Some Recent Trends in Philippine Social Anthropology

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RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude fait l'historique des recherches d'anthropologie sociale accomplies aux Philippines durant les quinze dernières années. On porte une attention spéciale aux concepts et aux méthodes utilisés.

While we propose to deal here with several broad trends in recent anthropological research in the Philippines, it must be noted at the outset that limitations of space and the quantity of pertinent data now available make it quite impossible for us to attempt a synthesis of all the sub-disciplines of anthropology[1]. We are, therefore, specifically excepting from consideration archaeology, physical anthropology, and linguistics. In part we are justified for this exclusion, since at least partial reviews of these other sub-disciplines are now available. Professor Solheim, for example, offers a summary of recent developments in Philippine archaeology elsewhere in these pages. There has been little activity in Philippine physical anthropology in recent years, though it is likely that, with the recent discovery of apparent *Homo sapiens* remains on Palawan at a level dated at 22,000 B.P. (Fox 1967, Jocano 1967), and even earlier remains on near-by Borneo (Brothwell 1961, Harrisson 1964), interest will increase sharply. Readers may consult Bailen (1967) for a review of what has been accomplished to date in Philippine physical

[1] We wish to thank James Anderson, Harold Conklin, Fred Eggan, Charles Frake, William Geoghegan, Charles Kaut, Henry Lewis, Richard Lieban, Ben Wallace, and Aram Yengoyan for furnishing us information and advice concerning this paper. The interpretation of both information and advice, however, is our own responsibility.

anthropology. We ignore linguistics with far less conscience, for current reviews of this work are less extensive; but a resume of the work done by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, at least, is available in Roe (1967).

Professional anthropological research has a respectable antiquity in the Philippines, and was originally stimulated by a new American colonial administration which was anxious to learn something of the nature of the populations it had undertaken to govern. By 1900 Scheerer had published a paper on the Benguet Igorots, and this was closely followed by the work of Barrows (1903), Reed (1904), Saleeby (1905), Jenks (1905), Gardner (1906), Cole (1908), and Christie (1909). From the beginning of this century research activity has continued to gain momentum, and for the most part has been directed at current issues; i.e., theoretical and methodological developments in the Philippines have tended to keep pace with those in anthropology in general. In terms of specific interests Philippine anthropology has been most influenced by developments in the United States, and this trend will probably continue for some time; although one should immediately note that the better trained Filipino anthropologists are showing considerable independence.

Tribal Minorities:

The first four decades of Philippine anthropology are characterized by a nearly exclusive concern for two primary interests, culture history and non-Christian peoples, especially the so-called "tribal" peoples. A glance at any bibliography of anthropological titles for this period makes these points quite clearly. The bibliography which accompanies the Lynch and Hollnsteiner review article of 1961 is a case in point: among the 142 titles appearing for dates prior to 1950, 130 (92 percent) deal exclusively with the customs and origins of tribal minorities.

It is not surprising that these should be the dominant interests of Philippine anthropologists for the first quarter of this century, since these were also the prime concerns of American anthropology in general. However, it is worth noting that "resident" scholarship in the Philippines remained quite conservative, and

during the 1930's and 1940's retained a pervasive concern for "history" and distributions which did not parallel wider developments in anthropology. Modern sociologically oriented studies, therefore, did not really get under way until Fred Eggan's (1941) pioneering attempt to synthesize data on social process in Mountain Province, and the appearance of Keesing's (1949) Bontoc study.

Cultural historical studies continue, of course, though they are now characterized by a greater concern for hard data, and depend less on conjecture. In recent years Keesing (1962) has sought to show that the Cordillera Central was populated in comparatively recent times, in opposition to Beyer's (1953) earlier view. Eggan, Hester, and Lietz are currently working on Alzina's 17th century history of the Visayan Islands (Hester 1962, Lietz 1962), and Lynch has recently worked with 19th century Spanish manuscripts dealing with the Bukidnon. Scott (1958, 1966) has marshalled evidence which suggests that terracing is a comparatively recent innovation among the Kalinga, Apayao, and Benguet Igorot; and Yengoyan (1960, 1967) has proposed a model to account for the initial populating of the Philippines by hunters and gatherers.

