

Methods, Mind or Meaning: Shifting Paradigms in Philippine Psychology¹

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“Truth is...a social relation (like power, ownership, or freedom): an aspect of a hierarchy built of superiority-inferiority units; more precisely, ... a bid for domination-through-hegemony.”

Zygmunt Bauman, 1993, p. 11

When I was asked by the PAP Convention Committee to deliver a Special Keynote Address at this Convention, I pondered on what new messages I could give to an assemblage of professional psychologists presently interested in discourses on peace and conflict resolution. I was heartened by the fact that, through the years, the PAP has sought to address issues of national and global significance, even while we continued to interpret human behavior from the vantage point of psychological science. My first impulse was to speak to you on my work as an applied social psychologist. But then, the

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proceedings of this Association's national meetings are already replete with experiences of local psychologists as practitioners, not only in social psychology but in clinical and assessment practice as well.

So, I have decided to speak on another plane, and that is to describe the evolution of psychological research and practice in the Philippines in terms of their underlying paradigms. In addition to a descriptive analysis of the state-of-the-art of Philippine psychology, a critique of each approach will also be made from the standpoint of two recent epistemological streams: postmodernism and feminism.

In this exercise, my presentation will not attempt to be all-encompassing. Limitations of time in the preparation of this address have confined me to an examination of our proceedings from the 1980s to the present, as well as of the articles contained in the Philippine Journal of Psychology (PJP). I have also reviewed the papers from Sikolohiyang Pilipino. Despite these limitations, I assume that the materials to be reviewed represent the current debates and interests of our profession, and I doubt if we would find the theses, dissertations and other researches which I have failed to study to deviate too much from the epistemological approaches of the papers in the PJP.

New Epistemological Influences on Psychology: Postmodernism and Feminism

Let me begin our discussion this morning by briefly introducing the features of two philosophical ideas which are rapidly influencing the directions of social and human sciences: feminism and postmodernism.

Postmodernism represents "an amalgam of often purposely ambiguous and fluid ideas" (Parpart & Marchand, 1995, p. 2). Its features can be summarized as follows:

'Postmodernist thinkers reject universal, simplified definitions of social phenomena, which they argue, essentialize reality, and fail

to reveal the complexity of life as a lived experience. ..They emphasize the need for local, specific, and historically informed analysis, carefully grounded in both spatial and cultural contexts. Above all, they call for the recognition and celebration of difference(s), the importance of encouraging the recovery of previously silenced voices and an acceptance of the partial nature of all knowledge claims and thus the limits of knowing.” (Parpart &, Marchand, 1995, p. 4)

Thus, postmodernist thinkers reject the idea that there are generalizations which can be derived from ahistoric static experiments. Instead, they would place emphasis on studying behavior within its socio-historical and cultural context, especially in terms of the meanings which language imparts to experience. Concepts such as differences, experience, locality and contingency of behavior are important in this paradigm.

Since it rejects meta-narratives, postmodernism celebrates the acceptance of subjective experience in interpreting an individual’s ‘reality.’ Meanings derived from language, as rooted within a particular spatial and historical locality, defines what is experienced.

Finally, postmodernists believe that knowledge generation leads to power. In fact, the attempt by Western social science to impose pseudo-universal theories on Southern countries is an exercise of power, since they are quicker to publish and to disseminate their ideas. This gives non-Western psychologists the task to challenge these so-called universals and to find differences in psychological knowledge in each of their particular cultures and languages (or discourses).

Another philosophical stream which has influenced research in psychology is feminism. Essentially, feminism is a set of values which challenges patriarchy (or male dominance), recognizes the experience of women’s subordinate position in society, and examines its dimensions in order to achieve gender equity and equality. It describes traditional social science as male-centered, with female behavior always examined in relation to this ‘standard’.

To a large extent, many aspects of post modernism are relevant to feminist theories. For instance, both epistemologies emphasize differences rather than similarities in human behavior, with feminists placing emphasis on gender differences. Both advance the belief that positivism has silenced important minority voices, such as those of indigenous-people and of subordinated women. Both understand the impact of language and discourse on social relations. Both theories also advocate the development of creative and innovative approaches to the study of psychology, to combat the linear, piecemeal approach of the positivists.

