

Filipinos' Representations for the Self

Madelene Sta. Maria

De La Salle University-Manila

Specific meaning-systems were identified that are associated with the Self or Selfhood. These make apparent the norms, beliefs, values and dimensions of behavior which may be significant in a given group to enable one within the group to understand and communicate one's understanding of oneself to others, and to enable one to make sense of one's actions. Analyses on descriptions of informants about themselves and others show that to be understood and to understand the other, and to obtain an identity within the group, the value of exhibiting one's responsibility to one's relationship with the other becomes important. The concept of *loob* is found to be that which integrates experiences and which functions in the individual's decisions about how he/she should behave. It is within this frame of reference that one embeds *pagmamalasakit, pagsusumikap, paghahayag ng kalooban, pagtatago ng kalooban, pagkamasayahin, pagkamatapat* — actions associated with Representations for the Self as it is understood and whose meaning is lived in interactions with others.

In the earlier part of the 20th century, two significant occurrences paved the way for a consideration of the interaction between cultural activities and psychological functioning as an important area of study for both ethnologists and psychologists. These are, 1) a provision of empirical bases and explanatory frameworks by investigations conducted by the Neo-Freudians (e.g., Erick Erickson, Erich Fromm, Abram Kardiner, and others) which in turn gave way to the establishment of the "culture-and-personality" programme for research, and 2) a reformulation of the culture construct to include the behavior and mental events of culture members in its definition (Beuchelt, 1988). These developments made it necessary for one to look into psychological functioning if one is to understand cultural phenomena. It has since then become a truism that culture may only be understood through its members.

The impact of these events has mainly been evident in ethnological investigations, but has only recently made any real consequence in psychological research. The significance of the psychological is very clear with the need to re-define culture in ethnology. The significance of the cultural is yet to be seen in psychology until a redefinition would have to be undertaken of the discipline's subject matter. This resistance at redefinition is, I believe, the very root of the tragedy that befell the "culture-and-personality" programme. And it is this tragedy that pushes many of us in psychology to look into the construct of Self as a cultural phenomenon. We may thus be setting the stage for a redefinition of that which is psychological.

The present research is an attempt to view the experience of Self or Selfhood as cultural, or as an event that embodies the meanings shared by a group about how it is to be an individual within a social world. To situate the present investigation in the development of ideas in the area of culture and self, a background on the initial attempts at relating culture and personality would be necessary.

Personality within Dimensions of Culture

The following discussion is drawn from Draguns' (1979) account on the culture and personality research programme. The personality characteristics that have been cross-culturally investigated while giving focus to cultural/social antecedents were the following: field dependence, locus of control, need for achievement, depression, active-passive coping, Oedipal experience and the superego/ego functioning. These personality characteristics were said to be influenced by the dimensions of simple vs. complex societies as elaborated by Triandis in 1975/1977, and tight vs. loose cultures as proposed by Pelto in 1968. Complex societies are characterized by economic activities, systems of governance and social differentiation that are elaborate, intricate and specialized. This kind of societies are said to produce degrees of cognitive complexity, with cognitive complexity being associated with a greater degree of field independence among its members. Loose societies are those that are characterized by an ambiguity with respect to norms of behavior, and to division of labor and status. Tight societies, on the other hand, have systems that tightly regulate and restrict individual and social behavior. Members of tight societies engage more often in vicarious and fantasy

expressions; members of loose societies are more overt and give in more frequently to outbursts of impulses.

According to Draguns, the decline of culture-and-personality studies is due to several related factors that, in my opinion, have to do largely with the use of a framework of understanding that does not mirror the dynamics that underly the relationship between the individual and the collective. First, it was found that the construct of personality itself is a Western creation, and its usefulness in cross-cultural investigations was thus questioned. Second, the psychodynamic theory that emphasized the individual's potential conflict with the collective could only provide weak incomplete explanations to behavior observed in cultural milieus. Third, it became increasingly clear that to conclude a single personality type to a single culture was getting to be more and more absurd especially when one considers the reality of intragroup variabilities existing in the more modern nation-states. Fourth, errors were being committed in the determination of socialization effects when a distinction is not made between what the culture sets out to accomplish and the variability that may occur in how this is carried out in practice by the culture's members. Fifth, the definition of personality as being stable and consistent was put into serious doubt when one has to consider the person in varying situations, thus giving greater concern to the complexity of the individual's interactions with his/her environment. And lastly, there was an overall dismal evaluation of the quality and quantity of evidence produced by the programme.

In general, one may say that the failure of culture-and-personality studies is due to the use of a construct that has been largely defined from Western experience, a lack of knowledge about the dynamics in the culture being investigated, and a disregard for situational or contextual factors that may influence and direct behavior. A reconceptualization of the personality construct had to take place. This was to take place with a focus on the Self as the locus of experience and meaning.

Personality vs. Self

After a realization of the errors of researches conducted under the culture-and-personality approach, the construct of personality had then to undergo the process of clarification. We witness this in the 1985 volume entitled "Culture and Self" edited by Marsella, DeVos and Hsu.

In introducing the volume, they apply the etic-emic distinction in differentiating selfhood from personality. A more emic approach (i.e. a study "from the inside") is said to characterize the study of self or selfhood; while an etic approach (i.e. a study "from the outside") is appropriate and consistent with the definition of personality. Reference is first made to social patterns that may be observed either through the investigator's own conceptual tools or through expressions of experiences from those involved in the patterns observed.

Patterns of social interaction, status positions and forms of interaction related to social stratification all can become a topic of observation. The conflicts and adaptations as societies slowly change or the influence of abrupt events changing the social order can be studied. These patterns can be observed from the outside but they also may be observed by understanding the experiences communicated by the participants (p. 5).

Marsella and his associates then point to more stable, universally conceived capacity for development assumed to be inherent in all individuals within a culture which consequently entails an etic analysis.

The effects of culture on normative patterns of realization or nonrealization of maturational potential is the study of the "personality" of the culture. Ultimately such study is an etic analysis. The system of thought brought to bear in cross-cultural observation is ultimately external to the experience of the members of a particular social system or culture being observed (p. 5-6).

From the observation of more social and hypothesized psychological structures that may influence behavior, a turn is made to focus on the experiencing self within context as an explanatory concept.

The principal argument ... is that cultural traditions of thought influence how the self perceives itself, and, in turn, how this perception interacts with, rather than is determined by, the operation of underlying coping mechanisms that comprise personality structure. In brief, ... the analysis of the self in social interaction is a necessary intervening level of analysis between that concerned with social role interaction on the one hand, and personality structure on the other (p. 6-7).

“Human self-consciousness”, “how the self perceives itself”, “observations of the self”, “experiences of the self” are some key phrases used by Marsella, DeVos and Hsu in their attempt at formulating a definition for the self — a formulation that signifies a phenomenological conception of the individual¹, a development that represents for me Psychology’s counterpart of the “interpretative turn” in Ethnology.

Even if I would like to view the attempt of Marsella, DeVos and Hsu as step toward a reconceptualization of the personality construct, it is apparent in their argument that construct remains intact as it only involves a different strategy for analysis which they claim should be “etic”. A contributor to the same volume, however, makes the possibility of reconceptualization possible by emphasizing that

... people’s own formulations and theories about themselves as personal and social objects ought to play a larger role in our conceptualizations of personality than heretofore. From such a perspective, it is immediately apparent that the symbolic ingredients of these formulations and theories are intrinsically cultural (Smith, 1985, p. 62).

