

## Chapter 5

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# From Decolonizing Psychology to the Development of a Cross-Indigenous Perspective in Methodology *The Philippine Experience*

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It all began in 1975 when a postgraduate student at the University of the Philippines Psychology Department decided to take a different approach in her field research. Carmen Santiago (1975, 1977) was interested in studying the concept of *pagkalalaki*, a term that is difficult to translate to English but would roughly refer to maleness, manhood, manliness, machismo, or all of these. She started reviewing the literature and found that the available literature (mostly Western) was not relevant to this Filipino concept. So she ventured out into a Philippine village without a clear-cut research design or a literature review, and started interacting with the local residents. What was clear to her was a single question for the men whose views she was interested in obtaining: What is the meaning of *pagkalalaki*? In the course of her finding the best strategies for conducting this research, she discovered the *pakapa-kapa* approach, which was later defined by Torres (1982, p. 171) as “a suppositionless approach to social scientific investigations. As implied by the term itself, *pakapa-kapa* is an approach characterized by groping, searching and probing into an unsystematized mass of social data to obtain order, meaning and directions for research”. *Pakapa-kapa* provided the impetus for encouraging Filipino social scientists to discover methods of research that are indigenous to Filipino participants. *Pakapa-kapa* was a turning point in Philippine social science research.

This chapter will discuss the history of the development of indigenous methods in the Philippines, including the epistemological basis for these methods. Specifically, it will explain the basis of indigenization efforts in Philippine psychology, the debate within cross-cultural psychology on the nature and value of indigenization, the application of indigenous methods, and a critique of these methods.

## DECOLONIZING PHILIPPINE PSYCHOLOGY

The seeds for developing indigenous research methods in the Philippines were planted during the early years of the 1970s when Virgilio Enriquez (Carmen Santiago's professor) spearheaded a movement known as *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino psychology) that calls for understanding Filipino thought and experience from a Filipino perspective or orientation (Enriquez, 1975). The idea of the "indigenous" then becomes relevant in relation to the Western psychology tradition (the exogenous, the colonial) that has dominated the teaching and practice of psychology in the Philippines and which has resulted in an understanding of the Filipino that has been deemed inappropriate and insignificant. For instance, Filipinos' predisposition to be indirect when they communicate was regarded as being dishonest and socially ingratiating and as reflecting a deceptive verbal description of reality (Enriquez, 1992). In reality, i.e. using a Filipino perspective, this indirectness serves a number of purposes, for example, reflecting concern for the feelings of others to avoid the other person losing face or getting embarrassed if directly confronted with negativity, conforming with the norm of humility and modesty by not directly recognizing one's own ability and achievements, and so on.

With the shift to an indigenous psychology, Enriquez and his colleagues and students were able to unravel relevant Filipino characteristics and explain them through the eyes of the native Filipino. This effort has resulted in a body of knowledge that includes indigenous concepts and methods. One such concept that unfolded was *kapwa* (shared identity), which is at the core of Filipino social psychology, and which is at the heart of the structure of Filipino values. Enriquez refuted the widely-acclaimed observation by an American researcher that the main Filipino value is *pakikisama*, or maintaining smooth interpersonal relations, which would explain why Filipinos try to go along with the group or majority decision (conformity) (Lynch, 1961, 1973). Instead, Enriquez clarified that *pakikisama* is simply a colonial/accommodative surface value, and that the core value is *pakikipagkapwa*, which means treating the other person as *kapwa* or fellow human being (Enriquez, 1978, 1994). The discovery of *kapwa* and the articulation of its structure have an implication for the way we conduct indigenous research which I will elaborate later.

The history, nature, and contribution of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* have been synthesized in a paper by Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino (2000). We outlined its different filiations or influential traditions, its major characteristics as an indigenous Asian psychology, the development of indigenous concepts and theories, its impact on the teaching of psychology, its areas of application, and the debates within *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*. Much of the strategy for discovering *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* is based on assessing historical and socio-cultural realities, understanding the local language, rediscovering the dimensions of the Filipino character and explaining psychological concepts using a Filipino perspective. These resulted in a body of knowledge that includes indigenous concepts and methods, in short, a psychology that is appropriate and significant to Filipinos. We emphasized that indigenous psychologies such as *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* are making a contribution to a truly universal psychology.

Initial work on developing *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* concentrated on a type of indigenization that is based largely on simple translation of concepts, methods, theories, and measures into Filipino. For example, psychological tests were translated into the local language and modified in content so that a Philippine-type version of the originally borrowed test was produced. On the other hand, another type of indigenization was given more emphasis after the translation attempts failed to capture or express a truly Filipino psychology. This attempt is called *indigenization from within* (as opposed to *indigenization from without*), which means looking for the indigenous psychology from within the culture itself and not just clothing a foreign body with a local dress. In fact, the word *indigenization* is erroneous here because how can you indigenize something that is already indigenous? *Cultural revalidation* is a better term (Enriquez, 1992).

### FROM PAKAPA-KAPA TO A PARADIGM SHIFT

As mentioned above, *pakapa-kapa* was a turning point. *Pakapa-kapa* "implies an exploration into cultural, social or psychological data without the chains of overriding theoretical frameworks borrowed from observations outside the focus of investigation" (Torres, 1982, p. 171). This has some advantages.

First, the presuppositionless approach results in putting aside, even if momentarily, so-called "universal" concepts of psychology. Instead, *pakapa-kapa* leads to discovering cultural particularities. Second, *pakapa-kapa* enables the Filipino psychologist to be more creative in his tools and data base. With this approach, he is not tied down to experimental and other similar techniques. Neither is he hampered by the use of procedures which may locally be irrelevant, difficult to apply, or costly. Instead, *pakapa-kapa* works along traditionally accepted probe procedures. (Torres, 1982, p. 173)

*Pakapa-kapa* paved the way for a close examination of the loopholes of Philippine social research: many of the research topics were not relevant to the needs of the people being studied, (Western) methods were inappropriate to the ways of the people, definitions were based on Western theories, and there was an overemphasis on data rather than on the process of doing research. As an alternative, Santiago and Enriquez (1976) proposed ways of making research more Filipino-oriented. The resulting methods were considered indigenous—not imported nor invented, but natural or existing patterns of behavior (not methods), discovered and developed as research methods.

## INDIGENOUS METHODS

A number of indigenous methods have been written about, drawing on the Philippine experience. I will outline here some of the distinctive ones, related to the well-known participant observation, interview, focus group discussion, and personality testing methods.