Empiricism and Experimental Work

I grew up in the discipline of psychology in the decades of the sixties. At the time, heavily influenced by psychological science in the North American tradition, psychology in the Philippines was mapped out to follow two traditions: the experimental and correlational tracks. Both efforts were based on the philosophical traditions of empirico-positivism.

A positivistic view of science has the following characteristics:

- (a) it accepts as a legitimate knowledge base only those generated by the experimental and objective modes of theory testing;
- (b) it is committed to a mathematical language as the expression of the logical relationship among categories presumed to be naturally occurring, and
- (c) it depends on procedural integrity and public scrutiny for establishing scientific validity (Hoshmand & Polkinghorne, 1992).

To establish the validity and reliability of psychological data, we were taught both experimental and statistical. designs and procedures. In addition, the detachment (rather than involvement) of the researcher from the researched subject was considered to be of paramount importance, in order to avoid "contaminating the data" and to maintain objectivity of observations.

Because the scientific method required rigor of procedures, the experimenter or researcher was considered the expert on human behavior, in contrast to the subjects themselves who merely possessed a naive interpretation of their own actuations.

The influence of empirico-positivism on psychological research in the Philippines is very evident from the contributions to PJP. (Note that the PJP editorial board makes the decision on which submitted manuscripts for publication are deemed worthy of the imprint of the PJP.) In its maiden issue, six of twelve articles were experiments in studies of personality and social psychology. Four were correlational studies related to psychological assessment, and only one was a short theoretical paper on agricultural development.

Early articles in the PJP include experimental and correlational researches on a variety of psychological topics, such as on prejudice, ethnic stereotypes, projective techniques and other introspective assessment tools (Gardner, et al., 1969; Tan & de Vera, 1970; Ventura, 1976). Even data related to another philosophical stream (phenomenology) was studied using an experimental design (Lavoie, 1974-75). More recently, studies in cognitive psychology are in evidence (Bartolome, Caluma, Felizardo, Jacinto, & Bernardo, 1992; Bernardo, 1992; Bernardo & Gastardo-Conaco, 1993; de la Llana-Decenteceo, 1991; Gastardo-Conaco, 1991; Pedron, de Guzman, Hidalgo, Jacinto, & Bernardo, 1992), as well as experiments in learning (Ampil-Antonio, Endaya, Roque, Vazquez, Bernardo, 1993; Bernardo, 1993).

My own history as a social psychologist records this fascination with experimentation. The first paper I published in the fledgling PJP, was entitled "The Effects on Inoculated Beliefs of Persuasive Communications Attributed to Specific Sources", an experiment on attitude change (1968). In 1973, I completed my master's thesis on "Conflict Resolution in a Prisoner's Dilemma Game", an experimental study of conflict resolution using the nonzero-sum game as framework. Today, we are discussing field and other practical approaches to peace and conflict resolution, and if I were to engage in similar studies myself, I would probably apply the Prisoner's Dilemma

paradigm to a field situation, such as that we find surrounding the creation of the SPCPD. Yet, in the "sixties and even today, legitimate psychology was (and is) stereotyped to be that which proceeds from experimentation, rigid statistical procedures, and from observable data.

Who are studied in experimental or assessment sessions? Students of introductory psychology make up the subject pool for many of the empirico-positivist researches. Thus, data are mostly taken from males and females in their late teens, privileged to be in tertiary education, based in Metro Manila, and probably coming from the middle or upper socioeconomic classes. On hindsight, we might say that a great part of psychological science in the Philippines is based on information culled from a sector representing less than 10% of the national population college students in Metro Manila taking up introductory psychology from the upper and middle classes.

The aim of empirical procedures is to establish without doubt the validity and reliability of observed behavior. Its ultimate goal is to generate laws similar to those developed in the physical sciences, which have the power of universality. Given the nature of the procedures actually undertaken, however, it is now easy to see that what we may take to be the "truth" from an experiment represents only a limited aspect of a reality. If a study of ethnic prejudice were to be conducted today in Cotabato or in Zamboanga, what might we learn about the opinions of lowland Christians concerning their Muslim neighbors? How different might the results be from one conducted among sophomore collegiate students in the National Capital? If personality measures were taken from urban poor women, how would these compare to those of upper class adolescents? What would the dependency and self-concept measures among lower income children be like in comparison to those from more affluent families?