Smith contends that theorizing in personality has been largely misdirected because of the popular subscription to an ahistorical science and to the mistaken belief that what is being dealt with in Psychology are timeless universals rather than historical and culturally-specific phenomena. According to Smith, studies on personality should be redirected by trying to determine in what respects the experience of self may be said to be culture-specific. The significance of this line of investigation is further elaborated in the following excerpt:

How people construe themselves and how their constructions are culturally phrased should interest us not only because they are humanly interesting for their own sake, and scientifically interesting for their bearing in general personality theory, but also because as reflexively conscious creatures, people are influenced by their self-conceptions. Their metaphors for selfhood become in part self-fulfilling prophecies. A fuller understanding of this process would seem to be high in priority as knowledge that potentially contributes to human liberation (Smith, 1985, p. 84).

The role of culture in shaping our sense of self and identity has now become a major area of investigation in Psychology. It is recognized in this area that individuals are by their very nature agents of culture and thus bring with them their "implicit psychological culture" in every interaction and situation (Matsumoto, 1996). Culture has then become an integral part of the self, and is no longer to be ignored as that which plays a significant role in shaping our sense of self and identity.

The view of the person dominating Western theory was, according to Sampson (1989), liberal individualistic, a view of a person who freely chooses his/her own course of actions since all ties that has bound him/her from the context of the community has been effectively broken. This view of a self-contained individual has to be changed and made to be more consistent with a more globalized, postmodern world. What is now needed (and what is now currently being developed) is a constitutive view of the person — a person whose identity is constituted in their social relationships. The cultural locus within which the individual finds himself/herself becomes that venue where an understanding of the self and the other takes place. In contrast to a view of a person who is self-contained, a constitutive view of the person opens investigations to issues of subjectivity, interpretation and everyday, commonsense understanding (Misra in Gergen, Gulerce, Lock and Misra, 1996).

Culture and Self

The type of cultural variation that has most captured the research interest of psychologists doing cross-cultural research is the collectivistic-individualistic characterization of cultures. This cultural dimension provides the explanatory groundwork for the distinction being made between independent and interdependent² construals of self that directly relate to the kind of culture to which the individual has been socialized (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). An *independent* self-construal is usually observed among those from individualist cultures where the person is socialized to be independent and unique. The person in these cultures is encouraged to express and realize one's self-potential through the achievement of one's goals. Independent self-construal is thus characterized by a focus on one's own attributes and achievements. An *interdependent* construal of the self is observed among those who belong to collectivist cultures where the socialization of the individual is

centered on the individual's successful adjustment to his/her social relationships. Successful adjustment is achieved through an ability to appropriately play one's role, to be sensitive to others, and to behave in socially acceptable ways. An interdependent construal of the self is centered on information about the self that has to do with one's relationship with others and descriptions about the self are usually tied with the social contexts the individual is involved. The self as construed interdependently is thus a contextualized self.

Although the relationship between culture and one's experience of the self has been empirically demonstrated and is assumed to be mediated by the socialization practices of a culture, the question still remains to be asked: What makes it possible for culture to play a dominant role in shaping our sense of self? To arrive at a conceptual understanding of the influence of culture on the self (and of the self on culture), the Cartesian dichotomy between the individual and the collective had to be rejected. A rejection of this dichotomy makes possible the integration of the individual and culture — an integration that failed to materialize in the Neo-freudian framework of the culture-and-personality programme, but was achieved through the philosopher Charles Peirce's general theory of signs, or semiotics, which yields a theory of the self that is anti-Cartesian, i.e. rejecting the intuitive and introspective knowledge of the self (Singer, 1980). Peirce's theory of self is summarized through the following:

For Peirce, the locus, identity, and continuity of the self was not to be found in the individual organism, whether in the pineal gland or in the organism as a whole. It was, rather an "outreaching identity" that connects the feelings, thoughts, and actions of one individual with those of others through the processes of semiotic communication ... The self is thus both a product and an agent of semiotic communication, and therefore social and public. (Singer, 1980: 489)

With this theory of self, the empirical problem is no longer about the classic Freudian conflict between personal identity and a socio-cultural identity (because they are now one and the same), but a problem of "discovering the bonds of feeling that hold people together or tear them apart, and what their interrelations and conditions are" (Singer, 1980, p. 500).

A theoretical extension of Pierce's theory of self may be found in George Herbert Mead's symbolic interactionist perspective. This perspective posits that individuals come to understand their world through interactions wherein meanings are shared and symbols created (Charon, 1998). The self is an object of action and interaction, and is therefore likewise imbued with shared meanings and symbols. How the self is viewed and defined is highly dependent on the social definitions the individual encounters throughout his/her life:

The child puts together the significant others in his or her world into a whole, a "generalized other", "them", "society." The self matures as our understanding of *society* matures. It is the other side of the coin. Interaction with others brings us face to face with *their* rules, *their* perspectives, and it also brings us *their* perspective of self, and the self becomes an object defined not only by the individual ... but also by *them* ... The development of a generalized other by the individual is really the internalization of society as the individual has come to know it, society's rules and perspectives become the child's, and society's definition of self becomes the individual's (Charon, 1998, p. 76-77).

The individual therefore shares the group or society's perspectives about the *self*, and these perspectives are used by the individual to act on the self as an object and to direct the self in one's interactions within the group.

It is then how we make sense of ourselves and of the world around us that determine to a large extent the decisions we make about how we should behave in given situations. The ways by which we think about ourselves and others as individuals are based on the notions we share with others which help us classify people and which provide us with reasons for differences and similarities among people. These form the basis for our common sense knowledge of psychology. Common sense notions of psychological functioning has also come to be labeled as indigenous psychologies (Heelas and Lock, 1981). These embody "expressions" about the self that are shared by a group in characterizing experiences.

According to Heelas (1981), indigenous psychologies are necessary for the individual to fulfill the following interrelated functions: 1)

sustaining the inner self, 2) sustaining the self in relation to the social world, and 3) enabling the operation of cultural institutions. It is therefore through the study of indigenous psychologies that one obtains an understanding of how an individual organizes and integrates experiences as he/she relates with others in a given culture. This understanding is often implicit. It is the task of the psychologist to make this explicit to obtain a clearer picture of how the individual manages himself/herself in his/her world. The present research represents an undertaking toward the accomplishment of this task.

Representations for the Self

In summary, it can be said that in order for us to determine the ways by which culture influences an individual's behavior, we first have to come to an understanding of the shared process of meaning-making that is involved when individuals within a group try to make sense of their own behavior and the behavior of others around them. To facilitate our arriving at an understanding of this process, it is important that we decide on the appropriate ways by which we may capture culture in individual experiencing. For this important task, what has to be adopted is a view of culture as a continuous process of creating meaning for events and experiences that are significant for the greater group of which the individual is a member, and that are significant as well for the individual so that membership within the group is not lost or jeopardized. The individual's membership and continued participation can be maintained when the individual learns to understand and communicate experiences in the terms used by the group in making sense of people's actions. The use of these terms provide for the individual and others in the group with a sense of consistency in their daily activities and interactions, and allow them "to see over time that people act in more or less familiar ways for more or less well-known reasons" (Rosaldo, 1986, p. 28).

We must be able therefore to identify those shared terms or expressions that describe the experiencing self — expressions that will reveal for us the group's cultural constructs for "personhood" or "the self", for indeed, as Rosaldo (1986) points out, "persons" are "constructed" in terms of the meanings created among members of a group. These meanings give us their shared understanding of the ways

by which they act and feel in their relations with one another. This shared understanding provides them with a sense of recognition of what people do, and also obtain for them an assurance that their own actions and expressions will make sense to others. In the same vein, Jodelet (1993) tells us that our view of ourselves and others are based on the representations we have about man and society. These representations, in turn, express the values and norms of the group to which we belong.

