trip. We went to the Dangwa Bus Company — the only bus line operating within the territory of the Mountain Province — to ascertain whether there was a trip to Kibungan. There were only two trips to Kibungan every day and we chose to take the later one, which was to start at about 8 a.m.

The Trip to the Field

The day we left for the first stage of our journey was Saturday. We proceeded immediately to the bus station where we were to wait for our ride and for a third companion, a younger boy, who had offered to go with us up to Kibungan provided we would pay for his fare and give him some money later on. This boy claimed he knew somebody in Kibungan and promised to help

look for guides and *cargadores* that would bring us to Bakun. We readily agreed feeling that we badly needed a person who knew the place and could help carry our baggage. We waited for the boy until nine o'clock but apparently he had changed his mind for he never appeared.

The trip to Kibungan was a long and exhausting one. The road was dusty and rough and it was a continuous descent from Baguio City. However, we had a good opportunity to view open country, noting its mountain ranges, vegetation, and general topography. At the time we left Baguio the bus was only one-third full, but as we passed from town to town it picked up additional passengers who would get off in adjoining towns. By the time we were nearing our destination, there were only six passengers left in the bus — I and my assistant and four natives of the town of Kapangan.

At Kapangan we met another bus of the same line on its way back to Baguio. It relayed to us the disheartening news that the road near Kibungan was rendered impassable by a landslide so that our bus could only reach Sinagpat, a Kapangan *barrio*. From this point there would still be a good twenty winding kilometers to Kibungan *poblacion*, which was our goal for that day. Since Sinagpat was practically uninhabited, the bus conductor suggested that we should sleep in the Kapangan *presidencia* where it would be safer and more convenient. We decided to follow his suggestion. Landslides are inconveniences those traveling in Mountain Province should learn to expect. They can happen any time but most frequently during the rainy season. When they occur, they can delay a trip for days.

In the Kapangan *presidencia*, the mayor was not around but the chief of police was there and he cordially took us in. We had a long conversation with him in the afternoon. He gave us many interesting stories about Kapangan and Kibungan, the latter having a culture similar to Bakun. Later in the evening, we were joined by some other men who volunteered additional information about the place.

Kapangan was a town still in an early stage of development. Houses here were quite dispersed and the poblacion lacked the plaza arrangement which is characteristic of all lowland towns (Hart 1955). There were very few public facilities in sight. The only ones of note were the municipal structures and the Catholic chapel and high school located on a mountain slope east of the presidencia. The latter institutions are under the management of the Belgian fathers, who have established a mission station here since pre-war days. (A hospital has recently been built in the poblacion under the MARIA WAY welfare program.) The language spoken in Kapangan is Inibaloi (Nabaloi), and the people identify themselves as belonging to an ethnic group of the same name. But within the poblacion Ilokano is the dialect frequently spoken. There are a number of Ilokano migrants that have settled in the place.

On the following morning, the chief of police accompanied us to the Catholic chapel to meet people who might know someone we could see in Sinagpat. After this, we bade goodbye and proceeded to Sinagpat. We rode in the same bus we had taken the previous day. It was going to Sinagpat first to pick up some passengers before returning to Baguio. We arrived in Sinagpat at 2 p.m.

As we were in a hurry to reach Kibungan that day, we wasted no time locating the person mentioned by our friends in Kapangan. We found him in an improvised hut constructed to shelter passengers stranded on the way. We relayed to him our purpose and in turn he advised us to leave immediately for Kibungan so that we could reach it before sunset. He approached an old man who was also going to the place and asked him to serve as our guide. After agreeing on what was to be paid to him, we started out for the trip.

In proceeding we took a short cut, being informed that the road was much longer. For one unaccustomed to a mountainous environment, the shorter route proved to be much more difficult. The first half of the way was a continuous descent along the steep mountain side, and the other half was in turn a continuous ascent.

We were to climb the high peak of the neighboring mountain, which was itself the seat of the Kibungan poblacion. By the time we had finished descending, I and my assistant were so tired that we had to ask for a rest. Our sudden shift to the trail was a little too abrupt and straining, but we hoped that we would soon get conditioned to the way. After a few minutes' rest, we continued to edge upward slowly until at the point of almost complete exhaustion we finally reached the top. It was already 6 p.m. when we arrived at Kibungan. Our guide brought us to the house of the mayor, who fortunately was at hand to meet us. He gladly took us in for the night.

Later in the evening, after providing us with supper of rice boiled sweet potato, and boiled chicken, the mayor became our first informant for our study of Kankanay culture. In Bakun, he related, a great fire during the war had destroyed many of the native houses (called the *binangiyan*). When the people started to reconstruct after the liberation, they adopted instead a house type popular among the Inibaloi, known as *inalteb*. He continued that in Kibungan no such calamity occurred so that there were still many *binangiyan* dwellings. His house, he further added, belonged to the *binangiyan* type.

Early the next morning after taking breakfast we went out to inspect the external parts of the dwelling we had lodged in. We were interested in knowing its construction because it represented a typical Kankanay dwelling. Later the mayor showed us some of his house utensils and various implements employed in agricultural work. He described to us their names in the native language and the way they were used in the fields. He then brought us to the newly remodeled municipal building so that we could have a look at it. The building was not very different from that which we saw in Kapangan earlier except that it was smaller.

Next, the mayor brought us to the only *sari-sari* store in Kibungan, whose owner was a former native priest. He took us there in order to get more data on Kibungan rituals which we inquired from him earlier. We bought some of the soft drinks and then listened attentively, as the owner described the ritual

he could still remember. Later, in an apparent desire to impress us, he approached an old phonograph and played a pre-war song. After recording the data we wanted, we were led by the mayor to a sacred spot called the *pakedlan*, where ritual offerings in the native religion were usually placed. He described the way these things were done and then showed to us a small rectangular structure (made of galvanized iron) erected on four short posts near a modern dwelling. According to him, this was known as *paldo* and it was used to encase the bones of the family's ancestors. After a few more observations the mayor left us to look for boys who could carry our baggages and bring us to our next destination, the *barrio* of Palina. It was already past 9 a.m. when the boys arrived. We thanked the mayor for his assistance, bade goodbye, and continued our journey to Bakun.

The trip to Palina was longer and more hazardous than the trip the day before. There were points where the path would narrow down to the width of the palm of the hand. One had to pass through them carefully to avoid falling into precipices that were more or less on level ground, but at the later part we again had to ascend continuously. The areas passed through along this route appeared to be uninhabited. We did not meet any people on the way and the few houses we saw had no occupants. The whole area was covered mainly with secondary forest growths and wild mountain grass.

We took lunch along the trail after covering about one third of the way. We sat down under one of the few mango trees in sight and brought out the food we had prepared. Our meal was a very simple one of bread and some canned goods. We used our drinking water sparingly because we had been warned that somewhere along the last part of the route here there would be no springs. We rested for a few minutes after lunch and then continued our trip, which was to last for several more long tiresome hours. After covering about two thirds of the way, I had exhausted all my water and went thirsty for some time. As we approached *barrio* Palina I ran to the first spring in sight to get a drink. This was a careless act, for the following day I

developed stomach disturbances which almost cancelled my whole mission.

It was already 5 p.m. when we reached Palina. As is usually the case in certain parts of Mountain Province, this is a late hour. By this time, the sun's rays are already well hidden by the mountain peaks toward the west. We were led to the house of the barrio lieutenant who received us and promised to look for fresh guides in the morning. In order to accommodate our group he asked his wife and children to vacate one of his dwellings.

The house given to us was just big enough to shelter four people, but the five of us — I, my assistant, and our three guides managed to squeeze in. We were provided with supper and the barrio lieutenant stayed with us for some time to supply whatever information we needed. However, exhausted from the trip, we retired early. We spread our raincoats over the floor to serve as mats and then laid down to rest.

Sleeping in one of these native compact dwellings was quite an interesting experience especially for one who has always been accustomed to lowland dwellings. While the compartment was not spacious enough to allow much freedom of movement, it was cozy because at night the door was closed to keep off the cold mountain air while a fire was kept burning in a corner hearth to provide the needed warmth. To a person who had just made a long, tiresome journey such as the one we had, this shelter was certainly a most convenient one.

Early the next morning, we were awakened by noise apparently coming from people who were gathering in a place below our dwelling. In this site there was a Catholic chapel and the people were going in to attend the services. We were later informed that the Belgian missionary had arrived the night before from Bakun. He was going to say the mass early that morning, the only one performed in a year. The missionary's permanent station was in Kapangan, a good three days' trip from Palina, and he visited Palina only once a year. We saw the missionary before starting for Bakun to inquire about conditions along the

way and things we could expect in our destination. He told us that the trail was good. It had not rained for days in the vicinity and so there was no fear of landslides. Also, the Bakun municipal officials were all at home so that we would probably have no trouble getting immediate accommodations upon our arrival.

We started for Bakun without waiting for the sun to clear itself above the peaks of the eastern ranges. We wanted to be well on our way while it was still cool, knowing that to traverse these areas would involve much energy and heat. The way we were to travel would not be so difficult now. Within the first few kilometers we would still be ascending a mountain known as Mt. Lobo, but soon we would be treading on level ground and after this we would be descending continuously until we reached Bakun.

The region we passed through was, as usual, wild country. There were no inhabitants along the way save for a few huts visible on the higher slopes of the mountain where apparently some *kaingins* were being kept. The trail was well paved and comfortably wide enough even for horses to pass along, while the mountain cliffs were bristling with waterfalls offering a cool drink for the weary traveler. In short, there was not much evidence of human activity in these areas even though they were probably being used as hunting grounds for wild pig or deer, or as sources of timber in parts of it which still appeared to be heavily forested. The few *kaingins* were probably temporary, to be abandoned as soon as wild mountain grass encroach upon the clearing.

At about 2 p.m. we came by the first *sitio* of Bakun, Dada. There were three houses standing here, but the owners were not in. They were probably working in their fields below. We rested under one of these huts for a while and then continued our hike until we came to an edge of the Mt. Lobo peak which gave us our first glimpse of Bakun municipality. The Bakun municipal building and a few dwellings near it were visible from this place. This was probably the best place where one can clearly view the Bakun region as a whole. The landscape showed that the settlement was sprawled on the top of a lower mountain,

hemmed on all borders by higher peaks, except to its western side where a cap appears, giving a view of the narrow Ilocos coastal plain and the China sea. According to our guides, in the evening even the lights in the town of Tagudin, Ilocos Sur are visible from this point.

Upon reaching our destination we went to the municipal building and asked for the mayor. For reasons to be intimated later, the mayor was out. We were met instead by the municipal secretary and the sanitary inspector who happened to be in their offices. The secretary invited us to his house, which was just below the municipal buildings. There he gave us food as we had not yet taken lunch. His house was a modern type built almost entirely with galvanized iron, and it had a small sari-sari store in front. Upon noticing this, we were relieved, realizing that we were not after all very far removed from civilization despite the long and dreary march.

At the suggestion of our host, we spent the evening inside the *presidencia*, which, like the one in Kibungan, was just newly constructed but as yet unfinished. It had a vacant room toward its rear portion and it was equipped with two wooden beds. We were told that this was furnished primarily for any government official who might venture to visit Bakun. Since our presence was also official as attested by the letters from the governor and provincial secretary, the room was gladly offered to us for use for the duration of our stay in Bakun.

Toward the evening, my body started to feel the delayed effects of a fever which seemingly had been creeping in while we were still in Palina. There, I had begun to develop stomach disturbances showing unmistakable symptoms of dysentery. I surmised that the cause was the water I had drunk in the spring outside of Palina. My fever started to rise and I became greatly weakened as my whole body shivered in cold with pains developing in almost every point. I was, of course, greatly alarmed. If the fever complicated into something graver, like typhoid, for instance, I might become incapacitated for days, perhaps even weeks. I might then have to abandon my research project after

all the effort I had so far given to it. This fear, plus the thought that there was not a single doctor or even nurse available in the region, helped increase my anxiety.

My research assistant, however, tried to cheer me up. He counseled that my illness was probably due to my fatigue and that after a good night's rest the fever would soon subside. And so I took courage even though I was visibly disturbed. I opened the medical kit I brought with me and took a few tablets of sulfa drugs. After swallowing all these with a glass of water, I then laid down to sleep.

The following morning my fever was gone. I woke up late for it was my first normal sleep since we have been traversing the mountain trails. True to my assistant's guess the fatigue had aggravated my illness. Upon rising, I felt my confidence restored and a strong desire to begin immediately with our work. After taking breakfast again in the house of the secretary, we started to make inquiries about people who could help in the research.

The problem during our first few days was to look for another place to stay throughout our whole two-month residence in Bakun. While we were allowed to lodge in the municipal building, there were certain inconveniences we wanted to avoid. First, it had no kitchen or facilities we could use for cooking our food. Municipal officials usually held their offices here during daytime while in the evening some men and younger boys gathered chatting until late hours. While we welcomed this as an opportunity for us to get acquainted with them and gather useful information, we also wanted a few quiet hours when we could record our observations or examine our notes. Third, we thought that staying in the *presidencia* might place us into a role detrimental to our research purpose, namely that of an investigator sent by the government. This could prejudice our work, for we found out later on that the Bakun people resented investigators whom they thought were usually sent to assess land properties. To circumvent this attitude, we wanted as much as possible to appear as mere observers of old customs.

We therefore endeavored to meet the other educated villagers, who might be in a position to suggest a better place. Through the secretary we were introduced to one of the school teachers recommended to us. He turned out to be the secretary's own nephew. He suggested that we could stay in the teacher's cottage as there were two vacant rooms available. But he wanted us to first get the permission of the headteacher. We then referred to the place of the headteacher. He was at home and after reading the letter we brought for him, he acceded to our request. He offered to give his full assistance to make our study successful.

We moved to the teacher's cottage on the evening of the third day. The cottage was located at a lower plot west of the municipal building, but it stood above the school building and its grounds. It was closer to the main settlements we were to study. The cottage was a bungalow-type structure constructed mainly of wood and galvanized iron, the iron having been salvaged from the old school building destroyed by the great fire during the war.

It had five compartments in all. One of these was being occupied by the younger school teacher himself who was at that time unmarried, and another was converted into a storeroom. The two other rooms being offered to us were furnished with wooden beds and a small working table. The building had a parlor where guests could be received and a final central space which served as a dining room. Toward the rear was an improvised kitchen. Also, outside of the building in front was a faucet which supplied running water coming from the reservoir recently built east of the poblacion. This building served as our permanent quarters during our first stay and again when we went back in 1963 to continue our study through the months of July, August, and September.

When I returned to Bakun village in 1963, there was not as much difficulty as encountered in the earlier trip. By this time, the shortest and easiest route was already known to the researcher. Also, a road has now been extended to Ampusungan, a Bakun barrio, from Sinipsip and so only one fourth of the way remained

to be covered by trails. In the second trip, I and my assistants — this time I brought two assistants profiting from experience — took a Dangwa bus in Baguio and arrived in Ampusungan early in the afternoon. There we were met by the younger brother of our teacher friends. We slept in the branch office of the municipal building, a recently constructed structure under the new mayor who was from this *barrio*, and took our meals in one of the two recently established small restaurants at the road terminal. The following day we set early for Bakun and reached it at about noon.

I did not have to orient myself again in this second day. My return was just like a homecoming, for those whom I knew were eager to see me again and extend their usual hospitality and patience. Except for two or three who have died or moved out, all my old acquaintances were there. However, they had grown older now and many of the younger boys had also married, establishing separate households of their own. This time it took me only a few days to prepare for the main task of data gathering

The Technique in Field Research

We turn next to the techniques employed in the collection of data. We wish to discuss them here because they constitute an important element of the research operation. (Zamora 1965) The main technique of research applied was the usual ethnographic method of participant-observation. However, in situations where participant-observation was deemed inadequate, other tools were also resorted to. These supplementary techniques included the questionnaire survey method, the use of published or available documentary materials, and the key informant technique.

For the whole period allotted to the field study, the researcher together with his assistants resided in Bakun village so that they could participate in the life-ways of the inhabitants. They joined conversation groups and other types of social gatherings which offered opportunity for the first-hand observation of customs and practices. Some of these involved attending feasts, religious

services, and visiting families in their homes as well as in the fields. These visits had to be made so that activities in the fields could be observed. Data on kinship, marriage practices, and primitive religion were elicited from key informants chosen primarily on the basis of knowledge, age, position. (Tremblay 1957) Individuals selected as key informants came mostly from older age levels. Several of these persons had a life span extending back into the late 1890's. This was important because the data needed was to be used not only for the study of social organization but also for the reconstruction of the village's culture history. To accomplish the second task, genealogies and personal histories were collected from these informants.

Later, when the researcher was already about one month in the field, he constructed a schedule of questions which he used for interviewing various household heads. Questions formulated dealt with such matters as occupations, education, family composition, religion, income, property, etc. The questionnaire was later modified and expanded and when the researcher returned to the field in 1963, he employed it as the main tool for collecting data in his attempt to make a controlled comparison between the acculturated group and non-acculturated individuals.

A final technique used especially in the earlier part of the study was the resort to documentary materials dealing with the region. Unfortunately for this area, only two studies were available at the time the present research was being made, and both had been undertaken before the war. The first is the unpublished notes of Dr. David Barrows who, as a member of the now defunct Bureau of Ethnology, made an expedition to the Amburayan area and its environs in 1902. He mentioned having passed through Bakun village, at the time a very sparsely populated place, and described the characteristic dwelling of the region as well as the way the people clothed themselves and wore their hair. He also made note of the presence of an indigenous institution such as the *atatoan*. The other work refers to C. R. Moss's *Kankanay Rituals and Ceremonies*, which was published in 1920. This study deals in some detail on Kankanay religion. It gives specific prac-

tices present in Bakun and its present barrios. Relevant data from these two works have been incorporated in the reconstruction of Bakun's culture history which was to be used as baseline in the discussion of change.

Research Operation in the Field

To give additional notes on method, it is necessary to describe the research work as it was actually carried out in the region. This will indicate the progressive development of the research activity, from its inception to the end, including the practical considerations and difficulties that had to be met. Although the research as originally planned was not in any way radically modified, the strategy of research operation had to be plotted out and adopted to conditions obtaining in the fields. For our purpose, the whole research activity may be divided into three stages: (1) an initial phase, (2) a primary phase, and (3) a final phase. Each phase entailed a type of work different from but complementary to the following one.

The Initial Phase. This phase covered the preparation period, the trip to Bakun, and the first three weeks of the researcher in the field. Inasmuch as we have already covered the first two aspects earlier, we shall devote attention only to the last aspect.

The three weeks following the researcher's arrival in Bakun were devoted almost entirely to planning and of course to the searching out of important cues that could enable him to start systematically with his work. Although he already had ideas on what to do immediately when he first set out for the trip, there were really many things that had to be known first before he could begin with the study. As all field workers know, this is a phase in which the researcher is still groping around, orienting himself to the new natural and cultural environment. It is at this stage when so many aspects of the society's culture impress themselves on the researcher simultaneously that he becomes confronted with the problem of deciding just which feature of the culture he should take first. To surmount this difficulty, it is often necessary to adopt a system of priorities that will program

out the various cultural items so that they can be studied in an orderly manner and with as little time wasted as possible.

In carrying out the Bakun study, the researcher chose to gather data on the material items of culture first, postponing the study of the non-material aspects to a later time. The reasons for this were several. First, the former items could be observed directly and easily. It certainly did not take much effort to take note of clothings, adornment, and other similar things during the time of the first contact. Second, these were things which initial informants would talk about most easily and most enthusiastically. And third, talking about the material items of culture could serve as a means for establishing rapport. As it was discovered in the course of the work, asking about such things as names and uses of tools and implements would put the informant in a somewhat superordinate position relative to the interviewer, build in him a feeling of confidence where he could then talk without developing suspicions or inhibitions. From these topics, it would then be easy to shift to other more delicate aspects of social life. It is no accident, therefore, that the first data appearing in the field notes of the researcher dealt with such things as dress styles, house patterns, native names of place (e.g. village sites, rivers, and mountains), village facilities, plants and animals domesticated, etc.

However, many interesting bits of information on social life could also be recorded even during this initial phase, although superficially. There were situations in which such data presented themselves to the researcher even without his asking for them and there were also situations which he could exploit to elicit leads that would be followed up in future interviews. Two examples can easily illustrate the first point. On the second day of his first arrival, the researcher again inquired for the mayor of Bakun so that he could deliver the letter from the provincial governor. He was informed that the mayor would still not be able to see him. When the researcher pressed further why this was so, he was told that the mayor had just performed a *cañao* and according to custom, he was not allowed to see strangers for

so many days. The researcher was requested to wait until three days which will be the lifting of the restriction.

A second case was when the researcher ventured into the house of the secretary a few days later. The researcher was advised by his host to confine himself within the premises of his house as a village ceremony was being held in his *sitio* which also tabooed the presence of outsiders. Asked later why the host was allowed to entertain a visitor when his house was covered by the taboo, he remarked that the old men and native priests had learned to exempt him from the rule because they knew from previous experiences that visitors often intrude into his house during this sacred period. Instances such as these hinted tellingly to the researcher that here was a different culture, that these practices appeared to be quite central to their social life, and that some adjustments to acculturation had already occurred.

With respect to the second point, early conversations with village people yielded many important data that could provide a background for the study. Due mainly to the isolation of the settlement, the inhabitants were always quick to impress visitors about the importance and beauty of the place. Anything striking the visitor's curiosity would be explained at length and they would even volunteer data which did not occur to the researcher. At this stage it was easy to get information on the village's history, on legends of places, and about customs they felt visitors were curious to know. These must be considered as preliminary data, to be sure, but they were quite accurate, considering the fact that there was remarkable agreement among various informants.

Arrangements for the interviewing of household heads were also made during the initial period. A number of key informants had to be chosen for the gathering of data on kinship. The five remaining aged people in the *poblacion* and several other individuals were selected for this purpose. Persons of different age groups were chosen in order to get a wider range of data and to detect, if any, differences in their own kinship usages.

Finally, the problem of the researcher's role, which posed itself immediately at this stage, had to be solved. As explained

earlier, the researcher did not wish to appear as a government investigator. However, it was also important to show that the study had the approval of proper authorities, for a stranger without such permission would not have been entertained. Actually, a sort of dual role was adopted. In gathering data on kinship, religion, etc. the researcher assumed the role of a private observer, a real student of custom trying to learn from the inhabitants; when collecting information on community problems and the local government, the researcher presented himself as a semi-official investigator whose findings would serve as a basis for recommending action to higher authorities. Both rules worked well in maintaining rapport.

The Primary Phase. This stage of the research operation was the main period for data collection. It began roughly after the first three weeks, extending up to the last few weeks when the researcher left the village in his second visit.

The main operation followed was participant-observation and interviewing. As already mentioned, participation was undertaken in many social activities ranging from group work to feasts. To record data from these activities, two techniques were employed. Whenever feasible notes would be recorded directly as they were being observed, but there were certain situations when things simply had to be remembered to be recorded later after the researcher had returned to his quarters. The second method had the advantage of not arousing suspicion, fear, or shyness, but it often sacrificed accuracy and the amount of data to be gathered. To increase precision and the coverage of the second method, the researcher always brought his assistant with him in making observations so that they could compare notes later. Rechecking data from other native witnesses also proved to be an effective technique for improving the second method.

Interviewing was done in the majority of cases with the aid of an interpreter. This was necessary because most informants could communicate only in Kankanay, the native dialect. Only a few could speak fluent English and while practically all understood Ilocano, many found difficulty expressing their ideas in this

language. This aspect of the work was of course the most tedious task especially when the researcher had to deal with the old men. Because of their age, they found great difficulty understanding and responding to questions. Interviews with them were long and they had to be questioned several times. Work with these informants was held either in the researcher's quarters, where they were often entertained with liquor to stimulate them into talking, or as it was often necessary in their own homes.

A notable difficulty encountered in carrying out the study was the time at which the various household heads were to be visited at home. It was hard to find people in their dwellings during the day because at this time they would be working in the fields. On many occasions therefore, they had to be followed out in the rice terraces, but if this was not feasible, they were interviewed at home in the evening. We had to do this even when it was raining and the trails were very slippery.

Another problem quite beyond our control was the weather itself. The period we were in Bakun was already the beginning of the rainy season, which in this region is characterized with strong winds, rain, and even typhoons. Several typhoons actually occurred at the middle of our stay. As violent winds lingered for days, we had to postpone all kinds of work; it would have been dangerous to be walking along the trail. Then later our chief interpreter and guide had to go to Baguio for several days and so the work had to slow down until his return.

A final difficulty was the absence of several informants. The original plan was to make a complete census of all sitios within the vicinity of the poblacion, but as we started to work on some of these sitios a number of families were in Baguio, while others were reported to be visiting kinsmen in distant villages. As it turned out, only some sitios were interviewed completely. This was the only modification of the research plan as originally designed.

The Final Phase. The last phase comprises the final few days of the researcher in Bakun village and the period when he was

corresponding with native informants after he had already returned to Manila. The earlier part of this phase was devoted mainly to the verification of information collected earlier. Conflicting or inconsistent data had to be checked again. However, new leads which appeared at this stage had to be followed hurriedly. It was not always possible to cover everything during the primary phase of the work and there may have been other things overlooked. By this time, the researcher had already acquired sufficient acquaintance with the people and society to enable him to work faster.

The closing part of this phase was the indirect gathering of additional information through the aid of the native interpreter who offered to gather some more data after we had already gone. Inasmuch as this interpreter worked with us, he was more or less acquainted with the main purpose of the research and also with techniques used in interviewing. He was therefore entrusted to make additional interviews with an outline provided him as a guide. His work in this last phase helped fill in certain gaps and check some data taken earlier.

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**SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF PITJANDJARA
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: FIELD REPORTS
FROM AUSTRALIA**

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Editors' Note:

The heart of anthropological endeavor and the avenue for anthropological prestige lies in fieldwork and the field report. Perhaps the highest compliment one anthropologist can pay to another is to say, "That's good reporting." For despite the thick mats of intricate theories, the skyscrapers of abstractions upon abstractions, the keen psychosociological insights and interpretations often found in anthropological writings, anthropology is still largely concerned with making mankind's behavior intelligible through the careful recording of this behavior in all climates, locales, and situations in which man finds himself. Because of this interest the raw field report is usually the most intriguing reading material the anthropologist can lay his hands on. The following consist of two field reports written during the course

of the fieldwork in central Australia (1966-1967). A more detailed paper will follow in the near future. The fieldwork was supported by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra

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Field Report No. 1

Fieldwork was started among the Pitjandjara of the Northwest Reserve (Musgrave Park) in early July. The Pitjandjara of Musgrave Park belong to a wider population unit which covers an area from Ernabella (east) to the Warburton Ranges Mission, W.A. (west), and from Areyonga on the north to Ooldea on the south. Within this large network, one finds different spheres of interaction which allows one to demarcate certain networks where the interaction is much more intense from other comparable networks. Thus, one of these intensive units of interaction is a region covering Ernabella Mission, Mulga Park H.S. (N.T.) and Musgrave Park or Amata. The populations in these three centers are related to one another, have had a long period of intensive interaction, and still commonly change residence for different reasons. To the north of this area, the major population cluster is at Areyonga with small settlements at Curtin Springs, Angas Downs, and Mt. Ebenezer. On the east, Everard and Kenmore Park have communication with Ernabella. To the south and west one finds stretches of depopulated areas, thus Ooldea and Yalata are important southern settlements while Warburton is the major population cluster west of Amata. Network boundaries are not hard and fast demarcation since rates of interaction between networks vary due to the occurrence of ceremonies and climatic factors.

The area of the Ernabella-Mulga Park-Amata network is about 100-150 miles long and 80-100 miles wide, or roughly the whole areas of the Musgrave Ranges including Mulga Park. Size is difficult to assess for each center since population fluctuations are at present quite marked. In general, the whole area has 600 to 800 people divided up as follows:

Ernabella population range	—	350-450
Amata " "	—	150-250
Mulga Park " "	—	50-75

The 1961 Ernabella census enumerated 416 individuals and the 1957 census listed about 530. Musgrave Park (Amata) was started in 1961 as was Fregon, an outstation forty miles south of Ernabella Mission. With the ending of the drought in May-June, 1966, the population has become more mobile. The resurgence of hunting activities due to the increase of game has led to many "holidays" where small population clusters move off the major settlements and live off the land through the hunting of game and the collecting of wild foods. However, in all cases, the major settlements must provision these small populations with tea, sugar flour, and some canned goods. During this period, the population at Weeloo (12 miles N.E. of Amata) was provisioned weekly as was the group at Piltardi, Mann Ranges (56 miles west of Amata) who were out "pupping."

The native groups of N.W. South Australia and S.W. Northern Territories are not unknown to the anthropological literature. The early works of Basedow at the beginning of the century were followed up by more definite studies into various aspects of the social anthropology. Elkin has worked on the kinship and social structure, Tindale on material culture, mythology, and initiation, and Mountford on legends and art. Thus, the specific purposes of the present fieldwork are an investigation of the following points:

1. To ascertain the nature of pre-contact local organization and wider socio-geographic units.
2. To determine the demographic structure of the present population.
3. To investigate the relationships between number 2 and certain aspects of kinship and marriage, and the influence of initiation ceremonies on marriage structure.

Local Organization

During the 1930's and earlier, the Pitjandjara traditionally occupied the area west of Opparina creek and Mt. Carolina. The eastern area was occupied by the Jankuntjatara, who during the 1930's accounted for about 90% of the Ernabella population. At

present, the Pitjandjara cover the whole area and the Jankuntjara have been reduced to about 5-10 individuals at Ernabella, and have moved south.

The reconstruction of pre-contact local organization has been the most frustrating phase of the overall study. Since local organization, as manifest prior to European contact, is no longer functioning, data on this aspect has been collected from the living memory of tribal elders. The exact composition of local groups cannot be determined, however most informants tend to stress an "ideological" patrilineal bias. When informants are asked, "Who should belong to a local group?" one readily observes patrilineal linkages. Furthermore, the criterion of local group exogamy appears to be crucial in defining the characteristics of a local group. Males from the Lake Wilson area (western Mann Ranges) generally had to acquire spouses from other areas.

In reality, the picture is more confusing and flexible. In over half of the recorded cases, matrilineal kinsmen and affines were listed as members of a particular local group. However, it should be stressed that the duration of time in which kinsmen were part of a group, besides where they "ideally" should have been, varied greatly. When a number of local groups met for initiations or other collective activities, the local population would tend to re-distribute themselves within different local groups. An individual would attach himself to another group where "close" kin ties could be genealogically traced. Commonly, unmarried males would join different groups for varying periods of time. The latter point was stressed by elder informants and is also evident from the wide geographic knowledge which tribal males possess of different areas which are not normally considered as their own country.

Although males attached themselves to different local groups, each man was fully aware of his "own" local group. Furthermore, each local group had a "core" of patrilineally linked married males, thus most men would commonly return to their ancestral group and area. The geographical knowledge among most males is vast but differences are readily observable when

one takes into account the time duration spent in a particular country. This breadth of information concerning surface waters, soaks, availability of food resources, etc. is mostly limited to elder males since younger generations no longer need this type of cultural "baggage."

The other frequently used terms referring to particular people and areas are **mob** and **country**. Both terms are utilized at two different levels of abstraction. Mob refers to the people who inhabit a particular geographic area or country. On one level, the whole Pitjandjara "network" from Ernabella to Warburton is viewed as being "my country" as opposed to other countries, i.e. Aranda country, etc. In this usage, country denotes larger socio-linguistic boundaries which set off one tribe from another. Country also refers to a particular geographic area within the larger Pitjandjara network. Thus, one's birth place and local group compose his or her country, such as the Mt. Davis country, etc. However, in most cases, people state that they belong to the Mt. Davis mob, namely the local groups which inhabited the Mt. Davis area. In general, mob and country are roughly equivalent when utilized in this manner and both terms are interchangeable. There are from 7-10 different mobs referring to geographical areas such as Warburton, Blackstones, Rawlinsons, Petermanns, Mt. Davis, Amata, Ernabella, Areyonga, etc. Within these larger areas, each individual belonged to a particular smaller unit which was probably the local group.

The mapping of local group sites and "boundaries" has been attempted but with limited success. Important water sources are readily noted, but the demarcation of what area belonged to what group is difficult to assess since most tribal elders usually can not provide this type of information. Work will continue on this phase of the study.

Demography

Information has been collected on the population structure of the Pitjandjara. During the period of the first report, most of the data and observations on demographic aspects were from

Amata, where the population has been in fluctuation since the corroborees of June. By middle of July the population was at its normal range, but in August the population fragmented into three units, one going to Weeloo, another to Piltardi, and a few working families and elders staying on at Amata. The three groups remained as such until late September or early October when various families started to return to Amata.

Census data has been collected on the number of shelters (wiltja) in the camp, number of families, size of families, polygynous units, etc. Much effort has been spent on the assessment of sex ratios and age structure. The compiling of ages is most difficult since births at Amata were recorded after 1961. However, Ernabella mission has birth records back to 1941. These records not only provide information on young individuals at Ernabella but also on their counterpart population at Amata since most of the families at Amata originally came from Ernabella. For tribal elders the assessment of age is more difficult and one must be more critical of statements dealing with relative age. My errors in establishing ages are present but the error is nearly always in the same direction and roughly in the same range of years. Thus, for males in their thirties, estimates are usually lower than what would be the case, but for males in their forties and fifties, estimates are commonly greater. For females the problems of age assessment are more difficult. Although girls marry between 15 and 20 years of age, the number of living children is not always an adequate criterion of age. High infant mortality, infanticide, miscarriages, etc. may skew one's estimate. One means of assigning ages is to list all siblings of an individual and to find out their rank order from eldest to youngest. If we assume that the reproductive period per female is 20-25 years, then ages may be roughly established within five-year intervals. Yet this is also difficult, since deceased siblings are quickly forgotten. Most inquiries into deceased kinsmen result in short answers as "gone" or "finish." This abhorrence to talk about the dead was also noted among the Angas Downs Pitjandjara by F. Rose. However, one may partially surmount this obstacle by asking relatively distant relations about other persons.

A few patterns emerge from the data which has not been fully analyzed. The average age of marriage for males is from 25 to 29. The 1961 census listed only eight married males out of 144 between the age of 0 to 29. All of the married males were over 35 years of age. However, in some cases, marriages occur in the early 30's due in part to the delaying of male initiation ceremonies. This problem will be dealt with later. Marriage ages among females are generally late when compared to northern groups such as the Tiwi, Walbiri, and Wanindiljaugwa. Females commonly marry in their late teens and early twenties. Although this variation may be partly due to European and mission contact, the writer does not think this is the full factor. From recorded genealogies most female marriages are later than expected even in cases where the groups involved were recently "bush" Aborigines. Furthermore, among elder females who married prior to mission contact, similar results emerge. This pattern may be connected in some way with the relatively late ages in which males start and finish initiation rites.

Polygyny is not very common and at present may represent only ten to twenty percent of all marriages recorded. Undoubtedly, the contact situation has reduced the rate of polygyny which at one time was presumed to be much higher. However, even among tribal elders the presence of numerous cases of monogamy may indicate that polygyny was never as widespread as found among northern groups. The decline in female economic importance is also another factor in reducing rates of polygynous marriages.

Limited data on fertility rates, mortality rates, etc. has been collected. Infant mortality is quickly forgotten by mothers though information on this subject is available from good records kept at Ernabella.

Kinship and Social Organization

Data has been collected on family structure, kinship terminology, kin groups and categories, marriage arrangements, totemic units, and so forth. Much of the information is not new to the

social anthropology of the Australian Aborigine. Elkin's papers on kinship and social organization in South Australia provide an excellent account of the formal aspects of social structure among the tribal units which are being studied.

The emphasis in kinship and social organization has been to ascertain the operations of the formal structure "on the ground." In this approach, demographic factors are an important variable in determining how a particular system will work. Through genealogical materials one may note the number of cases which fit "ideal" norms of behaviour and structure. In most cases the stated marriage arrangement is with one who is a very distant matrilineal cross-cousin; however, distant patrilineal cross-cousin marriage is also regarded as acceptable. Distance is primarily established in the four section system which appears to be prevalent within the area, although everyone is aware that certain individuals are "too close" though they are in corresponding correct sections. The section terms are Panaka = Taruru, Purungu = Kayimara.

As far as I have investigated, the six section system is not present though it occurs in the western areas around Warburton Mission. Furthermore, it is claimed that sections (skin groups) are absent at Ernabella. Though further inquiry is needed, it would appear that such might not be the case. The Ernabella Pitjandjara population originates in the western areas where the four section system is widespread. Furthermore, section terms are not utilized in interaction between closely related kinsmen but are important when dealing with distant relatives and/or non-relatives. Skin groups are usually the first basis for reckoning relationships. When a person's "skin" is established and his local country or mob is known, then finer kinship connections are determined if possible. The use of section terms in the above manner is recognized by elders at Amata. From a limited empirical base it may be hypothesized that the use of section terms and groups in establishing relationships co-varies with the mobility of a population. As nomadic groups become sedentary such as the Pitjandjara were in the recent past, the network of

kin relationships may be determined through genealogical connections. Thus, sections lose their importance.

Case studies on "wrong marriages" and subsequent alterations in kinship terminology have been obtained. "Wrong marriages" are commonly due to a man not marrying into his corresponding group, the lack of "correct" partners due to population factors, and males marrying at a young age and not completing the male initiation cycle. Certain features are common in each circumstance. In each case, couples run off from any period up to two years, and at times permanently. At Woorburton, six cases of "wrong" marriages were noted. In each case, both individuals belonged to the same section group. Furthermore, the couples involved in all six cases came from east of Mt. Davis (Mann Ranges, Amata, etc.).

Most "wrong" marriages stem from a couple eloping prior to the male completing the initiation ceremonies. Not only are initiations "dragged out" but the Red Ochre ceremony, which is the last and most important one is commonly avoided. However, the most important feature is that male initiation starts much later when compared to other central Australian groups. At times, boys who are nearly twenty have yet to be circumcised. Tribal violations and elopement rates are related to the relatively late start of male initiation. At present, tribal elders are aware of this factor and are pushing circumcision at a much earlier age. Correspondingly, ages of marriage for females are becoming progressively earlier. Further data and enquiry are needed on this subject before any possible covariation between such factors may be determined.

Disputes, fights, spearings, and killings may be partly attributed to "wrong" marriages, violations of the Red Ochre, and demographic factors which enhance unions between individuals who are tribally "wrong" for one another. The next report will deal with this subject.

Field Report No. 2

Local Organization

During this period work on local organization was extended to tribal elders who formerly inhabited the Petermann and Rawlinson Ranges. Local group areas were mapped out with limited success. In both areas the resident group was always small in size ranging from 20 to 70 people. Larger clusters of small groups seldom occurred except in cases of initiation where two or three bands would meet for three or four days at the longest. The long initiation ritual and other ceremonies which characterized the Aranda and other central Australian groups were absent. Although the drought has ended and the environment in the Petermanns in "lush," one may infer that local groups of 200-300 individuals could never be stabilized on any given locality for extended periods of time. It may be hypothesized that the contemporary interest and manifestation of ceremonial life is a function of the acceptance of a European diet and economy which may support large groups of individuals over many weeks. During the pre-contact period, the formation of large ceremonial groupings was probably rare and only occurred in selected environmental rich areas.

The resident group was loosely organized and flexible as regards membership. Yet in each case a patrilineal core of kinsmen was recognized. It was this core which possessed and transmitted a detailed knowledge of the traditional area of exploitation for each group. Although knowledge of geographical particulars was patrilineally transmitted, a broader knowledge of certain key water sources and areas of permanent foods was always known to different resident groups. Thus, in cases of extreme economic hardship, various groups would expand or contract to certain key waters where they would "ride-out" the drought.

Local group exogamy was the most important characteristic of resident groups. After initiation, males would serially link up with various resident groups and in turn would acquaint them-

selves with different areas. After marriage, a male might continue to reside in his wife's resident group but at some time in the near future would eventually return to his own patrilineal core group.

Although the whole pattern of local organization is no longer operative, the idea of group membership and personal claims to different "countries" is not fully dead. The latter has been dramatically brought forth since late 1966 when the mining of Chrysoprase (Australian Jade) started at Mt. Davis, 128 miles west of the native settlement at Amata. Usually five to six men are taken to the Mt. Davis area to mine Chrysoprase for periods of ten to fourteen days. Since mining has brought a fast, if not easy income, many of the local people at Amata are anxious "to have a go." Mt. Davis mob elders have been ambivalent about the mining since its inception. One of the factors is that the Mt. Davis country belongs to only those individuals who can claim either one of the following factors:

1. born in the Mt. Davis area
2. have a malupiti dreamtime
3. kinship relations with one who is from the area.

The third factor and its interpretation is most interesting. Many of those who claim kinship ties base their case on matrilineal or affinal linkages. Some of these claims are valid, others are somewhat slim. Distant consanguines or affines from the area are "discovered" and a case is made. The Mt. Davis elders view matrilineal and affinal ties as quasi-acceptable, but some of the more distant "creations" are regarded as dubious at best. The flexibility by which kin ties are arranged with the Mt. Davis mob is not a new phenomenon. In general, one is permitted a set of varied means by which access to the area is gained. Kinship relations also affect the dreamtime. In one case, a man who was from the Deering Hills area which is south of Mt. Davis, with a tjurki dreamtime gained access to the Chrysoprase mining. The tjurki is supposed to be related to the malupiti; however, many people were not clear on what the relationship was if one did exist.

Demography

From census materials, data on sixty-four families has been analyzed. The following table summarizes the number of wives per married male and the ratio of polygynous families to the total number. Genealogically recorded families have not yet been analyzed.

Number of wives				Total	Total	Mean wives per
1	2	3	4	men	wives	husband
48	15	0	1	64	82	1.28
No. of polygynous families — 25.0 percent						
No. of total families —						

It should be noted that of the 16 composite families, eleven of the males involved were 40 years of age or over. Relatively few young men have acquired a second wife. The economic incentive behind polygynous unions has markedly decreased.

Data on birth and death rates was obtained at both the native settlement at Amata and at Ernabella Mission. The population in the two localities is not stable and a fair amount of immigration and emigration has taken place over the past eight months. The high mobility rate makes it difficult to analyze population growth or decline over long time periods. However, preliminary analysis of recorded materials indicates that the population in both areas has increased. Although the ratio of deaths during the first year of infancy was relatively high at Amata, a marked decrease has occurred in the past three years.

Kinship and Social Organization

Data on marriage arrangements, kin groupings and sections has been collected since the fieldwork started. After a number of cases were collected, a preliminary analysis was made to determine the frequency in which marriage rules are manifest. Only eighty-six observed marriage cases have been fully investigated at present. The analysis of marriage cases fits into three operational categories. Marriages which are considered "correct" are with a distant

"MMBDD" and sometimes with a very distant "FFZSD." "Optional marriages are with a "MBD" and sometimes with "ZSD." The latter marriage arrangement is debatable. Many elders, who have acquired younger wives, regard "ZSD" as acceptable, however, younger males were not sure if "ZSD" marriages were correct or optional unions. Prohibited unions are with any female in adjacent generations as well as with a "MM," "Z," "DD," etc. Terminologically, "ZSD" and "DD" are separated by tribal elders but are occasionally merged by younger people.

The following three tables are a summary of marriage rule adherence. Table 1 covers all cases and gives a figure of 84.9 per cent of marriage being "correct." The second table consists of fifty-one cases involving marriages among those who have recently come in from the bush and/or elders who have been married for twenty years or more. 86.3 percent of all cases adhere to the preferred marriage rule. Table 3 is based on thirty-five marriage cases of less than twenty years and/or who have had contact with missions, homesteads, etc. 82.8 percent of all marriages are "correct."

Table 1

	Cases	Percent
"Correction"	73	84.9
"Optional"	10	11.6
"Prohibited"	3	3.5
Total	86	100.0

Table 2

	Cases	Percent
"Correct"	44	86.3
"Optional"	5	9.8
"Prohibited"	2	3.9
Total	51	100.0

Table 3

	Cases	Percent
"Correct"	29	82.8
"Optional"	5	14.3
"Prohibited"	1	2.9
Total	35	100.0

In Table 2, a total of seven cases are listed as optional and prohibited. Six of these cases involve two males. One man has four wives and two of the marriages consist of a prohibited partner. The other individual has two wives both of whom are "MBD." Furthermore, both men are recently in from the bush south of the Blackstone Ranges in West Australia. These cases may have been due to a lack of eligible females which is a function of a small and declining population size.

One might expect that adherence to marriage rules would be relatively low in Table 3. Although elopements and marriage violations take place among younger men and women, violations in general are a result of breaking or "short-circuiting" the initiation cycle. The Pitjandjara in this area have not gone through the destructive processes which many other Aboriginal groups have suffered. Most homesteads are to the northeast and east, and Ernabella Mission has acted as a buffer between the western Aboriginal population and the homesteads to the east. Furthermore, "larger" population clusters such as Finke and Alice Springs are quite distant from the western areas of the Musgrave Ranges. Finke is about 250 miles distant and Alice Springs is 330 miles to the northeast. Probably, the most important factor in maintaining this segment of Aboriginal social structure is the policy and practice of Ernabella Mission towards the native population. The Mission has attempted to maintain much of the Aboriginal culture with the least amount of "tampering." This enlightened attitude has resulted in a preservation of tribal values and a conscious adaptation to a changing economic structure.

Contrary to the first report and after further investigation, the six section system is present in the Musgrave-Mann-Tomkinson area but it is undergoing a gradual transformation into a classic section system. The theoretical workings of the six section system are basically similar to Elkin's findings in the Mt. Margaret area to the west. In the Musgraves and neighboring areas the population is from the west and the old tribal divisions are no longer operative. The transformation is briefly as follows. Ibarga combines with Panaka and can only marry Tararu, thus excluding

Kayrimara as a possible marriage category. Milangka combines with Kayrimara and marries only into Purungu, thus excluding Panaka as a possible marriage category. Old men, who are really Ibarga, call themselves Panaka but after a number of genealogies were analyzed this inconsistency became apparent. Later the elders noted that Ibarga and Panaka are one. Furthermore, none of the elders who were Ibarga or Milangka would agree that they could marry a Kayrimara or Panaka respectively. Probably the major reason for this conversion is the absence of old tribal divisions. Work is now in process to determine generational differences and the conversion to a section system.

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BECOMING AN ANTHROPOLOGIST: FIELDWORK
AMONG THE AGTA OF PALANAN, ISABELA

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Hidden behind a boulder from the inquisitive eyes of three Agta children, I discarded my sweatshirt and gray denims. Ceremoniously, I put on a long narrow strip of red-printed cloth I brought with me from the city. I caught a glimpse of myself reflected in the water and could not help but smile at the amusing absurdity: brown-skinned, long and straight-haired tao¹ trying to be an Agta by putting on a loin cloth. I dived into the water and when I emerged for fresh air, I was greeted with lusty laughter. "Banagan² is already an Agta!" the children shouted.

Of course, the loin cloth did not, and never will, make me an Agta despite the comforting approval of the children. But it

1 The Agta refer to the non-Agta persons as tao, sometimes tolay.

2 The Agta of Palanan, Isabela know me as Banagan. It is a corruption of my surname. In the Agta language, it means lobster.

provided another occasion for the children to laugh at a non-Agta who for weeks on end had been intruding into their lives, asking them what games they play, begging them to repeat their riddles so he could write them down and requesting them to teach him more of their language.

About four months before the incident, I would not have thought of showing myself to them, even if briefly, in loin cloth. At that time, I was to them, a *tao* from Manila and a member of a five-man team listing down the names of the Agta of Palanan, approximating their ages, inquiring into their mobility and, in effect, seeking permission to enter into the Agta world. That team was sent by a government agency to gather baseline data about the Agta for an integrated socio-economic development program for them. It was, therefore, with a missionary spirit, so to speak, that I went with the team to Palanan. Even that spirit of which we made no secret to the Agta did not inhibit them from expressing suspicion over our presence in Palanan. Asked an old man: "In all my life, nobody has come to us listing down our names. Why are you doing this?"

A team member answered: "Because somebody cares for you now. We want to find out what your problems are so that we will know how best to help you."

I was not too sure whether that meant anything to the old man. Anyway, he proved a cooperative informant. And to a team member suffering from itch she got from contact with a poisonous plant, he offered his betel quid as relief. But his question reminded us that when strangers meet, good intentions invite suspicion. The team was lucky, however, in getting a female Agta guide who seemed to understand what we were trying to do. During the first few days of our survey, she went with us, serving as guide and interpreter when Tagalog, our contact language, could not serve us well. More than this, with her uninhibited sense of humor, she was our great morale booster.

After the initial household survey, the team split, each to his chosen village. We were to recheck the information already

gathered and learn some more of Agta culture and society. It was our first day to be alone with the Agta and with oneself. For me it was a time to thumb my mental diary in an attempt to reorient myself. Wrested away from the security of the team's company, I felt uncertain of what I was doing on a long stretch of beach along the northeastern Pacific. For the first time, I started feeling like a stranger among a people with whom I was only getting to be vaguely familiar. No anthropologist had studied them before and the only thing I knew about them was that they belong to a Negrito-like type of people scattered in various places in the Philippines. Along with a group of scantily-clad (loin cloth for men and wrap around for women) dark-skinned and frizzly-haired people, I felt myself an incongruous presence. The fact that most of them speak Tagalog, Ilokano and a little of Ibanag and that they spoke to me in Tagalog was not comforting enough for among themselves, they spoke Palanan, their native tongue. The better for me to learn it, they assured me. And it did help me learn their language which became an important link between us.

Alone there on the beach, I started going back to classroom situations where I imagined fieldwork to be one romantic adventure into an exotic country. Mentally, I reached out for monographs which presented aspects of traditional cultures in neat pigeonholes: physical setting, social organization, economic organization, political organization, religion, etc. I recalled the repeated emphasis placed by my professors on field methods: participant-observation, interviews, holistic approach, and establishing rapport with informants. I remembered our heated discussions about objectivity and subjectivity of the researcher. I thought I knew perfectly well what all this meant and I imagined myself stepping into Agta country with a well-stocked "arsenal of concepts", to use Chinoy's phrase (1954:6). I recalled my attempt to grasp Palanan's geography as our plane flew over it. I thought back to our meeting with some municipal officials and Christians in town and their enthusiastic attempts at summarizing for us Agta culture and society. Such one-word summary as

"nomadic" and phrase-summary as "excellent fishers and hunters" provided us with clues for our study. Too, they gave us leads into our inquiry of Agta-Christian relationship.

Then the actual plunge into Agta culture and society.

They call themselves Agta, which means "person". The Tagalog refers to them as Dumagat, which means "people of the sea". The Ilokano refers to them as Pugot, which means "black". I stayed with them in river banks. I observed the men even women and children fish, using only metal rods impelled by narrow rubber bands. I watched men, singly and in groups, disappear into the hills with bows and arrows and occasionally with dogs and a gun loaned to them by a Christian friend. I waited for them come home from the hills with their prey; sometimes they returned empty handed. I stayed with them along the beach and saw them move between hills and sea. I camped with them in narrow river valleys and observed them open up their sikaw (clearing) and plant it to corn, cassava, camote, taro, arrow root, bananas and a few other vegetables often in random mixture.

I heard an old Agta man chanting shortly before the crack of dawn trying to appease unseen beings that had caused his child's fever. I enjoyed a young mother's *sabkal* (chanted stories) as she tucked her infant away in the lengthening shadows of her lean-to. I listened to a tired man whisper "*salamat sa Diyos*" (thank you, Lord) before going to bed. I noticed an Agta woman enter a Christian's house with a string of fish or wild pig's meat and come out with a basket of corn.

I heard and saw a lot of other things until I was faced with a welter of data. But the plunge had been taken. And though I did it with confidence, I came out with a shattered ego. The plunge exposed to me my naiveté but in the process made me a little wiser. For it was naive of me to have expected Agta culture and society as neatly compartmentalized as the table of contents of a monograph on a primitive society. I resolved, therefore, not to fit my observations into the traditional categories in anthropological publications without seeing them in their various

contexts. With this resolution in mind and with time running out on me during that summer, I spent the next few days concentrating on a salient point of Agta society — their mobility — for a paper in one graduate course. What makes the Agta move apart from landlessness? What keeps them moving? Who moves with whom? What is the general area of their movement? What are the implications of this mobility to directed culture change? These were some questions I sought to answer. One of my informants readily recounted to me his travels within and without Palanan. Within Palanan, he always returns to a home base; and this is where most of his kinsmen are. Outside Palanan, he feels a compulsion to return because "Palanan is where I was born and I am really from here."

I, too, was to return to Palanan by myself for two reasons. Firstly, I had decided on Palanan as my field of study for my Master of Arts thesis. Secondly, I felt that my data can be used to advantage by the same government agency that sent us there in the summer. I have always believed that anthropology and anthropologists, apart from helping enrich the world's fund of knowledge, should be harnessed in the realization of man's new and emerging aspirations. Here in Palanan, I thought this could be done.

After the summer sojourn I expected that all I needed, on my return, to familiarize myself with the Palanan landscape and the people that are part of it was a brief glance. I was, of course, wrong. I arrived at camp — actually a Christian house — to find out that the river nearby had opened up a more direct route to the Pacific waters. Lean-to's stuck out from other points along the beach. I felt I was seeing Palanan for the first time.

The next day, I went upriver where several lean-to's once stood. The past summer, under one of the lean-to's, I listened to an Agta woman relate how her daughter was forced into marrying an old widower. I adored that woman for her capacity to talk and for her talent in cracking jokes, usually on sex. Along the way, I brushed up with my Palanan, intending to conduct my interview in their language. It turned out to be an unrewarded

exercise because when I reached the bank there were no longer lean-to's. I saw only scattered palm leaves and dried saplings at various stages of decay. I found out later that some of the Agta had moved upriver to higher grounds where it is safe from river floods. Others had gone to neighboring towns across the Sierra Madre as porters to Christian travellers.

I felt that my going upriver was a loss of time for data gathering. But I turned it into a gain. I soaked in the atmosphere of a vacated settlement to sensitize, as it were, my mind dulled by my stay in the city. I used the time to go over my data exploring leads and finding out topics that needed further investigation. On similar days when time would hang heavily from my hands because I could not find any informant, I would struggle with my growing body of data to see meaning where at first sight there was none. For instance, how was I to know why a lean-to had to be burned because a member of the household died? How was I to explain why a household stays on the beach under a lean-to when only a few footsteps away, it owns a hut which is more protective against the elements? How was I to see the logic of calling a cousin brother? How was I to understand why the Agta, despite acculturation opportunities, remain for the most part fishers, hunters, and food-gatherers? I would come up with vague answers. Hopefully, I would build one hypothesis after another. And for the joy over every proved hypothesis there would be a lot of despair over the collapse of others. Growing pains, I would cheer myself. But on other days, boredom would threaten and to keep it at bay, I would make believe I had been transformed into an Agta. I would weave fantasies about my exploits with my fellow Agta. I would take a flight back in time and would see myself grow in the pristine environment of Palanan where the inchoate stuff of Agta culture and society lay in wait for the student of man to explore at his leisure. And then things would fall into their proper places until I would realize I was exploring Agta country via the "if-I-were-a-horse argument" (Gluckman 1965:30). Free once more from the grip of fantasy, I would reconsider the questions. These gave direction to my fieldwork. But raising the

questions led me to close my mind, unwittingly, to other possible problems. I realized this, when on going over my diary one day, I found out I was focussing too much attention to the initial questions at the expense of others that were to emerge. I had to reopen my mind ready to accept raw data that seemed irrelevant to my work. Holistic approach acquired further significance for me. It started to mean not only the study of a culture in its totality but also with one's totality; one should give one's whole self in cultural surrender to the situations at hand. This calls for a relegation of one's enculturative experience into the background so that one can begin in another in freedom. This demands no less than total involvement with day-to-day event. It is this kind of involvement, or at least my feeble attempt at this kind of involvement, that for days sustained me during an aborted *sakad*. During a *sakad*, an Agta bachelor and his kinsmen — in some instances with Christian friends — meet with an Agta maiden and her kinsmen at the latter's settlement or at an appointed place for the elders of the boy and the girl to arrange their marriage.