Questions on the representativeness and external validity of experimental results are not new (Kidder and Judd, 1991). Newer criticisms of empirico-positivism question the ability of experiments to arrive at universal truths. From the standpoint of postmodernist thought, meta-narratives or grand theories in the social sciences are merely privileged discourses that may

deny and silence competing voices (Parpart & Marchand, 1995). Michel Foucault, a leading postmodernist thinker, sees truth as “simply a partial, localized version of ‘reality’, transformed into a fixed form in the long process of history” (Parpart & Marchand, 1995, p. 2). Hence, the social, cultural and historical contexts of an experience or situation inevitably affect what we observe. Language (or discourse), as the symbolic representation of experience, affects the way people understand and assign meaning to their experiences. This is true for both experimental subjects and experimenters. Thus, an experimenter’s interpretation of cause and effect is itself a byproduct of his or her own personal history and experiences.

Another criticism of the positivist approach comes from feminism. This philosophical stream assumes that social theory mirrors what is true of larger society: that is, it replicates male dominance and reinforces female subordination. Some feminist psychologists aver that the emphasis on generalizability of data overlooks what may be fundamental differences in the behavioral, cognitive and affective predispositions of men and women. Hence, when ‘sex is controlled’ in an experiment, a potential source of variability which may provide useful insights into masculine and feminine psychological processes is in fact removed. Finally, postmodern feminism argues that, because all behavior occur within an engendered linguistic and historical context, every discourse with a subject is unique to the individual.

Indigenization and Sikolohiyang Pilipino

In 1976, the master’s thesis of Jimenez on “The Development of Moral Judgment in Filipino Urban Children” was printed in the PJP, along with Lazo’s work on “Transplanting Personality Inventories”. Both articles may be considered as efforts to determine the applicability of Western theories and tools in the Philippine setting. In other words, unlike earlier writings where psychological theory and tests emanating from the North were generally accepted as true for Filipino psychology, questions were now being raised about their cultural specificity. The replicability of research results obtained from the West was seriously being questioned by Filipino psychologists. This trend was to continue.

In 1977, an issue of the PJP was devoted to theoretical excursions into Filipino psychology (Bonifacio, 1977; Enriquez, 1977; Mataragnon, 1977), research reports conducted among non-collegiate students (Ramos, 1977; Lazo, 1977), and a cross-cultural study of language and affect (Enriquez & Brislin, 1977). In the same year, a non-experimental research was reproduced in PJP for the first time. In fact, a whole issue was devoted to Fe Domingo's landmark study of "Child-Rearing Practices in Barrio Cruz-na-Ligas." This master's thesis, by the way, was completed in 1961, or 17 years earlier. If publication in the PJP signifies legitimization of scholarly work in psychology, that means it took almost 2 decades for Domingo's work to be counted in!

The shift in the emphasis on theory-building, cross-cultural studies and non-experimental field research in the '70s and '80s mirrored the growing awareness among Filipino psychologists that interpretations in the local setting of personality patterns and other aspects of human behavior varied from those established elsewhere. For instance, items in intelligence tests from abroad were not always culturally appropriate. The use of English in psychological assessment was seen as a limiting factor in the establishment of norms and standards (Lazo, 1976). And the observed outcomes of developmental processes were not always in the directions predicted by studies from the North (Jimenez, 1976).

The paradigm of indigenization in psychology emerged as an approach to establishing the universality of psychology through cultural specificity (Mataragnon, 1980). Its characteristics include:

- (a) testing the universality of Western psychological theory in the face of cultural differences,
- (b) a search for cultural variables which may serve as explanatory variables for individual behavior, (c) increased awareness about the importance of context variables or non-psychological factors to understand human behavior, and
- (d) efforts to develop culturally valid theories and tools in the study human behavior.

It is against this backdrop that the perspectives and tools of Sikolohiyang Pilipino emerged, and exerted its influence on mainstream academic psychology in the Philippines. In the Paunang Salita to the Ulat ng Unang Pambansang Kumperensya sa Sikolohiyang Pilipino, the editors explained:

“...Ang mga karanasang Pilipino ay nabibigyan na ng katampatang pagpapahalaga sa larangan ng Sikolohiya, bilang pagtugon sa tawag ng pagbababago at sa mga mithiin ng lipunang Pilipino ... Ang Sikolohiyang Pilipino ay handa na ... sa kaganapan ng isang Sikolohiyang angkop at batay sa karanasang Pilipino...” (Antonio, L. et al., 1976).

