An Empirical Analysis of Research Trends in the Philippine Journal of Psychology:
Implications for *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*

This archival study reviewed three decades' worth of published psychology research in the Philippines in an attempt to determine the extent in which psychology in the Philippines has been reflective of the goals of Sikolohiyang Pilipino *(SP). Using 219 empirical articles from the Philippine Journal of Psychology (PJP) as datasets, I argue that a) majority of published work in PJP can be considered as SP; b) there are different ways to contribute to SP research, with addressing social issues as the most popular; and c) work in the past three decades are still consistent with the goals of SP as a discipline and movement. The results are used as a springboard for a discussion on possible research directions for SP.*

More than thirty years ago, Virgilio G. Enriquez published one of his most important works to date and its message was clear: Psychology, as studied and practiced in the Philippines, needed to be reoriented so Filipinos could understand their own behavior using their own perspective. In this arguably classic article, Enriquez (2007) brought to fore *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*'s (SP) dual nature—it is both an indigenous psychology (i.e., a psychology based on the needs, language, and culture of the Filipinos) and a movement (i.e., an advocacy project meant to make the discipline more attuned to the efforts in the 1970s for national liberation; Torres, 1997).

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Today, a lot of social changes are taking place (e.g., enhanced levels of communication and the diminution of distance among nations; Gastardo-Conaco, 2005), with psychology having its share of significant developments as well. There is already a general consensus that human behavior is shaped by culture and that "culture-oriented psychologies" (e.g., indigenous psychology) have become a global movement which has attempted to integrate cultural variables in psychological theorizing and research (Allwood & Berry, 2006).

In the same vein, SP is no stranger to change and considerable progress after its inception three decades ago. San Juan (2006) notes that one of SP's achievements is gaining some kind of institutional respectability in several universities here and abroad. The discipline has been credited for developing—while continuously fertilizing—a tremendous volume of literature in Philippine psychology different from traditional (i.e., Western) academic research (Torres, 1997). More importantly, psychologists from different parts of the world have identified Enriquez and his works as major influences in the proliferation of the indigenous psychology movement across the globe (see Allwood & Berry, 2006).

However, there are things that seem resistant to change with regard to SP. For one, criticisms leveled against it at its founding are still the same criticisms thrown on its way today (Protacio-de Castro, 2006, as cited in Allwood & Berry, 2006). After three decades of existence, SP still seems to have what Sta. Maria (1996) calls an "indigenization crisis." Bernardo (1997) also observed this identity crisis after surveying local psychology publications. For instance, he identified SP publications based largely on knowledge about the publishers of the paper and the affiliations of the authors. He points to SP papers' atheoretical stance as a probable cause to this lack of marked difference with papers in other fields. While SP may have pioneered the development of indigenous psychology in the Philippines, evidence of its impact still needs to be ascertained. In other words, thirty years after its founding, how has *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* influenced the current state of psychology in the Philippines in general, and the state of psychology research in particular?

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This archival study reviewed three decades' worth of published psychology

research in the Philippines in an attempt to determine the extent in which psychology in the Philippines has been reflective of the goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (SP). Specifically, I aimed to:

1. describe the "topography" of the research area (Peña-Alampay, de la Cruz, & Liwag, 2003) of *Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas* in general, and *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* in particular, focusing on the studies' "methodological information" (i.e., sampling characteristics and research paradigms) and the routes of indigenization employed (i.e., from within and from without).

2. identify which articles published in the flagship psychology publication in the Philippines can be considered as SP.

3. describe trends in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* research.

4. offer recommendations and directions for a research agenda in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*.

This paper addressed these concerns by a) revisiting the characteristics and goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* as proposed by Enriquez and b) analyzing abstracts of journal articles published in the Philippine Journal of Psychology from 1977-2008. Implications of these research trends, contributions, and gaps for *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* will also be discussed. Finally, after a critical assessment of what is currently "out there," recommendations and possible directions for a *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* research agenda will be suggested.

In this paper, psychological studies which reflect *Sikolohiyang Pilipino's* goals and those which do not will be distinguished. Thus, it is pertinent to ask: What counts as SP research? In this section, SP's goals based on Enriquez's original vision will be articulated. Two strategies that may be employed to achieve these goals will be described. Finally, the framework used in analyzing and classifying the journal abstracts will be presented.

What counts as SP research?

Enriquez (2007) offers a way of categorizing psychological research in the local context via his distinction of *Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas, Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino*, and *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*. The relationship of these categories or forms of psychology is shown below.

Figure 1. *Three forms of psychology in the Philippines (as adapted by Yacat, 2009)*

Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas

Sikolohiyang may kinalaman sa mga Pilipino

Sikolohiyang walang kinalaman sa mga Pilipino

Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino

Sikolohiyang Pilipino

All psychological studies found in the Philippines can be classified under the all-inclusive category, *Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas*, the general form of psychology in the Philippine context (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). This includes psychological knowledge that may (*Sikolohiyang may kinalaman sa mga Pilipino*) or may not have anything to do with the Filipino (*Sikolohiyang walang kinalaman sa mga Pilipino*). For example, journal articles which explain behaviors of North American samples and can be found in libraries in Philippine universities fall under this category. Of particular interest however, are studies that have something do with the Filipino (*Sikolohiyang may kinalaman sa mga Pilipino*)— those which can be classified as either *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* or *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*.

Researches which theorize about the psychological nature of the Filipino, whether from a foreign or local perspective (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000) can be categorized as *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino*. Enriquez (2007) considers such studies as the most common approach in investigating the *Pinoy* and their supposed characteristics. However, he has always been wary of such business-as-usual investigations because as he has observed, most of these studies engage in mindless "*angat-patong*" (Ventura, 1980, as cited in Enriquez, 1992) of Western frameworks, theories, and methods in analyzing and explaining Filipino behaviors. This is perhaps understandable, owing to the fact that psychology is

a Western discipline and when it was imported and implanted in the country, the concepts, frameworks, theories, and methods that came with it were adopted and adapted as well. Enriquez's criticisms therefore were not about the availability of these Western frameworks per se. Criticisms focused more on the uncritical acceptance and use of such theories and methods without carrying out even the slightest of "technical changes" (Danziger, 2006) to make them more culturally-appropriate (thus, "*angat-patong*"), which often led to inaccuracies and distortion of the picture of the Filipino (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). More importantly, Filipino psychologists in the 1970s started recognizing the ill-fit of theory, content, and method for the local context and thus, the clamor to make psychology more culture- and context-specific grew. These calls to indigenize the discipline to make it more culturally appropriate and sensitive brought about the birth of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*.