Among recent studies of minority peoples, there has been a continuing emphasis on the groups located in northern Luzon. Other areas, while not entirely neglected, are much less well reported. Recent work among non-Luzon based tribal peoples includes studies of the Magahat of Negros Oriental by Oracion (1956, 1964), of the Sulod of Panay by Jocano (1958, 1963), on the Tawi-Tawi Badjaw by Nimmo (1965), and on the Mandaya of Davao by Yengoyan (1965, 1966a, 1966b).

In the Mountain Province and adjacent areas, Dozier (1966, 1967) has recently published some of the results of his work in Kalinga, where he notes the occurrence of inter-regional peace pacts as an apparent response to an opportunity to expand trade. Scott (1966) has published a collection of papers which deal principally with Sagada, but which also deal with aspects of culture among several other Mountain Province groups. Conklin has continued to work with the Ifugao, and some of the results of this work have now begun to appear in print (e.g., Conklin

1967). However, in spite of the research emphasis which has been placed on Mountain Province groups, there is still no thorough description of an Ibaloi community. Recent accounts of Ibaloi are limited to a discussion of leadership by Encarnacion (1957) and a brief description of some aspects of Ibaloi economy by Barnett (1967).

On the synthetic side, Eggan (1963) has amplified his earlier article (1941) dealing with culture change in northern Luzon, and has incorporated data on the Kalinga which were not available for the earlier work. He is again concerned with an explanation for the increasing social and cultural complexity which is encountered as one goes from the Cordillera to the low-lands, and suggests that this is essentially a process of adaptation to wet rice cultivation. Eggan has also recently produced a comparative study of cognatic descent groups among the central Mountain Province groups (Eggan 1967), in which he notes the presence of descent groups among the Kalinga, Sagadans, and Ifugao, but not among the Bontoc.

In the same spirit of synthesis, Jules DeRaedt (1964) has attempted to isolate and compare general themes in religious practices among Mountain Province groups, and arrives at conclusions which parallel those in Eggan's 1963 paper in striking ways. DeRaedt (1964:331) remarks that:

> As we go from areas of dry cultivation through those of recent introduction of wet rice, to those with a long terracing tradition, we find two important shifts in the pantheon. The first consists of a shift from "hostile" relations with ancestors to a "friendly" one... The second change is the increasing involvement of the culture hero... in other ritual foci, especially in the agricultural cycle.

Bello's (1967) recent discussion of religious change among the Bakun-Kankanay, who have obtained terrace rice quite recently, tend to support DeRaedt's general conclusions. There is, in brief, strong evidence that variations in the complex social and ideological structures which are typical of Mountain Province groups are intimately associated with the enduring cultivation of wet rice.

Following an earlier lead by Conklin (1954, 1957) and Frake (1955, 1962), ecological studies of tribal peoples have also con-

tinued to receive emphasis. Aram Yengoyan (1965, 1966a, 1966b) and Ben Wallace (1967), working with the Mandaya and Gaddang respectively, have both demonstrated a close relationship between social structure on the one hand and the principal mode of subsistence on the other. Each worked with peoples whose subsistence activities revolve around swidden cultivation, and each has shown that similar kinds of social changes have resulted from a shift to permanent field cultivation. In these two cases the evidence suggests that the change to permanent field cultivation was induced by two kinds of factors: first, hill cultivators were more or less forced by increased population pressure and consequent progressive decay of their ecosystems to seek other alternatives; and secondly, they were found to be favorably inclined toward growing cash crops in permanent fields by a strong desire for manufactures. It was also noted in both cases that among those groups which have become sedentary there was both an increase in the scale of interpersonal relationships and an increased interest in Christianity. It might be noted that these reports show similar developments to those found by one of the present authors (Davis) among some of the Ibaloi of Alno, Benguet. In this latter case a trend toward permanent field regimes and crops was strongly encouraged by the necessity, due to land shortage, for cultivating swidden fields for longer periods of time than they could be fallowed. Among these Ibaloi the traditional eco-system could be maintained only by the collection of organic material from the countryside, which was then piled on the "swidden" plot and burned. Collectively, these findings suggest that in the near future hillside, dry-field cultivators will become "peasantized" in increasing numbers as their populations expand beyond the capacity of their traditional techno-environmental adaptations to support them. It is unlikely that this will prove to be an easy process for either the tribal peoples involved or for the nation.

Of potential importance here is the recent (1967) creation of a research agency for the Commission on National Integration, the newly organized Tribal Research Centre, which may perhaps function to focus domestic interest on tribal minorities. Hopefully, the establishment of a hill tribe research center indicates an awareness on the part of national leaders that if tribal peoples

are to become integral parts of the nation-state, they will probably require special guidance — guidance which will involve the expenditure of both sincere effort and funds.