The girl's settlement is a good two-day leisurely hike from the boy's settlement. I decided to join the boy's party. Early one morning, we set out for the appointed place of the *sakad*. The journey was actually postponed for one day because a rainbow appeared early in the morning and that meant bad luck. Besides, a dugout we were paddling the day before overturned when we were only halfway across the river. This too was bad omen. Except for an old man who was bedridden and the wife who had to attend to him, everybody left the settlement. In the parade of Agta men, women and children leaving one settlement for another and carrying all their few material possessions with them, I saw dramatized the tightness of kinship ties among the Agta.

When we arrived at one Agta settlement, we were informed that some Agta (called Ebukid because they come from the *bukid*, which means "mountain") from the girl's settlement were waiting for us in ambush to avenge the death of a relative who died of an undetermined cause while on a visit in the boy's settlement. We

decided to pass the night there while some members of our group tried to ascertain the truth of the rumor. Night came with nothing certain about what to do the next day. Nobody in the group proceeded upriver to find out something about the rumor. Instead, the men went fishing and hunting while some of the women went to the forest to dig tubers. I woke up the following morning to a confused group of Agta. The women and the children were apprehensive and the men could not decide whether to proceed with the *sakad* or not. Each had his own opinion which was murmured only to oneself hoping nevertheless that the next fellow would hear it. But one man who, apparently had been playing the murmuring game by ear started to load one of our two dugouts with our provisions. This was all that was necessary. The men and the women and the children got on their feet and we were soon on our way upriver. When we were only a few hills away from the appointed place, the older men decided to stop once more on the pretext of fishing and hunting. Two men went to the mountains but returned in the evening with no prey. The others stayed to fish. I remained in one lean-to with an old man who felt he was too old to do any fishing or hunting. With him I started placing the members of the group in my kinship chart. But I was puzzled about the bachelor who was to get married. Back at the settlement, he referred to one woman as his mother. The old man who is a brother of the woman claimed the bachelor as his son. I felt I had to inquire further but something hung in the air between us. It is as if there was a wall suddenly suspended between his world and mine beyond which I could not go. And to think that I was already being referred to as *ibay*. An *ibay* or *alibay* is a special friend to whom an Agta can turn in times of need and be helped; an *ibay* is like a member of the family and, therefore of confidence. The old man made me feel a nominal *ibay*. But I was determined to put order into my chart. I simply had to wait for the proper moment.

Anyway, evening came and the apprehension of the men and the women surfaced once more. Also, it started to rain. The men and the women started mumbling about going back the next day. But next day broke with no one making a move to return. After

spending the night crumpled at the base of a leaking lean-to, I could not have wished better than to be back in camp. But I was not to decide about anything. I was there only as an observer, moving with them much like a flotsam floating downriver. I prepared for another day of indecision, of another night beneath a lean-to that was not built thick enough to protect us from rain. But after breakfast of corn and salt — last night, we consumed all the fish caught yesterday — the same man who started loading one of our two dugouts the other day decided to find out once and for all the truth of the rumor even if he had to go it alone. Thinking that it would not do me harm, I suggested that I went with him. Besides, I thought that I knew enough of the Agta to foresee that no violence would erupt despite the rumor. True, the Agta makes plans. He threatens. But seldom does he execute his plans and fulfill his threats at the appointed time. And so the two of us left. Along the way, my Agta companion said: "I don't see why they are scared. Look at me. I am not armed. Only Jesus Christ is with me." Jesus Christ! I could only nod in assent. When we arrived at the appointed place, the Agta who was rumored to be the leader of those waiting for us in ambush was there to welcome us with boiled wild pig's meat, fresh river shrimps and a fat eel. I could see how relieved my Agta companion was as he struck up an animated conversation with some other Agta. I was right after all about the lack of violence. It was a minor triumph for me. True enough, the man had been waiting for us. But only to inform us that the girl and the rest of her kinsmen had not yet arrived and had to be fetched. There followed a series of consultations with the elders at the settlement. But before any definite step was to be taken, we had to return downstream for our companions. We brought the news that there was no cause for alarm and that the sakad could go on in friendly surroundings. We started the following day with enthusiasm. The apprehensions gone, I thought that we would go straight into the settlement which is on a high, safe ground. After all, one household who had a relatively spacious hut had invited us to stay there. But, no, I was wrong. We put up our lean-to's at a river bank a few hundred yards away from the settlement. To

think that up in the nearby mountains, huge rain-clouds started to gather. But the men and the women seemed unconcerned. The lean-to's we made were not thick enough to protect us from rain. But I did not complain; my self-imposed code of ethics reminded me not to. Dutifully, I helped them put up our own lean-to. Night fell on us and with it, the rain. It being the start of the rainy season, even the night air was chilling enough. I was feeling miserable and the rain compounded my misery; I thought I had enough. Even my rubberized jacket which seemed the ultimate in luxurious clothing in that surrounding was not of much help. I kept my peace as I joined the old man and his wife warming their hands and feet by the fire. It continued to rain intermittently throughout the night and the following day. The river started to swell. In the dead of night, my thoughts of a safe and comfortable bed in camp amplified the sound of the onrushing waters. A major tragedy seemed to me only a few feet and a few minutes away. The leaking lean-to suddenly was no cause for discomfort. There was only the rising river to worry about. As for the women and children, only the thought of being bitten by snakes prevented them from packing off to the forest. I turned to the old man; the wife had moved to a thicker lean-to. I gazed into his face lucent by the few smoldering coals before us. My discomfort must have been clearly etched on my face for I heard him say: "Poor Banagan." His face mirrored an unmistakable inner serenity. It was a serenity born not of indifference to an imminent danger but of a knowledge that, in fact, there was no danger. I felt ashamed of myself. I managed to smile at him. As I snuggled closer to the mound of coals, I kept looking at his face. And in a rare "metaphysical moment", I felt a profound kinship with the old man. It was a moment that was long in coming, unlocked only by the series of events that wore down the differences of our contrary worlds. Suddenly, the lean-to's threatened by the swelling river acquired meaning which never occurred to me before. So did the narrow piece of land on which they stood. Everything appeared coherent and I felt I belonged inextricably to the landscape. But that moment was not meant to last. The empiricist in me asked: "How am I to articulate that feeling for

others to know and experience?" I had no answer. And so it happened that I started to develop a healthy distrust for a view of man as seen only through the empiricist's eyes. To be sure, it is much easier to convey to others what the eyes had seen and the ears had heard and what the hands had touched but the synthesis of these do not provide an adequate understanding of the nature of man. But to convey to another what is essentially an ineffable private experience and ask him to verify that for himself is to violate the canons of the scientific method in anthropology as handed down by Franz Boas and Bronislaw Malinowski. It did not matter. To me, the experience was an edifying reference point to which I returned during moments when nothing seemed to go right and things did not seem to make sense. I would like to think that it primed me for an "insight into an order of things" which is "full scientific insight" (Nadel 1951:20).

I could not sleep anymore — from euphoria. As the night wore on the old man and I kept talking about a lot of things. He related to me his early youth spent in Ilagan, Isabela, his return to Palanan, and his eventual marriage. He recounted the years when he was an excellent fisher and hunter and hence a good provider. He spoke with regret about his remarriage to a widow after the death of his first wife. He advised me not to commit the same mistake if only to save myself from unfair comparison with a dead husband. He spoke with bitterness about some tao grabbing their land and their helplessness rooted in ignorance of what legal ownership is. He spoke with hope about the promised support of the government to them. In the course of our conversation, I was to discover where the bachelor properly belonged in my kinship chart. The old man confided that the bachelor's mother died in childbirth. At about the same time, the old man's first wife delivered a still-born child. A switch was made to save the living child. The wall between us had collapsed completely.

Already, I felt I had gone beyond what La Farge (1967:120) called the "inner limits of confidence". No longer was an Agta talking to a tao. Right under that lean-to was one human being laying himself bare to another human being.

But to go back to the *sakad*. The unforeseen delays had unnecessarily prolonged our journey and our provisions ran out. After postponing the *sakad* indefinitely, we had to leave. The river being swollen and swift, but still a few safe feet away from our lean-to's, we decided not to use the dugouts. We walked across the mountains.

To walk across the mountains tracing streams, along the beach, to eat with him fresh river and marine fish, to surfeit one meal and only corn the next, to munch wild fruits along the way, to sleep with the Agta with only a lean-to over one's head to break the monotony of the sky, to live with him for months a life that he was led to believe is his unalterable lot is to live in anachronistic country, at once familiar and strange. It is to be an eye-witness to men in a dialectic engagement with their environment, with other men and with themselves. At the same time, it is to see other cultures reveal themselves in a unique culture. It is to immerse one's being in other beings and in the process grow in the understanding of oneself and of other men. It initiates what Lévi-Strauss (1967:371) calls the "inner revolution" so necessary in becoming an anthropologist.

Indeed, to emerge out of that country is to emerge a different man.

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ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY: THE CASE OF THE MANOBOS OF MINDANAO

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I. The Scope of Economic Anthropology: Anthropology is a holistic science; the study of any facet of man's society must be understood as part of a whole. When we study economic anthropology we are not just dealing with economics; we are also concerned with the integration of a whole society. In doing this study, we deal not only with the Euro-American industrial economies but also with traditional or "primitive" societies. The word "primitive" is not used in any loaded sense for we try to study economics in these societies with a kind of value free approach; we are not to say what is good or bad. In approaching the study of economics in this way, we admit that whatever the technological achievement, we are dealing with *homosapiens*, with men, and no matter where found, men with no great mental or physical differences.

We understand "primitive" societies to be small scale societies with face to face relationships, with strong interpersonal reactions

based largely, on kinship and common residence. These societies will have a comparatively simple material culture and technology.

Our study of the economic life of such societies helps us see them as total wholes, relatively integrated, and not as a jumble of independent compartments. Every aspect of society (whether it be kinship and descent, sex, marriage, family, politics, law, production, exchange or religion) is involved and we gain new insights into all these aspects as we see their interrelationship with the economic life of a society.

The value of studying economic anthropology lies in gaining a better knowledge of how societies function and in so doing enlarges our understanding of man and brings us a little closer to discovering the answer to the great unanswered question of "what is it all about anyhow?".

Our method of comparison and induction helps other disciplines find proper approaches to common problems. Some quotations to sustain this contention are the following:

"This is a matter of practical importance to many economists who are interested in the problem of increasing productivity in the low-income countries of the world" (Mair 1965:144).

"The achievement of political independence and the new nation's striving for economic development" makes systematic knowledge of the economies and societies of underdeveloped communities very important. Such knowledge is the stock in trade of the anthropologist. Understanding the structure of what is and what has been is necessary to those people charged with formulating intelligent policy on what ought to be. For societies without literacy and written records, economic anthropology can serve as a kind of economic history — an ethnographic record of economic organization before industrialization and development take place." (Dalton ed. 1967:XI)

"It is the contention of this paper that the rationale of economic choice in peasant society follows the same general rule of maximization as economic activity does anywhere, at anytime. What is distinctive about peasant and primitive societies is . . . the possession of a set of concrete social organizations which directly channel eco-

conomic choice, on the one hand, and a set of sanctions which operate to keep economic deviants in physical as well as moral jeopardy on the other." (Nash in Dalton ed. 1967:524)

"The idea that any society has an economic system implies that the organizations, institutions, practices, and beliefs of the society which are concerned with economic processes are something more than an unstructured aggregate, to postulate the existence of a system is to postulate first that a number of identifiable entities stand in some structural relationship to each other. If the system is a dynamic or operating one, it also implies that the parts interact dynamically to yield a "systematic" outcome. The understanding of how the component events of the dynamic process articulate to produce the systematic outcome is also required" (Le Clair 1962:1179-1203).

"To the anthropologist economic relationships are one part of an overall system of social relationships (however weakly this system be structured and integrated). The economic system (or sub-system) is therefore to be fully understood only in a context of social, political, ritual, moral and even aesthetic activities, and values and in turn affects them" (Firth 1964:15-34).

The following study of Manobo economics within the conceptual framework outlined will show something of the relevance of the above suggestions.

II. The Manobo Economic System: The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of the Manobo economizing activities within the context of the Manobo social system. Traditional activity will be stressed with the intention of analyzing the relation of economizing activities to social change.

While all social groups in the Philippines are in transition the more remote people of Mindanao are less affected at the moment and it seems important that descriptive studies be made which can then be used as a base to observe change which will inevitably come. Professor E. A. Manuel, in a class lecture, declared the traditional societies of the Philippines are doomed and it is only a matter of time. It appears to this writer that the time is short.

The information contained in this paper was principally obtained in the middle reaches of the Libungan river valley in the northern boundary of the municipality of Libungan; formerly a part of Midsayap, in western Cotabato in 1954. The principal informant was Panares Bidangan, a leader of the datu class. Many other contacts obtained through his help were made so the information is perhaps complete.

The Manobos are widely scattered and represent an important segment of the population of Mindanao. They are found in the hinterlands of Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Surigao, and Misamis Oriental. My estimates based on Aram Yengoyan's suggestion show the population figure of 200,000 but no reliable census has ever been made. The Manobos live in very small population groups and homes may be spread over rather wide areas with scores of meters separating the houses. The family is the basic unit in the organization of society. Kinship grouping is characteristically bilateral, residence is generally matri-local but there are exceptions to this rule.

Manobo economizing deals primarily with the problem of subsistence but there are a number of forest products which have been utilized traditionally for exchange with lowland buyers who make occasional trips into the area. At times these products will be carried to lowland markets for exchange at community markets but this is an infrequent occurrence. These exchanges were not so numerous as to make a significant difference culturally speaking at the time of observation but they may have already introduced a change which cannot now be evaluated as no comparable data exist.

The conceptual framework used will be that suggested by Edward E. LeClair, Jr. (1962). This will include his basic concepts and definitions:

1. Economics is the study of economizing.
2. Economizing is the allocation of scarce resources among alternative ends.
3. "Wants" are defined as anything which human beings may desire or need.

4. The "ends" among which resources may be allocated are defined as the satisfaction of the various wants human beings may have.
5. "Goods" or "goods and services" include anything which may be used to satisfy a human want. Such "goods" may be either tangible or intangible.
6. "Production" is any activity which utilizes resources for the purpose of creating or providing goods, or making them available, where such activity is a necessity or desirable condition of availability. Production includes any and all activity which has this purpose or result.
7. "Goods" which are not used directly to satisfy human wants, but are used as an adjunct to production activity shall be referred to as "capital goods."

Economizing as a Social Process

1. "Economic systems" function in the provision of orderly procedures for resolving economizing problems which are social. Two questions must be dealt with: 1) The implications of the notion that we are dealing with an economic system; 2) what the detailed functions of an economic system are.
 - a. An "economic system" exists when a number of identifiable entities stand in a structural relationship in such a way as to interact dynamically to yield a "systemic" outcome producing goods and services.
 - b. The functions of an economic system are three:
 1. To determine what and what quantities are to be produced. The "product mix."
 2. To determine how these goods shall be produced. "Factor Proportions."
 3. To determine how these goods shall be shared. "Distribution of product."

Components of an Economic System

1. Made up of individuals or groups of individuals organized in some way, and are production units or consumption units.

- a. "Production units" organized for purpose of engaging in productive activity.
- b. "Consumption units" are organized for consumption purposes.

Process of an Economic System (Involves three classes of events: production, utilization and transfer events)

1. A "production event" is an action the intended result of which is to make goods or services available for utilization.
2. A "utilization event" is the utilization of a good or service for consumption or for other productive purposes.
3. A "transfer event" shifts control or rights in an economic good from one social unit to another.

The Structure of an Economic System

1. There are two possible models: descriptive and abstract-analytical.

The above was condensed and excerpted from Le Clair's article "Economic Theory and Economic Anthropology" (1962:1179-1203).

We will attempt to build a descriptive model of at least a part of the Manobo economic system using Le Clair's concepts and definitions. We shall arrange the items in what appears to be the best way to present the model. This will not necessarily follow the outline given but enough items should appear by the time the model is complete to see how items not used might fit in. This then will serve as a partial test for Le Clair's assertions and at the same time present for the first time the Manobo economic system under a general theory of economic process and structure. It is hoped that this study can then be used as one item in a systematic comparison of others built on the same model.

STRUCTURE

Production Units

Production units among Manobos range from an individual (hunting and fishing) to small groups, usually an extended family

(which among the Manobos can include affines) working together for some definite goal. In the village observed a small corn and rice mill of 60 to 80 cavanos of capacity per day is the only productive activity where traditional work exchange is not utilized. However, those who work in the mill are relatives of the owner and receive a small share of profits, usually in kind. Tradition is not entirely ignored here as emolument is not geared to any outside factor (minimum wage law) but is mutually agreed upon and includes shelter and food furnished by the owner. The production unit here remains within the kinship group.

Special occasions such as house moving or erecting, *kaingin* (slush and burn) making, field preparation, timber harvesting, rice and corn harvesting may include more than one extended family. I know of no circumstances where this did not provide sufficient human energy to accomplish the task. Groupings of this sort are not always permanent. It is usually made up of those whose fields adjoin. There is an organization of men who band together to assist in these special work projects called *oyon-oyon*. Members of the *oyon-oyon* share ordinary food when necessary and always when successful in a hunt no matter how small the bag. However, production units are not necessarily the same structurally as the consumption units. The household as a primary production unit is also a consumption unit.

The primary consumption unit is the nuclear family plus all those living in the household. Members of the extended family, including affines, have some claim, in case of necessity, on the resources of a nuclear family. The nuclear family is usually monogamous but may be polygynous. Manobo families are small by Philippine standards. Two to four children by each wife (if polygyny obtains) is the rule.

Process and Systemic Outcome

The organization of the economic life of the Manobo cannot be considered as a separate item but must be considered as a part of a well integrated total system through which they have come to terms with their environment. Our attempt to isolate

certain economic factors is not intended to ignore other factors involved in the culture but is a matter of emphasis for the purpose of trying to form a descriptive model. Keesing reminds us (1965:223):

"Actually, an examination of the economic system of any people quickly reveals that behaviors relating to production, exchange, property, and consumption all tie in functionally with social organization and with political, legal, religious, and aesthetic behaviors."

Under this heading then we will consider the production, utilization, and transfer events.

Production Events

The Manobos are primarily concerned with gaining a living from the land and must be termed agriculturalists of the "slash and burn" type. R. F. Walters has suggested eight types or patterns of "slash and burn" (1965:65). Manobos fall in his category number three: "intensive shifting cultivation, with few other sources of food."

The first production event to be noted will be the **kaingin** method of farming. A recently accepted term for slash and burn, **swidden**, will be neglected and the traditional Manobo word, **kaingin**, used. I really prefer slash and burn since it is much more descriptive.

The first problem in **kaingin** making is the location. Traditionally, Manobos have no worry about land. It has been an unlimited resource. Ownership of land is not an old concept. Traditionally, only control is recognized and control is through utilization and signified by the planning of a betel nut or dye producing tree in the **kaingin**. Stories of land selling told by lowlanders normally involve ideas of transfer of control of a field for a short period of use and are not considered as involving permanent rights. The normal period of use depends upon soil fertility and grass growth and is from three to four years. Several factors enter into the choice of a location. The primary factor is

land slope since in the area the land is uniformly productive. Slightly sloping land is preferred and a rolling terrain presents an ideal area. Proximity to dwellings, water resources, nature of the soil, and the advice of a shaman (medicine or holy man) all enter into the choice. The Manobo kaingin for a family production unit encompasses an area of approximately one hectare. I do not have enough data to posit an average. Not many are larger and some are smaller. The size is linked to the primary production unit. The number of man days involved in a kaingin cycle has not been calculated and to obtain this it would be necessary to observe a complete cycle. After the initial preparation the production unit is not 100% involved in the kaingin until the harvest. (At some future time a detailed analysis and time study will be made and incorporated in a report which will expand the information presented here.)

Location choices are generally made in late December and actual work will begin soon after. The first task is the clearing of the underbrush. Oyon-oyon members lead in this work assisted by older boys, and sometimes wives and daughters. This is a form of labor exchange and work is done on a rotation basis so ultimately all kaingins are ready at approximately the same time. It is not uncommon to see fifteen to twenty five people working together. Investigation revealed no complaints as to labor exchange although no apparent method was used to keep a record of the days "borrowed" or "owed." Perhaps this can be accounted for by the fact that the oyon-oyon functions on the basis of labor needs as well labor exchanges. Food is furnished by the family whose kaingin is being worked and friendly rivalry produces a good variety of dishes in sufficient quantity for all to enjoy a good meal. Women, children, and older men clear underbrush, trees, weeds, and grass which are slashed to the ground and the debris is then allowed to dry. The men and older boys work on the trees. The smaller trees are notched and the larger trees felled in such a way as to carry the smaller ones down. Small axes and bolos are used to accomplish the formidable task of clearing. The critical stage is the burning. When sufficiently dry

and with a good wind a kaingin can be burned over in less than a day's time. Under adverse conditions larger limbs and trunks must be reburned but most kaingins are ready for planting in March. Another division of labor is seen at planting time. Men use the dibble stick to punch holes in the soil, women and children follow and drop the seed and stamp the hole closed. Most kaingins are planted to rice, corn, cassava, camotes, and squash. Bananas are sometimes set around the edge and a few papayas have been noted. Cultivation consists mainly of weeding and is done by women and children. Men rarely work at this but all join in the harvest. Oyon-oyon participation in harvesting is on a need basis as the inter-cropping practiced brings in harvest at different times in keeping with maturity stage of each crop planted. The rice and corn harvest are the most important, these staples are easily stored and constitute the basic food. Vegetables and fruits are not easily stored or preserved but do produce over a period of time to furnish a varied and balanced diet.

The production possibilities involved here show an appropriate balance between consumer preferences and what is possible in the cultural-ecological system. Whether the ecology has produced a certain cultural pattern or not it must be admitted that the two are interdependent and the Manobo kaingin practice approximates the climax ecosystem as identified by Robert Reed (1965:31):

"Ecology is a discipline concerned with inter-relationships of living organism in geographic space. Most contemporary investigators focus their interest upon biotic communities or ecosystems which have established a balanced nutrient exchange in their environment. Such climax ecosystems exhibit a natural equilibrium, which is sustained by nutrients derived from disintegrated rocks of basic or basaltic nature, from the accumulated alluvial Materials and from decomposed organic matter. If undisturbed, and ecosystem will tend to maintain a condition of equilibrium or evolve quite slowly. However man as a living organism often becomes a disruptive component and greatly modifies the balanced ecosystem. Man generally alters an ecosystem by fostering the growth of selected domestic organisms. The nutrients diverted into these plants are later harvested for man's own use. The

biotic communities or ecosystems created by man vary in their composition. But the man-modified ecosystem is generally limited to a small number of species or crops of which there are many individuals. Wheat, rice, corn, and other major crops illustrate such selected ecosystems. **A Major exception is the ecosystem created by shifting cultivators.** In three major characteristics, the swidden ecosystem is an image of climax rainforest. Instead of completely altering the natural equilibrium **the swidden agricultural pattern has been integrated into the balanced tropical rain forest.** (Bold letters mine, BLM)

The actual amount of food produced in this primary production event is difficult to determine. Only estimates for rice were made and these on the basis of consumption. While this would vary from household to household depending on the number of members and the relative social responsibilities of a family a fair average can be had. The estimated amount an average family would consume is 12 to 15 cavanese of rice per year. The kaingin, especially the first year, can produce 30 to 50 cavanese of rice in addition to the other foodstuffs raised by intercropping. A good return on labor input is realized. Much of the surplus of the primary consumption unit is used by other consumption units. This will be considered under utilization-distribution.

The organization of labor for the kaingin proceeds on traditional lines. The household head is responsible for the decisions and the family learns early what is expected. Children of both sexes learn by observing their elders. There are no specific ceremonies involved in crossing the line from childhood to more adult responsibilities. Some tasks are traditionally masculine, others traditionally feminine. Men do the tree felling for instance, women the cultivating. But one finds these general rules ignored by the people so often that except for physical limitations there is considerable crossing over of the lines of labor division in kaingin making.

Kaingin agriculture activities make up the most important production event. An incomplete list of significant production events other than the above includes the following:

1. Gathering of forest products for household use and sale for cash to occasional lowland traders who visit the area. Chief products obtained are wax, orchids, rattan, honey, medicinal roots and herbs. No account of the value of these items was made. (Future data gathering will include an effort to value the above).

2. Blacksmithing is well developed and is a family enterprise. The smithy trains his son in the use of the double bamboo cylinder forge in fashioning the *bolos*, *panabas*, adzes, and other tools used in the community. The blacksmith cooks out his own charcoal. The iron comes from old tools, and "junk" obtained from lowland traders or excursions to the lowlands by the smith himself. No products are for sale outside the area.

3. Basketmaking is a leisure time occupation and products are made primarily for family use.

4. Hunting and fishing may involve one or more people. *Oyon-oyon* members and or older boys and male adults of a kinship group form the production unit for this event when several adults plan a hunt. Hunting excursions in group are not long. Game spotting goes on all the time and the men do not have to waste much time finding the right areas to hunt. An overnight hunt is the general rule.

5. Lumbering is usually an *oyon-oyon* activity but a father and son may also get out the lumber used by the family. Exchange labor is more closely accounted for here. Women do not enter this labor exchange situation.

6. Wood gathering for household use is an important activity and may be done by anyone. Younger boys and women do much of it as a general practice.

7. Some of the production events involve a religious input which also gives an occasion for a utilization event. *Kaingin* location areas require omens interpreted by the *shaman* as a part in the determination. Chickens are sacrificed to *Mahomanoy*, the goddess of the forest after which the chickens form the main meat course in a small feast. Rice planting and harvesting are the two largest affairs. Before planting chickens are sacrificed to *Paniary*, the god of planting and harvesting. All who took part

in the original clearing are invited to the feast made at this time and the feast becomes a major use of the surplus mentioned previously. A similar feast is held at harvest. Mahomanoy receives a chicken sacrifice and a ritual meal is eaten by the men who plan to invade her domain for lumbering and forest product gathering. Lalawag, the god of the hunters, is satisfied with a betel nut quid, several are carried by each hunter and left at proper places during the hunt.

Utilization Events

The primary utilization event is to furnish subsistence to the members of the consumption unit. The consumption unit has been defined above. Not all members of it are productive, i.e. old ones, young and firm. Based on the figures given above a nuclear family consisting of an average of five members would have from 18 to 45 cavanos of rice over its needs. This surplus then is used by other members of the household. It is common for a household to have relatives of the nuclear family in it. Four to five extra over and above the nuclear family may be expected. This is then the primary consumption unit. With these extra the surplus would be brought down to 9 to 29 cavanos per year.

No attempt to estimate the amounts of fruit and vegetables chickens, and pigs used by a family will be given here since no figures for this are in my notes. An actual census by seasons can be made and a fair estimate of the units used will be made at a later time. The importance of pigs and chickens in the special occasions has not been overlooked but the economizing factors were not well considered at the time the data were gathered.

We will be able to consider the further utilization of the primary staple, rice, and understand that other items are involved. Certain utilization events are also transfer events and all involve patterns of distribution which indicate the socially approved behavior of the Manobos.

Every village has one to three men of the datu class. The datu's responsibilities involve heavy expenditures of food, especially if he is a datu famous for his knowledge of the custom law.

or his wisdom in settling disputes. In Barongis, Bidangan's house is never without guests, most of them from far places, who have come for his advice. His family and other villagers supply him with additional rice formally presented. This is not a tax in a western sense but is in recognition of his status and ability, and a return is expected in the form of the enhancement of his abilities with consequent honor to the community; and he is also expected to house and feed village visitors.

Gift giving involving food, especially cooked food, is both a utilization and transfer event. Some gift involves the idea of reciprocity, i.e. at marriage, and memorial feasts, rice planting and harvesting, and at the annual gathering. Some gift giving does not involve the idea of reciprocity. Help given to the ill and indigent according to need, gifts from husband to wife (although some might argue that sexual privilege is the reciprocal), wife to husband (sex again?), father to children, all fall in this category.

Food is used as "payment" for certain services. Go-betweens for any cause receive gifts of good food and many of these gifts are substantial for involved situations. Blacksmiths are sometimes paid in money but more often by a gift of food. Reciprocity is the primary principle involved and it extends into all of the social fabric. Through it kin and village mates support one another. The pattern of utilization follows a fairly regular course extending out from the household and encompassing those who interact in any way with its members. The amounts involved vary in specific cases but the motivation is much the same. That is the maintenance of the enviable reputation of the individuals involved.

Infrequent, family wise, but important utilization events are seen in the marriage customs. This event starts off an almost endless gift and exchange relationship among the members of the families concerned. The exchanges require imperishable items as well as food. On occasion obligations are assumed which may take a generation to discharge. Funeral practices involve massive utilization of produce. Feast before interment and a final feast one year after provide opportunity to discharge obligations and serve as a means to solidify and enhance community relations.

Hunting and fishing provide a means of escape from boredom and the distribution of the product indicates it is now used more as a means of personal satisfaction or sport than as a pure food gathering activity. The division of the product indicates this, especially in the hunt. A successful hunter will divide his bag with all *oyon-oyon* members, send some to the *datu*, and to any house with out-village guests, no matter how small the portion. The value here is not in the food itself but in the recognition of special relationships and as a means of identifying self and ability as above the ordinary.

Transfer Events

Sale of any surplus rice is usually to traders who make their way into the Manobo territory. These men also buy forest products such as wax, honey, rattan, orchids, medicinal plants, and sometimes animals. The Manobos get their cash this way and also exchange for pots, pans, and western style clothing. Prices are subject to great fluctuation and vary as to the bargaining ability of the buyer. Since there is no market it is difficult to establish normative values. Exchanges for money do not produce a great amount of it but what there is is very important for Manobos do know the "value of money" when they must go to or through lowland areas.

It should be noted here that sharing of a product obtained under traditional methods is almost automatic whenever asked for by relatives or friends but great reluctance is shown if the object asked has been purchased with money. This interesting item needs to be more fully explored.

Land use rights may be transferred by agreement in sharing produce or as a gift from the original to a new user. (Ownership of land is a concept traditionally unknown but one which will soon have to be accepted. The cultural shock involved will be of keen interest to students. I believe the bi-lateral kinship system will be found resilient enough to adjust and Manobo society will survive no matter how changed.)

Inheritance is a transfer event that involves traditional distribution of personal possessions. All children have rights, the oldest son usually receives those items which are linked to the idea of the head of family, i.e. the kris. He may acquire all items, heirlooms, by compensating other claimants. This is done by means of feasts where gifts are given. These include pots, tools, blankets, cloth and food.

Concluding Remarks

Economizing is the paramount concern of the Manobo. Slash and burn agriculture with some hunting and fishing is the principal means of accomplishing this. Kinship ties are the important factors in production, utilization, and transfer events. The major values involve status and prestige some of which are prescribed and others achieved. Wisdom, work, ability, social conviviality, and generosity are highly regarded in the Manobo value system. Kinship ties include rights and obligations and govern exchanges except those involving sale of surplus to outsiders. Reciprocity is the chief system of exchange and is a means of intensifying and adding substance to the social order. Manobo society is structured in such a way that exchanges easily take place, some of these are almost automatic, such as funeral, marriage, and request fulfillments. A study of its economic system reveals a small integrated society effectively adjusted to its environment.

This paper was intended to give an overview of the Manobo economic system using the categories of Le Clair as stated. He does not leave much room for an inventory. It would be better for a descriptive paper to list the economic situation of a people in relation to their assets and means of using them, as a beginning. Here one would see the whole picture. Land availability, water resources, climate factors, labor force, income producing items (carabao, tools, etc.), and technological status. After this one could use some of his items to present systematically the operation and interaction of these to show how the people eco-

nomize. His "product mix" category comes closest to doing this but is not explicit enough.

I do not believe Le Clair has produced a suggestion of any greater value than any good outline for investigation of traditional economics would have done.

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**LINGUISTICS AS A WINDOW INTO MAN'S MIND:
GADDANG TIME SEGMENTATION**

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One important subfield of anthropology is linguistics — it is so important in fact that in some universities it is considered a separate discipline. To have a full knowledge of a people and a society, it is necessary not only to have a knowledge of the relevant language but also realize the role that language plays in the people's lives.

Languages give important clues to a culture's structuring of reality. That experience has not dictated identical concepts of time, space, and matter from one culture to the next is quickly evident to the serious student of languages. Benjamin L. Whorf, a famous linguist, came to the conclusion that "concepts of time and matter are not given in substantially the same form by experience to all men but depend upon the nature of the language or languages through the use of which they have been developed." (Whorf 1941:92)

To modern man science has given precision instruments for measuring and recording time segments and sequences determined by the culture and the natural laws of the solar, stellar, and lunar systems. He habitually consults clocks, watches, and calendars to control his time orientation. For him time segments have sharply defined borders.

The folk man, like the Gaddang of eastern Mountain Province,¹ also bases his time segmentation on culturally conditioned criterion and on the phenomenon of nature. However, since he has none of the pressures that are exerted on highly industrialized societies, his attitudes toward time are more casual. He is totally independent of mechanical instruments for time measurement. Hence the borders of his time cuts are appreciably broader, incurring wide overlapping between segments in the time continuum. This overlapping is expressed on both the lexical and grammatical levels of the language. Here, then, are the Gaddang's time concepts.

1. Divisions of time cycles.²

A. The Year. The old year ends and the new cycle begins after the termination of the rice harvest and storage season. This is the identifying feature of the cycle's borders. Rather than having the year's terminal pinpointed to a specific day and hour, it may be spread over a period of several days or a week.

-ron 'year' is the general term used to indicate the year division, and it occurs with numeral quantifying prefixes: *ta-ron* 'one year' *lima-ron* 'five years,' etc.

1 The principal informant for this data was Mr. Lucio Lappao, Gaddang sage and leader of the community at Bananoo, Parasiles, Mountain Province. This material was collected under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics during 1959.

2 Cycles are here defined as being regularly recurring segments within the time continuum. This description begins with the longest segment in the time continuum and follows the smaller bits in their successive division down to the smallest segment.

B. The Seasons. There is no general term used to indicate the season divisions. The year cycle is divided as shown in Chart 1.

C. The months. *dakkag* 'moon' is the general term used to indicate the month divisions; however, out of the eleven month-divisions, only three have the lunar cycle as their identifying features. The season cycles are divided as shown in Chart 2.

D. The Days and Nights.³ *aw* is the general term used for day and *gafi* for night. The rising and setting of the sun are the identifying features of the two divisions, leaving space for broad marginal overlappings.

(1) The Days. The identifying factors dividing the daytime segments are broad, causing overlapping as shown in Chart 3.

(2) The Nights. The identifying features of the night-time segments are broad and produce overlapping as shown Chart 4.

2. Grammatical time signals.⁴ The wide marginal overlapping of the Gaddang time boundaries is not only confined to the divisions of the time cycles, but is also carried over into the grammar of the language. There are few sharply definable boundaries permitting precise classification into past, present, and future tenses. Instead there are varying degrees of overlapping, making the identification of specific time thresholds difficult. (See Chart 5.)

Reading across the chart, forms in group A specify time position only and have no action status:

3 This is the next cycle in the succession, there being no week divisions in the Gaddang culture. However, the names of the days of the week are now being borrowed from the lowland culture.

4 These are the forms that have appeared in the data and that have been analyzed thus far. A thorough analysis of the verbal system will be sure to yield more information on the relationships of these affixes to the time phenomenon.

siN specifies a pre-present time-sequence from near past to remote past, and it never occurs alone in an expression e.g. **sini taron** 'last (one) year.'

sin specifies a pre-present time sequence from near remote to remote past, and it may occur alone in an expression, e.g. **kansa nalloman na sitaw?** 'When did it flood here?' **siin.** 'A long. long time ago.'

so specifies the pre-present time sequence from present to immediate past, never extending beyond the past day and night cycle. It never occurs alone in an expression, e.g. **so tangawan** 'This past noon.'

dabo is a neutral term meaning a short sequence of time and occurs either with **so**, immediate past, or with **nu**, immediate future, signals: e.g. **so dabo** 'a short time ago,' **nu dabo** 'by and by.'

ingkeyin 'at this time' stands as a terminal and minimal response form with a wide degree of fluctuation between pre-present and post-present action positions, being determined by the lexical context (pre-present — present — post-present). Examples: **naansa na anowan daw?** present + present + post-present). Examples: **naansa na anowan daw? ingkeyin.** 'When are you going?' 'At this time.' **kansa nanowiran?** 'When did they leave?' **ingkeyin.** 'At this time.'

nanu specifies a post-present time sequence from near future to infinity, and it does not occur alone in an expression, e.g. **nanu taron** 'in one year.'

apappana, a minimal response form, specifies the post-present time sequence of near future within the boundaries of the day or night cycle only, and it may occur alone in an expression: e.g. **naansa umang ira taw?** 'When will they come here?' **apappana.** 'Very soon.'

The forms in group B are verbal affixes and have both time specification and action status.

naC-, naM-, in-, ne-, and naka- signal pre-present completed action of the verb: e.g. nabbasa kami singafi. 'We read last night.' nangan ak so dabo 'I ate a little while ago.' inang ak se Butigui 'I went to Butigui.' nesibo a danom 'The water was spilled.' nakaturug gami singgafi 'We were able to sleep last night.'

maC-, maM-, um-, me-, signal present or post-present action of the verb: e.g. matturog gami taw 'We will sleep here.' mattarabafowak 'I am working.' mangang kami 'We are eating.' or 'We will eat.' umang kami se makilat 'We are going to Makilot' or 'We will go to Makilot.' itan no takesi mena mesibo a danom 'You watch so that the water will not spill.' amek makaangat no matifun 'You are not able to breathe if you have a cold.'

-in signals definite completed action of the verb in the present time sequence: e.g. muranin 'raining now,' fuwafin 'twilight now,' matuturin 'sitting now.'

3. Time lore. The following lore gives further insight into ideas and attitudes toward time as related to Gaddang culture.

A. The story the old men tell describing course of the sun:
 ino langit mallange kadokal la kulud. nanu
 the sky is like big hill when
 gigibat ino sinag ay mangiyafo mallanga mallayaw
 morning the sun is beginning like running

so kulud. datangan na ino mangalintatu ay natuyog
 hill reaching it the noon strong

— a mallayaw amaso kabbayo a madassag so kulud
 running more than horse going down hill

— e mimwang so gakkip kase na sumalap inmanin so
 resting horizon before it disappears again
 likud na kulud.
 behind hill

'The sky is like a huge hill. In the morning the sun begins running the hill, finally reaching the top at noon. Then run-

ning faster than a horse, it descends the hill and rests on the horizon before it disappears again behind the hill.'

B. When indicating a certain time division of the day, a Gaddang usually points to the relative position of the sun in addition to using the proper term from Chart 3. When the sun is hidden behind a grey overcast, one may tell where the sun is by catching an *alimpapara* (praying mantis) and asking it: *anto ginanda sinag?* 'Where is the sun?' The mantis will respond by nodding its head in the direction of the sun.

C. *bittal*. A *bittal* is a piece of vine or string in which knots have been tied to represent days. A knot is cut off for each passing day. Hence, if two men planned to meet at a certain place in thirty days, each one would prepare a thirty-knot *bittal*. Each one would hang his *bittal* in a conspicuous place and cut off one knot each day. When all of the knots are gone, he would know that it was time to keep his appointment.

D. Personal age is not generally recorded. Most Gaddangs are time-conscious in relation to events rather than to dates. World War II is a major time-factor for this present generation. In referring to past experiences they refer to pre-war time, war time, and post-war time sequences.

We can see then, that the way the Gaddang organize time may be quite different from the way others do. An exploration of the way a people organize the other aspects of "reality" by a knowledge of their language offers the anthropologist and his readers a glimpse into man's mind through the linguistic window.

CHART 1

Terms Time Block Identifying Factors

1. dawon	Nov.-June	After harvest until planting time.
2. koresima	Mar.-June	The real hot days
3. ungung	Aug.-Dec.	Rainy season
4. irid	Nov.-Jan.	The Cool days (literally 'cool winds')

CHART 2

Terms	Time Block	Identifying Features
laddaw	Nov.-Dec.	End of rice harvest and storage. Name of a large frog species. When it begins to croak, the month begins.
awawini	January	Name of a climbing vine species. When its fruit is ripe, the month begins.
angkali	February	Name of a bush species. When its white flowers begin to bloom, the month begins.
taggat	Mar.-Apr.	Name of a tree species. When the tree blooms, the month begins.
banafa	May	Name of a tree species. When this tree blooms, the month begins.
adawoy	June	Name of a star formation. When this formation (shaped like a head-ax) appears on the horizon at "the first crowing of the chicken," the month begins. This is also the time to begin rice planting.
akkal	July	When bongang, a star formation, appears "overhead in the sky," the month begins.
kamadoyong	August	The first new moon after akkal.
wallo	September	Literally means "eight." The first new moon after kamadoyong.
assam	October	Literally means "nine." The arrival of harvest time.
maratopang ⁵	Oct.-Nov.	The first new moon after beginning of the rice harvest.

⁵This term also means that the people are getting fat because they are now eating new rice.

CHART 3

Term	Time Block	Identifying Features
lumatog a sinag	Dawn	From the first hint of dawn until the sun has risen.
mamangan	a.m. 9:00-10:00	Time to water the carabao
gumampapao	a.m. 10:00-11:00	The sun is climbing to the top of the sky.
mangalintato	a.m. 12:00	High noon. When the sun shines on one's head without leaving a shadow.
tangnga na aw	a.m. 12:00	High noon. Literally 'middle of the day.'
gafenin	p.m. 4:00-6:00	Work in the fields is resumed.
tabatangan a kaful	p.m. 4:00-5:00	One is able to make a short trip, walking slowly.
tabatangan a natuyag	p.m. 5:00-6:00	One is able to make a short trip, but he will have to walk fast.
fuab	p.m. 6:00-8:00	Approaching twilight.
nesadang i sinag		The sun reclining or leaning on the horizon.
domaperap		The sun half-way down.
abafanig		Dusk, the time when the evil spirits (abafanig) come out to roam.
fuab, tumok, gaf		Dark, nightfall.

CHART 4

Term	Time Block	Identifying Features
tumukin	p.m. 8:00	Nightfall now.
tangnga na gafi	p.m. 12:00	Midnight. Literally "middle of the night." This term has no real identifying feature and covers a wide area of time.
mamita na manok	a.m. 2:00-3:00	First crowing of the rooster.
mamiddwaa na manok	a.m. 3:00-4:00	Second crowing of the rooster.
mamilo na manok	a.m. 4:00-5:00	Third crowing of the rooster.

CHART 5

Grammar Time-signal Forms:

	Post-present	Pre-present	Present
A.	siN ⁶	ingkeyin	nanu ⁷ nu
	siin		apappana
	so		
	so dabo		nu dabo
	Pre-present		Post-present
B.	naC ⁸	maC-	maC-
	naM ⁹	maM-	maM-
	in-	um-	um-
	nc-	me-	me-
		-in	

6 N stands for a nasal that assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, e.g., *singgafi* 'yesterday', *simfuab* 'last night night'.

7 Nann fluctuates freely with nu, nu being a contracted form of nanu: e.g. *nudamat* 'tomorrow' or *nanu daramat* 'tomorrow.'

8 C stands for a consonant which completely assimilates to the stem-initial consonant.

9 M stands for a nasal which assimilates to the point of articulation of stem-initial consonant and replaces that consonant, e.g. *bannwet* 'fish hook', *mamannwet* 'to fish with hook.'

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MEDICAL ANTHROPOLOGY:
THE PALA'WAN BABAYLAN'S VIEWS ON DISEASE-CAUSATION

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Introduction

Notions about disease must have occupied an important place in the thinking of both "primitive" and "civilized" men.¹ By exacting its toll of individuals, disease disrupts patterns of relationships and undermines the integrity of society. The bodily discomforts with which it punishes individuals are experiences which are both painful and long remembered. To both the individual and his society, diseases have a way of demonstrating, oftentimes in tragic vividness, man's helplessness before unseen and seemingly capricious forces which remain unknown and perhaps unknowable.

(1) W. W. Howells expressed it more lengthily in his book, *The Heathens*. Doubleday and Company, Inc.: Garden City, New York, 1948, p. 87.

The western coast of Palawan Island is endemic for a lot of diseases.² The indigenous peoples living in the outlying areas suffer from the debilitating effects of malaria, filariasis, tuberculosis, intestinal parasitism and various forms of skin diseases. People in these areas must have evolved modes of adjustment to such sources of stress in the environment. Some of these adjustments lie in the cultural realm and include accepted ideas of disease and standard techniques of curing them. These explanations about disease give order to events and enable these people to actively and confidently institute measures in their behalf.

This study attempts to probe into the views of a Palawan healer (*babaylan*) regarding disease-causation. The materials presented in this paper are the outcome of a cursory excursion by the writer, into this aspect of Pala'wan culture, while taking time off from training in field methods in archeology under Dr. Robert B. Fox at the UP-National Museum Field School held at Quezon, Palawan during the Summer of 1965.

In connection with my inquiry, I thought it relevant to learn something about the manner in which a Pala'wan is trained for future medical practice. Surely the training of a medical practitioner in any society is premised on certain assumptions regarding the nature of disease. I also asked the *babaylan* to enumerate the disease categories which he recognized and to explain their etiology, symptoms as well as their therapy. Aside from interviewing informants, I also collected some cases of alleged cures

(2) For a tabulated summary of diseases endemic in Palawan, refer to the Philippines Health Statistics, 1963. Annual Report of the Disease Intelligence, Department of Health, Manila, pp. 58-94.

Of the diseases listed in this publication the following diseases are listed as quite common in Palawan: Malaria, Tuberculosis, cholera, dysentery, whooping cough, yaws, measles, mumps, influenza, pneumonia, bronchitis, gastro-enteritis, coitis. Recent studies have confirmed the endemicity of filariasis in the area. (Rozeboom, L. E. and B. D. Cabrera. "Filariasis caused by *Brugia Malayi* in the Republic of Philippines." *Amer. Journal Epid.*, 1965 (81): 200-215 also Rozeboom, L. E. and B. D. Cabrera. "Filariasis caused by *Wuchereria Bancrofti* in Palawan, Republic of the Philippines." *Amer. Journal Epid.*, 1965 (81): 216-221).

and observed some rituals which yielded valuable information pertinent to my study.

Much of my knowledge of Pala'wan medical lore has been taught me by Ongak Bukak. Ongak is considered by the Pala'wans and the Christians living in the Municipality of Quezon as the topmost babaylan around the area. I also came to know, and learn from, (Pito Lapit, once a full-time practising babaylan before he joined the labor force of the archeological team of the National Museum in Palawan.)

In spite of my acquaintance with two of the most articulate members of Pala'wan society on this aspect of Pala'wan culture, the information and findings presented here should be regarded as merely suggestive and exploratory. My cursory acquaintance with Pala'wan life and culture, my infrequent visits to Ongak and my short interviews with Pito should caution the reader into heeding the above warning.

A Pala'wan Becomes a Babaylan

The Pala'wans constitute one of the major ethnic groups which inhabit the western coast of Palawan Island.³ While some of the Pala'wans, especially those living in close contact with lowland christians, have adopted some of the cultural traits of their neighbors such as clothing habits, religion, transistor radios, lipstick, etc., economically, they remain basically swidden agriculturists. At the end of the dry season, they burn and clear a patch of forested land, where they raise some upland rice and rootcrops such as taro and yam. They occasionally raise some chickens and pigs but these find more use as sacrificial animals during religious rites rather than as important components of their daily diet.

A Pala'wan becomes a babaylan by first undergoing training in the art and science of babaylanship under a duly acknowledged

(3, A more detailed discussion of the social organization of the Palawan is presented by K. G. Gurumurthy, 1965. "Palawan Social Organization." Student Papers of the U. P. Department of Anthropology Summer Field School: Palawan Number (In Press).

babaylan. Some dreams are regarded as signs of one's "being called" into the fold of **babaylan**ship. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Ongak's father and grandfather were both **babaylans**. He however, expressed the view that his children need not go into the healing profession if they so choose. The paraphernalia used by a practitioner are usually passed on as heirlooms to his successor. The practice of healing seems to be opened to both sexes, since a female **babaylan** was pointed out to me during my brief stay in Palawan.

Pito, usually a secretive fellow, revealed during a wine party held at the summer camp that this period of apprenticeship is capped with a crucial test. The candidate is asked to station himself alone at the fork of a road during a dark night. The night vigil is highlighted by the appearance of a creature of many eyes and tongues called **suba**. If the candidate remains unperturbed by this frightening apparition, he has proven himself worthy of becoming a **babaylan**.

The **suba**, failing in his efforts to waylay a dedicated candidate, is transformed into the figure of a man. At this point the candidate falls asleep, during which he dreams of the various remedies for the many diseases that he will encounter in his practice. These "trade secrets" supplement the knowledge of rituals and ceremonies he learns from his tutor. The learning of rites and the proper way of conducting ceremonies form an important part of the training of the **babaylan**. It is believed that no drug is efficacious in the absence of the properly performed rites which accompany its administration. Dreams are regarded as avenues through which dead ancestors and relatives may reveal some therapeutic measures to the **babaylan**.

Some Communal Rites Related to the Prevention or Cure of Disease

The **pagdiwata** is a nocturnal ceremony attended by the whole community and is held usually once every full moon. During the ceremony, the goodwill of the spirits is courted with offerings of **tabad** (rice wine), **minemmel** (cake made from leavened rice), and

uncooked rice. Continuous playing of brass gongs and drums made from a skin of a big lizard or snake stretched over one end of a hollow cylinder, punctuates the occasion. The **babaylan** who intercedes for the community during this occasion periodically utters incantations and supplications directed to beings of the spirit world. Part of his task during this ceremony is to dance in a manner believed to be pleasing to the spirit.

In the course of his dancing, the **babaylan** intermittently goes in to epileptic-like fits, during which the spirits are believed to reveal to him their wishes. It is also regarded as a sign that the spirits acknowledge his supplications. The supplications, according to Ongak, are mainly requests to **Ampo**, the highest diety of the Pala'wans, to cure them of their afflictions and to protect the Pala'wan community from the pranks of malevolent spirits. Prayers however, are not directly addressed to **Ampo** but to **Diwata**, a lesser diety, who is most concerned with the affairs of men and who acts as mediator between the Pala'wans and the highest diety.

Usually, after his epileptic-like fits the **babaylan** dips a small branch with green leaves attached to it, into a bowl of water, and calls those from the audience who want to be cured of any affliction to the center of the gathering where he presides. The **babaylan** then brushes the forehead and strikes gently the head of each of his patients with the wet leaves. This is followed by touching the front part of the patient's neck with a finger dipped into a small bottle of coconut oil. This treatment was applied to all the persons who presented themselves before the **babaylan** in the **Pagdiwata** ceremony that I attended, I observed that except for one or two served that except for or two who spent a longer time conversing with the **babaylan**, the patients received similar treatment which seemed to me too mechanical to allow the **babaylan** to make a differential diagnosis of the condition of his patients. Whether this observation reflects the "shotgun" effectiveness of the therapy or the closely knit character of Pala'wan society and therefore the **babaylan's** familiarity with his patient's conditions was not clear to me.

There are also rites designed to appease spirits whose abodes (some trees) are about to be cut down or whose properties (certain plants) are about to be razed to the ground by kaingin farmers. During these rites a white rooster is killed and offered as sacrifice. The *babaylan* invokes the spirits concerned to accept the rooster as payment for the act of trespass that is about to be made on their property. Without these precautionary measures, the cutting down of big trees or the trespassing of territories believed to be inhabited by the spirits is invariably followed by misfortune and disease befalling the offending parties.

The Pala'wans also believed in the existence of spirits which occasionally, wilfully play pranks on hapless mortals. Thus if an animal behaves queerly (e.g. if a wild animal appears unusually tame before people), the spirit who may own it is believed to be playing pranks on people. One's catching or harming the animal is believed to result in sickness for the person involved.

Some Disease Categories

Ongak pointed out the following most common diseases that afflict his people. An examination of them might give us some ideas about the Pala'wans' thinking about disease.

Agnao. Is a condition which affects the young, adult and the aged. It is characterized by chilling which disappears after the patient shall have sweated. It is believed to result from one's exposure to drastic changes in temperature, such as sudden exposure to rain after having been under the hot sun for quite some time. Although this condition may be severe enough to prevent a Pala'wan from doing his daily chores, it is not considered serious by Ongak. The therapy consists in making the patient smell a preparation made by adding a little water to the crushed leaves of a plant which the Pala'wans call *sansannaurog*. The body is also massaged with this mixture two times a day. The patient is expected to get well the following day after the institution of the therapy.

Saket et ulo. This is felt by an individual who has been under the hot sun for a while. It is also believed to result from a prolonged and uninterrupted sleep. All individuals of all ages and of both sexes are susceptible to it. It is characterized by a pain in the head which feels "as if a nail is being driven into the skull." It lasts for about 3-4 hours without cure, but with the proper drug preparations, the condition disappears within a day. The drug preparation is made by crushing the **tumbong** (young shoot) of a plant locally called **balinad** and mixing it with the leaf buds of a plant called **bisser**. The mixture is applied to the temporal and frontal regions of the head.

Lilinog. When one has **lilinog**, one has the curious feeling that the world "seems to be turning around." One afflicted with this condition finds it hard even to just walk. This condition is believed to result when after a sustained hard work in the fields or in the house, one sleeps at once. Without medication, this condition may last for at least one week. An ointment made from the crushed root of the plant **kalyaga** soaked in water is applied to the body three times a day. This should alleviate the patient's condition in about two days.

Iked. A patient afflicted with this experiences a persistent itching of the throat accompanied with convulsive coughing that sounds like the "barking of dogs." The coughing fit however is dry and unproductive. As to the cause of this condition, Ongak has an interesting explanation.

The Pala'wans believe that there are plants which are owned and tended by the malevolent spirits. Among these plants are the **sanek** and the **tugbo**. The former is a tree while the latter is a sugarcane like plant which is believed to be the "palay" (rice plant) of the spirits. Now the Pala'wans also believe in the existence of many **kurudwa** (soul) of a person. These **kurudwa** may reside in insects, birds, or in the bigger animals. If any of these animals in which

the *kurudwa* inhabits happens to touch or eat the fruits or even sip the nectar of the flowers of any of the plants owned by the spirits, the person to whom the *kurudwa* belongs gets sick, as a retaliatory measure from the offended spirits.