To assess the workings of culture on the individual is to view the individual as a self-conscious being conveying, through expressions, his/her interpretations of actions and experiences. The interpretations made contain the constructs, images or themes that embody the shared notions about personhood and the Self. The individual is at once self-conscious and socially conscious (that is, conscious of the other). At a single instance of expressing one's notion of who one is, the individual resources the meanings that make his/her actions and experiences meaningful to the social world and thus intelligible to the Other. In expressing what his/her notion of oneself or of another, the individual therefore becomes one who both conveys and interprets the representations used within the culture to signify the experiencing Self. What is therefore communicated are representations for the Self, versions of the culturally understood Self, that will provide meaning to one's and another's actions within forms of social interaction. Representations for the Self are therefore imbued with meaning made explicit through the communicative act with one's Self and with the Other. Representations for the Self are thus used by members of a group to facilitate what I would call as a "social recognition" of individual experiencing.

The present research attempts to identify emerging Representations for the Self used by individuals in the expressions used as they describe themselves and as they describe others. To obtain these Representations, individuals were placed in an activity where they could be made conscious of their Selves by asking them to talk about who they are and who they think another person is. Representations would be those common themes that contain meanings understood by the Other with whom the individual is in communication with. According to LeVine (1984, p. 68):

... there is a consensus in a community (which) is substantively related to the importance of communication in social life, and that

produces redundancy across informants ... (M)embers of a community ... hold common understandings of the symbols and representations through which they communicate.

In the communication of experiences about the self to others, one may be able to identify the so-called redundancies which determine for us the agreed meanings and ways of giving meaning to the person's actions and/or experiences. These redundancies are what I would consider an emerging Representation for the Self.

According to Brad Shore (1996), experiences are made coherent by the individual by drawing from prior schemas. These schemas may be in the form of what he called "instituted models" or recognized institutionalized experiences that are explicitly coded by a community. Representations for the Self, which present for us the different versions for an experiencing Self that are utilized by an individual in understanding and in communicating his/her experiences of self to another, consist as well of the ways or strategies one uses to represent the Self. According to Shore, schematizing relations are undertaken by the individual (or group of individuals) to form cultural meanings for concrete experiences. These strategies may therefore refer to the possible systems of schematization that are utilized by the individual in adopting a representation in the communication of experience that concerns the Self.

This is not to make the claim that the Representations emerging and identifiable from the expressions about the Self are stable and unchanging. These Representations may change corresponding to changes in society and how individuals react to these changes. Individuals may resist or yield to internal and external agents of change. They may devise new ways of dealing with new situations with the acquisition of knowledge and technologies, or with disasters and catastrophies. Representations may change also as an individual goes through his/her life development. These all will have definite bearing on the ways by which a group may develop new meanings for selfhood as new forms of social life are produced and reproduced.

Method

The Sample. Seventy-three (73) descriptions of oneself and of another were used as texts for analysis. Tagalog was the language used

in all descriptions. Descriptions were obtained from Filipinos residing in Metro Manila. Forty (40) descriptions were descriptions of oneself; thirty-three (33) descriptions were about another. From the self-descriptions, twenty-eight (28) were given by females, and twelve (12) came from males. From the descriptions of the other, twenty-five (25) were about females and eight (8) were about males. The range of ages of those who described themselves was from sixteen (16) to eighty-five (85) years; the age-range of those who were described was from the age of two (2) to eighty-five (85).

The Task. A group of college students in a social psychology course were each requested to conduct an informal interview or conversation with an acquaintance. The conversation was to center on how the informant would describe himself/herself and how he/she would describe another person. The conversations were done in Tagalog, with the initial questions posed as "*Paano mo ma-ilarawan ang iyong sarili?*" (How would you describe yourself?) and "*Paano mo mailalarawan si _____?*" (How would describe _____?). Probes included asking the person to clarify a given trait, eg., "*Bakit mo nasasabing makulit ka?*", or "*Sa anong paraan kang makulit?*". The interviews were recorded and later transcribed verbatim. The students who conducted the interviews were asked if they would allow their work to be analyzed as data for a research. Only those texts prepared by those who gave their consent were subjected to subsequent analysis.

Analysis. A three-stage qualitative analysis was undertaken to identify the emerging representations of the Self and the strategies adopted in the use of the representations in the description of the Self. The first stage of analysis involved an identification of phrases that were used by the respondents in describing the self. A meaningful data strand or description-strand, which contains a description theme and all other information given by the informant to clarify or elaborate on the theme, was considered a unit for analysis. The following is an example of a description-strand:

simple lang ako, kontento ako sa mga bagay na nakukuha ko, iba yung pangarap, yung kontento lang ako, yung pamumuhay namin, hindi ako nagugusto na kailangan

mayaman na mayaman kami, kontento ako sa kung anong meron kami.

The description-strands were then subjected to thematic analysis by clustering those that belong to a common description theme. The first clustering process produced seventeen (17) themes: *simple, tago ang damdamin, maayos, matigas, hayag ang damdamin, matulungin, marunong makisama, masipag, maalahanin, maawain, tapat, nakiki-bahagi, masayahin, husto sa oras, masayahin, madaldal, mapursige*. The identification of themes for the clustering process at this stage of analysis was largely based on the descriptor words that was commonly mentioned in the strands, eg., all strands the fall under the *simple* theme had the word "*simple*" mentioned in them.

A second stage of analysis was undertaken to further cluster themes to narrow down the number of emerging Representations for the Self. Within this stage of analysis, three judges (all professors of Psychology) were asked to evaluate the exclusivity of data-strands within each theme and determine which themes are meaningfully related and may be merged to form a more general theme. Judgments for each task were arrived at by consensus. From this second stage of analysis, the seventeen (17) subthemes were merged into a total of seven (7) general themes through a comparison of common meanings among the subthemes and description-strands. These general themes were: *ang simpleng tao, ang taong nagsusumikap, ang taong tago ang damdamin, ang taong hayag ang damdamin, ang taong masayahin, ang taong nagma-malasakit, ang taong banayad magalit*. These general themes were then to be the Representations for the Self emerging from the analysis.

In the third stage of analysis, situational and relational contexts in each description-strand within each Representation were examined. The analysis focused on the information on the action(s) the informants mentioned to elaborate on the descriptions they gave about themselves and about others. In the process of analysis, what was determined were: 1) who were the persons acted upon, 2) the settings/situations within which actions occurred, 3) the manner by which an action is exhibited, and 4) the consequences of the actions. In this third stage of analysis, another general theme had to be named since consistencies clearly

emerged when contexts were examined. This general theme was the Representation for *Ang Taong Matapat*. An examination of the context of a previous general theme of *Ang Taong Banayad Magalit*, showed consistencies with *Ang Taong Tago ang Damdamin* and was therefore subsumed under the latter Representation for the Self.

Results

In presenting the findings of this study, the emerging Representations for the Self are each to be described briefly.³ Excerpts from actual descriptions by the informants of themselves or others are used to best illustrate the Representation for the Self presented. The findings that pertain to the analysis of contexts in the use of the Representation are then provided. Related concepts for each Representation are given as annotations.

Ang Simpleng Tao⁴

This type of person does not try to attract undue attention through his manner of dressing.

ako ay taong simple, simple kumilos, ayoko yung madaming nakakabit sa katawan, walang makita sa akin na nakasuot na alahas, pati sa trabaho ko, simple lang ang gusto ko, gusto ko kasi hindi nakaka-agaw ng atensyon masyado (Male, age 30, self-description).

His ambitions in life do not differ much from the ambitions of most others. The *simpleng tao* is therefore no different from the typical, average man.

simple lang, simple lang kasi, sa ambisyon, simple lang naman ang gusto ko, yung simpleng buhay, magkaroon siyempre ng family, tapos, ano, stable job sa future, magkaroon siyempre ng asawa, yun lang, tapos ok na (Female, age 15, self-description).