### The Indigenous Approach to Participant Observation

The indigenous methods developed in the Philippines have been likened to field methods more familiar to anthropologists than psychologists (Sevilla, 1985). This comparison is correct to a certain extent. The indigenous approach however gives participant observation greater precision

from the minimum of establishing and maintaining empathy through *pag-dalaw-dalaw* (“informal visiting”, “dropping in” or the more culturally idiomatic “*napadaan lang po*” in “passing by”), to a more direct interaction in the culture bearer’s natural habitat *pakikisalamuha* (“interactive research”). Data quality changes from *pakikipanuluyan* (“live-in visitor”) to *pakikipanirahan* (“participant dweller”), and *pagpisan* (“live-in, one of us, participant”). While they all partake of the defining characteristics of what is simply called “participant observation” in Western anthropology, be it *pakikipanirahan* or *pagpisan*, the Filipino anthropologist knows which type of data to trust on the basis of the kind of participant observation used. It is indeed a difference in kind and not just a difference in form. A higher data quality is expected, for example, from *pakikipamuhay* (“living with”) as against *pakikipanuluyan*. (Enriquez, 1994, p. 58)

Let us examine some of these indigenous variants of participant observation. It must be noted that within these variants, indigenous researchers incorporate specific techniques of data gathering such as interviewing and observation.

“*Nakikiugaling pagmamasid*” was coined by Bennagen (1985) to describe his version of participant observation as he worked with the

Agta (an indigenous tribe) of Isabela in northern Philippines. *Pagmamasid* means observation, and *nakikiugali* means adopting the behaviors and ways of a particular group as one's own, which was what Bennagen did because he is not an Agta. But, he added that this process of *pakikiugali* includes not just observable behavior but mental behavior as well: "It is important that one embraces not just the external ways, but becomes one in thought as well—have the readiness of the mind to understand them" (my translation) (Bennagen, 1985, p. 406). In this methodological approach, the researchers have to embrace the culture of the group they are studying as their own, at least temporarily, in order to fully understand and appreciate it. Afterwards, they will look at this culture again from a distance in order to organize the data they have obtained in a logical and reasonable process that is true to the culture they have studied.

*Pagdalaw-dalaw* (frequent visits) also refers to a behavior Filipinos are used to. It is expressed as *pangangapitbahay* (visiting neighbors), *panganapitkuwarta* (visiting people in the next room), and others. Two university students used *pagdalaw-dalaw* to conduct research among the garbage scavengers of Malabon, Rizal (Gepigon & Francisco, 1978). They visited the *tambakan* (dump sites) which was the source of livelihood of these scavengers. It was impossible for them to reside there, even if they wanted to, for obvious reasons. Nor could they participate in their activities for it would mean competing with their participants for a meager source of income. The best thing to do was *pagdalaw-dalaw* which helped the participants get used to the researchers. While the initial reception was characterized by suspicion towards the researchers, the relationship between researchers and participants eventually developed into one of friendship and trust. In this study, the researchers also discovered the importance of recognizing "dress code". It was imprudent for them to come in attire similar to the scavengers (i.e., tattered t-shirts and pants) in an attempt to be accepted as one of them – to do so was to cast insult on their perceived low status. So they came in casual jeans and t-shirts and blended quite well with their research participants (*pakikibagay* or being in accord with).

The word *pakikisama* was first used in Philippine psychological literature to refer to a supposed Filipino value. Then it was identified as the highest level of social interaction under the *Ibang-Tao* category. This time, Nery (1979) used it to call the variant of participant observation which he employed in his study of "callboys" in a bar in Manila. Nery knew that if he were to use the traditional anthropological participant observation method, the risk would be very high – either that he would become a callboy himself, or a client, or a pimp at the very least. So, instead, he started out by simply frequenting the hangouts of the callboys, inviting them to sit down and drink in the bar. Then, he invited them to eat or drink outside the bar or at his residence. These were timed to coincide with free time of the callboys. However, despite the attractiveness of the *pakikisama*

approach, there were some inconveniences that he had to overcome. But, it still proved to be easier to handle than the participant observation technique which would have produced some ethical problems, and entailed extremely unrealistic and serious sacrifices on the researcher's part.

*Panunuluyan* ("residing in the research setting") was first articulated as a method by Nicdao-Henson (1982), and then further elaborated by San Juan and Soriaga (1985). Nicdao-Henson lived in the village of Tiaong, Quezon for three months in the house of her cousin who was married and had three children. The house was located at the center of town so other parts of the village were accessible from there. By living in the community, she gained an in-depth understanding of village life, both the common activities and the unique or special occurrences. This depth is reflected in her report on the concept of time among the residents, conceptualized as much in a symbolic way as in a temporal sense.

San Juan and Soriaga (1985) define *panunuluyan* as a method where the researcher lives, sleeps in the house of, and shares food with a host who has extended hospitality to the researcher. The host can be a friend, a relative, or someone referred to the researcher by a friend or a relative. *Panunuluyan* is more in keeping with Filipino culture compared to staying in a hotel when one is traveling. San Juan and Soriaga link this behavior to a way of fulfilling one's need to connect with our fellow human beings (*kapwa*). They see it as a form of *pagdalaw* (visiting) since the stay is temporary and short-term, the host family is present, the visitor will be given a bed and food, money is usually not exchanged, and the visitor is treated as a guest. (But, this must be distinguished from Gepigon and Francisco's *pagdalaw-dalaw*, or frequent visits, which do not include living with research participants.) They also draw the line between *panunuluyan* and *paninirahan* (residing more permanently), and *pananahanan* (assuming responsibilities related to taking care of the home), and *pakikisuno* (even less short-term, such as an overnight stay). San Juan and Soriaga provided a detailed manual-like discussion of the art of *panunuluyan*, covering the following topics: perspectives of the visitor and the host and the relationship between the two parties; responsibilities and expectations related to sleeping, sharing food, and other activities; the importance of *pakikiramdam* (sensitivity to cues), and having a *tulay* ("bridge" or middle person); and the step-by-step process (preparation, the travel, observation, from *pakikisuno* to *panunuluyan*; greeting and getting to know the host; settling down and sharing responsibilities in the house; establishing rapport; getting on with data gathering; saying goodbyes and thank-you and departure); and ethical issues.

## The Indigenous Interview

*Pagtatanong-tanong* is a Filipino word which means "asking questions." The repetition of *tanong* (question) to *tanong-tanong* indicates apparent

casualness when the inquirer is truly determined to get answers to his questions. *Pagtatanong-tanong* is a behavior that Filipinos ordinarily exhibit. Filipinos are used to spending hours chatting and exchanging questions and ideas. Not many Filipinos are exposed to the interview, but definitely, all Filipinos are used to *pagtatanong-tanong* (Pe-Pua, 1985, 1989).

*Pagtatanong-tanong* was first documented as a research method by Gonzales (1982) although what Santiago (1975) referred to as *pakikipanayam* (interview) was actually in the tradition of *pagtatanong-tanong*. Nicdao-Henson (1982) also called one of her techniques *pagtatanong-tanong* in her study of the indigenous concept of time. Nonetheless, Gonzales was the first to write about the reasons and characteristics of this method. She detailed the goals of the method, characteristics of the person using the method, the venue, time and occasion, the respondents, and the step-by-step process of *pagtatanong-tanong*. Pe-Pua (1985, 1989) later expounded on these characteristics, explained the underlying assumptions and elevated it to the status of a cross-cultural method after trialing it with non-Filipino participants in Hawaii, USA.

*Pagtatanong-tanong* is sometimes interpreted as an informal interview or at best an "improvisation" that approximates the interview method, but this is not correct. Although there are some similarities, *pagtatanong-tanong* is basically different from the interview. Besides, the use of the local term *pagtatanong-tanong* highlights the importance of tapping culturally appropriate indigenous research methods without claiming exclusivity to it for the particular culture (Pe-Pua, 1985, 1989).