For this sickness, the *babaylan* prepares a potion by suspending in water small cut portions of the youngest part of the stem of a plant known as *pelo-pelo*. As soon as the potion is made the *babaylan* drinks a sample of it to test its potency. This act assures the patient of the non-toxicity of the prescribed medication: if no untoward incident happens to the *babaylan*, the patient takes the medication immediately after. A sustained therapy should effect cure within a week's time.

It is interesting to note that Ongak correlates the flowering of the *sanek* and the maturation of the *tugbo* with the onset of the cold and rainy months of Palawan. The *tabbanua*, one of the major ethnic groups in the area and with whom the *Pala'wan* interact and intermarry, correlate the coming of the cold monsoons with the sailing of the much feared *salakep*, malevolent spirit who brings epidemics and who carry the dead in their outriggers.⁴

If there is anything common among the therapeutic measures enumerated by Ongak, it is his insistence in the ineffective action of these preparations, without the proper performance of the rites that attend their administration. Moreover, if a therapy proves ineffective, the onus of the blame is usually laid on the incorrect manner in which the rites were performed. Furthermore, in making the differential diagnosis of the patient's ailment, great emphasis is given on knowing the past activities of the individual, particularly the places where he went during the day, or days before.

(4) Robert B. Fox. *Religion and Society Among the Tagbanua of Palawan Island Philippines*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Chicago, 1954, pp. 217-219, 352.

Sample Cases of Alleged Cures

The following case histories are some of the alleged cures claimed by Ongak. The case of Gloria Magkuha was first mentioned to me by a Christian inhabitant of Quezon, Palawan and was subsequently confirmed by Ongak himself when I asked him about it. Whether or not the following cases are really instances of actual cures is probably less important than the fact that they provide us some insight into the manner in which a Pala'wan medical practitioner thinks about diseases.

Case No. 1. Gloria Magkuha is a married christian female, who one day felt dizzy and suffered a headache. At about this time she was reported to have lost the ability for intelligible speech. Ongak was able to gather from the patient when the case was referred to him, that she spent the day clearing a *kaingin*. Ongak attributed her condition to the fact that evil spirits came near her while she was working in the field, resulting in her having smelled them. A concoction made by soaking some leaves in water was applied on her body and this alleviated her condition after two days. Ongak explained that the juice of the leaves of the plant used in the rubdown is abhorred by the evil spirit.

Case No. 2. Dawdaw was a young unmarried Pala'wan female, She was observed to behave differently and strangely for which she was referred to Ongak. She broke into fits of laughter without apparent reason; she did not answer questions and appeared to be answering questions not asked of her. Ongak diagnosed her case as a mild degree of *variado* - *variado*, a consequence of the spirits having made fun of her ("pinaglaruan ng mga espiritu"). A body rubdown with an ointment made by crushing and soaking the leaves of a plant in water restored her to her former self. The ointment was believed to be noxious to the spirits.

Case No. 3. The case of Rudolfo Abes illustrates a case of extreme *variado*. According to Ongak, Rudolfo Abes, now a married Christian settler, was brought by former Provincial

Board member of Palawan, Victor Pagayuna, to him for strange behavior. The patient was senselessly talkative, struck persons and objects with his fists and wore a hat one moment only to tear it the next moment.

When Ongak saw him for the first time, Abes defecated before him and offered some of it to Ongak, claiming it to be "American bread." When Ongak refused the offer, he began eating some of it. Shortly after he voided into a bottle and offered it to Ongak, claiming to be "Pepsi-Cola" and when Ongak refused the offer, he drank a portion of it. Ongak attributed his condition to the pranks of some malevolent spirits like *saitan* who often play jokes on men. A month long treatment consisting of a body rubdown,⁵ with a concoction made from herbs which is detested by the spirits apparently brought back Abes to sanity. The treatment was administered twice daily.

Summary and Future Research

The data presented here are admittedly too scanty to allow us to make definitive statements about the nature of disease as viewed by the Pala'wans. They do offer us, however, some insights into this aspect of Pala'wan culture and suggest means whereby we can arrive at more conclusive statements in the future.

The Pala'wans as other peoples do elsewhere value health. They actively take measures to maintain or restore this desired state among the members of their community. They regard disease as a kind of a misfortune or punishment which brings bodily discomfort and interferes with one's daily activities. It is also regarded as an event of social concern.

The causative factors in disease, while these are to some extent attributed to physical factors such as changes in tempera-

(5) The widespread use of body massage by this babaylan supports Howells' observation that massage is a treatment common in the Pacific. (*The Heathens*, p. 99).

ture, are in the main attributed to the working of malevolent or offended spirits. Within this frame of reference, it becomes logical why most preventive and remedial measures adopted by the Pala'wans are intended to: 1) secure the good graces of deities during ritual observances who can protect them from, and cure them of their diseases; 2) appease the deities who might have been inadvertently angered by careless and thoughtless acts of mortals; 3) make use of drug preparation which work against disease-causing spirits.

Ideas concerning the nature and control of disease are tied up with the religious beliefs of these people. A more thorough study of these beliefs can give us more information on the role of beings in the spirit world in the causation of disease. A rigorous study of the religious and medical terminologies of the Pala'wans might enable us to discern relations and influences of other ethnic groups on this aspect of Pala'wan culture.

A more detailed listing and description of the disease categories as well as the collection of more detailed case histories should give us a more accurate picture of the nature of disease as viewed by the Pala'wans. In this connection, it might be interesting to find out whether the esoteric knowledge of the *babaylan* is shared by the Pala'wan non-specialist. Furthermore a systematic collection and identification of the different plants used by the *babaylan* and an assay of their pharmacological properties would either enrich our pharmacopoeia⁶ or give us some insights into the workings of psychosomatic medicine.

(6) Erwin H. Ackernecht estimates that from twenty-five to fifty percent of the pharmacopoeia of primitive peoples is found to be objectively active. He lists the following drug sources as having been borrowed from the pharmacopoeia of primitive peoples: Opium, hashis, hemp, coca, conchinal, eucalyptus, sarsaparilla, acala, kouso, copaido, guaiac, jalap podophyllin, guasin ("Problems of Primitive Medicine" in William A. Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt (eds.) *Reader in Comparative Religion: Anthropological Approaches*, 2nd Ed. Harper & Row, Publishers: New York, 1965, p. 399.)

W. W. Howells estimates five per cent for the ingredients used by a South African Medicine Man to have some effect of some sort. (Howells, *op. cit.*, p. 99).

Finally, a study of the babaylan's relationships with his patient's and with society at large should give us a body of understanding about the popularity and persistence of this institution not only among the Pala'wans but also among the other christian and non-christian groups in the country. Such studies might also provide us with explanations for the refractory results which usually follow attempts of government and civic-spirited groups to uplift health conditions in the rural areas.⁷ Conversely, for people engaged in introducing modern medical practices among non-literate societies, this should lead to more effective ways of dealing with an institution, the influence of which might well spell the difference between the persistence of traditions or the acceptance of change.

(7) See F. Landa Jocano, "Social Structure and the Program of Directed Change: A Case Study from Western Visayas, Philippines," *Science Review*, Nov. 1963. Vol. 4 pp. 8-13, for an analysis of the outcome of an attempt to introduce modern medical practices in a Philippine barrio in terms of the social organization of the people into which the change was introduced.

THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF KALINGA RELIGION: A NATIVE'S VIEW

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INTRODUCTION

Were there a homogeneity of religion in the world, perhaps there would be no need to write an essay on religion among an ethnic group such as the Kalingas.¹ For there would have been unity and uniformity of faith, belief, and ritual. But as it is

¹ Legally speaking the Kalingas are the inhabitants of the geographical area referred to as Kalinga by law. Culturally, however, the Kalingas include the inhabitants of Manducayan, Natonin in Eastern Bontoc (now Mountain Province). It must be noted also that the Kalingas are not a homogeneous ethnic group, they are an aggregate of various tribes with a certain amount of dissimilarities in physical appearance, customs beliefs, traditions, etc.

(and as it has always been), there is heterogeneity and multiplicity of religions in the world because of the variety of religious experience.²

The immediate consequence of this multiplicity of religions in the world is that nobody can impose a universal definition of religion. Secondly, there can be no single approach to the study of religions.³ For religion, as for everything else, we must admit of a variety of definitions and of a diversity of viewpoints.

In this paper a particular viewpoint has been assumed and the study is based mainly on my personal researches in the area and on the materials available in the University of the Philippines. These, then, are the limitations which warrant the validity of the assertions of this study.

PAPER'S VIEWPOINT

However diverse religion is defined among the various societies of the world, there is something common among them that we can take as a starting point to study any religion. Every religion has two aspects: its **content** and its **form**.⁴

The content or doctrinal aspect is a complex understanding of reality—reality defined in terms of the external world, human existence and life, goodness, evil, value, etc. In other words, reality defined in terms of the totality of human experience—human ex-

2 The reader is referred to the classic works of William James *The Varieties of Religious Experience*. New York: Collier Books, 1961.

3 This is attested to by the book edited by M. Barton, *Approaches to the Study of Religion*. New York: Praeger, 1966.

4 This distinction between the content and form of a religion is borrowed from the German Catholic theologian Karl Rebner. Edward Schilleseeckbx, another Catholic theologian, makes use of the distinction. A renowned Protestant minister, Cantwell Smith, operates on the same distinction, only he uses "reifications" for form. The reader is referred to his book, *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., Mentor Paperback, 1964).

perience as an inter-subjective relationship with things, the external world, fellowmen, spirits, and Supreme Being (God).⁵

The form or reification is the specific modality of being or manner of living flowing from and even imposed by this understanding of reality.⁶

The viewpoint we are assuming here then is the viewpoint of Mircea Eliade summarized in a simple but very meaningful phrase: "Behind ritual is an ontology."⁷

Between content and form is a relationship similar to that which exists between body and spirit in man: As the spirit (soul) is alive in the body, so also belief is alive in ritual. As man by nature is spirit and body, mind and action; he is by religion doctrine and ritual; he expresses in ritual acts the religious truth of his ontology. It is an ontology or understanding of reality which gives meaning to religious rites and rituals and at the same time serves as their rational⁸ motive. At the same time, a religion devoid of form is as meaningless as one devoid of content. Rituals or the so called reifications of religion are, therefore, not meaning-

5 Christian doctrine involves for example, a Triune God who created the world and all that is in it and who sent his only Begotten Son in the fullness of time to save mankind from sin. And this doctrine of reality imposes on man, a form of worship called the mass wherein the believer incorporates himself to Christ's latent sacrifice which is made present here and now through rites. Or again in Indian thought *Nirvana* is the state of human perfection. Now this term is not just a simple entry in Webster's dictionary. Any student of Indian thought can tell you the vast compass of the *Weltanschauung* which this term implies. It indeed connotes a complex pantheistic philosophy which denies any value whatsoever to the material world and to terrestrial human existence. For this philosophy (religion) is committed to the idea that the sole reality is the Atman or world soul with which man must unite himself through the annihilation of all desires for everything material to attain timeless bliss which is the state of *Nirvana*.

6 Form includes institutions, rites, symbols, rituals, etc.

7 See Mircea Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Translated by W. R. Trask, Bollinger Series XLVI) New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1954, and also his *The Sacred and the Profane*.

8 Rational not in the sense of discursive logic but in the sense of intelligibility. For the fundamental element in religion the holy is most non-rational yet it is, intelligible in the context of each religion.

less as some writers⁹ would have it but are integral if not essential parts of religious faith or belief necessary to make religion alive and humanly meaningful.

At this point, a corollary problem may be mentioned—that of the derivation of this ontology or understanding of reality in all religions. How did these religions come to such conception of reality on the bases of which they accordingly behave in their rituals? Without going into details for that would lead us too far, let us simply say that man has "eyes to see" and "ears to hear." Man's gateways to reality are "seeing" (this term encompassing man's total mind and its operations and capacities) and "hearing" (this term embracing all that is connected with that attitude in man called faith which enables him to accept what is unbelievable in the level of his limited reason).¹⁰ Taking these two points as basis for classification, we may categorize the world's religions into two groups: "Mythological religions" and "revealed religions." All religions founded on human ingenuity and do not admit of revelations from above belong to the former; all those founded on revelations from above belong to the latter, such as Christianity and Islam.

KALINGA ONTOLOGY OR UNDERSTANDING OF REALITY

Like all other peoples of the earth, the Kalingas have their own concepts of the world, of human existence and life, goodness evil, value, etc. The totality of these concepts constitutes what may be called Kalinga Ontology or understanding of reality.

Barton describes the Kalinga cosmos as consisting of five regions: *Pita*, the earth; *Ngato*, the skyworld, *Dalum di pita*, the

⁹ Among them are D. Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* London and Glasgow: Fontana Books, 1966; W. C. Smith *The Meaning and End of Religion* New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., Mentor Paperback, 1964; those who depreciate Filipino folk catholicism may also be counted among these writers.

¹⁰ See for further details Rene de Brabander's article in the *Contemporary Studies*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (March 1967), pp. 3-21.

underworld; **Daiya** or **Suyung**, the upper stream region; **Lagod**, downstream region.¹¹

Here two comments are in order: first, the late Roy F. Barton made his studies in the Lubuagan area of what is commonly referred to as Southern Kalinga. Therefore, properly speaking, his description of the Kalinga cosmos should hold true only for this area and not for the entire Kalinga as he proposes it to be. Second, while Barton's terms exist and are actually used by the Kalingas, I am really at a loss as to where Barton got the meanings he gave them. The Kalingas certainly do not possess the sophistication of the Hebrew or Greek mind to have evolved this cosmos compartmentalized into regions. Indeed, the Kalingas (the people of Lubuagan included) speak of the earth (*pita* or *luta* with its interior *dalum di pita* — inside the earth) as a separate and distinct entity from the stars (*bituwon*) in the *langit* (sky) but never of an underworld or skyworld. The rest of the terms mistakenly interpreted by Barton are directional terms: *Ngato* means up or above; *Daiya* means south; *Suyung* usually refers to the irrigation source and hence cannot be synonymous with *daiya* as again Barton thinks; *lagod* is north.

Here it may be pointed out that the directional sense of the Kalinga does not completely coincide with the Western compass. For they do not have terms which correspond to East and West. For these directions they use the terms for depth and height as designation i.e. *dora* and *ngato* respectively. Or, they simply use descriptive designations like "where the sun rises" and "where the sun sets". For the designations of directions, all depends on one's position which is the sole point of reference.

The world-view of the Kalingas is limited to the confines of how far their eyes can see and how far their feet can carry them. The cosmos, then, for the Kalinga is his community and the places

¹¹ See Roy F. Barton, *The Kalingas, Their Institutions, and Custom Law* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1949).

immediately surrounding this community. The center of the cosmos is of course the community.

This cosmos is inhabited by a hierarchy of beings: Kabuniyan occupying the highest rank, spirits, men and animals occupying the intermediate ranks, and things the lowest rank.

Kabuniyan has an ambivalent personality.¹² He is conceived as the Supreme Being, the maker¹³ of everything that is. He is also the supreme teacher who taught everything that man should do.¹⁴ At other times he is conceived as a culture hero, the personification of everything that is humanly ideal, who in the ancient past walked among men in this world.

Conceived as the supreme being, Kabuniyan is not of much concern to the Kalingas. In relation to the daily life of the Kalingas, he appears to possess little relevance. Very rarely is he prayed to. He seems to have little power and dominion over his "creation" and much less as to having any influence on spirits and men.¹⁵

Though there is no clear indication as to his dwelling place. Kabuniyan is like that complacent Aristotelian Prime Mover who sits high above unconcerned about the activities of men, happy and self-sufficient by himself.

12 Cf. Barton, *op. cit.* and Edward Dozier, *Mountain Arbiters* (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1966).

13 I prefer this term to the commonly abused alternative term creator. Because in the western understanding of creation the fundamental idea is that of evolving something out of nothing (*ex nihilo* to quote the Latin expression), whereas the Kalingas do not have this idea when they speak of Kabuniyan as having made everything. Apparently, in their understanding Kabuniyan evolved everything out of something.

14 Callopong, the most reputed priestess in Lubo, Tanudan Kalinga emphatically impressed this idea on me when she told me that whenever they (the media) perform their ritual it is always an obligatory procedure to begin with the following invocation: "Kabuniyan ad ngato ngi upan mangi-tud-tu-do ta a-min ne mak'wa nu maid kan nangi-tud-tu-do". (Kabuniyan high above who else teaches us what to do if you did not so taught us). According to her they have to do this otherwise the ritual would be invalid and ineffectual.

15 Barton and Dozier also note this character trait.

Next in the hierarchy of beings inhabiting the Kalingas' cosmos are a variety of non-human beings which Western writers identify as spirits. However, when one comes to think that spirit is a Western generic concept which refers to incorporeal entities, a doubt arises as to the appropriateness of this term in the context of Kalinga culture. As far as the Kalinga is concerned his perception of these non-human beings always involves a corporeal form. He perceives these beings either in human or animal-like fashion. Spirit, as a concept, is non-existent in the Kalinga mode of thought. When a Kalinga speaks of them he is careful to call them by their specific names — **Bullayao, Angtan, Alan** or **Aran, Anito, Pinading, Buliyat**, etc. Barton, in his book identifies and describes (his descriptions cannot be taken as categorical and definitive because of their inaccuracies and exaggerations) these non-human entities and categorizes them under the term deity.¹⁶ The distinguishing trait of these non-human entities from human beings is their manner of existing or modality of being: their habits, movements, looks, etc. are not those of human beings. They are in a level of being higher than the human because they are apparently free from the limitations imposed by time and space.

Among the Kalingas there are two types of deities. The first are the nature deities who have never been human beings (ex. **Pina-ing, Angtan**, etc.). The second group is composed of dead ancestors and relatives. Both these types of spirits live in specific places within the community or in the surrounding vicinity — for example, in brooks, grooves, river banks, big trees, etc. In any case, they live always in some place remote or removed from the dwelling place of men to avoid the possibility of contact which inevitably leads to trouble or suffering for either side. Like men these deities go out of their habitations at specified hours of the day and night: **ma-a-ya-dang** to **ar-arana't ma-ma-**

¹⁶ Deity is perhaps a better generic term for these non-human entities because this term though it centers on the possession of "divine character" does not necessarily exclude in its conceptualization some corporeal form.

tok (9:00 to 11:00 a.m.) and ag-a-gao (2:00 to 3:00 p.m.) during the day time and ko-sóp to ma-da-ma-an (8:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m.) during night time. These are the hours when men are well settled in their work or taking their rest within their community. These spatial and temporal arrangements are essentials of the cosmic order which facilitates harmonious interaction between deities and men. As long as both sides stick to it there is order and harmony in the cosmos. However, when either side trespasses the spatial or temporal domain of the other, disorder follows always to man's detriment since the deities have the power of inflicting all kinds of evil which man does not possess. Should man wish to get rid of these evils he must perform some appropriate ritual to amend (his) wrong.

Thus for the Kalinga the root of evil¹⁷ is transgression of the the cosmic order. Such a transgression seems always tantamount to disobedience. And because evil is an ever present threat, the whole life of a Kalinga is permeated with ritual.¹⁸ For him life is a struggle against the forces of death, an ever present possibility of annihilation of terrestrial existence concretely personified in the presence of nature deities. One can therefore imagine the seriousness and intensity with which the Kalinga takes his religious rituals.¹⁹

As to the destiny of man after this present life, the Kalinga seems to think in terms of an after life in the sense of a new modality of being (existence and life in this world distinct from

17 Evidences show that the Kalinga is not familiar with the distinction between physical and moral evil. For him, these are two aspects of one thing. Physical evil is the external manifestation of an internal disorder in a man. This disorder being the consequence of a ruptured interpersonal relationship.

18 This holds true also for the Bontoc Sagadas. Cf. Albert Bacdayan, "Religious Conversion and Social Reintegration in a Western Bontoc Village Complex" The Ninth and Tenth Annual Baguio Acculturation Conference, 1965-66, pp. 27-40. Reprinted from *St. Louis Quarterly*, Vol. 5 Nos. 1 & 2, (March-June, 1967).

19 I do not agree with Dozier who says that the Kalingas do not take their "mandadawak" seriously. Cf. *op. cit.* His "some Christianized Kalingas depreciate the indigenous rituals" is evidently a biased judgement.

the modality of existence and life *hic et nunc*.²⁰ There is no question of an after world distinct from and hostile to this world²¹ where he lives this new modality of being. There is only the question of translation into a new manner of existence and life, namely, that of the spirits, initiated by death. But this "new life" is lived in this terrestrial cosmos within definite spatial bounds allotted to spirits and subject to a temporal sequence proper to "spiritual" nature or personality. Thus for the Kalinga, there are two modalities of existence and life in the cosmos: the *here and now* which begins at birth and ends in death; and the "spiritual" which begins at death and whose end the Kalinga does not seem to know. These two modalities of being appear to be continuous in the temporal order but not in the order of values. True, "spiritual" life follows the life *here and now*; but the life *here and now* has its own proper values which cannot be carried over into "spiritual life". It is not, for example, clear whether a man who has been leader during his life in the *here and now*, enjoys the same status and privileges in his "spiritual life." It seems that in the mind of the Kalinga one's deeds in the *here and now*, whether good or bad, are of no consequence in the other life. The other life is indeed a new one also in the sense that one has to start really anew.²²

THE FORM, NATURE, AND FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION AMONG THE KALINGAS

There is no institutionalization of religion among the Kalingas as we find among the Christian churches or among the other great world religions. There are no churches, masses or services, religious orders, sacraments, and the like. The Kalingas have

20 I prefer to make the distinction between the life *here and now* and the after life rather than the traditional distinction between terrestrial life and the life after death because as we have seen there is only one world for the Kalinga, this world. In this perspective every modality of life is terrestrial life.

21 As Barton and Dozier conceptualize the Kalinga cosmos.

22 A discussion of the Kalinga concept of personality should be in order here; but we do not have the sufficient data to warrant such a discussion.

only one way of manifesting and expressing their religious faith and beliefs; and this is in various ritual forms performed by women media²³ who are called by diverse names according to the rituals they perform.²⁴ Ritual then is the main form of Kalinga religious life.

The most certain character of human life perhaps is its complexity which defies categorical and precise taxonomy. Kalinga rituals are as complex and are as varied as there are facets of Kalinga life. In a very schematic and general manner Kalinga rituals may be classified as follows: 1) rituals connected with all forms of illness, 2) rituals connected with agricultural activities, 3) rituals connected with death, 4) rituals connected with the birth and growth of an individual (life cycle), 5) rituals connected with marriage, 6) rituals connected with various transactions, 7) rituals performed in connection with the hunting of wild life, 8) rituals that have something to do with constructions, 9) rituals connected with headhunting, 10) rituals that have relevance to traveling, etc.²⁵

If we take all these together as composing the richness of Kalinga life, then, we are forced to conclude that religion for the Kalinga involves a complex which is his total way of life. His whole life is his religion since every cycle and aspect in this life possesses a justifying ritual. Every ritual is a justification for human activity because it is that which gives meaning, value

23 The contrast existing between Ifugao and Kalinga in this aspect may be noted: In Ifugao the media are men which is rarely the case in Kalinga though there is no doubt that male media do also exist in Kalinga.

24 There are the Mandadawak, the Man-a-allig, the Man-sa'sap-cy for example.

25 This classification is not proposed as a definitive and exhaustive one. However, it refutes the classification of Dozier who, gives only four — i.e. rituals connected with agriculture, illness, death and headhunting. The reader is also referred to the classification found in Rufino Tima's unpublished M.A. thesis, *Reaction to Health Innovation: the case of Two Kalinga Villages* University of the Philippines, Dilliman, Quezon City, 1968.

It must also be noted that under these general classifications, subclassifications exist which we do not need to treat here because that is not the primary object of this short paper.

and order to human existence and life. And if ritual gives meaning, value and order to human existence and life, it is because it stands for reality and puts order into the chaotic cosmos where man lives and acts giving human activity orientation.²⁶ In other words, ritual is valid and efficacious only because it stands for an ontology.²⁷

What, then, are the motives of Kalinga rituals? The rituals connected with the life cycle, agriculture, marriage, hunting of wild life, transactions, constructions, traveling and headhunting are performed apparently for no other reason than that the maker of men and some other culture heroes as Bugan and Wigan or Madan ad Maganodan, etc. have performed them in the beginning of time and prescribed their performance for man's own benefit, security, safety and well-being. Kabuniyan performed such and such a ritual having done this and that activity and has prescribed that men do likewise. Therefore, it must be done, otherwise there would be no order in such an activity — such a work would bear no fruit. Evidently, these groups of ritual are performed for the preservation of an order in the cosmos set or better decreed by the maker of men and things in the beginning of time. It is only when this order is preserved that human activity acquires meaning and significance.²⁸

The rituals connected with illness and death seem primarily to have also as motive their having been performed in the beginning of time by some culture hero or by the maker of men. Secondly, they are performed to propitiate the deities or dead ancestors who have inflicted the sickness or caused the death of the person involved.

Nature deities and dead ancestors inflict illness on the living not because they are hostile to men as Dozier would have it.²⁹

26 Cf. Mircea Eliade's book, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* Translated by Willard R. Trask, Bollinger Series XLVI, New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1954.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Dozier, *op. cit.* p. 187.

but because men have transgressed certain boundaries which belonged to them or because they are displeased with the way men manage their affairs, whether it be familial, agricultural, etc.³⁰ it

It should also be pointed out that the infliction of illness is not always intentional on the part of the deities. For it happens that these deities accidentally encounter men on their way and this encounter is enough to make a man ill. It is not clear, however, why men should be "allergic" to these non-human beings. The only explanation that can be given is that he is a human being while these are non-human beings. He must always remain a stranger to them just as they are to him.³¹

Kalinga religious rituals are, therefore, prescriptive in nature and at the same time mediative in function. The rituals connected with the life cycle, agriculture, marriage, hunting of wild life, etc. mediate between chaos and ontological order giving order, meaning and value to the human cosmos and man's activities; the rituals connected with illness and death mediate between the "world of the living" and the "world of the deities and the dead", restoring the broken order between them. While the Kalinga pañgat (leader) arbitrates between tribes to force a bodong (peace pact), the Kalinga medium performs a ritual to set order in the cosmos. The Kalinga is indeed "a mountain arbiter."³²

30 It is, for example, a common belief among the Lubo Kalingas in the Municipality of Tanudan that when a mother leaves her little child crying in the middle of the night, the dead ancestors or relatives of the child would come and take his life because they do not like the idea of a child left crying when everyone is supposed to be sleeping.

31 Perhaps, this would be a better understanding of Dozier's idea of the hostility of the deities to men. I mean, the deities, should not be conceived as necessarily always intending evil for man which seems to be the sense of Dozier (*op. cit.*) They are always hostile in the sense that their presence (whether intended or not) is always detrimental to man's well being because they belong to a strange world. Because the idea that these deities also help man at times cannot be discredited.

32 Cf. Dozier, *op. cit.*

CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS

In concluding this paper, I would just like to make the following comments and suggestions which I feel are of importance not only to the study of Kalinga culture but also to the study of Philippine culture in general especially when western writers are concerned:

1. This paper is preliminary in character. Kalinga remains a wide and rich field for research. As a matter of fact there are areas there practically untouched by researchers. And even the areas already studied, I dare say, there is need for re-studying them because of the inadequacies, inaccuracies and misinterpretations, as we have tried to indicate in the case of the works of Barton and Dozier, in the works published by Western writers. These weaknesses are due mainly to their unfamiliarity with the culture and to the lack of sufficient reflection on their data.
2. In the particular area of religion, our knowledge of the Kalingas is so far meager and inadequate to validate any general judgment on the subject.

The works of Barton and Dozier have done more descriptions of what we have termed the form of the religious experience of the Kalingas. There is no doubt that this task in itself is very important and valuable. The problem however, is that this type of study does not encompass the totality of the phenomenon because there is still the more important aspect of the task which we may call the "psycho-analysis" of the form in order to discover the world-view which underlies and makes this form intelligible and humanly meaningful.

The concentration on one aspect of the phenomenon on the part of the above mentioned Western writers led to a rather superficial description of Kalinga religion and to an understanding which is both distorted and altogether lacking in depth.

3. Another problem which again concerns primarily the western writers is the fact that when they come and study Philippine culture they tend, quite unintentionally, to view it from their own standpoint, and further describe it in terms which altogether carry the concepts, values and sentiments of their own cultures. What happens is that we have a description of Western culture but not of Philippine culture (Barton's description of the Kalinga cosmos mentioned in the beginning of this paper is a clear example). What is involved here is neither distortion nor superficiality. We simply get a picture sincerely drawn by a painter who keeps close to his model but who forgets that his symbols and the meanings he intends for his viewers differ from those of the people whose culture he is picturing.

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**DIVISION AND INTEGRATION
IN A SIBUTU BARRIO (SULU, PHILIPPINES)**

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Introduction

Aside from the usual ethnographic reporting, it is hoped that the materials herein presented will later prove useful for a general taxonomy and a more meaningful evaluation of Philippine rural cultures. The data will specifically focus on the divisive effect of inherited status and the integrative function of the mosque in a Sibutu barrio. Much of these materials were drawn from a community which I have called Bayong Kusa.¹

Bayong Kusa lies along the northwestern shores of Sibutu island in the Sulu archipelago, and is nearly contiguous with two

¹ This community was studied by the writer from November 1963 to August 1964 under the sponsorship of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Areas. Notre Dame of Jolo College, Sulu, Philippines.

larger communities to the north. Seven smaller settlements are located on the other side of the island. A commercial center is absent, and from the national standpoint, the largest community in the island is still a *barrio*. The municipal government for Sibutu and nearby islands is seated in Sitangkai — an island about 15 miles to the south. Excepting for a handful of individuals, the population of northwestern Sibutu, about half of the island's 5,549 (Census of the Philippines: 1960: 50-4), is nearly homogeneous. Ethnically, the people are Samals, who speak the language, Siamal, and are Moslems. They view the Taosugs of the archipelago with suspicion and regard the sea-roving Badjaos as inferior, if not contemptible. Both Taosugs and Badjaos are culturally separate from the Samals. Together, all three groups constitute the major population of Sulu archipelago.² Unlike most Samal groups, the people of northwest Sibutu are boat-makers rather than fishermen.

Bayong Kusa, as all the other settlements in the island, is locally known as a *kawm*. The *kawm* on which the *barrio* concept has been superimposed is a territorial as well as a sociological unit consisting of households which regularly participate in mosque-related activities. The mosque (*langal*) thus defines the independence of a community from another. Historically, Bayong Kusa following the establishment of its mosque branched off from an older settlement to the north, Tulingan, around the 1920's.

A complete census revealed that Bayong Kusa's population of 452 was evenly divided between individuals of noble birth, otherwise known as *datu* (*dayang* for female), and commoners. This population was noted to reside in 49 households of which twenty six were nuclear family households; in twelve, a relative of either spouse augmented the nuclear family; nine were of the extended type in which individuals from three successive generations were present; one was jointly occupied by two siblings

2 For ethnic relations in Sulu archipelago, see Richard L. Stone, "Intergroup Relations Among the Taosug, Samal, and Badjaw of Sulu," *Philippine Sociological Review* 10 (1962): 107-133.

and their families of procreation; and one was occupied by an unmarried woman and her nephews and nieces. Males headed forty-four of the households in contrast to five, by females.

Most households were on stilts built along the coastal line and gave the following typical structures: a) a sleeping area; b) a kitchen-dining room; and c) a roofless, unwallled platform (pantan) connecting the former parts. Exceptional houses displayed such acculturative indicators as lacking a pantan, presence of a second floor, and walls painted on the outside. The inverse proportion between wood and thatch utilized was partly indicative of the relative socio-economic standing of the domestic group. Average cash income of the households ranged from zero to P250.00 (approximately \$61.00) per month. The formal education of heads varied from two years of college to none with the majority having spent some years in elementary and high schools.³

Little difference were observed in the composition patterns between commoners' and datu's households, except for a slightly greater extension in the latter. A case in point was a datu's household with thirty-two members drawn from four generations in which continuous accommodation of new members has been achieved by constructing additional rooms and pantans. Likewise, the diachronic, translated from the synchronic, pattern of domestic grouping pursued by both groups was similar. A newly married couple normally adopts a short-lived patrilocal residence preceding an indefinite ambilocality. Upon the birth of the second or third child, the young family breaks from the extended group to set up an independent household. Previously, a psychological preparation for the new group would have been achieved upon the birth of the first child when the concept *mataan* (family) as opposed to *magtoteyanak* (household) crystallizes. As more children are born, and they mature, marry, and remain in the group, the nuclear household gradually transforms itself into the extended type. In time a new cycle commences. Within the

³ The presence of a mission high school in Tulingan has provided wider access to education.

context of the family or household, the dominant dyadic interactions other than those existing between husband and wife are present between father and the current weanling, and mother and infant. These dyads are most enhanced prior to budding off, and may remain throughout the major portion of the domestic cycle since the father's occupation keeps him close to the house.

On the whole, neither marked socio-economic differences nor other tangible indicators characterize the commoner or datu status separately. In consequence, the nobility relies on the fact of ancestry to set itself apart from the commoners. This is realized through the use of an exclusive system of kinship terminologies to which I will now turn.

Kindred and Status

Beyond the structural strictures of the domestic group in which an individual generally experiences lines of descent to a depth of three generations, a Bayong Kusa resident orients himself to a relatively loose, amorphous group of relations, often described by anthropologists as the kindred. The precise range of kindred reckoning depends much, of course, upon ego's ability to trace, with accuracy the bilaterally genealogical relationships, and upon his subjective experiences. It is among the kindred (*kampung*) that a child finds compeers, companions, and school mates. Later in adulthood a mate is likely to be chosen from this group as various alliances may be also derived. Ultimate kin reckoning transcends the *kawm* level as dramatized in a ritual called *mag-ampon*. On the major holy days, kinsmen from different communities briefly visit each other and in an act symbolizing mutual forgiving, kiss and clasp each other's hands to bury transgressions and incursions of all forms.

In keeping with the Philippine pattern of kinship bilaterality the individual from Bayong Kusa equally recognizes the paternal and maternal relatives. Within this framework the genealogical data revealed two modes of reference terms employed by a commoner and a datu, respectively. Since the sex of the speaker is

inconsequential, these kinship models are equally appropriate for males and females of the same status. A commoner ego has the following usages (fig. 1): father is *mmah*; mother is *nngoh*; paternal and maternal uncles are *bapah*; paternal and maternal aunts are *inah*; and paternal maternal grandparents are *mbon* to which *lalla* and *danda* modifiers are added to indicate the proper sex. *Lalla* is male; *dada*, female. Accordingly, a noble speaker refers to the same relatives as follows (fig. 2): father is *appah* as well as the paternal and maternal uncles; mother is *ambuh*, a term also used for paternal and maternal aunts; and both sets of grandparents are *enneh* to which the sex suffixes are again combined. In both systems the terms for parents' siblings may be extended to include the latter's spouses provided they are in the same status.

For both noble and commoner speakers, siblings are *danakan*; cousins, parallel or cross, are *kaki*; children are *anak*; sibling's children are *kamanakan*; spouse's parents are *matoa*; spouse's siblings are *ipal*; spouse's siblings spouses are *bilas*; children's spouses are *ayuwan*; and children's spouses' parents are *bae*. Once again *lalla* and *danda* are combined for precision.

An additional distinction between noble and commoner terminology is found in address. A commoner addresses an older sibling as *kah*, indicating an age-hierarchy principle. The same term is extended to older cousins. On the other hand, a noble speaker calls his older brother *attoh*, and an older sister, *ayang*; as among commoners, he uses *kah* to address older cousins. The above comparison interestingly demonstrates a basic difference between the two systems in the first ascendant generation from ego. The commoner's avuncular and aunt terminology is clearly lineal; the datu's generation. (Murdock 1960:6; Schwartz and Ewald 1968: 220).

The relationship between bilaterality and status is carried to a logical conclusion in instances of mixed marriages. If ego's father is a commoner, but his mother, a noble woman, father is *mmah*; father's brother is *bapah* and mother's brother is *appah*. At least, paternal and maternal grandfathers are *mboh* and *enneh*,

respectively (fig. 3). However, if ego's father is a datu, but his mother, a commoner, father and father's brother are appah, and father's sister is *ambuh*; mother is *ngoh*, mother's brother is *bapah*, and mother's sister is *inah* (fig. 4).

A close inspection of the reference terms in mixed marriages obtains two patterns of avuncular system: Bifurcate collateral in the former case, and bifurcate merging in the latter (Ibid.). The corresponding aunt terminology is, however, reversed: bifurcate merging in the first case, and bifurcate collateral in the second. Despite the ideal to marry within one's status, the paucity of "pure marriages" within a span of two generations is supported by the present data. Of the 72 existing unions, 10 cases are marriages between individuals from the commoner status; six are contracted between datu and dayangs; and the remaining are mixed marriages. The data, therefore, suggest that the reference terms used in mixed marriage are actually more operative than those indicated for pure marriage. In fact, status-based marriages are obscured by a strongly preferred endogamy within the close kindred or *kampung*, or the *kawm* with only slight regard to a relative's status. During mate selection paternal and maternal relatives as separate groups compete for the privilege to provide an individual's partner. Parents have been noted to exert pressure accordingly: a mother in preference for her relatives; a father, for his. From the total number of marriages, eleven unions are between first cousins, parallel and cross types; six are exchange marriages; in one case two brothers are married to sisters; and one is a *panas*⁴ (hot) marriage. The remaining, but three, are unions between second, third or fourth cousins. It is through marriage that distant kinsmen are brought back into the recognized kindred. And this emphasis on bilateral kin-endogamy has

4 A hot marriage is dangerous. It is permitted but not encouraged of two individuals who are considered consanguineally close to each other. The two forms of *panas* marriage commonly indicated are those between ego and his or her parents' first cousin; or, between ego and his deceased wife's senior sister. Presumably, the corresponding levirate may be also included although no case has been reported or recalled by informants.

subdued whatever influence status may bear on marriage preference.

Adherence to status-based terminology is strictly followed among commoners; whereas, the nobility has options to use the latter's model. Concern with genealogical connections, however, tends to be characteristic of the *datu* groups as demonstrated in one outstanding case. A *dayang* (aged 65) was able to provide from memory a list of relatives within a six generation depth. In contrast, the most knowledgeable commoner informant managed to identify relatives to a maximum of only four generations. For both groups, difficulty is experienced in indicating by personal name those individuals beyond the second descendant generation — thus necessitating on the part of *ego* (informant) some assistance from younger relatives.

Exclusive overt behaviors toward a relative in either status are absent in interaction. From *ego*'s vantage point, such factors as age, sex, common interests, and household history would most likely structure his behavior patterns toward kinsmen. By itself, the *datu* status is nominal and presently lacking in prestige unless supported by other achieved social positions⁵ which an individual may simultaneously occupy, or by the general esteem enjoyed by a kinship group, usually the extended family or household, with whom he is most identified. It is difficult to determine what role ancestry had played in the traditional stratification. At best, it may be supposed that the nobility used to rule their respective communities in Sibutu as well as the entire Sulu. Occasional reference to descendants of former slaves would seem to indicate that the past stratification systems might have had the following outline: *datu*s on top; commoners, next; and slaves at the bottom. At the worst, the socio-political variables might have been equally divided even then between *datu*s and commoners. The latter also claim to have owned slaves. Thus how much political

⁵ The social positions may be that of a *Hadji*, an individual who has completed a pilgrimage to Mecca, a public school teacher, or a government official other than the *barrio* councilmen.

power the Sibutu *datus* have lost, in fact, is moot. As much as may be construed about the past, members from both groups seem to have had equal access to such prestige indicators as knowledge of the Koran, becoming a *Hadji*,⁶ and later, formal education. But what about the determinism of the above two kinship models? While I cannot pretend to provide the answers, at this juncture, some speculations are perhaps in order. The development of kinship terminologies respecting status is probably a function of one of two things: a) that the commoner and *datus* of Sibutu are historically descended from different linguistic, if not totally distinct, cultural groups; or, b) that the absence of a true class structure or significant socio-economic variation is a sufficient condition to enhance status difference through exclusive kinship usage. Among the widely dispersed noble families in Sibutu, Bayong Kusa residents claim to have in their community the authentic branch of the nobility.

To a large extent, consciousness of status is generated during political campaigns and election; and to a lesser degree, competition for government jobs. Against this background of political struggle, status-based alignments are formed, crosscut the *kawms* and dichotomize the island's population into *datus* and non-*datus*. Each group having maintained respective affiliations with the two national parties⁷ vies openly against each other. In the Philippines where political party philosophies are non-existent and party loyalty unheard of, status rivalry such as found in Sibutu island keeps the two-party system viable on the *barrio* level and party constituencies fairly constant. Even when the conflict is quiescent and latent, the potential cleavage of the *kawm* or *barrio* caused by the summary of jealousies characterizing the *datu*-commoner relationship can be a source of anxiety for some individuals. Said a commoner informant (aged 45) to his wife one day:

⁶ See footnote 5.

⁷ *Datus* generally identify themselves with the Nacionalista party; the commoners with the Liberal.

"There goes Datu Abdulla again. Do you know that every time he comes to visit his relatives in Bayong Kusa some sort of trouble follows? Just wait for a few days and something will surely happen."⁸

Similar concern was clear in the following comments by an imam (priest):

"Barrio elections are stupid. First of all, to have them shortly after the national elections only make political enemies (datus and commoner) continue to be enemies"⁹

A typical commoner in Bayong Kusa is likely to be more concerned than his datu counterpart about kawm unity; he tends to view the nobility in villainous roles responsible for disrupting the community. On the other hand, the datu is preoccupied more with maintaining alliances with other datu groups in the island and is likely to support any issue encouraging status alignments.

The Kawm

It is, in fact, the pakil (priestly class) regardless of ancestral background who stands aloof during status-based strife. Theirs is the role to harmonize, integrate, and reconcile divisive parts into one community. The emic notion (Harris 1968:568-604) of a community is clearly defined in the kawm symbolized by a mosque which has been built through the collective task of individuals who represent their domestic groups. Overseeing the mosque and its activities is the pakil ranked from within — imam, hatib, and bilar in descending order. Bayong Kusa has two imams, two hatibs, and two bilars.

The pakil's position is achieved contingent upon a reading knowledge of the Koran, seniority, and appointment. The position

⁸ Datu Abdulla is a resident of Tulingan. Nothing significant happened following Datu Abdulla's visit.

⁹ Parenthesis, mine.

being non-remunerative, provides the pakil with token privileges for his services, specially prepared food, a piece of gold jewelry, or a peso. Traditionally, the sultanate's agama court through its representatives exercised the appointments; at present, a political figure, often the municipal mayor, executes the same upon the kawm's recommendation through its council. The pakil, a strategic position for the survival of the traditional culture, receives no more prestige than that accorded to a Hadji, and much less than that of a government employee. Stratification of roles corresponding to the positions within the pakil group is largely vague as demonstrated in the rites of passage and the Jumaat (Friday community prayers). Greater role structuring is evident only during such celebrations as *Hariraya Puwasa*, *Hariraya Hadji*, and *Maulud* for which the senior imam must be present.¹⁰

The non-pakil collectively forms the faithful — men, women, and children. A man's attendance at the mosque during Jumaat and the above-mentioned feast days decidedly affirms his family's or household's membership in the community. Even after he has ceased participation for whatever reasons, his wife or any female from his household may continue the customary contribution of prepared food for the pakil and participants. For example:

Allong (aged 40) is perhaps the most acculturated resident in the community. A national athlete before the outbreak of World War II; and thereafter, a soldier in the Filipino-American forces who fought as far as New Guinea, Allong now enjoys a veteran's pension. He also claims descent from the first commoner family who settled in Bayong Kusa and engineered its first mosque. Yet not once during the research year did he join other men in community worship. He came once in the middle of the service to inform the congregation of a plan to repair

¹⁰ *Hariraya Puwasa* is the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan; *Hariraya Hadji* is the day the pilgrims to Mecca are expected to arrive at their destination; *Maulud* is the birthday of prophet Mohammad.

the present house. Shortly after, he departed. Despite this seeming indifference, Allong privately conducts his prayers at home as women do. He has sent his children to the head imam for Koranic studies. Most importantly, his wife, under his promptings, gives most generously to the food pool during the Moslem holy days.

Degrees of alienation from the kawm as indicated by one's refusal to participate accordingly may preface an ultimate break from the community. The estranged man and his family or relevant kin group may resort to residence transfer to another kawm.

A mosque in Sibutu island is an independent organization and only vaguely related to the agama court of which there are three in Sulu¹¹ (Arce, 1963). The island culture prescribes the building of two mosques within a distance of 100 meters and discourages kinship groups from exclusive ownership of the same. The role of the mosque for kawm or barrio integration is borne by the Sibutu data, but is by no means universal in Sulu. In at least one island, Ungus Matata, a number of kin-centered mosques was found to be a characteristic feature of its barrio-communities. The Sibutuans themselves have been critical of the people of Ungus Matata for this. No doubt further research in Sulu will demonstrate that the mosque is the basis for many forms of social organizational groupings. And at whatever level a mosque may effectively integrate many human groups, it is clear that, at least, in Sibutu island, a mosque is synonymous with the community — kawm or barrio. Unlike most Philippine barrios which are dependent upon the poblacion for their religious identification and renewal, the Sibutu barrios are self-sufficient in this regard. In organization a Sibutu mosque bears negligible relation, if any, to another. It rarely receives influence from the outside except perhaps from some roving Arab and Malayan missionaries.

¹¹ The agama court for Sibutu island is presided over by Datu Hadji Amilbangsa, the son of a claimant to the once ruling sultanate.

On a less symbolic level, collective kawm activities are generated by the death of a resident. Adults in the community as well as relatives of the deceased from other kawms try to "pitch in" what best they can — food, money, or service — necessary for the funeral. On this occasion and other social events, the attribute of complementary or reciprocal functions commonly described for moiety organization (Lowie 1948:241) was absent between *datus* and commoners, if not merely obscured by the kindred organization and a deep sense of community. Still to a lesser degree, an occasional inter-kawm sport tournament or a *patamat*¹² may also involve partial mobilization of the kawm as a group. Otherwise, the normal rhythm of activities are directly associated with the domestic group and the *lahat*. A *lahat* of which there are three in Bayong Kusa, is a grouping of kin-related households slightly tending toward matrilocality and therefore, consistent with the general Samal pattern (Arce, *Op. Cit.*:251). Among its physical features are a saline water well, a retail store, a graveyard, a basketball court, and a *kumpit* station where men build their boats. Sociologically, the *lahat* is a source of primary relationships other than those provided by the family or household.

The superimposition of the concept *barrio* on the kawm has created a formal governing body, the *barrio* council, consisting of a captain, a vice-captain, and six councilmen, who were elected by popular vote. Yet not once during the research year did the official council of Bayong Kusa meet to formulate, discuss or decide on community matters. Instead an *ad hoc* council (*hukum*) was formed on two occasions: 1) to conduct a public hearing on a matter of theft; and 2) to investigate a defamation which was later resolved on the municipal level. The members of both councils were not identical but included in each case a *pabil* and a government official (a municipal policeman, a *barrio* councilman from another kawm, or an official representative from the mayor's office). The presence of any of these persons sufficiently

¹² *Patamat* is graduation from the learning of the Koran.

established the legitimacy of the ad hoc councils and validity of their judgments.¹³ Both hearings were conducted publicly. Since only commoners comprised the involved parties, no factional division along status occurred.

Summary

Two organizational aspects of a Sibutu barrio have been discussed in this paper. First, it was noted that through the father line, an individual from Sibutu is born into the status of either commoner or datu. Although generally kept at a covert level, the reciprocal aggressions and competition which characterize the relationship between both groups are laid open during political campaigns and elections. In the absence, or presumably breakdown of a class structure, status distinction is best achieved through respective use of exclusive kinship terminologies. Except for the complementary functions between the groups, the rudiments of moiety organization are present. The wider bilateral base on which this factionalism rests and kin endogamy might have inhibited true moiety structuring and restricted the development of a related phenomenon, bifurcate merging (Murdock 1949:125). To my knowledge, bifurcate merging avuncular system has not been reported in literature for the Philippines; the Sibutu data, however, partial, may be the first case.

Counteracting the moiety-like division is a sense of community located in the role of the mosque and its guardian, the pakil. Regardless of ancestry, an individual takes part in mosque-related activities to affirm and confirm his membership in the kawm or barrio.

¹³ Among its tasks, the council (formal or ad hoc) should be able to determine within its competence the nature of societal breaches and their proper jurisdiction. Violations of the Moslem code are to be directed ultimately to the agama court, if they cannot be resolved by the kawm's pakil. On the other hand, misconduct toward Philippine law should be properly placed under the direct authority of the municipal court, subject to review in the upper courts.

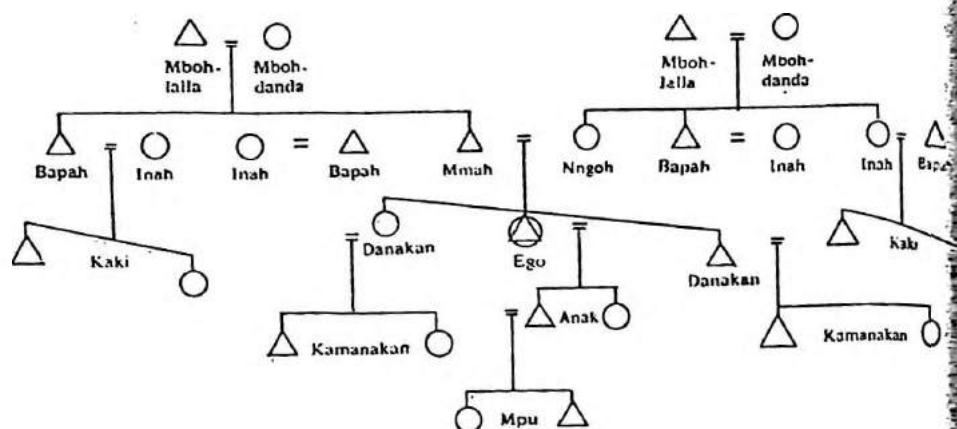


Fig. 1 Ego — A commoner

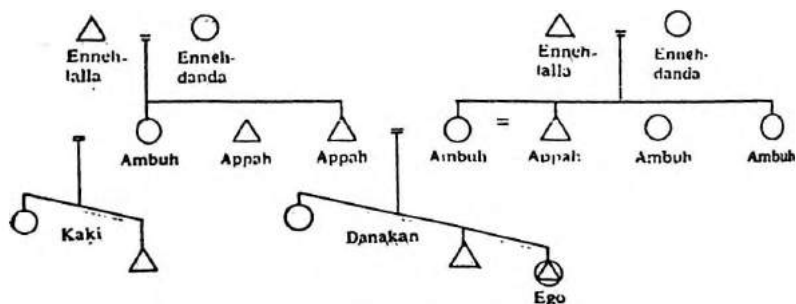


Fig. 2 Ego — A datu or dayang

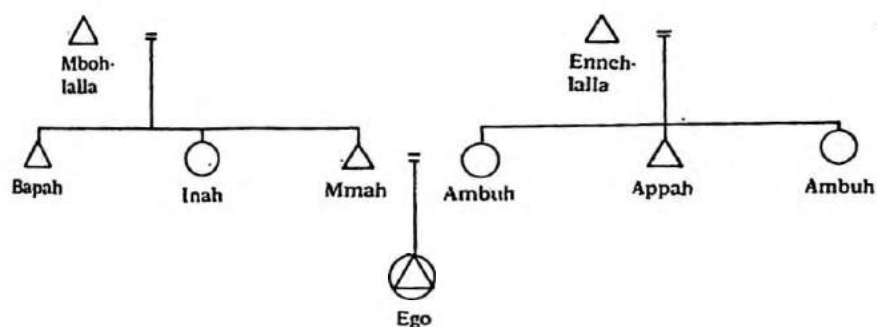


Fig. 3 Ego's Parents
 A. Father-Commoner
 B. Mother-Dayang

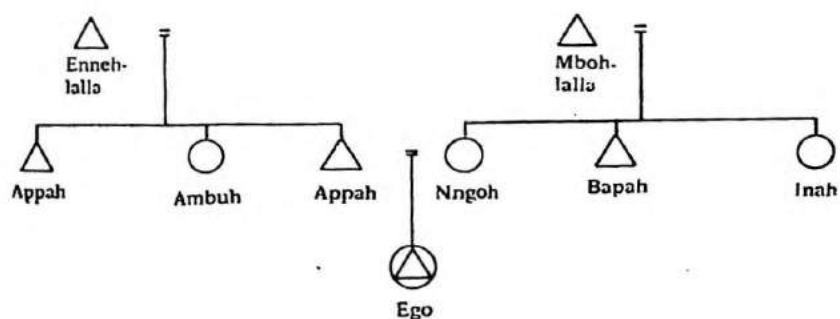


Fig. 4 Ego's Parents
 A. Father — Datu
 B. Mother — Commoner

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LA MORT A THUBOEUF (FRANCE)

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INTRODUCTION. Le but principal de notre enquête sur la mort à Thuboeuf était de constituer un scénario des funérailles de l'instant même de la mort jusqu'à l'inhumation, sans laisser de côté les fêtes commémoratives. En ce qui concerne les méthodes, nous avons utilisé principalement l'interview. Il était exclu d'avance d'aller interroger tous les Thuboviens et ceci pour une double raison — d'abord, parce que cela n'aurait pas été rentable, étant donné à la fois le temps dont nous disposions et le risque d'entendre se répéter les mêmes informations; ensuite, parce qu'on pouvait à priori supposer que celles-ci étaient détenues par quelques individus que leur travail rapprochait du phénomène qui nous intéressait. Par conséquent, après un premier contact avec le terrain, nous avons décidé de rechercher la collaboration du curé, de l'ancien curé, de la secrétaire à la mairie, du chef de l'équipe du corbillard, du menuisier, du fossoyeur et du sacristain. Mais il nous apparut par la suite que ces informateurs ne pou-

vaient vraiment connaître que l'aspect technique de notre sujet. Il fallait donc chercher des Thuboviens qui avaient une expérience plus intime, plus personnelle de la mort. Cette partie de l'enquête s'avéra à la fois difficile et délicate. Toutefois, nous avons pu interroger une famille (Roussel) dont le père est mort récemment et une autre (Gauthier) dont les parents sont morts il y quelques années. D'autre part, nous avons aussi interrogé des Thuboviens pris au hasard sur les instants où la mort devient l'affaire de toute la communauté — c'est-à-dire, le jour de l'enterrement, la fête des morts, etc.

Sachant que la méthode de l'interview comportait des risques réels, nous avons constamment essayé, en les confrontant, de contrôler les témoignages. Nous avons aussi examiné les informations à la lumière de la personnalité et de l'idéologie (religieuse ou politique) de notre interlocuteur. Nous avons rejeté toutes les informations sur lesquelles les témoignages ou bien n'étaient point concordants ou bien étaient difficiles à départager.

Malgré l'orientation strictement synchronique de notre enquête, nous nous sommes également servis des documents dont disposaient la mairie et le presbytère de la commune. Mais ils ne nous intéressaient vraiment que dans la mesure où ils pouvaient fournir un complément sociologique et rituel aux informations que nous livraient les Thuboviens eux-mêmes sur une réalité par eux vécue.