One can easily get along with him. His dealings with others are consistent and rarely erratic. He never imposes himself on others, and rarely chooses whom he should befriend — he accepts all kinds of people, he tries to get along with everyone. He is easily satisfied with what is available.

ako sa sarili ko, masasabi kong simple lang talaga ako, hindi ako namimili ng taong kakaibiganin o pakikisamahan, basta gusto rin nila akong maging kaibigan, e di sige (Female, self-description).

Most importantly, a *simpleng tao* is one who is humble.

gustong-gusto siya dito dahil napakasimple niya, walang makikitang kahit anong kayabangan sa kanya (Male, age 50, being described).

simple lang din siyang pumorma, hindi halatang isa siya sa mga elite at kinikilalang pamilya sa aming lugar (Female, being described).

Those who are directly affected by the actions of the *Simpleng Tao* are his friends, or those who may wish to be his friends or with whom he may form a potential relationship with. The *Simpleng Tao* Representation is useful when describing oneself in social occasions or when interpersonal relations are ongoing. It is also used when one expresses one's goals and ambitions in life — in the case of the *Simpleng Tao*, as mentioned earlier, one's goals should not differ from that of others in one's social world. Actions that characterize the *Simpleng Tao* Representation are that of maintaining a low profile in one's social world, conforming to external circumstances (*nakikibagay*). Being friendly to everyone (*lahat ay kasundo*) and that of not being choosy about what he may obtain in life (*hindi pihikan*).

When one is a *Simpleng Tao*, all may be one's friends or potential friends, one may easily reach one's ambitions in life, and one will not be left out and look stupid ("*kung hindi ka makibagay sa paligid mo, ikaw ang maiiwan, ikaw rin ay matatalo*", "*hindi ka magmukhang tanga*").

Ang Taong Nagsusumikap⁵

This type of person possesses a goal in life. She acts towards the attainment of this goal. Patient, dedicated, persevering — these characterize this type of person.

ako yung tao na gusto ang isang bagay, kailangan makuha ko na yon kaagad, hindi ko na pinapahintay pa, kumbaga

hindi na ako nagdada-dalawang-isip, gumagawa na ako kaagad ng paraan (Female, self-description).

She is industrious and does whatever is asked of her. She rarely stops until the work is done. She will struggle and is willing to suffer until she finally reaches her goal.

siya rin yung tipong pag may gusto siya, gagawin niya lahat, hahamakin niya lahat basta masunod lang yung gusto niya (Female being described)

masipag siyang tao, palagi yung may goal, may gusto yung bilhin, may paglalaanan siya, pinag-iipunan niya talaga, pinaghihirapan niya hanggang makuha ito, kuntento na siya, titigil na talaga, wala na siyang gagawin (Male, age 50, being described)

The Representation *Ang Taong Nagsusumikap* is useful in situations when action is directed at objects and events desired by the individual. This is usually situated in the workplace, when a challenge in life is met, or when the individual tries to obtain a desired object. The individual goes through a lot of hardship (*pinaghihirapan, pinagpapawisan, pinagpupuyatan*), is insistent (*pinipilit*), stands by one's decision (*pinaninindigan niyang tama yung ginawa niyang desisyon*), and tries all one's best (*talagang ginagawa niya lahat ng makakaya niya*) to obtain the desired goal.

Ang Taong Tago ang Kalooban⁶

This type of person is not easy to understand and he is likewise not easy to get along with. He rarely mixes around with others. Very few friends are all he has. He does not usually talk and is not one to readily share his feelings with others, except perhaps to a few chosen friends. He is usually quiet.

sabi nila mahirap daw akong basahing tao, tinatago ko, hindi ko pinapakita, piling-pili lang ang nakakakuha ano talaga ang nasa loob ko, dalawa o tatlo sa barkada ko ang nakakaintindi sa akin, hindi ko alam kung bakit yung iba hindi nila nalalaman (Female, self-description)

pag makikita mo ako, tahimik ako at saka hindi ako masyadong namamansin, medyo pili siguro yung mga tao, ilang ako kumbaga ... ayoko talaga yung ako yung lumalapit, yung gusto ko, yung ako ang nilalapitan, hindi ako masyadong friendly (Male, age 16, self-description)

Hiding his feelings may probably be due to his shyness, or his fear that others may see his weaknesses. Hiding one's feelings is also a sign that one has been hurt or angered by another's words or actions.

ayaw niya na pinapakita na mahina siya, gusto niya pag tinitignan mo siya makikita mo na kaya niya, hindi niya ipapakita na hindi kaya yung mga dinadala niya, sasabihin niya ok, pero sa ibang kuwento, sa ibang barkada hindi pala, dapat magtatanong ka, pag-iisipan mo pa para malaman talaga kung ano ang totoo (Female, being described)

hindi ako mahilig magsalita ng kung ano ang nararamdaman ko, mahiyain kasi ako pagdating dito, minsan kahit natutuwa ako sa ginagawa ng isang tao, hindi ko sinasabi, nahihiya ako (Male, age 20, self-description)

siya ay galit, tatahimik na lang siya sa isang tabi, hindi makikipag-usap (Female, age 27, being described)

Hiding one's feelings is usually done by exhibiting the opposite of one feels. This may signify that one is trying to control one's emotions or to deceive others about what one really feels.

masyadong complex ang pagkatao ko, kaya kong itago yung nararamdaman ko, kaya kong ipakita yung alam kong gustong makita nung tao, magaling ako sa plastikan, kunwari galit ako, kayang-kaya kong ngumiti (Male, self-description)

hindi siya masyadong nagpapakita ng damdamin, isang katangian na hinahangaan ko, meron siyang kontrol sa kanyang emosyon, marunong siyang magdala kung naiinis o nagagalit (Female, being described)

masayin akong tao sa labas, maraming nag-aakala na ako ang isang tao na walang ka-problema-problema sa buhay, hindi lang nila alam na tinatakpan ko lang ang lungkot ng

buhay ko sa aking pagiging masayahin at pagiging maingay
(Female, self-description)

Actions of *Ang Taong Tago ang Kalooban* are usually directed at others with whom one is not close to (*ibang tao*), one feels indifferent to or uncomfortable with (*ilang*), or at others who caused the individual pain (*nanakit na tao*). This Representation is useful in situations that are confusing for the individual (*magulo*), or when unexpected but unpleasant events happen (*hindi inaasahan, hindi nagugustuhan*), when the individual has a problem or is experiencing a strong emotion like anger, or when the individual fears criticism from others. The individual in this Representation behaves in the following manner: is silent, only listens to others, does not attend to others around him (*hindi namamansin*), is self-conscious about his movements (*de-numero ang galaw*).

Consequences of one's actions consist in the impressions one gives to others as one acts: he cannot be understood (*mahirap basahin*), he is moody or sensitive.