*Pagtatanong-tanong* has four major characteristics: (1) It is participatory in nature, and the participant has an input in the structure of the interaction in terms of defining its direction and in terms of time management. (2) The researcher and the participant are equal in status; both parties may ask questions for about the same length of time. (3) It is appropriate and adaptive to the conditions of the group of participants in that it conforms to existing group norms. (4) It is integrated with other indigenous research methods (Pe-Pua, 1985, 1989).

Santiago (1975) used *pagtatanong-tanong* very sensitively on a culturally sensitive topic, *pagkatalalaki* (malehood, masculinity, etc.). She was aware that if she insisted on interviewing the men in the village individually, people would misinterpret this as a ploy to "seduce" the men. So she spent her first few days in the field trying to find out the best way to get the men. Based on this, she went to places where the men commonly gathered, such as the local makeshift store that would usually have some benches in the front. She also invited the men to her house, but always in a group because most Filipinos feel uncomfortable being "interviewed" alone, and much more so if this is a male respondent being interviewed by a female researcher. Santiago also avoided structured questions. She started with a single question, "What is *pagkatalalaki*?" and the rest of the

questions followed on from the answers of the respondent. Her justification for not having a set of standard questions is that the participants would feel like they are undergoing an interrogation. There was also a danger of word going around the small town – pretty soon, prospective respondents would know what was being asked, and might even memorize answers!

Nicdao-Henson (1982) also used *pagtatanong-tanong* within the participant observation framework in her research on the concept of time. Just like Santiago, she did not have a structured interview guide. The questions developed as the *pagtatanong-tanong* went on. She also adjusted her manner to the particular characteristics of the respondents. For example, her voice and behavior became more gentle and soft when dealing with older people compared to younger ones. She used *pagtatanong-tanong* when there were realities that she could not understand, or when she wanted to verify some data.

I used *pagtatanong-tanong* as the main method in my study of migration and return migration among Ilocanos (Filipinos from the Ilocos region in the Philippines) who have lived in Hawaii for ten years or more (called *Hawayano* upon their return to Ilocos). Since there were three of us involved in the data collection, I prepared a list of topics and sub-topics to be covered. This list was simply a guide. The wording of questions to cover these topics was left to the *nagtatanong-tanong* (the person conducting the *pagtatanong-tanong*). There was no strict sequence to follow. Not being a native speaker of the local language, I had to learn to speak Ilocano, the language of the *pagtatanong-tanong*. A level of *pakikipagpalagayang-loob* (rapport, mutual trust) was attained for all cases. The community's acceptance of the research was indicated by the openness they showed me and the two other researchers who were local residents of the areas. Another indication is when they would remark fondly every time I would be around, "Here comes the *Hawayana* (female *Hawayano*)!" A year after I carried out the study, even before I presented my dissertation to the University of the Philippines to be given a Ph.D., I returned to my research sites and presented my findings to the *Hawayanos* using the Ilocano language. These presentations were attended by members of the wider community as well. They remarked that this was a good gesture since they were not expecting that they would be the first to learn the results. The presentations made a lot of scientific sense as well since these were opportunities to verify the findings, to clarify points that surfaced during the data analysis that were a bit vague, leading to more confidence in the validity of the study (Pe-Pua, 1988).

The *pagtatanong-tanong* can be carried out individually or in natural clusters. Thus, a prospective participant is encouraged to bring along a friend or two if he/she does not wish to be interviewed alone. Also, participants know each other and feel comfortable in each other's company.



In some cases, the natural cluster atmosphere stimulates discussion affecting participants more effectively than the individual *pagtatanong-tanong*. *Pagtatanong-tanong* within a natural cluster works well for many Filipinos who are used to being surrounded by friends and family in every stage in their lives. When Santiago (1975) did not object to the men in her study bringing along a friend or two, she was utilizing the natural cluster to benefit her research.

The Children's Rehabilitation Center (CRC) (1990) recommended *pagtatanong-tanong* as a method for research in its training manual for dealing with children in conflict situations such as children of war and victims of abuse. They clarified the goals of *pagtatanong-tanong* as not just gathering valid information, but clarifying, confirming and verifying data collected for the sake of accurate and effective delivery of the study.

The CRC also recommended another indigenous variant of the interview, *pakikipagkuwentuhan* ("story-telling"), when dealing with topics that are not commonly discussed, for issues that people would not own up to, such as sensitive issues related to sexuality or abuse. This method allows a free flow of opinions and experiences (personal or that of a third party). But there should be safeguards against deviating too much from the topic of discussion. The method was earlier defined by a CRC staff as "an indigenous research method of collecting data from a group or individuals who express their opinions, beliefs, knowledge and experience freely and informally" (my translation) (Enriquez, 1988).

*Pakikipagkuwentuhan* was first described by de Vera (1976) by way of relating how she used it to study extra-marital relationships. De Vera was aware that Filipinos would not openly admit to having extra-marital affairs so the formal interview or the *pagtatanong-tanong* was out of the question as a research method. Instead, she used a popular item that Filipinos like to talk about—movies. Since extra-marital affairs were (and still are) a frequent element in Philippine movies, she used these as the stories around which she asked about opinions on the reasons people engage in these affairs, the consequences on and reactions of family, friends, and the community. De Vera observed the advantage of this method in bringing out opinions for which respondents would not feel threatened to discuss, and its ability to allow respondents to express themselves freely since the discussion was not focused directly on their experience. She observed, however, that some participants tended to simply go along with the opinions of others, that women respondents were less participative, that some participants were domineering, and sometimes the *kuwentuhan* (story-telling) deviated from the research topic.

De Vera's *pakikipagkuwentuhan* method was criticized by Orteza (1997) on the following grounds: The purpose of the research was hidden from the participants who were made to believe that she was just interested in their opinions outside the context of a research project. This trickery is a breach

of the basic principle of indigenous research, that of treating the participants as equal, according them the respect that one's *kapwa* (fellow human being) deserve. The level of interaction implied in de Vera's use of *pakikipagkuwentuhan* is that of *pakikibagay* (getting along with), which is still outside the "one-of-us" category. The story-telling aspect was with the use of movie plots as stimuli for discussion, instead of weaving stories related to people's lives. There were other technical problems such as the selective screening of participants according to perceived credibility of their views, and the data analysis of ranking responses, similar to quantitative approaches.

Orteza proceeded to provide us with a better articulation of *pakikipagkuwentuhan* as a powerful method for collecting data about people's personal and collective experience and views. She compared the *pakikipagkuwentuhan* of the 1980's to that of the 1990's and corrected the mistaken notion that this is used only for sensitive and difficult topics/issues. She made the important point that one can use *pakikipagkuwentuhan* in practically any given situation in the spirit of *pakikipagkapwa* (shared identity). Thus, when people engage in *pakikipagkuwentuhan*, they would feel free to weave stories. In real-life situations, this transaction can go on with people becoming oblivious of time. Elements are added or subtracted from the stories going around the group. Even when people meet for the first time, once rapport is established, they can engage in this type of interaction. It simply cannot accommodate just *pakikibagay* (getting along with). In reality, participants also become oblivious of the level of interaction. It is assumed that *pakikipagpalagayang-loob* (being in rapport/understanding/acceptance with) exists. Otherwise, it is not the indigenous method with which Filipinos are so familiar (Orteza, 1997).