Bien entendu, une expérience vécue est toujours vue de l'intérieur. C'est en cela que consiste l'inconvénient majeur de l'interview comme méthode en ethnologie. Des faits d'une importance capitale sont souvent oubliés ou laissés de côté par les interlocuteurs, simplement parce qu'ils sont très caractéristiques.

L'observation participante aurait certainement fourni des faits intéressants et inédits (surtout sur la toilette du mort, la mise en bière, l'enterrement et les fêtes commémoratives), mais on comprend facilement l'impossibilité dans laquelle nous nous sommes trouvés d'appliquer cette méthode pourtant irremplaçable pour ce genre d'étude.

Toutefois, nous croyons avoir pu dégager les traits généraux du phénomène de la mort à Thuboeuf. La partie principale et essentiellement ethnographique de ce rapport y sera consacrée. Nous essaierons à la fin de "comprendre" les faits ainsi décrits, suggérant une interprétation en somme très personnelle.

TOUT DE SUITE APRÈS LA MORT, ayant arrêté toutes les pendules dans la maison, on procède au lavage du cadavre. On fait chauffer de l'eau. En général, l'ayant déshabillé, on le lave avec de l'eau chaude ou tiède sur son lit de malade. Dans ce cas, après l'avoir rhabillé, on le met sur un fauteuil à côté du lit. Parfois, on place le cadavre tout nu sur la table de famille où l'on le lave, tandis que les autres membres de la famille préparent le lit mortuaire.

Ordinairement, c'est une personne de l'entourage immédiat qui lave le mort. Exceptionnellement, ce sont des soeurs des communes avoisinantes qui remplissent cet office, surtout quand la mort s'ensuit après une longue maladie. A partir de 15 à 17 ans, toute la famille peut assister à cette opération.

On fait ensuite la toilette du mort. Si c'est un homme, on lui rase le visage. Si c'est une femme, on lui fait une coiffure. Si aucun membre de la famille ne se sent capable de le faire, on fait venir quelqu'un du voisinage immédiat, lequel se compose généralement de 2 ou 3 familles. On ne met aucun parfum sur le mort.

Puis vient l'ensevelissement. Autrefois, on habillait le mort uniquement dans son costume de dimanche. Tout récemment, une nouvelle coutume tend à s'installer et devenir plus courante. à savoir, celle d'habiller le mort dans sa chemise de nuit. On ne met rien sur la tête. Pour les hommes, on met généralement une cravate. Pour les tout petits enfants, on met le vêtement de baptême. Pour les enfants de 5 à 6 ans, on met une petite robe blanche, si c'est une fille, ou un costume pour garçons ou simplement une chemise de nuit, si c'est un garçon.

Après, on pose le mort ainsi habillé sur son lit qui a été auparavant préparé. On le recouvre d'un drap tombant de chaque côté du lit. La partie du drap qui recouvre le mort a été plissée longitudinalement avec un fer à repasser. On met un christ sur la poitrine et un chapelet dans les mains.

On a auparavant mis à côté du lit, vers la tête et souvent à droite, une petite table de nuit sur laquelle on a placé un petit verre d'eau bénite, un cierge et un rameau de buis ou de laurier en guise de goupillon. Tous les Thuboviens gardent dans leur armoire un petit flacon d'eau bénite au cours de la nuit pascale et, pour chaque famille, deux cierges bénis le 2 février, Fête de la Purification. Ils ont tous également un rameau de buis ou de laurier béni le Dimanche des Rameaux, qu'ils placent en haut du christ familial. S'il n'y pas d'eau bénite dans la maison, le prêtre en envoie le jour même de l'ensevelissement.

Une fois tous ces préparatifs terminés, les proches parents passent autour du corps pour donner l'eau bénite avec le rameau de buis ou de laurier. Ce rite entame l'étape des visites des voisins et des amis, lesquelles vont se succéder pendant toute la durée de la veillée. Ces gens vont et viennent dans le cours de la journée donner l'eau bénite et faire une prière près du défunt. Le curé passe à la maison le jour de la mort et la veille de la sépulture pour faire prier les gens.

Les Thuboviens gardent leurs morts assez longtemps — en général, de trois à quatre jours. Tous les volets sont fermés dans la chambre du mort et on s'y parle à voix basse. Ce sont généralement deux ou trois membres de la famille du défunt qui passent la première durée nocturne. La deuxième nuit, le voisinage se ramène par groupes de deux à trois personnes pour se partager la nuit en deux. Le premier groupe fait la veillée de 9 heures le soir jusqu'à 1 heure le matin, le second de 1 heure à 7 heures le matin. La troisième durée nocturne est faite ou par des voisins ou par la famille du défunt.

Pendant la durée nocturne, on récite de temps à autre le chapelet, de telle sorte qu'un rosaire ou trois chapelets sont

faits à la fin de la veillée. Le reste du temps, on parle à voix basse — principalement sur le mort et sa vie.

On trouve toujours des gens pour faire la durée nocturne. Il y a même des dames qui ont fait presque toutes les veillées de la commune. "Le jour où je meurs," nous dit l'une d'elles, "il y aurait bien beaucoup qui me feront la veillée, tellement j'en ait fait!" C'est un service qu'on rend à des amis . . . et qu'on attend des amis.

Quelques heures après la mort, souvent après l'ensevelissement, on prend des dispositions pour l'enterrement, dont la date est fixée par un conseil de famille. On annonce la mort aux parents, à la commune toute entière et à tous ceux qui vont jouer un rôle aux funérailles, à savoir, l'équipe du corbillard, le fossoyeur et le prêtre. Les parents qui vivent loin sont généralement prévenus par télégrammes. La commune est mise au courant par le chef de l'équipe du corbillard, lequel dispose à cet effet d'un moyen de transport approprié. Le facteur et les marchands qui sillonnent la commune jouent également un rôle considérable dans la diffusion de la nouvelle. En tout cas, d'une façon ou d'une autre, tout le monde est prévenu — dans la commune et même au-delà. Des voisins préviennent la mairie et l'église. Parmi les actes de décès (1900-62) que nous avons consultés à la mairie, une seule personne parmi celles qui annonçaient la mort était parente du défunt: il s'agissait d'un cousin.

Parmi les premiers à être prévenus, le menuisier occupe une place importante. En effet, c'est lui qui fait le cercueil et, assisté d'un compagnon et de deux membres de la famille du défunt, met le corps en bière. Il fabrique deux types de cercueil — l'un au couvercle plat, l'autre au couvercle en forme de charpente (à trois pans). Ils sont faits avec du bois de chêne, sans capiton. Quand on prévoit la décomposition rapide du cadavre, on met du plâtre à l'intérieur. Sinon, on y met de la sciure de bois ou du coquillage fin. On fait un cercueil à deux en douze heures environ. C'est le charron qui assiste le menuisier alors et au moment de la mise en bière.

Il y trois catégories de cercueils, indépendamment de leurs types. Le cercueil de première classe porte un christ sur le couvercle et quatre poignets sur les côtés, à part la garniture. Celui de la deuxième classe est sans poignets et n'a que de clous pour garnir la couverture. Le cercueil de troisième classe n'a ni garniture, ni christ, ni poignet. Personne ne prend jamais cette dernière catégorie, bien que les deux premières coûtent à la famille de 180 à 250 francs.

Normalement, la famille commande le cercueil pour la veille ou le jour de l'enterrement. C'est alors que le menuisier et le charron apportent le cercueil à la maison mortuaire. Les deux entrent dans la chambre du mort. Le menuisier donne l'eau bénite avant son assistant et tous les deux se retirent et attendent quelques secondes. A son tour, la famille vient donner une dernière fois l'eau bénite au défunt. Chacun l'embrasse sur le front ensuite. Les ultimes adieux faits, tout le monde sort de la chambre, à l'exception de quatre personnes (le menuisier et son assistant et deux membres de la famille, lesquels sont souvent les mêmes qui font le dernier bout de la troisième durée nocturne).

Le menuisier porte alors avec son assistant le cercueil à côté du lit, près de la table de nuit, laquelle se trouve souvent à droite du mort. Ensuite, on enlève le drap plissé qui couvre le mort et on ramène le drap sur lequel il repose, pour l'envelopper. Un pan est ramené d'abord sur le mort et, ensuite, un autre, de telle sorte que le drap est rebroussé tout autour comme pour un paquet. Le menuisier prend alors le mort ainsi enveloppé sous les épaules, tandis que le charron le prend à la hauteur des cuisses ou juste au-dessus des mollets. On met ensuite le corps dans le cercueil, en ramenant les deux bouts du drap sur la figure et les pieds du mort. Puis, on remet le couvercle et on visse le cercueil. Finalement, on met le cercueil sur deux chaises près du lit et le menuisier part avec son assistant. Le mort est prêt pour le jour de l'enterrement.

Le jour de l'enterrement, toute la commune et même les hameaux extérieurs qui lui sont contigus, s'agitent. Tout le monde s'achemine ou vers la maison mortuaire ou vers l'église. La majorité se dirige vers l'église, car, pour beaucoup, l'enterrement est la procession de l'église au cimetière.

En attendant, dès les premières heures de la journée, la maison prépare le départ du mort. On tend devant la porte principale un rideau blanc qu'on décore des feuilles de palme arrangées en losange. A l'intérieur de cette même porte, on dresse la "chapelle ardente." Celle-ci consiste en deux draps blancs tendus du plafond jusqu'au sol perpendiculairement au plan de la porte, formant une sorte de couloir fermé au fond face à la porte par un autre drap blanc tendu de la même manière que les deux autres. Sur ce fond de drap blanc, on attache une croix de palmes. Sur les deux côtés, à l'intérieur, on met de place en place des feuilles de palme arrangées en losange. On les appelle des "pleurs," parce qu'on les attache aux draps de manière à ce que les nervures aillent dans la direction du sol, la pointe en avant.

A l'intérieur de cette chapelle, on pose le cercueil sur deux chaises, la tête vers le fond. A droite, en entrant, on voit un récipient avec de l'eau bénite et, à côté, le rameau de buis ou de laurier. Les gens passent et donnent de l'eau bénite au mort, sans entrer dans la maison. Seuls les membres de la famille du défunt peuvent y entrer.

Le mort, enveloppé de drap blanc à l'intérieur du cercueil, attend ainsi l'arrivée de l'équipe du corbillard. S'il y a levée de corps à domicile, le curé vient aussi avec ses enfants de chœur. Mais les deux groupes n'arrivent jamais en même temps. Car il s'agit là de deux ensembles indépendants l'un de l'autre, bien qu'ils fassent un travail complémentaire.

Cette coopération est d'autant plus nécessaire qu'il n'y a presque jamais d'enterrements civils à Thuboeuf. Dans la mémoire de la commune, il n'y en a eu qu'un seul — celui d'un célibataire

endurci qui était d'ailleurs mort dans un hôpital de Mayenne. On en parle encore comme s'il était arrivé hier. On dit que "les chiens gueulaient" pendant les funérailles et que les gens, au lieu de donner l'eau bénite, jetaient de petits cailloux ou du sel. La famille du défunt pria d'ailleurs l'ancien curé d'enterrer le mort, malgré sa dernière volonté, selon les rites religieux. En vain.

Les prières de la famille d'un suicidé sont plus facilement exaucées. On accorde à celui-ci un enterrement religieux par le biais d'un certificat médical disant qu'il était déséquilibré. C'est ainsi que l'ancien curé de Thuboeuf a pu enterrer religieusement trois suicidés. Dans ces cas, on évite toujours de donner au défunt la classe supérieure d'enterrement. Ce qui constitue à Thuboeuf une certaine punition. En effet, avant l'institution de la classe unique, la moitié au moins des enterrements étaient de première classe. Le reste était de deuxième classe. Pendant tout le temps que l'ancien curé a passé à Thuboeuf (environ 18 ans), il n'a fait qu'un seul enterrement de troisième classe. La famille était pauvre mais elle voulait donner au défunt un enterrement de classe. Le curé le lui refusa.

Les classes ont d'ailleurs subsisté pour l'équipe du corbillard, mais elles vont certainement disparaître là aussi. Elles ne se traduisent pas, en tout cas, par des différences visibles mais plutôt par les charges imposées par la mairie selon les moyens de la famille.

Car le corbillard appartient à la commune. C'est un ancien char à bancs dont le marquis fit un don à la commune. La mairie le fit refaire à neuf et peindre en noir. Il a quatre cordons "du poil" ou d'honneur noirs vaguement argentés. Il est tiré par un cheval noir.

L'équipe du corbillard consiste en un "conducteur" et deux porteurs. Ils sont payés par la commune à la tâche. C'est à la commune que la famille paie pour les services rendus par l'équipe. Le cocher a été nommé par le conseil municipal et lui-même choisit les deux porteurs. Tous les trois sont des ouvriers agri-

coles. Leur devoir est d'aller chercher le cercueil à la maison pour le remettre aux mains du fossoyeur qu'ils aident à inhumer le mort. Si le mort est un enfant, on désigne quatre enfants de 12 à 15 ans pour porter le cercueil deux de chaque côté. On procédait de la même façon pour les adultes avant le corbillard. Les quatre cordons d'honneur de celui-ci rappellent ce temps-là.

S'il y a levée de corps à domicile, le corbillard rencontre le clergé (le prêtre et trois enfants de chœur) devant la maison mortuaire. Ceux-ci restent dehors. Ce ne sont que les croque-morts qui entrent dans la chapelle ardente pour enlever le cercueil et le charger dans le corbillard, avec les gerbes, les fleurs et les couronnes.

A Thuboeuf, on préfère les gerbes et les bouquets aux couronnes. Celles-ci sont de plus en plus en matière plastique, surtout parce qu'on les met souvent après l'enterrement. Autrefois, on faisait venir du dehors des couronnes de perles, mais la coutume a complètement disparu. Pour le jour même de l'enterrement, on s'adresse souvent à Mademoiselle Gauthier qui fait des gerbes à partir d'un paillason sur lequel on plante trois rangées de fleurs que l'on ficelle ensuite "tout autour avec de la verdure — soit palme, laurier-tin, du moment que c'est une verdure." Puisqu'elle ne demande jamais rien pour son travail ("On ne peut pas les taxer dans ces conditions"), on lui donne généralement soit un peu de beurre soit un peu d'argent, selon les moyens des gens du bourg et des hameaux.

Le groupe de l'église suit un régime différent de celui de l'équipe du corbillard. Pour les morts venant des hameaux, le prêtre fait la levée de corps à l'une des quatre entrées au bourg (v. Plan), à 300 mètres de l'église. Si le mort est du bourg, le prêtre va à la maison mortuaire avec ses enfants de chœur, dont l'un porte le luminaire ou cierge d'honneur. Celui-ci signifie la foi du défunt. Il est pris par une personne de même âge et,

parfois, du même âge que le défunt. C'est la famille qui la désigne parmi les parents et les amis intimes du mort.

Le luminaire se place par la suite derrière le corbillard. La famille vient ensuite. Quand le mort est du sexe féminin, ce sont les femmes qui marchent devant. Quant il s'agit d'un homme, les hommes précèdent.

Pour tenir les cordons d'honneur, on a préalablement désigné quatre personnes du même sexe que le défunt. Pour l'enterrement d'une très jeune fille du bourg, on a, par exemple, désigné quatre petites filles pour les cordons (c'est-à-dire, pour porter le cercueil, car on n'utilise pas le corbillard pour les enfants), quatre pour porter les fleurs et les couronnes, et une grande fille pour tenir un petit cierge de première communion, lequel prend la place du luminaire.

En arrivant à l'église, le prêtre récite une prière à l'entrée (le "subvenite"). Ensuite, on porte le cercueil jusqu'à l'avant-choeur, avec la tête vers l'entrée. On place trois cierges à chaque côté et le cierge d'honneur au pied, face à l'autel. Puis, la messe commence. Autrefois, il y avait trois classes différentes d'enterrement qui se différenciaient aussi bien par l'heure de la messe que par le nombre d'envolées au glas à la veille et le jour de l'enterrement. Actuellement, il n'y a qu'une seule heure pour la messe d'enterrement — 10h30 le matin. Il n'y a jamais d'enterrements l'après-midi.

Pendant la messe, les croque-morts boivent "un coup" dans un des deux cafés du bourg. Une coutume s'est d'ailleurs installée d'aller dans les deux cafés en des occasions pareilles. Ils n'y sont pas seuls d'ailleurs. L'enterrement étant pour beaucoup la procession de l'église au cimetière et l'église étant en tout cas comble, les gens se rassemblent dans les cafés et devant l'église. C'est une foule en majorité masculine. On discute de tout, en attendant la fin de la messe.

La messe terminée, le prêtre donne l'absoute et les croque-morts rentrent dans l'église pour reprendre leur bière. On tourne le cercueil de façon que le pied sorte le premier de l'église. On le descend à la porte de l'église où le corbillard le reprend.

Le prêtre et le choeur, étant descendus devant le corps du défunt, se placent maintenant en avant du corbillard que suit le luminaire. La famille vient ensuite. Si le mort fut un ancien combattant, les drapeaux et les membres des sections (1914-18 et 1939-45) suivent immédiatement le luminaire, la famille venant à la suite.

Le clergé chante en conduisant le cortège funèbre vers le cimetière, tandis que la famille récite son chapelet à voix basse. Exceptionnellement, on fait prier le public pour l'empêcher de trop bavarder.

Après quelques minutes, le cortège s'arrête devant la porte d'entrée du cimetière. Celui-ci se trouve à l'est du bourg, à quelques centaines de mètres de l'église qui se trouve au centre (v. Plan). L'entrée donne sur une allée conduisant à la chapelle familiale du marquis. Elle est traversée par une autre allée juste à l'endroit où l'on a érigé une grande croix en ciment portant en bas la date de 1885. (Diagramme I). A gauche de celle-ci et face à l'entrée, un sentier longe le mur à partir de l'allée transversale vers le portillon de sortie.

Au cimetière, l'essentiel des cérémonies se déroule autour de la croix centrale au pied de laquelle, les croque-morts, à la suite du clergé, déposent le cercueil sur un brancard, la tête vers l'entrée. Les "porteurs" (qui tenaient les cordons d'honneur) se placent en face du cercueil. Au cours des dernières prières, le prêtre seul va bénir la fosse et revient bénir une dernière fois le mort. Après une dernière oraison et la bénédiction qui la suit, le clergé s'en va et rentre à l'église. Avant de partir, un enfant de choeur confie l'eau bénite et le goupillon au cocher du corbillard qui

les met à côté du cercueil pour que la famille et toute l'assistance donnent pour la dernière fois l'eau bénite au mort.

C'est alors que quelques uns, surtout les cultivateurs, repèrent la vire du vent, s'ils n'ont pas regardé le coq du clocher à l'arrivée du mort à l'église. Le vent ainsi repéré tiendra jusqu'à l'équinoxe d'automne. S'il vient du sud, il est à l'herbe. S'il souffle du nord, il est au grain. S'il vient de l'ouest (de la Bretagne), il ne vaut rien. Le vent de l'est est à la pomme.

Après avoir donné l'eau bénite selon un ordre préétabli (femmes d'abord, si le mort est du sexe féminin et les hommes dans le cas contraire et, à l'intérieur de chaque catégorie sexuelle, les plus âgés du côté paternel d'abord), la famille se range dans l'allée conduisant vers le sentier de sortie (v. Diag. I). Si elle est nombreuse, elle fait la rangée dans la rue à la sortie du cimetière. Voici un cas précis de l'ordre dans lequel on se range pour recevoir les condoléances, d'après M. Roussel. Le mort étant de sexe masculin, les hommes se rangent vers la sortie du cimetière de façon à ce qu'ils soient les derniers à donner la main aux personnes qui ont assisté à l'enterrement. Ils sont suivis par la rangée féminine. Parmi les hommes, en allant du côté de la sortie vers la croix centrale, on a 1) le petit-fils du mort par sa fille ainée, 2) le mari de celle-ci et, par conséquent, gendre du mort, 3) le gendre du mort par la deuxième fille, et 4) le neveu du mort par sa femme. Parmi les femmes, on trouve 1) la fille ainée, 2) la fille de la fille ainée, 3) la deuxième fille du mort, 4) la fille de celle-ci, 5) la belle-soeur du mort, 6) une nièce du mort par son frère, et 7) deux nièces de la femme du mort.

Après les condoléances, l'assistance se disperse. Tout de suite après, la famille sort du cimetière et va se réunir dans un des deux cafés du bourg. On y prend un repas frugal consistant en potage, bouillie de boeuf, fromage, cidre du pays et café. On revoit des parents qu'on ne reverrait jamais autrement. Quelques amis de la commune y assistent. Presque au même moment, les

croque-morts (le cocher et ses deux assistants) commencent, avec le fossoyeur, l'inhumation.

D'habitude, le fossoyeur vient au cimetière avant l'arrivée du cortège et se cache derrière la chapelle du marquis. Il attend pendant le "goupillage" et regarde tout le monde partir. Après le départ de la famille, il s'approche des croque-morts qui sont restés seuls avec le cercueil. Ensemble ils portent celui-ci vers la fosse ou le caveau.

On place sur chaque côté longitudinal de la partie supérieure de la fosse ou du caveau un basting ou madrier. On met ensuite deux traverses et deux longs cordages dont les bouts peuvent être tenus par chacun des quatre coéquipiers. Finalement, on pose le cercueil longitudinalement sur les traverses et les "cordages". Tenant chacun un bout des cordages, les quatre hommes descendent lentement le cercueil, après avoir retiré les traverses. Quand le cercueil touche le fond, on enlève les cordes et les bastings. Puis, on remet la terre. S'il y a des fleurs ou des gerbes, on les met sur la tombe. Leur travail terminé, les quatre coéquipiers sortent du cimetière et chacun rentre chez lui.

Mais le fossoyeur, lui, revient souvent au cimetière, car il en a la charge. Il s'en occupe en dehors de son travail de maçon. C'est à lui que s'adresse la famille d'un mort une demi-journée après le décès. Il fait son travail, en général, en un jour, s'il s'agit d'une fosse à une place. Parfois, on exhume les ossements d'un mort de la même fosse d'abord pour les mettre dans un petit cercueil qu'on remet ensuite sur celui du mort récent. Quand le cercueil est encore en bon état, on le remonte et on fait un trou provisoire pour que personne ne le voie. On creuse ensuite plus profondément et, après l'avoir remis en bas, on pose le nouveau là-dessus.

Pour éviter ces inconvénients, la famille se fait faire quelquefois une fosse à deux ou trois places. Les plus riches se font construire un caveau de 1 à 12 places. Encore d'autres font ériger une chapelle — ce qui est assez rare.

Le maçon a des rapports très étroits avec un marbrier de l'extérieur, qui lui donne généralement une "ristourne." Puisque la construction d'un caveau prend généralement beaucoup de travail (trois jours pour un caveau de trois places), le marbrier en fait souvent venir un fait d'avance.

Mais ce sont surtout les pierres tombales qui rapportent le plus au marbrier et à son représentant dans la commune, le maçon. Celui-ci préfère actuellement le concours des Ets. Mélanger, frères, Pré-en-Pail. Auparavant, c'était Foubert à Couternes, mais, à la mort de son propriétaire, le commerce a été transféré à Domfront dont la distance décourage les Thuboviens. Pendant la guerre, c'était Gallet. Bazin de Mayenne n'a traité avec le maçon que deux fois, leurs rapports s'étant assez vite détériorés.

Mais, si les pierres tombales font l'objet des rapports particuliers entre le maçon et son marbrier, elles n'en sont pas moins, en même temps, l'expression des liens spirituels entre les morts et les vivants. Elles font système avec d'autres éléments qui montrent que le souvenir du mort reste à la fois dans la famille et dans la collectivité.

Cette présence du mort dans la mémoire de sa famille se manifeste à la fois publiquement et d'une manière plus intime. Elle montre ses liens avec le mort, d'abord, en faisant ériger ou une pierre tombale ou une chapelle qu'elle décore ensuite des fleurs et des couronnes souvent en matière plastique et portant les noms de ceux qui les ont offertes avec amour et une prière.

La famille montre sa tristesse en faisant porter à ses membres immédiats le deuil, lequel commence le jour même de l'enterrement et dure 1 an à 18 mois. Les hommes portent ruban et cravate noirs pendant 6 mois. C'est également pendant 6 mois que les femmes portent une robe noire. Ensuite, elles portent le gris pendant 1 an. Le jour de l'enterrement, elles portent un grand voile qui tombe du chapeau par devant et qu'elles portaient autrefois jusqu'à la fin du deuil. Les dimanches, pendant toute

la durée du deuil, elles portent le grand voile qui tombe du chapeau par l'arrière. En semaine, on ne porte généralement pas le noir. On ne le fait que pour aller à l'église et pour d'autres occasions. Les enfants portent le noir à partir de l'âge de 14 ans. Avant, ils ne portent que le gris ou le bleu-marine.

Une autre manifestation publique de regrets est la messe d'anniversaire. Toute la famille va à l'église avec quelques amis pour y assister à une messe dite en l'honneur du mort. Après la messe, le groupe (qui ne dépasse généralement pas 10 personnes) va au cimetière déposer des gerbes et des fleurs sur la tombe du défunt. La matinée (car il n'y a jamais de messes d'anniversaire l'après-midi) se termine par une petite collation dans un des deux cafés de Thuboeuf.

Mais tout cela n'est que signe extérieur des liens plus intimes avec le mort. En effet, la famille vit avec son mort. Il n'y a jamais de photos prises du mort ni pendant le déroulement des funérailles ni au moment de l'inhumation. Par contre, elle garde comme un trésor la moindre photo du mort quand il était encore vivant. S'il y a de grandes photos encadrées, on les pend généralement à côté des images représentant le Christ et la Sainte Vierge. Les effets personnels du mort sont également conservés. Tous les dimanches, l'après-midi, on va au cimetière déposer des fleurs sur les tombes, de telle sorte que, dans les jardins des voisins, "tout est coupé le samedi soir."

C'est là peut-être la forme la plus individuelle de se sentir lié avec ses morts. Mais il est aussi à Thuboeuf des moments où ces liens individuels s'entrecroisent dans une commémoration collective des morts. Si l'on exclut les messes pour les morts, auxquelles en tout cas n'assiste généralement pas toute la collectivité, ces moments de renforcement des liens avec les morts sont principalement 1) la Fête de l'Armistice, 2) la Toussaint, et 3) le Dimanche des Rameaux.

L'Armistice est une fête essentiellement civile mais, après avoir fait des discours et déposé des couronnes sur le monument

aux morts de la commune (lequel se trouve à l'aile gauche de l'église). le conseil municipal se rend avec la population au cimetière pour déposer des fleurs et des couronnes sur les tombes—principalement sur celles des héros locaux.

Mais c'est surtout à la Toussaint et le Dimanche des Rameaux que la commémoration des morts prend une allure véritablement populaire. Il y a d'ailleurs des Thuboviens qui n'assistent à un office religieux pendant toute l'année que le soir de la Toussaint et le Dimanche des Rameaux. C'est aussi l'occasion pour le maçon de vendre des monuments funéraires.

La Toussaint est essentiellement une fête religieuse—celle de tous les saints. Mais, quand l'office de la Toussaint est terminé, la Fête des morts commence pour les Thuboviens. Une procession se dirige vers le cimetière dont les tombes ont été préalablement nettoyées par les familles. Arrivé devant la croix centrale le prêtre donne l'eau bénite tout autour. Il n'y a jamais de buis ni de palmes. On ne dépose que des fleurs, des couronnes et des plaquettes provenant des lieux saints comme Lourdes, par exemple. Après la cérémonie, l'assistance se disperse pour s'occuper individuellement des tombes.

A cause de la réforme liturgique qui fait actuellement partir la procession du Dimanche des Rameaux de la croix centrale du cimetière vers l'église d'où elle partait autrefois pour le cimetière, la population thubovienne tend à penser que la procession fait le circuit de l'église au cimetière. La réforme liturgique nous semble d'ailleurs avoir été prise dans le but d'enlever le sens funèbre que donnent les Thuboviens à la Fête des Rameaux. L'ancien curé de Thuboeuf nous a avoué qu'il ne serait pas "très diplomatique" de supprimer le rôle du cimetière dans la procession du Dimanche des Rameaux, parce qu'alors personne n'irait à l'église.

Autrefois, tout le monde se rassemblait à l'église pour la messe, une procession se rendait au cimetière dont les tombes avaient été soigneusement nettoyées la veille et le matin même de la fête. Arrivé à la croix centrale, le prêtre donnait l'eau bénite tout autour. L'assistance se dispersait ensuite pour dé-

poser des rameaux sur les tombes. Après, tout le monde s'en allait et déposait des rameaux de buis, de palme ou de laurier dans les champs ensemencés, dans les étables, etc. Cette dernière pratique subsiste d'ailleurs même maintenant où la procession part en principe du cimetière.

Actuellement, le Dimanche des Rameaux commence par le rassemblement de tous les Thuboviens au cimetière. Chacun porte des rameaux de buis, de palme ou de laurier. Chaque famille se rend à sa tombe nettoyée la veille. Ensuite, le clergé arrive de l'église et s'approche de la croix centrale. Le prêtre bénit les rameaux et chaque famille revient à la tombe de ses morts faire une prière et y déposer une branche de buis ou de laurier. Une procession part alors du cimetière pour finir à l'église où se déroule la messe du Dimanche des Rameaux. Après celle-ci, tout le monde s'en va chez soi. Beaucoup mettent alors du buis dans tous les champs de blé et même dans les étables.

CONCLUSION. Le phénomène de la mort à Thuboeuf, dont nous venons de décrire en détail quelques aspects, se moule sur un schéma fonctionnel qui, reposant sur l'agencement harmonieux de trois ensembles techniques, déclenche au moment d'une mort un phénomène social total dont quelques éléments sont plus ou moins facilement discernables.

En effet, on constate qu'à la mort d'un Thubovien, tout le monde agit selon un schéma tracé inconsciemment par la collectivité en fonction de la date de l'enterrement. Par le diagramme II, ce schéma nous devient apparent. La famille se charge, avec l'assistance du menuisier dans la phase finale, de la préparation du mort pour le jour de l'enterrement. Elle annonce également la date de celui-ci au clergé, à l'équipe du corbillard-fossoyeur et à toute la commune. Pendant que se prépare à la maison le mort, tous les autres Thuboviens ainsi prévenus prennent des dispositions. Le jour de l'enterrement, on se rassemble et on ne se sépare qu'au cimetière après des rites appropriés. Le clergé part le premier. La commune le suit après avoir exprimé ses

condoléances. La famille s'en va ensuite. L'équipe du corbillard-fossoyeur part la dernière.

C'est là le schéma immuable de ce qui se fait entre le décès et l'inhumation d'un Thubovien. Les Rameaux, la Toussaint et, dans une certaine mesure les cérémonies de l'Armistice suivent le même schéma, dépouillé alors de ses éléments contingents et individuels. L'Armistice étant une fête civile, la population ne se rassemble pas dans l'église pour assister à une messe avant de se diriger vers le cimetière. Le clergé n'y participe pas. L'équipe du corbillard-fossoyeur non plus. Il s'agit, en effet, d'un enterrement commémoratif et non particulier, dont le rôle moteur est joué par le maire et son équipe. D'autre part, il faut remarquer que le monument aux morts se trouve à côté de l'église, ce qui facilite certains rapprochements.

A la Toussaint, les Thuboviens vont à l'église — comme pour l'enterrement. Il y en a même qui n'y vont qu'alors et aux Rameaux. Suivant toujours le même schéma mortuaire (sans, cette fois, l'équipe du corbillard-fossoyeur), ils vont en procession au cimetière où ils se dispersent, après une brève cérémonie, en petits groupes familiaux.

La réforme liturgique a bouleversé le schéma pour le Dimanche des Rameaux. Mais l'ancien schéma correspond exactement à celui de l'enterrement. Il faut, évidemment, enlever à celui-ci son caractère contingent, particulier, car il s'agit alors d'un ensemble de rites qui ne se rapporte plus à un seul mort mais à tous les morts de la commune.

D'ailleurs, il y a d'autres éléments qui rapprochent le Dimanche des Rameaux au jour de l'enterrement. Le rameau de buis ou de laurier dont on se sert pour donner l'eau bénite au mort a été béni le Dimanche des Rameaux. Les "pleurs" et la croix de palmes de la chapelle ardente sont des plantes qu'on fait bénir aux Rameaux. C'est là un symbolisme qui rapproche le phénomène de la mort et les espoirs de résurrection à un rite ou un ensemble de rites de fertilité. Car le Dimanche des Rameaux est en même temps le début du printemps, le moment précis de l'année où toute la végétation et toute la vie vont re

naître. D'où la coutume de mettre des rameaux de buis, de laurier ou de palme dans les champs et dans les étables. Le mort, enveloppé dans un drap blanc comme un fœtus, est justement mis dans la chapelle ardente décorée des "pleurs" et de la croix de palmes. Il va renaître, comme la végétation, dans la même terre où l'on plante les rameaux de buis, de laurier et de palme. D'où l'association entre la mort et la végétation dans la coutume de repérer la vire du vent pendant l'enterrement. On verra plus loin que tout cela fait partie d'un bloc de rites initiatiques qu'on voit en filigrane à travers le phénomène social total qu'est l'enterrement. Il suffit, pour l'instant, de faire remarquer les rapports très étroits entre le Dimanche des Rameaux et le jour de l'enterrement — surtout en ce qui concerne leur schéma fonctionnel.

Celui-ci repose, pour l'intervalle entre la mort et l'inhumation, sur la conjonction de trois blocs techniques. Il s'agit des techniques qui ont pour centres, respectivement, la maison, l'église et le cimetière. C'est autour de la maison que s'agglomèrent les techniques du lavage du corps, de la veillée et de la construction de la chapelle ardente. On y rattacherait volontiers les techniques du menuisier et de son assistant, parce qu'elles aboutissent à la mise en bière qui fait partie des rites de la maison. L'église rassemble les techniques du prêtre, des enfants de chœur et du sacristain. L'équipe du corbillard et le fossoyeur appartiennent à l'ensemble technique du cimetière. Celui-ci encadre tout ce qui se passe entre la sortie du cercueil de la chapelle ardente jusqu'à l'inhumation.

Appuyé solidement sur cette armature technique, notre schéma fonctionnel fournit un cadre au phénomène social total que déclenche la mort d'un Thubovien. Notre enquête ne nous a permis de distinguer que quelques éléments de ce phénomène complexe. On aperçoit, parmi ceux-ci, des solidarités, des dons et contre-dons, des tensions, quelques lueurs sur la structure sociale et, finalement, les mythes universels qui recèlent deux suites parallèles de rites de passage.

On aperçoit des solidarités non seulement à l'intérieur de la commune mais aussi avec l'extérieur. Les gens des hameaux limitrophes viennent assister à l'enterrement. Les parents qui habitent hors de la commune se dérangent pour être présents à la sépulture. Ce sont parfois les soeurs d'une commune voisine qui lavent le mort. Les marchands qui sillonnent la commune dans leur voiture contribuent à la diffusion rapide de la nouvelle d'une mort. Sur un autre niveau, les rapports entre le maçon et son marbrier aussi bien que les couronnes en matière plastique qu'on achète dehors symbolisent cette interdépendance entre Thuboeuf et l'extérieur au moment d'une mort.

À l'intérieur même de la commune, la famille n'est pas seule. Tous les Thuboviens sont infailliblement présents aux funérailles. La solidarité avec la commune est telle que la coutume oblige la famille de prévenir tout le monde pour la sépulture.

La solidarité est plus intense dans le voisinage. Ce sont généralement des voisins qui préviennent les principaux acteurs du drame de l'enterrement. Ils font la veillée et sont souvent présents le jour de l'enterrement pour aider à faire la chapelle ardente.

Il faut aussi mentionner la coopération entre les branches civile et religieuse de la commune. L'équipe du corbillard et le clergé travaillent ensemble pour accomplir une tâche commune, parfois à partir de la maison mortuaire. Le départ du clergé et celui de l'équipe du corbillard-fossoyeur encadrent ceux de la commune et de la famille après les cérémonies autour de la croix centrale.

Ces solidarités entrent parfois dans un système de dons et de contre-dons. Les rapports entre le maçon et le marbrier sont déjà nettement capitalistes. Ceux qu'établit la famille avec le menuisier, le prêtre et l'équipe du corbillard-fossoyeur ont un caractère intermédiaire. Les frais sont souvent rabaissés en fonction des moyens de la famille et de ses rapports avec les techniciens de l'enterrement. Plus nettement "pré-capitalistes" sont les rapports de la famille avec le voisinage et le reste de la

commune. On fait et attend qu'on fasse la veillée sur la base des services rendus réciproquement. On ne "taxe" pas la famille pour les gerbes qu'on fait mais on est souvent récompensé d'un peu de beurre. Toute la commune vient aux funérailles en partie parce qu'on ne restera pas sans morts toute sa vie.

Mais cette harmonie apparente recèle des tensions que la communauté canalise vers un équilibre plus ou moins utile pour tout le monde. Au niveau de toute la communauté, par exemple, une compétition s'engage en permanence sur la "qualité" ou la "classe" de l'enterrement, du cercueil, des gerbes, des pierres tombales, etc. Au niveau des deux branches (civile et religieuse) de la commune, des tensions sont aussi évidentes. Le corbillard et le clergé n'arrivent jamais en même temps à la maison mortuaire. Une fête "civile" des morts se dessine dans les cérémonies relatives à l'Armistice, à côté des deux autres fêtes religieuses (la Toussaint) et populaire (le Dimanche des Rameaux).

Plus profondes et plus difficiles à faire ressortir que les tensions sont les conceptions d'ordre social. Toutefois, les préséances dans la procession et dans l'acceptation des condoléances nous en donnent une certaine idée. Le fait que les sections d'anciens combattants précèdent la famille indique la primauté du citoyen sur le membre de la famille. Au cimetière, on voit apparaître le droit d'aînesse, le patriarcat et les rapports de parenté. Pendant les funérailles, le sexe du mort détermine la préséance, sans annuler, à l'intérieur des catégories, les normes ordinaires. Le fait d'exiger l'enterrement religieux contre la dernière volonté du défunt suggère la primauté de l'être religieux sur toutes les autres formes d'être. L'être religieux prévaut en tout cas sur la personne humaine, puisqu'on va jusqu'à déclarer un suicidé irresponsable et même fou pour qu'il puisse être enterré selon les rites religieux.

A un niveau plus bas et d'une manière plus diffuse, on voit apparaître certains mythes universels entremêlés avec un symbolisme des couleurs et des nombres qui, pour être inconscient, n'en est pas moins frappant. En effet, on est frappé par l'asso-

ciation des nombres 2 et 4 avec les ensembles de la maison et du cimetière. Il y toujours 2 personnes pour la durée nocturne, 4 pour la mise en bière, et encore 4 pour faire l'équipe du corbillard fossoyeur. Quatre "pleurs" sont arrangés en losange. Il y 4 cordons d'honneurs. Pour l'enterrement d'un enfant, il y a 4 enfants pour porter les couronnes et les fleurs. Il y a même 4 entrées au bourg! Il faut rappeler que le curé fait la levée de corps à une de ses entrées. C'est-à-dire qu'en dehors d'elles, c'est encore le domaine de l'équipe du corbillard.

Par contre, les nombres de 1, 3 et 6 ont un rapport direct avec l'église. Il y 1 cierge d'honneur, 6 cierges aux deux côtés du cercueil à l'église (3 de chaque côté), 1 prêtre et 3 enfants de chœur, 3 chapelets (ou un rosaire) pour chaque durée nocturne. La veillée peut durer 3 jours.

Une conclusion s'impose: la maison fait corps avec le cimetière, l'église n'étant peut-être qu'un élément étranger aux rites funéraires.

Le symbolisme des couleurs va dans la même direction. Tout ce qui se rapporte à la maison est éminemment blanc. Le mort est habillé souvent en chemise de nuit blanche. Il est couvert au lit d'un drap plissé blanc. Finalement, il est enveloppé dans un drap blanc avant d'être mis en bière. La chapelle ardente est blanche. Les rideaux à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de la porte d'entrée sont blancs. Tout ce qui se rapporte au cimetière est vert ou végétal. On utilise pour les gerbes et les bouquets les mêmes plantes qu'on retrouve dans la chapelle ardente (palmes et lauriers). L'église n'a de rapports ni avec la maison ni avec le cimetière en ce qui concerne la couleur. Le noir est la couleur de l'église. Même le corbillard et le cheval sont noirs. On peut constater un rapport entre l'église et le cimetière à travers la couleur du corbillard et du cheval. Mais l'équipe du corbillard ne devient vraiment du cimetière que quand elle fait corps avec le fossoyeur.

Tous ces rites et symboles nous semblent indiquer l'existence d'un fonds de croyances populaires qui associent l'enterrement à

la préparation initiatique du mort à une résurrection dans la terre, conçue comme une mère, en rapport avec la végétation. En effet, tous les rites se rapportant à la maison ont pour but de rendre innocent le mort, c'est-à-dire, d'en faire un fœtus. D'où la coutume d'envelopper le mort dans un drap blanc. Cela rejoint le mythe universel de "renaître par la peau", laquelle suggère l'enveloppe embryonnaire. La chapelle ardente sert également à rendre son innocence au mort. Elle fait mieux. Elle offre au mort une sorte d'intemporalité. Il n'appartient plus ni à la maison ni au monde extérieur — il est dans un état de non-être. Ce n'est que quand il sera rendu à la terre qu'il commencera à renaître comme toute la végétation que suggèrent les "pleurs" et la croix de palme. Et ici surgissent toutes les associations entre l'enterrement et le Dimanche des Rameaux, fête de printemps et de fertilité. Bien que portant en elle d'autres symboles et même d'autres mythes, l'intervention de l'église, dans ce cas, va dans la même direction mythique. Le passage à l'église constitue une initiation supplémentaire. Tout le symbolisme de l'Eglise-Mère et de l'église-grotte ressort alors. Tout ce qui se passe à la maison, à l'église et au cimetière pourrait dès lors être interprété comme une succession de rites pour assurer la renaissance du mort.

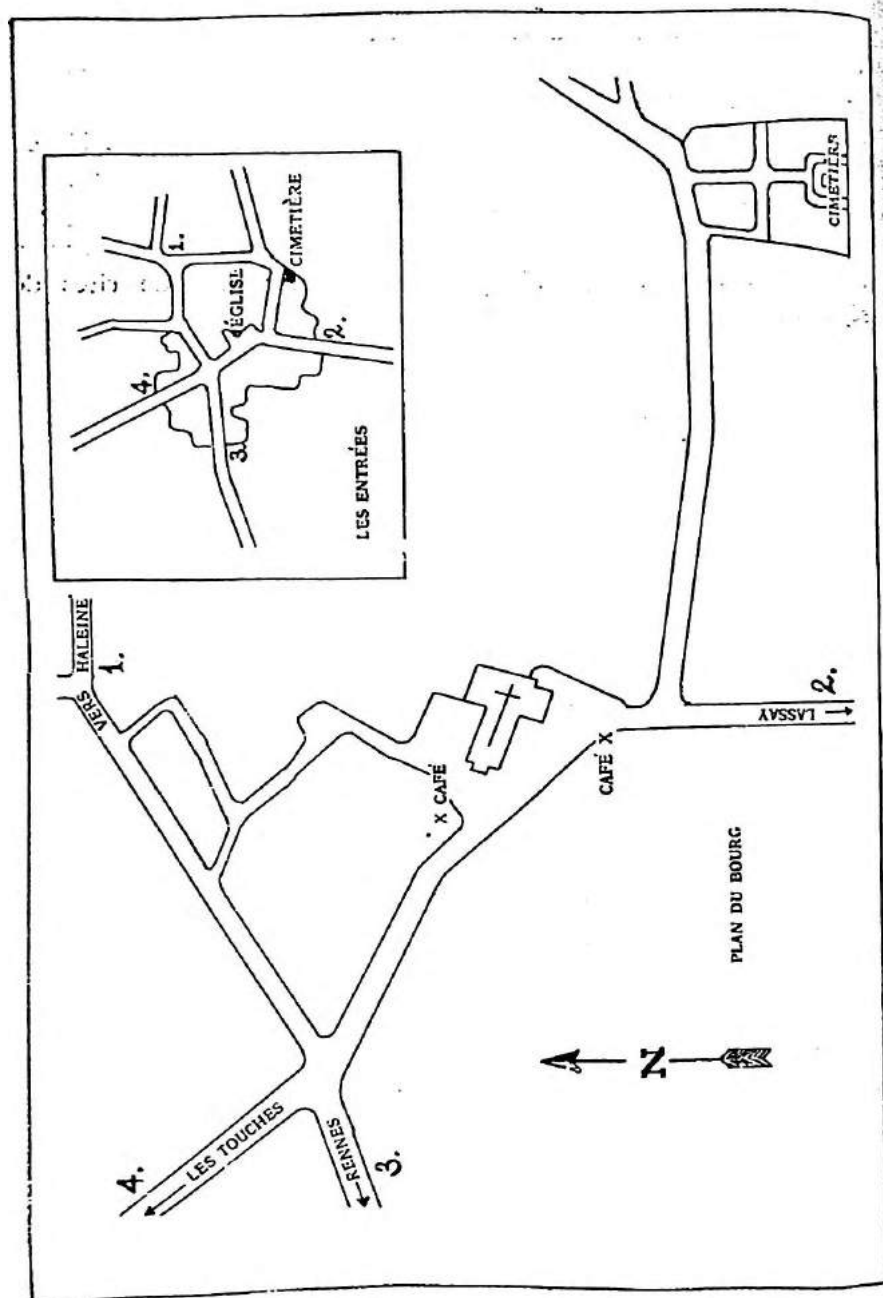
Mais cette succession de rites préparant la résurrection du mort sous-tend deux séries parallèles de rites qui visent la séparation du mort des vivants. Cette séparation s'effectue d'abord dans la famille, ensuite dans la collectivité. En effet, un examen attentif révèle que les rites de la maison finissent avec la mise en bière. Celle-ci marque une rupture entre ce qui précède et ce qui suit. C'est la dernière fois qu'on voit le mort en tant qu'être physique — les rites qui suivent vont se faire avec le cercueil. Jusqu'alors, il s'agit essentiellement d'une série de rites vestimentaires débutant avec l'ensevelissement pour finir avec l'enveloppement du cadavre dans un drap blanc. Avec la construction de la chapelle ardente, on entame une autre série de rites — celle justement où le cercueil va passer de la chapelle à la tombe par l'intermé-

diaire de l'église. Il s'agit là des endroits qui se ressemblent par leur forme intérieure.

On identifie ainsi deux séries rituelles — l'une dure du lavage et de l'ensevelissement du mort jusqu'à la mise en bière; l'autre débute avec l'entrée du cercueil dans la chapelle ardente et finit avec l'inhumation. Elles ont exactement le même schéma (v. Diagramme III). L'ensevelissement correspond à la construction de la chapelle ardente. Le rite de mettre le mort dans son lit correspond à celui de poser le cercueil dans la chapelle. Les deux rites se terminent par une bénédiction — de la famille dans un cas, de toute la commune dans l'autre. Les trois jours de veillée répondent aux trois étapes qui conduisent au cimetière, à savoir, la triade: procession-messe-procession. La messe a son équivalent dans la deuxième durée nocturne, quand le voisinage vient faire la veillée. Dans les deux cas, il y a l'intervention d'un élément étranger. Dans l'un, la collectivité s'insère entre deux veillées que fait la famille; dans l'autre, le monde spirituel surgit entre deux phases d'une activité qui concerne principalement la commune. La mise en bière occupe la même position structurale que l'inhumation. Toutes les deux sont précédées par une bénédiction — dans un cas, par toute la famille; dans l'autre, par toute la commune. Dans les deux cas, ce sont 4 hommes qui font l'opération, avec la seule différence qu'au cimetière, les 4 coéquipiers sont payés par la commune, tandis que des 4 hommes de la maison, deux sont membres de la famille du défunt et les deux autres payés par celle-ci.

Il y a donc un strict parallélisme entre les deux séries, mais chacune a sa fonction: dans la série de la maison, c'est la famille qui joue le rôle principal; dans l'autre, c'est la commune qui est importante. Nous croyons avoir trouvé là deux séries de rites de séparation, dont l'une sépare le mort de sa famille et l'autre, de la collectivité. On passe presque sans transition d'une série à l'autre, mais la rupture est brusque entre elles. D'une série intime qui se termine parfois dans le silence de la dernière durée nocturne, on débouche sur une autre qui a toute l'allure d'une fête populaire.

L'étude de la mort à Thuboeuf nous a ainsi permis d'entrevoir un phénomène social total dont les aspects sont encadrés par un schéma fonctionnel qui repose sur l'agencement de trois ensembles techniques. Les mythes et les symboles que recèle ce phénomène social total dans ses couches les plus profondes, nous ont, d'autre part, suggéré l'existence d'un ensemble de rites pour assurer la résurrection du mort. Cet ensemble, pour sa part, nous a révélé deux séries parallèles et complémentaires de rites de séparation.



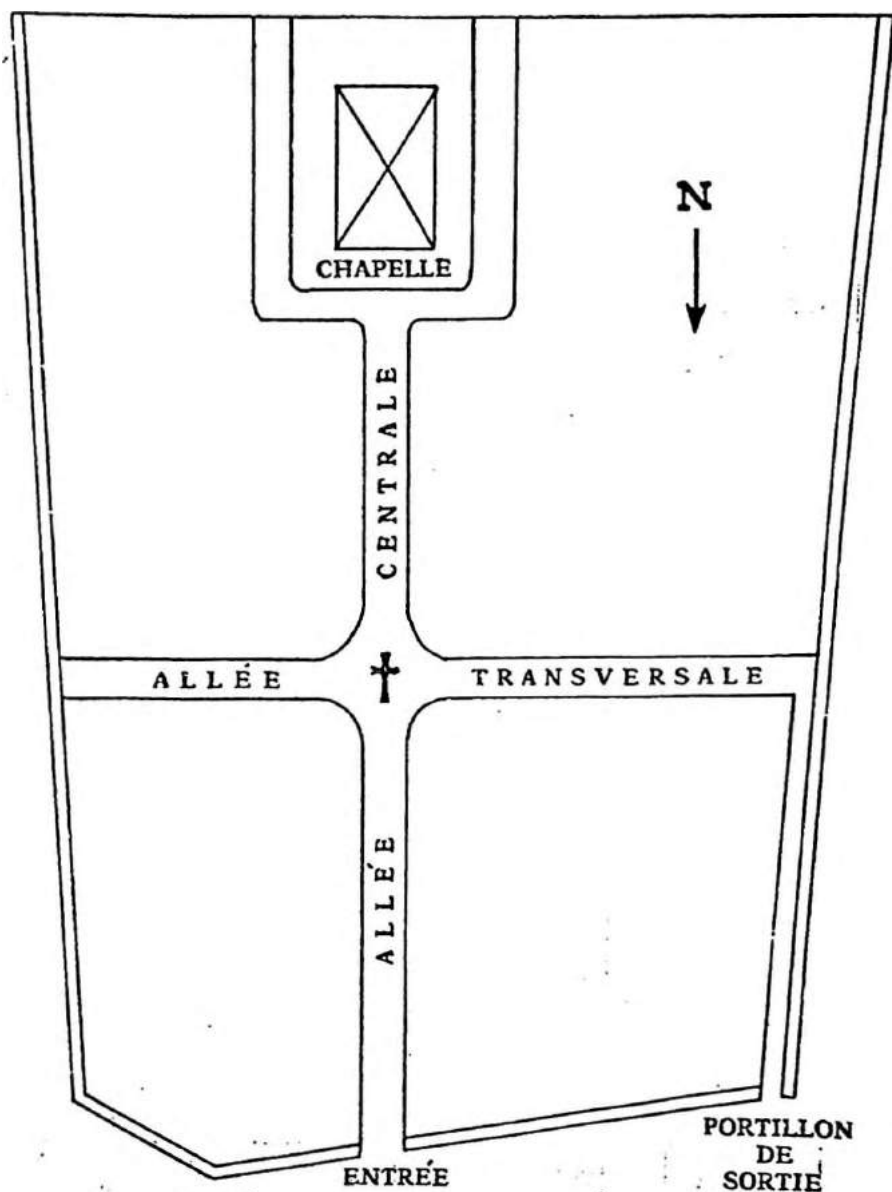


DIAGRAMME I — LE CIMETIERE

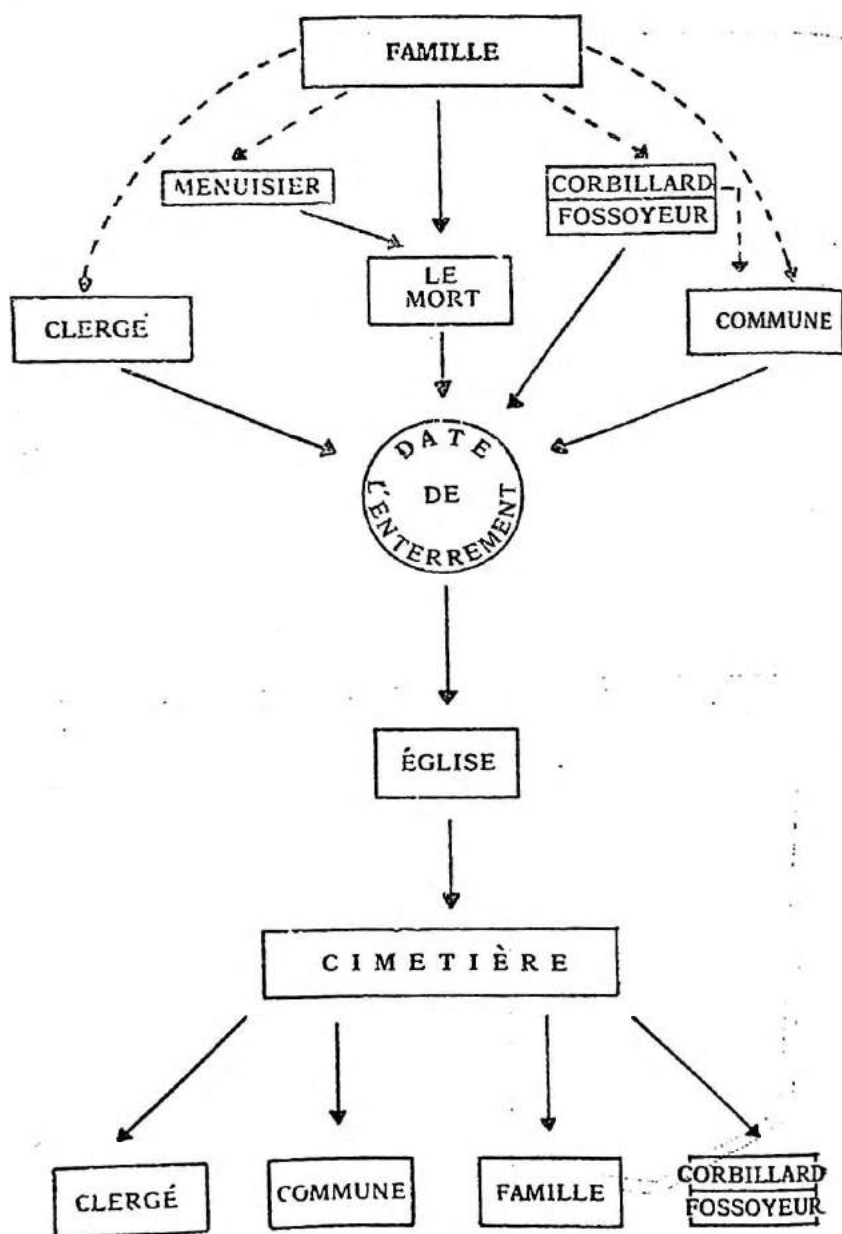


DIAGRAMME II

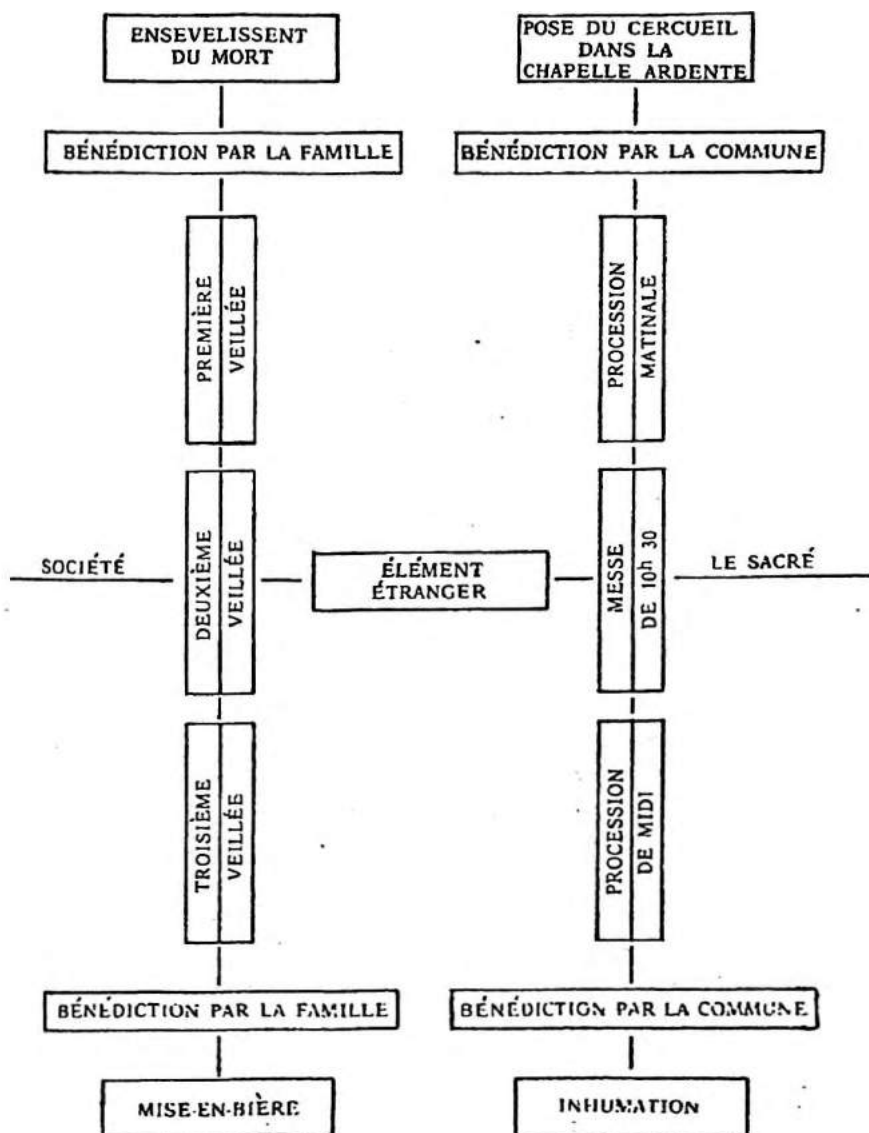


DIAGRAMME III
Les rites de passage

RURAL FARMERS AND THE STUDY OF SOCIOCULTURAL CHANGE

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This study is designed to find out whether exposure to planned innovation introduced by technical agents of the Presidential Arm on Community Development would persuade rural farmers to change their attitudes towards progressive practices in agriculture. The researcher's intense interest in the problem stems from his own observation that rural development programs focused at helping farm families increase their economic production and income have not apparently produced substantial results. This observation finds support in the findings of some important studies done in other parts of the country which point to the generalization that technical agents of the government involved in community development action programs have encountered varying degrees of success and failure (Einsiedel 1968; Foster 1965; Madigan 1962; Pal 1963; and Sibley 1968). It

becomes imperative, that more meaningful ways should be worked out to internalize and reinforce their efforts.