Ang Taong Hayag ang Kalooban⁷

This person expresses in a direct manner whatever is on her mind. One will be able to tell immediately from her actions whether she favors a person or not. One will also be able to guess right away what her feelings or thoughts are.

saka totoong tao, prangka, in the sense na kapag ayaw kita, ayaw kita, bale kung ano ang feeling ko sa iyo, siguro makikita mo sa kilos, ganoon (Female, age 19, self-description)

She never beats around the bush whenever there is something she has to say. She is able to tell what she does not like about another person. She is true and is able to share that which bothers her.

matapat din siya, may gusto siyang sabihin sa kung anong mali sa iyo, gaya yung mali yung ayos mo, prangka siya, kung ano ang ayaw niya sa iyo, yung ugali mo, sasabihin niya, gusto niya yung pag may kaaway siya, hindi siya yung tipong uupo lang, sasabihin niya talaga sa iyo ano ba, sabihin mo kung ano ang naging kasalanan ko para malaman

niya kung anoang kasalanan niya, hindi na siya nagpapaligoy-ligoy pa, yun nga ang nagugustuhan ko sa kanya (Female, being described)

She is also open to her feelings and current experiences in life. She readily shares this with others.

masyado akong open, gusto kong nagshe-share ng buhay ko, ayokong may tinatago ako, may problema ako, sasabihin ko, hindi ko tinatago, ganoon rin, malalaman din, nagtago ka, iyon pala dahil doon sa pagtatago mo, mapapaaway ka, mas maganda na yung sinasabi mo (Male, self-description)

An emotion that is usually expressed is anger. Its expression is usually characterized as an outburst after a period of self-control (*pagtitimpi*).

huwag mo akong galitin, masama akong magalit, kapag naka-away mo ako, nakakagawa ako ng mga bagay, nasasabi ko ang mga salitang hindi ka-nais-nais, pagkatapos ay talaga naman pinagsisishan ko ang mga nasabi ko (Male, age 17, self-description)

mahaba ang aking pasensiya, bihirang bihira akong magalit, ang taong pasensyoso kapag nagalit ay sobra, maraming beses ko nang napatunayan ito, ako nagagalit, napakahirap ko nang pigilin, hindi ko na mapipigil ang sarili ko (Male, age 24, self-description)

Feelings of affection may also be readily expressed.

sweet, mahilig maglambing lalo na sa mga ka-close, binibigyan ng mga sulat ang ilan sa mga kaibigan upang iparating na nandiyan (ako) lagi na nagmamahal sa kanila (Female, age 20, self-description)

hindi rin ako nahihiyang sabihin sa kanya ang pagmamahal ko sa tamang lugar at panahon (Female, age 26, self-description)

Actions that are associated with the Representation *Ang Taong Hayag ang Kalooban* are directed to those one has strong feelings for: to those one dislikes (*ayaw, hindi gusto ang tao, kaaway*) and to one feels love for (*pagmamahal*). The situations that call for an expression

of one's inner feelings are those situations when the person feels that he/she is being abused or exploited (*inaabuso, niloloko*), when the person is being irritated by another (*kinukulit, iniinis, iniistorbo*), when the person cannot contain his/her anger or has lost his/her patience (*naubos ang pasensya, naiipon ang galit, hindi napipigilan*), or when the person feels that another is talking ill of him/her (*sinisiraan*).

In such situations, the person's expressions will take the form of cursing (*nagmumura*), shouting in front of other people, or other forms that exhibit one's anger or irritation (e.g., *nagdadabog, nagtataray*). In most cases, the person loses control of himself/herself (*nawawala sa sarili, hindi mapigil ang sarili, lumalabas ang pagka-barako*).

In expressing one's inner feelings, which are usually negative, one inevitably hurts the feelings of others. In situations where the feelings that are expressed are not negative, expression enables the person to avert possible misunderstandings with another.

Ang Taong Masayahin⁸

It is easy to make this type of person happy. It is likewise easy for this person to make others happy. One can easily approach him.

may sense of humor tayo, konti lang kailangan masayahin ka na tao, kailangan yon sa buhay, hindi mo kakilala, kung gusto mong makpagkuwentuhan sa iyo, di sige kuentuhan mor rin, malamang doon sila mapapalapit sa akin, madali akong ma-approach kung baga (Male, age 30, self-description)
mahilig akong magpasaya ng tao, ginagawa ko ang lahat para mapasaya siya, kung ano ang ikaliligaya niya, gagawin ko (Male, age 20, self-description)

He does not see problems where there are none. He is fun to be with, he is talkative and is always full of stories. He enjoys going out to have fun. He likes having and being with friends.

palakuwento rin ako, gusto kong aliwin ang mga tao, may pagsasalo kinakausap ko yung mga nakikita kong mahiyain, isasama ko sila sa kuwentuhan, hindi sila magiging alangan sa grupo, ito rin a isaang paraan para makilala ko nang masinsinan ang isang tao (Female, self-description)

masayahin siyang tao, mahilig magpatawa, kahit na seryoso ang aming pinag-uusapan magpapatawa pa rin siya (Male, being described)

masayahin din naman akong tao, gusto ko yung palaging tumatawa ako, gusto ko yung palaging may gimmick sa buhay (Male, age 30, self-description)

The Representation for *Ang Taong Masayahin* is usually used to characterize the person in a situation wherein one's peers are present. It also used in situations where others who need to be cheered are present. Situations are those that are too serious or too quiet, and situations wherein a leisure activity is being engaged in with friends. Actions include telling jokes (*nagpapatawa*), laughing, doing things that can please another (*gagawin kung ano ang ikaliligaya*), suddenly suggesting to go on a trip somewhere (*biglang nag-aaya kung saan-saan, maglakwatsa*), telling stories (*makikipagkuwentuhan*), or incessant talking (*laging nagsasalita, madaldal*). By acting in this manner, the person is able to develop friendships or relationships with others, and one is able to convey a message to another person in an indirect way (*paraang mapagsabihan ang ibang tao sa isangparaan hindi diretsahan*).

Ang Taong Nagmamalasakit⁹

This type of person readily shares her time with others. She is generous and never stingy. She empathizes with the oppressed and with those who have lesser in life.

kahit anong oras hindi ka magkaka-ilang lumapit o hindi ka man magdadalawang-isip na maghingi ng tulong mula sa kanya pagkat kahit ano mang bagay at oras ay nais niyang tumulong (Male, age 50, being described)

kahit na ang dami kong pagkukulang, palagi akong tutulong sa kahit anong paraan puwede, marunong akong makiramay, ibibigay na ang buong kaluluwa para lang matapos, basta alam kong mabibigay pa ako, may magagawa ako para sa kanila, lahat gagawin ko talaga (Male, self-description)

mabait din akong tao, kapag may nakikita akong taong ganun naghihirap, yung puso ko gustong-gustong tumulong, kahit na hindi ko kaya, matulungin rin ako sa aking kapwa, ang gaan-gaan ng puso ko pag nagbibigay sa mahirap (Male, self-description)

She is mindful of the the other person's condition and one can always rely on her when one has problems — she is always there, approachable, ready to listen and to give advice. She tries to feel and anticipate the needs of others. Without asking her for it, she readily gives a helping hand.

may problema ka, puwede mo siyang lapitan, pakikinggan ka niya, kahit hidi mo siya masyadong close, lapitan mo siya, pakikinggan ka niya, hindi mo siya kakilala, siya ang maga-approach sa iyo (Female, being described)

matulungin din siya sa kapwa, hindi ka magdadalawang salita, basta kaya niya, tinutulungan ka niya pag may problema ka, hindi mo na kailngan sabihin sa kanya (Male, being described)

Actions that are associated with *Ang Taong May Malasakit* are directed to those one maintains close relationships with, to those who are in need of help or have problems, and to what is generally called as one's *kapwa*.¹⁰ Actions are characterized by a generosity that seems boundless and beyond one's resources (*para sa sarili ko, naibibigay ko pa sa iba; babaliktaran ko na ang mundo, para lang matulungan sila; ibibigay na ang buong kaluluwa; lahat gagawin ko talaga*) and a willingness to listen to other's problems and to give advice or to think up of solutions. *Ang Taong May Malasakit* is also one who readily approaches people, finds ways to cheer others, does not pick up a fight with others (*hindi nakikipag-away*), does not easily get angry (*hindi kaagad naiinis o nagagalit*), and is expressive of one's positive feelings about the other. Actions are also characterized by a willingness to take on household responsibilities and duties, and to help address the family's needs. Actions that show thoughtfulness and an empathy for another person's situation are likewise exhibited by *Ang Taong May Malasakit*.