Sikolohiyang Pilipino is not only an attempt to reach culturally appropriate explanations of Filipino behavior. It also served as a form of resistance to the hegemony of psychological literature from the West. Put within the sociocultural and political frame of the decade, Sikolohiyang Pilipino was part of the social activists' efforts in the '70s for national liberation, with emphasis on establishing a body of literature that would give meaning to Filipino psychology within the terms of our experiences as a culture, rather than on the basis of pseudo-universals.

Sikolohiyang Pilipino spawned (and continues to fertilize) the development of a tremendous volume of literature in Philippine psychology different from traditional academic research. It refocused explanations for Filipino personality on indigenous values, giving primacy to the value of kapwa. It documented the behavioral significance of behavioral patterns which are linguistically specified. It accepted interpretations and explanations of Filipino personality from the perspectives of other social science disciplines, as well as from Philippine literature. It developed new categories of procedures for the study of Filipino behavior (Pe-Pua, 1982). Finally, Sikolohiyang Pilipino enshrined the importance of Filipino language and its symbolic meanings in understanding human behavior.

Indigenization of psychological knowledge conforms to the postmodernist outlook that the self is constituted in complex historical circumstances (Parpart & Marchand, 1995). It also agrees with the

postmodern view that many psychological theories which go unchallenged merely represent the hegemony of Western social science over that of other countries, especially those unable to churn out published research as quickly as they do. However, while Sikolohiyang Pilipino is committed to the study of indigenous culture, it gives equal importance to the notion of a universal psychology. Thus, it continues to subscribe to the possibility of attaining psychological laws governing human behavior (Enriquez, 1979). In this sense, Sikolohiyang Pilipino falls short of the postmodernist assumption that there can be no real universal knowledge.

Another criticism of Sikolohiyang Pilipino is that the notion of indigenous knowledge it defines is not necessarily that possessed by the lumads. Rather, its key concepts are primarily rooted in Tagalog, the language of the lowland Christian Filipino in provinces of central and Southern Luzon. The value equivalence of kapwa and its behavioral manifestations among the Ilocanos, Cebuanos, Dumagats, Ibaloi, Tausugs, Maranaws, and other indigenous and ethnolinguistic groups are sadly lacking in its research literature.

Feminist psychologists, in turn, would argue that Sikolohiyang Pilipino and efforts at indigenization so far remain gender-blind. Studies of sumpong, pakikisama, pakikiramay, pakikipagkapwa and other revered cultural values and behavior have not been differentiated and interpreted according to gender. A form of sexual harassment, paninyansing, has been analyzed without interpreting the underlying gender stereotypes which the action evokes. Haggling, or pagtawad (Du & Pasyu, 1979), is dissected without mention that this behavior is predominantly a feminine one. In addition, feminist methods which seek out women's different voices (Gilligan, 1982) and their viewpoints are largely absent from these studies.

Climbing Down the Ivory Tower

Field studies in Philippine psychology emerged along with the development of indigenous psychology, and may even have antedated it. While the dominant paradigm which guides it is still empiricism, these studies

attempt to describe the nature of psychology outside of the classroom and among sectors other than collegiate subjects. These included working wives, workers, farmers, school children, juvenile delinquents, soldiers, single-parents, student activists, policemen, OCWs, and emigrants (see issues of the PJP from 1979 to the present).

My own research efforts from the '70s have been in the field. I started with population research, studying variables that could improve the family planning program. I delved into factors related to the implementation of primary health care. I studied aquaculture in terms of its economic and social impacts on fisherfolk, the rural and urban populations. For my dissertation, I interviewed and gave the Panukat ng Ugali at Pagkatao to two groups of industrial workers. Afterwards, I interviewed children in difficult circumstances, including youthful offenders, street children and child workers. I looked for motivational patterns among government rank-and-file workers. I studied the lives and socioeconomic circumstances of Visayan fisherfolk. Of late, I have done research concerning the Filipino woman.

Field studies in psychology are characterized by four things.

First, there is a serious attempt to situate human behavior within the context of Philippine society and culture, taking into account the impacts of both psychological and non-psychological factors. Hence it is not unusual, to find a host of social factors being studied together in field research, and to compare groups according to selected social variables.