It was Enriquez's vision to develop this indigenous psychology, where analyses of the *Pinoy* and investigations of social problems would rely less on Western models and a Western perspective, but more from the local viewpoint (Enriquez, 1992). Thus, researches which are interpreted within a local frame of reference, reflect local behaviors, and yield results that are locally relevant (i.e., can be used to address social issues) (Sinha, 1997, as cited in Adair, 1999) can be classified under *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* or SP.

Since SP research aims to reflect local behaviors and yield results that are locally relevant, it is not surprising that efforts were not only geared toward developing culturally valid theories but culturally valid tools as well. After all, specifying *what* to investigate and *how* to go about with the investigation go hand-in-hand in the development of a discipline.

Enriquez specified what he thought should be the focus of SP. In fact, strictly speaking, his original vision was a development of an indigenous psychology that scientifically studied *kamalayan, ulirat, isip, diwa, kalooban,* and *kaluluwa* (Enriquez, 1974, as cited in Enriquez, 1994). Later on, he broadened SP's research goals, to include emphases on identity and national consciousness, social awareness and involvement, psychology of language and culture, and applications and bases in fields like health practices, agriculture, art, mass media, and religion (Enriquez, 1992). At the same time, SP's strong and explicit sociopolitical thrust (Church & Katigbak, 2002) suggests a preferential focus on research that also contributes to the resolution of national social problems,

especially since the study of social issues already situates the research problem in the local context (Adair, 1999).

With regard to suggestions on how to go about SP research, there has been a bias towards using a qualitative paradigm, employing indigenous data-gathering techniques such as *pagtatanung-tanong* and *pakikipagkwentuhan*. Again, this is not surprising since a serious attempt to situate behavior within the context of Philippine society and culture necessitates conducting research in partnership *with* the people rather than simply doing research *on* them (Danziger, 2006). A qualitative paradigm allows researches to focus on less elite Filipinos, privileging the input of "working wives, workers, farmers, school children, juvenile delinquents, soldiers, single-parents, student activists, policemen, [OFWs], and emigrants" (Torres, 1997, p. 27) and giving them the "voice" as locally-generated psychological knowledge are formulated (Danziger, 2006).

Taking all of what was previously mentioned into account, the goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* research, therefore, is to develop a psychology based on the experience, ideas, and orientation of both elite and non-elite Filipinos, using methods of investigation that are culturally appropriate and culturally sensitive. In relation to this, it is interesting to find out now if Filipino psychologists have indeed carried out the goals of SP. If so, how can the status of SP research be assessed?

Assessing the status of SP research

In this study, two analytic frames will be employed in assessing the status of SP research: Enriquez's (1979) suggested routes to indigenization and Church & Katigbak's (2002) aspects of indigenization. Both refer to how an indigenous viewpoint may be developed and utilized.

Enriquez (1979) originally used the terms indigenization from without and indigenization from within to refer to possible strategies that can be used in developing concepts and methods in SP. Because these two terms can be "semantically anomalous" at times, *pagsasakatutubo mula sa labas* and *pagpapalitaw ng nasa loob* (see Figure 2 below; Diestro, 2009) have been suggested to refer to indigenization from without and from within, respectively.

Pagsasakatutubo mula sa labas (indigenization from without) involves making something *banyaga* or foreign (e.g., framework, method, etc.) more meaningful to
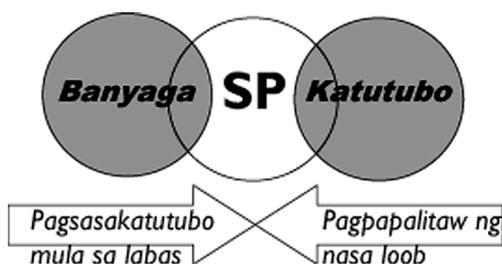
Figure 2. *Indigenization from without and indigenization from within, (as adapted by Diestro 2009)*

the local context. Because the process of modifying or contextualizing that which is imported fits the culture so well, it is made to appear as if it were indigenous (Adair, 1999). More concretely, this strategy contributes to SP's development by translating methods, concepts, theories, and measures into Filipino (e.g., modifying the content and translating a psychological test into the local language so a Philippine-type version is produced; Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). This route or strategy makes it very clear that SP "does not advocate the discarding of foreign theories of behavior on the ground of origin" but rather, it recognizes that the corpus of psychological knowledge developed elsewhere can still be useful in explicating Filipino realities as long as "care in the adoption" of foreign theories and methods is exercised (Enriquez, 1992).

On the other hand, *pagpapalitaw ng nasa loob* (indigenization from within) uses the culture as a source in searching for concepts and methods believed to be more significant to the Filipino and more appropriate in explaining Filipino behavior and experiences. It may involve (but is not limited to) identification of key concepts, methods and theories; semantic elaboration; formalization into the discipline through indigenous codification; systematization of implied theoretical frameworks; and application or use (Enriquez, 1979). This strategy emphasizes that discovering meaningful and useful concepts found in the local language is not enough. Cultural revalidation of local concepts and methods is still necessary (Enriquez, 1992), subjecting them to rigorous empirical tests in the search for *katibayan* (evidence), *pagpapatibay* (confirmation), and *pagpapatotoo* (validation) that indeed they can account for behavior (Yacat, 1997).

In assessing the progress of efforts in developing *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, one can look at the extent in which indigenization from within and from without have taken place. In this study, these categories were used to initially distinguish SP studies from those that are not. Specifically, any article included in the analyses (as described below) which either aims to adapt foreign theories and methods (indigenization from without) or develop local methods and theories (indigenization from within) were automatically coded as SP. Articles which are not aligned to these goals were most likely considered as *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* studies.