The following are possible consequences to these actions: 1) one is able to avert or remove any ill feelings others may have for the person

(*ayaw sumama ang loob ng tao sa kanya*), 2) one is able to bring happiness to others (*nagpapasaya ng damdamin*), 3) one, by exhibiting these actions, may experience some form of hardship (*nagigipit, nahihirapan, naagrabyado*), and 4) one experiences what would generally be defined as a positive inner feeling (*gumagaan ang pakiramdam/kalooban*)

Ang Taong Matapat¹¹

This type of person is loyal to his friends. He tries to maintain his relationship with them through constant communication. It pleases him to give support when needed. His loyalty is shown in his ability to keep secrets.

pero bilang kaibigan, loyal naman ako, halimbawa sa sikreto, hanggang kamatayan talaga dadalhin ko iyon, masaya ako ginagawan ko ng mga pabor yung mga kaibigan ko, hindi rin ako nakakalimot sa isang naging kaibigan, maaaring hindi na kami nagkikita, sinisigurado ko talaga na sa pamamagitan ng telepono o sulat, meron kaming komunikasyon (Female, self-description)

kung sekreto naman ang pag-uusapan magiging malihim ako, hindi ko kailanman kinukuwento ang sikreto ng aking kaibigan sa ibang tao, ayaw kong mawala ang kanilang pagtitiwala sa akin (Female, self-description)

He is willing to do favors for his friends and may sometimes find it difficult to turn them down.

tapat ako sa aking mga kaibigan, labis akong nasasaktan sa mga pagkakataong hindi kami nagkaka-intindihan, nahihirapan akong tanggiham an mga paki-usap ng aking mga kaibigan, hindi ko makaligtaang pag-ukulan sila ng panahon para sila ay makita at makasama (Female, age 26, self-description)

He keeps his word, is honest and can be relied on when he is needed.

mayroon siyang iisang salita, gagawan niya talaga ng paraan para matupad ang pangako niya (Female, being described)

tapat siya, siya yung tipong makikipag-away, maipagtanggol lamang ang kanyang kaibigan, sa kanyang mga kilos, makikita mo pinapahalagahan ka niya talaga (Female, age 23, being described)

sa mga kaibigan siya ay matapat, ikaw ang nagkamali, sasabihin niya ito, hindi sa harap ng kaaway mo, ayaw naman niyang mapahiya ka, ikaw na nga ang nagkamali (Female, being described)

This Representation is used in relationships with friends, especially in occasions when help is needed or a favor is asked. As described above, actions have to do with one's ability to keep secrets, defend, and provide support to one's friends. Actions that maintain open and honest communication are also important.

We must be reminded that the individual is not aware that he is using these representations and strategies. If she says she is loving or talkative, these characteristics represent for her aspects of her personality. She is, after all, describing who she is. What we must remember is that in describing himself the individual has the intention to be understood by the social Other. This intention exists even prior to the actual utterance of a description. It can therefore be hypothesized that the use of the Representations for the Self present an assurance for the individual that he will indeed be understood by the social Other. And, by the very act of uttering that which is shared so that communication is made possible, the individual has expressed his/her identity as a participating member in the group.

Discussion

The present findings may be contextualized within two possible perspectives for understanding. One such perspective is that used in cross-cultural work on constructs on the self and ways by which a strategy for construal is carried out by the individual according to the culture type one is socialized in. The other perspective is an ethno-psychological one by determining how human nature is conceptualized in social processes.

Cross-Cultural Perspective

Generally, the Representations for the Self that emerged from descriptions of the self and another fall, or are consistent with construals that were found to be predominant among members of collectivist cultures. When we compare the present Representations with findings on collectivist individuals summarized by Triandis in 1989, a clear correspondence may be discerned among those whose actions and activities have to do, or are directed toward one's dealings with members of one's ingroup. It has been found that collectivists' sentiments revolve around their involvement with members of their ingroup. They act in ways that show support and concern for the other. There is also an observed tendency to share one's resources to the members of one's ingroup.

These behaviors and characteristics are particularly evident in the Representations for *Ang Taong May Malasakit* and *Ang Taong Matapat*. In these two representations, we see the manner by which the self relates with others whom one has close relations with, or may form potential relationships with. A general concern for the other is what dominates one's relations with these others. We find that sharing has more to do with one's giving and spending time with or for the other. There is also an effort to keep a sympathetic and friendly attitude toward those of one's group.

Another observation documented by Triandis in his account is that with greater attachment and involvement felt by the individual for his/her ingroup, there also occurs a greater demand for conformity from the group. Conformity becomes so essential that intolerance may be a likely response by others to any action that is exhibited by the individual which is perceived to be closely connected with one's private self (as opposed to the collective self which is assessed and understood by one's social world). Triandis describes the possible consequences of a display or expression of the private self when this becomes complex and thus accessible to be "sampled" by the individual in communicating about the self.

Although the private self may be complex, this does not mean that it will be communicated to others if one can avoid such communication. In fact, in tight cultures, people avoiding disclosing much of the self

because by disclosing they may reveal some aspect of the self that others might criticize. In other words, they may be aware of the demands of the generalized other and avoid vulnerable criticism by presenting little of this complex self to others" (p. 348).

In Triandis' account, it has been observed that communication of the collective self is highly likely when child-rearing emphasis was placed on the value of the collective, and when more areas in the individual's life is affected by the his/her ingroup. There is also a greater tendency on the part of the individual to communicate the collective self in both cases when the individual is highly aware of ingroup conflict, or when the ingroup is stable.

There is a considerable consistency here to be found in the Representation for *Ang Simpleng Tao* where the individual is characterized to be conforming, easy to get along with, not showing much personal preference, and essentially is no different from others in his/her plans or goals in life. This raises some questions of empirical value when we take into consideration the factors that are said to account for the use of this Representation in the communication of the self. Can the use of this Representation be associated with a greater involvement of the individual with his/her ingroups in more aspects of his/her life? Is there to be found a greater perception of group conflict or stability, when one accesses the Representation of *Ang Simpleng Tao* in his/her description of self? What characterizes the conflict or stability?

The value placed on conformity evident in communications about the self is also to be observed in other Asian cultures. A similarity, for example, may be seen in the Japanese awareness of self which is also essentially collective and where a norm *enryo* which is described by Johnson (1985) to be an "institutionalized and ceremonialized form of 'denial of self-importance'" (p.123). Among the Japanese,

Overt displays of egoism and accentuation of individualism ... are interpreted as being aggressive and are permitted only under specific situations, e.g., during unusual stresses, or as a result of unbearable provocation" (Johnson, 1985, p.123).

This display of "self-importance" or of so-called individualism that characterize descriptions about the Self in stressful situations may also

evident in the Representation for *Ang Taong Hayag ang Kalooban*. Direct expressions of one's thoughts to explosions of anger are said to shown in situations characterized by abuse, irritation and confusion. Under these situations, the person is usually said to have an inability to control himself/herself, or may cause pain to others. Control, on the other hand, is said to be exhibited by a person represented by *Ang Taong Tago ang Kalooban*, who, undergoing the same situations of confusion, negativity and discomfort, chooses not express his/her inner feelings.

The Representations so far give us an idea of the criteria used by the self in judging which behaviors are important to social failure or to social success. Whereas *Ang Taong Simple*, *Ang Taong May Malasakit*, and *Ang Taong Matapat* may represent behaviors that maintain and develop good relations with others, help the individual obtain his/her goals, and prevent the individual from being socially isolated; *Ang Taong Tago ang Kalooban* and *Ang Taong Hayag ang Kalooban* are mostly associated with behaviors that are seen to be aggressive, that prevent others to understand the individual, and that show vulnerability on the part of the individual. The use of these criteria exemplify the value placed by the individual on adjusting to one's relationships with others — a value in collectivist cultures and expressed in an interdependent construal of the self.