It is also the aim of the paper to explore some of the causes and/or reasons for the recurring failure with which the Presidential Arm on Community Development is confronted, and to offer feasible suggestions or alternatives for improving the probability of attaining concrete success in future development programs. Corollary to this is the writer's wish that some of the salient conclusions arrived at from the data will perhaps have broader range of relevance to micro-level research and applicability to local community action projects such that parallel situations exist in some of the country's rural scenes.

The present analysis is based on research data derived from brief fieldwork in two rural barrios of Negros Oriental which was carried out last December 22-31, 1968 to January 1-6, 1969. The barrios involved in the study are not markedly different in terms of economic bases because both depend largely upon the so-called traditional subsistence agriculture. But still one cannot just disregard the necessity for a micro-level research when one thinks about, draws up and then plunges into a program of inducing planned change.

The theoretical framework of this field investigation is focused on the concept that resistance to planned attitude change is fundamentally associated with strong conservatism and traditionalism which can be altered. To this end, three specific base-lines which are interconnected aspects of the problem are also given: (1) to determine the existing attitudes of the rural farmers toward scientific techniques of farming; (2) to establish the change in values toward sustained acceptance to planned innovation; and (3) to explore ways through which community development agents can proceed more effectively in bringing about the attitudes, perspective, and values necessary for a successful development action program.

Be that as it may, it is pertinent at this point to consider briefly the ethnographic setting of the two village communities.

Data from this study was gathered from a list of random sample consisting of twenty-five married couples, five of which are housewives and sari-sari (variety) storeowners and twenty are farmers, each in barrios Samay and Tulay of Negros Oriental. The researcher feels that the samples were reasonably representative of the population even if one argues that the number of subjects in a research investigation does not necessarily determine the representativeness of the sample.

The first barrio studied is Samay. It lies in the interior of a certain municipality within the jurisdiction of the second congressional district, and is about thirty kilometers south of Dumaguete City, capital of Negros Oriental. To reach the village, one has to take a bus from Dumaguete and disembark at a certain crossing-junction and then ride in a passenger jeepney through a 6 kilometer uphill stretched of winding and narrow dirt road punctuated now and then with potholes and mudholes. The frequency of trips and the fluctuation of fares vary in accordance with the season. When the climate is wet two round trips are made daily — one in the morning and another in the afternoon. If it is dry season four round trips are scheduled every day — two in the morning and another two in the afternoon. The village community nestles at the foothills of a mountain. Incidentally, as revealed in the interviews I made, the villagers have been accustomed to government hand-out. In the distant northeast, the towering and cloud-capped Cuernos de Negros or Mt. Talinis which measures about 6,023 feet above sea level, rises. Hills on the northwest on top of a low mountain range are twin lakes known as Balinsasayao (Cambunayao) and Danao with an area of about eighty hectares. These lakes are designated as Boy Scout reservation camp of the province. A river on the southeast and shallow stream on the west which separates the village from the town, define Samay community. The climate is predominantly type A or first type, with two pronounced seasons: dry from November to April, and wet during the rest of the year. The same climate prevails in all southern municipalities of the province. The mountain range shields the barrio from the

damaging effects of strong winds which visit the southern portion of the province quite irregularly during the months of September and October. During the height of the rainy season a bigger area of the ricefields cannot escape from the destructive effect of floods so that agricultural crops are eventually destroyed. Erosion of topsoil also compounded the worry of farmers because the area of arable fields is naturally diminished. The reason of the devastating effects of instant floods is due to the wanton and the cutting down of trees in the forest by a big-time Chinese logging operator. Second cropping of rice is difficult if what remains are the few springs which serve as source of drinking water for the barrio inhabitants.

Amidst this ecological condition, six hundred and fifty or so households with an average of four to seven members eke out a living. While it is true that most of the family heads are tenants, yet a greater majority of them own small farm lots. During the rainy season they grow rice and some vegetables and fruits, and in summer raise corn and other supplementary crops like banana, camote, cassava, tubers, etc. They are also engaged in small scale poultry and livestock production. The farm products are not only for home consumption but whatever remained after the family's needs are met were bartered with consumers' goods such as dried and salted fish, sardines, and ready-made ("relief") clothes for men and women. Some were sold cash to buy other consumption goods which include children's dresses and school supplies as well as basic household needs like table salt, brown sugar, and kerosene. Still others were shared with kins and neighbors. Since the main source of irrigation water dries up during the rest of the summer months large areas of farmlots were left idle where domesticated animals are allowed to pasture.

A primary school consisting of first to fourth grades with four classroom teachers and a head teacher was established in the village. However, a petition was passed by the barrio council to open additional grades this coming school year. The approval is yet pending at the moment until such time when funds are

available. The barrio captain, however, is hopeful that the request will be granted since "this year is presidential elections!"

In the barrio one finds a few strategically located sari-sari (variety) stores which sell sundry articles ranging from aspirin to zipper. Sales, however, are not meant to be strictly on cash basis.

A well-defined bilateral kinship system characterizes family relationships in the community. This has far-reaching effect in the context of decision-making and joint-action in community organization. Although endogamous marriage is widely practised, yet a few cases of marriages by exogamy were noted by the researcher in the course of the interview. The kinship system in Samay is further extended to ritual-kin relationships manifested in the choice of baptismal or marriage godparents. These godparents then become *compadres* (godfathers) and *comadres* (godmothers) of the parents of their godchildren.

The barrio council is perhaps the only legitimate if not formal political organization through which the villagers participate in activities that border on joint-action. But this has not been considerably availed of by the rural folks in terms of making the barrio council a forum in ventilating their felt needs because whatever actions or decisions to be made, these were traditionally exercised within the context of the broader kinship groups. This obviously explains why technical agents of government development programs failed to make a significant breakthrough in changing the attitudes and values of farmers to planned innovation.

The other village in which the research was conducted is Tulay, a coastal barrio in the first congressional district. This barrio belongs to the first municipality north of Dumaguete and is roughly eight kilometers from the city downtown. Tulay lies along the national highway which accounts for the fact that transportation facilities are not a problem of the inhabitants. In spite of this, however, the village is typically rural.

In a far distant northwest looms Camp Look-out locally dubbed as the "Little Baguio" of Negros Oriental due to its cool temperature. It is always visible from the coastline and the domestic airport. On the eastern and western side of the highway are several small irrigated farmlots planted to "miracle rice" for experimentation and demonstration purposes. These have been put up as joint projects of the Presidential Arm on Community Development and the Agricultural Productivity Commission field workers.

The climate obtaining in Tulay and for that matter in all the towns of northern Negros Oriental is predominantly type C or third type, with seasons not very pronounced. It is dry from December to April and wet throughout the rest of the year.

To better understand the sociocultural changes taking place in the village, I shall attempt to describe briefly certain farming activities which demonstrate a kind of cooperative feeling among the inhabitants. This, in effect, becomes a contributing factor that eventually lessens the farmer's resistance to planned change.

The various activities involved in wet rice-farming necessitate additional manpower which the household cannot supply. More and more farmhands are needed from the village on the basis of neighborhood or kinship bonds locally known as *alayan* (cooperative work group). The farmer who is a member of the *alayan* has the right to demand from his own *alayan* members equal number of work days he previously put in each member's farm to some future time when his turn comes during the particular planting season. In Tulay wet rice-growing comes twice a year. Briefly the *alayan* system, as actually practised, demonstrates a willingness for other *alayan* partners on the basis of equal return of his labor. Of course, the practice of *alayan* as a cooperative work group finds sanction in what other members say about one's work performance. Expressed another way, the desire for social approbation from the work group which enhances a member's continued membership of the *alayan*, is a rallying point in an attempt to show and do one's level best. Therefore, the wide range of activities integrated in the matrix of

wet rice-agriculture become a potent and stabilizing force which binds kins either affinal, consanguinal or ritual, and neighbors as well in one solid cooperative undertaking at least during the seasons of planting and harvesting. This, in brief, is the type of social organization based on participation in kinship networks, although perhaps less intense than that in Samay.

In the context of religious affiliation, Tulay families are split between Roman Catholics and a few Protestants of the United Church of Christ. The Catholics comprise the majority of the group. There is no chapel built in the barrio for Catholic and Protestant groups alike, but the more active members of either church attend Sunday masses or services in their respective churches in the poblacion.

Unlike the farmers of Samay, the Tulay farmers have relatively higher level of living, family income, and bigger landholdings. With regards to educational standing, marked differences were noted in the two villages. Obviously, there are differences in the characteristics of the people of the barrio concerned. For example, Tulay has a higher level of education than Samay because of its proximity to the poblacion where the Central School is located and to Dumaguete City where institutions of higher learning like Silliman University, Foundation University and St. Paul College are established.

Another difference is that unlike barrio Samay, Tulay has a complete Elementary School from first to sixth grades ably manned by twelve teachers under the charismatic leadership of an energetic principal. The classrooms are of strong semi-permanent materials built in cooperation with the Parent-Teacher Association members. Recently, through the efforts of the barrio captain, the municipal mayor, and the school principal, the village was able to acquire a Marcos-type school building. It has its own health center and an extension office of the Agricultural Productivity Commission, both of which are deeply involved in a wide variety of planned change programs.

These villages are selected on the basis of economic development or lack of it obtaining in the barrio, and the degree of

exposure to the impact of urbanization and the processes of innovation brought about through the combined efforts of government technical agents committed to rural development work. In other words, the outstanding differences between the two villages seem to stem from social, cultural, economic, and educational variations associated with wider range of experiences with outsiders.

Through the use of pre-tested interview schedule and the 50-item attitude-innovation questionnaire constructed by Dr. Willis E. Sibley, visiting professor of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines (Diliman), data were obtained from random respondents. This questionnaire, I understand, was a revision of Rev. Francis C. Madigan's resistance prediction scale designed to measure the farmer's acceptance or rejection to innovation (Madigan 1962(68):303-354).

To summarize, the two village communities are quite different in some aspects of barrio life and at the same time quite similar in other respect. For one thing, families of both villages are linguistically related since they speak the same Cebuano-Bisayan dialect but differ slightly in intonation and sound pattern. Indeed, with certain fundamental differences and essential similarities taken into account, it is relevant at this point to examine the differing needs for and reactions to programs of directed change of the two villages.

Attitudes and Responses to Innovation:

A Study of Contrast

In both villages, farmers and housewives were asked about their attitudes toward government agents of change; operation of the government from the municipal, the provincial, and the national levels; beliefs regarding limitations on the wealth of the barrio; and expectations concerning the future, etc. on the assumption that their responses would be related to predisposition toward change, as well as willingness to participate in action

programs of directed innovation initiated by some government agencies. Statements which express a broader spectrum of attitudes, behavior, and values were prepared, mimeographed and duplicated. Then the respondents were asked to respond to them along a seven-point scale ranging from "strong, moderate, slight agreement" with its corresponding points of 7, 6, 5, respectively, through "don't know" with 4 points, and finally to "strong, moderate, slight disagreement" with 3, 2, and 1 points, respectively.

Since Samay families are relatively tradition-oriented insofar as their outlook in life is concerned, it was predicted that their values focused on wealth, prosperity in the future, agents of the government, and individual concern for success could be categorized as cautious and conservative; and that the villagers as a whole would necessarily be resistant toward planned innovation. On the other hand, it was hypothesized that Tulay respondents would reflect acceptance to planned change since they have been in constant contact with outsiders. This is manifested in a wide range of changes they experienced in terms of accelerated economic and sociocultural aspects of life, and ultimately therefore they are more apt to cooperate in modern-oriented change programs.

On the basis of data obtained in both villages, it was not surprising that the responses of the informants were congruent to the hypotheses previously stated. This means that families of Tulay are not only generally more receptive to directed change but are more inclined and ready to cooperate with government agents and confident toward future success and prosperity than Samay families.

Twenty-five married couples chosen at random with ages ranging from twenty-two and above were taken in each of the two villages. To measure the significance of difference of the informant's responses, the Chi-square test was applied. Of the fifty respondents for the two barrios (or twenty-five informants for each barrio), 8% of the responses were significant at the .001 level; 22% at the .01 level; 8% at the .02 level; 26% at the .05 level; 16% at the .10 level; 8% at the .20 level; 6% at the .30 level;

4% at the .50 level; and finally 2% at the .90 level which is of no significance at all.

The respondents' answers to a few questions regarding attitudes toward the manner in which the municipal, the provincial, and the national governments are run as well as technical agents who represent the government; and success, prosperity, and the future indicate some generalizations which are given for our consideration:

(1) In terms of cooperation with technical men who are attached to the Presidential Arm on Community Development and the Agricultural Productivity Commission, farmers of Samay are less likely to cooperate with them than farmers of Tulay. Perhaps this could be explained by virtue of the fact that Samay residents had long been used to hand-out of politicians. This practice pampered and paupered them to the point that their self-initiative and self-fulfillment was lost.

(2) Comparing families of Samay and Tulay in connection with high respect and prestige given to government technical agents, Samay is a little bit higher than Tulay. However, this does not mean that they are more cooperative with them because to cooperate willingly and to show respect to certain persons especially if they are identified to have represented the government, are seemingly two different things. This is borne by the fact that Samay farmers are wholly suspicious of government field workers than those families in Tulay.

(3) As to whether government technical agents are truly and honestly concerned with the welfare of the barrio people primarily, or their own well-being, there is a strong agreement among Samay residents that these agents are more interested in promoting their own interest than those of the rural folks.

At this point one can readily perceive that families of Samay have high level of dependence on government or political dole-out and are more suspicious and distrustful of the above-mentioned government change agents.

In regard to queries concerning success and prosperity, and the future, data obtained from the two villages reveal interesting findings:

(4) Samay farmers seem to fit to the attitude that life among rural families becomes more and more difficult each year, and that poverty will always pin them down to the extent that they are helpless to extricate themselves from it. But among farmers of Tulay, a more positive and optimistic attitude toward life and living is evident in the sense that they are willing to adopt new ways of doing things if only to improve their socio-economic life.

(5) As viewed by both families of Samay and Tulay, the practice of sharing what one has with relatives is seen to have meaningful value. This means that sharing may reinforce the individual's prestige as well as lessen whatever good effect there is in extra work because the produce derived from this will eventually be dispersed through demands of neighbors and kins alike for sharing.

(6) That God is a provider for the future needs of man is a customary belief which is held tenaciously by most informants of both villages, but relatively stronger among Samay residents. The reason perhaps for this is based on the attitude adhered to by Samay families that ultimately the consequence of innovation is evil or bad because whether one likes it or not conservatism and traditionalism are disturbed, disrupted, and may eventually be disintegrated. However, Tulay farmers hold on the concept that man must not only work hard but also do something good to others, and God will provide him most of his needs in life. This value system lucidly indicates that they are much more likely inclined to accept change and the consequent modernization and progress.

(7) In reply to a statement regarding *lihis* (agricultural rituals and/or ceremonies), Samay respondents have equal strong agreement and strong disagreement answer. Which means that almost one-half of the informants strongly agree in the efficacy of *lihis*, a reasonably good number of Samay farmers are change-prone.

and therefore given more time as well as patient attention by government technical agents the farmers might yet become resourceful cooperators in and acceptors of rural development projects.

(8) And finally, as far as data of the study would warrant, it would seem to appear that Tulay farmers are change-inclined not so much as a result of constant contact with government field personnel, but much more so because they have had enriching and rewarding experiences with these change agents. On the part of Samay farmers, while it is true that field workers of the government have made repeated visits in the barrio, yet these technical men have met with strong resistance because from the farmer's viewpoint their long years of actual farm experience subsumes any technical training that government innovators may have had acquired.

It goes without saying then that the findings of the study lend credence to and support for the need of micro-level research as well as intelligent planning before any development action program is launched and introduced with certain degree of success while the other half strongly disagree.

Implications of the Study: Rural Development Program

It would be overly facetious by this time to make conclusive statements concerning the implications of this research investigation. Rather the statements that are given here should be construed as suggestions and/or recommendations for a more viable approach to rural development action programs.

At the outset, it must be pointed out that the importance of the micro-level research in the context of community study in general and in attitude change in particular cannot be over-emphasized. For instance, while it is admittedly true that detailed micro-level analysis is deemed ideal, data gathered from the case barrios of this study when juxtaposed in a wider scheme could suggest at

least the feasibility of the necessity to devise a sort of typology of rural community cultures as an initial aid to development policy planners. To begin with, three sets of variables could be tentatively considered which are as follows: (1) the nature of the economic base and available resources found in the barrio; (2) the values, perspective, and attitudes of rural people toward planned change agents, the government as a political institution as well as the recipient people's desires to accept or reject innovation; and (3) analysis in terms of the nature and consequences of previous innovations, specifically in the context of sociocultural and economic organization (Sibley 1968:17). With these variables it is possible to construct a questionnaire designed for a micro-level research that would draw responses from rural folks to simple open-ended questions, and that even not well-trained interviewers could do the preliminary phase of the field research. More importantly is the idea that the questionnaire could supplant or complement other equally important data which are being utilized by research-oriented community development workers.

The notion that people's first impulse is to resist change is now considered passé. Rather the consensus is that they do accept change and there are empirical evidence to support this viewpoint. In our time, however, some individuals still entertain the notion that human beings have the natural tendency to oppose and obstruct programs of planned change, instead of accepting them. Thus to them, the notion of resistance is more striking than acceptance. The fact of the matter is that people regardless of socio-cultural, economic, and political persuasion do change their ways of life. There is no doubt, however, that the acceptance of new ideas is crucial, but if these new ideas become a part of the recipient people's conceptualizations, their attitudes and values will change in due time (Foster 1965:263-265).

The perception that innovation is a process which human beings have time and again experienced, gives government technical agents a better perspective from which to view deliberate

efforts to alter culture. Definitely, the technical agent begins to see resistance as symptom of something wrong in the cross-cultural milieu. The symptom is perhaps expressed in terms of the non-feasibility of the proposed planned change programs, or of the erratic rapport established by the development worker with the people. The implication here is apparent once resistance is viewed as a symptom of specific conditions rather than as a constant element because it would be easier to determine the factors that contribute to success and at the same time to discover causes that lead to failure (Spicer 1965:18-20).

Another significant implication of this study is the fact that government technical agents have different sociocultural orientation from that of the rural people which signifies that as they initiate projects of planned innovation that cut across lines of attitude and value system which incidentally is by no means easy even if they have the best of intentions, they are immediately faced with grave problems. Precisely, there is no logical relation between intentions and consequences of actions. It is only when goal-oriented actions take into consideration and make adaptations with the situation that good intentions have a fair chance of producing favorable results. It is presumed that development action programs in the context of planned innovation exist for no other motivation than the prosperity of the recipient local people, and ultimately for national progress. Over-emphasis on national progress may become a sacrifice of the rural people, although it does not necessarily follow that overemphasis on the former becomes a sacrifice of the latter. Basically, however, the primordial concern of directed change is the well-being of the local people. To maximize its assurance of success, the development worker's enthusiasm and passion for service are indispensable ingredients of action but they are not sufficient. They must be anchored on a sound and practical plan.

Undoubtedly a sound plan takes into consideration and makes adaptation with the prevailing situation; and in the case of planned change programs — the people and their sociocultural, and economic condition. Unless this is done, there is always the con

comitant danger with good intentions that the recipient local people's self-motivated initiative would be weakened and their day-to-day life would be chaotic and aimless. These can happen in the process of working for the people's prosperity and success (Pal 1963:2).

Corollary to this suggestion is the urgency on the part of the innovator to structure the baseline for sociocultural change so that he would know the extent to which legitimate persuasion may be employed to lead rural people to change their attitudes and values in the event that risk is involved, even if they, by nature are not risk-takers. This is so because development action programs that necessarily involve directed change imply sociocultural changes synchronically or diachronically. To the technical agent a knowledge of what and how much innovations have occurred is tremendously important in the assessment of "self-help" projects. Oftentimes the government fieldman may find himself in a situation which he may know what it is now, but may not be able to conceptualize the direction and rate of change because no feedback is available as to what the situation was few years ago. Thus it becomes axiomatic to structure a sociocultural baseline so that it would be easier to perceive the results of community development program in the context of the situation at which it started. When this is done then the innovator would be in a vantage position to know and have a reliable feedback in his desire to determine what the situation is, and what it was, as well as to predict what the situation will be (Pal 1963:34).

Another recommendation to a technical worker is that he must endeavor to concretize the dynamics of community action so that he can gear development projects to existing patterns of behavior and attitudes, and those similar patterns which are likely to arise the moment different planned innovations are introduced. Further, he must take cognizance of the uniqueness of the subcultures of the local people and the patterning of folkways and mores peculiar to them as well. He should also be more conversant with groupings of individuals that cut across local or regional boundaries and at the same time find similarities in

common occupation or kinship relation, rather than in geographical proximity of human groups (Hollnsteiner 1963:2-5). This is of paramount importance because to persuade rural families to adopt change in the name of national needs may bring about more harm than good especially when it is diametrically opposed to the ethos of the local folks. This idea fits into the system of values of Samay residents because in spite of the repeated attempts of the government's community development worker to penetrate into the cultural nexus of the recipient rural folks, the more the people became suspicious of his real motive.

Still another significant point to think about is the notion that persons ready for planned innovation of a particular type would accept it more readily than those who are less prepared for it. Moreover, individuals most ready for directed change sought by community development worker would seem likely to be those in or at the fringe of urban centers because they are apparently change-conscious as a result of constant cultural contact with outsiders.

And finally, government technical agents should always remember that a program of planned innovation tends to be easily accepted when it does not severely disrupt "role expectations" (Hollnsteiner 1963:205). This is because the greater the number of changes in interpersonal relations that accompany an innovation, the less chances the innovation has of taking root. Hence, as much as possible role expectations should not be unnecessarily altered. In this connection, government policy-planners and decision-makers must recognize the painful truth that no viable program of planned attitude change, no matter how well-motivated and how adequately funded with the required counter-part fully underwritten by the local people, could virtually succeed unless the innovator first plumb the recipient rural folks for answers and ideas as well as anchor whatever formulations are made for the uplift of their life on the basis of objective realities.

In our time, pressures for change in attitudes to planned innovation are bound to act upon people and society with much greater frequency and intensity. It is to be hoped, however, that

the concomitant emotional, mental and psychological strain which often makes shocking impact upon the rural folks be minimized. This can be initially done through articulate planning, wise program implementation, and humane understanding of human values in which they are expressed.

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ANG PANGANGALAKAL BILANG LANDAS NG PAGBABAGO SA LIPUNANG IPUGAW

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Commerce as a factor of change in Ifugao society, the main concern of this paper, had been overlooked by students of that Philippine ethnic group. The data gathered from library sources are compared with those from the brief participant-observation and informal interviews.

Ifugao could be reached then¹ after spending at least a day's or horses' ride mostly by trails even from nearby Benguet sub province and Nueva Vizcaya. Now² it takes only four to two hours from either province to the other. In effect, Ifugao commercial activities extended to the other provinces and other countries through Manila. Goods-preferences for local consumption and trade changed. For example, salt and meat, which are highly

1 Then referred to the period covered by the library data.

2 Now, to the period when the writer did her fieldwork in December, 1968 and February-March 1969.

valued and available only during religious celebrations, became part of everyday living including machine-processed goods like canned goods. Weaving and woodcarving are fast developing as major sources of income, since they are extensively exported. Now the medium of exchange of 90% of its total population is money.

And with the increasing contacts with the lowland peoples who are their commercial partners facilitated by a better means of communication, they — the Ifugao — are being exposed and consequently being influenced by a different socio-economic orientation.

PAKSA:

Ang sinumang mananaliksik sa kalinangan ng kabihasnang Ipugaw ay nananangan sa mga sinulat nina Barton (1922), Beyer (1947), Conklin (1968), Lambrecht (1932) at Vanoverbergh (1926) sa kabila ng mga alinlagaan sa mga katotohanang napapaloob sa mga karunungan kanilang ipinahahayag. Di kaya maaaring ang ilan sa mga ito ay bunga ng kanilang pansariling pakahulugan ukol sa paniniwala ng mga Ipugaw? Ang mga sinulat kaya nilang kaalaman ay di batay lamang sa kani-kanilang kabihasnang kanluranin? Mga katanungang bumabagabag sa mga katutubong mag-aaral! At dahilan sa mga pag-aalinlangang ito kaya't nagpapatuloy ang pananaliksik sa kasalukuyan. Subali't sa napakaraming naisulat tungkol sa mga Ipugaw, lalo't ang kahambing ay ang mga ulat sa ibang mga grupong etnikong Pilipino, ay waring nakaligtan ang mga pagbabago na maaaring dulot ng pakikipagkalakalan na siyang sisikapin talakayin sa maiksing sanaysay na ito.

PAMAMARAAN NG PANANALIKSIK:

Ang manunoy na pagpili at pagbabasa ng mga aklat at mga lathalang nauukol sa kabihasnang Ipugaw lalo yaong mga may kinalaman sa mga pangyayaring pangkabuhayan ang unang hakbang sa aking pananaliksik. Ang mga banyagang alagad ng pananam-palataya at mga tagapangasiwa ng mga mananakop ang bumubuo ng siyam na pu't siyam na bahagdan ng mga sumulat ng babasahing nabanggit. Ang maantas na pamumuhay sa kanluran na ka-

nilang pinagmulan ang ginamit nilang pamantayan. Ito ang nagbibigay liwanag sa karamihan ng taliwas na pakahulugan sa kabuhayang Ipugaw, bagama't kapani-paniwala ang kanilang ulat ukol sa paglalarawan ng kapaligiran at mga pamamaraang pangkabuhayan.

✓ Kasunod nito ang paggawa ng balangkás sa ginawa kong pakikibahagi at pagmamasid sa mga Ipugaw. Napakaiksing panahon — isang buong linggo noong katapusan ng Disyembre, 1968 — datapwa't isang pagkakataong makapanayam silang katutubo at marinig ang kanilang sariling kuro-kuro.

Sa kasawiang-palad nabigo akong makasama ang isang taga Nueva Vizcayang kaibigan na magiging tagapamagitan dahil sa hindi ako lubhang sanay sa wikang Iloko. Sa tulong ng mga patnubay katanungang aming inihanda naipagpatuloy ko rin ang pang-araw-araw na oraryo (timetable). Sa hindi ko inaasahang pagkakataon walumpung bahagdan (80%) — 8 sa bawa't 10 — ng aking mga nakapanayam ang nakauunawa at nakapagsasalita ng Inglis. Mga nagtitinda sa palengke kung araw ng tiyanggi ang karamihan sa kanila.

Sa unang banghay ng sanaysay na tinapos ko sa pagbabalik sa Pamantasan ang inihingi ng mga puna sa aking guro at mga kamag-aral. Tulad ng kadalasang nangyayari sa mga baguhang mananaliksik na tulad ko, maraming ipinagwawalang-bahala mga bagay ang pagkatapos ng paglilimi ay mapagtatanto na mahalaga pala. Halimbawa nito: Walang anumang binanggit ko sa aking guro na ang mga magkakapitbahay doon ay naghihiraman ng mga kailangan sa bahay — posporo, asin, kamote at kung anu-ano pa — na hindi kailanman inaasahang bayaran ng salapi nguni't pagbibigay ng anumang gamit din sa bahay kung sakali't siya naman ang mangailangan. Pangkaraniwan lamang sa akin ang kaugaliang ito dahil sa lalawigang nilakihan ko ay pang-araw-araw ang pangyayaring yaon. Ipinaalaala ng guro na ang pagpapalitang ganoon ay isang mahalagang bahagi ng kapamaraan ng kanilang pamumuhay. "Sa palagay mo gaano kalimit mangyari ang ganoon? gaano karami ang mga bagay na nagpapalit-kamay sa paraang nabanggit mo? Sa pang-araw-araw na pakikitungo nila sa kapwa, ano

ang maaaring maging bunga niyaon?" Mga katanungang hindi ko mabigyan ng katunipakang kasagutan, nguni't nagpagunita na maging higit na maingat sa pananaliksik lalo na't nakikilahok at nagmamasid sa iba.

Sa pangalawang pagdalaw ko sa Lalawigan — noong unang linggo ng Marso, 1969 — sinikap kong matagpuan ang mga kasagutang di ko natamo noong unang dalaw. Ito rin ang pagkaka-taong suriin ang mga naunang dato.

Tulad ng tungkol sa kanilang katutubong inuming alak sa bigas (rice wine). Ayon sa mga kasulatan at sa mga naunang nakapanayam ko "tapuy" ang tawag nila dito, isang pansariling inumin at hindi ipinagbibili. Nguni't nang pangalawang tungo ko roon naliwanagang "baya" kung turingan sa Kiangnan, Lagawe at Lamut ang katutubong inumin samantalang "tapuy" sa Banawe, Mayawyaw at sa ibayong lalawigan ng Bontok, Benguet at Kalunga.

Salungat pa rin sa unang dato na hindi ipinagbibili ang "tapuy" ó "baya", nabibili ito sa mga tindahan sa halagang P1.50 ang nasa bote ng "kuatro kantos". Sa masinsing pagpapaliwanag nina dating Komisyoner ng C.N.I. Gabriel Dunuan at ng kasalukuyang Kalihim Panlalawigan Juan Dait Jr., ang unang impormasyon ang kanilang idiyal na pagpapahalaga sa "tapuy" ó "baya" dahil sa mga ritwal na paggamit dito, datapwa't sa katunayan tulad na rin ng ibang bagay na pangkalakal.

Isang halimbawa lamang ito ng kakulangan ng mga kapamaraanang kanluranin sa pag-aaral ng mga kabihasan ó ng isang panig ng kabihasan kung ginagamit sa ating kapaligiran. Bilang magpagpagunita rin na bawa't mananaliksik na suriing mabuti ang katotohanang napapaloob sa bawa't kasagutang tiyakang (direct answers) sa mga panayam. Datapwa't hindi maiikaila na ang mga kapamaraanang kanluraning ginamit ay kapaki-pakinabang. Ang mga pagbabago sa kapamaraan ay nararapat gawin kung hinihingi ng pagkakataon upang ang dato ay higit na mapaniniwalaan.

Ngayon pa man, nais kong ibahagi sa babasang ang mga nasusulat na paglalawaran ng kanilang pamumuhay noong mga nauunang panahon ay pawang mapuputlang bakas na lamang.

**DATO MULA SA PAKIKIHALUBILO-AT-PAGMAMASID AT
PAKIKIPANAYAM NG PANANALIKSIK:**

Patunguhan sa Lalawigan: Ang malawak na lalawigang Bulubundukin ay pinag-apat na bahagi noong 1967 upang bigyang kaluwagan ang mga namumuno roon sa kanilang pamamalakad tungo sa kaunlaran. Isa sa nagtamo ng biyayang nabanggit ang Ipugaw na dating nasa pangasiwaan ng binahaging lalawigan.

Ang bagong likhang lalawigang Ipugaw ayon sa palatandaang astronomiko ay nasa $120^{\circ}52'$ hanggang $121^{\circ}33'$ ng Silangang Kabaan (East longitude) at $16^{\circ}20'$ hanggang $16^{\circ}58'$ ng Timog Kaluwangan (North latitude). Ito ang pintuan tungo sa loobán ng dating Lalawigan Bulubundukin mula sa karatig na lalawigang patagin, ang Nueva Vizcaya.

Mayroong dalawang landas patungong Ipugaw mula sa kapatagan. Una, mula sa Maynila na patungong Baguio. Ang Banawe ang bubungaran kung buhat sa Baguio tungo sa Bondok. Ang Lamut ang unang sasapiting bayan ng Ipugaw nang isa pang landas mula Baguiong babagtas sa Pingkian, Bambang at Bayombong. Pangalawa, ay ang patuloy na paglalakbay mula sa himpilan ng sasakyan dito sa Maynila hanggang Bayombong. Sasakay pagkatapos ng diyipni mula Bayombong hanggang sa Lamut, Lagawe ó Kiangnan na magkakalapit-bayan. Halos labindalawang oras ang tagal ng paglalakbay na ito. Ang pangalawang landas na nabanggit ang aking tinalunton.

Sa kabuuan ang mga lansangan hanggang Banawe ay pawang maluluwang na at isinasaayos na rin ang ilan pang kilometrong daraanan na hindi asfaltado. Mahigit na sampu ang mga sasakyang nagyayao't dito buhat sa Bayombong patungo sa Lamut. Walang isang oras ang bawa't biyahe at sisiyamnampung sentimos naman ang bayad.

Nagpapatuloy sa Lagawe at Kiangnan ang karamihan sa mga sasakyang ito pagkapangalap ng sapat na pasaherong pupuno ng sasakyan. Ang bawa't magtutungo sa Lagawe ay tumutuloy sa

Kiangan at *vice-versa*, na maayos ang wawalong kilometrong daan sa pagitan nila. Piso ang pamasahé mula Lamut hanggang Lagawe hanggang Kiangan na tumatagal lamang ng dalawampung minuto, samantalang dalawampu't limang sentimos ang mula Lagawe hanggang Kiang na tumatagal lamang ng dalawampung minuto ang bawa't biyahe.

Mahal ng dalawampung sentimos ang pasahé sa mga pumasadaang diyipni mula Bayombong hanggang Lagawe at Kiangan kaysa Dangwa¹ na may dalawang biyahe lamang sa loob ng maghapon.

Maaaring makapamilya sa apat na sasakyang patungong Banawe na magbubuhat sa Kiangan at magdaraan sa Lagawe ang isang manlalakbay kung kinakasihan nang mabuting kapalaran. Ikalawa ng madaling-araw ang unang oras nang pag-alis ng sasakyan (Dangwa) patungong Baguio via Bontok. Umaalis ang pangalawa sa pagitan ng ikawalo at ikasiyam ng umaga. Ito ay hanggang Banawe lamang at bumabalik sa Lagawe ó sa Kiangan kinahapunan. Dangwa muli ang pangatlo na bago mag-ikatlo ng hapon ang pinakahuling sandali ng pag-alis. Maaaring magkaroon ng pang-apat ó panlimang sasakyan patungo sa Banawe, kung mapupunuan ng kahit dadalawampung katao ang naturang bihikulo. Umaabot ng dalawang oras at ₱1.50 ang bayad-pasahé.

Mapalad na magkaroon ng dalawang biyahe patungong Mayawyaw sa maghapon. Magbubuhat sa poblasyon ng Banawe bago mag-ika-labing-isa ng tanghali ang unang biyahe at ang pangalawa ay yaong magbubuhat sa Bontok. May mga araw na walang nagbibiyahe rito dahil sa halos walang pasahero. Bagama't aapat-na-pu't walong kilometro ang layo as isa't isa, ang paglalakbay ay inaábot nang lima hanggang anim na oras dahil sa napakakitid at batubatuhanang lansangan. Halos tatatlumpung kilometro bawa't oras ang takbo ng sasakyan. Sa katunayan kinakailangan pang magsibaba ang mga pasahero ng may tatlong ulit sapagka't hubhang mapanganib ang katarikan at kataliman ng kurbada. Mga labi ng panghukbong sasakyan ó ang tinatawag

¹ Ito ang tawag sa sasakyang-bayan buhat sa pangalan ng may-ari ng kompanya.

nating "weapon carriers" ang mga sasakyan dito at dalawang piso ang bayad sa pasahe.

Ang kita ng mga tsuper at mga konduktor ay naaayon sa pinagkasunduan nila ng may-ari ng sasakyan. Mayroong buwan at mayroon din namang porsiyentuhan. Nararagdagan ang pumasada kung dumaragsa ang mga mag-aaral na nag-uuwian pagkatapos ng mga klase at ang mga manggagawang umuwi upang magbakasyon ó dumalaw sa kanilang mga kamag-anak. At sa mahabang oras ng paglalakbay na ito ang mga hagdan-hagdang taniman (rice terraces) na matatanaw mong palagian ang siyang nagpapagaan sa napapagal na katawan, lalong lalo na sa mga naglalakbay sa unang pagkakataon sa pook na yaon.

Hindi ako nagkaroon ng pagkakataong magtungo sa Hungduan at sa Potia dahil sa kakapusan ng panahon. Datapwa't ayon sa mga taga-roon, mula sa kabayanan ng Kiangnan, magdaraan sa nayon ng Nagacadan, ang Hungduan ay mararating lamang sa paglalakad ó pangangabayo sa loob ng halos isang araw. Mula sa Banawe ang isang landas pa patungong Hungduan na maaaring sumakay sa pampasaherong 'weapon carrier'.

Mararating din naman ang Potia sa paglalakad ó pangangabayo buhat sa Mayawyaw. Ang Potia ay nilikhang bayan mula sa Mayawyaw noóng ikalabing-isa ng Mayo 1955 sa bisa ng Batas Republika Bilang 1222. Magdaraan muna sa Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, Santiago, Isabela at San Mateo (Isabela rin), na siyang kukunan ng sasakyang patungong Potia. Anupa't sa dalawang huling binanggit na bayan kakailanganin ang dalawang araw na paglalakbay kung aasahan ang pambayang bihikulo at isang araw kung may sariling sasakyan na magsisimula sa kapitolyo ng Lawigan, ang Lagawe.

Pansamantalang Hampungan at Mga Pansariling Kaluwagan:

Para sa isang manlalakbay na walang matutuluyan ó ayaw tumuloy sa mga kamag-anak at kaibigan, mayroong mga bahay na may paupahang-silid na mapagpapalipasan ng gabi. At bilang isang negosyo ito ay nasa bungad ng bayan. Nagsisilbi rin sila

ng pagkain ó kaya nama'y may tindahang sari-sari sa unang palapag ng bahay. Walang kaibahan ang mga pagkain sa mga nabibili natin sa mga kantina ng Pamantasan, maliban marahil sa paminsan-minsang pagkakaroon ng karneng aso na higit na mataas ang halaga kaysa baboy ó manok at mas maraming pagkain sa parehong halaga. Hindi suliranin ang tubig sa kanila. Dekorante ang ilaw buhat sa generator ng mga may-ari ng bahay-paupahan, nguni't ito ay mula ika-anim ng hapon hanggang ikasiyam ng gabi at mula ikalima hanggang ika-anim ng umaga lamang. Mayroong hotel sa Banawe para sa mga kabataang mahiligin sa paglililiwaliw, at mayroon ding para sa mga banyagang turistang nagtutungo sa Batad,² na sumisingil nang may kama-halan. Walang ganitong mga kaluwagan sa Hungduan at sa Mayawyaw, kaya't ang inaasahan tuluyan ay mga kaibigan ó mga kamag-anak.

Kaanyuan ng Paligid: Humigit-kumulang sa pitung daan at limampung milyang parisukat ang luwang ng Lalawigan datapwa't isa at pitumpu't limang bahagdan lamang ang masasabing kapatagan. Ang malaking bahagi nito ay ang Lamut, Lagawe at Kiangnan. Maaaring ihambing ang Lamut sa Libis, Marikina, Rizal kapag aalisan ng naglalakihang pintadong bahay at mga linya ng koryente ng huli. Waring isang pinatag na pook ang Lagawe at saan ka man tumingin sa paligid ay pawang bundok. Nakakahalintulad ng mga bayang-patag ang kaayusan ng Lamut maging ang init ng panahon. Mapapagwari pa ang bakas ng pananakop ng mga Kastila sa kayarian ng bahay sa Kiangnan. Higit na malamig ang simoy ng hangin dito kaysa dalawang naunang nabanggit. Nagagamit pa ang kalabaw at araro sa pagbubukid sa tatlong bayang ito, di tulad nang sa Banawe at sa Mayawyaw na walang katinuan ang sinumang mag-aakalang gumamit ng mga ito. Sa mga nagnanais iwasan ang init at gulo nang lunsod sa kapatagan kung tag-araw ang Banawe at Mayawyaw ay may halinang pook bakasyunan, ipagwalang bahala lamang ang di lubos na kaanyanyayang paglalakbay.

² Batad: Ito ay isang nayon ng Banawe na kinaroroonan ng hagdan-hagdang taniman na sa katuuan ay hugis-mangkok.

Magkakalapit ang bahay sa una samantalang magkakahiwalay at kahalo ng kanilang mga bukirin ang mga bahay sa ikalawa. Ang pinangkukunan nila ng tubig gayundin ng mga isda, hipon, at iba pang pagkaing mula sa tubig ang idinudulot ng Ilog Magat at ng Ilog Ibulaw.

Kaayusang Panlipunan ng Bayan: Isinasakatuparan ng mga paralang bayan ang maagang paghubog sa kaisipan ng mga kabataang Ipugaw. Bawa't bayan ay may mataas na paaralan. Nasa pangangasiwa ng mga samahang pananampalataya ang mga ito. May kolehiyo na rin ngayon na pinamamahalaan ng mga nagbubuhay sa St. Louis University sa Baguio. Samantalang sa mga paaralan sa Bagyo, sa Bayombong ó sa Maynila pinag-aaral ang mga anak nang maykaya.

Pagkakaroon ng bahay-dalangingin ang katugon ng mga paralang nasa pamunuan ng mga sekta ng pananampalataya. Tulad ng mga mataas na paaralan, ang bawa't bayan na may dalawang malalaking bahay-dalangingin: isa ang sa mga Katoliko Romano at isa ang sa mga Protestante — may U.C.C.P. at may Metodista. Magkakaratig sa gitna ng poblasyon ang mga ito. At sa halip na kampana ang katutubong gangsa at himig nito ang pang-anyaya sa kani-kanilang mga kapanalig. Mayroon ding mga mumunting bisita ang mga nayong dinararaan ng mga sasakyang pambayan.

Tagapangalaga ng sambayanan ang mga pambayang pagamutan na dinurugtungan ng mga klinikang pinalalakad ng mga misyon. Kadalasan ang mga ito ay pinanununghan ang buong kabayanan.

Nangunguna sa daigdig ng libangan ang radyo. Mahina na ang isang radyo sa bawa't nayong binabagtas ng mga lansangang pambayan. May ponographo ang karamihan sa mga mayroong sariling generator samantalang sa mga maykaya ay piyano naman. Baraha ang pang-araw-araw na aliwan ng mga matatanda at sabong ang panlinggong palipasan ng oras, lalo na nang mga taga-Lamut na kinaroroonan ng tanging sabungan ng Lalawigan. Wala pa silang sinihan kaya't dumarayo pa sila sa Nueva Vizcaya ó sa Isabela.

Kaayusang Pangkabuhayan-Pangangalakal: Ngayon isang napakahalagang bahagi na ng kanilang pangkabuhayang mula sa kala-kalan ang pamilihang bayan. Ang Lamut ang may pinakamalaking pamilihang bayan sa Lalawigan. Matatagpuan ito sa pangunahing lansangan ng bayan na karatig ng paaralang bayan at bahay pamahalaan. Yari ito sa yero, kahoy at semento, na may kawayang papag na pinaghahanayan ng mga paninda kung araw ng pamimili — Linggo ng maghapon.

Sa Lagawe isang kanto ang layo sa pangunang lansangan ng pamilihang bayan. Yari ito sa kahoy ang poste, semento ang sahig at yero ang bubong, na kinababakasan pa ng kabaguhan. Nasa pangangasiwa ito ng pamahalaang bayan. Sa gawing likuran ay may hanay ng sampung munting tindahang may karugtong na silid-tulugan at silid-kainan ng may-ari. Pinagtitindahan din ng mga damit kahit di araw ng pamimili ang malaking bahagi ng hanay ng sari-sari. May mga papag na pinagtitindahan ng mga gulay, prutas, at iba pa sa gawing kaliwa ng naturang pamilihan. Tuwing Miyerkoles at Sabado ng umaga lamang ang araw ng pamimili dito.

Sa kabilang dako isang bahagi ng liwasang bayan ang bahay-pamilihan sa Kiangnan. Kahanay ito ng bahay pamahalaan, pitang panlalawigan at mga iba pang tanggapang pampamahalaan. Higit itong luma kung ihahambing sa nasa Lagawe. Ang yerong bubong ay kalawangin na, inuubos na nang bukbok ang haliging kahoy at sira na rin ang sementadong sahig. Tulad ng sa Lagawe mayroon ding isang hanay ng sari-sari at tatlong munting karinderya. Sa isang panig nito ay pinagtitindahan ng karamihang gulay at bungang-kahoy kung Martes, Huwebes at Sabado ng umaga na siyang araw ng pamimili. Ayon sa mga taga-Kiangnan may mga namimili ng pakyawan sa mga araw na ito upang ipagbili naman sa Solano, Bagabag, Bayombong at Santiago sa susunod na araw. Malaki pa rin ang kanilang pakinabang, kahit na may kalakihan ang gugul ng pamimili sa Kiangnan, sapagka't napakamura ng bili nila dito. Gaya nang isang piling ng hinog at malalaking saging (tuldan) na kadalasan ay labing-apat hanggang labing-anim, ay dalawampung sentimos lamang at aapatnapung sentimos ang isang malaking lata ng gas ng piling kamote.

Walang pamilihang bayan sa Banawe tulad ng nasa Lagawe, Lamut at Kiangnan. nguni't may isang pook na maaaring ituring na distritong pangkomersiyal ayon sa pamantayan ng mga tagapatag. Nasa tuktok ito ng waring pinatag na bahagi ng bundok sa pagitan ng simbahang Katoliko, ng mababang paaralan ng bayan at ng klinikang pinangangasiwaan ng mga Protestanteng misyonero. Magkakarapan ang hanay ng dikit-dikit na mga tindahan, na ang itaas ay paupahang-bahay ó tulugan para sa mga mag-aaral. Sa mga mahihilig sa mga basket ó bag dito matatagpuan kahit hindi araw ng pamimili na tuwing Linggo ng umaga lamang.

Tulad sa Kiangnan na isang bahagi ng liwasang bayan at tulad sa Banawe na isang hanayan ng mga bahay-tindahan ang pamilihang bayan ng Mayawyaw. Buhat sa Banawe, Baguio at Bontok ang malaking bahagdan ng pinagmumulan ng kanilang paninda. Tuwing Sabado rin ng umaga ang kanilang araw ng pamimili.

Ang mga araw ng palengke sa mga purok na ito ang nagbigay ng pagkakataong mapahain ang isda at ang mga kauri nito, sa mga hapag ng maramihan, dahilan sa ang mga huli sa ilog ó tubigan sa bukirin ay hindi nakasasapat, kaya't ang tuyo at mga de-lata ang mga malaking bahagi ng pang-araw-araw na bilingin.

Kung susuriing mabuti ang mga bilingin sa tindahan, lalo na ang mga nasa poblasyon at nasa tabing-daan sa pagitan ng mga bayan, walang pinagibhan ang mga ito sa tindahan sa patag, liban na nga lamang sa mga bahag at mga tapis na taal nilang kasuotan. Hindi naman kamahalan ang halaga ng mga bilingin kahit ihambing sa presyong Maynila na pinag-aangkatan ng bilingin. Kada-lasan mataas lamang ng sampu hanggang dalawampung sentimos ang presyo ng mga paninda.

Sa mga nayong patungong kabayanan ang direksyon nang mga ani mula sa pagyayaman ng lupa. Dinadala ng mga nagani sa bayan ó ipinagbibili naman kaya sa mga naglilibot sa nayon isang araw bago dumating ang tiyanggi. At ang naipong mga bilingin ay pinagkakalakalan sa bayan, mga karatig-bayan at lalawigan.

PAGPAPAKAHULUGAN SA MGA DATOS MULA SA PAKIKIHA-
LUBILO-AT-PAGMAMASID AT PAKIKIPANAYAM NA ANG KA-
HAMBING AY ANG MGA NAUUNANG ULAT UKOL SA PAKSA:

Nagbabadya ng uri ng pamumuhay ng mga naninirahan doon ang kapaligiran. Tulad ng ibang mga lalawigan ng bansa mga aning mula sa sarili nilang taniman, gaya ng palay, kamote, mais, ubi, gabi, at iba't iba pang mga gulay at prutas ang isang napakalaking bahagi ng kanilang kabuhayan.

Palay ang pangunahin nilang pagkain, subali't karaniwang "minsan lamang isang taon magtanim nito . . . na ang maaaring gamiting paliwanag ay ang katotohanang higit na malawak ang kanilang taniman kaysa Bontok ó Kalinga." (Cruz: 1931, 361) Sa kabilang dako ang kamote na itinuturing na pagkain "para sa mahihirap at para sa baboy kung panahon ng kasaganaan at kung tag-salat lamang kinakain ng maramihan ng mga nasa taluktok ng sosyal at ekonomikong pamumuhay" (Huke: 1963, 173) ay masaganang naaani sa Ipugaw. Halimbawa, noong 1948 ayon kay G. Keesing ang aning kamote ng bayang Banawe ay higit na marami kaysa ani ng alinmang lalawigan. Sa 67,490,327 kilong kamoteng ani ng buong Lalawigang Bulubundukin — nasa pangasiwaan ng huli ang Ipugaw noon — ay 14,971,327 ang sa Banawe. (Keesing: 1962; 270). Samantalang umaani lamang sila ng 673,939 kabanes ó 28,395438 kilong palay.

Masasabing ang kanilang kapaligiran bagama't bulubundukin ay hindi hinayaang maging balakid sa pagsisikap na maiangkop ang kapamaraan sa pagbubukid upang mabuhay, manapa'y siyang pinagsilbing daan nang pagkakatayo ng malawak na hagdan-hagdang tanimang hinahangaan ng balana.³ Maaaring gawing isang malaking puhunan sa industriyang turismo ng Pilipinas ang hindi pangkaraniwang tanawing ito. Sa aking paniniwala unti-unting pinamumuhunan at tinatangkilik ng ating mga kababayan ang nasabing industriya. Katunayan malaon ng may sangay sa

3 Sa lathala ni G. Jose Ganapin sa *Philippines Free Press* nang Abril 14, 1952, p. 28, ay kanyang tinalakay ang paggagawa ng mga hagdan-hagdang tanimang ito, pati na rin ang pagpapatubig ng mga taniman.

Baguio ang Kawanihan ng Industriyang Turismo at Paglalakbay na siyang nangangasiwa ng pagpapaunlad ng industriya sa dakong iyon at ang Banawe ay nasasakupan nito.

Napakahaba ng mga taong nagdaan nang pagkakahiwalay nito sa kanyang mga karatig. Mayroon ng mga daan noong dumating ang mga Kastila at naragdagan pa dahilan sa kanilang paghahanap ng ginto na pinamumunuan ng mga pangkating militar at relihiyón. Nagpatuloy maragdagan ang mga daanan noong panahon ng mga Amerikano. Nguni't para sa mga paglalakad ó pangangabayo lamang ang mga daanang ito. Ayon kay G. Worcester (1914:554) sinabi sa kanyang mula Banawe hanggang Mayawyaw ay dalawa at kalahating araw kung sakay sa kabayo, nguni't inabot sila ng limang araw na paglalakbay at wala halos silbi ang mga dala nilang kabayo, sapagka't lubhang matarik at mapanganib ang mga daanan.

Napakalaki na ng mga naganap na pagbabagong pinatutunayan ng nauunang ulat na ginawa ko. May mga nayon pa rin ang bawa't bayan na hindi nararating ng mga makabagong sasakyan, kaya't kinakailangan pa nilang maglakad ó magsakay sa kalabaw ó baka sa pagdadala ng anuman sa bayan. Ayon sa mga mag-aaral sa St. Louis of Lagawe na buhat sa mga nayong binanggit ang kahalagahan ng mga hayop na ito ay bilang sakayan at kargahan ng mga taga-nayon at hindi bilang mga panggawa sa bukirin.