Orteza defined *pakikipagkuwentuhan* as

an informal, free, social process of exchanging information, thoughts and knowledge that are innate in a group's everyday life. It is a form of collective research where researchers and participants share equal status. The whole process, which is guided by rules of *pakikipagkapwa* (treating each other as fellow human being), must produce a story or stories that can be analyzed (my translation) (Orteza, 1997, p. 22).

If participants are interested in the topic, they would join the *kuwentuhan* (story-telling or discussion) spontaneously. In the spirit of equality of status, the researchers would also be expected to share their views and add to the stories. Orteza also discussed the role of the researcher and the participants, the research topic, place and time, the *pakikipagkuwentuhan* session, and how to analyze the stories produced. On the last point, the grounded theory approach becomes relevant, where the resulting "theory" is grounded on data gathered directly from the participants. Therefore, the response categories are not pre-determined.

## Collective Indigenous Discussion

*Pakikipagkuwentuhan* is a cross between the interview and the focus group discussion. The distinct characteristic of *pakikipagkuwentuhan* is the free exchange of ideas leading to *stories* that can be analyzed.

There is another indigenous method that captures the group environment of the focus group discussion. This is the collective indigenous discussion or *ginabayang talakayan*. Galvez described this method very much like a focus group discussion except for one basic element: the researcher and participants collectively decide on the topic/s of discussion and the flow of the discussion. Thus, the *ginabayang talakayan* is “a method of collective research where a group of participants engage in sharing and exchanging knowledge, experience and opinions on a topic/topics they have collectively agreed to discuss” (my translation) (Galvez, 1988).

Galvez and Enriquez (1988, cited in Enriquez, 1994, p. 73) conducted a study on understanding the Filipino male using the *ginabayang talakayan* method. They recruited their participants through existing indigenous/community groups such as men’s clubs, fraternities, *barkadas* (peer groups), sports clubs, etc. Thus, the participants were assumed to have rapport with each other, and this study focused on group opinion. The discussion groups consisted of four to six participants per group, all males, aged 16 to over 40, students and employees/workers. The sessions went from three to three-and-a-half hours.

Another study that used this method was on Filipino sexuality (Pe-Pua, Aguling-Dalisay & Sto. Domingo, 1993). Twenty *ginabayang talakayan* were conducted consisting of four to six participants per group. Before starting the discussion, we would first get their approval on a discussion guide prepared by the facilitator. They could change this guide if they felt it was insufficient, too long, or inadequate or irrelevant to their experience. This procedure somehow gave the participants a feeling of importance and control over the way the discussion would proceed. We held separate discussions for men and women. The groups were also homogeneous in terms of age, marital status, and socio-ethnolinguistic group. The women’s groups were led by a female facilitator, and the men’s groups by a male facilitator. We used the local language or dialect. The sessions would go for one to three hours. The discussions were informal, very relaxed, animated, and interspersed with a lot of bantering and jokes. All discussions were taped.

Enriquez gave the collective indigenous discussion a special meaning when he described the way this was carried out by the Philippine Psychology Research and Training House (PPRTH). During Enriquez’s time, the PPRTH used to hold the *Piling-Piling Huwebes* (Special Thursdays) that had three elements: an indigenous concept or practice, an indigenous drink or beverage, and an indigenous food—all three having the same initial

letter of the alphabet. For example, the PPRTH would invite a resource person to discuss the indigenous concept of *subli* (a song form in Batangas). An indigenous drink, *salabat* (ginger ale), and an indigenous food, *suman* (a type of rice cake) would be served. Thus, this Special Thursday would be called *Salabat, Suman at Subli*. Enriquez (1994, pp. 56–57) described this type of discussion as “research cum consciousness raising” in the sense that “The encounter always goes beyond the collective discussion of research data and analysis.” Starting with the indigenous expert discussing the topic and oftentimes, giving a demonstration or performance, the event would continue on with an open forum or discussion. When the audience is encouraged to be active in this discussion and sometimes experience the topic of the day it is possible to gather research data on their attitudes, while at the same time raise their consciousness and awareness of the indigenous culture and practices. Enriquez proposed that this strategy (the PPH approach) be used when dealing with research topics that are sensitive, such as AIDS, sexuality, abuse, and so on. The Piling-Piling Huwebes eventually was renamed Piling-Piling Araw (Special day) and is a tradition that is still pursued by the Philippine Psychology Research and Training House and the Pambansang Samahan sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino (National Association of Filipino Psychology).

### Indigenization of Psychological Testing<sup>1</sup>

The area of Filipino Personality is the richest ground from which local concepts and values were discovered. Hand in hand with this is the indigenization of psychological testing in the Philippines.

Reviews on the status of Philippine psychological measurement in the 1970s and 1980s pointed out the twin problems of the inapplicability of foreign-made tests and the dearth of locally developed tests (Carlota, 1980; Guanzon, 1985; Lazo, 1977; Lazo, de Jesus & Tiglao, 1976; Ramos, 1977). Carlota (1980) noted several trends in personality measurement, citing developments in the areas of personality testing, and the measurement of abilities and aptitudes, and of deviant behavior. Guanzon (1985) decried the tendency of local test users to use foreign-made tests as it were “lock, stock, and barrel” with no attempt whatsoever to adapt these tests through item or test modification, test translation, or development of local norms.

Enriquez and his associates developed the *Panukat ng Ugali at Pagkatao* (PUP) (Measure of Character and Personality) in 1975. This test utilized dimensions of personality that are relevant to Filipinos. In the history of Philippine psychological measurement, Enriquez’s PUP clearly stands out as probably the first instrument that is culturally sensitive in its assessment

<sup>1</sup> The author acknowledges the contribution of Ma. Angeles Guanzon-Lapeña in the writing of this section.

of the Filipino personality. Psychological testing may be of Western origin, however, the substance of the PUP originated from an indigenous understanding of the Filipinos. The test administration procedures of the PUP were also adapted to Filipino ways (Enriquez & Guanzon, 1985). The PUP was later followed by other indigenous personality measures.