However, it is not enough to know whether researches localized or developed concepts. It is also interesting to note which aspects were focused on. Church & Katigbak (2002) distinguish among four aspects of indigenization, namely: theoretical and conceptual, methodological, topical, and institutional. For this study, only the first three aspects were used in the assessment since institutional indigenization looks into the "extent to which institutional and organizational structures and processes support the creation and diffusion of indigenous psychological knowledge" in the form of courses, degree programs, journals and publications, among others.

Table 1 describes the first three aspects of indigenization.

Aspect of Indigenization	Description by Church & Katigbak (2002)	Additional Criteria or Specific Examples
Theoretical and conceptual	"development of indigenous concepts and theoretical frameworks"	• Did the study identify and elaborate indigenous concepts, theoretical frameworks, and models? • Is it a study of indigenous or Filipino traits, attitudes, values and behaviors? • Did it indigenize or adapt Western frameworks or concepts (e.g., specifying that the framework is Western, but the researchers made them more sensitive to Philippine contextual factors)?
Methodological	"adaptation or development of instruments and methods that are culturally appropriate"	• Did the study develop and not just use instruments and methods that are culturally appropriate? • Did it develop local tests (e.g., projective tests, educational assessment, personality inventories)?
Topical	"the extent to which the topics under study are relevant to the concerns of the society and people"	• Is it an applied research? • Did the research study non-elite or "everyday" Filipinos and their behaviors and ideas? • Did it study applied topics that address societal needs and problems?

Table 1. Three aspects of indigenization (Church & Katigbak 2002)

In this study, after identifying whether an article was SP or not, the above criteria were used to find out which goal was emphasized: a) development of local concepts and theories; b) adaptation or development of culturally appropriate methods; and c) investigation of topics relevant to the concerns of people. The coding procedure using these criteria and its implications will be discussed in detail below.

While Church & Katigbak (2002) note that "substantial progress has been made" in all the aspects of indigenization, this paper sought to quantify such progress. By examining what is out there, the status of SP as a discipline was assessed.

METHOD

Criteria for inclusion in the review

The following parameters were used in the selection of studies that were included in this research: First, the article should be an empirical and psychological research. Bernardo (1997) defines it as a "careful, systematic, patient study and investigation of some psychological phenomenon" (p. 39). This operational definition includes quantitative as well as qualitative studies, review articles, and basic and applied researches, with aims of understanding, explaining, predicting, and controlling behavior for society's benefit. Non-empirical work (e.g., did not identify and measure variables, did not systematically investigate a particular research problem) such as commentaries (e.g., Sevilla, 1979), reactions (e.g., Carandang, 1981), reflections (e.g., Carandang, 1989), short notes (e.g., Torres, 1988), keynote addresses (e.g., Tan, 1997), and introductory texts (e.g., Bulatao, 1987) were therefore excluded from the analyses. Since the articles chosen for this study were from a peer-reviewed psychology journal, it was assumed that they were (a) of good quality, having adequately demonstrated to the reviewers that they were "careful, systematic, and patient" enough to have merited publication, and (b) psychological (i.e., a study about antecedents and consequences pertaining to an individual's affect, behavior, and cognition).

Second, all the research articles should have been published in the Philippine Journal of Psychology (PJP). According to the Psychological Association of the

Philippines (PAP) website (http://www.pap.org.ph), the PJP is an "international refereed journal published biannually by the [PAP]. It is the flagship journal of psychology in the Philippines, and its principal aim is to promote psychological studies in the Philippines and psychological studies of the Filipino people." Ideally, as a flagship publication it: a) contains articles which cut across subdisciplines; b) is read by a broad range of psychologists; c) reflects current trends; and d) contains studies that may define a research agenda for the future (Robins, Gosling, & Craik, 1999).

It was assumed that for an initial study of this kind, the PJP was a good place to start and an adequate source of *Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas* articles that would cover the range of research activities of Filipino psychologists (Bernardo, 1993). One reason is that the PJP is highly accessible, available to both PAP members and non-members. At the same time, not only is it one of the most extensive, dating as far back as 1968, it is also one of the most consistent, with at least one issue released per year since its inception. PJP's extensive catalogue is important since one goal of this paper is to establish trends in psychological research in the Philippines across the years.

The third parameter in the selection of articles is that they should have been published within 1977-2008. Since this study had to identify which researches can be considered as SP, the analyzed articles were published after SP was officially formalized in 1975 (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). However, it was only in 1977 that Enriquez (1977) was first published in the PJP that is why article selection started from that particular issue up to, at the time the research was conducted, PJP's latest issue published in 2008. Of course, it should be noted that "contributions to indigenization were also made prior to the full emergence of the SP movement and by researchers who are not clearly associated with the SP movement" (Church & Katigbak, 2002, p.131).

Finally, only local psychology researches were taken into account. This means that the work should emanate from, adequately represent, and reflect back upon the Filipino context in which the psychological process is observed (Adair, 1999). Studies that did not use Filipino samples (e.g., Zhongxian, 1998) or described psychological trends outside the Philippines (e.g., Hoshino, 1980) were excluded.

Procedure

Abstracts of all the articles published within the inclusive years mentioned above were collated and were then used as datasets where pertinent information regarding the studies were extracted and consequently encoded. Ideally, an abstract is a comprehensive summary of the completed report, where the following information could be obtained: research problem, summary of the method (including a description of the participants, data-gathering techniques and instruments), description of procedures and results, and important conclusions and implications (Christensen, 2007). Limitations of the use of this procedure will be discussed in a later section.

In assessing whether a study was aligned with the goals of SP, it was important to look into *what* was studied, *who* participated, and *how* the investigation took place. In line with this, whenever available or explicitly stated in the abstract, the following were encoded: journal information (i.e., year, volume, issue number, special issue title), publication information (i.e., title and author), participant information (e.g., whether university students were recruited as samples), research paradigm (i.e., quantitative or qualitative), topics of inquiry, and data-gathering techniques.