Second, subjects and respondents in these researches come from outside the universities or colleges, and observations of behavior are taken from samples of the larger population. Data collected come from distinct demographic units, such as working women (Ventura, et al., 1979; Santiago-dela Cruz, 1986), youthful offenders (Carlota, 1982-83; Torres, 1982-83), farmers (Abregana, 1988), soldiers (Dayan 1984-85), overseas workers (Samonte, 1992), and others. The applicability of findings taken from these samples, therefore, can more easily be extrapolated to real-life situations.

Third, medium and large scale field studies often use multimethods to generate data. Thus, in addition to field experimental designs and correlational studies, other social science methods are employed in these researches. These include surveys, psychological tests, projective techniques, unobtrusive measures, focus group discussions, documentary analysis and anecdotal research.

Fourth, owing to its complex nature, field data is best interpreted from an interdisciplinary standpoint. Psychology alone cannot adequately explain behavior in the uncontrolled setting. Instead, the field researcher has to be able to transcend the boundaries of psychology and use the explanatory concepts of other disciplines in the social sciences to interpret research findings.

With the conduct of field studies, psychologists have climbed down from the ivory tower and its pristine experiments to the messy multi-factor real world of interacting humans in urban and rural settings, and as they behave in the family, local and international communities, the industrial setting, and other social organizations. In so doing, it has enhanced our understanding of the relationships between various behavioral factors, and even those between psychology, on the one hand, and economics, health, demography, education, social institutions, politics and other dimensions of social life, on the other.

Postmodernism would criticize field methods in terms of their lack of concern for individual discourse. Surveys and field experiments use sample averages and group deviations to interpret similarities and differences. The inherent connections of individual experience are lost in the analysis, as well as the historical context within which attitudes, emotions and behavior develop. Thus, field methods undertaken within a positivist framework seek to establish ahistoric universals, albeit within a more complex social context.

Feminist critique of field studies would use the same arguments that are leveled against gender-blind social science. In general, they would argue that these researches often fail to use a feminine perspective in devising research tools or drawing out explanations of behavior. Issues of male

dominance or female subordination are often overlooked, even in studies which explicitly deal with women's actions. For instance, many field studies proceed from the bias that women's place is in the home, and would conclude that working women place themselves in conflict situations trying to balance household and work loads. Another gender stereotype which creeps into psychological research is the notion that a father's presence in the household is not as significant to child development as a mother's presence.

Existentialism and Phenomenology

Another epistemological system which has had tremendous impact on research in the Philippines is the existentialist-phenomenological tradition.

Existentialism rejects the notion of universalist knowledge espoused by the positivists. Its philosophers argue that objective, universal and certain knowledge is an unattainable ideal. They do not make the traditional attempt to grasp the nature of the world in abstract terms. Instead, they focus on what it is like to be an individual human being living in this world. Phenomenology, in turn, attempts to understand human experience by studying consciousness, which is deemed to be the source of our knowledge about reality. Objects of consciousness such as ideas, wishes and material objects constitute phenomena. Acts of consciousness, such as thinking, believing and desiring, make up intentionality. Together, these parts of consciousness make up human experience.

The influences of existentialism and phenomenology have most deeply been felt in clinical psychology. Carandang (1989) states that, as a clinical psychologist, she has felt the need to invent new methods and to reassess the old in order to better understand and explain human behavior. She says:

“ ... our present methodologies have become unimaginative and inadequate in capturing the rich data of experience. They are, for the most part, limited linear attempts to make piece-meal sense out of the complexity of human experience which is the primary concern of the psychologist ... There is a restlessness to ... go

beyond the existing scientific models and techniques that have intimidated our minds for a long time..." (Carandang, 1989, pp. 46-47).

Consistent with the phenomenological tradition, Carandang's articles and books describe human experience from the individuals' own sets of categories (1987; 1989, 1993, 1995). As therapist, she speaks of "entering the child's world" rather than attempting to fit their expressions and experiences into universalistic patterns. Necessarily, her knowledge base is individual, subjective and introspective experience, rather than publicly-observable human behavior.

Fr. Bulatao's work on altered states of consciousness has also steered the directions of clinical psychology in the country. His articles are full of references to introspective data, often emanating from his own experiences (1983, 1987). In 1987, the Silver Jubilee issue of the PJP was devoted to his monograph on Modes of Mind. Here he proposes that we have two minds; or a mind functioning in two modes: the objective and subjective minds.