Lowland Community Studies

The most dramatic change in Philippine anthropological research strategy in recent years has been the trend toward studies of lowland rural — and lower-class urban — communities. We have already pointed to the statistical dominance of tribal studies over studies of other kinds of social units prior to 1950. By returning to the Lynch-Hollnsteiner bibliography it is possible to document how sharp the shift to lowland community-studies has been; prior to 1950 more than 90 percent of the titles listed dealt with tribal societies, while between 1950 and 1960, 50 percent (90 of 181 titles) have concerned lowland peoples.

Partly, this shift in emphasis reflects the increased interest in studies of "peasant" communities which has taken place in anthropology generally; but it has also been due to an increasing awareness that information about the numerically dominant lowland populations is essential to a government interested in national development. However, the most immediate and efficient cause of the priority now given lowland research was the establishment, in 1952, of the Philippine Studies Program at the University of Chicago, under the direction of Fred Eggan. Indeed, prior to the appearance of Chicago-trained field workers, studies of lowland communities had been limited to a little work by Emerson Christie (e.g., Christie 1914); and during the middle 1950's the only non-Chicago lowland studies completed were those by Donn Hart (1955) and Agaton Pal (1956). Since the early 1950's a number of students, both Filipino and American, whose training was largely taken at Chicago have contributed substantially to our knowledge of Philippine lowland populations, and many have now trained students of their own. The period also witnessed the emergence of departments of anthropology and sociology in a number of Philippine universities located in Manila and two provincial cities, namely, the Ateneo de Manila, Silliman University, and the University of San Carlos. The student and faculty efforts of these new departments, of the long-established depart-

ment at the University of the Philippines, of the National Museum, and of research institutes like the Ateneo's Institute of Philippine Culture have resulted in proper lowland social research.

The recent stress on lowland studies actually produces a much more reasonable balance of effort, for the great majority of Filipinos are, of course, lowland peoples. Roughly 90 percent of the Philippine population is both lowland (or of lowland ethnic origin) and Christian. Approximately another four percent is lowland and Muslim, the latter being chiefly concentrated in southern Palawan, southern and western Mindanao, and the Sulu Archipelago. Perhaps as much as 70 percent of the total population, including both Christians and Muslims, is composed of rural smallholder-farmers who fit more or less well into the modern "peasant" social typology, though that term is not commonly used in the Philippine literature.

It has now become a near-tradition in anthropological studies of developing nations to draw a distinction between urban and rural peoples, and to speak of this distinction in terms of a "folk-urban" continuum. Interestingly enough, data on small communities in the lowland Philippines are beginning to suggest that in terms of behavior this rural-urban dichotomy may be a distinction without a difference, at least in this setting. Put another way, the *rural*-urban continuum in the Philippines does not appear to be isomorphic with a "*folk*-urban" continuum, for there are "folk" at both extremes. For example, a very provocative short paper by Lynch and his associates (Lynch *et al.*, 1966), which was based on an elaborate interview schedule given to more than 2,000 respondents throughout the Philippines, strongly suggests that there is as much behavioral variation within the *poblacion* (town) and *barrio* (village) populations as there is between them; i.e., aside from a small resident educated elite, townsmen appear to resemble strongly their rural counterparts. If this view proves to be proper, not only is the "folk-urban" continuum a concept of little utility, but studies of rural areas take on a double significance, since their results should be generally applicable to large sectors of the population, taken as wholes.

One important research problem which has received considerable specific attention in lowland communities is the nature

of interpersonal relationships; i.e., how these relationships are defined and what their normative content is. In the kinds of social units in which anthropologists have most typically worked, kinship is commonly the prime social mechanism employed for the allocation of social roles. In fact, such an argument is sometimes applied to the Philippines as a whole (Golay 1961:16, *passim*). The problem is that in the lowland Philippines kinship is not a universal role determinant, for kin categories are bilaterally defined, which means that every individual has an enormous potential number of kin-defined roles — many more, in fact, than he will be able to honor by appropriate behavior. The structure, therefore, dictates that some option must be exercised in establishing and maintaining socially important relations, and the research issue then becomes one of determining the factors which condition the directions those options take.