A Representation emerging from the descriptions may seem to be more consistent with self-construals of those socialized in individualist culture is that for *Ang Taong Nagsusumikap*. However, if we are to examine how an individualist is to be defined, it might not be correct to make this conclusion. An individualist, according to Triandis (1989), is one who prioritizes personal goals over group goals. Although a persistency in achieving goals is what characterizes a person represented by *Ang Taong Nagsusumikap*, it is not clearly evident from the data that the "goals" being referred to are personal, or would signify for the individual a goal of his/her ingroup. In other words, it has not come out in the descriptions what consequences occur when the actions associated with the Representation are exhibited.

In general, when using the cross-cultural perspective, we may conclude that the Representations for Self of a group of Filipinos who

are mainly Manila residents are consistent with self-construals characteristic of individuals from collectivist cultures. Whether the Filipino culture/cultures is/are collectivist is an empirical question. It may lead to a further conceptual confusion if we were to make an inference about a culture's socialization practices on the basis of the current classificatory schemes on personhood used by its members. It is equally confusing, in a quasi-causal fashion, to relate cultural practices of influence to the culture members' view of human nature and their social world. Does a particular culture adopt a practice because of their view of human nature, or do they have a view to human nature because of their specific cultural practice of influence? For me, the more important question to ponder is: What conceptions about human nature do a people within a group hold, and how do these conceptions influence their conduct of social activities? This is to be focus of the other perspective that I will use to make sense of the Representations for the Self that emerge from the data.

Ethnopsychological Perspective

To situate the Representations for the Self in an interpretative scheme using an ethnopsychological perspective is to view these Representations within a cognitive system that aid individuals in perceiving and classifying variations in human psychological functioning. The task at hand is to reconstruct that conceptual system used by this study's informants in understanding themselves and others. The Representations that emerged through analysis provide us with a rough idea of this system, but this needs to be further refined into an organized conceptual structure by examining the content overlaps across the Representations for the Self. The apparent unity and differentiation in terms of content produced a system of classification that constitutes a three-part typology. Table 1 outlines the three person types and the characteristics common within each type (i.e. type characteristics).

The types enumerated above tells us of the patterns in the ways one would manage oneself in one's social world. These patterns correspond to social situations one finds himself/herself in. In situations where the social world does not generally pose a threat to the individual, the individual reacts in ways that typify a concern for the other, a carrying out of one's social obligation to the other. This is done by exhibiting a

Table 1. Filipino Person Typology

Person Type	Type Characteristics
<p><i>Type 1</i> <i>Ang Simpleng Tao</i> <i>Ang Taong Masayahin</i> <i>Ang Taong May Malasakit</i> <i>Ang Taong Matapat</i></p>	<p>listens to others, is approachable, cheers others, attends to others, is easy to get along with, does not easily get angry, understands other people's conditions, is friendly with everyone, is fun to be with, has lots of friends, supports friends, is helpful</p>
<p><i>Type 2</i> <i>Ang Taong Tago ang Kalooban</i> <i>Ang Taong Hayag ang Kalooban</i></p>	<p>sensitive, moody, thinks a lot, has problems, has conflict with external world, is afraid of criticism, can express dislike for others through words or actions, quiet, does not talk too much, does not joke a lot, is not easy to get along with, says the truth, hot-tempered, gives in to artifice to hide one's feelings</p>
<p><i>Type 3</i> <i>Ang Taong Nagsusumikap</i></p>	<p>does everything possible to succeed, persistent, impatient, plans, decisive, desires, dedicated, industrious, striving, forceful</p>

friendly, cheering or cheerful attitude, or by being someone who can easily get along with others. One is approaching and approachable, helps and provides. On the other hand, when a person sees himself/herself in a threatening social situation, the person goes into his/her inner self, so to speak. One goes into a silent, self-conscious, unapproachable mode of behavior, making it difficult for others to assess his/her thoughts, or to assess the condition he/she is going through. In this mode of behavior, one is fully conscious of one's private self. There is an attempt to hide this through non-expression, or through artifice by putting on a cheerful facade (eg., by becoming *mababaw* or "shallow"). This phenomenon is

illustrated through analogy in Alejo's (1990) hermeneutic analysis of *loob*:

Sa panimula ng bungang-kahoy, hindi tayo dapat madaya ng panlabas na nayo nito. Maaaring dilaw na ang balat ng mangga subalit iyon pala ay "hilaw pa ang loob". Maaaring akalain nating buko pa ang bunga ng niyog, iyon pala ay "matigas na ang loob." (p. 71)

In conditions when the individual does not or cannot seem to express his/her feelings, the other need only to attend, probe or listen, and the individual will eventually reveal his/her *loob*.

Ang lalim ay yaong pagkahulog ng pagdanas mula sa ibabaw pababa, patungo sa nakatago, liblib, hindi makita o matanaw sa pagyuko. Naabot ito sa pagsasalát sa pamamagitan ng patpat, halimbawa, kung sinusukat ng isang tsuper ang natitira pang gasolina sa tangke ng kanyang sasakyan. (Alejo, 1990, p. 71)

Social concern for the individual is thus that which is to be the antidote against the individual's perceptions of social threat and withdrawal into the inner self, making it then possible for the individual to participate and engage more fully in the social world. *Loob* is that which is likewise affected when one engages in a show of concern for the other. It is therefore that repository of feelings and experiences of the self as one acts on others and when others act on the individual. *Loob* is thus a central concept in the individual's management of self in the social world. In Alejo's words:

Ang loob bilang laman ang siya nating nakakapiling, totoong nakakaharap, nadarama natin, nahahawakan natin. Kaya nga sinasabing "matigas ang loob", o "malambot ang loob". Dito rin nanggagaling ang idiomang "magaan ang loob" o "mabigat ang loob" (p.72).

Loob may be revealed in its fullest when the confusion and threat from the outside world becomes unbearable. These outbursts are seen to occur when the effort of keeping in can no longer be sustained, when what is kept in overflows.

It also is viewed as an inability on the part of the individual to be in control. It is thus important in one's management of self to keep in, to control inner feelings of anger or of joy to be able to maintain one's ongoing relationship with the other. In our culture, we therefore have, for example, labels for emotions that suggest gradated experiences and manifestations of anger, eg., *tampo*, *pikon*, *galit*. We may again hypothesize these to be socially agreed upon ways by which control is possible while communicating the nature of threat the individual is experiencing in his/her social world.

It is therefore as if *loob* has to be kept where it should be — inside the self, and its revelation is possible only through communicated metaphors of lightness, heaviness, hardness, softness, etc. Perhaps it is in this way that the person integrates experiences of the Self, and directs his/her decisions about how he/she should behave. This may be seen to be corroborated through Alejo's account of *pagbubuo ng loob*.

Sa pagbubuo ng loob, hindi ko basta ginagawang mulat ang sarili ko sa lahat ng aking namamulayan at nadarama. Sa kalawakan at kalaliman ng lahat ng ito, lumuluklok ako sa isang sentro, kumukuha ako ng isang palatinginan; mula rito naisasaayos ko ang daidig ng aking malay at dama sa paraang tugma sa pinakamatinong pagkaunawa ko sa mga nangyayari. At ang kaayusang ito ay hindi para tignan lamang kundi para makapagpakilos sa akin (p. 102).