He describes his phenomenological approach as follows:

"...the subjective mind can be investigated not by observation but by experience. Experience cannot be measured... There is a subjective reality attainable by the subjective mind and which is true." (Bulatao, 1987, pp. 30-31).

While Bulatao, Carandang and other clinical psychologists do research work within the existential-phenomenological system of knowledge (see also Jurilla, 1986; Liwag, 1989, & Ramos, 1989), their felt need to reconcile this epistemological stream with empirico-positivism is a constant theme in their writings. Hence, Bulatao speaks of experiments on consciousness (1983). The ability of clinical psychologists, using individual experience as data, to do creditable research is deemed to be an issue (Carandang, 1989), while Ramos (1989) avers that regularities in behavior can be observed from clinical data, therefore consistent with the principle of universality.

The phenomenologist shares the postmodern philosopher's aversion to establishing universals from samples of behavior. Both would agree that individual experience and consciousness "explain" manifest behavior in more holistic fashion. Discourse emanating from the symbols of language and subjectivity of individual experience are accepted as valid sources of psychological knowledge. In fact, Carandang's book entitled, Making Connections (1993) is written as discourse among therapists reflecting on their experiences with autistic children. Yet, the historical context of these experiences need to be enhanced further.

Some feminists theorize that psychotherapy, and even psychoanalysis, have the potential to be useful to feminist discourse (Grosz, 1990). Others would argue, however, that theories of psychodynamics as they exist today remain male-centered. More systematic efforts should thus be taken to be alert to differences in feminine and masculine experiences as they unfold in therapy, and to identify categories emanating from these individuals' consciousness, as they are shaped by socialization, gender stereotypes and the gender division of labor.

Conclusions

As described., Philippine psychology has been and continues to be heavily influenced by the epistemology of empirico-positivism. All of us, including those whose practice delves into introspective experiences and individual consciousness, feel obliged to suit our paradigms into this mold. We should not think this way.

Opportunities for psychologists to undertake applied work are replete in a developing country such as the Philippines. Faced with various complex social and economic problems, both the government and private institutions turn to social scientists to help them plan, implement and evaluate efforts towards attaining development, industrialization and peace. Economic and political developments, or the lack of it, impact directly on families—including adults and children. For this reason, clinical psychology is a thriving practice in our country. Industries which are rapidly developing in the nation

today look to us for assistance in personnel selection, organizational and human resource development.

Our practice and application of psychology to real-life problems have revealed without doubt that we cannot be objective, impartial scientists at all times. Rather, there are many instances when we are involved in the selfsame processes we study, whether as clinicians, OD specialists or researchers. Like other individuals, we are affected in many ways by the phenomena and experiences we study. Our planned interventions affect people; they also influence the future courses of our action.

We have also realized that people think and behave in ways which go beyond the bounds of complete predictability. In fact, we have seen how laboratory and field experiments often reveal a real discrepancy between measured cognitions and later actions, expressed opinions and uncontrolled emotions. Rather than attribute these observations to uncontrolled factors or to errors in observation, it is time to realize that the positivist paradigm is inadequate.

Postmodernism and feminism both regard traditional (or empiricist) modes of generating knowledge and testing theories to be but only one approach to knowledge. Psychological phenomena appear in many contexts and must be understood to possess a local and historical character (Hoshmand & Polkinhorne, 1992). Hence, the test of psychological science is not whether it corresponds exactly to reality (which cannot be completely known) but whether it serves to guide human action to attain goals (Margolis 1987, in Hoshmand & Polkinghorne, 1992). Practice, therefore, is not merely the application of scientific findings.

“(It is) ... the locale for knowledge development through practical reasoning processes and for the pragmatic test of knowledge... Through trial and error, construct systems are modified as a new understanding produces better results than the old ... Science advances and understanding evolves... with more effective knowledge replacing the less effective.” (Hoshmand & Polkinghorne, 1992, p. 58).

I would like to end this address on this note. Psychology in the Philippines can become a more dynamic, creative and challenging discipline of human behavior if it recognizes that psychological science today must be built from standpoint of various epistemologies, or ways of generating knowledge. By so doing, our approaches, concepts and methods can become the basis for a full-fledged Filipino Psychology.

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