

samples.¹⁶ With this being the case, it can be easily assumed that correlations involving other stratification elements (from Filipino samples) would likewise be relatively higher. The observed correlation of 0.69 leads the investigator to believe that the socio-cultural factors which are present in the Philippines do not alter the substantive conclusions which has been demonstrated from American data. Functional importance remains a relatively unimportant element in stratification. Even though the Western influence in the Philippines is relatively strong, the objective shape and span of the class structure in the Philippines fundamentally differs from that which exists in the United States. These structural differences and other social factors which identify Filipino society seem not to have an important impact on the empirical status of functional stratification theory.

¹⁶ Edward E. Harris, *op. cit.*

Summary and Implications

The present endeavor sought to provide a general test of functional stratification theory. This investigation sought to evaluate the relationship between prestige and functional importance within a non-American social context. Some relevant data from the Philippines made this particular test possible.

The findings of the present study did not substantially alter the empirical status of functional stratification theory. This limited cross-cultural study has profound implications in relation to the contention that the universality of social stratification basically rests on its functional relationship to the society. It seems that the functional element of social stratification is not a primary reason for the existence of social stratification. The relative importance of functional importance seems to be less than the extent to which theorists emphasize.

Repercussions of Naive Scholarship: The Background of Local Furor

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The Tiruray, a Mindanao hill people whose homeland is the northern part of the Cotabato Cordillera, have never enjoyed a very "good press". To be sure,

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not much about the Tiruray has been printed at all; but what has been published would, in most cases, strike a literate Tiruray as both inaccurate and unfair.²

In an article entitled "Around Mindanao" in the March 16, 1901 issue of

² A notable exception on both counts is the brief ethnographic report of Wood, G., "The Tiruray," *Philippine Sociological Review*, 5:2 (1957) 12-39.

Outlook Magazine, Phelps Whitmarsh, for example, ignoring or perhaps ignorant of a half-decade of drought and disease, noted that the Tiruray near Cotabato City had long been in a state of famine. Stating that it was clearly the direct result of the withdrawal of the Spanish Jesuit mission at Tamantaka, he summed up the Tiruray as

... a lazy, worthless lot apparently degenerates. They live together indiscriminately, fathers sometimes taking their own daughters to wife, and are without doubt the lowest of the Mindanao peoples.

Although he did not share Whitmarsh's colorful fantasy that Tiruray were given to incest (the one offense, in fact, in Tiruray native law which carries an obligatory death penalty), a lieutenant of the Tenth U. S. Infantry, G. S. Turner, ended a summary of Tiruray customs prepared for the 1903 Census by informing his readers that

... in general they are ignorant, shiftless savages, ruled by superstition and fear, with little moral or legal restraint upon their desires or passions.³

I have never heard of any Tiruray reaction to these surely quite offensive statements; it is unlikely that many Tiruray, if any, ever saw them. Only a handful could read in 1901 and 1903, and they read the Spanish they had learned from the Jesuits and were, in any case, unlikely to see either the *Outlook Magazine* or the *Census of the Philippine Islands*.

Today, however, a great many Tiruray read English and Tagalog and, like so many of their fellow Filipinos, enjoy the various popular weekly magazines. Thus,

³ Turner, G. S., "Tirurayes," in United States Bureau of the Census, *Census of the Philippine Islands*, Washington, 1903, pp. 549-552.

when the *Weekly Graphic* recently carried a short, half-page piece entitled "The Tirurays of Cotabato", authored by a history professor at a college in Midsayap, Cotabato,⁴ it was seen and read by many Tiruray. While the article was emphatically sympathetic—expressing concern that the Tiruray "are a fast-vanishing tribe unless the government does something to save them from extinction"—it nevertheless incited a roar of protest and indignation among virtually all who saw or heard of its contents. For several weeks, wherever Tiruray professionals were gathered, extant copies of that issue of the *Graphic* were sure to appear and to be passed back and forth. The alleged injustices of the article in question were the subject of almost continuous and frequently heated discussion, and such Tiruray eminences as the PRO of the Tiruray Welfare Association and a local Tiruray parish priest were among those aroused to address letters of adamant protest and correction to the editors.