It was first determined whether an abstract will be included or excluded in the analysis based on the criteria for inclusion mentioned above. Then, together with 3 research assistants, all abstracts were independently coded using Enriquez's (1979) routes to indigenization (i.e., coded as from within, from without or not applicable). An abstract could fall under one category only. As previously mentioned, any abstract coded as undertaking any of the two indigenization routes were automatically considered *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* articles. For a more nuanced analysis, abstracts were further coded using Church & Katigbak's (2002) aspects of indigenization categories previously described in Table 1 above (i.e., theoretical, methodological or topical). In this case, an abstract could be classified in more than one category based on the research goals mentioned in the abstract. This means that a study could be classified as focusing on only theoretical, methodological, or topical aspects. Another study could also be classified as theoretical and methodological, theoretical and topical, or methodological and topical. On some rare occasions, an article could fall under the three categories.

In the event that our classification differed from each other, we discussed the basis of our decisions and then came up with an agreed-upon coding after.

Frequencies and cross-tabulations were computed. Trends and observations were noted.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The major aim of this paper was to determine the extent in which psychology research in the Philippines has been reflective of the goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (SP). In other words, how many researches can be considered or classified as (*maka-*) SP? Specifically, how many researchers have heeded the call to develop local concepts and methods? How many have localized or adapted foreign frameworks and theories so that they would fit the local context? Is there a conscious effort to use psychological findings to contribute to national development? In order to answer these questions, it would be important to first describe the "topography" of psychology research in the country.

Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas

How does research in *Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas* look like? Using articles in the Philippine Journal of Psychology (PJP) as a benchmark, a total of 276 articles in 42 issues were published during the period of 1977-2008. Excluding PJP's special issue in 2002, an average of 9 articles are published each year. Indeed, this number seems to reflect the dismal state of research activity in the Philippines, and while there should definitely be concerted efforts to address this issue (see Bernardo, 1997), the focus of this paper will be on the contents of the few articles released each year. Specifically, how many of these articles still engage in *angat-patong* and how many have heeded the call to localize?

It is interesting to note that a small percentage of articles ($n = 12$ or 4%) in the local flagship journal had nothing to do with the Filipino (*walang kinalaman sa mga Pilipino*), either sampling non-Filipinos (e.g., Chinese participants in the case of Zhongxian, 1998) or describing the psychology landscape in Africa (Peltzer, 1998), Hongkong (Ho, 1980) or India (Sharma, 1980). These articles were not included in the final analysis.

Not surprisingly, majority of the articles ($n = 264$ or 96%) had direct reference to the Filipino (*may kinalaman sa mga Pilipino*). However, only 219 articles or 80%

were subjected to frequency counts and cross-tabulations (and thus, referred to in the succeeding sections) since 16% of the studies ($n = 45$) did not pass the inclusion criteria. Twenty-nine out of the 45 articles (about 64%) were actually reprints of previously published articles. They were reprinted in a special issue entitled "40 Years of Philippine Psychology," which was released in 2002. The rest were non-empirical papers including critiques, commentaries, short notes, reflections, and presidential addresses.

Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino

Despite calls by the SP movement to use local frames of reference or to localize studies, 39% ($n = 85$) can still be classified as *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino*. Such studies theorize about the psychological nature of the Filipino, but are assumed to still engage in *angat-patong* of Western frameworks, theories and methods. The topics investigated were diverse and various subdisciplines in Psychology were represented in this category. For instance, a quick inspection of the list of special issues that contained *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* articles reveal that almost every area in the field is still very much prone to investigations that may be culturally-inappropriate and insensitive. Some of the areas include the Filipino family (e.g., an experiment using color to assess a child's personality; Gustilo-Villasor, 1986); developmental psychology (e.g., a quasi-experiment on the acquisition of movement concepts in children; Racillo, 1991); experimental psychology (e.g., an experiment on the effects of framing on risky decisions; Bernardo, 1992); educational psychology (e.g., an experiment on reading comprehension skills of multilingual elementary school children; Gonzalez-Intal, 1996); industrial/organizational Psychology (e.g., a survey on psychological contract breach and equity sensitivity; Tang, Restubog, & Cayayan 2005); and motivation and cognition (e.g., use of a scale to determine mediating effects of motivation on parental support and anxiety; Fernandez, 2008). Based on these examples, it might not be surprising to find out that the popular paradigm of choice in doing *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* is quantitative. As shown in Table 2 below, about 73% of these studies ($n = 62$) employed methods like experimentation, quasi-experimentation, and the use of questionnaires and scales.

Aside from the quantitative studies which comprise the bulk of *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* research, about 12% ($n = 10$) were literature reviews and theoretical

Table 2

Comparing Sikolohiyang Pilipino and Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino across domains

		Sikolohiyang Pilipino $N = 134$ Frequency (Percentage)	Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino $N = 85$ Frequency (Percentage)
Research Paradigm	*Quantitative*	57 (42.5)	62 (72.9)
	Qualitative	37 (27.6)	3 (3.5)
	Mixed	17 (12.7)	10 (11.8)
	N/A	23 (17.2)	10 (11.8)
Type of Indigenization	*From without*	71 (53)	0
	From within	63 (47)	0
University students as sample	*No*	81 (60.4)	
	Yes	12 (9.0)	
	N/A	26 (19.4)	N/A
	Unspecified	2 (1.5)	
	Mixed with others	13 (9.7)	

papers. While literature reviews contribute greatly in systematizing works that are currently "out there," making it possible to portray a general picture of the state of a particular area in *Sikolohiya sa Pilipinas* (e.g., adolescent development, Peña-Alampay, de la Cruz, & Liwag, 2003; industrial/organizational Psychology, Hechanova, 2005), they were classified under *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* only because in this current study, an article was coded as SP if it explicitly mentioned its attempts to develop indigenous frameworks, develop indigenous methods, and address societal needs and problems. Understandably, the literature reviews featured in the PJP did not pursue such research goals.