In this regard there appears to be general agreement that one's *primary* kin are always important, though feuds within the limits of the nuclear family, especially disputes between siblings over property, are certainly not unknown. But beyond this range, kinship is considerably less important as a determinant of rights and duties, and one chooses among both consanguines and affines on the basis of other criteria. After these choices are made, relations of an important kind are then structured and explicitly validated by reciprocal exchanges of goods and services. A similar process of selection, and being selected, is reported for Mexico by Foster (1961, 1963), who proposes for that area a "dyadic contract" model which appears also to fit many Philippine data remarkably well.

There are several forms which these reciprocal relationships may take, and these have been placed into a tentative typology by Hollnsteiner (1961). Probably the most frequently occurring form is the *utang na loob,* or "debt of gratitude" relationship, which is heavily charged with moral obligation, and which demands that any service rendered be repaid to the best of the recipient's ability. This particular kind of relationship has been discussed in some detail in an important paper by Charles Kaut (1961). When social relations of non-kin kind prove to be especially important

to the welfare of either or both parties, they are likely to be given more formal recognition by converting them into relations of *compadrazgo,* or ritual co-parenthood (Fox and Lynch 1956).

The category of persons defined by the exercise of reciprocities (consisting of Ego and those with whom he has recognized frequently validated relations) is in several ways structurally similar to the bilateral kindred; but since it includes some non-kin, and at the same time excludes some consanguines and affines, the term "kindred" would be an improper one by which to refer to such a category. Therefore, the term "personal alliance system" has been suggested (Lynch 1959, Hollnsteiner 1963), and has been widely used in recent literature. However, like the kindred which it resembles, the membership of a personal alliance system is not discrete, and overlaps with similar alliances centering on other individuals. In consequence, the "alliance" which centers on any particular person cannot be an entirely solidary group, and members are typically caught between conflicting loyalties. Interpersonal relations in the lowland Philippines, therefore, involve a more or less continuous process of choosing among persons.

Decision-making must inevitably involve a value schedule of some kind, and it is on this point — the nature of the lowland value hierarchy — that substantial disagreement among Philippine scholars is now quite apparent. At a general level of discourse Lynch (1964) has distinguished a series of norms, or "themes" which he feels are widely valued in lowland Philippine society. These have been classified as (1) aims and goals; (2) beliefs and convictions, and; (3) structural and operational principles. Held to be especially important among the three goal-themes is the matter of social acceptance, or the desire to be accepted by one's fellows for what he is, or thinks himself to be. This value is said to be closely associated with the concept of *hiya,* or "shame," and with it goes a corresponding emphasis upon the prevention and rapid resolution of conflict. The latter aspect of this theme is often referred to in a shorthand form as the desire for "smooth interpersonal relations." Second in Lynch's treatment is the value placed on economic security, or the ability to meet everyday needs without having to borrow; and third, is the desire

for upward mobility, both between ranked segments or "classes", and within them.

While no one seems inclined to question the claim that lowland Filipinos in general place great value upon economic security and social mobility, Lynch's views of the nature and priority of "social acceptance," and the related hiya and "smooth interpersonal relations" concepts have been sharply criticized. Barnett (1966) refering to Lynch's work in a somewhat oblique manner, has in effect suggested that some of Lynch's views appear to be more intuitive than founded upon empirical data. Nonetheless, he stresses the importance of pioneering exploratory hypotheses like Lynch's for stimulating research in relatively untouched domains. Jocano (1966), in a much more direct way, suggests that Lynch's comments are not only far too generally drawn, but also that he has found numerous empirical examples in which other values appear to receive more stress than do "smooth interpersonal relations." Lynch might counter that this is precisely the point: it is important that social scientists should delineate the contexts in which various groups of Filipinos reveal through patterned choices a preference for one combination of values over another (Hollnsteiner 1966). In any event, there is little doubt that the 1962 "social acceptance" article has indeed had the effect of generating discussion and further research. All things considered, debates of this kind in a literature which, for its size, is remarkably free of theoretical or methodological disagreement, may be viewed as a sign that a healthy maturation process is at work in Philippine anthropology.

Because of its self-evident practical and theoretical implications, the political process in lowland communities has also been a focus of research. Such a discussion is particularly relevant here because, as a number of writers have suggested (Lynch 1959, Encarnacion 1961, Hollnsteiner 1963, Lande 1964, and Agpalo 1965), there is a close relationship between the structure of interpersonal social relations and the political process. Indeed, the concept of the "personal alliance" which seems the *sine qua non* to discussions of interpersonal relations, appears also to provide a model by which to comprehend the social mechanisms by which power is allocated.