All of this excitement resulted from a friendly sketch of Tiruray customs which was, by count, only forty-eight sentences long. Yet, if one goes through the article and numbers the sentences (and some have done just that, then considers their content one by one (they did that, too), one can understand all the furor and the resentment.

Sentences 1-3 locate the Tiruray as concentrated around Upi, Cotabato, and set forth the tribe as numbering some 5000, as rapidly vanishing, and as doomed to extinction if without that government intervention. Now it is true that many of the old traditional customs of the Tiruray are vanishing as the society becomes increasingly peasantized, but it is also true that the number of Tiruray peo-

⁴ Lacar, L. O., "The Tirurays of Cotabato," *Weekly Graphic*, 33:15, October 5, 1966, p. 44.

ple is well in excess of 26,000, a fact as easily obtained as a copy of the 1960 Census, and that the birth rate is, in fact, rising.

Sentence 4 of the article asserts that the Tiruray are culturally similar to "the Negritoes, the Manobos, Bagobos, Bilaans, and the Maguindanaos," groups which are hardly culturally similar to each other. The fifth sentence describes many Tiruray as "still nomadic," no Tiruray was ever nomadic. Sentence 6 describes their diet as consisting of root crops and vegetables, but the following sentence states that as a result of contact with other tribes, "such as the Maguindanaos who have learned to go to school already," some Tiruray plant rice. Well, not only do all of them plant rice, but they have been doing so for a long, long time and have been doing so with consummate sophistication. Data from an isolated "old-way" Tiruray community, far up the Tran Grande River and quite out of contact with Maguindanao scholars, show that the people of that community know and maintain over 130 different varieties of upland rice, and that several members of the community realized 1966 yields in excess of fifty cavans per hectare. Regarding the allegation that the Tirurays are already learning to go to school, schools for Tiruray had been established since 1910. The Upi community itself is an off-shoot of the foundation of an agricultural school for Tiruray. Today there are no less than 48 Tiruray government teachers besides a number of lawyers, nurses, clergymen, and agriculturists.

Sentences 8-12 make up the second paragraph of the article and deal with the Tiruray personality (they are peaceful when not angry, certainly a fact) and Tiruray religion. Most are said to worship "trees, rocks, flowers, rivers, and wild animals," none of which any Tiru-

ray has ever worshipped; but some, it is reported, have been converted to Anglicanism, "the only missionary group that has penetrated the Tiruray area"—an observation that not only omits from mention the work of the Christian Missionary Alliance and of three Roman Catholic schools established specifically for Tiruray students, but even excludes the considerable mission among Tiruray in Salangsang, Lebak, of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines.

The remaining thirty-six sentences are as packed with virtually unrelieved misinformation as were the first twelve. Traditional Tiruray wear their hair long, but it does *not* "cascade up to the ankle of the feet" (sentence 15). Marriages are *not* arranged at birth (sentence 21). When they are arranged, the girl's side does *not* approach the boy's side (sentence 21)—it is invariably the reverse. Early marriages were not predicated on a desire for more children to help with the work (sentence 23). Final marriage negotiations are *not* instigated by the girl's parents (sentence 24), but by the boy's. Rice is *never* used as part of a brideprice (sentence 26). Much of the brideprice *does* go to the girl's parents (sentence 27). *Kanduli* is a religious agricultural or healing ritual and does *not* occur at marriage negotiations (sentence 29). These negotiations are *never* the expense of the girl's side (sentence 29). They do *not* take place the night before the wedding (sentence 30). The bride and groom are *not* informed that they are to be married on the morning of the wedding (sentence 33), but on the evening before. The wedding ceremony does *not* last one whole week (sentence 35). The expenses of the ceremony are *never* shared by both sides (sentence 36). During the marriage festivities, the bride and groom are *not* kept in separate