Mixed paradigm studies usually utilized both quantitative and qualitative data-gathering techniques and comprised about 12% ($n = 10$) of the *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino* articles (e.g., an exploratory study on the stress and coping experiences of families of autistic children which used a questionnaire, semi-projective test, and in-depth interviews; Liwag, 1989). In addition to these, 3 articles were solely qualitative in nature (e.g., an overview of the status of psychotherapy in the Philippines which employed interviews, Teh, 2003; and a narrative analysis of dreamwork experiences, Tan-Mansukhani, 2004). This implies that mere use of qualitative data-gathering and analytic procedures does not automatically ensure that a study is culturally appropriate and sensitive. In other words, to do work in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, it is not enough to simply employ a qualitative research paradigm.

In addition, the previously mentioned studies in this section can all be considered as *incidental* (Peña-Alampay, de la Cruz & Liwag, 2003) studies about the *Pinoy*, where emphasis is on the phenomenon or variable of interest without any goals to make the research culturally-appropriate and culturally-sensitive. This is in direct opposition to *exemplar* studies about the *Pinoy*, which have a clear intent to reflect local behaviors, interpret phenomena using a local frame of reference, and yield results that are locally relevant (Sinha, 1997 as cited in Adair, 1999). Such exemplar studies, which clearly reflect the goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, will be discussed in the next section.

Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Pagsasakatutubo mula sa labas

One aim of this paper is to look into the extent in which research in the Philippines has been aligned with the goals of the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* movement. The good news is that majority of the PJP articles (about 61%; $n = 134$) have been identified as SP research (as opposed to *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino*). In fact, in the past 30 years, at least 1 SP-related article has been published every year since 1977 ($M = 5$ articles per year). As shown in Figure 3[2] below, there has been a steady rise of SP studies, except for the slight dip during the years 1992 and 1993. The number even peaked at an all-time high of 18 articles due to the release of a special issue on Peace and Political Psychology in 2006 where all its articles were coded as SP. However, there seems to be a notable decline in SP articles for the years 2007 and 2008.

Another aim of this paper is to describe trends in SP research. Generally speaking, to do work in SP is to traverse either of the two possible routes of indigenization mentioned earlier. Therefore, research in SP includes all the studies that were categorized as either indigenization from within (*pagpapalitaw ng nasa loob*) or indigenization from without (*pagsasakatutubo mula sa labas*; see Table 2 above).

To indigenize from without is to consciously contextualize or localize Western frameworks, methods, and theories, making them more meaningful to the local context. Between the two routes, this seems to be the more popular strategy, with more than half of SP studies (53%) being coded as such. Arguably, this is also the easier route to follow since this would typically involve transferring available technology (Enriquez, 1979) in the form of "ready-made" theories and methods often formulated based on foreign experiences but is made to fit our
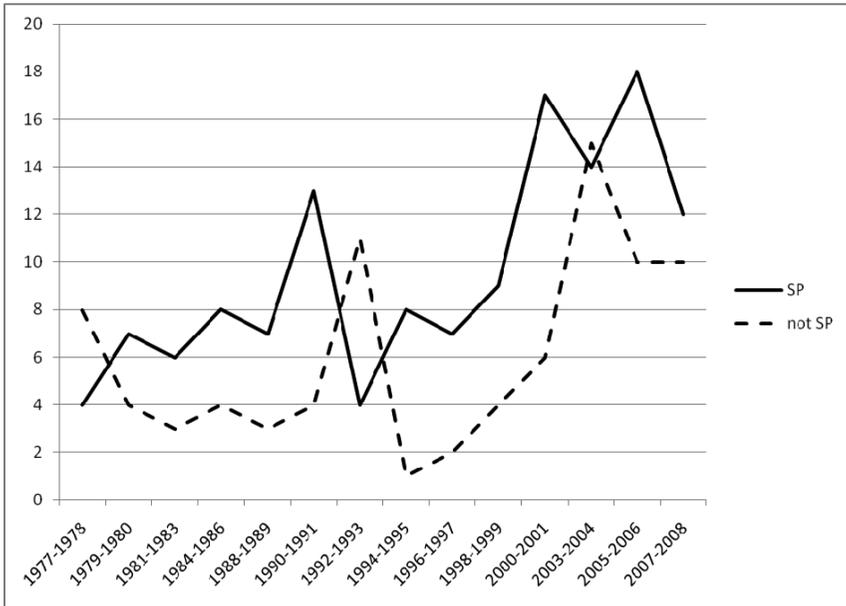
Figure 3.
Trends in Sikolohiyang Pilipino and Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino Articles from 1977-2008

local experiences (Mataragnon, 1979). One concrete way of doing so is by translating and "de-Westernizing" tests and scales before administering them to Filipino participants. Examples of scales that have been localized and developed include the dementia screening scale (Ledesma et al., 1993), the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory or MMPI (Dalupan, 1995), the stress pictorial test which was translated to Hiligaynon (Baterna-Daluz, 2001), and the social axioms survey (Bernardo et al., 2005).

While indigenization from without runs the risk of employing instruments and replicating studies that were not borne out of our experiences, this route cannot be completely abandoned especially for a developing discipline like SP. As has been previously observed (e.g., Bernardo, 1997; Church & Katigbak, 2002), SP still lacks an adequate set of indigenous and meaningful theories waiting to be tested (Mataragnon, 1979). Thus, indigenization from without is definitely a welcome alternative for psychologists who wish to engage in SP research while consciously eschewing the business-as-usual application of "ready-made"

theories and methods. In addition to this, one can also lower the risk of such uncritical use of foreign frames of reference by ensuring that the results yielded are locally meaningful. Further inspection of these indigenization from without studies reveals that about 82% ($n = 58$) were coded as studies which address social issues (i.e., topical indigenization). These include a theoretical paper proposing the use of social psychological theories in understanding social development issues in the Philippines (Gonzalez-Intal & Valera, 1990), a multi-method study exploring variables like stress, coping, and cross-cultural contact as experienced by migrant Filipinas (Samonte, 1992), and an interview-based research utilizing the business transaction perspective in making sense of kidnapping (Mateo, 2004).

Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Pagpapalitaw ng nasa loob

The other possible route is to indigenize from within (*pagpapalitaw ng nasa loob*). To be coded as such, a research article must have developed indigenous or local concepts, theories and methods, often coupled with an aim of addressing a particular social issue. Based on Table 2 above, nearly half (47%) of the SP studies fall under this category. As opposed to indigenization from without, this route is perhaps closest to lay people's notions of what indigenous psychology is all about[1]. Studies using this strategy can be easily identified since they usually start with identification and elaboration of key indigenous concepts (Enriquez, 1979). Some of these indigenous concepts include *sumpong* (Mataragnon, 1977), *pagtawad* (Du & Paysu, 1979), *bahala na* (Lagmay, 1993), and *pagiging Pilipino* (Yacat, 2005).

In theory, the process does not and should not stop at identification of concepts, which may be elaborated later on by mapping out their lexical domain. The next steps should include identification of antecedent and consequent variables, the formulation and testing of hypotheses, and ultimately, systematization of theoretical frameworks (Mataragnon, 1979). The goal is to be able to develop the indigenous knowledge base and ensure that it becomes stable enough, such that reliance on Western theories and frameworks will be minimized.

In practice, however, the process does seem to stop at identification and elaboration. Indeed, an overwhelming majority (about 84%) of indigenization from within studies investigated indigenous or Filipino traits, attitudes, values, and behaviors (i.e., coded as theoretical indigenization). However, there were no

more follow-up studies, even by the authors themselves, which could have tested the links of the concepts to other psychological constructs that would have been more informative in explaining behaviors in the local culture using a local frame of reference. For instance, while concepts like *sumpong, pagtawad, bahala na,* and *pagiging Pilipino* may have been clearly explicated, their implications to the Filipino experience of negative emotions, economic behavior, risk-taking behavior, and national identity, respectively, still need to be ascertained.

Nonetheless, indigenous theorizing shows some promise as at least 2 indigenous concepts can definitely be developed further. The first is Enriquez's postulation of *kapwa* as the core of the Filipino value system which some authors (e.g., San Juan, 2006) consider as his most viable contribution to the discipline.

The other one is the *tagasalo* personality, originally developed by Dr. Ma. Lourdes Carandang (1987, in Udarbe, 2001) based on her clinical practice. Briefly, the *tagasalo* is any male or female family member, apart from the parents, who "gets recruited, or triangled in, to relieve the stress" that the family may experience at various periods of the family's life (Udarbe, 2001). It is a viable theoretical framework because not only has its original theoretical formulations been initially and systematically investigated (e.g., Udarbe, 2001), there is also a moderately reliable scale that can be used to measure it (Go Tian, 2004).

As a final note in this section, when it comes to indigenous theorizing, two Psychology areas are worth mentioning. It appears that the area of Clinical Psychology is more inclined to consciously develop frameworks and methods to address psychological health issues in the country. In a quick inspection of the 8 articles that were coded as consistent with all the 3 aspects of indigenization (i.e., theoretical, methodological, topical), half of them can be considered as clinical in nature. These include models on conceptions of good psychological health and personality functioning (Church, Katigbak & Castaneda, 1984-1985), counseling for peace (Salazar-Clemena, 1995), the *pagdadala* model in counseling (Decenteceo, 1999), and a counseling framework for understanding resiliency in abused children (Bautista, 2000).

On the other hand, the area of industrial/organizational psychology, at least as evidenced by the articles published in the PJP, seems to remain captive to Western or foreign frameworks. Apart from Ortigas's (1990) "conceptual and operational framework of human development for Philippine practitioners" (p.

60) which described the vital responsibilities of HRD practitioners/specialists as "persons and professionals," it was difficult to identify any other article that had a concrete goal of developing indigenous models that can be applied to the work setting. This observation, however, lends itself to further investigation since progress of theory-building in the various areas or domains of psychology is beyond the scope of this study.

Sikolohiyang Pilipino: Addressing social issues

To reiterate, a journal article was categorized as consistent with the goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* if it developed a local concept (i.e., theoretical indigenization), developed an indigenous method (i.e., methodological indigenization), and/or addressed a relevant social issue (i.e., topical indigenization). A journal article could be consistent with only one aspect of indigenization or it could be consistent with all three. Which among these three aspects has been the focus of SP investigations?

Table 3 Cross-tabulations of the 3 aspects of indigenization

Topical indigenization			Methodological indigenization		Total
			Yes	No	
Yes	**Theoretical indigenization**	Yes	8 (6.0%)	57 (42.5%)	65
		No	4 (3.0%)	38 (28.4%)	42
No	**Theoretical indigenization**	Yes	2 (1.5%)	22 (16.4%)	24
		No	3 (2.2%)	0 (0%)	3
	Total				**134**

As shown in Table 3 above, among the SP articles in the PJP, one would most likely find studies that localized or developed a concept while addressing a relevant social issue (43%), followed by studies that only addressed a relevant social issue (28%), and then studies that only developed local concepts (16%). Majority of these studies, therefore, are more applied researches, with attempts at resolving national or social problems.

Based on observation, most of the studies seem to address developmental issues, or biological, cognitive, and social transitions and challenges that people in a particular stage of life may be going through (Peña-Alampay, de la Cruz, & Liwag, 2003). Notable examples include juvenile delinquency (e.g., Carlota, 1982-1983), out-of-school youth (e.g., Torres, 1982-1983), perceptions of old age and the middle years (e.g., Domingo, 1991; Abrenica, 1996), and child-rearing and gender socialization in the Philippines (e.g., Liwag, de la Cruz, & Macapagal, 1998).

Other social issues investigated can be considered as political in nature. These consist of studies on peace (e.g., Briones, 2000), poverty (Generalao, 2005), and political behaviors (e.g., Macapagal, 2006; Sugcang, 2006; Muyargas, Montiel & Viaje, 2006).

What does this imply about the identity of work done in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*? It appears that for the past 3 decades, the trend in SP studies has been to study topics relevant or related to confronting and addressing national issues or social problems. This is sometimes coupled with localization of foreign constructs or measures or development of local concepts. Thus, SP studies still seem to resonate with the original vision of making psychology relevant to its people by taking part in solving local social problems.

Have psychologists "served the underserved?"