Kahit iilan ang mga paupahang sasakyan na nagyayao't dito sa lalawigan, di maikakailang higit na kasiya-siya at mabilis ang pag-uugnayan ng mga tao kaysa noong naglalakad ó nangangabayo pa lamang sila. May kaakbay na bagong uri ng kaalaman at hanapbuhay ang mga bagong lansangan at mga sasakyan. Nang 1908 nagpagawa ng bagong daanan ang mga Amerikano. Ayon kay G. Worcester, "Ang mga Amerikano at mga Pilipino (ang ibig tukuyin ng Ginoo ay ang mga taga-patag) na siyang mga unang kapatás sa pagawaan ng daan, datapwa't hindi naglaon at ang mga Igorote, Ipugaw at Kalinga, na pawang matatalino ay humalili bilang mga kapatás. Mayroon akong mga Ipugaw na kahit nakasaplot lamang ay may kakayahang gumawa ng daan sa pa-

gitan ng mga bangin sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng mga pulbura." (1914:563) Ngayon man may mga kalalakihan na ang hanapbuhay ay bilang mga manggagawa sa lansangan, tsuper ó kaya ay mekaniko.

Anupa nga't kaalinsabay ng mga bagong bukas na lansangan at pagkakaroon ng mga makabagong sasakyan ang mabilis na pag-uugnayan at paglawak ng pinagdadalahan nila ng mga aning mula sa kanilang taniman. Ang buhat sa mga lupaing iniwi ng Lamut, Lagawe at Kiangnan ay hindi lamang hanggang Bayombong, kundi nakakarating na rin sa mga lalawigang patungong Maynila at sa Maynila. Sa kabilang dako ang buhat sa Mayawyaw, Hungduan at Banawe ay nakaaabot sa Maynila na dumaraan sa Bontok at sa Baguio. Ang mga pangkalakal ng Pótia ay patungong Isabela lalo na sa kalapit nitong bayan ng San Mateo.

Nagkaroon din ng pagbabago ang kahalagahan ng mga bagay na pangkalakal. Kung noong una ang karne at asin ay mga karangyaan at kadalasan kung may cañao lang nakahain sa mga hapag, tulad ng pahayag ni William H. Scott (Unitas: 1967, 57), sa kasalukuyan ang mga ito ay pangkaraniwan na lamang. Ang mga manok, baboy, baka at kalabaw na mahahalaga bilang mga panrelihiyong pang-alay na siyang pangunang dahilan ng pakikipag-uugnay nila sa mga taga-patag lalo na sa mga taga-Magat (Mead: 1937: 156; Campa: 1894:113; Cole: 1945: 138; Blair at Robertson: 278-279; at Wilson: 1953:88), ay unti-unti ng isinasaisang tabi. Mabilis na pumapalit sa una bilang pangunahing pangkalakal ang mga telang habi at inukit sa kahoy.

Ang "tapuy" ó "baya" ay hindi na lubhang mahalaga bilang bahagi ng panrelihiyong ritwal kundi pang-araw-araw na bilihin para sa mga mang-iinum. Kaagapay ito ng "beer", "gin", "kuatro kantos" at ng mga kauri sa mga tindahan.

Nababatid din natin na ang mga bangang pinaggagawaan ng "tapuy" ó "baya" at ginagamit sa mga ritwal ay ipinapapalit sa mga Intsik na mangangalakal ng ginto, waks at pulot-pukyutan noong una pang panahon. At sa pagdaraan ng maraming taong pagsasalinsalin ng mga banga, nagkaroon ang mga ito ng mala-

king kahalagahan, na pinag-ibayo ng mga masasalaping nagpipilit malikom ang mga nalalabi ng kabihasnang nagdaan. Para sa mga mag-aaral at mananaliksik na nagnanais tuklasing muli ang ating kahapon upang kahit paano'y magkaroon tayo ng mapang-unawang kaalaman sa sarili na rin natin, hindi sana ito isang mabigat na suliranin kung bukas lamang ang pintuan ng mga naturang koleksiyonista.

Ang paghabi ng mga tela at ang pag-ukit ng mga kahoy ay nagkaroon ng bagong katuturan (functions) sa buhay nila. Noong una "ang paghahabi ay hindi itinuturing na isang propesyon ng mga babae. Lahat ng babae, bata at matanda, na may paggalang sa sarili ay dapat marunong humabi. Pagmamasid ang malaking bahagi ng pagtuturo nito . . ." (Sal:1954:282). Ngayon isang hanapbuhay na ito. Marami sa mga kababaihan nila ang nagtatrabaho sa habihan ng Baguio at ng Banawe na nasa pangasiwaan ng mga madreng misyonero, sa halip na mamalagi sa taniman bilang isang di maiiwaksing manggagawa. At sa paglawak ng pamilihan nito, ang mga sangkap sa paghabi, tulad ng sinulid at pagtitina na noon ay mula sa mga katutubong damo at balat ng kahoy, ay napalitan ng mga sinulid na yari nang mga makabagong makina na kanilang inaangkat mula sa karatig lalawigan.

Pinamumuhunanan na rin ng malaki bilang isang umuunlad na negosyo ang pag-ukit ng kahoy. "Ang mga mangangalakal sa Ipugaw na nauunawaan ang pag-unlad ng industriya ng pag-ukit ng kahoy ay namuhunan sa negosyong ito, sa pagpapatayo ng mga tindahan para sa mga inukit na kahoy at sa pagbayad sa mga dalubhasang mga taga-Hapao.⁴ Ang mga tindahang tulad nito ay matatagpuan sa mga karatig ng lunsod." (Dait: 1960:34)

Mayroong pagbabago din ang mga bagay na inuukit sa kahoy tulad ng pagbabago ng uri at pinagmumulan ng sinulid na ginagamit sa paghabi. Tangi sa mga **bolor** at di maiwawaksing kagamitan sa bahay gaya ng kainan, kutsara, tinidor at inuman, ang

⁴ Ang Hapao ay isang nayon ng Banawe, na ang mga kalalakihan ang kinikilalang may tanging kalinangan sa pag-ukit ng kahoy.

mga palamuti sa bahay at mga tanggapan ang bumubuo ng karamihan ng kanilang mga inukit. Ang Banawe ang siyang sentro ng mga telang habi sa kanilang matandang kapamaraan at mga bagay na inukit sa kahoy. Ipinamamahagi nila ito sa Baguio at sa Maynila, gayundin sa mga ibang bansa.

Ano pa ang pagbabago sa kalakalan nila sa pagdaraan ng mga taon? Ayon sa mga nakalimbag na tala ang pangkabuhayang ito ay isinasagawa sa pagpaapiltan. May sarili silang batayan ng pagpapalitan: "ang isang sibat ay sampung manok, ang sampung baboy ay isang kalabaw, at ang isang baboy ay sampung bigkis na palay." (de las Alas: 1957:22)

Sa pagdating ng mga Kastila ang pagpapalitang ito ay nahalinhan ng paggamit ng salapi (Wilson: 1952-1953:31 Cf. Cruz: 1931: 357-358), at ang piso ang naging pamantayan ng halaga. Nagpatuloy hanggang ngayon, gayunman mayroon pa ring ilang pagkakataon sa kasalukuyan na ang pagbabayaran ay waring palitan. Tulad nang pagbibigay ng gulay, itlog ó bungang-kahoy bilang bayad-pasahe. Sa isang biyahe ng mga sasakyang bayang kadalasang umaabot ng tatlumpo, ay laging may isa ó dalawa na lamang ang ganito ang pagbabayad. Masasabing may katiyakan na sasampung bahagdan na lamang ang ganitong uri ng pagbabayaran.

PANGHULING BIGAY-KURO

Sa kabuuan ano ang masasabi natin tungkol sa pangangalakal bilang landas ng pagbabago sa isang lipunan? Maliwanag na nagbibigay ng malawak na pagkakataon para sa mga mamamayan na makipag-ugnayan sa isa't isa ang mga bagong bukas na lansangan at mga sasakyang makabago. Sa pagkakaroon ng higit na ugnayan, na ang pakikipagkalakalan sa kani-kanilang sarili at sa mga karatig bayan at lalawigan ay isang bahagi, may mga bagong kaisipan at pagpapahalaga sa mga bagay-bagay ang unti-unti nilang napagtutuunan ng pansin. Naiiba ang mga uri ng mga bilinghin, halimbawa, at ang panlasa ng mga tao. At halimbawa pa rin, "ang mga kubong yari sa kugon ay napapalitan ng kahoy at yero." (Patanñe: 1961: 22). Higit na maraming mga

magaaral at nagsisipagtapos ngayon. Ayon sa Census noon 1900 mayroon lamang 221 propesyonal sa lalawigan, samantalang ngayon (1960 Census) ay may higit na sa 1,800 na. Isa nang mahalagang katambal ng kanilang pamumuhay ang edukasyon.

Ito ang mga pagbabagong dulot ng pangangalakal sa isang lipunan na siyang paksang tinalakay ng maiksing sanaysay na ito at ang tanging halimbawang ibinigay ay ang Ipugaw.

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**WORKING WITH GROUPS IN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
PROGRAMS: APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AND
SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY**

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The role of an adviser in the technical assistance component of a foreign aid program is extremely intricate and complex. He is working in foreign countries with people whose views of the world differ considerably from his own and whose institutional structures reflect this difference. The leaders of these countries have asked advisers to come in and help them in their quest for rapid social, economic, and political development. The advisers have responded to this request but, unfortunately, have often been more conscientious than effective. This has been due partly to the fact that aid officials have assumed that their host country counterparts (1) are emotionally as well as intellectually ready to accept change, (2) see the same improvement needs that the advisers do, and (3) share the same general frame of reference. This is not always the case!

Foreign aid advisers have two major goals for all activities they engage in. Their first goal is to impart the specific knowledge and skills which are necessary for the immediate implementation of their projects. Some examples in the education field are the planning and conducting of curriculum studies, school surveys, and in-service training programs. The second goal is to leave behind a core of people with a frame of reference conducive to education planning and economic development. Of necessity, this implies effecting certain changes in habits, attitudes, and values which lead away from a traditional approach to problems and move toward a receptivity to new ideas, a willingness to experiment, and a belief that man can understand, predict, and control his environment.

These goals are particularly applicable to work with small groups, around whom advisers center much of their activities. One of the reasons why advisers have not more fully realized their objectives with these groups is because they have too often attempted to determine the effectiveness of these groups, or to discover the reasons for their lack of effectiveness, by "common sense" rather than by scientific knowledge. Effectiveness in this sense is measured by the degree of group task productivity, member satisfaction, and understanding of the group process.

It is the purpose of this paper to select for review, out of the large body of social psychological literature pertaining to groups, the findings that in my judgment are most directly relevant to this problem. The methodology from which the findings are derived will not be discussed but may be found by referring to the citations.

In order for a discussion of the literature to be meaningful and in proper context, it seems advisable to describe briefly the composition, purpose, and psychological problems of some of the specific groups with whom I was personally involved while serving in Thailand and Laos as an education adviser with the U. S. Agency for International Development (AID).

Operating Committee, Thai Ministry of Education. This group was composed of directors of the departments of elementary, sec-

ondary, and teacher training, and three American advisers for those education levels. Its purpose was to plan, coordinate, and direct joint United States-Thai Government project activities in the field of education. The ministry departments were legally autonomous and there was little coordination between them. One of the directors was intellectually committed to the democratic process of arriving at a consensus through group interaction. Another director did not have this commitment, but was willing to participate in group activities for the sake of harmony. The third official did not want to cooperate but joined the group in order to get "his share" of project funds. The first director was faced with the role conflict of trying to act democratically in our committee at the same time that he was expected to represent the interests of his department.

Supervisory Units, Thai Ministry of Education. This was a group of subject-matter specialists who were assigned to separate units in the three ministry departments and who, for the most part, had completed graduate studies in the United States under the sponsorship of AID. They assumed primary responsibility for supervisory services to the public schools, and, particularly, to those schools selected to participate in AID project activities. Two types of role conflict could be observed. The first was between cultural values and institutional expectations. At this point in time, change is not generally valued in Thai culture. The supervisors reflected this in their own value systems, and yet their training was specifically designed to produce changes. The second conflict was due to the fact that while they were the best qualified and most educated group in the ministry, the ministry did not differentiate between line and staff positions and they were the lowest officials in the hierarchical structure.

School Survey Committee, Thai Ministry of Education. Composed of selected supervisors and other personnel within the ministry, provincial education officials, principals of provincial project schools, and American advisers, this group was appointed to develop survey instruments and conduct school surveys in the project schools. The ministry had seldom, if ever before, worked

side-by-side with the provincial officials. Previously, most communications had been handed down by the ministry without prior consultation or discussion. Also, the principals in the provinces had seldom worked together.

Administrative Staff, Lao National Education Center. The Staff included a director, business manager, deans of men and women, director of instruction, director of buildings and grounds, and American and French advisers. The staff was responsible for the total school program at the Center. The French advisers were unwilling to work as a group. They insisted that group work wasted time and that the Lao were not competent to participate in decision-making. The Lao, as a result, would not make any decision either on their own or as members of the group for fear of being ridiculed if they erred.

With the foregoing as background, let us now look at some of the major determinants of group effectiveness and build our discussion around them.

Authoritarian and Democratic Group Atmospheres. Lippitt notes that democratic groups exhibit less tension and more creativeness, cooperation, objectivity, constructiveness, and stability of structure. Authoritarian groups show tendencies toward preferences for individual tasks, competition for status, hostility, disintegration, and toward offering fewer suggestions for group action and group policy. (1940:43-195) In a better study, Lippitt and White observe that when a transition from an authoritarian to a more democratic atmosphere occurs, there is a tendency to exhibit "blow-off" behavior due to the sudden release from pent-up frustration. (1963:153) I can recall numerous instances of this phenomenon, which at the time, I attributed to a lack of understanding of purposes. These instances occurred with officials who were used to operating in an authoritarian atmosphere and who apparently became confused when working with Americans. The frustration of these officials was aggravated by the fact that many of them had studied in the United States, where they had encountered a democratic atmosphere, and then had to fit them-

selves back into authoritarian interaction situations upon their return home.

Does the foregoing analysis imply that experiencing greater freedom in group interaction results in preference for this freedom? Further research is needed to determine whether this interference is valid and whether it holds across cultures.

Leadership Style. Korten summarizes the major differences in characteristics between groups guided by authoritarian leadership and those guided by democratic leadership as follows:

Authoritarian leadership

1. Policy determined by the leader one at a time.
2. Methods determined by the leader and steps dictated
3. Tasks and work companions determined by the leader.
4. The leader is "personal" in praise or criticism but aloof from active group participation.

Democratic leadership

1. Group discussion and decision on policies assisted by leader.
2. The group sketches activities leading toward a goal and the leader suggests alternative procedures when asked.
3. Members choose their work companions and divide the tasks.
4. The leader is objective in praise and criticism and is a part of the group in spirit.

Korten notes that most groups in developing countries, reflecting their nation's high drive state for improvement, development, and national status, operate under a high state of stress. He then theorizes that an increase in situational stress will cause an increase in a task-oriented goal structure, which in turn will result in a trend toward authoritarian leadership. The group will want to give power to a central person in the hope that he will remove

the stress. The leader will feel that the stress can best be removed by a direct approach to a goal attainment. (Korten 1962:222-225) Anderson, in summarizing pertinent studies, similarly notes that morale is higher under authoritarian leadership in groups primarily task-oriented. (1963:153-162).

I do not believe that the problem is quite as simple as this. Groups and leaders in developing countries tend to have ambivalent feelings toward national development. They want development but they also do not want to change their traditional way of life. There are other, more fundamental reasons why leaders tend to be authoritarian. Groups develop a way of life based upon expectations, habits, attitudes, values, and past experiences. Historically, the Thai people have been prone to individuality and division. Buddhism, their national religion, emphasizes self-reliance. Thais desire to minimize entanglements which restrict individualism and, as a result, belong to few formal groups of any kind. Their group action is generally informal and disappears as soon as the immediate objective is achieved.

Aware of these predispositions on the part of the masses, the Thai leaders have developed an administrative structure where all decisions, including decisions concerning social and political changes, come from the top. Officials at all levels see themselves as implementers of decisions already made, rather than as decision makers. Therefore, the concepts of group planning, decision making, control, and evaluation are quite foreign to their thinking. (Model 1957)

Anderson contends that there is no conclusive evidence available on whether productivity is better under authoritarian or democratic leadership and that we need to know more about learning in social situations in order to judge what style of leadership behavior is best. (1965:160)

I am certainly not arguing in favor of the maintenance of authoritarian leadership or authoritarian group atmospheres in any country. What I am saying is that findings regarding groups in the United States do not necessarily hold true for other cultures. Similar research must be undertaken on location to deter-

mine the best conditions under which maximum group satisfaction and productivity will be derived.

Group Morale. Anderson suggests that a requisite for group morale is the belief of a group in their progress toward achieving their collective goals. (1963:154) But what if collective goals can not be identified because the majority of the group are ego-oriented rather than task-oriented, are extremely concerned with interpersonal relations, and would readily sacrifice task requirements for the sake of keeping harmony, saving face, and avoiding conflict!

Another problem here is that, while advisers and host country nationals may be in agreement over explicit goals, both groups may have conflicting or different implicit goals. For example, in conducting school surveys in Thailand one of our implicit goals was to develop an awareness on the part of the school principals of the relationships of their schools to the others in the community and the need for them to plan jointly with the other principals how best to utilize the limited aid funds available to their community. The implicit goal of the principals, however, was to secure as much money for their respective schools as they could. Yet we all had the same explicit goal of surveying the schools to determine their needs. This fits with the finding that "the apparent or avowed wants of group members are not always the real want, and therefore, the apparent or avowed functions of groups are not always the real functions." (Krech et al. 1962: 394).

Group Productivity. Productivity can be defined in terms of amount and quality of work done or as the amount and quality of changes in behavior. Allport notes that more ideas may be produced in a group, but ideas of more logical value, more imagination, and more original thought are best performed alone. (1962:34) Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey find that centralization in decision structure leads to faster group performance. (1962:462) This is one argument advanced by some Asian leaders to defend their highly centralized, authoritarian administrations. Thelen lists seven group productivity factors:

1. Goal direction.
2. Consensus rather than majority opinion.
3. Realistic aspiration levels.
4. Continual change in aspiration level based on changing perception of changing realities.
5. Development of broad, conceptual framework through long range planning.
6. Balance between group participation and individual activity.
7. Cooperation of outsiders who have some effect upon task. (1951:84-98)

Other factors influencing productivity are the homogeneity of the group, the perceived relevance of group goals to individual wants and the clarity and understanding of goals.

Status. Groups homogeneous in social status and outlook gain more from collective thinking than heterogeneous ones. As stated earlier, this constituted a problem in the Thai supervisory units because they were of lower status than the less professionally qualified officials with whom they worked. Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey state that "constraints against criticism of persons at other status levels in the hierarchy reduce the number of critical evaluations of the contributions of members." (1962: 467) This is particularly true in certain Asian countries where authority inheres in the person as well as in the office he holds.

Conformity. Working in groups tends to put pressure on all to conform to the beliefs and values of the majority. Individuals will more readily conform if they perceive that by so doing they will satisfy their wants. Conformity wants are for acceptance, avoidance of rejection, and prestige. Expedient conforming, a not too uncommon occurrence, is defined as temporary, outward agreement but not necessarily inward and long lasting agreement. Pressure to conform will also depend upon the perceived status and competency of the group holding an opposite viewpoint. Whenever the Thais were faced with group judgments which differed from their own, they sought to reduce their cog-

nitive dissonance (Festinger 1957) by reconciling the discrepant judgments. This way nobody lost face.

Krech, Crutchfield, and Ballachey find that, "Where there is high initial certainty attaching to a judgment and where the group pressure is effective in making the person reverse his judgment to fit that of the group, he still attaches high certainty to this reversed judgment." (1962:519) This helps to explain why some of the Thais, who had lived in the United States for a number of years, severely criticized and ridiculed Thai culture when they first returned home to Thailand, but not too long afterwards reverted to extreme conservatism and traditionalism. One such Thai presented a beautiful example of Heider's balance theory. She returned to Thailand praising everything American and tearing apart everything Thai. However, as group pressure mounted, she switched over to reactionary point of view and began to criticize Americans and to actually impede our aid efforts. At the same time she felt that she had to remain loyal to her "memories" of her experiences and friendships in the States. She finally resolved this state of imbalance by rationalizing that the Americans overseas were a different breed of Americans and that the "real" Americans in the States would despise the overseas Americans and their aid projects as much as she did. (Heider 1958)

A person's behavior in his group role is influenced by his knowledge of his role, motivation to perform the role, attitudes toward himself and other persons in the group, and perception of the expectations of his behavior held by the group. Changes in any of these influences can lead to changes in behavior. The behavior, attitudes, beliefs, and values of the individual are all firmly grounded in the groups to which he belongs. Change or resistance to change will be greatly influenced by the nature of the groups. Groups are composed of individuals whose interests will come before the interests of the group. The more attractive the group is to its members (the more it satisfies their needs), the greater the influences it can exert over them. Desired changes must be relevant to the basis of attraction to the group. (Cartwright 1963:107-114)

Group members with the greatest prestige can exert the greatest influence. These members may or may not be the officially designated leaders. A change in the leadership or in the method of leadership is the quickest way to bring about group change since the status and power of the leader make him the key to the ideology and the organization of the group. Studies suggest that lasting change will not occur unless the group is affectively as well as cognitively involved. People need to feel free to get things out into the open and off their chests. This involvement is not likely to occur in an authoritarian atmosphere. (Lewin 1951:39-44)

The most intriguing findings regarding group change that I have come across have to do with the possible advantages of group training. Cartwright reports that facts will not change group opinion unless they are shared by all and become accepted property of the group. Changes in one part of a group produce strain in other related parts. Efforts to change individuals to deviate from the norms of a group will encounter strong resistance. It may be necessary to deal with the group as the target of change and develop pressure for change within the group by creating a shared perception by the members of the need for change.

Cartwright further observes that individual training develops interest, enthusiasm, and resolve to apply newly acquired insights back in the home situation, but upon return home the student discovers that the task of changing habits, attitudes, and values is practically impossible. The returned student needs support from others who share his enthusiasm and insights and with whom he can plan activities and evaluate results. In this connection, Cartwright cites the results of a project which was designed to compare the effects of training upon trainees who came to a workshop as isolated individuals and those who came in teams. Those persons studying as a team were more active upon their return home than those who were on their own. (Cartwright 1963)

Other studies support this finding. A study of Indian students concludes that team study tends to aid in the application of learning attained abroad to the home needs. This may be partially due to the fact that the students were supportive to each other's values while in the States and less norm conflict was involved. (Useem 1955) Other studies indicate that people need to maintain reference groups in order to prevent loss of identity and personality disorientation. A report on Philippine participants, who had been studying in the United States, suggests that the development of returned participant teams might furnish the needed social support of persons with comparable experience and influence who are engaged in the task of bringing about change. (Institute 1959)

I see two possible approaches to the utilization of the team training concept. The first is to send a group of people to engage in a program of team study in the same functional field and then, to the greatest extent possible, let them work as a team upon their return home. An example of this might be sending a group of Thai supervisors to the States to study the supervision of instruction and then placing them in the same departmental supervisory units as a team upon their return. An even better approach would be to send the major components of a system to study abroad as a group. In this way the whole system would be improved at the same time. There are obvious operational limitations to both of these approaches. Nevertheless, they hold considerable promise and appropriate field research needs to be developed along these lines.

Conclusion

Three measures of group effectiveness are member satisfaction, group productivity, and understanding of group processes. For groups to function effectively over a period of time, all three measures should be present.

The personality and motivation of the leader and the other individuals in the group, other structural characteristics of the group, the group environment, and the tasks of the group are

all variables which interact with each other and directly or indirectly affect group effectiveness.

Programs of national development require planned changes in human relationships and institutional patterns. There are many ways to induce group action and bring about change. Since I believe that the ultimate purpose of all man's actions is the betterment of mankind, I believe that human engineering can and must be effected without loss of the democratic ethic. In group work this requires understanding and knowledge, planning, a balance between group participation and individual activity, a willingness to experiment, collective judgment, and cooperative action based on a consensus.

To be truly effective, a foreign aid adviser must understand the political, economic, cultural, and socio-psychological forces at work in the country to which he is assigned. This is particularly true in transitional societies where the political sphere can not be separated from the spheres of social and personal relations and where ideas are not as important as status and relationships.

In this paper I have dealt with one important aspect of technical assistance activities — working with groups. Through a study of the social psychological literature relating to groups and the role of the individual in the group, I have attempted by application and inference to show how this knowledge can contribute to the whole complex of understanding and competencies needed to make a foreign aid program a successful one.

A final word is needed on research. Throughout this paper I have commented generally on areas where cross-cultural research is needed. I have not been more specific because to date there is little knowledge to draw upon. Gyr has made a start in the right direction. He has interviewed people with similar experience backgrounds from different cultures to determine the overt customs and rules of committee procedures in these cultures. He finds definite differences between cultures in attitudes toward the overt customs they hold in common. (1951:193-202) Gyr cautions that these findings need to be submitted to empirical

testing before they can be accepted. Nevertheless, this is a good example of the type of research that advances scientific knowledge at the same time it helps the practical man of affairs.

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RANKHANDI: CHANGE IN EDUCATION¹

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The expendable resources (savings, loans, and credit) of an underdeveloped country determined to improve its economic and social conditions are always meager, compared to the needs and ambitious plans that exist. How much to spend on each economic and social endeavor in order to stimulate maximum response and growth therefore becomes an important and often hotly debated issue.

Recently it has been argued that the best investment an underdeveloped country can initially make is not in material inputs but in education, since efficiency and productivity in labor and

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wisdom in direction, planning, and management rest so completely upon the drawing out of capabilities and on the knowledge of materials, techniques, machines, and organization that come with increased training. Consequently, there is much discussion about the place education should have in the allocation of scarce resources.² Some of the studies bearing on the subject are rather abstract, and most deal with national figures and movements. Therefore, it has been thought useful to introduce a case history, to take a closer look at how and why an educational institution takes root in a specific locality of an underdeveloped country, to consider to what degree it constitutes a strategic intervention, and to trace its history and influence. The location of the educational center that we shall consider is in northwestern Uttar Pradesh, India, in a large village about 95 miles north and slightly west of the capital city of Delhi. It began as a junior high school. It now boasts an impressive and modern school, which carries instruction from the sixth through the twelfth grades. At present, therefore, it is an intermediate college, or intercollege. The creation of this school is an interesting example of strategic intervention by authorities determined to advance education and of local response.

Beginning. It is well known that in the glow and enthusiasm accompanying India's independence, politics and plans for development were very much interwoven. The National Congress Party, which had led the struggle against British rule, had made very substantial promises concerning reforms in education and in social and economic spheres in general which would follow independence. One of the most vocal of these interpreters of Congress Party aims for rural regions was Thakur Phool Singh, a forceful and influential Congress worker of the north Indian State of Uttar Pradesh, who entered the race for a seat in the State Legislative Assembly from the Deoband constituency. The village of Rankhandi was located in his political district, and his campaign brought

2. See Curle (1964); Harbison and Myers (1964); McClelland (1961 and 1966); Mushkin (1962); Oshima (1963); Schultz (1961 and 1962).

him to this populous and sprawling settlement, where many members of his own Rajput caste lived. Rankhandi received Thakur Phool Singh cordially and supported him strongly in his campaign which ended in victory.

The new legislator, who was soon to be named Deputy Commissioner of Planning for the State, had reason to feel that Rankhandi was an important center of his political strength in the countryside. He was also aware that it was not considered a very progressive village. Its drainage, sanitation, health, roads, irrigation facilities, agricultural methods, and agricultural productivity left much to be desired. Rankhandi and the villages surrounding it were particularly deficient in educational facilities. Though it was relatively prosperous and seemed able to support education at a more advanced level, Rankhandi's educational institutions were limited to a deteriorating Sanskrit school, or pathshala, and to primary schools, offering instruction only through the fifth grade. As a result, illiteracy was high, and few residents of the village were prepared for any calling other than their traditional caste occupation or employment on the family farm. Thakur Phool Singh resolved that the center of his political support should also be a focus for new progressive accomplishments, and he determined to begin with education.

He discussed his hopes and plans with the chief government officer of Deoband, the subdistrict in which Rankhandi lay. Because he knew that this man, Munshi Singh, was admired and trusted by the villagers, he asked him to go to Rankhandi and see what could be done about arousing enthusiasm for a junior high school (grades six through eight) to be located in the village. Munshi Singh was cordial to the idea and, in December, 1948, went to Rankhandi to discuss the matter with the village leaders.

Even though the initiative was taken by government officials who were trying to put into practice the post-independence socio-economic plans for their political party, the time was ripe in this locality for a favorable response to such an appeal for more activity in the field of education. The complacency of the most powerful

group in Rankhandi, the Rajputs, had been shaken by land reform movements which threatened to put a ceiling on landholdings which a family might own and which provided for the transfer of title of land from absentee landowners to long-time tenants. They had begun to realize that their sons should have some alternative to farming and some means of gaining access to positions in government and industry. They know that this depended on a much better educational start and atmosphere than was being provided. Consequently they gave Munshi Singh a sympathetic hearing.

Munshi Singh suggested to them that the funds and facilities which were being used for the Sanskrit pathshala be utilized, instead, for a junior high school to be run along secular lines. The pathshala had its friends and defenders in the community, however—persons who had graduated from it or who did wish to see a symbol of religiosity disappear from the village. It was decided that a new school could be launched and supported without sacrificing the pathshala. Munshi Singh was given assurances that plans for the new school would be laid and the necessary funds would be raised.

During the year that followed, the matter was discussed throughout the village. Prominent men of nearby villages whose boys would have access to the new institution were invited to join in the planning and the fund-raising. The Rankhandi landowners agreed to an assessment based on the amount of land owned per family. Neighboring villages pledged substantial contributions. Thakur Phool Singh was delighted with the sum raised, about 18,000 rupees (approximately seven rupees equals a dollar at the present rate of exchange) and with the general response and promised that he would bring to Rankhandi no less a personage than the Chief Minister of the State to make the formal announcement about the projected school.

Chief Minister Pant's appearance in the village occurred on January 6, 1949, about a year and a half after Indian independence had been declared. The site of his announcement about the new

plans for education was symbolic and prophetic. On the southern fringe of the village stands an old Muslim tomb to which Hindu and Muslim women of all castes come with their offerings and prayers. Through the centuries, the *pir*, or Muslim saint, who lay buried there had become a kind of patron of Rankhandi, a symbol of village unity that transcended religious, caste, and factional divisions. Still, like the Sanskrit school situated nearby, the *pir* was also symbolic of the old order and was considered by secular-minded and younger Indians to stand in the way of social and economic progress. And it was to this more secular kind of progress that Pandit Gobind Ballabh Pant, Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, addressed himself in the clearing by the *pir's* tomb, as he urged the people of Rankhandi to build a new Western-type school in their village.³

This urging, since matters, as we have seen, were understood and well planned in advance, was only ceremonial, as was Pant's acceptance and return of a purse presented to him by village leaders. The purse contained the sum which had already been collected by the villagers toward the establishment of the new school.

Two days after the public meeting a school committee was formed and charged by Thakur Phool Singh with the task of finding a principal for the projected school. The search lasted for six months. On June 18, 1949, the president and secretary of the committee traveled to the district of Meerut, approximately miles south of Rankhandi. There they contacted a prominent family of that area, well known to the relatives of the secretary's wife, who came from a nearby village. First they made their offer to the eldest son of this family. When he was unable to accept it, they turned to the younger son, who had just completed

3. The school, officially known as the Kisan Vidyalaya Inter-college, is roughly the equivalent of an American junior and senior high school, comprising grades 6 through 12. At the time of this study (1953-56) by a Cornell University field research team, plans were being made to raise the school to the status of a degree college. Actually, it was successively raised from a junior high school to an intermediate school (includes grades 9 and 10) to an intermediate college (includes grades 11 and 12).

his education and was prepared to enter the practice of law in his father-in-law's firm. Although he was not eager to change his plans, Sarju Singh (this is the pseudonym which will be used) consented to pay a visit to Rankhandi.

On June 25, 1949, Sarju Singh was met at the nearby railway station by the president and secretary of the selection committee. They showed him around the village and introduced him to some of its leading residents. They even took him to the Sanskrit pathshala, or school, which some of them still hoped could be transformed into the new institution. Sarju Singh was impressed by the size of the village — he was told Rankhandi had a population of 5,000 — and by the enthusiasm of the villagers for the new school. The men who had invited him, as well as almost all the prominent people he met, were members of his own Rajput caste.⁴ Thus, although an outsider, he was treated fraternally, in addition to being shown the respect due his education (he held a degree in commerce and a law degree). Yet, when he discreetly inquired about the 5,000 rupees which he had been assured were already pledged for the new school, no one could show him any positive record of it. His hosts did not even produce the initial sum collected which had been presented to Chief Minister Pant. Actually, the money was quite safe. It had been lent to a sugar cane cooperative so that it would earn interest until needed.

Sarju Singh left Rankhandi with many misgivings. His elder brother, who, by this time, had made further inquiries, provided him with additional doubts. Rankhandi, he said, was notorious in the whole district of Saharanpur. Some of its leading Rajput families, in past generations, had had the reputation of being cattle thieves. During the nineteenth century it had been referred to in some quarters as a "criminal village." Furthermore, the prospects for the school looked bleak. It would take many

4. A division of the Kshatriya or warrior group of the classical Hindu social system. Rajput literally means "king's son," and the Rajputs of Rankhandi have a tradition of having migrated to this area from their homeland in the western state of Rajasthan (formerly Rajputana) after the Moghul conquest.

years to develop. Sarju Singh's brother warned him that he would ruin his life by accepting this offer.

The young man did not ignore this warning. For the next few months, he tried to extricate himself from commitments that the Rankhandi villagers felt he had made to them. He sought to find someone to go in his place. When news of this reached Rankhandi, a delegation was sent to him. They pleaded with him to accept the position for a trial period. They begged him to do it "for the sake of the country." He was particularly vulnerable to this patriotic appeal. An active member of the Congress Party, he was fired with enthusiasm for nation-building and social reform. At length he consented to become principal of the projected Rankhandi school, at least for a year. This decision, as it turned out, was a crucial one, both for Sarju Singh and for Rankhandi.

Before the arrival of Sarju Singh, Rankhandi's educational facilities consisted only of a boys' primary school and the Sanskrit pathshala previously mentioned. The pathshala had been founded about half a century earlier by an already legendary village reformer, Sucheet Singh, who, as a member of the Arya Samaj⁵ religious sect, was anxious to revive an interest in Sanskrit among the young. Because of the views of the first schoolmaster, however, it had emphasized orthodox Hinduism. Now it was in the hands of a proponent of the Arya Samaj, and the doctrinal approach was somewhat relaxed. It is thus rather paradoxical that this institution, which came to symbolize "Hindu tradition" and "the old order" in its confrontation with the "modern" school, was itself the product of the previous generation's "modernism," for the tenets of the Arya Samaj were considered quite daring in some circles. The pathshala's admission of non-Brahmans to

⁵ Founded in 1875 by a Punjab Brahman named Dayanand Saraswati, this revivalistic reform movement condemned idolatry and many social abuses of Hinduism on the grounds that these were later accretions unknown to the Vedic religion, which was pictured as pure monotheism. The movement spread rapidly and exerted considerable influence in rural areas of Punjab and western Uttar Pradesh. Much of the enthusiasm which it spurred in the first decades of the century was subsequently channeled into the nationalist movement.

the study of Vedic lore was, for instance, a radical departure from tradition, bitterly opposed by the orthodox. One informant recalls that many Brahmans were obliged to abandon their traditional priestly calling and take up agriculture, teaching, or clerical work as the result of Arya Samaj pressure.

Yet in the new context all this was forgotten, and the pathshala came to be regarded as the stronghold of Hindu tradition. Most of the villagers felt that the kind of education imparted by this school could not prepare their sons to compete in a changed world. The student body had declined drastically in recent years. "Nobody wants this sort of lopsided education any more," declared one village elder, who had himself helped to found the pathshala half a century earlier. Now he favored its conversion into a Western type primary school. Another villager nostalgically hoped that the pathshala would be preserved by the government as "a memorial to the older generation." Sarju Singh expressed the belief, shared by an increasing number, that "the pathshala will go automatically some day."

Nevertheless, the principal tried to mollify the head of the pathshala for the time being. He expressed willingness to have the two schools combined and to allow the head of the pathshala to direct the joint educational effort. The swami in charge of the pathshala, however, was by no means resigned to his institution's absorption or obsolescence. While agreeing to accommodate the teachers and students of the new school on the pathshala's premises for the first few months until other quarters could be found or built (with powerful village leaders backing the new project, he had little choice), the swami fought the new school and its principal with all the weapons at his command. He began by spreading rumors that an English-type education was immoral and would corrupt the youth of the village. He manipulated village factions in order to oppose the backers of the new school. When this did not succeed, he resorted to more drastic means and began to throw doubts on the principal's character. Two incidents nearly caused a crisis of confidence in the new school

during the first months of its existence. Sarju Singh described them as follows:

The swami was getting impatient to get me out [of the certain night on which one of the bullocks was stolen, the rumor went around that I had stolen the bullock. A few days later someone broke into a wooden box which belonged to the swami and in which he kept his money, along with some religious books. These books were taken, though the money was untouched. These books were taken to the fields and half burned. It was done by the swami just to create a bad impression in the minds of the people against me. Even my closely related friends began to have suspicions about me and the school.

Tension grew until it threatened to erupt into physical violence. Sarju Singh recounted:

The swami was getting impatient to get me out [of the pathshala buildings]. One day I came to the school and found that the benches on which the boys were to sit had been thrown out of the shed in which we had the school and cattle had been tethered there during the night. He refused to let me put the benches inside the building. The swami had brought his teachers and students, and they had sticks and staves. My students were there, and there would have been violence. I sent my boys to go and have morning prayer, but they didn't obey the order, even though I asked them twice. A student said, "We can't go, leaving you alone." The students told me that the swami had asked his students to come armed for a fight. I myself was expecting that there would be a fight, but even so I smiled and said to the swami, "You are a holy man and you have seen the world, and even then you are going to commit a mistake like this. It will ruin the pathshala as well as the school, and, besides, your boys will be beaten." I told him to go to the village and ask the people to come and decide the matter be-

cause they had him to let me use the room for a school room. He came with twenty people, and a compromise was reached. My school remained there until October, 1950.

This incident marked a turning point in the struggle between the old and the new education. Thereafter, the fortunes of the **pathshala** declined still more rapidly. An added factor in this was the suspicion which many villagers entertained of the swami's financial dealings. He had failed to account for the proceeds from the **pathshala** lands for quite some time. There was no committee or other organization to supervise the affairs of the school, and rumors began to circulate that the swami, a Punjabi, was misappropriating funds to send to his relatives in Punjab. It was only because of the great secrecy maintained by the swami, according to one informant, that no one was able to verify this. The swami's reluctance to cooperate or amalgamate with the new school, it was alleged, was mainly due to his unwillingness to open his records and accounts to public view.

Donations formerly made to the **pathshala** began to be diverted to the new school. Five years after the establishment of the new school and enrollment in the **pathshala** had decreased from about forty-five to twenty-five. The enthusiasm and voluntary labor which, twenty years earlier, had built its present facilities were now being applied to the paving of roads and other secular development projects, many of them centered in the new school. One of the teachers of the **pathshala** volunteered a number of reasons for the decline of Sanskrit schools. First of all, he said, Sanskrit was now being taught in secular schools. More schools were being opened in the villages. Parents no longer appreciated the virtues of religious education. Some of the students could not endure the rigorous life (simple diet, beds of wooden boards, etc.) prescribed by the school. Most important of all, graduates of this kind of school could not find jobs in the new society. Both defenders and detractors of the **pathshala** agreed that its prospects were poor and that the future favored the new Western education.

Another gesture of resistance from the old order came when, soon after the establishment of the new school, the village assembly, or *panchayat*,⁶ decided to transfer to the new school land belonging to the shrine of the *pir* and used for its support. The custodian of the *pir*, who cultivated some of these lands for his own benefit, let his objections be known. These were easily overruled by the village leaders, however, as were those of cultivators who held some part of the *pir*'s lands in trust and were farming them. The *sarpanch*⁷ described the proceedings thus:

When the land which was in the name of the *pir* was transferred to the intercollege, the priest raised an objection. But when the village *panchayat* decided about the transfer of this land, he could not say anything. He kept quiet. The *panchayat* has now legally transferred the land to the intercollege. Since the *panchayat* took the decision about the transfer of the land, it was not necessary that either the people possessing the land belonging to the *pir* or the person in charge of keeping up the *pir* sign the resolution. The *panchayat* gave possession of the land to the intercollege, and now it is being cultivated by the college.

This cavalier disposal of religious lands for secular purposes would have been inconceivable a few generations earlier. The fear of offending the *pir* had been great. One elderly informant recalled that when the oaths were taken before arbiters in his youth, it was the *pir* that villagers would swear by, whether they were Hindu or Muslim, for the *pir* was regarded by all as a guardian deity of the village. When Rankhandi escaped the ravages of an epidemic or blight that devastated surrounding areas, it was at the shrine of the *pir* that the villagers would offer their thanks. The custodian and his family, though of relatively low caste, were respected by the villagers and lived well from the

6. A body of representatives elected by the vote of all adults of the village.

7. Head of the local judicial body.

fruits of the land donated to the shrine as charity. There was a story of the *pir* asserting his power over the great Hindu god, Shiva, and breaking a wall of a recently built Shaivite temple to demonstrate his superiority. Another story has the *pir* compelling the dreaded smallpox goddess to avoid Rankhandi. Still another, dipping into recent history, represents the *pir* riding out on a blue horse during the Indian Mutiny of 1857 to protect the villagers from artillery.

All this had changed. The influence of the Arya Samaj had significantly weakened belief in the *pir*, at least among males. Suchet Singh, the founder of the *pathshala*, had urged his fellow villagers to transfer their devotions from the Muslim saint to the Hindu pantheon. It was he who suggested that they build a temple to Shiva, advice rather inconsistent with the original teachings of the Arya Samaj, which attacked all idolatry, Hindu as well as Muslim. As is often the case, the original doctrines of the reform movement reached the village in a somewhat diluted form. At present it is mostly women who continue to worship at the shrine of the *pir*. The change in this godling's status was pointedly illustrated by a dialogue which took place inside the domed shrine between a young cowherd and a girl who had come to bring an offering: "Why do you worship a Muslim godling?" the boy asked, reclining irreverently on the saint's tomb. "Because he has power," the girl replied, and then added as an afterthought "and because all the world believes in him." The boy laughed and inquired, "Do you think you are all the world?"

Since relations with the head of the *pathshala* were strained and uncertain, the financing of the school and its building program now became the immediate objective of the principal and the sponsors of the new school. To insure a steady income the lands transferred from the *pir's* shrine and additional acres donated by villagers were used to establish a school farm. A manager to run these farm lands was hired, and he was authorized to secure whatever local help he needed. Lands which could not be farmed by school employees were rented. Tuition and fees, though they were modest (a little over ten rupees a school

term), were a dependable source of income. As the student body neared the five hundred mark, this became a respectable amount of revenue.

The District Board, which quickly acted to recognize the school, made it an annual grant of 1,200 rupees, which was raised to 3,000 rupees as soon as facilities, staff, and student body size warranted it. As part of its plan to encourage education, the government of the State of Uttar Pradesh decided to make a grant for improvements to one school of each of its districts annually. The new Rankhandi school was the first institution in Saharanpur District to receive this award, which came in two installments and reached the handsome total of 15,000 rupees. It had been the custom for any family of the village which gave or received a marriage dowry to donate 10 per cent of the sum involved to the pathshala for its maintenance. Now a council of prominent villagers proposed that these contributions be given instead to the budding institution. Soon this became the standard practice, and, as a result, a substantial sum was guaranteed yearly to the new school.

Two Punjab refugees had established a brick kiln on unused village common land at a place where the clay was particularly suitable. They utilized local labor, a practice of some benefit to the village; but the brick, which was in much demand by the villagers, was said to be none too good and high in price. The local people were further irritated because the operators of the kiln were unwilling to extend them much credit. As another act to aid and finance the school, the village assembly reclaimed the land, ousted the Punjabis, and donated the land to the school with the understanding that the making of bricks would continue on the site under school auspices.

In order to improve the kiln and re-establish the industry, capital was needed. The District Planning Officer, a State official, let the principal know that the needed 15,000 rupees could be borrowed from the government. The loan had to be secured, so a number of prominent villagers mortgaged their land as security

for the loan. This is another instance of initial intervention and aid by the government, backed up by local aid and resources. The kiln proved to be a most lucrative venture for the school, netting a profit of 10,000 rupees in the first year of operation and 14,000 rupees in the second.

Since sugar cane is the main cash crop of the area and one that cultivators with any sizeable acreage grow, it was made a source of revenue for the school during the initial period. Each cultivator contributed according to the weight of the sugar cane he sent to the sugar mill. Later, on complaint of the large sugar cane growers, this tax was discontinued, and an assessment of 30 rupees for each plow used in cultivation was substituted. Large donations were received from the treasuries of the sugar cane growers' cooperatives, however. After it became apparent that the school kiln could be depended upon to yield a large, steady income, the principal suggested that both the cane tax and the plow tax be abandoned. He disliked dependence on the wealthy landowners of the community, something that he feared would ultimately involve the school in village quarrels and factionalism. He much preferred income from industries owned and controlled by the school. Moreover, he felt that too high a percentage of the surplus funds of the cultivators was being absorbed by the school and that other worthy community needs were being neglected.

Another project that was expected to earn funds for the school was a nursery in which seedlings for the farmers of the vicinity were to be produced. This was not taken too seriously at first. The farmers even ran their bullock carts over the land set aside for the nursery rather than take longer route to their destinations. The nursery ran at a loss at first and for some pointed to as one of the failures of the school and the principal. Sarju Singh persisted, and at length the nursery began to show a modest profit.

Donations from wealthy well-wishers and "patrons" helped to swell the school's coffers, too. Individuals who originated in Rankhandi or vicinity but who were now employed in government

or industry and lived elsewhere were contacted and contributed liberally. Successful and prominent men of the area, such as the manager of one of the sugar mills, rallied to the cause with handsome donations, as well. The school has a small Executive Board but a very large General, or Managing, Committee. All members of the General Committee — and they include most of the prominent villagers of Rankhandi and a goodly sprinkling from surrounding villages, too — are expected to be "patrons" and to contribute at least 12 rupees annually to the support of the school.

A tube well venture, which, on the face of it, seemed to be propitious, proved to be less productive than anticipated during the period of research. The need for water for irrigation was patent, and there seemed to be little doubt that water could be sold to the cultivators at a profit. Again money was borrowed from the government in order to defray the cost of the boring and the machinery, and once more the farm land of villagers was offered as security for the loan. Once the tube well was in operation, there was such acrimonious competition for the water (and such reluctance to pay for it) that the principal feared the tube well would become a center of controversy and division in the village and therefore halted the use of the tube well water on all but school farm land. The school now awaits the time when its landholdings will be larger (the village assembly has promised the school more village land for farming after land consolidation is completed) and it can use the facility to better advantage itself. Though this particular project was disappointing in its results, the principal continued to be ingenious in his quest for funds. He even had the school purchase a rubber-tired cart which could be rented to cultivators for the purpose of carrying their sugar cane to the mills or produce to market.

With the original donations and the sums in hand or in prospect through these additional sources, it was possible to begin construction on the new buildings in August, 1950. Eight tin-roofed rooms were built on the northern border of the village

near the brook that gives its name to the section, or patti,⁸ in which the school is located. Gradually dormitories, office space, and kitchen and dining facilities were added, and classroom space was quickly expanded. The normal construction cost was much reduced by voluntary labor (*shramdan*) of both students and other villagers.

The student enrollment at the school, once it became an intercollege, has fluctuated between 450 and 600. After a tragic accident in which a truck filled with students from the school on their way to perform *shramdan* was struck by a train near Deoband, frightened parents withdrew their children from school, and the student body decreased. The opening of other secondary schools in the general vicinity had also had an effect. A gradual increase in school population, however, can be expected. The principal would like ultimately to convert the intercollege into a degree college. His critics doubt that the size of the student body will warrant this and that the costs of the enlarged curriculum and required equipment can be met.

When the Cornell Project ended, the staff stood at twenty-two. This included the principal, who taught no classes, an extension teacher, and a physical training teacher. The other nineteen taught courses in Hindi, English, Sanskrit, history, geography, civics, mathematics, economics, commerce, general science, biology, agriculture, educational theory, drawing, and crafts. A surprising number of castes and "communities" were represented in the faculty: There were seven Brahmans, four Rajputs, three Vaishyas, two Jats, and one each of Kayastha, Punjabi, Tyagi, and Muslim background. Among the teachers only five had received teacher-training preparation. The teachers complained that they had no adequate quarters to which they could bring their families. The school had the usual problem of attracting professional personnel to a small community and holding them there.

8. A division of the village based on a now defunct revenue unit. There are seven such patti and they play a significant role in village politics and social interaction. Patti identification is particularly strong among the dominant Rajputs, and factions often form along patti lines.

The northern fringe of the village where the school was located was also the site of the Cooperative Seed Store and the Cornell Project, the buildings of which were to be donated to the school after the completion of the Cornell study. Thus, the structures which came to symbolize the new order for the people of Rankhandi were from the outset in close geographical as well as psychological proximity. All of them lay in the direction of Deoband, the *tahsil*⁹ headquarters. A member of the Cornell Project reflected on the significance of the location in the following terms:

The separation from the *pathshala* and the close communication with the *tahsil* town, in which the bus line and the railroad also were located, were symbolic. Rankhandi had started on a new course, and from now on it was to have much closer relations with the state and nation (Hitchcock 1956:274-275).

The administration of the intercollege is technically in the hands of two bodies: a Managing Committee and an Executive Board. The Executive Board, according to the school's constitution, is responsible for formulating educational policy, appointing and dismissing teachers, granting scholarships, etc., while the Managing Committee, which elects the members of the Executive Board, is more concerned with general administrative and financial matters. In practice, however, largely because so many members of the Managing Committee are themselves uneducated and therefore deferential concerning educational decisions, the powers of both these bodies have been delegated to the principal. The secretary of the committee which first brought Sarju Singh to Rankhandi characterized the situation in this way:

The principal has been given all the powers for running the college by the executive body. So the principal wields absolute power in practice.

⁹ Subdivision of a district.

The mechanics of this power concentration are described in detail by a member of the Executive Board:

As a rule, the Executive Board should meet once a month. But it meets whenever the necessity arises and the principal convenes its meeting. The principal had told the members of the Board that if everything about the intercollege were to go through the Board, he would not be able to do anything successfully. It would cause too much delay. So he requested the Board to entrust all the powers of the Board to him. He asked the Board not to seek explanations on everything he did and not to press him too much to follow strictly the policies laid down by the Board. He just asked the Board to lay down the policies broadly. The principal asked the members of the Executive Board to be more particular about the result and efficient administration of the intercollege. After entrusting powers to him, if the Board found anything faulty, it could ask for an explanation from him. He asked the Executive Board to check the accounts whenever it liked, and if there was a shortage of even one pice in the accounts, the Board could remove him from office. So the Executive Board members asked the principal to do whatever he liked in the best interests of the college.

Once the principal stated in an Executive Board meeting that because of too much interference on the part of the Board, he had not been able to do any good work and the college could not progress. On hearing this statement, the members of the Executive Board could do nothing but entrust him with all powers. In this way, with the approval of the Executive Board, the principal concentrated all powers in himself.

A member of the Managing Committee maintained that the principal had convened progressively fewer meetings over the years. The first year, there were three meetings, the second

year two, and during the third year there had not been a single one. The reason he gave for this state of affairs was that, because of the profits from the brick kiln, the principal no longer had as much need of the villagers' support, particularly financial.

Whereas the power of the principal was recognized by all those interviewed — teaching staff as well as members of the official governing bodies — it must not be concluded that the attitudes toward this concentration of power were wholly negative. They were sharply divided. The views of the teachers seemed to reflect their own positive or negative experiences with the principal, while the attitudes of the village leaders who were active in the affairs of the college were, in some cases, shaped by the factional loyalties and antipathies that played such an important role in all village social interaction.

Sarju Singh was fully aware of the role played by factionalism in Rankhandi's social and political life. He had sensed it on his very first visit to the village:

At that time I got the impression that there was party friction in the village. Each party came to me with tales about the others, and in this way I could find out what was in their minds.

He soon learned how to manipulate the situation in order to achieve his goals. "He knew what men in each subdivision of the village had to be approached and convinced if a program were to be carried through. He knew in what cases a favor to one man had to be balanced by a favor to another if divisive jealousies were to be prevented" (Hitchcock 1956:276). He often expressed the opinion that he could function effectively only because he was an outsider and not involved in the factional quarrels of the village.

Sarju Singh's adroit handling of factional conflicts which he earned in the process, served to extend his leadership much beyond the confines of his official role. Within a few years of his arrival he came to be known as the "jewel of Rankhandi."

The man who had brought Sarju Singh to Rankhandi and subsequently became one of his closest friends was elected to the position of village headman, or *pradhan*, in the first *panchayat* election that was held subsequent to the principal's arrival in Rankhandi. There is no evidence that the principal campaigned for his friend though the results of the election certainly strengthened his hand. When factional disputes arose, they were increasingly taken to "masterji" for settlement. In 1954 Sarju Singh succeeded in having an impending election for *mukhia*¹⁰ postponed when he feared that contest would exacerbate factional quarrels and divide the village. After persuading the candidates for office to withdraw, he called a *panchayat* to settle upon a *mukhia* by unanimous choice.

There were those who thought that the principal had overextended himself by such interference in village politics. A year later a second attempt to settle a village election — this time for the important post of *pradhan* — in this manner failed. Though he persuaded five out of six candidates to withdraw in the interest of village unity, the sixth adamantly refused. This was a blow to the principal's prestige. Members of the Cornell team studying this election regarded it as marking the beginning of a decline in Sarju Singh's position of leadership within the village.

Up to the time of the election the Principal had concerned himself with village affairs in such a fashion as to avoid direct involvement in factional quarrels, and was able to maintain a position of neutrality in which he carried activities for the good of the entire village. When he began to involve himself in the politics of selecting a new *Pradhan*, his impartial position was damaged. Many villagers strongly resented the intervention of "an outsider" in their affairs (Retzlaff 1959:76).

The candidate who refused to withdraw and many of his supporters "perceived the Principal's efforts as a trick which

10. A villager who officially represents law and order.

would result in keeping the old *pradhan*¹¹ in office Feeling ran high against the Principal for what his group felt was an unwarranted interference in village politics" (Hitchcock 1956-298).