houses, and there is *no* sense of guarding the girl from any "envious spirits" (sentence 37). The *kefeduwan* is by *no* stretch of analysis or imagination anything like a Tiruray "high priest" (sentence 38)—he is a strictly secular legal leader. He does *not* have the couple sit "facing the sun" (sentence 39); they are seated facing east, regardless of the time of day, and weddings are not always "solemnized" in the morning, let alone at the rising of the sun (sentence 40). The sun is *not* the "god of new life" (sentence 40). The *kefeduwan* gives the couple advice, but he does *not* chant any prayers (sentence 41).

The article has only forty-eight sentences, of which thirty-nine could be said to contain substantive assertions, and of those thirty-nine, thirty-one are simply and flatly wrong.

Now why? The author of that article certainly had no desire to get his facts awry and no intention to popularize a false picture of the Tiruray—yet he certainly did both, and it is for this reason that so many Tiruray readers of the *Graphic* became so upset about what had been written about their people. How did it happen? The explanation lies in the naiveté of the author's method of data collection.

The Tiruray, today, are not everywhere alike. In common with so many ethnic minority groups around the world, the Tiruray are undergoing rapid change in their physical and social environment and in their way of life. The Tiruray around Upi have known more than half a century of intense contact with lowland Filipino homesteaders and with American military, educational, and missionary enterprises. Over the years they have experienced varying degrees of acculturation. They have become plow far-

mers. They have been drawn into the cash, credit, and market economy typical of other Filipino peasants in different areas. They have adopted Western clothing. They have come to esteem formal education. They have learned to speak the local form of Tagalog. These "modernized" Tiruray have turned from their older religious ways and leaders to adopt Christianity and to follow clergy who are either American missionaries, Filipinos from Luzon or the Visayas, or, in a few cases, profoundly Westernized Tirurays. They attempt, at present, no leading role in local or national politics, but they are an important part of the constituency of those Maguindanao or homesteader leaders who do.

In striking contrast are the diminishing but still large number of Tiruray who live either so deep in the mountains or so far up the Tran Grande River that they have remained beyond the effective range of contact, or who have retreated over the years farther and farther into the hinterlands, preferring to relinquish their traditional home rather than their traditional way of life. Among these "remote" people, Tiruray society and culture remain quite intact. The people follow strong leaders of the old type, both legal and religious. They draw their subsistence from the rivers and the forests—fishing, hunting, trapping, gathering, and engaging in a sophisticated and highly conservative annual cycle of swidden agriculture. They wear their own style of clothing and their hair long; they speak only Tiruray; they take great pride and satisfaction in their way of life.

Between the two extremes summarized above, one does not find a marked cultural fault line, but a wide area of greater or lesser contact with and of greater and lesser involvement in non-Tiruray institutions and patterns of interac-

tion. During the more than half-decade that I have been travelling about through a great variety of Tiruray settlements and through areas where scattered Tiruray families live amidst other sorts of settlers, I have been forcibly struck by the fact that the transformation of Tiruray society is an ongoing process along a sort of continuum of increasing structural realignment stretching from the still isolated people I have term "remote," through various gradations of exposure to outside influences and changing circumstances, to the Upi valley area and those Tiruray who live such a thoroughly different sort of life than did their ancestors.