Aside from a more conscious effort to take part in solving local social problems, SP was also originally envisioned to "serve the underserved" by focusing the studies on the masses rather than on the elites, who are usually in the guise of undergraduate university students (Enriquez, 1992). The idea is to give voice to populations that have not been well understood (Hoshmand, 1999). Has SP research fared well to this challenge?

Based on Table 2 above, 60% of SP researches have indeed gone beyond the four walls of the university. Only about 12% were comprised of studies that recruited university students as samples. The groups that have been chosen for the investigations were certainly varied. There were upland farmers (Abrogena, 1988), government employees (Torres, 1990), inmates at the New Bilibid Prisons (Saplala, 2001), and even former Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) members (Inzon & Montiel, 2006) and current Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) integrees within the Armed Forces of the Philippines (Redoble-Buot, 2006).

It would have also been informative to find out whether both urban and rural participants have been given equal attention or whether various ethnolinguistic groups in the country have been represented in the published articles in the PJP. However, due to the limitations of the procedure, it was difficult to extract these information since most abstracts did not specify the participants' locale (i.e., urban or rural) nor did they indicate the ethnic membership of the participants (e.g., Tagalog, non-Tagalog, indigenous people, etc.). This should definitely be looked into in future studies especially since this might be indicative of the diversity of the authors who are able to publish in the flagship journal of the country. Whether researchers based in universities in Manila solely dominate the discourse in psychology in general, and *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* in particular, still needs to be ascertained.

Is SP research equivalent to qualitative research?

As previously mentioned, SP seems to be most associated with the qualitative paradigm. It appears that business-as-usual quantitative approaches are least preferred because more often than not, they are inappropriate to the ways of the people (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). However, if the basis will be the SP articles published in the PJP, Table 2 will show that this perceived bias toward the qualitative paradigm may not necessarily be accurate.

In fact, about 43% of those identified as SP studies utilized a quantitative approach and only about 28% can be considered as qualitative in nature. Perhaps this is a function of the source of the articles – a psychology journal tends to allot more space for quantitative than qualitative studies. Nevertheless, this implies that to do work in SP, one should not be limited by a qualitative paradigm only. In practice, a psychologist can utilize quantitative data-gathering and analytic methods while being consistent with the goals of SP.

It can be argued that there are really no strict guidelines on what research paradigm should be used when it comes to SP research. What SP has, however, are guidelines that are more concerned with upholding ethical principles than identifying which methods should be employed and which should be discarded. Pe-Pua (1994) enumerates "basic guiding principles relevant to the use of an indigenous perspective in general and indigenous research methods in particular (p. 21)" which include reminders such as using the language of the people as the language of research at all times.

those that were not (e.g., *Sikolohiya ng mga Pilipino*). This was accomplished by employing the indigenization categories suggested by Enriquez (1979) and Church & Katigbak (2002). Whether an alternative framework or categorization is more appropriate in accomplishing this task still needs to be determined. At the same time, the extent of the framework's utility and reliability is beyond the scope of this study and can be explored in subsequent investigations.

Second, the period covered did not include PJP articles prior to the rise of the SP movement (i.e., articles published from 1968-1976). Whether those studies were aligned with SP's goals were not addressed in the current investigation.

Third, it can be recalled that abstracts comprised this study's dataset. While more information necessary in establishing trends may definitely be culled from abstracts than simply looking at the study's titles and keywords (see Robins, Gosling, & Craik, 1999), some abstracts did not provide all the necessary information (e.g., "locale" of the participants). In the event of uncertainty during coding, the RAs and I would collectively decide on how to proceed. Most of the time, however, when the information was not explicitly mentioned, it would simply be coded as "unspecified." Whether the results of the study would change dramatically if the full text were considered can also be looked into in the future.

Finally, only articles found in the flagship journal were analyzed. While it has been justified early on, it should be noted that although there is no clear language policy found in the call for papers and in the PJP website, all articles published in this journal are in English. As shown earlier, most were also quantitative in nature. There are of course other sources of psychological studies which were not considered here, such as journals not exclusively devoted to psychology (e.g., *Philippine Social Sciences Review*), Filipino-language publications (e.g., *Malay*), or even theses and dissertations. Be that as it may, PJP's language policy and bias for quantitative studies did not seem to hinder researchers through the years from heeding the call to align with SP's goals, as was suggested by this study's results.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In sum, this study has shown that majority of the articles published in the PJP in the last 3 decades can be considered as aligned with the goals of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, with at least 1 SP-related article published each year since

1977. These SP articles have either (a) localized Western frameworks, theories, and methods to make them more meaningful to the Filipino context or (b) identified and elaborated local and relevant concepts while attempting to address social issues. Observed trends in these SP studies also include (a) preference for recruiting participants outside the university, (b) inclination toward using a quantitative paradigm, and (c) emphasis on topical indigenization.

Though it may seem that, over the years, researchers have attempted to reflect local behaviors, interpret phenomena using a local frame of reference, and yield results that are locally relevant (Sinha, 1997 as cited in Adair, 1999), much work is very much needed in terms of developing indigenous frameworks, theories, and methods.

A possible research agenda: Back to basics

With regard to indigenous theory-building, Enriquez's *kapwa* model of Filipino values governing our social interactions is definitely worth revisiting, reviewing, and rebuilding. It is interesting to mention that in the past 3 decades, no other indigenous theory has been explicated, used, talked about, and criticized as much as the *kapwa* theory. Unfortunately, the past 30 years has also been a witness to a dearth of studies that empirically investigated the theory's formulations. In a previous paper, we reiterated why a study of values is very important in the Philippine context (Clemente et al., 2008, p. 28):

> "First, it has been argued that the study of values is a very effective way of unpacking the influences of culture on one's behavior, thought, and affect. At the same time, values can be and have been linked to very important social issues in the Philippines—leadership, national identity, influences of socialization agents, etc… In the study of Filipino values, the kapwa model is a good place to start."

While the present dataset seem to focus on applied research, more basic research about the *kapwa* model should be also conducted. Much work is needed to clarify the relationships of these Filipino values with each other and the various applications of the proposed value system since its utility is still somewhat limited (Clemente et al., 2008).