Briefly put, there is in the Philippines a relatively small political elite which is comprised both of elements of a traditional elite which has existed since the Spanish period and members of a "new elite" who owe their positions largely to a mobility made possible by modern demands for an educated leadership. However, while elites tend to have wealth and prestige, in a nation in which officials are elected, political power is partly dependent upon popular support. This support is only rarely obtained by appeal to political principles or by the presentation of effective programs, and for the most part it accrues to political elites through the same kinds of highly personal, reciprocal relationships on which personal alliances are founded. The structure of the *de facto* power system, then, consists of an interlocking series of personal alliances which focus on some politician or some member of the elite, or a candidate the latter is supporting. These power alliances are initiated and maintained by essentially the same kinds of mechanisms which maintain interpersonal relations in general — favors, *utang na loob* obligations, compadrazgo, and so on.

That such inter-class relations are truly reciprocal and not solely a patron-client form of exploitation has been stressed by Lynch (1959). Lynch has pointed out that elites perform services for lower-class persons which are especially important during times of hardship or life-crisis events; and, moreover, that these services would not be available at all if not offered by elites. In a subsequent discussion of the qualities of local leadership Castillo and associates (Castillo, *et al.* 1963) have supported this view by showing that not only are local political leaders called on to render material aid, but they are also the persons most frequently approached for advice on a broad range of personal matters.

In some areas, especially urban ones, relations between elites and lower-class persons are not so multi-dimensional as they are in most rural communities, and status differences can render inter-class contacts quite difficult. In the Philippines such situations typically call for the role of an intermediary, or "go-between", and political situations are no exception. But in the political sphere one is especially likely to find the intermediation role being performed by a professional or near-professional, the *lider* or

"ward-heeler" (Hollnsteiner 1963). It is the lider's task to relate the needs of actual or potential lower-class allies to the power-elite's requirement for votes, a task for which the lider, being non-elite, is readily suitable. The diagnostic structural difference between the "personal alliance" and a politician's "power alliance", therefore, appears to be that the latter is greater in size and may only be maintained through the services of intervening individuals.

However, this particular power alliance model does not apply equally well to all areas of the lowland Philippines. For example, Warriner (1964) suggests that traditional power arrangements among the Muslim Maranao are based on rights over categories of persons defined by a principle of cognatic descent from a common ancestor. Such a system not only involves a number of organizational features which differ from those of the alliance model, but also happens not to articulate well with the administrative structure of the *de jure* local government. In the modern Philippine state, power is based on a principle of authority over a territorially defined administrative unit, while in traditional Maranao organization power arrangements stress rights over persons, irrespective of territorial considerations. Warriner points out that the resultant confusion of jurisdictional authority is an important factor in the failure of local community development and technical aid programs to be sustained, even when they are popular with local people.

Also of importance here are the results of several important studies dealing with the nature of the family and socialization processes in lowland communities. As we have previously indicated, literature on the lowland Filipino family stresses the importance of the primary kin group in ordering social relations, and the family unit is often treated as if it were invariable and homogeneous in all lowland communities. Two recent studies, however, provide considerable evidence to show that such simplistic treatment of socializing units ought, in principle, to be avoided. Ethel Nurge (1965), working a Leyte village community, discovered so much variation in households that she found it necessary to construct an eight-fold classification scheme in order to handle the data. There is, in retrospect, some question concerning the degree to which the variation she reports represents

differences in household "types", and the degree to which it might rather be held to represent different phases in a household developmental cycle, but the fact of variation is undeniable in Nurge's data. In urban Malate, Eslao (1966) has gone a step farther and considered the nature of household constitution over time. In doing so she has been able to show that the households in her sample all tended to go through very similar sequences of extension and fragmentation as a natural consequence of the developmental cycle in the lives of their constituent members.

Family and socialization studies in lowland communities also often point to the strong emphasis upon conforming to local norms which such populations exhibit. Thus in a village community in Ilocos Norte (Nydegger and Nydegger 1966) it has been shown that roles are very rigorously structured along lines which remain more or less consistent for persons in all age categories. Further-more, the evaluation of any individual's performance is not made "rationally" in terms of how effectively he accomplishes goals he sets for himself, but in terms of how well he lives up to community expectations, notwithstanding however much he may grumble in the process. In a similar fashion Lieban (1962) notes that in his village of Negros, ideas concerning illness were utilized to maintain community norms; i.e., the threat of illness prevented barrio people from seeking goals they could not realistically hope to attain. However, the Nydeggers also note that the power of the community to maintain a high degree of role conformity tends to be sharply diminished by an increasing frequency of extra-village relations which new economic alternatives are likely to encourage. As the amount of neighborhood interdependence is decreased, they indicate, so is community solidarity.