Cipres-Ortega and Guanzon-Lapeña (1997) have given evidence of an upsurge in the development of indigenous psychological measures during the last five years. Interest has grown by leaps and bounds from the handful of tests in educational psychology, which were locally developed in the 1950s, to the interest in personality testing of the projective type in the 1960s. They further noted that

the 1970s saw tests developed in creativity, self-perception, personality and vocational testing, and the 1980s an increased interest in personality testing, with a number of researchers doing studies on the Filipino child and the Filipino adolescent. And in the 1990s, tests were developed to measure a wide variety of Filipino characteristics—*katalinuhan* [intelligence], *pagkarelihiyoso* [religiosity], *kaasalang sekswal* [sexual behavior], *kakayahang magdala ng tensyon* [ability to handle stress], *pagkamabahala* [anxiety], *kahustuhang emosyonal* [emotional stability], *kakayahang berbal sa Filipino* [verbal ability in Filipino, Filipino management style, dementia screening, empathy, and trustworthiness, to name a few. (Cipres-Ortega & Guanzon-Lapeña, 1997, p. 7)

## APPLICATION OF PHILIPPINE INDIGENOUS METHODS OUTSIDE THE PHILIPPINES

Several researchers have attempted to apply Philippine indigenous methods beyond Philippine soils and shores, and not necessarily with Filipino participants. In 1982, I talked about *pagtatanong-tanong* at the Center for Culture Learning at the East-West Center in Hawaii, USA. In a study on social situational factors in cross-cultural adjustment headed by Richard Brislin, I used *pagtatanong-tanong* among Korean, Japanese, and Hawaiian respondents and discovered that it worked; it is a cross-cultural method. It has similarities with the life history method as used by Horoiwa (1983) in her study of Japanese growing up outside Japan. The Hawaiians' "talk story" behavior is similar to the Filipino *pagtatanong-tanong* and *pakikipagkuwentuhan*.

I have also continued to use not only *pagtatanong-tanong*, but the cross-indigenous approach in researching migrant and ethnic communities in Australia. Among street-frequenting youth, the natural cluster or individual *pagtatanong-tanong* helped document the myriad issues affecting these young people who were constantly negotiating their place in a multicultural society (Pe-Pua, 1996). The *ginabayang talakayan* style was incorporated in the focus group discussions with international students in two Australian

universities to understand issues such as intergroup relations, their perceptions of the learning environment, and their overall adjustment to life in Australia (Pe-Pua, 1994, 1995). Again, the *pagtatanong-tanong* and *ginabayang talakayan* approaches were very effective in our research on the “astronaut” families and “parachute” children—Hong Kong immigrants who “landed” in Australia and then one or both parents returned to Hong Kong to resume work or business, leaving the spouse and children in Australia to cope with cross-cultural adjustments, and changing roles and responsibilities (Pe-Pua, Mitchell, Iredale & Castles, 1996). The same methods were applied to our study on the legal needs of migrant groups in a Sydney local government area (Pe-Pua & Echevarria, 1998), and another with refugee and family entrant families in Australia (Iredale, Mitchell, Pe-Pua, & Pittaway, 1996). Only in a few instances were the research participants of Filipino background. The research in Australia included Macedonians, Pacific Islanders, Koreans, Serbians, Croatians, Lebanese, South Americans, Portuguese, and so on—reflecting the multicultural composition of Australian society. I also include *pakapa-kapa* (searching technique) and *pagtatanong-tanong* in teaching research methods courses in the undergraduate and postgraduate levels at the University of New South Wales in Australia.

Moving on to other shores, the Philippine indigenous methods worked effectively in my research on Filipino migrant workers in Spain and Italy. The indigenous interview and collective group discussion immediately sparked a wealth of information which the workers were so keen to share. The research situation was also an opportunity for them to put things in perspective and undertake a self-assessment of the value and success of their sojourn (Pe-Pua, 2003).

Protacio-Marcelino (1996) used *pagtatanong-tanong* and *pakikipagkuwentuhan* with second generation Filipino-American youth to examine the influence of Filipino and American cultures on their process of search, discovery, creation and development of their cultural/ethnic identity. The *pagtatanong-tanong* was aided by an interview guide, while the *pakikipagkuwentuhan* used the style of asking the participant to simply tell the story of their lives as they were growing up between two cultures.

After this snapshot of indigenous research methods, we are ready to examine the guiding principles of these methods and the features of the indigenous research approach.

## GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR INDIGENOUS METHODS

Following on from the approach of tapping indigenous psychological knowledge to discover indigenous concepts and research methods, followers of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* transformed the core value of *kapwa* to become a

pivotal concept to articulate five basic guiding principles for the use of indigenous perspective in research. *Kapwa* (shared identity, fellow human being) provides a guide for understanding the transaction between researchers and research participants.

The first guiding principle in indigenous research is that the level of interaction or relationship that exists between the researcher and the participants significantly determines the quality of the data obtained. There are two categories of *kapwa*: the *Ibang-Tao* (“outsider”) and the *Hindi-Ibang-Tao* (“one-of-us”). In Filipino social interaction, one is immediately “placed” into one of these two categories; and how one is placed determines the level of interaction one engenders. For example, if one is regarded as *ibang-tao*, the interaction can range from *pakikitungo* (transaction/civility with), to *pakikisalamuha* (inter-action with), to *pakikilahok* (joining/participating), to *pakikibagay* (in-conformity with/in-accord with), and to *pakikisama* (getting along with). If one is regarded as *hindi-ibang-tao*, you can expect *pakikipagpalagayang-loob* (being in-rapport/understanding/acceptance with, mutual trust), *pakikisangkot* (getting involved), or the highest level of *pakikiisa* (being one with). In the research context, one should aim at reaching the first level under *Hindi-Ibang-Tao*, which is *pakikipagpalagayang-loob*, at the minimum, if one wants to be assured of good quality data.

The dichotomy of the “one-of-us” and the “outsider” categories reflects a value for defining membership in a group that determines the boundaries or the extent of allowable behavior for a person. Many a time the relationship between the researcher and the participants continues long after the research is over.

Second principle: Researchers should treat research participants as equal, if not superior—like a fellow human being and not like a guinea pig whose sole function is to provide data. From this principle, certain behaviors on the part of the researcher are prescribed. For example, in the method of *pagtatanong-tanong* (literally, “asking questions” in a fairly casual manner), the participants are free to ask the researcher as many questions as they want, therefore acting much like “researchers” themselves. These questions should be accorded the same respect and not avoided (Pe-Pua, 1989). In many of the research methods, participants actually have an input in the research process itself—in terms of time management, structure of the questions, and interpretation—without their being aware of it.

Third principle: We should give more importance to the welfare of the participants than to obtaining data from them. The goal of research is understanding, but not at the expense of the very people from whom this understanding will spring. The primary ethical responsibility of researchers should be to the people and not to their institution or funding agency. For example, if the publication of the research report will jeopardize the situation of the people, then it should not be continued. If the needs of the community are discovered in the course of doing research on

a different topic, and it is within the researchers' capability to help, then they should help. The research, aside from being enlightening for the respondents, should also be empowering.

Fourth principle: Research methods should be chosen on the basis of appropriateness to the population (and not sophistication of the method) and it should be made to adapt to existing cultural norms. For example, having somebody else butt in in the middle of an interview session is not something to be upset over; one should go through the process of getting to know each other first informally before asking questions on topics that are not that common to people. Researchers cannot expect people to adjust to the method; the method should adjust to the people. And here is where *pakikiramdam* is most needed—in trying to figure out how the research method will work most effectively. *Pakikiramdam* is another indigenous concept discovered in Filipino psychology. It refers to a special kind of sensitivity to cues which will guide researchers in their interaction with group members, especially with Filipinos who are used to indirect and non-verbal manners of communicating and expressing thoughts, attitudes, feelings and emotions. It is through *pakikiramdam* that a researcher will know when to ask personal questions and when not to pursue them; when it is time to leave; or how to interpret a “yes” or a “no”.