Methodological indigenization

To be able to advance the knowledge base in *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, research is

a must. Aside from developing local frames of reference (e.g., *kapwa* theory), much work is also needed in developing indigenous research methods. To date, forms of inquiry in SP can be classified into two categories: Indigenous Instruments and Indigenous Research Methods (Church & Katigbak, 2002). An example of an indigenous instrument is the *Panukat ng Ugali at Pagkatao* (PUP) (Guanzon-Lapena et al., 1998). On the other hand, the indigenous research methods were "identified and developed based on existing ways of gathering and exchanging information in the culture. These methods, therefore, constitute a set of behaviors and expectations from the information-gatherer and –giver that are prescribed by the culture itself" (Sta. Maria, 1996, p. 109). Some of these identified methods are *ginabayang talakayan*, *pakikipagkwentuhan*, and *pagtatanung-tanong*.

What is lacking at the moment is some form of systematization for some of these indigenous research methods (Sta. Maria, 1996). For example, *ginabayang talakayan* (also known as GT) has been very well-documented (see Aguiling-Dalisay, 1997) while *pakikipagkwentuhan* is a method that may very well benefit from this systematization.

It also seems that articles regarding the development of methods are not very popular in the PJP. There were only 17 articles that were identified under methodological indigenization and most of these studies were translation of scales or development of survey questionnaires applicable only to the particular topic being investigated. Perhaps the systematization aspect of research methods has a more appropriate place in textbooks or handbooks since they might not be considered as a psychological research as earlier defined and therefore, might not be published in the flagship journal. What might be appropriate in the journal, and should therefore be seriously considered in future investigations, would be empirical tests regarding some of the assumptions of the indigenous research methods. For instance, it is recommended that a level of mutual trust, understanding and rapport should be reached by the researcher and the participant in order to be assured of good quality data (Pe-Pua & Protacio-Marcelino, 2000). But at the moment, no work has been done to systematically validate this assumption.

A call for more special issues

Based on the observation in the results sections regarding PJP's special issues, special issues should be published more frequently so as to ensure that there will

be more SP articles featured in the PJP. At the same time, the trend seems to be that of differentiation among the distinct areas or fields in psychology, focusing on the frameworks or theories available within the area and applying them to resolve social issues. Thus, a more programmatic research agenda within particular psychology areas should be encouraged. For one, this seems more manageable, as opposed to a more "multidisciplinary" approach among the various fields. Second, collaborative efforts of psychologists within a particular field will guarantee that a significant number of research reports will always be readily available for publication, facilitating the release of an entire special issue devoted to that field.

Further study of trends and impact of SP

It was noted in an earlier section that there are certain areas in psychology which are more "prone" to indigenization (e.g., clinical psychology) compared to others (e.g., industrial/organizational psychology). In further assessing SP's impact on the practice of psychology in the Philippines, it might also be important to look into its influence across areas, as well as in basic and applied researches. In so doing, enabling conditions and potential stumbling blocks could be identified, which could later on be used in systematically programming steps to further develop SP.

Second, a more contextualized approach in studying trends should also be encouraged. For example, in line with studying trends observed in SP research, the possible effects or influences of internal changes within PJP and the developments in the practice of psychology within and outside the country can also be explored.

Third, it would be interesting to find out whether the observations and trends noted in this study would be supported or refuted with a broader sample of studies. Future work about research trends and SP's impact should definitely include in the analysis SP materials published in venues other than the PJP (e.g., theses, dissertations, edited books, other journals).

SUMMARY AND FINAL COMMENTS

What can now be said about the identity of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* in general, and SP research in particular? Based on data presented, there seems to be widespread acceptance that indeed, it is necessary to understand the Filipino in

terms of their own culture, rather than always using foreign yardsticks as benchmarks (Allwood & Berry, 2006). This has been evidenced by the number of SP research articles that have been published in the country's flagship journal for the past 30 years. Aside from these, there are three important features of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* that emerged in this study that cannot be emphasized enough.

First, the *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* presented here is a more inclusive discipline. For one, psychologists need not identify as SP "advocates" for their work to be considered as such. Similar to Peña-Alampay, de la Cruz, and Liwag's (2003) categorization of developmental psychology researches, some of the scholars reviewed here might be surprised to discover that they have been classified as "SP researchers" even though they never claimed to be such. While identifying one's self as part of the field or movement may be important for progress in terms of institutional indigenization (Church & Katigbak, 2002), to contribute to SP is not just about institutional affiliations or a bias towards a particular research paradigm. It is about being more conscious about the meaningfulness and significance of the topics investigated and the methods used in these studies. It is also about exerting a more conscious effort to localize, develop local frames of reference, and improve research methods that are culturally appropriate and sensitive.

Second, research in SP is still aligned with the original goals of developing a discipline and a movement. Filipino psychologists have not only investigated a diverse group of participants other than the usual university student samples, most have also used their psychological lens to resolve some of the pressing concerns of the people who belong to these groups.

Finally, criteria on how to go about with SP research were presented so as to encourage more psychologists to do work in SP. If one wants to contribute to *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, either indigenization from within or from without can be used as an approach. More specifically, Church & Katigbak's (2002) aspects of indigenization can serve as a guide in the initial stages of the conceptualization of a research project since they have already identified what should essentially be considered – development of local concepts and theories, development of culturally appropriate methods, and employment of psychological theories to resolve national problems.

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NOTES

[1]While indigenization from within may seem to be the "prototypic SP approach" (as noted by a reviewer), I purposefully chose not to give importance to one approach over the other. After a discussion with a colleague, I agree with the point raised that both indigenization from within and without are equally important. As mentioned by Church & Katigbak (2002), "combination of insider and outsider perspectives is optimal in avoiding metatheoretical biases" (p. 140). Too much emphasis on indigenization from within may lead to insularity or parochialism in SP. An insular SP may a) ignore or reject aspects of imported psychologies that might be applicable locally; b) "reinvent" theories or repeat mistakes already made elsewhere; or c) overstate the cultural specificity of concepts or methods that may be universal (see Churck & Katigbak, 2002 for a detailed discussion about this issue).

[2]The points on the graph represent the combined total of the number of articles published for every 2-year interval (e.g., 12 SP articles for the years 2007 and 2008).