Several recent studies have suggested that much of the ordering or social relations in lowland communities revolves around rights in, and use of, productive property, especially land. Anderson (1962), for example, suggests that in his rural community in Pangasinan rights to land virtually define one's other social statuses. More recently (1964) he has argued that real property is the basic consideration in determining residence choice, a prime sorting factor in the process of choosing among kinsmen,

and a factor which strongly influences selection of spouses. In fact, the preference for second-cousin marriage in this community seems directly attributable to the desire to avoid fragmentation of property by reducing the potential number of kin who might place claims upon it. Anderson points to the non-self perpetuating nature of kin groupings in this bilateral kin system, and agrees with Frake (1960) that what seems to be continous in bilateral systems is not so much the nature of objective social groupings as the process by which these groupings are formed. Yet Anderson shows that even here some kin groups are perpetuated across generations. These latter he refers to as "family lines," and stresses that they revolve around large estates which are maintained through time, largely by the recombination of heirs which results from preferential second-cousin marriage. In short, it appears that where stable kinship groups are found in this bilateral kin system they are formed by combining a principle of cognatic descent with rights in a specified estate. Roughly similar kinds of descent groupings have been noted for some mountain peoples (Eggan 1960, 1967) and among some Muslim populations (Warriner 1964; Mednik 1965).

If rights in property are important foci for the organization of social relations, then it should follow that as these rights vary so should behavior in related sub-systems. This particular hypothesis was the subject of a study by Lewis (1967), in which a barrio in the Ilocano homeland of Ilocos Norte was compared to an Ilocano "pioneer" barrio in Isabela Province. The principal differences in property relations between the two areas were first, the greater availability of land in Isabela; and second, a corresponding increase in the size of fields actually held and worked in the same area. It was found that many social relations varied in correspondence to these man-land relationships. For example, on the Ilocos coast, where land is in short supply and land holdings small, social relations were found to be "attenuated", reciprocal exchanges of goods and services were much less stressed, disputes among kinsmen over land much more marked, and barrio boundaries less functional in delimiting a social unit of any perceived importance. Lewis' findings also verify a point made earlier by Scheans (1965), who showed that the older generations' ability to confer or withhold rights to land is a powerful sanction used

to maintain the superordinate-subordinate relationship between generations. In short, many of the features, such as hard work and frugality, which are held to be characteristic of Ilocanos in general were shown by Lewis to be the outcome of a particular set of economic and ecological circumstances which exist in the Ilocos area of the Philippines.

The paramount position occupied by property-rights as a determinant of social choice is so frequently reported for lowland populations in general that one is forced to the rather obvious conclusion that effective land reform and agricultural development programs will have a profound effect on the nature of barrio social life and political processes.

New Perspectives

In recent years a few Philippine anthropologists have been involved in the evolution of a new methodology which has drawn more general attention to Philippine anthropology. The principal persons involved are Harold Conklin and Charles Frake (though diffusion is taking place rapidly), and the methodology to which we refer is the formal semantic analysis of ethnographic data, or "ethnoscience." While ethnoscience is claimed to be no more than a new method for the gathering and assessment of data, it is obvious that its impact on theoretical developments is potentially profound.

Ethnoscience is, above all, a call for more sound ethnographic description; but it also takes the theoretical position that culture is best understood by the use of techniques which render it intelligible to the observer in the same way that such matters are intelligible to informants themselves. Its adherents therefore argue that ethnography properly consists of the attempt to understand the ways in which actors perceive, interpret, evaluate, and act upon experience; or to put it another way, ethnoscientific approaches stress the determination of ideological criteria by which persons make decisions, as opposed to an emphasis upon the objective, behavioral results of those decisions (Goodenough 1961:1343). While other kinds of theoretical-methodological choice-making models, such as those in economics, also deal with decision-making

procedures, these other approaches are concerned, first, with objective behavior from which choice-making procedures and valuations are inferred. Ethnoscience, on the other hand, aims at replicating as nearly as possible the evaluation of alternatives as they are "actually" evaluated by the persons being studied.