Fifth principle: The language of the people should be the language of the research at all times. If this is not possible, local researchers should be tapped for assistance. It is in their own mother tongue that a person can truly express their innermost sentiments, ideas, perceptions, and attitudes.

## FEATURES OF THE INDIGENOUS RESEARCH APPROACH

Enriquez (1992) tried to distinguish the indigenous research approach from dominant, established approaches such as experimental research, survey research, and participatory research—in terms of informal culture, formal structure, and technological procedures (see Table 1). The indigenous research approach would seem to be closer in characteristics to the participatory research approach; but even with this, there are distinct differences.

*Informal culture:* In terms of values and ideologies, indigenous research recognizes knowledge as inseparable from praxis, consciousness, identity, and involvement. In terms of beliefs and theories, a multi-method, appropriate and total approach is the way to obtain valid information. In terms of norms and assumptions, the researcher seeks to be one with the group being studied, by way of his/her actions (Enriquez, 1992).

*Formal structure:* In terms of the division of labor, the indigenous researcher and participants work at the level of unity. The researcher uses



**Table 1. A Comparison of Research Approaches in Culture, Structure and Procedures**

|                                 | <b>Experimental research</b>                                | <b>Survey research</b>  | <b>Participatory research</b>                                      | <b>Indigenous research</b>   |
|---------------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| <b>INFORMAL CULTURE</b>         |   |   |  |  |
| Values, Ideologies              | Discover causal laws; internally valid experiments          | Data-based relationships; external validity                     | Social change; relevant knowledge; mutual influence                | Knowledge as praxis, consciousness, identity and involvement   |
| Beliefs, Theories               | Valid information from experimenter objectivity and control | Valid information from sample selection and statistical control | Valid information from relationships with research participants    | Valid information from a multi-method, appropriate and total approach  |
| Norms, Assumptions              | Adhere to experimental procedure                            | Adhere to 'contract' with participants                          | Negotiate issues jointly as they arise                             | Enhance awareness as one with-the-other  |
| <b>FORMAL STRUCTURE</b>         |   |   |  |  |
| Division of Labor               | 'Experimenters' run 'subjects' in experiments               | 'Researchers' collect data from 'respondents'                   | 'Researchers' and 'participants' work as colleagues                | Researcher systematizes and participants reconfirm; researcher and researchee work at level of unity   |
| Distribution of Power           | Experimenters control subjects' activities                  | Researchers define appropriate responses                        | Researchers and participants negotiate activities on equal footing | Culture-bearer provides the implied and articulated limits of the research enterprise  |
| <b>TECHNOLOGICAL PROCEDURES</b> |   |   |  |  |
| Problem Definition              | Experimenters deduce from theory                            | Researchers induce issues/ variables from data                  | Parties negotiate shared interests and define problems             | Problem definition given by culture-bearers. Issues must be part of their awareness. Awareness may be created through involvement on the basis of identification with the indigenous |

*Continued*

Table 1. (cont.)

|                         | Experimental research                                   | Survey research   | Participatory research                    | Indigenous research   |
|-------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Research Design         | From experimental design                                | From technologies for sample selection, instrument design | From pragmatic possibilities of situation | Research design as output and not as blueprint. Secondary research strategies (e.g. survey, experiments) adopted whenever appropriate |
| Data Collection         | Run experiments and tabulate responses                  | Administer interview, questionnaire                       | Most credible party collects              | Involved party collects. Quality of data as a function of critical involvement  |
| Utilization of Findings | Disseminated to other experimenters for theory-building | Disseminated to researchers; or policy-makers             | Shared with others relevant to action     | Primarily for the culture-bearers; not shared with others at culture-bearers' expense   |

Overview of indigenous research (Enriquez, 1986). Statements on Experimental, Survey and Participatory Research are from "Organizing Participatory Research: Interfaces for Joint Inquiry and Organization Change," (Dave Brown, *Journal of Occupational Behavior*, January 1983, 4 (1), 9-19).

his/her ability to systematize things, with the participants reconfirming such efforts. In terms of distribution of power, from the virtual absolute power of the experimenter (full control of subjects' activities), to the diminished power of the survey researcher (determining scope, defining responses, sampling respondents), to the clipping of the participatory researcher's power (researchers and participants negotiate activities on equal footing), power rests not on the indigenous researcher but on the culture-bearer participants who provide and determine the scope and limits of research (Enriquez, 1992).

*Technological procedures:* In terms of problem definition, indigenous research does not deduce this from theory (as experimental researchers do) nor just evaluate issues from data (as survey researchers do), but actually goes beyond the participatory research approach where the problem is defined by researchers and participants together. Indigenous researchers let the community of culture-bearers define the problems and issues. There is no blueprint for a research design. Instead, the design is a result of the collective planning and decision-making of the participants, with the

indigenous researcher acting as facilitator. In terms of data collection, while participatory research encourages only the most credible party to collect data, indigenous research allows only the involved party to collect data. In terms of utilization of findings, the culture-bearer participants determine how findings will be shared, or whether it should be shared at all! (Enriquez, 1992) Data collection follows what Viney (1988) described as the mutual-orientation model where “both data collector and contributor give something to, and gain something from, the data collection” (cited in Enriquez, 1994, p. 61).

We can see from the above discussion that indigenous research challenges the traditional role of researcher and participant. Enriquez (1992) argued that experimental and survey researchers wield a monopoly of power, making them “research emperors”, perpetuating their own interest, preserving the status quo, sometimes at the expense of the powerless indigenous people. This power relation is modified in participatory research where researcher and participants begin to share power and status and become co-equal. Indigenous research went a step further—reversing the power role relation. Here, it is the culture bearer participants who determine the scope of the research, define the problem, lead the way to determining the appropriate method of obtaining information, collect the data, and determine its use. The participants become the indigenous researchers, and the social scientist contributes by being a facilitator, “a morale booster, networker, or at most a consultant who confers about the research problem with the community who are, in this case, the real researchers” (Enriquez, 1994, p. 59). Indigenous method is therefore not just culturally sensitive and appropriate, but it is also people-oriented (Enriquez, 1992).

The indigenous research approach therefore represents a paradigm shift, whereby facilitation research is the underpinning definition of research.

Facilitation research in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* operates with the knowledge that an indigenous group has its own methods of research and documentation. In majority-minority relations, facilitation research stems from a strong desire to empower the minority and immigrant peoples who used to be just a source of data. (Enriquez, 1994, pp. 58–59)

## DEBATES ON THE VALUE OF USING INDIGENOUS METHODS

Indigenous methods developed out of a realization that the non-selective use of western methods has led to a misunderstanding of Filipino psychology, a picture that was based on using western, inappropriate criteria. The pitfalls of such an approach were recognized in Philippine social science literature as early as the 1960s and 1970s (Feliciano, 1965; Espiritu, 1968; Santiago, 1975; Santiago & Enriquez, 1976).