Roads are rapidly being completed into the most isolated areas of Tiruray occupation. Schools and chapels are being erected along the roads and deep into the interior. Homesteaders from Luzon, the Visayas, and other parts of Mindanao are penetrating ever deeper into the mountains. Logging companies are continuously exercising their government-grant franchises to cut the forests. Such trends as these are intricately interrelated with each other and with other political, social, and economic factors which have emerged in the last half-century since American hegemony over both mountains and lowlands first forcibly broke the isolation of the Tiruray in their cordilleran redoubt and opened the area to outside interests and influences. I believe it is doubtful that in another twenty years it will be possible to locate a single Tiruray community where isolation and ecological conditions remain to permit the traditional Tiruray way of life. A once viable mountain society, now caught up in the waves and currents of what we speak of as history and judge to be progress, is

rapidly becoming fragmented into an array of relatively individuated peasant families. Gone with the forests are the rich rewards of hunting and gathering, as well as the swidden mode of agriculture. The legal system which, with remarkable juristic elegance, knit together those forest farmers, and a religious system which projected their legal-moral notions to a superhuman plane of social relations, are both vanishing entirely, and with them the influential legal and religious leaders so crucial to the fabric of the old Tiruray culture. The region where the Tiruray live, the world in which they live, is becoming ever less *Tiruray* and ever more *Filipino*.

Now, if the older Tiruray forms of leadership are disappearing along with the older Tiruray social context in which they functioned so effectively, new manifestations of a Tiruray elite are appearing which are appropriate to the wider Filipino world. These include the teachers, the managers of cooperatives and credit-unions, the lawyers, the more prominent landlords, the nurses, the agriculturists, the clergymen, and even a Manila college professor, all Tiruray; but fully integrated into and committed to the larger arena of Philippine social, intellectual, and economic affairs. I mentioned earlier that the old-style Tiruray tribesman takes great pride in his way of life, in being Tiruray. Most acculturated Tiruray have no interest whatsoever in actually living "like Tiruray." They consider life in the mountains and forests harsh and primitive, and they want to live "like Filipinos," and the more comfortably, the better. But many, especially among the new professional and semi-professional elite, are nonetheless proud of their ethnic identity and heritage,

proud of "being Tiruray."⁵ They send their children to college to equip them for a more comfortable life in a wider world, but they speak with distinct and honest satisfaction of the rugged and noble ways of the "old folks." Most are unclear regarding the precise details of the old way of life, and they have lost track of the intricacies of the ancient customs, but they know in a general way the form of traditional Tiruray culture and they feel that it is one in which they can take filial satisfaction. It was the way of the old folks, and it was good.

All of this, of course, is the background of the big furor caused by the small article. The Tirurays of Cotabato, whom the author of that article was intending to portray are the traditional Tiruray, the remote and isolated people, the old folks. His informants were several Tiruray students of his college, children of some of the most profoundly acculturated people of that ethnic group, who, being yet

⁵ Many poorer farmers and migrants to urban areas, having less educational and economic defenses against the widespread lowlander equation of: Tiruray = "native" = backwoods hick, take far less satisfaction in being Tiruray than do those who are more "on top" of the system. Whereas the Tiruray attorney may take a leading role in the Tiruray Welfare Association, the Tiruray dock-worker in Cotabato City is more apt to speak only Tagalog and to join the Roman Catholic Church as being "less Tiruray."

another generation removed, know even less than their parents about the details of customs and rituals they have never seen. And his readers were the new Tiruray elite, who may not be able to say with scholarly rigor what the customs all *were*, but certainly can recognize what they *were not*, and who took as a sort of personal affront this widely distributed and nationally read popular presentation of misinformation about their cultural heritage.

As I have suggested, the explanation of how this happened lies in the way the article's author went about collecting his data. His work was not based on field research, but neither was it based on malice or dishonesty. He did not set out to blacken the Tiruray nor to misrepresent them. He had no intention of promulgating merely colorful rumors, and above all he did not make up his article out of whole cloth. He based every word he wrote on exactly what a group of Tiruray informants told him about their customs. But in using the informants that he used—in assuming, without a modicum of further investigation, that a Tiruray is a Tiruray, he was naive. And the result of that naiveté was, nationally in the Philippines, a half-page of condensed ethnographic error, and, locally in the Upi area, a public relations disaster.