There were other vital factors in the principal's rise to power within Rankhandi, factors which prevented his fall despite this loss of confidence in his impartiality on the part of many villagers. Although an outsider, he belonged to the Rajput caste which dominated Rankhandi in terms of both numbers¹² and power. He was an educated man with university degrees in both commerce and law. Perhaps most important of all were his outside contacts. "He functioned as an intermediary between the villagers and 'the outside world.' His most effective connections were with the Congress Party apparatus and the staff of the Community Development Program The secondary school, which was a show place of the area in any event, became a stop on the itinerary of all important visitors to the District" (Retzlaff 1959:75-76). The President of India visited the intercollege in 1955; Lady Mountbatten followed in 1956. Thakur Phool Singh was a frequent visitor, often bringing with him other major and minor government officials and he came to be widely regarded as a political patron of Rankhandi. This piece of good fortune was attributed primarily to the principal's personal influence. One of the teachers characterized Sarju Singh as Thakur Phool Singh's "right-hand-man." Another said he was the politician's "close friend" and consequently could "get things done for the village." The old *pradhan* describes the principal's role in village development as important because of his "direct access" to officials.

The Impact of the Intercollege on Rankhandi. It was generally agreed upon by those on the scene — and this includes both villagers and outside observers — that, aside from the Community Development Project, no institution in the village had served as a greater catalyst toward change than the intercollege. Its

11. This is the village dialectical version of *pradhan*.

12. In 1955 there were 2,272 Rajputs out of a total population of a little over 5,000.

impact on every facet of village life was immense. It functioned simultaneously as a powerful prestige symbol and as an active link with the world beyond the village. Through the person of the principal, it provided leadership in village affairs. By virtue of the education it imparted, it served as a training ground for future leaders. It contributed substantially to the formation of a new village elite, challenging the traditional criteria of status in rural India. It proved to be a spur to education at all levels. Once its effects were felt, both the boys' primary school and the girls' primary school flourished as never before.

The Role of the Intercollege in Change. The role of the Intercollege in effecting change was both direct and indirect. Since it was becoming universally recognized that education was the keystone to success in the new society, the establishment of a secondary school within the village opened up new opportunities to members of all social groups. For members of the lowest castes, to whom scholarships were available at every level of the educational system, schooling offered an escape from the age-old exploitation of the dominant caste in a rigidly ascriptive society. Students from the untouchable Bhangi or sweeper caste had voluntarily undertaken to teach literacy classes for their caste fellows. A Chamar (leather-worker), also an untouchable, said that only through education could members of his caste find an alternative to working for the Rajputs. With education, he thought, one could get a job with the government, where the working hours were fixed and there was no *begar* (forced labor).

Members of the upper castes were coming to realize that, in the words of one Rajput informant, "family and property were not enough" to assure their sons a place in this changing world. Land reform laws and landlord abolition plans had unsettled and worried them. Some of them even regarded education as a short-term financial investment because an educated son could command a much larger marriage dowry. A study of the Rajputs in the *patti* in which the intercollege is located revealed the following dramatic increases in the number of educated males. While only 24 per cent of those over forty had any education, the figure

was 38 per cent for those between twenty and forty, and in the age group of six to twenty a striking 70 per cent either had been or were currently enrolled in school.

The college played a leading role in development activities within the village. Lanes of the village were paved, and economically strategic roads, such as those to a sugar mill and to the subdistrict headquarters, were improved, largely through the students' efforts. Houses were built and repaired, and wells were dug with the voluntary labor of the students. A large pond was made serviceable again. All students interviewed had participated in *shramdan*; all had favorable attitudes toward the idea, though some criticized its application to particular projects. Cleanliness campaigns were undertaken by the students, and dramatic performances were staged in which national goals were dramatized. The principal mobilized volunteer labor for work on various village projects, and through his connections prominent national and state political leaders came to the village. Youth camps were organized in cooperation with the Community Development Program. The brick kilns contributed to the village economy.

The presence of the intercollege in Rankhandi raised the prestige of the village in the surrounding area tremendously. The older image of Rankhandi as a "criminal" village was giving way to one in which it figured as an educational center to which boys from many surrounding villages were drawn. As one of the teachers put it:

Before the starting of the intercollege, Rankhandi was notorious. Some people in the village were expert cattle-lifters and drunkards. People did not even dare to go to the orchard near the government tube well after dusk. People of other villages were terribly afraid of Rankhandi people. Almost all the people in the village were illiterate before the intercollege was started. But now the strength of the educated is considerable. The mental outlook of the villagers has changed considerably.

The educational experience strongly affected the intercaste attitudes and behavior of most of the students. For many of the

upper-caste boys, this was their first encounter with untouchable as peers. The experiences of a twelve-year old Rajput boy were typical. There were seven or eight Harijan¹³ students in his class; he told the interviewer. The students all sat together. He recalled that in primary school the Harijans used to sit separately. All of his teachers told him not to observe untouchability and taught him to treat the Harijans like brothers. Now, he said, none of his classmates observed untouchability. Actually, the young man exaggerated his emancipation somewhat, for while he no longer shrank from physical contact with untouchables, he still would not eat or drink from containers handled by them. Nevertheless, a notable change had occurred in caste relations. The principal reported that at the beginning he was forced to hire a Brahman cook for the school dormitory. Now there is a lower-caste cook, and no one objects.

A Chamar woman told one of the field workers that before the advent of the intercollege the Rajputs had not allowed Harijans to wear either bangles or nose ornaments. Now they let the low castes dress as they please. She also believed that the school was responsible for putting an end to forced labor.

Other informants alluded to public meetings and celebrations held at the intercollege, particularly the visits of important officials, when all castes mixed freely. Many villagers have vivid recollections of one such occasion, when Chief Minister Pant and Thakur Phool Singh publicly accepted milk from the hands of sweepers. This made a favorable impression on most of them. Even those who admitted practicing untouchability in their own relationships with the Harijans thought it proper for their national leaders to make such a gesture because "untouchability is on the way out."

The indirect results of the presence of the intercollege in the village included a more urbanized style of life (Western-style trousers, wristwatches, and bicycles were among student status

13. "People of God," the name Gandhi gave to the untouchables.

symbols), increased social mobility, a questioning of purdah or the seclusion of women, a decreasing emphasis on caste and on the observance of untouchability, secularization (of which the dramatic decline in the fortunes of the pathshala provided ample evidence), and a general shift in orientation away from ascription toward achievement in many spheres of life. The school gave the village a common rallying point. It is significant that leaders who had been rivals cooperated to pledge their land as security when loans for the school were needed from the government.

The Perception of Change. It is interesting to note the way in which these changes are perceived by those experiencing them. In interviews with students, teaching staff, and villagers who were somehow connected with the school, Cornell field workers asked what changes the intercollege had brought about in Rankhandi. The majority of the students interviewed cited a change in the practice of untouchability. The most frequent area of change mentioned by adult villagers had to do with generational differences: "The younger generation is entirely different;" "The younger generation can go to town and talk to any officer;" "The younger generation is more educated irrespective of caste."

The second most frequent effect of the intercollege cited by the adult villagers interviewed was the visit of important officials. It was felt that this enhanced the prestige and importance of the village. This was also mentioned by two out of the three teachers interviewed, but by none of the students. The second most frequent change cited by the students had to do with development work, such as the paving of village lanes, the renovation of wells, higher income for the farmers as a result of improved agricultural techniques, etc.

Third in importance for adult villagers was a decline in the observance of purdah, and for the students an improvement in sanitation and a greater value placed on cleanliness came third. It might be noted that a number of students participated in a cleanliness drive sponsored by the Sarvodaya Association¹⁴

14. A service association.

with the cooperation of the Community Development Program. There seems to be an especially strong consciousness of the need for cleanliness among the educated members of the lower castes, who were traditionally regarded as both ritually impure and physically unclean by the upper castes. The five Bhangi and six Chamar students in the intercollege, whose ascribed status placed them at the bottom of the caste hierarchy, expressed particular concern about this. One Chamar student cited the cost of clean clothes as a paramount problem for children of his caste who attended school. The first reply given by a fifteen-year-old Bhangi student to the question of what changes he thought should be made by the people in the section of the village in which he lived was: "They should be more clean and neat." When asked what the women could do to improve themselves, he answered: "They should keep clean, cook well, clean their homes, and think more of God."

The comments of a fifteen-year-old Rajput boy reflect the tenacity of the "unclean" stereotype of the untouchables held by the upper castes, even where the religious basis of the prejudice is repudiated. The main reasons for not touching the Harijans, he said, were that they do not put on clean clothes and that they look dirty. If they would "observe cleanliness," he maintained, he would have "no objection either to touching them or to eating or drinking from their hands."

Both students and adults felt that increased education was an incentive to better and more lawful behavior and to more concern for one's self-image. There was general agreement that serious crime and moral failings, such as drunkenness and opium addiction, were on the wane. Time after time the uneducated were likened to animals, and the belief was expressed that the new emphasis in the village on education was elevating manners and activities.

Whereas most of the changes cited are in a direction away from tradition and toward Westernization, in one item the reverse seems to be true. This is in regard to the dowry system. Of those informants who spoke of any change in the dowry sys-

tem resulting from education, the change was in all cases in the direction of strengthening the system. Two of the teachers mentioned this; one of them maintained that the hope for a larger dowry was what motivated most parents to send their sons to school. Other informants have spoken of this as one of the negative results of education, i.e., that the parents of an educated boy become increasingly demanding. On the other hand, an educated boy or his family is sometimes reluctant to accept an illiterate wife, and thus some enthusiasm is generated for the education of girls.

One other adverse influence of higher education that was mentioned more than once was the refusal of the educated, especially the holder of a degree, to allow himself to become involved in manual labor. Even work in the fields during vacations was distasteful to the educated boys, and often they remained in dignified idleness rather than endanger their new status.

Summary and Conclusions. In evaluating the causes for the strong impact that the Rankhandi Intermediate College has had on the village and the nature of its role as an agency of change, we are led to the consideration of three main factors:

(1) **Receptivity:** Education as a traditional and transitional value. The high value that Indian culture has traditionally placed on learning contributed to the eagerness with which the villagers accepted the idea of a secondary school in the village. A generation earlier, this enthusiasm was manifested in their attitudes toward the pathshala, which they built with their voluntary labor. "An illiterate man is like beast" is a comment which was heard frequently from informants of all castes. A Brahman has traditionally been honored for his knowledge of sacred matters. Now that the Brahmans were interested in learning English instead of Sanskrit—as a teacher from the pathshala put it—a new kind of education has become the order of the day. In their full acceptance of this new and essentially foreign learning, the villagers demonstrated their adaptability to a changed world. Even the old man who had been a cofounder of the pathshala admitted

somewhat sheepishly that no boy in his extended family now attends the Sanskrit school.

The felt need for at least a minimal education was intensified by the coming of the sugar mills, with which most Rankhandi cultivators had dealings. Records, receipts, and paper work represented a significant element in these dealings. If the farmer was illiterate, he was dependent on others for many things vitally affecting his economic interests. This, he felt, automatically placed him at a disadvantage.

The need for literacy had been strongly felt by villagers for several generations in their dealings with law courts. "For some decades, knowledge of the law and court procedure has been an important means of protecting family interests" (Hitchcock and Minturn 1963:295).

The same overwhelmingly positive attitude did not exist in the matter of female education. At the time of this research the recently founded girls' primary school was struggling along, and the prospects for secondary school education for village girls looked dim. Here the attitudes of the majority ranged from indifference to hostility. Lacking the support of traditional values, the government promoters of women's education were faced with an uphill battle. Although there had been some increase in attendance at the girls' primary school, few girls were encouraged to go beyond the fourth grade. The ability to read and write letters and to keep household accounts was considered the limit of justifiable education for women by most villagers. When questioned about the prospect of admitting girls to the intercollege, the principal was not optimistic, citing purdah restrictions among the upper castes and economic pressures in the caste of the lower castes. He hoped for the improvement of the girls' primary school, a matter in which his wife also took some interest.

(2) **Leadership:** The personality of the principal. The forceful manner in which this young man took command of the new school and subsequently extended his leadership to other facets of village life was the second important factor in the picture. The

readiness with which the villagers accepted his leadership reflected their already changing values. In a society in which even a generation earlier leadership had been dependent on age, family status within the village, physical force or, alternatively, religious influence, the acceptance of this slightly built,¹⁵ secularly oriented, young outsider represented a change indeed. Respected village elders took their disputes to him for settlement. The very fact of his being an outsider was taken as a guarantee of his impartiality. He seemed to regard this as his main asset in the village, and certainly it was a quality mentioned time and again by his followers. When one influential Rajput, himself deeply involved in factional quarrels, was asked whether the villagers were afraid of Sarju Singh, he replied in the affirmative and explained:

We are not afraid of him because he has force behind him. We are afraid of him because he has certain qualities which have a good influence on the minds of the people. He is an honest man. He takes care of everyone in the village. He doesn't favor anyone especially. He has been living in the village for the last five years, but until now he hasn't become involved in any litigation, nor has he gone to officials to favor anyone in a court case, though he has lots of connections with officials.

This statement about the principal was made when he was at the peak of his power and influence in 1954. At that time he was by no means reticent about acknowledging or using his power. He said:

I know everything about this village. I know who all the **badmash** (scoundrels) are. I am dealing with them, and I have to deal with them because I am taking money from their sugar cane payments for the school. I wouldn't get anywhere if I didn't. If I hadn't dealt with them in the beginning, I never could have had the school built.

15. One of his staunchest Rajput supporters could not restrain an expression of contempt for his small physical prowess.

As soon as I become self-sufficient, and I will become self-sufficient next year, I will crack down on these people and you will see some changes. There won't be any more drinking; there won't be any more opium. And if these people object, I will run them right out of the village. I have the support of the government, from the top to the bottom, and these people know it.

As we have seen, the power that underlay this unbounded confidence began to decline somewhat when the principal's impartiality was impugned as a result of his role in the panchayat elections of the following year. Nevertheless, his position as the head of the intercollege, his activities as a prominent member of the ruling Congress Party, and his well-known connections with government officials assured him a continuing, if perhaps more circumscribed, leadership role in the village.

(3) **Association: Links with national policies and personalities.** The personal connections of the principal have already been mentioned. In addition, there were other, more institutional, links between the intercollege and the world beyond the village which acted as channels of communication between the government and the villagers, between the planners and the recipients of change. The school, formed at the initiative of a state assemblyman and patronized by a nationally prominent political figure, was from the beginning closely associated with governmental projects such as the Community Development Program. Most of the students were familiar with its aims and some of the innovations it was attempting to introduce. They participated in various campaigns and development efforts. The local Village Level Worker was a familiar figure to them. While many of them were vague about particulars, they all seemed to identify with its general aims; these were usually translated into "Patriotism and Progress." Ceremonial visits of state, national, and international figures reinforced this identification, not only for the students, but for the village as a whole, enhancing its self-esteem and prestige in the surrounding area.

Thus, the traditionally high value attached to learning in India, the felt needs for literacy and training that would prepare the villagers to cope with a changing world, the vigorous leadership of a young university graduate, and cooperation and identification with national agencies of planned change all contributed to maximizing the impact of the new secondary school on the village in which it was located.

The establishment of a school that grew into the intercollege was first seriously pressed by a state official, Thakur Phool Singh, and a subdistrict official, Munshi Singh. At several critical periods thereafter, Thakur Phool Singh's interest insured government support and financing for school projects. Thus government policy and intervention, mediated through Thakur Phool Singh, was the catalyst that precipitated the development. There were good reasons, however, why the idea was seized upon with such enthusiasm and persistence by the village people: the traditional regard for education as such and the dissatisfaction with the offerings of the *pathshala*, which emphasized learning by rote and offered a curriculum that avoided anything secular or practical, were among these. In the background was an interest in training which would provide some alternatives to farming as a calling. It was increasingly evident that choice positions beckoned on the outside if one could qualify for them. The democratization of Indian social life caused the *pathshala* to look absurd as the prime agency of education for a large, modernizing area.

The village was certainly fortunate in recruiting so forceful and capable a man as Sarju Singh as its principal. It is significant that men of his training and caliber were willing to consider such a post. This demonstrates the emphasis placed on service through education by the National Congress Party and the country's leaders. One of the prime objectives of the Five Year Plans and the Community Development Programs has been the promotion of literacy and education.

Indian villagers are usually badly segmented and divided. They are often sectioned into blocks of land inherited by those des-

cended in a patrilineal line. Caste, religion, and the landowner-worker dichotomy make for separation. As this study shows, the school is often the best rallying point and prospect for unification today. The low castes see literacy and education as a way out of the economic and social depths they have endured; the high castes see education as the means of improving their prospects still further and of safeguarding their children from losses through land laws. The support of an educational institution is a cause on which all can agree.

Since the school commands such general support, it is the medium through which development programs can work effectively. It has been pointed out that many projects which were attempted at Rankhandi involved the school. The Community Development Project, when it began its operations in the area, used the school in many ways as a medium through which to work. Even before some new effort was launched, information about it was spread by the teachers and students. Consequently, we can say that the investment in the school at Rankhandi was more than aid to education. It was an investment in the on-going process of economic development and, to an extent not yet determined, in the changes for the future that are in the making.

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**ACCULTURATION AND CHANGE:
THE ETHNIC MINORITIES IN AMERICAN LIFE***

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On accepting President Hayakawa's invitation to address you today, I thought it would be appropriate to choose a topic related to the innovative proposal to establish a School of Ethnic Studies in San Francisco State College. Accordingly, I decided to discuss the subject: "The Role of the Ethnic Minorities in American Life."

I belong to a nation which has provided one of the Asian minority groups that have played an important role in the history of California. I am, therefore, keenly aware that the subject I have chosen, while deeply engrossing to me, touches upon radical issues that have caused profound distress and division amongst the American people.

All through my life as student, teacher, journalist, soldier and diplomat, I have served the cause of human freedom: the defense

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of man against tyranny by other men or by the state, and the liberation of colonial peoples from imperialist rule. This commitment I brought to the performance of my duties as delegate to the United Nations for more than twenty years, during which I assisted in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and served as member and chairman of the Commission on Human Rights. It is the same faith that more recently I brought to my new assignment as President of the University of the Philippines, at a time when the principles of liberty and justice are being tested in university campuses all over the world.

These credentials, however, have not removed the trepidation I feel in discussing the role of the ethnic minorities in America. I shall deal with the subject from the point of view of a member of the Filipino minority group. I would like to recall in this connection that one of the most moving testaments to the involvement of the minorities in the democratization of American society is a book entitled, *America Is in the Heart* by the late Carlos Bulosan, the gifted Filipino writer whom I first met in California in 1939.

Many countries today face a crisis resulting from the struggle of minority groups for recognition of their right to participate as equals in the life, work and progress of the national society. My own country faces such a problem. While the 35 million Filipinos share a common heritage of Malay culture and civilization, the great majority of them are Christians who have been strongly influenced by European and American ideas and institutions. The cultural minorities number about four million, of whom three million are Muslims and the rest mainly pagan tribes adhering to the animistic beliefs of their forefathers. Our problem is to help the minorities identify themselves with the Filipino nation without losing the distinctive and useful elements of their own culture, and to make the majority accept the minorities as co-equal members of the national society while recognizing their right to be different. The problem, in short, is how to reconcile the minorities' inherent right to cultural identity with the principle of national integration.

This problem, in a more acute and massive form, exists in America today. America has traditionally been known as the world's great "melting-pot" of races and cultures. America, however, has lived up to that reputation only with respect to peoples of European origin; it has failed to achieve a comparable result with regard to the native American Indians and the peoples of African, Asian, or Latin American origin. Gunnar Myrdal has aptly described the resulting ambivalence as the "American dilemma."

Nothing is so frightening as the image of a powerful, single-minded, monolithic people led by a Genghis Khan or an Adolf Hitler. Happily, the world's most powerful nation today does not conform to this image. The diversity of America has appealed to all men, attracting millions to its shores and adding to its infinite variety. However, the failure to maintain that variety within a framework of equality and justice has resulted in an agonizing racial question which today threatens to rend asunder the American nation.

This nation began with an inherent contradiction. The first men and women who fled the tyrannies of Europe sought in the New World freedom for themselves. They pursued what they regarded as a universal ideal. They set up a value system as a standard for all who were to come after them.

But the peoples who followed them brought their own cultural values. They quickly perceived that their rise in the society depended on how well they could adjust to the ways of the ascendant group. The concept of the American "melting-pot" was cultivated to preserve the image of the new World as the haven for the poor and the oppressed of all nations. Then, during the period between independence and the Civil War the idea was put to a test from which it never recovered: the importation of slave labor from Africa. The result was a distinct color line, a caste system, and the virtual abandonment of the melting-pot concept.

Not that color was not a factor until then, for the American Indian had been there from the very beginning. The Indian, however, did not participate in the affairs of his conqueror. He

was herded into reservations to suffer there a slow cultural death. The Negro, however, was different. He was involved in the majority culture and he aspired to be accepted as a member of it. The Asian and the Latin American who came later, did likewise.

Immigration moved rapidly and between 1820 and 1930 a total of 38 million immigrants entered America. This tide of humanity included peoples from the British Isles, Ireland, the Nordic countries, Western and Southern Europe, Eastern Europe and the Balkans, Russia, the Middle East, and the Far East.

This diversity brought a host of new problems. The universality which the Founding Fathers thought they had established was directly challenged. The majority became deeply concerned over the stability of the political and moral consensus.

A reaction was inevitable. This took the form of a deliberate effort to assimilate the immigrant cultures, or what of these was assimilable, and the rejection of what was not. Americanization procedures were instituted to iron out divergences, to inculcate in the immigrant the beliefs and values of the dominant group. Assimilation became an attempt to obliterate foreign identities, to re-create the alien in the image of the familiar.

By the First World War, however, it became obvious that Americanization was not likely to produce the desired homogeneity. Cultural revanchism grew and cultural enclaves were formed, defying all attempts to erase differences. The melting-pot idea began to die.

Discriminatory laws aimed at excluding Chinese, Japanese, Filipino and Mexican immigrants were enforced. Whether by reason of racial intolerance or selfish economic motives, the dominant society sought to restrict the opportunities of immigrants and to discourage their integration into the American society. The large-scale relocation of the Chinese in California, the discriminatory treatment of Mexican and Filipino agricultural workers, and the herding of Negroes into slum ghettos foretold, like the pride that precedes a fall, the crisis that is taking place

in American life today. One can perceive the shape and magnitude of the race problem by noting the areas of American society where the initial protests took place: desegregation in the schools, non-discriminatory use and enjoyment of public facilities, equality of economic opportunity.

In the face of the realities of the new industrial era, Americanization had become a constricting criterion for the creation of a homogeneous social order. It was based on a tribalistic view of what Americanism consists of, with the implication that the minorities' ways were quaint, queer and foolish, and hence unacceptable.

According to this criterion, "American" stood for the culture of the Protestant Anglo-Saxon group, and the other ethnic and religious groups were ranged in descending order below it. Their rank more or less depended on the approximate date of their arrival and the resemblance they bore to the appearance and culture of the ascendant group. Next to the English, the Scotch, the Welsh and the Irish ranked high, followed by the Germanic and Scandinavian groups, and so on down the line to the Southern Europeans, the Latin Americans and the Orientals, who were near the bottom. The Negroes were at the very bottom, color being a stronger determinant than priority of arrival.

Thus, Negroes, Indians, Orientals, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans on the ethnic level, as well as Jews and Catholics on the religious became the special objects of discrimination in America.

This social order existed until the First World War when a new concept of nationhood was born: the concept of a plural society. America became sharply aware of peoples grown proudly conscious of their own identity and worth, driven by new aspirations of which the most potent was the desire for human dignity and freedom. The idea grew that the American nation did not necessarily have to be structured around the dominance of a single group or upon the inviolability of that group's system of values.

After the Second World War, new forces surged throughout the world upsetting traditions, liberating the enchained, but also creating new tensions. Of great help in the struggle of the minorities in the United States was the speedy liberation of colonial peoples, many of whose representatives were found in significant numbers in America. No longer were they subject peoples but sovereign in their own right, and their defiant assertion of nationalism became a source of pride and dignity as well as strength for their racial kin in America. At the same time, powerful rival centers of ideological attraction had come into existence. Rightly or wrongly, the emergence of the Soviet Union and later of China as great powers gave encouragement as much to the colonial peoples as to the alienated and disadvantaged ethnic minorities everywhere.

The greatest single source of mischief in the political history of mankind is the doctrine that one group of human beings, whether as oligarchy or as colonialism, has the right to rule another group or to dominate another nation. While this doctrine has been repudiated by most right-thinking men and freedom-loving nations, there are continuing attempts open or covert to revive it. In the United Nations, I had occasion to observe the strength and resourcefulness of these attempts, for example, in the apartheid system of South Africa where the white minority seeks by violence to repress the black and colored majority, and in many of the newly independent countries where the former imperialist powers seek to reimpose their dominance by various devices.

People came to this land from all corners of the world in order to escape religious persecution, political oppression, and economic want. Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out 140 years ago that on leaving the mother country, the emigrants had "no notion of superiority one over the other," and soon found that "the soil of America was opposed to a territorial aristocracy." For any descendants of these immigrants, therefore, to deny equal rights to any other group by reason of race, color, religion or

social status would be to repudiate the very basis of the unique American experiment in democracy.

The late President John F. Kennedy, in advocating the liberalization of the immigration law, said that the special flavor and character of America derive from the interaction of different cultures and the vehemence of the ideals that drove the immigrants to the New World. He wrote: "The contribution of immigrants can be seen in every aspect of our national life. We see it in religion, in politics, in business, in the arts, in education, even in athletics and in entertainment. There is no part of our nation that has not been touched by our immigrant background. Everywhere immigrants have enriched and strengthened the fabric of American life."

I would like, in this connection, to congratulate San Francisco State College for its bold initiative in planning the establishment of a School of Ethnic Studies. It is an initiative worthy of San Francisco, birthplace of the United Nations, the most cosmopolitan city of America and of the world. I am informed that together with a Black Studies program, there would be an Asian-American Studies program which, in turn, would include courses on Chinese-American, Japanese-American and Filipino-American subjects. On behalf of the University of the Philippines I am prepared to pledge full cooperation with San Francisco State College in realizing this program.

The house of America has been built of stones that have been quarried from all the races and cultures of man, in all continents of the world. To subtract even one of these building stones would be to destroy the original principles that have inspired the grand design of American civilization.

I consider the student revolt in America to be motivated mainly by a desire to restore the principles of freedom and equality on which the house of America has been built. Its purpose is not to destroy but to compel the society to live up to its professed ideals. I share the judgment of those who believe that the present generation of American youth is the best educated.

the most aware and idealistic in history. It is also, I believe, the most candid, impatient and irreverent generation ever; candid about the follies of its elders, impatient with their hypocrisy, irreverent towards their false and often inhuman values.

When the American students pledge allegiance to the American flag and to the principles for which it stands — freedom, justice and equality for all — they want the words to mean exactly what they say, without any ifs or buts or maybes. I suspect that they would find far more thrilling than an American triumph in the race to the moon, an American victory in the battle against racism, poverty and war.

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION CHANGE IN THE PHILIPPINES*

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Studies of the Filipino and his culture, conducted according to the methods of the science of man, owe a great debt to the pioneer anthropological research of the late Dr. H. Otley Beyer and his contemporaries beginning about 50 years ago, but these studies may claim to have made their greatest impact and influence on the progress of social science in the Philippines during the last decade. When former students of Dr. Beyer became full-fledged cultural anthropologists, after their training in the University of the Philippines and in American universities, a rich flow of literature on Filipino culture came from their pens attracting the attention of our intellectual world and promising to recast the mold of Filipino social thought. Working in cooperation with

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the new sociologists and psychologists, two younger generations of successors to the old guard anthropologists are now active in the field. They include Dr. Robert B. Fox, Dr. Donn V. Hart, Dr. Frank Lynch, Dr. Mario D. Zamora, Dr. Zeus A. Salazar, Dr. F. Landa Jocano, Mr. Moises Bello, Mr. Alfredo Evangelista, Mr. E. Arsenio Manuel, and Mr. Timoteo Oracion.

This upsurge of cultural study in the Philippines has coincided with the intensification of the reexamination of Filipino values from another direction. Since the end of the war and the establishment of self-government, nationalism has been the great moving spirit of the Filipino people and their national leaders. It is the pervasive theme of Filipino politics, economics, journalism, and education. It is an old passion demanding redefinition and new expression, for the time is one in which the nation recognizes that its growth at home and its encounter with the outside world present its consciousness with a crisis of identity.

The search for identity usually finds its first reassuring clue in a traditional culture which can be identified with the nation's past and which has displayed an adaptive capacity. Confidence is gained from the repossessing of this rediscovered past, for from the complex mixture of strengths and weaknesses of this past, the present can selectively reject certain modern and usually foreign elements which history has injected into its bloodstream. This reaffirmation of the usable past and the devaluation of a recently outworn creed suggest the outlines of the desired image and invest it with Nationalism.

Acknowledged leading Filipino thinkers and writers, who may be represented by the late Senator Claro M. Recto, Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, and the Guerreros among many others, have extensively cultivated this theme permeating contemporary Filipino consciousness and intellectual activity. Experts in cultural science have much to contribute to this discussion. With the data they have accumulated, and the method of inquiry and analysis they employ, their views and considerable enlightenment to complicated, often confusing, and sometimes contradictory problems. Cultural science had definitely entered the court in which briefs

used to be presented only by editors, politicians, and diplomats on the case of Filipino nationalism and the Filipino national character.

Typical of this interaction between the cultural anthropologist and the professional writers on Filipino culture is the "Forum on the Foundations of Contemporary Filipino Culture and Society," conducted by Comment in 1958. The speakers were Dr. Fox, former Secretary of Education Alejandro R. Roces (at that time the Dean of Liberal Arts at Far Eastern University), Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, Federico Mangahas (now Vice-President of Silliman University), Minister for Cultural Affairs Pura Santillan Castrence, and U.S. Embassy Attaché Charles Ransom. On the hybrid character of Filipino culture, sometimes emphasized by one or another speaker as indebted more to Hispanization than Americanization, or vice versa, the anthropologist intervened to correct both the overdrawn picture of external influences and the sardonic view that some sort of promiscuity gave birth to a culture with no name. Thus Dr. Fox commented:

The emergence of national self-awareness demands more than a casual glance at pre-history and token support of scholars and institutions engrossed in the study of the culture history of a nation, for despite dramatic changes which have occurred in the Filipino's way-of-life under the impact of Spanish and American influences (inappropriately described, I believe, as "cultural conquest"), perhaps all of the basic influence have adapted to a social and cultural base which is uniquely Filipino—a base which developed centuries before Magellan. We might ask, therefore, what were the components of pre-Spanish Filipino culture and society? How have these influenced contemporary programs of economic development and directed social and cultural change? How, in fact, is it possible to speak of "Filipino culture and society?"

My approach to these intriguing problems has been that of an anthropologist using the tools of the ethno-historian in which our earliest historical records are cor-

related with archaeological findings; with the ethnographic studies of contemporary non-Christian peoples who, although they have undergone changes, still retain many pre-Spanish beliefs and practices with linguistic evidences; and with ecological and geographical considerations — all of these data viewed comparatively in terms of the Philippines' historical position in Asia. In this approach emphasis is placed upon the study of Philippine institutions (the family and kin group, religious, and political)—their origins, how they have developed to form a complex, interrelated whole; and how they have changed and elaborated locally in response to environmental, economic, and social pressures. The theory that the present character of Filipino culture and society has been due to "waves of external influences" is vastly overdrawn, leading many students to feel that there is no Filipino culture *per se*, a wholly erroneous position if the concept of culture is properly understood. (1958:39-40).

From another point of view about the assumptions and the substance of nationalism and Filipino identity, clearly recognizing the conservation of native values and aspects and qualifying the importance of Western encrustations, President Romulo stands firm like Dr. Fox on the conviction of Filipino culture *per se* and on the unscientific inference that we are confronted with a cultural ambiguity. While President Romulo, in his presentation of a definition of the Filipino identity, employs an approach and selects data which are poetic, he is historically sound and is identifiable with the cultural scientist in the latter's perspective of tradition and change. Thus President Romulo writes:

What, then, is the Filipino?

A cogent sense of our identity would depend on how well we understand the issue of nationhood. What values do nationalistic movements affirm? What are the controlling assumptions behind these values? If nationalism, in a way, is conservation of certain native values and aspects, what are these which we should try to conserve?

The answer to these questions are not as easy as the tone of the questions themselves would suggest. It would for instance, require the necessary acceptance of our basic elements: the recognition that the term Filipino is a reality far more complex than the seemingly fixed image of Christian and western suggestions. It subsumes the Mohammedan reality which we see expressed in our architecture and art motifs and which, in the past, has been symbolized by the greatest Tagalog poet in his verse narrative: the marriage between Florida and Alladin in *Florante at Laura*. Our Mohammedan seeds are deeply embedded in our mytho-poetic imagination and the memories of our race wherein this poetic residuum found expression in myths and legends; the Moslem epic, *Darangan*, the Maragtas epic of the Hiligaynon: *Alim and Hudhud* of the Ifugaos, and *Ibalon* of Bicol. The metaphor of the Filipino as an "amalgam," would not only refer to the impurities of East and West but, first of all, a fused projection of a complexity of myth and poetry derived from various cultures, beliefs and creeds.

It is from this fact from the vantage point of original and spiritual source, that we must regard or anticipate the idea of change. It is in this term of identity alone that we can rightly think of the future of Asia and, in a larger sense of the future of world civilization and our place in it. (1965:2-3).

I have considered briefly the relation of cultural theory to nationalism and the Filipino search for identity because I hope to demonstrate later in this paper that this relationship has a crucial significance to our understanding of education change in the Philippines. At this point, however, we may also consider the extent to which cultural theory has produced studies which seem directly useful to teachers and which influence the study of education in the Philippines. To begin with, the idea of a cultural philosophy of education, or as Theodore Brameld has proposed it, "an anthropological philosophy of education," (1950:

99-141) is new in the field. Cultural anthropology came to the University of the Philippines School of Education only within the last decade. After much close association with anthropologists and with interdisciplinary programs, it was only in 1964 that I could schedule a cultural anthropologist to offer for the first time a course for graduate education students. We are thus at the courtship stage so far between cultural theory and education theory.

This statement is not intended to obscure the long-standing existence of the usual course on the social foundations of education. It does not ignore the fact that there is education research in which the concept of culture is embodied and about which I have more to add in this paper. I only mean to call attention to the need of more activity and cooperation between educationists and cultural scientists before the revitalizing power of the concept of culture can be released fully for the particular stimulation and advancement of education scholarship in the Philippines.

There are others who also recognize the need and importance of such an undertaking in education. This aspect of interdisciplinary scholarship received special mention in the first paper Dr. Vitaliano Bernardino, former director of public schools, read after his return to the Philippines from his advanced research fellowship at the East-West Center, Honolulu. Speaking at the Graduate College of Education, University of the Philippines, during the graduation exercises of the Unesco Regional Centre for the Training of Teacher Educators last April, he said:

But I would like to elaborate a little more on psychological ecology and education. Sociologists and economic scientists have identified certain attitudes and social values extant among the people of many underprivileged countries that tend to hamper rapid economic advancement, superstition and fanaticism, disdain for manual labor and the high prestige attached to white-collar jobs, resistance to innovation, strong family solidarity resulting in prolonged economic dependence of family members

and the like. These are legitimate problems of education. Education, to be effective, must be able to canalize the development of the individual mind so that it can reconcile human desires and impulses towards the realization of the goals and aspirations of society. (1965:48)

What is of course needed to make possible a final marriage of minds between cultural science and education in the Philippines is the development of more studies oriented to education and guidance similar to those already published by the Committee on Human Development Research under the chairmanship of Dr. Aurora Miñoza, Graduate College of Education, University of the Philippines, (1964) by the Institute of Philippine Culture of the Ateneo de Manila University, such as those compiled by Dr. Lynch, (1964) by the Philippine Sociological Review and the Psychological Association of the Philippines (Lumbera 1963; Bulatao 1963; Varias 1963; Hollnsteiner 1963; Sechrest 1963), and by Dr. George M. Guthrie (1961), and by Dr. Abraham I. Felipe (1961).

These are among the best known products of the application of the theory of culture to the Filipino environment and people. They form a unified body of cultural research brought together by the close similarity of their findings about the Filipino value system. They agree on the principal determinant concept of Filipino behavior; they find the same family and community pressures and practices which tentatively help improve our understanding of the Filipino child in and out of school, the adult Filipino in rural and urban surroundings, and ultimately the national character with its intense preoccupation in carving a true image out of the block of marble which no one agrees to be ideally chosen for the sculptor's difficult task.

These studies have thrown new light on certain key components, governed by a structural principle, in the constellation of values found to be pervasive in Filipino culture. These key values include social acceptance, smooth interpersonal relations (established through *pakikisama* euphemism, and the use of *go-betweens*) *hiya* or *amor propio*, *utang na loob*, family solidarity in a bilaterally extended family group, the authority figure, status

consciousness, traditionalism, security dependent on conformity and submissiveness, acceptance of the *status quo*, independence within the family context without rejection, isolation, or alienation, economic and social betterment, and fatalism (*bahala na*).

Pursuing a primary interest in the implications of these cultural studies for the educational process and having made his own investigations, Dr. Guthrie organizes these values around two themes which he finds the most useful indices of consistency and predictability of Filipino society and social behavior. These are *utang na loob* and *amor proprio*. His discussion, as those of Dr. Lynch and Dr. Jaime Bulatao, strengthens the generally held conclusion that Filipino culture is the traditional type. This culture which has brought up both teacher and child yields in the classroom and in the teaching-learning process two basic and pervasive facts observed by Dr. Guthrie and his research team.

One of these facts is that learning is reduced mainly to memorizing, and teaching becomes "a rather forced attempt at modern teaching" or "a rather mechanical pattern." The other fact is that the classroom has become an arena of confusion for both child and teacher because two conflicting sets of experiences struggle for their loyalty. On the one hand their socializing process at home follows indigenous Filipino methods, the Filipino folkways. On the other hand, American methods are the foundation of teacher training. Thus the clash between native and foreign cultures which often breaks out in open conflict in the larger world outside goes on more or less quietly inside the classroom. Dr. Guthrie writes:

In the Philippines, teachers have been subjected to two somewhat different sets of experiences. In their early home life they were taught by indigenous Philippine methods, but in their teacher training they were urged to teach by American methods. Although neither system, Philippine nor American, is a unitary set of principles, there are certain differences that can be noted. The Philippine pattern of relationships between adults and children is usually quite authoritarian. The child obeys; he does not

ask questions or challenge authority. He relies heavily on memorizing. He does as he is told and does not innovate. He respects the opinion of the teacher and regards what she says as the unquestionable truth. In contrast to this, some of the emphases of American origin are that the child should be encouraged to question and to disagree when he wants to. While he cannot do as he pleases, he is given much more latitude in the choice of his activities. In one case the teacher guides by directing, in the other the teacher guides in more indirect ways.

Insufficient attention has been paid to this area of potential confusion. What has happened is that Filipino teachers have followed the letter of the textbook in the spirit of culture. The result is a rather forced attempt at modern teaching. This is made more difficult by the lack of facility with English on the part of both teacher and pupil. Good communication in both directions, so essential to good teaching, is not present. The result is a rather mechanical pattern of teaching in which neither teacher nor pupil can be spontaneous. (1961:74-75).

The substitution of memorization and book-copying for learning in our schools is a familiar, ancient, and widespread practice. It is as old as the Spanish conquest and we are certainly engaged strenuously in replacing it with genuine learning experience and intellectual development. There is new-found hope in our endeavors, as will be seen in the presentation of tentative data concerning the improvement of learning in our experiments with new curriculum materials and the new science teaching. However, Dr. Guthrie's observation is neither an isolated nor an outdated report, and its link with the observations he and other cultural researchers have made of Filipino cultural values is highly significant. His evidence is further reinforced by similar statements by the psychiatrist, Dr. Varias, (1963) the Committee of Social Studies Teachers, Graduate College of Education, University of the Philippines, reporting their investigation of "Social

Studies in Luzon Public Schools," (1962) and the Swanson Report (International 1960:47, 141, 337).

If we are to hope to formulate a cultural philosophy of Filipino education and if we are to rely on such a philosophy to analyze, explain, and help us to understand Filipino culture faithfully and to guide planning for education change fruitfully, it seems to me that a few questions should be raised. These questions involve the methodology of the concept of culture and the professional literature it has succeeded in generating to date, particularly as this literature's conclusions about Filipino culture and the national character have so far been applied in the interpretation or evaluation of education change in our history.

Our cultural scientists have studied the culture of old human organizations (as Dr. Fox claims, they are even prehistoric), which are sometimes quantitatively dominant, embracing even as much as 75% of the total population. This culture is pictured as traditional, and in its basic integration it may even be called static. Thus like the Samoans, Papuans, Melanesians, or various old American Indian communities, our Igorots, Kalingas, Manobos, and "Juan de la Cruz" who lives in a subsistence economy in "Barrio Kalisud" have been studied to give us an insight into Filipino culture, the Filipino personality, and the national character, as it is prevalent today and in the multicolored history of the nation.

We acquire systematically gathered and categorized data about this traditional Juan de la Cruz, which we did not have before. We can conceptualize our old impressions and feelings about his personality and his culture. We can understand him according to the triadic concept of order, process, and goal, which Brameld suggests for the framework of an anthropological philosophy of education. These cultural investigations would supply us, as Dr. Lynch ventures to say, with some tested truths regarding Filipino value orientations for the safer planning of national policy to achieve progress in a freedom-conscious nation.

Social scientists have never been given to over-optimism about human nature, or human natures, unlike non-Existentialist poets,

artists, and educators. The model Juan de la Cruz of cultural science may safely be equated with the Filipino conceived of as the indio by the Spanish, and the "little brown brother" by the American colonialist. There is no harm in admitting that the large truth about the Filipino may very well contain the ingredients of these stereotypes, but, as President Romulo aptly said, we also experience something very important which is missing in the models.

When this problem engaged us at the 1964 National Conference on Education in Baguio, during which I first attempted some qualification of the conclusions of our cultural scientists, it was Father Francisco Araneta, then Rector of the Ateneo de Manila, who remarked to me that he disagreed with the common negative function and application that the components of Filipino value orientation received from even highly placed educators like Dean Waldo Perfecto, because as Father Araneta said, what we call vices are one side of the same coin on the other side of which we find virtues. This comment of Father Araneta was elicited by the following statements I made in part as closing remarks of the conference:

It might have been over-sensitiveness on my part, but some of you might have felt, as I have felt, that the Filipino national character and identity has received quite a treatment here now and then these three days. It is no longer Philippine education, nor Filipino individual and groups, but the national character and identity itself which has gone under more than one scalpel on our operating table as being diseased. It has been pointed out that our Filipino values are supposedly dominated by attitudes and habits of dependence, subservience, authoritarian upbringing, and concepts of *hiya*, *utang na loob*, etc., which explain the passivity, corruption, and decay of our society and national character.

In the interest of good scholarship, both behavioral and humanistic, and in reaffirmation of the Filipino educator's faith in the character of our people today, I would

like to wipe away this sweeping condemnation. First, the studies of our social scientists — anthropologists, and psychologists — who have published these conclusions about our value-systems are in fact carefully qualified as applying only to a sampling of barrio families, not of all parts of our present society, and particularly not of the more highly educated section of our population.

Second, if we look at the perspective of our history as the first Asian people to throw off the yoke of foreign rule, if we follow the saga of the Filipino fight for freedom from Balintawak to Bataan, from Rizal, Bonifacio, Aguinaldo and Mabini to Quezon, Abad Santos, Laurel, Lim, Osmeña, Roxas, Quirino, Magaysay, Recto, and others still living how can you reconcile this epic of Filipinism, this magnificent inspiration of spiritual, intellectual and physical achievement with the supposed dominance over our people by the values of slavery and decadence? Such is the strange paradox we have encountered in this Conference, and in all too many other occasions these days.

Finally, consider the paradox of Mrs. Pilar H. Lim, who recalled to us her upbringing as a Filipino girl traditionally trained to be obedient and silent, rather than to be aggressive and assertive, but who after all turned out strangely to be the pioneer in the feminist movement in the Philippines and became a university president.

Thus, giving some allowance for the reformer, whose zeal might shake our faith in our people and our youth, we can truly define the full meaning of the success of this 1964 National Conference on Education first by its reaffirmation of the Filipino educator's unassailable faith in our people, and their fundamentally sound character, and, quoting Secretary Henares, their breathtaking future — a nationalistic faith maximized by the noble lives and ideals of our great men and women. Secondly, for the service of our people, we are dedicated to the

pursuit of education for Filipino democracy, founded on the basic principle of equalitarianism which also carries the motivation of an ardent aspiration to excellence, and, we hope, implemented in unity by all our schools from now on. (1964)

The careful cultural scientist is obviously not to blame for the possible misuse of his data and evaluation by others. The theory of social Darwinism, for example, is no crime of Darwin's. A fundamental question involving methodology perhaps becomes justifiable when thoughtful and responsible educators fall prone to controversial interpretations of scientific data, on the one hand, or find the data both repugnant to other insistent living demands and irreconcilable with the historical method. Thus, President Romulo traces the evidence of tradition in Filipino culture, which is a modern tradition of social-awareness and liberalism growing with our history. This historical awareness produces a clash with the anthropological approach:

Still when I call for historical awareness, I do not mean a regression in our outlook into anthropology. The anthropological approach to culture already implies that that culture is extinct, and that all that we have to do is to monumentalize its fossils. The historical outlook rather should make us aware of continuity. If we repudiate certain aspects of a past time and culture, it is merely because we find that, in relation to contemporary demands, those aspects of that culture are no longer adequate. We must resuscitate some other aspects that were once neglected or were not so clearly emphasized; or, create new ones that we could use to match contemporary demands or pressures. This implies the acceptance of what is new and valid for our circumstances, and moreover the constant use in our culture and society, of what is already available. Hence, the liberalism of our intellectual tradition has always been marked by passionate criticism: Rizal and Lopez Jaena and Marcelo H. del Pilar fought against the colonial *status quo* and against the failure

of Filipinos in their own generations to attend to the aspects of life at that time which make up for slavery humiliation. The same critical liberalism prevailed during the Commonwealth era: Quezon stated it positively in his program of social justice — the attention to the common people to which our writers responded: Manuel Arguilla, Juan C. Laya, N.V.M. Gonzalez, Salvador P. Lopez — they testified to the coercive and unjust fact in the *status quo*. All of them called for reforms. Then there was Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera, who examined certain aspects in the *status quo* which the Revolution of 1896 sought to repudiate. His *El Legado del Ignorantismo* took note of the resistances to the formation of his ideal: the new Filipino mentality. The historical approach to culture should bring all this to consciousness and put it side by side with that part of our minds which tends to become merely vulgar and complacent in its barbaric impulses to exist only for and in the present. (1965:31)

Events and forces of great historical magnitude and complexity are not only difficult to account for completely, if not impossible to grasp, according to any simple formula. The concept of culture has a broad theoretical system that would actually entertain more choices than what seems possible in the method and product of research dealing with Philippine culture. This theoretical system recognizes culture as not only a given, but as what Ortega y Gasset called, "that which is sought out." It is as much Change as Identity. It is more often an equilibrium of opposed tendencies than a completely integrated traditionalism.

Inkeles and Levinson (1954) warn against equating the national character with societal regularities of behavior. They demand, for example, a methodology which has still been probably too exacting and extensive for the present type of publications about the Filipino national character. Thus they say:

If national character refers to modes of a distribution of individual personality variants, then its study would

seem to require the psychological investigation of adequately large and representative samples of persons, studied individually. However, most assessments of national character have not proceeded along these lines. They have, rather, been based largely on the analysis of collective policies and products — rituals, institutional structures, folklore, media of mass communication, and the like. (1954:981)

The importance, but apparent subordination on any analysis of the element of change and of its interplay with tradition in Filipino culture has a special relevance in the discussion of methodology because of certain postulate advanced by some scholars. This is the postulate of the quantitative criterion. It is common to find a statement like the following:

Economists and sociologists tell us that the middle middle-class and the lower class are the brackets that encompass the majority of Filipinos. This being the case, writing produced within and for the strata to which most Filipinos belong will reflect with reasonable fidelity the Filipino personality. (Lumbera 1963:163)

Not content with the force of numerical superiority, Mr. Lumbera adverts to Filipino literature in Spanish and English as being severely limited in cogency to the task of understanding the Filipino personality because "whatever information may be obtained from either will have been severely limited by the writer's isolation from the greater mass of the people."

This is a rash acceptance of the dictates of quantitateness. Speaking particularly of literature, not only is the writer's isolation structured in his life as an artist and in the method of the creative process, but one ought not to forget two great writers: Thoreau and Rizal. The former declared immortally that the true democracy makes a single man, if right, a majority of one. The latter, writing in Spanish produced the novels that gave birth to the Filipino Revolution against Spain and continue to inspire Filipino nationalism today.

No one with a knowledge of Rizal's life and times, his mind and his hopes, his struggles and final martyrdom for his people's sake, could condemn his novels to oblivion because they were written in Spanish. This idle thought of the writer's so-called isolation from the people is of course quickly refuted by the history of the Revolution, to which we add the unique phenomenon of the Rizal Law. Filipino nationalism produced mighty legislative sanction to perpetuate the long enshrined influence of Rizal by making the teaching of his writings a requirement of all curricula from primary school to university in the entire Filipino education system. Despite his Spanish medium, Rizal moreover transcends history, for as an artist he exemplifies Jung's theory that such a man embodies an overweight of collective psychic life as against the personal.

Art is a kind of innate drive that seizes a human being and make him its instrument. The artist is not a person endowed with free will who seeks his own ends, but one who allows art to realize its purposes through him. As a human being he may have moods and a will and personal aims, but as an artist he is "man" in a higher sense — he is "collective man" — one who carries and shapes the unconscious, psychic life of mankind. To perform this difficult office it is sometimes necessary for him to sacrifice happiness and everything that makes life worth living for the ordinary human being. (Jung 1952:221)

Furthermore, this psychological theory suggests a possible concept applicable to empirical data about the bond between the elite and the common man that can be found in the latter's achievement-image for himself. While living in another world than that of a charismatic leader, he has faith in the latter, follows his bidding, and in an open society aspires to be like him some day. Such a concept as this operating in a developmental process within an adjusting as well as adaptive culture modifies the image of a dominantly tradition-bound personality. This concept overrides any assumption of a gulf between the privileged and the under-privileged, and empirical data consisting of the

lowly origin of great leaders in Filipino culture and history give substance to it.

Reforms, critical liberalism, nationalism, democracy, social justice, functional literacy, the new Filipino mentality, independence — in other words, increasing goals, rising aspirations, the ever-widening dimension of fulfillment and frustration to be realized from the flexible human consciousness, the demand for "unlimited survival" as de Chardin puts it, belong to the third member of Brameld's conceptual framework for an anthropological philosophy of education. This member is extremely rarely presented, if at all, in the usual type of Filipino cultural description. The factors of internal arrangement or invention or creativity, with which the individual achieves a change of state through the awakening of his consciousness and by which his existence becomes characterized by a new and revolutionary attitude of anticipating and reaching into an expanding future is subordinated to de Chardin's other set of factors — those factors of external arrangement — contrary to his concept of their relative decisiveness for the individual. (1959:302)

While the cultural study of the Filipino personality and society, as it has defined the roots, continuity, and dominance of the value orientation of Filipino culture through the centuries from historic times, persuades us of the existence of one set of facts and while it certainly adds to our understanding of the people, it would not adequately paint the image of the national goals. It would decidedly misrepresent the movement of education change in the history of the Filipino people.

If we use bare figures to begin an exposition of the function and importance of national goals to the concept of culture applied to education change; it is because figures speak louder than theories. Let us compare populations, students, and teachers in the public school system in 1906 and 1960. During the first year mentioned, our national public school system served a population of 6 million, teaching 400 thousand students, with 55 hundred teachers. In 1960, the population increased to 27 million, or 4.5 million, or about 11 times more than in 1906; the student in-

creased to 4.5 million, or about 11 times more than in 1906; and the teachers increased to 150 thousand, or about 30 times more than in 1906.

The goal of this national public school system when it was conceived, and also now as it continues to grow with the support of no less than one third of the annual national budget, it has been to develop a free and democratic society. On the Filipino side, nationalism stamped with critical liberalism and dedicated to winning independence, and on the American side, democracy earnestly propagating Americanism — twin massive forces of culture change, united to effect a unique, enduring transformation approximating the fulfillment of enculturation in democracy as intensely, as internally, and as dynamically as any other traditional culture can show, if not more.

The formulation of this broad goal of democratic evolution has been clear, firm, and sustained, not only from the beginnings of the public school system up to the recognition of independence in 1946, but also up to the present time. This simple-sounding fact deserves to be rescued from routine notice, because it innocently obscures the antagonism it faced in the heyday of classical imperialism. As Lord Curzon thought a colonial program suited to keeping people on the farm was the best thing for Burma, so did an imperialist spokesman conceive of keeping Juan de la Cruz in the coolie class.

Instead of bothering with a national public school system and bringing over the 1000 Thomasites — the turn of the century Peace Corps Volunteers to the Philippines — Mrs. Campbell Dauncey wrote that the thing to do was to "give the poor creatures a little rice, and a banana patch, and a nipa hut, and no priests to bother them — that is all they want . . . They are a singularly happy people, these Filipinos, when they are unspoilt by the advantages of civilization." (1910)

Fortunately, few in America and the Philippines thought of taking the advice of Mrs. Dauncey. For if they had, then the balance sheet of the American experiment in the Philippines, which

was written in 1943 by a son born in the Philippines to one of the Thomasites, Frederick S. Marquardt, would not have carried the following passage:

Those schoolteachers and the thousands of other civil employees who followed our armies to the Philippines built better than even they knew. It was a strange, exotic country into which they were thrown, and the ground upon which they cast their seed was not barren. Forty years later, on bloody Bataan, the United States was repaid many times over the toil and tears of those American pioneers in the Philippines. When the real test came, the Filipinos were ready to meet it. They alone, of all the Oriental peoples overrun by Japan in those incredible months between December 7, 1941, and May 6, 1942, died side by side with their white "rulers" in an effort to stave off impending disaster . . .

I decided to draw up a balance sheet on our experiment in the Philippines, an experiment in teaching a people to govern themselves which has no counterpart in world history. I had seen the experiment at first hand since my infancy, and as the associate editor of the *Philippines Free Press* I had reported most of its last fourteen years. I wanted to make clear in this book the spirit of the American venture in the Philippines. That venture was an odd combination of crass materialism and unselfish idealism, but it succeeded. The pay-off came on Bataan, and the record is written for all the world to see. (1943:13-18)

Before and for a short time after the war, no American scholar could have been found to excel Dr. Joseph Ralston Hayden as an authority on the Philippines. He combined eminence as a professional political scientist who held the Chairmanship of Political Science at the University of Michigan, with first-hand experience as Vice-Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction in the Philippines. His book on the Philippines remains a masterpiece unsurpassed on the prewar period. On the magnitude of the goal set for public education, he wrote:

In no other area over which the Stars and Stripes has flown has there been established an educational system so distinguished for the boldness of its purpose and for the magnitude of its task. To modify the ancient customs of nearly seventeen million inhabitants of more than 7,000 scattered islands; to give an Oriental people an Occidental education; to equip two score ethnic and linguistic groups with a common language, until recently unknown to all of them; to imbue these diverse groups with a common conception of democracy and the duties of citizens in a democratic state; and at the same time to prepare its students for life's mundane occupations: these are some of the accomplishments which have been expected of the public schools of the Philippines. No other people has ever made such heavy demands upon its educational system; few peoples, if any, have more generously supported their schools. It is in thier relation to these facts that the instrumentalities of public education in the Philippines should be considered and their achievements assessed. (1942:464).