Indigenous methods were applied and tested in various research situations. They have been reviewed by a number of writers (Sevilla, 1978, 1985; Margallo, 1982). Some of the issues raised were in relation to language, the uniqueness of the method, the insider/outsider issue, observer/investigator bias, and ethics.

### **The Language Issue**

Full use of the native language or dialect of the indigenous group is integral to the indigenous research approach. The native language or dialect is the language through which the members can best and comfortably express their ideas, emotions, beliefs and attitudes. It is scientifically sensible to use the local language as source of theory, method, and praxis because the exclusive use of a mainstream language "can lead to the neglect of the wealth of indigenous concepts and methods embodied in a language more meaningful to the culture" (Alfonso, 1977).

Sevilla (1985) pointed out that a problem faced by Filipino indigenous research is that there has always been a strong bias toward English as medium of instruction and thinking in Philippine academe. This is based on a "colonial mentality" towards (a perception of superiority of) Western-based knowledge, theories and methods. While this observation is true, the reality speaks for an upsurge in studies conducted in the indigenous tradition with the full use of the local languages and dialects. From this emerged a wealth of indigenous concepts that are relevant to Filipinos, and which are a contribution to universal psychological knowledge. Documentation was a task that Enriquez and his colleagues took seriously. Since 1976, the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* Resource Collection (now housed at the University of the Philippines) accumulated more than 10,000 papers written in the Filipino language on Filipino psychology, culture, history, and the arts (Enriquez, 1992). Student and professional researchers continue to contribute to this wealth of material on indigenous psychology.

### **How Unique Are the Indigenous Methods?**

Sevilla (1985) also questioned the "uniqueness" of the indigenous methods. Somehow, the indigenous perspective seems to promise us something quite different from the traditional methods of the West, for is it not one of the reasons we "turned away from the West" to discover the indigenous? And yet, these indigenous methods are not even unique to psychology, Sevilla laments. They are very similar to techniques of participant observation known to anthropologists and sociologists.

To address this concern, we must point out that a method that is indigenous to one culture is not necessarily unique to this culture, but definitely appropriate and thus relevant to it. Also, what is indigenous in

one is not necessarily applicable to another culture. Thus, the cross-indigenous perspective demands that we discover and use whatever is found to be indigenous in the particular culture—with the end view of comparing the outcomes with those emanating from other cultures using their own indigenous methods and practices. As Enriquez (1992) put it, “Indigenous psychology does not aim to create a psychology applicable only to the indigenous culture. More accurately, indigenous psychology aims to develop a psychology based on and responsive to the indigenous culture and realities” (p. 91).

### **The Insider/Outsider Issue**

The insider or the culture-bearer researchers have an advantage in doing indigenous research. They know the language of the people. They can better appreciate their values, sentiments, beliefs and experiences. They are more likely to be readily accepted by the research participants since they are “one-of-us”. Inasmuch as both the research participants and the researcher are culture-bearers, the phenomenon of “going emic on somebody else’s emic” (Enriquez, 1979, 1992) can be avoided. If the researcher is not a member of the ethnic minority group nor has any close linkage with it, he/she should exert extra effort to learn the language.

Does this mean then that the outsider or non-culture-bearer researcher has no place in indigenous research?

In the end, having an outsider and an insider is the best arrangement. The expected “bias” of the insider will be balanced by the assumed “objectivity” of the outsider. The outsider can alert the insider about certain aspects of the research which the insider might be taking for granted. On the other hand, the insider can comment on the interpretation of the outsider and offer some suggestions for improvement or correction whenever possible and necessary (Brislin & Holwill, 1977).

### **Observer/Investigator Bias**

One problem always brought out with the use of indigenous methods is the subjectivity of the participant’s responses and the researcher’s interpretation of the data. Subjectivity or reactivity of the participant who wishes to please the researcher can be avoided in the first place if the relationship between the two parties is one of mutual trust. Similarly, consistency of the response can be checked by repeating the question in a different way.

The problems of investigator bias and data contamination can be solved by having more than one person do the research so that more than one viewpoint is represented. This ensures reliability and validity. If the researchers are familiar with the language, cultural norms and values of the participants among other things, then accuracy and relevance of their

interpretations can be optimized. They should try to approximate the status of an “insider” to minimize responses tailored to the expectations of an outsider. Threats to reliability and validity can be handled through repeated sampling from as many participants as possible, manipulating situations such that behavioral concomitants of a construct become probable, and cross-checking data with other documents unobtrusively (Torres, 1982).

### **Pakapa-kapa or Careful Planning?**

In her review of some indigenous studies, Margallo (1982) pointed out that the indigenous research model is undoubtedly more suitable to the Filipino culture. If not carefully planned and conducted, however, it could be susceptible to confounding effects just like western methods. While appearing simple, indigenous methods are in fact very demanding in terms of the sensitivities of which one needs to be aware. Margallo’s comments on the studies she examined brought to the fore the importance of clarifying what *pakapa-kapa* entails. While the approach points to “groping” and “exploration,” a sense of “going with the flow”, the actual execution of indigenous research must still follow the rigors of scientific research. By rigor, we do not mean standardization. Rather, we mean careful planning, flexibility in design, attention to depth, sensitivity to cues, conscientious and careful documentation, attention to individual participants’ unique contribution or input, and so on.

### **Ethical Issues**

Margallo (1982) raised another issue which she called the “ethics of manipulation” (p. 237). The indigenous research model gives importance to establishing a relationship between researcher and participants at a level of rapport and mutual trust, a minimum level for obtaining authentic data. In other words, data gathering is enhanced by winning the participants’ friendship and trust.

The friendship, then, for all intent and purposes, is a mere strategy for data gathering, a serious offence against the sacredness of personal relationships among Filipinos. Here is where the Model apparently fails to suit the nature of the people for which it was designed. (Margallo, 1982, p. 237)

This is indeed a serious issue that should be addressed. Indigenous researchers should always remember to regard the participants as fellow human beings first and foremost.

San Juan and Soriaga (1985) addressed the issue of “manipulation” directly in relation to *panunuluyan* (‘living in’) by pointing out that the participants have the power to decide the level of involvement and the level of interaction that they want to occur. It is up to them to extend friendship to the researcher, which more often than not, they would.

In other words, friendship is not extorted for the sake of gathering data. It is a fundamental requirement of the transaction in indigenous research. And the researcher is compelled to respect this relationship. Thus, San Juan and Soriaga (1985) proceeded to point out that when faced with a decision on how to handle the results when there is a potential harm to the participants, it should be clear that the welfare of the participants must take precedence over the researcher's responsibility to the funding agency, for example.