The chief admissable criticism in current critiques of ethnoscientific methodology seems to us to be the extent to which formal analysis of an ideational order can be employed to account for objective behavior. Goodenough argues forcefully that cognitive frameworks can be anticipated to account for behavior, setting forth the view that the "phenomenal order is an artifact of the ideational", and holding that the relationship between the ideational and the phenomenal is analogous to the relationship between genes and their phenotypic expressions in inbreeding populations (Goodenough 1964:12). Conklin, (1964:47; emphasis added) however, does not dismiss behavior so lightly:

> While complete isomorphism between semantic and pragmatic structural relations cannot be anticipated, and we do not hope to discover mechanical laws of causality in comparing such structures, we may hope to achieve a productive correlational analysis such that we will first be able to isolate major discontinuities ... and then be in a position to demonstrate effectively *how* they are interrelated.

Conklin's statement which proposes that we also relate semantics to behavior in a systematic way, is clearly the more acceptable.

Because of their central position in anthropological study, and because they constitute more or less discrete universes of data, kinship systems have been popular objects of analysis for ethnoscientists in general. For Philippine data, Conklin (1964) has worked through a Hanunoo genealogy in order to demonstrate the rigorous procedures which the ethnoscientist follows in working from data collection to the derivation of abstract rules and assessment of behavioral correlates. Lynch and Himes (1967) are, among other things, working on "cognitive maps" of Tagalog kinship systems; and Geoghegan has recently worked on the principles employed by members of a Samal population in producing an address terminology.

However, Philippine ethnoscience studies are more noteworthy for their demonstration that this methodology is a gene-

rally applicable conceptual tool, useful for analysis of the broad range of cultural categories, and is not limited in application to systems of kin terminology. Conklin, for example, actually published his paper on Hanunoo color categories (1955) prior to the appearance of Goodenough's now-celebrated paper on Trukese residence rules (Goodenough 1956), and has produced a recent analysis of some aspects of Ifugao ethnobotany (Conklin 1967). Frake has worked on Subanun disease concepts (1961), and has employed Subanun religious behavior as a device for demonstrating a suitable test for the adequacy of ethnographic description (Frake 1964). Most recently, Geoghegan (1967) has shown that what appears objectively to be a matrilocal residence among the Samal of Tagtabon Island can, by formal analysis, be shown to be perceived very differently by the Samal themselves. There is, in fact, no "rule" for residence, but a large number of variables among which individual Samals choose; and the "matrilocal result is but the outcome of many individual choices, each of which has involved weighting several factors. It is theoretically possible, therefore, that a change in the value of one of the factors (e.g., the mean number of children) could alter objective residence behavior without any corresponding change in the Samals' process of evaluation. For this reason Geoghegan suggests that this kind of analysis offers much greater control over the variables which must be considered in treatments of culture change; i.e., one now has the methodological techniques necessary to distinguish change in the ideological order from that in the phenomenal.

It seems apparent, therefore, that at the least, ethnoscience methodology lends rigor to the analysis of some areas of culture concerning which we have long had either impressionistic data, or none at all. Consequently, it is likely that research utilizing this methodology will become more popular, and that ethnoscientific analysis will be applied to an increasing variety of data universes. This would seem especially important in a society in which choice-making is such a common process in daily life as it is in the Philippines.

APPENDIX

Anthropological Research in Progress in the Philippines

Anderson, James N. Comparative studies in social and economic organization in northern and central Luzon. University of California, Berkeley.

Arce, Wilfredo F. Leadership in an ethnically heterogeneous community, Toasug and Samal in Jolo, Sulu. Cornell University.

Baradas, David Relationships between traditional and modern statute law among the Maranao of Lanao del Sur. University of Chicago.

Barnett, Milton L. Social organization and culture change among the Ibaloi of Benguet; an evaluation of action programs in Laguna (Tagalog). The Agricultural Development Council.

Bateson, Catherine Acculturation among the residents of Barrangka, Marikina, Rizal. Ateneo de Manila University.

Bello, Moises Social organization and culture change among the Kankanay of Amburaya, Benguet. University of the Philippines.

Casino, Eric S. Social organization of the Jama-Mapun Muslims, Duhul Batu, Cagayan de Sulu Island. Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University.

Claver, Francisco Political organization of the Manobo of Namnam, Bukidnon. Ateneo de Manila University.

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