The education provision of the Constitution of the Philippines, and before it the resolutions of the first Philippine Assembly and the later Congresses, the pronouncements and orders of President Quezon, the declarations of lay leaders as well as officials in the educational hierarchy, and the comments of Filipino historians abound in elaborations of the nature and importance of Filipino education goals, adding to what American officials and scholars have said. Dr. Encarnacion Alzona, for example points out that the systematization of primary instruction since 1900 has definite objectives in harmony with modern democracy and has been intended to educate the common people for effective citizenship. (1932:198)

Perhaps two major evaluative comments from objective professional educationists and a political scientists, the former speaking in 1925 and the latter in 1964, will suffice to bring out the function and effect of national goals on the cultural history and

changes. The famous Monroe Report of 1925, on the Filipino education, said this about the accomplishment of the system:

One of the most remarkable chapters in the history of education has been written since the opening of the twentieth century in the Philippine Islands. The student will scan the pages of history long before he will read of an adventure in human enlightenment more bold than that which has been undertaken in this oriental setting. Attribute it to the naive faith of America in her own institutions and ideals, or to the wisdom of a far-reaching statesmanship, the result remains the same. For twenty-five years these Islands have served as a laboratory for an educational experiment of enormous magnitude and complexity. To any one interested in the technical problems of classroom instruction in the general administration of education, in the relation of the school to social conditions, in the effect flowing from the contacts of diverse culture, in the more abstruse problems of the ethnologist, or in the wider human problems of the adjustment of races this experiment will have deep significance.

The experiment has now been in progress for a quarter of a century. For almost a generation a school system patterned on the American plan and using English as its medium of instruction has been in operation. Through this system a Malay people which for more than three centuries lived under Spanish rule has been introduced to Anglo-Saxon institutions and civilization. Through this system an effort has been made to give a common language to more than ten millions of people, divided by the barriers of dialect into numerous noncommunicating groups. Through this system teachers have sought to bring to the Orient the products of modern scientific thought. Through this system both American and Filipino educational leaders have hoped to prepare a whole people for self-government and for bearing the responsibilities of effective citizenship. (Board 1925:11)

.. This hope of American and Filipino educational leaders for the successful preparation of the people for democratic self-government has recently been subjected to analysis by a political scientist, who concludes that the hope has been fulfilled. The great experiment has succeeded. An immeasurably unique change has taken place in Filipino culture, which has made a historic Western experience into its own. Dr. Jean Grossholtz' new book on the Philippines has been characterized as "an imaginative use of the structural-functional approach in analyzing a political culture." It is also cited as a book which "represents an important contribution to general political theory and also demonstrates how anthropological and historical insights can be systematically applied to political analysis in the developing areas." (Almond et al 1964:x)

Dr. Grossholtz writes as follows on the process of democratic development as being successful in the Philippines:

In any survey of the prospects for democratic development of emerging nations, the Philippines stands out as a unique success. For here broad political participation has accompanied and motivated economic growth in conditions of stability and political change. Three times since independence, Filipinos have replaced the "ins" with the "outs" in free elections, and twice they have accepted an almost unknown vice-president as the legitimate national leader when strong personalities died in office. For years of Japanese occupation and incredible destruction of economic resources were the prelude to independence, yet a decade and a half later the Filipinos had defeated a Communist rebellion and laid the foundations for sustained economic growth. Violence and corruption plague the Republic, but the fact that Filipinos have accepted democracy as a means of working out conflict and directing their development is grounds for optimism. The Philippines faces a long, hard sustained effort during which some basic social values and perhaps much of the charm of Filipino life may be sacrificed. Whether or not the leaders and

the people will be able to make these decisions is a matter of broader concern. Success will build confidence in the ability of democratic government to survive, and more than that, to direct the transformation of the emergent nations.

For, like other emerging nations, the Philippines is an agrarian society in which traditional social and economic status has long dominated the political system. A small number of families controlled economic life by reason of their large landholdings, and historical experience with a hierarchical social structure encouraged their dominance of social and political life. Landlord control of the political institutions is now being challenged by entrepreneurs committed to industrialization and business-like management of public affairs. Furthermore, public education, transportation, and communication have affected the countryside and generated widespread expectations about the use of public resources. This change has taken place within the framework of formal institutions that owe their evolution to Western experience and it has been accompanied by broadened political participation. (1964:34)

This successful establishment of Filipino democracy by the combined factors of modernizing change representing education, politics, and economics derived its inspiration and vitality from Filipino nationalism. Before independence, nationalism made a drive for "Filipinization" — otherwise called "localization" in the parlance of general political analysis — as the practical political bases and preparation for freedom. Thus education and the Civil Service were geared to Filipinization. The impact of this phase of pre-independence nationalism on the administrative organization of government, its declared goals shared by Americans and Filipinos, and the future and lasting nuance it gave to Filipino-American relations is summarized by Dr. Onofre D. Corpuz:

What had been conjectural up to 1912 suddenly became a reality when the Democrats won the presidential election of that year. Upon arrival in Manila the new governor-general (Francis B. Harrison, 1913-1921) shocked the Amer-

ican personnel by reading President Wilson's message to the effect that every step of his administration was to be a step towards Filipino independence, and a preparation for that independence. Once in office, he started to disband the corps of American higher executives that Governor-General Taft and his successors had painstakingly maintained. They had valiantly kept the number of Americans in the colonial bureaucracy at the level of 2,750 since 1903, in spite of annual separations from the service of about 650 Americans (about 25 per cent turn-over rate). By 1919, however, there were only 760 Americans in the service, almost one-half of whom were school-teachers, not administrators. In the same year there were more than 12,000 Filipinos in the bureaucracy. Thus, within 13 years the policy of American "big brothers" in the colonial service had become unworkable.

The other side of the failure to keep Americans in the senior positions of the bureaucracy was the successful entry of the Filipinos themselves. The Americans could not have been displaced unless there were Filipinos to replace them. By 1905 the first Filipino "graduates" of the newly established English language public schools took the civil service examinations, and outnumbered American examinees for the first time. Once started, this process rapidly accumulated momentum and force, and did not abate until the colonial bureaucracy was thoroughly Filipinized. This dynamic impact of the Filipinos upon the colonial service, of course, was made possible by the fact that the Americans had opened to them the two avenues of upward social mobility which the Spanish regime had zealously and consistently closed: education and a career government service.

The response of the Filipinos to these opportunities has proved to be of primary significance in determining their attitude to the colonial power. In spite of the Republicans' rather low estimate of the Filipinos' capacity for

self-government, the occupying power was constrained by circumstances to accommodate Filipino aspirations and abilities. This accommodation by the new colonial power, so vastly different from the contemptuous attitude of the former Spanish masters, tempered the Filipinos' desire for immediate and absolute independence. For the classes in Filipino society that were accommodated through educational, political, and business opportunities belonged essentially to the elite and upper middle sectors. The predominance of these elements in the educational, governmental, and economic spheres of the national life ensured a conservative approach to national problems and a cordial, if not grateful, attitude to the colonial regime. Needless to say, this frame of mind goes a long way in explaining the easy and peaceful transfer of sovereignty that came about in 1946. Such a termination of the colonial tie stands out in sharp contrast to the resentful attitudes and sometimes turbulent hostilities that have featured some of the postwar successions in the area. (1962:8-9)

Senator Camilo Osias, who was the first Filipino superintendent of schools, recalls how the advent of America shifted the emphasis away from the Spanish focus on religion and provided the channel for nationalism to excel in preparation for government service:

Challenged by Americans to demonstrate their political fitness, the Filipinos, naturally turned their major attention to politics. To be an officeholder, a mayor, a governor, a representative, a senator, a man of government in any line became a consuming passion. In view of the promise of the government and people of the United States that Philippine Independence would be granted as soon as a stable government could be established, the patriotic thing was to demonstrate capacity in the field of politics and government. This was truly an epoch of political-mindedness. (1940-154)

The role of the University of the Philippines in working for the objective of Filipinization characterizing pre-independence nationalism reached its first point of high public drama with the need of choosing the first president in 1910. Professor Cristino Jamias, reviews that event in the University history as follows:

From the day of its founding on October 16, 1907, the Philippine Assembly, composed as it was of the oldest men of the country on-call from popular suffrage, became the instrumentality in the battle-cry of Filipinization in the government, and seized upon this new Filipinism, as the thing towards self-government, and in the metropolitan Filipino press Filipinism too had become a day by day profession and proclamation. When the University of the Philippines it seemed, had become a reality, there was seen increased propulsion and instrumentality to further the Filipinization movement. Even student opinion, of which there is ready evidence, showed how the University had come to stand out as some island of home-raising leadership. Wrote Jorge B. Vargas, in the first issue of what passed as the official organ of the student-body, the *College Folio*, of October 1910: "Last and consequently, the University of the Philippines is going to be the most effective agent in the so-called Filipinization movement in the government service, and ultimately in the construction of a complete real-self-government. In fact it is the intention of the Board of Regents to qualify as many Filipinos as possible to fill places now held exclusively by Americans." That was, in brief, what the University of the Philippines had become in the life of the nation. (1962:47)

How far the University carried out its part in this nationalistic goal of Filipinization may be gauged by the fact that the five presidents of the Philippines beginning with President Roxas are all University alumni except one, all but one of the Supreme Court Justices are University alumni. What about the new goals of post-independence nationalism in the University? Intimately

linked together as the nation and the University have been, as the national destiny and the University's philosophy have been their post-independence goals have likewise been intertwined.

Before independence, when nationalism struggled for Filipinization and for the acquisition of rights, its goals of freedom meant as much the honor of recognition, or the establishment of status, as it did the substance of freedom. After independence, after the vacating of any challenge to that honor, right, and status, there remains the problem of the substance of freedom. Hence post-independence nationalism confronts the problem of resolving the new inner and outer challenge of identity. Together with identification, it must select and pursue a supreme objective. In this process it finds and creates the substance of the New Nationalism.

Here lies the path of education planning and change for the University and for the whole of Filipino education. Following our thesis of the crucial factor of goals in cultural development, this question has been explored and given a commitment for the University. That commitment is the University's new goal and program for the pursuit of excellence. As defined by President Romulo, the substance and the motivation of our New Nationalism after independence consists of the rediscovery of our identity exercised in the broader and more relevant reaches of the Asian community and the One World community, rather than the pre-independence confines our national community alone. In this context, the New Nationalism adopts one test: the test of Excellence.

Thus President Romulo writes in **Identity and Change**:

The substance of nationalism, therefore, is not isolation but the exercise of sovereign responsibilities. What it may be asked, is expected of us, as a nation? The answer is general in its specificity: it is expected of us, as it is expected of every nation, to exercise the supreme privilege of our independence in the schemes of the international community. (1965:66)

At another point, he says:

A call to greatness and to excellence — this the same theme which should always illumine our thinking and planning. Much remain to be done, and we must all lend a willing shoulder to the task. This, indeed, is a vital factor in the assertion and maintenance of our national identity.

In submitting these suggestions on the subject of academic excellence and reform, I do so with all the humility that an ordinary member of the teaching profession, and of that much-maligned group, the school administrator, can bring to the subject. But I do so with the elation that working with a group of dedicated, enthusiastic workers such as those I am privileged to be associated with on the Diliman campus, has given me. And our national identity depends in a large measure on our educational system and this to me makes its reappraisal an imperative unless we are willing to continue to be under the yoke of an alien tutelage. This is the time to meet the challenge of change and meet it frontally. (1965:54)

Applying this national or University goal to the practical concerns of University work, we might briefly present the example of our new biology, or the Philippine BSCS Adaptation Project. This began in the Graduate College of Education in 1961 with our first exploratory faculty committee meetings and has been capped this year with the publication, after passing through experimental editions, of the final edition of our *Biology for Philippine High Schools: The Relationships of Living Things*, consisting of the Laboratory Manual, the textbook, and the Teacher's Guide. This is a joint project of the University, the National Science Development Board, and the Government's Department of Education, with technical and material support throughout from the BSCS in the United States, and with Rockefeller and Asia Foundation assistance.

As the director of this project, Dr. Dolores F. Hernandez, has summarized what is "new" in this new biology — its contribution to the pursuit of excellence comes from its attack on the

ancient substitution of memorization for learning, and from its vitalization of the educational process with the method of scientific inquiry, and the cultivation of the capacity and methodology of knowing how to continue learning. She says:

So much has been said about the "new or modern" approach to teaching science in contrast with the "traditional" or old, that it seems superfluous to belabor the point by having this as a topic for discussion. Yet as one talks with teachers themselves and with educators interested in the matter, one suspects that although many have notions about the differences between these two approaches, several misconceptions regarding them prevail. Thus many would label "cookbook" any exercise that gives too many directions to students, and would apply the term "modern" to any exercise with almost no directions — one that lets the student design his own experiment. A comment overheard from a science teacher illustrates this type of thinking: "The modern laboratory manual contains mostly blank sheets" — this is indeed an extreme interpretation of the "modern" laboratory exercises. Although the characteristics just mentioned have been generally used to distinguish one from the other approach, they actually give little indication about distinctive features of the new approach. The "modern" approach for example, may make use of just as detailed a set of instructions as many of the traditional exercises do, particularly early in the course to my mind, the distinction really lies in behaviors the exercises and the course in general, attempt to develop, and for which the course was purposely designed.

The "modern" course in science is not just another course with updated and modern content — it is a course designed to bring about changes in the behavior of the students — developing his ability to think critically, intelligently. This objective is not new; teachers have

known all along that this is a major teaching objective not just in science but in other subjects as well. What is new perhaps is the attempt in most of the current curriculum improvement projects to design science teaching materials in a manner expected to develop these abilities, and to have this approach pervade the teaching materials, so that this purpose is manifested not as bits of isolated activities but as a continuing design throughout the course. This is what the modern approach attempts to develop — an understanding of science as a process. So, we teach science, rather than teach about science. We engage the student in scientific processes — he investigates, he discovers, he gets involved in observation, measurement, formulation of hypothesis, interpreting data, making influences, and predictions. It becomes clear that we emphasize the scientific processes while teaching the content of science; the expectation is that our students — the future laymen and citizens — will remember these processes long after they have forgotten the many facts they learn in school. (1965:14-15)

An additional final detail of special interest about this project is the outcome of the Impact administered to some 1,200 students in the high schools where we tried the experimental adapted BSCS materials. The test data demonstrated that "more students responded successfully to more of the items of post-testing than they did at pre-testing." (Hernandez 1965b) More data were gathered with the Impact Test to find out, if possible, whether learning under the new biology was any better than under the traditional type. The results here also showed that the adapted BSCS materials "do bring about a better understanding of the biological concepts asked about in the impact test than the traditional courses." (Calhoun 1965) We are thus inaugurating a hopeful change in education in the Philippines, spurred by our new awareness of the new culture, or the substance and reality of excellence we want to give our identity as a free nation.

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CONCLUSION

We have so far reviewed the range of general anthropology. We shall now attempt in this conclusion to underscore the relevance of general anthropology to humanity. Although we share the restrained view of some colleagues in the anthropological profession that anthropology can be misused in the name of scientific relevance, nevertheless, anthropology has meaning and significance in the lives and activities of human beings everywhere. We would like to confine our concluding discussion to: (1) general education; (2) nationalism and nation-building; and (3) internationalism and cross-cultural understanding.

I Anthropology and General Education¹

Anthropology has something to do with the social, natural, and physical sciences, and with the humanities. It is very much related to history and to the other areas of knowledge known to man. It is a broad discipline, in the sense that it deals with humanity itself in its biological, ecological, and sociopsychological setting in the past, the present, and the future. It is concerned with man everywhere, be he white or black, tall or short, communist or democrat, "primitive" or civilized. It is the broadness of the subject matter that offers the student a rich insight into the behavior of man.

Before elaborating on the place of anthropology in general education, let us clarify two interrelated terms: liberal and educated. What is liberal education? What is an educated man?

¹ We are grateful to Mario D. Zamora and Robert Lawless for these excerpts reprinted from *Anthropology for Non-Anthropologists*, General Education Journal No. 12, University of the Philippines, 1967.

Answers to these questions might shed light on the role of anthropology in producing this liberal and educated man.

A product of liberal education is someone who has gained a broad knowledge of the various disciplines. He is someone with a critical outlook; someone who knows *how* to live. Liberal education is meant to make students behave and act like human beings — human and humane; that is, a student should be free from the bonds of ignorance, prejudice, and bigotry brought about by a parochial and biased training in a narrow discipline or dogma. Liberal education should also develop in the student an outlook that is objectively critical and scientific.

The liberally educated person should doubt, discuss, deliberate, and tentatively conclude; he should seriously search, investigate, and weigh the evidence. He should formulate, test his conclusions, validate and replicate; he should also be intellectually humble. He should have an open mind for all points of view and believe that in the absence of evidence a person should be restrained and careful in forming conclusions. And his mind should work and wonder for the momentary "truth" wherever it may lead him.

The liberal mind also must have moral courage — the courage to make tentative conclusions based on present evidence. No amount of pressure or authoritarian promptings can change or alter his conclusions, whoever gets hurt in the process.

It is this courage to stand up for what he believes "for the moment" to be the "truth" that distinguishes the liberal mind from the fanatic or the true believer and from the ignorant and uneducated; it is this moral courage that serves him in good stead in his ideological confrontation with traditional authority. It is this same boldness that eventually led to the martyrdom of Copernicus and Socrates; it is this same moral conviction that led Rizal to heroically face a firing squad for exposing the social cancer that plagued Filipinos under an autocrat Spanish colonial regime.

The liberal person should know how to live. One of the very crucial problems of man is **how to live** in a world of overwhelming technological complexity and rapid culture change, the by-products of his daring efforts to conquer a seemingly hostile ecological, social, and cosmic environment. It is a transitional world characterized by great and very often painful stresses and strains for the struggling person. It is into this world that a student with a liberal outlook and orientation is ultimately thrown. How then is he to thrive successfully in this milieu?

One of the many ways to adjust bravely and effectively in this uncertain atmosphere is to possess a mind firmly and consistently committed to the elevation and enrichment of human dignity and liberty. A proper appreciation of the universal and basic values and shortcomings of mankind can go a long way toward harmonious and sound living. Human dignity and liberty are virtues which can possibly be gained through a restrained appreciation of the positive uses of the social sciences and the humanities. Human dignity can also be enhanced through the freedom of the mind to make crucial decisions about what is good, true, and beautiful in the world and to make full use of one's faculties to envision and to realize one's besetting ambitions and legitimate aspirations.

The liberal person should recognize his capabilities as well as his limitations. He should know his place in the universe and not frustrate himself by trying to be something he is not; but then again he should not hesitate to make the most of his talents for the common good and to try to change those things he sees as dangerous to mankind.

Any program of liberal and general education in a university should include the discipline of anthropology because through anthropology the individual may learn of the universal fears and aspirations of men throughout the world, that he is never alone in his desires and in his problems, and that all men together through a common search for human dignity, human liberty, and human truth can make of this world a better place for coming generations of children and grandchildren.

II Anthropology and the Philippines

Perhaps the single, most talked-about ideological force in the Philippines today is **nationalism**. Nationalism may be defined as informed, intelligent, and even emotional appreciation and love for one's own society and culture and, within limits, for its harmonious relationship with the rest of the world. Nationalism is enlightened, positive, and constructive in so far as it attempts to elevate the standards of man's freedom and dignity and to preserve and defend human beings and their societies. Anything short of this would probably be something other than nationalism.

Nationalism, to be meaningful and fruitful, should be based on a valid and reliable body of knowledge of the human family. As nationalists, how much do we know about Filipino society, culture, and personality to make sound judgments? How much do we know about Philippine behavior and values and about our pre-historic and even historic past to compose informed and intelligent opinions on crucial issues? How much do we know the Philippines in relation to developments in different parts of the world? The science of anthropology, which deals with both the "big whole world" and the "little unique world" — the universal and the unique, the general and the particular — can probably supply some of the answers we are looking for.

Anthropologists study the whole world, the general and the universal — that is, anthropologists tend to see phenomena and the universe in a holistic or total way in an effort to have a broader basis for the formulation of concepts and principles of human behavior and values. In addition, anthropologists cover the whole world to complete as much as possible the human record — the evolution, growth, development, and achievements, physically and culturally, in time and space, of man in his heroic struggle to master himself and his oftentimes harsh environment.

On the other hand the anthropologists deal with the "little unique world," often through the village-community studies. (See Lawless's article.) For while we are indeed concerned with the broad generalizing phase of our science, we also deal with the

little world, the unique, the particular, and the detailed. That is to say, we deal with the little farflung village in Timbuctoo, the unnoticed commonplace behavior as well as a neglected ethnographic detail which needs accurate and objective recording. (See Yengoyan's article.)

We also ask the questions: What differentiates our society from other societies of the world? What makes my small barrio different from other barrios of this fair land? What makes me as an individual different from my brother or sister and from the rest of mankind? Why does a Filipino behave the way he does? Why is not this American behaving like a Filipino? All these questions seem to underscore the different, the unique, the particular — details that sometimes plague mankind. For it is this ignored cultural difference that oftentimes destroys an otherwise cordial relation between individuals and between peoples and nations. It is gross ignorance of these unique patterns of culture that generally disrupts friendship, harmony, and unity in our society. It is largely the deliberate twisting, manipulating, and misinterpreting of these cultural differences that oftentimes corrode whatever good relations exists among men of varied ideological commitments, shapes, sizes, and colors. Nationalism must be seen in the light of what anthropology can teach us about the unique and the universal.

Finally, as the changing Asian societies move from the "backwardness" brought about by centuries of colonial rule to modernity and participation in international affairs, they tend to value and even cling tenaciously to their past and to assert vigorously their own identity as a cultural community. They tend to re-examine seriously and systematically their history, their institutions, and their way of life. To this end, they encourage efforts to know about their past and about their own people. So that in the process, the archaeologist and the ethnologist should be given all the necessary encouragement and support to boost the concerted effort of self-assertion and self-identity. A number of Filipino social scientists, for example, have already come out with

evidence to support their thesis that there was a Filipino society 30,000 years ago, contrary to the prevailing belief that Philippine society is not indigenous. F. Landa Jocano summarizes for us in the *Lipunan* journal of the University of the Philippines this nationalistic view when he writes, "For we do have our cultural roots firm in the ground. We have a culture which is uniquely our own and it is not ambiguous in character." (1965:71)

Nationalism, then, to a great extent plays up this cultural uniqueness; as a matter of fact, nationalism to many of us is the serious and systematic glorification of these unique features of our own lives. Our nationalist positions and convictions rest equally on the love of "our very own" — meaning our cultural uniqueness as a people. We therefore want to know from the archaeologist about our prehistoric foundations, we want to know from the linguist and the cultural anthropologist about our unique language and culture, and we ask the physical anthropologist to confirm our suspicion that we Filipinos also belong to the human race. But there must be more to nationalism than the glorification of the uncertain unique. For how can we reconcile this brand of nationalism with the concept of one world? The late Clyde Kluckhohn, a well known Harvard anthropologist, wrote:

Present-day anthropology . . . cannot pretend to be the whole study of man, though perhaps it comes closer than any other branch of science . . . The traditional anthropology has a special right to be heard by those who are deeply concerned with the problem of achieving one world. This is because it has been anthropology that has explored the gamut of human variability and can best answer the questions: what common ground is there between human beings of all tribes and nations? What differences exist? What is their source? How deep-going are they?²

2 *Mirror for Man* . . . Conn: Fawcett, 1949:11-12

III Anthropology and the World

It is not yet possible to realize the Utopian ideal of a world united in diversity, but it is possible to use the findings of anthropology, its methods and theories, to help toward the reconciliation of man's cultures. We can study the general and the particular and by putting the unique in the context of the universal we may yet reconcile differences and resolve the multifarious problems that confront mankind today—whether it be problems of cross-cultural understanding, (see Tan's article) or of war and peace, or of adjustments to a changing technological order. It is the promotion of nationalism in harmony with the rest of the world, of constructive, informed, and intelligent education in the general and liberal sense and in the context of mankind's vast and varied store of knowledge, understanding, and good will than can yet save us from the present predicament of frustration and uncertainty, of tension and helplessness.

Since cultural anthropology is the study of man and his works all over the world, in the past and in the present, it offers knowledge which can serve as an intelligent basis for this much-needed tolerance, understanding, and goodwill. The comparative studies of customs and races reveal cultural and biological similarities and differences which can lead to a better and more objective view of peoples everywhere.

Such knowledge is useful for the intelligent control and direction of world affairs; such knowledge can aid in international planning and development efforts. As Ralph Linton in his classic *The Study of Man* aptly puts it:

No one can doubt that the end which the anthropologist has set for himself is worth any amount of labor and disappointment. It is, briefly, the understanding of the nature of man and the forces which are operative in society. With this understanding will come the possibility of control, and mankind will be able for the first time

in its million years of existence to shape its future deliberately and intelligently.³

The key concept of culture, which stresses respect for cultural differences, will go a long way toward greater tolerance among peoples in contact throughout the world. No culture is superior to another. The question of superiority and inferiority is a subjective one. Rating cultures in a biased way as low or high, barbarian or civilized, backward or advanced is not only unscientific and misleading but also unfair and uncharitable. Anthropology, with its theme of knowledge of similarities and differences of cultures and human behavior, can, in many ways, correct such misconceptions and distortions. Through knowledge of cultural uniqueness, human conflict can be satisfactorily resolved and misunderstanding better clarified. In the words of Kluckhohn:

Anthropology is no longer just the science of the long-ago and far-away. Its very perspective is uniquely valuable in investigating the nature and causes of human conflict and in devising means for its reduction. Its all-embracing character gives anthropology a strategic position for determining what factors will create a world community of distinct cultures and hold it together against disruption?⁴

³ *The Study of Man* . . . New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1936:489.

⁴ *Mirror for Man*, op. cit., 244.

APPENDIX A

ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

PERSONAL QUALIFICATIONS:

If you —

- * possess keen powers of observation
- * have a critically analytic mind
- * are skillful in organizing social data and generalizing from them
- * have the ability to grasp the essentials of a problem and to trace its ramifications
- * have facility of expression
- * are prepared for all the hazards and inconveniences of field research especially in cultural anthropology and archaeology
- * believe in the dignity of all cultures and peoples everywhere
- * get along very well with people—especially peoples from different cultures

—then you probably might succeed in anthropology.

ADMISSION REQUIREMENTS:

You will be admitted to any of the subdisciplines if you —

- * possess an Associate in Arts or its equivalent from a recognized institution. However, before you will be allowed to major in any of the disciplines, the major discipline may prescribe courses up to 18 units of general education courses and/or preparatory courses for the major field: (For M.A. requirements, see Graduates School catalogue)

JOB OPPORTUNITIES:

For graduates majoring in:

Archaeology —

- * Teaching (College teaching)
- * Research (in archaeological excavations, etc.)
- * Museum work (as assistants in the National Museum of the Philippines, etc.)

Ethnolinguistics —

- * Teaching
- * Research
- * Second language teaching program

Physical Anthropology —

- * Teaching
- * Research
- * Applied Physical Anthropology (Medicine, Armed Forces, Industry, etc.)

Cultural Anthropology —

- * Teaching
- * Research
- * Applied Anthropology (Consultants and advisers in programs of directed change such as PACD, etc.)

FACILITIES:

- * Anthropology holdings in the University Library which are extensive and are increasing.
- * Anthropology Department Library's Collection of reprints, pamphlets, etc.
- * Facilities in the National Museum of the Philippines.
- * Microfilms and other collections of the Library.
- * Community Development Research Council collection of anthropology books.
- * Facilities in other units such as the Asian Center Library.
- * Field research stations in different parts of the Philippines jointly or individually administered by the U.P. Anthropology Department and the National Museum:
 - * Palawan field station in archaeology.
 - * Bolinao (Pangasinan) field work in archaeology.
 - * Cavite field work in archaeology.
 - * Benguet research study in socio-cultural change.
 - * Davao research study in social organization.
 - * Ilocos Sur study in culture change.
 - * Mindoro research study in scriptology.
 - * Bataan research study in culture change.
 - * Laguna research study on social organization.
 - * Sulu studies in ethnology.
 - * Iloilo research study in social organization.
 - * Batangas and Mindoro excavations of the National Museum.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE:*** Scholarships —**

Entrance scholarship is awarded to valedictorians and salutatorians from all high schools graduating at least 30 students and to honor students of one scholarship per fifty students.

After a semester's work, a University scholarship is awarded to students with an average of 1.45 or better, while College scholarship is granted to those obtaining an average of 1.75 or better.

- * Research Assistantships — in the different projects of the U.P. and the National Museum of the Philippines.
- * Student Loan Board

It grants loans for tuition fees which must be paid in full before the final examinations.

- * Part-time Jobs

Employment in the different departments is available to students who have good grades and the necessary qualifications.

If you would like to know more about careers in Anthropology, you may write to the Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

A CAREER IN ANTHROPOLOGY

The Department of Anthropology in cooperation with the Anthropology Division of the National Museum of the Philippines, offers a broad liberal education and training. It also presents opportunities for specialization in the four subdisciplines of anthropology.

Anthropology combines in one discipline the approaches of both the biological and the social sciences; it does not limit itself to any particular group of men or to any one period of history. On the contrary, it is as much interested in the earlier forms of man and his behavior as in present day man.

ANTHROPOLOGY OFFERINGS:

The Department of Anthropology offers courses to enable students to major in any of the following fields:

1. **ARCHAEOLOGY** which studies the material remains of the past in an attempt to reconstruct the history of a people in the absence of written records.
2. **CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY** which deals with the culture of man in different societies of the world and how it affects human ideas, beliefs, and behavior.
3. **ETHNOLINGUISTICS** which deals with the nature and content of language as this functions in society and the relationship of language to culture.
4. **PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY** which studies man as a member of the animal kingdom, his origin and development, and the nature of race.

The Department is strong in items 1 and 2, and efforts are being exerted to strengthen both the faculty and the course offerings in items 3 and 4.

The Department offers the A.B. and M.A. degrees in anthropology. In the future, it is hoped that a Ph.D. program will be fully instituted.

Courses in Anthropology being offered in the University are general anthropology and peoples of the Philippines. Physical anthropology, anthropological theory, culture and personality, applied anthropology, comparative religion, Philippine prehistory, culture change, and field methods. In addition area programs dealing with the Philippines, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Eastern Asia, and Oceania are offered. Graduate School: India, applied anthropology, folklore, custom law, village study, archaeology, special problem courses, etc.

APPROXIMATE EXPENSES:

Without scholarship, you will need about P1,350.00 per year for the following expenses:

Tuition fees P 350.00

Board and Lodging and Living Allowances 850.00

Textbooks and Miscellaneous Expenses 150.00

Total expenses P1,350.00

Prepared and Distributed by

THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
(College of Arts & Sciences) and
THE COUNSELING AND TESTING CENTER
(Office of Student Affairs)
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City

APPENDIX B

ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE PHILIPPINES: A DIRECTORY

Celia M. Antonio

Compiler

Anthropological Institutions

Ateneo de Manila University, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Loyola Heights, Quezon City

Fields: Ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology, all major fields of sociology.

Degrees: M.A. in anthropology or sociology.

Language of Instruction. English.

Research facilities: language laboratory, small teaching museum, scholarships, fellowships, research and teaching assistantships.

Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City

Fields: archaeology, social anthropology, ethnology, linguistics

Publications: Asian Studies, Lipunan, occasional papers, monographs

Research facilities: library (in addition to the University library), research grants, faculty researches.

Cultural Research Center, Silliman University, Dumaguete City

Fields: social sciences, humanities

Important activities: research projects in anthropology, sociology (particularly family planning) religious studies and linguistics, archaeology, cultural minorities, overseas Chinese, personality in culture, folklore.

Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila, Loyola Heights, Quezon City

Fields: archaeology, ethnology, social anthropology, linguistics, related social sciences

Publications: IPC papers

Research facilities: microfilming, xeroxing, subject-indexed reprint and vertical file on Philippines, information service on current Philippine social science activities, assistance for visitors on questions of visas and other formalities, quarters and research personnel for visiting social scientists,, research grants.

National Museum, Division of Anthropology, Herran, Manila

Fields: ethnology and cultural history, archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology, cultural and social anthropology.

Most important collections: ethnological material from Filipino-Muslim groups and Indigenous Religious groups (Ifugao, Hanunoo, Tagbanuwa, Aeta, etc.), Chinese, Annamese and Sia-

mese potteries and archaeological collections from late Pleistocene to 16th century.

Research facilities: library, equipment and laboratory facilities.

Research Institute for Mindanao Culture, Xavier University, Cagayan de Oro City

Fields: Filipino society and culture, population studies.

Most important collections: Filipiniana materials, census materials, materials on population 1903 to present.

Publications: monographs and articles on population, culture change and many others.

Research facilities: statistics laboratory, library, research grants, faculty researches.

Silliman University, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Dumarague City

Fields: archaeology, ethnology, social anthropology, general anthropology, folklore

Degrees: A.B., M.A. in anthropology

Language of instruction: English

Publications: Silliman Journal

Research facilities: Cultural Research Center, library, research grants

Tribal Research Centre, Commission on National Integration, Quezon City

Important activities: institutional researches on cultural minorities, bibliography, general ethnology, handbook on cultural minorities

Publications: A Preliminary bibliography on Philippine cultural minorities; Journal on National Integration, data papers on cultural minorities

Research facilities: library, grants-in-aid

Most important collections: artifacts of different cultural minorities.

University of the Philippines, College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Anthropology, Diliman, Quezon City

Fields: ethnology, archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology, folklore, social anthropology, applied anthropology.

Degrees: A.B., M.A., Ph.D.

Language of instruction: English

Publications: U.P. Anthropology Bulletin

Research facilities: Departmental library (in addition to main library) National Museum, Museum and Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology, field work, field schools, faculty researches, research grants.

University of the Philippines, Museum and Institute of Ethnology and Archaeology, Palma Hall, Diliman, Quezon City

Fields: ethnology, archaeology

Most important collections: ceramic porcelain from Toledo, Medelion and other places in Cebu and Mindanao like jar, jarlets, bowls, dishes, saucers and cups, stone artifacts like adzes, obsidian, charts and jades from Batangas and Kalinga, Mt. Province: potsherds, bones and fossils from Cagayan Valley and Pangasinan; porcelain fragments from Calatagan, Batangas; "Bulols" (rice granary gods) from Ifugao; coffin from Marinduque; tektites from Rizal.

University of San Carlos, Department of Anthropology, Cebu City.

Fields: cultural anthropology, social anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, folklore.

Degrees: M.A., Ph.D.

Language of instruction: English

Research facilities: library, prehistoric archaeological, ethnological collection, research grant.

THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS AT A GLANCE

Local Scholars:

Afable, Patricia

Ph.D. Candidate, Yale University

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, linguistics

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia

Arce, Wilfredo

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Ateneo de Manila University

Fields of specialization: social structure, power structure, rural community, industrialization process.

Area interests: Bikol, Sulu

Bacdayan, Albert

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Fields of specialization: political anthropology, general anthropology, etc.

Area interest: Philippines, Southeast Asia

Baradas, David

Instructor in Anthropology, Mindanao State University

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, social anthropology.

personality in culture, peasant and primitive economic systems.

Area interests: New Mexico, Philippines

Bello, Moises C.

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: social organization, cultural change, culture and personality, cultural anthropology

Area interests: Philippines (Mt. Province). Indonesia, Madura, Java.

Evangelista, Alfredo E.

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: archaeology, museology, social anthropology, ethnohistory

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, Oceania

*Galang, Ricardo E.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Gonzales, Maria A.

Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Behavioral Sciences; Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ateneo de Manila University

Fields of specialization: culture and personality, human ecology, pre-history, evolution.

Area interests: Mindanao (Sulu archipelago), South America

Hollnsteiner, Mary R.

Research Associate, Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University; Associate Professor of Anthropology and Sociology, Ateneo de Manila University

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology and sociology, social structure, power structure, reciprocity and values, social change.

Area interests: Philippines and Spain.

Jocano, Landa F.

Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, folklore, social structure, culture change.

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Oceania

Lorrin, Rosario

Instructor, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, folklore

Area interests: Philippines, Latin America

Maceda, Marcelino

Assistant Head, Department of Anthropology, University of San Carlos; Professor of Anthropology, University of San Carlos

Fields of specialization: ethnology, Negritos of Southeast Asia.

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Oceania

Oracion, Timoteo

Associate Professor of Anthropology, Silliman University

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, cultural anthropology, folklore, ethnology

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, Thailand

Salazar, Zeus

Assistant Professor of Anthropology and European History, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: ethnology, prehistoric archaeology, theory, history, linguistics

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, Oceania, Europe

Sapaula, Crispina

Fields of specialization: general anthropology, linguistics

Area interests: Philippines, Asia

Tangco, Marcelo

Professor Emeritus of Anthropology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: Physical anthropology, language and culture, evolution, cultural history

Area interest: Philippines, Southeast Asia.

Tenazas, Rosa

Instructor, San Carlos University

Fields of specialization: archaeology, general anthropology

Area interests: Philippines, Asia

Zamora, Mario D.

Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines; Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, anthropological

theory, culture change, applied anthropology, village community

Area interests: India, Philippines, Southeast Asia and Latin America. Foreign scholars and Filipinos who did research in anthropology in the Philippines:

Amyot, Jacques

Senior Lecturer in Anthropology, Department of Social Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand.

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, social organization, culture change.

Area interest: France, Italy, Spain, China, Thailand

Anderson, James N.

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, social organization, land tenure, social structure

Area interests: Philippines

Arens, Richard

Professor, University of San Carlos, Cebu City

Fields of specialization: Cultural anthropology, community studies

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, China

*Barton, Roy F.

Fields of specialization: law, economics, religion, mythology, biography

Area interests: Philippines (mountain peoples of Luzon)

*Benedict, Laura W.

Fields of specialization: myth, ritual, folklore

Area interests: Philippines

Benton, Nena Eslao

Instructor in Anthropology and Behavioral Sciences, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Ateneo de Manila University

Fields of specialization: village community, social structure

Area interests: Philippines

*Beyer, H. Otley

Fields of specialization: myth, ritual, law, demography, general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines, especially Ifugaos.

Birket-Smith, Kaj

Fields of specialization: ethnology, material culture

Area interests: Arctic, Pacific, Denmark, France, Germany

Christie, Emerson B.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography, technology

Area interests: Philippines

Cajucum, Ma. Lourdes

Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh

Fields of specialization: culture change and applied anthropology

Area interests: Latin America, Africa

*Churchill, W.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

*Cole, Fay Cooper

Fields of specialization: folklore, general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Cole, Mabel Cook

Fields of specialization: folklore

Area interests: Philippines

Conklin, Harold C.

Chairman, Department of Anthropology, Yale University;

Professor of Anthropology, Yale University

Fields of specialization: ethnology, linguistics, ethno-science, culture and environment, ethnography, anthropology, language and culture

Area interests: Philippines, Indonesia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, France, Spain

Dozier, Edward P.

Professor of Anthropology, University of Arizona

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, linguistics, kinship, social and cultural change, bilingualism, linguistic change.

Area interests: North America, Philippines

Eggan, Fred

Swift Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago; Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, social organization, kinship, culture history

Area interests: native North America, Philippines, Southeast Asia

Ewing, Franklin

Associate Professor of Anthropology, Fordham University

Fields of specialization: physical anthropology, evolution, cultural anthropology, applied anthropology

Area interests: Philippines

Finley, John P.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Flores-Meiser, Enya

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Ball State University.

Muncie, Indiana

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology

Area interests: Philippines, Asia

Fox, Robert B.

Chief, Division of Anthropology, National Museum; Profes-

sorial Lecturer in Archaeology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: archaeology, social anthropology, cultural anthropology, ethnology

Area interests: Philippines, Far East, Southeast Asia

Frake, Charles O.

Associate Professor of Anthropology, Stanford University

Fields of specialization: ethnology, social anthropology, social organization, ethnoscience, cultural ecology, ethnolinguistics

Area interests: Southeast Asia, Malaysia, Philippines

Gardner, Fletcher

Fields of specialization: folklore

Area interests: Philippines

Garcia, Natividad

Instructor in Anthropology, University of the Philippines

Fields of specialization: culture change, cultural anthropology

Area interests: Japan, Philippines

*Garvan, John

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Hart, Donn V.

Professor of Anthropology, Syracuse University

Fields of specialization: research techniques in cultural anthropology, bibliography, peasant society

Area interests: Southeast Asia, Philippines, England, France, Spain

Himes, Ronald

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, ethnography, cognitive mapping

Area interests: Philippines

***Jenks, Albert Ernest**

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Kaut, Charles

Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Virginia

Fields of specialization: ethnology, social anthropology

Area interest: Southeast Asia, Germany, Spain, U.S.A.

***Keesing, Felix**

Fields of specialization: social structure, culture change

Area interests: Philippines

Kiefer, Thomas

Acting Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles

Fields of specialization: power structure, politics

Area interests: Philippines

***Kroeber, A. L.**

Fields of specialization: kinship, culture history, general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines, native North America

Lambrecht, Francis

Professor of Anthropology and Latin.

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, material culture, social organization, political organization, religion, linguistics, folklore

Area interests: Philippines (particularly Ifugao and Mt. Province), France, Germany, Spain

***Lambrecht, Godfrey**

Fields of specialization: Ritual, religion

Area interests: Philippines

Lieban, Richard

Program Director for Anthropology, National Science Foundation, U.S.A.

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, medical anthropology, religion, social control, sorcery, witchcraft

Area interests: Philippines, East and Southeast Asia, France

Lynch, Frank

Director, Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University; Professor of Anthropology, Ateneo de Manila University

Fields of specialization: social anthropology especially social struc-

ture, values, religion, economics, ethnoscience

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia, France, Germany, Spain

Lynch, Ralph

Field of specialization: culture change

Area interests: Philippines

Maher, Robert F.

Chairman, Department of Anthropology, Western Michigan University; Professor of Anthropology, Western Michigan University

Fields of specialization: prehistoric archaeology, cultural evolution, human ecology

Area interests: Southeast Asia, Pacific Islands, France, Spain

Mednick, Melvin

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Western Reserve University

Fields of specialization: social structure

Area interests: Philippines

Miller, Merton

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Miller, Edward Y.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Moss C. R.

Fields of specialization: law, ritual, folklore

Area interests: Philippines

Nettleship, M. A.

Fields of specialization: art

Area interests: Philippines

Nimmo, Harry A.

University of Hawaii

Fields of specialization: ethnography, cultural anthropology, dream interpretation

Area interests: Philippines

Nurge, Ethel

Associate Professor of Anthropology, McMaster University (Canada)

Fields of specialization: social anthropology, sociology, social psycho-

logy, personality as learned behavior, methodology and data retrieval problems

Area interests: Philippines, Germany, North American Indians

Nydegger, William

Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Pennsylvania State University

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, social psychology, socialization, applied anthropology

Area interests: Southeast Asia, Philippines

Rahmann, Rudolf

Head, Department of Anthropology, University of San Carlos

Fields of specialization: ethnology, history of religion, mythology

Area interests: India, Indochina, Philippines

Reynolds, Hubert

Director, Cultural Research Center, Silliman University;
Professor of Anthropology, Silliman University

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, social anthropology, religion

Area interests: Philippines, China

Reed, William A.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Rixhon, Gerard

Director, Coordinated Investigation for Sulu Culture (CISC),
Jolo, Sulu

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, religion, economics

Area interests: Philippines (particularly Sulu)

*Roberton, James A.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography, law

Area interests: Philippines

*Saleeby, Najeeb

Fields of specialization: history, law

Area interests: Philippines

Sals, Florent

Fields of specialization: education, religion

Area interests: Philippines

Scheans, Daniel

Associate Professor of Anthropology, Portland State College

Fields of specialization: culture change, culture history, social organization, peasant society

Area interests: Southeast Asia, Philippines, Pacific, France

Schebesta, Paul

Professor of Ethnolinguistics and Linguistics, St. Gabriel Mödling, Austria.

Fields of specialization: history of religion, linguistics of pygmies and negritos, African ethnography, linguistics of East Belgian Congo.

Area interests: Africa, Southeast Asia

*Scheerer, Otto

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Scott, William Henry

Professor of History, Trinity College

Fields of specialization: ethnohistory, cultural anthropology

Area interests: Philippines, Southeast Asia

Sibley, Willis E.

Associate Professor of Anthropology, Washington State University

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, social anthropology, social structure, peasant society, modern community, culture and education, culture change

Area interests: Philippines, North America, Southeast Asia, France, Germany

Smith, George

Fields of specialization: ecology, social structure

Area interests: Philippines

Solheim, Wilhelm A.

Professor of Anthropology, University of Hawaii

Fields of specialization: prehistoric and protohistoric, archaeology, fossil man, ethnography

Area interests: Southeast Asia, Oceania, Far East, France

Stewart, Kilton

Fields of specialization: general ethnography, psychology

Area interests: Philippines

Stone, Richard

East-West Center, University of Hawaii

Fields of specialization: ethnography, cultural anthropology, social

anthropology, power structure, kinship

Area interests: Philippines

Thomas, William Jr.

Chairman, Department of Geography and Anthropology,
California State College; Professor of Anthropology, California State College

Fields of specialization: cultural geography

Area interests: Southeast Asia

Vancouverbergh, Morice

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Wallace, Henry

Department of Anthropology, University of California at Sta. Barbara

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, ecology

Area interests: Philippines

Warren, Charles

Fields of specialization: social structure

Area interests: Philippines

*Wilson, Laurence L.

Fields of specialization: general ethnography, culture change, folktales

Area interests: Philippines

Wood, Grace L.

Fields of specialization: social structure, general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

*Worcester, Dean

Fields of specialization: general ethnography

Area interests: Philippines

Wulff, Inger

Associate, National Museum of Denmark

Fields of specialization: cultural anthropology, archaeology

Area interests: Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia

Yengoyan, Aram

Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan

Fields of specialization: social organization, kinship, political structure, cultural ecology

Area interests: Philippines, Australia

APPENDIX C

PARTIAL LIST OF JOURNALS FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD

In order to give the readers of this book an idea of the vast and varied anthropological sources and resources in anthropology and related sciences, a comprehensive though incomplete list of journals, periodicals, bulletins, etc. from different parts of the world has been appended.

The editors are grateful to the following graduate scholars of the University of the Philippines for compiling the lists: Librada Pableo and Narcisa Martin, Philippines; Christina Bergman Af Klint, Europe; Maria Teresa S. Servida, The Americas, Asia and Oceania; and Evelyn Lesaca, Middle East and Africa.

I. PHILIPPINE JOURNALS, BULLETINS, ETC.

1. Action Now published by the Social Communication Center, Mag-saysay Avenue. P.40/copy (Current)
2. Asian Studies published by the Asian Center, formerly the Institute of Asian Studies, U.P., Diliman, Q.C. P10.00/yr. (current)
3. Asian Youth Institute News published by the Asian Youth Institute, Manila (Current)
4. Civil Service Reporter published by the Bureau of Civil Service, Manila (Current)
5. Journal of East Asiatic Studies, published quarterly by the University of Manila, Philippines P12.00/yr. single copy P3.00, In foreign countries \$10.00 (current)
6. Journal of Educational Research published by the Philippine Christian College, Manila. (Current)

7. Education Quarterly published by the Graduate College of Education, U.P. Diliman, Quezon City P12/yr. (Current)
8. General Education Journal published by the College of Arts and Sciences, U.P. Diliman, Quezon City. (Current)
9. The Filipino Teacher published in Quezon City. P8.50 (Current)
10. The Guide Post published by the Bureau of Prisons, Manila (Not continuing)
11. The National Police Gazette published by the Manila Association of Philippine Chiefs of Police, Manila (Current)
12. The Nationalizer published by the Nationalization Youth Movement of the Philippines, Manila (not continuing)
13. Journal on National Integration published by the Commission on National Integration, Manila (Current)
14. Pan-Malaysia Quarterly published by the Provisional Committee of the Pan-Malaysian, Manila (Current)
15. Personnel Manager, published by the Personnel Management Association of the Philippines (Current)
16. Philippine Journal of Public Administration, published by the U.P. College of Public Administration. P10.00 (Current)
17. Philippine Educator published by the Philippine Public School Teachers Association (PPSTA) 27 Banawe St., Quezon City. P8.00 (current)
18. Philippine Journal of Education, published at 161, 15th Avenue, Quezon City P9.00 (current)
19. The Philippine Magazine published by the Community Publishers, Manila (current)
20. Philippines Free Press published at the Philippines Free Press Building, 708 Rizal Avenue, Manila, PO Box 475, Manila P18.00 a year (current)
21. Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review, published by the U.P. College of Arts and Sciences, Diliman, Quezon City. P6.00 (current)
22. Philippine (Republic) Social Welfare Administration, Manila (Not continuing)
23. Philippine Sociological Review published by the Philippine Sociological Society, Department of Sociology and Social Welfare, U.P. Diliman, Quezon City. P10.00/yr. (current)
24. Philippine Studies published by the Ateneo de Manila, Loyola Heights, Quezon City. P.O. Box, 154, Manila. P8.00 (current)
25. Philippines Today published by the Philippine Media Production Center, corner Sta. Potenciana St., Intramuros, Manila (current)
26. Silliman Journal published by the Silliman University, Dumaguete City. P4.00 (current)

27. Social Studies Monthly published by the Secondary Teachers of Manila (not continuing)
28. Unitas published by the University of Santo Tomas, Manila (current)
29. The U.P. Anthropology Bulletin, U.P. Anthropological Society and Dept. of Anthropology, U.P., Quezon City. (current)
30. The Volunteer published by the National Volunteers of the Philippines. (current)
31. The Whip published by the Manila Y's Men's Club, Manila (current)
32. Welfare Advocate published by the Bureau of Public Welfare, Manila (current)
33. Women's World, published by the Philippine Association of University Women, Manila (current)
34. Philippine Historical Bulletin, published by the Philippine Historical Society, Manila (current)
35. Saint Louis Quarterly, published by St. Louis University, Baguio City (Current)

II. EUROPEAN JOURNALS

AUSTRIA

WIENER VÖLKERKUNDLICHE MITTEILUNGEN (Text in English, German) 1953 irreg. s.72 (\$3) Ed. Dr. Ferdinand Anders. Österreichische Ethnologische Gesellschaft, Universitätsstrasse 7, Vienna 1, Austria. bibl. bk. rev. illus. index. **Ethnology**

BRITAIN

MAN: A MONTHLY RECORD OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL SCIENCE 1901 30s. p.a. Royal Anthropological Institute, 21 Bedford Sq., London W.C.I., England. bk. rev. index.

THE MANKIND QUARTERLY 1960 21s. p.a. 1 Darnaway Str., Edinburgh 3.

ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: JOURNAL. 1871 2 per annum. 40s. p.a. 21 Bedford Sq., London W.C.I., England.

AFRICA: (Journal of the International African Institute) African Institute, St. Dunstan's Chambers, 10-11 Fetter Lane, London E.C.4., England.

NEW WORLD ANTIQUITY: for the use of all interested in the archaeology and ethnology of the New World. 1959. m. 21s. (\$3)

Ed Egerton Sykes. Markham House Press Ltd., 31 King's Road, London S.W.3. England. bk. rev. index. (Processed)

BRITISH UNION

ADVANCES IN THE STUDY OF BEHAVIOR New York & Co., 1965

ANTHROPOLOGY London school of Economics and Science, Anthropology club, London, 1966. Royal Anthropological Institute, Bedford Sq., London

BASLER BEITRÄGE ZUR ETHNOLOGIE Basel 1966 Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Cambridge (Haddon Lib.), Downing Str.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT JOURNAL q. Manchester 1966 London School of Economics and Political Science, Houghton Str., London W. C2.

JOURNAL OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES: 1966 q. Leiden Royal Anthropological Institute, Bedford Sq., London WC2

JOURNAL OF THE HISTORY OF THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES Brandon, 1965 University of London

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INST. Subs (1966) Part of — man (ns)

PENTAGRAM: A WITCHCRAFT REVIEW q. 1964 National Library of Scotland private circ.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE LONDON 1965 Royal Anthropological Inst., Bedford Sq., London.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SLOVENSKY NARODOPIS (Summaries in English, French, German, Russian) 1953 q. 54kcs. Ed. Dr. Božena Filová. Narodopisný ústav Slovenskej Akadémie Vied, Klemensova 27, Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. bibl. bk. rev. charts. illus. index. Ethnography

ČESKÝ LID (Summaries in German) Vol. 51, 1964. bi-m. 60kcs. (§8) Ed. Jaroslav Kramářík. Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd., Lazarska 8, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia. Ethnography

FRANCE

- ARTS ET TRADITIONS POPULAIRES (Société d'Ethnographie Française). 1953 q. 15F. Éditions G.-P. Maisonneuve et Larousse, 11 rue Victor-Cousin, Paris 5, France. bibl. bk. rev. illus. maps. index. Ethnography
- JANUS: L'homme, son histoire et son avenir. 1964 5 times a year. 25F. Ed-in-Ch. Claude Manceron. 103 bd. Saint-Michel, Paris 5è, France.
- OBJETS ET MONDES. 1961. q. 30F. Ed-in-Ch. Yvette Laplace. Musée de l'Homme, Palais de Chaillot, PASsy 74-76, Paris, France. bk. rev. charts. illus. Ethnology
- REALITÉS DU PACIFIQUE (Text in English and French) 1963 q. 5.50F. (\$1.25) Ed. Prof. Jean Guiart. Association Marc Bloch. 54 rue de Varenne, Paris 7è, France. bk. rev. circ. 1000
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ANTHROPOLOGIE DE PARIS BULLETINS ET MÉMOIRES 1860 4 times a year. 45F. Masson & Cie. Éditeurs, 120 bd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6è, France.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES AFRICANISTES BULLETIN D'INFORMATION 1964. q. 6-18F. Société des Africanistes, Centre de Documentation et d'Information. Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Musée de l'Homme, Place du Trocadéro, Paris 16è, France.
- L'ANTHROPOLOGIE Librairie Masson & Cie., 120 Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6è, France.
- CAHIERS D'ÉTUDES AFRICAINES Centre d'études Africaines, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 6è Section, 20 rue de la Baume, Paris 8è, France.
- ANTHROPOLOGIE 1890 3 times a year. 75 F. (\$20) Eds. H. Vallois & R. Vaufrey. Masson & Cie., 120 Bd. Saint-Germain, Paris 6è, France. bk. rev. bibl. charts. illus. index. Ethnology

GERMANY

- ANTAIOS 1959 6 times a year. DM 26. (\$6.50) Eds. Prof. Mircea Eliade & Ernst Junger. Ernst Klett's Verlag, Rotebuhlstr. 75, Postfach 809, Stuttgart, W. Germany. adv. bk. rev. charts. illus. circ. 1200
- ANTHROPOLOGISCHER ANZIEGER: Bericht über die biologisch-anthropologische Literatur. (Text in English and German, occasionally in French and Italian) 1924 4 times a year. Eds. Prof.

Dr. W. Gieseler & Prof. Dr. E. Breiting. E. Schweizerbart'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Johannesstr. 3A, Stuttgart, Germany. bk. rev. charts, illus.

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