Mendoza (2001, ch. 4) gave a view contrary to the idea of the "ethics of manipulation". After describing how she incorporated Filipino indigenous approaches in her study of Filipino and Filipino American identities, she noted that these methods

turn on a number of cultural value assumptions, that is, provisionality, informality, cultural sensitivity, and successful attainment of relational engagement (*pakikipagkapwa* or "being-at-one-with") as the best, if not the only, way to access cultural knowledge and to be welcomed to participate in a community's inner life. Well-documented in Filipino psychological literature, this establishing of personal contact, not only instrumentally as a prelude to the attainment of strategic ends, but as an end in itself, has been found to be normative in most Filipino (and I would presume, as well, in Filipino American) communities. (pp. 67–68)

In other words, friendship is not used as a way to ensure valid data or enhance the participants' participation or self-disclosures. Establishing a friendship-like relationship is a commonly valued goal in any social interaction, including that which transpires in the course of undertaking research.

Ethical issues cannot be ignored especially if the researcher is sincere about maintaining a status of equality between him/herself and the participant. The researcher should never treat the participant as an object of research, but as an active *participant*. The status of equality applies even at the data reporting stage which will have to involve the participants themselves. The accuracy of data interpretation and the fairness of the presentation should be confirmed by the participants. As much as possible, their consent for publication should be obtained; afterwards, they should be made aware of it. If the publication will harm the participants, then no such action should be taken.

It is also worthwhile to find out the group's reaction to the interaction. What did they get out of it? Did they enjoy it? Did they learn something new, like knowledge about some other culture or group?

The social and moral responsibility of the researcher to the indigenous group is also challenged. Now that the researcher has learned a lot about the group, what does he intend to do for them? Considering that many researchers in the past have ignored the question, it is understandable that some participants feel reluctant and inhibited towards other researchers.

## FROM THE INDIGENOUS TO THE CROSS-INDIGENOUS

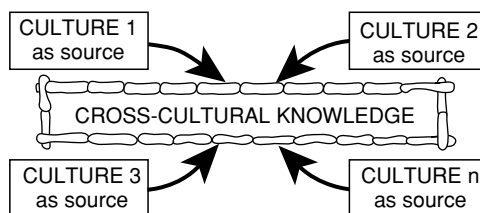
As principal methods of investigation, *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* encourages cross-indigenous method, multi-method, multi-language approach, appropriate field methods, and a total approach (triangulation method) (Enriquez, 1985, 1992).

The cross-indigenous perspective is shown in Figure 1. Indigenous psychologies result from tapping the culture as a source of cultural knowledge. The different indigenous psychologies are then put together in a pool called "cross-cultural knowledge". This knowledge is in contrast to the "cross-cultural" knowledge derived from a psychology that is dominated by Western theories and methods (see Figure 2) (Enriquez, 1979, 1992).

Enriquez viewed the cross-indigenous perspective in the light of Alfredo Lagmay's (another noted Filipino psychologist) total approach, Campbell and Fiske's (1964) argument for the multi-method approach, and his own argument for a multi-language/multi-culture approach based on indigenous viewpoints (Enriquez, 1975). By "total," Lagmay was referring to not just a social science method, nor just a philosophical approach. He was also referring to "the fact that while the method is objective and the bias scientific, the approach undeniably involves the total human being, including human judgment and human values" (Enriquez, 1992, p. 92).

The use of several languages is also part of the framework of the cross-indigenous perspective. The indigenous psychology is discovered through the full use of the native language(s), the language of the research participants, not that of the university-trained social scientist. Thus, in evolving "cross-indigenous" knowledge, several languages from several cultures are the media through which cross-cultural realities are presented. The way *pag-tatanong-tanong* and other indigenous methods have been used beyond the Philippine geographical boundaries, and involving people from various cultures is an evidence of the value and feasibility of cross-indigenizing.

It must be made clear that the indigenous and cross-indigenous approach do not espouse a different brand of science from what is traditionally valued in the social sciences. "While *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* dissociated itself from Anglo-American psychology by reconstructing its own history, it



Note: The direction of arrows indicates "indigenization from within".

Figure 1. Towards a global psychology through a cross-indigenous perspective



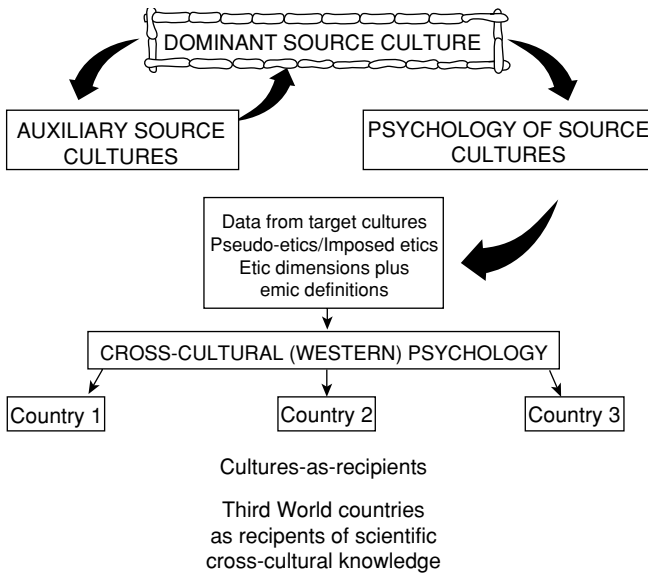


Figure 2. A schematic diagram of uni-national dominance in psychology (indigenization from without)

accepted the philosophical traditions and paradigms of science as neither Eastern nor Western but global.” (Enriquez, 1994, p. 48) In fact, Enriquez believed that

the indigenous Filipino philosophy of science is more exacting than its Anglo-American counterpart ... [and this] incorporates the demands of empirical validation from *katatagan* (“replicability and reliability”), to *katapatan* (“multiple operationism and validity”) but also requires *patibay* (“certification”), *patotoo* (“affirmability and attestability”) and *patunay* (“authenticity”). (Enriquez, 1994, p. 49)

For example, the validity of a statement or conclusion is enhanced if two or more sources of information corroborate it. Procedurally, this entails presenting the findings of a study to the participants for affirmation and attestation. Talisayon (1994) studied the concepts of *patotoo* (validity or “establishing the truth”) among indigenous Filipino spiritual groups and discovered that this process is not limited to empirical validation but includes alternative modalities such as experiential authentication.

### CONCLUSION

We have learned many social research methods from our colleagues in the west. Some of these are appropriate (which we should continue to use),

and some are not (which we should give up). We need to pay more attention to those methods that are indigenous, tried and tested that are rooted in the indigenous culture.

Philippine psychology has come a long way in developing an alternative perspective in understanding Philippine realities and concepts. Proponents of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* have done a lot in terms of documenting advances in developing indigenous concepts and methods.

The development of indigenous research methods in the Philippines gained momentum from the seminal work of Santiago and Enriquez (1976) in espousing a Filipino orientation in psychological research. This momentum has not faltered. Tapping indigenous behavior, indigenous methods were articulated, trialed, refined and exported overseas. From a basically indigenous perspective, Philippine psychology also made a bid for a cross-indigenous perspective in support of a universal psychology that takes into account the frameworks of indigenous cultures.

A “cross-cultural psychology” will continue to be only a promise for as long as the indigenous psychologies are untapped because of language and culture barriers (Enriquez, 1979). The advances of scholars in the Philippines should serve as an encouragement to look within indigenous cultures for ways of doing research that are not only appropriate and relevant within, but from which researchers in the West and East could benefit.

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