That sense of Self that allows forcefulness, a show of obsession and insistence is that which is associated with one's actions toward his/her goals or desires. It is at this level of experience when one may not try to keep in but instead may go all out. It is also at this level of experience of self that a sense of hope is achieved. Actions that suggest intensity instead of equanimity, an insistence at pursuing one's own decisions in one's own way instead of succumbing to others' preferences, make perfect sense for the Self especially when one goes through a process of hardship in trying one's best. Here is when *loob* is exhibited in all its strength and wholeness, thus the metaphors *lakas ng loob*, *buo ang loob*. The conditions that support this sense of Self are not within the individual alone but are decidedly social:

Buo ang loob ko kapag may liwanag akong natatanaw sa landas na kaharap ko sa hinaharap. Ang hinaharap ay hindi lamang sa susunod na araw o taon, kundi inaalok na posibilidad ng sarili ko, ng kapwa ako, ng daigdig. Nasisiraan ako ng loob kapag nadirimlan ang landas na ito. Nanghihina ako kapag pakiramdam ko ay nag-iisa ako at walang makapitan (Alejo, 1990, p. 102).

Another concept that appears in the above quotation and frequently occurred in the person descriptions corresponding to Type 1 is that of *kapwa*, which may be said to refer to the “generalized other” to whom the individual directs his/her acts of social concern and responsibility, from whom the individual obtains support. Enriquez (1990) points out that the other as *kapwa* accords for that other a unique role in the constitution of an individual’s identity.

... *kapwa* is very different from the English word “others”. In Filipino, *kapwa* is the unity of “self” and “others”. The English “others” is actually based in opposition to the “self”, and implies the recognition of the self as a separate identity. In contrast, *kapwa* is a recognition of the shared identity, an inner self shared with others (p. 45).

It is thus through this concept of *kapwa* that a possibility of understanding of the other occurs in social relationships, a possibility therefore of representing the other as a subject of experience. It is, I believe, through *kapwa*, that one recognizes in the other how one’s own actions may make sense in one’s social world.

Conclusion

The typology that results from an integration of the emerging Representations for the Self reveals of the characteristics that are adaptive in one’s social system, and of the behaviors that are recognizable corresponding to these characteristics. There is the friendly, unassuming, helpful person who is easy to get along with, who listens and provides support to others, who jokes and smiles a lot. There is the quiet person who may be keeping feelings to himself/herself until these feelings can no longer be contained and have to be released in an explosive show of emotions. There is the persistent person focused toward his/her goal.

Favored is the individual who is able maintain a low profile of himself/herself in social relations, and who is able to fulfill his/her social responsibilities to the other by showing concern and giving support. Favored also are the individuals who have the ability to be cheerful and to cheer others. Individuals who can control the expression of strong emotions are likewise preferred. The expression of one's inner self is allowed in that area of life wherein one tries to fulfill one's goal in life. It appears that the concepts that play a role in integrating the experiences of the self and directing ways of behaving toward others are those of *loob* and *kapwa*. Further investigations should be made to determine the experience of Self in various phases in a person's life cycle, or the characteristics and associated actions of the Self in various social positions, e.g., leadership. It would also be interesting to look into the possible gender variations in the experience of the Self. In these investigations, an analysis of situations would be strongly recommended. A larger variety of representations may emerge in further researches when conformity to a personality ideal is not so strongly enforced in a particular group. Another important consideration to research is the language used in the analysis of, and a discussion on, the elaboration of meanings of everyday concepts. Direct translations into another (usually a language that allows the manuscript's publication) is dangerous — an elaboration of a construct related to the self in a nonlocal language will not capture the substance of experience that is expressed through the use of a concept phrased in the local language. In this respect, this research, by its being first disseminated in its fullest in an "international" language (it being equated with advancement in the academe in our local setting), may be not too significant a step towards the development of more local modes of knowledge necessary for the construction of a Filipino discipline of Psychology.

Notes

¹A phenomenological conception of the self and the person within anthropology was already evident in the writings of Hallowell and Redfield in the 1950's, and essentially had its beginnings in the 1940's and 1950's with the interest in anthropology in the human being as a cultural, social and psychological individual (Singer, 1980).

²The term “interdependency” was earlier mentioned by Schweder and Bourne (1984) in their discussion of the relativist explanation for the constextualized self which was seen to characterize the description and experience of Self in many non-Western cultures. Individuals in these cultures, according to Schweder and Bourne, generally engage in “concrete thinking” which may be evidenced by the focus these individuals give to the functional *interdependencias* among objects and events, or the way objects and events fit together in action sequences. An “interdependent construal” for the self becomes conceptually viable when we consider the self as the object of experience which will be later discussed within the symbolic interactionist paradigm.

³The labels that are now to be used for each Representation for the Self were suggested by Dr. Prospero Covar of the Department of Anthropology, University of the Philippines, in his written evaluation of this research. Dr. Covar gave me his evaluation upon my request on August 23, 1999. By using the labels suggested by Dr. Covar, I would be utilizing the concepts already being used by Filipino scholars and by doing so, I will be able to participate more closely in theory building that is being currently undertaken in Filipino Psychology.

Dr. Covar also suggested that I do a situational analysis for each Representation. This suggestion was likewise followed and thus the third stage of analysis was undertaken.

⁴Related concepts are: *mababaw ang kaligayahan, marunong makihalubilo, marunong makisama, magaan makasama.*

⁵Related concepts are: *matigas ang ulo, may dedikasyon, masipag, matiyaga.*

⁶Related concepts are: *matigas, mahiyain, suplado, matatag ang loob, mahinahon, malalim.*

⁷Related concepts are: *matapang, totoong tao, hindi mapagkunwari, hindi plastik, matapat, hindi nagpapaligoy-ligoy, prangka, pusong mamon, masungit, mainit ang ulo, sama ng loob, kulo, tinopak, nanggigigil, nawawala sa sarili.*

⁸Related concepts are: *mababaw ang kaligayahan, palabiro, palangiti, magiliw, madaldal, makulit, makapal ang mukha, makuwela.*

⁹Related concepts are: *pakikiramay, mabait, gumaan ang puso, bukas-palad, maasahan, mapagbigay, nagbibigay ng kasiyahan, nagpapasaya, maunawain, bukas ang pag-iisip, nagpapagaan ng loob, namamahagi, tapat.*

¹⁰*Kapwa* has been defined by Enriquez (1994) as “shared identity”.

¹¹Related concepts are: *maasahan, mapakakatiwalaan.*

References

- Alejo, A. (1990). *TaoPo! Tuloy!: Isang Landas sa Pag-Unawa sa Loob ng Tao*. Manila: Office of Research and Publications, Ateneo de Manila University.
- Beuchelt, E. (1988). *Psychologische Anthropologie*. In: Fischer, H. (ed.). *Ethnologie: Einfuehrung und Ueberblick*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.
- Charon, J.M. (1998). *Symbolic Interactionism: An Introduction, An Interpretation, An Integration*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Draguns, J.G. (1979). *Culture and Personality*. In: Marsella, A., Tharp, R., Cibrowski, T. (eds.). *Perspectives in Cross-Cultural Psychology*. New York: Academic Press.
- Enriquez, V.G. (1994). *From Colonial to Liberation Psychology*. Manila: De La Salle University Press.
- Gergen, K., Gulerce, A., Lock, A., Misra, G. (1996). *Psychological Science in the Cultural Context*. *American Psychologist*, 51(5), 496-503.
- Heelas, P. and Lock, A. (eds.). (1981). *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*. London: Academic Press.
- Jodelet, Denise. (1993). *Indigenous Psychologies and Social Representations of the Body and Self*. In: Kim, U., J. W. Berry (eds). *Indigenous Psychologies: Research and Experience in Cultural Context*, Vol. 1, Cross-Cultural Research and Methodology Series. London: Sage Publications.
- LeVine, Robert. (1984). *Properties of Culture: An Ethnographic View*. In: Schweder, R., R. LeVine (eds). *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Markus, H.R. and Kitayama, S. (1991). *Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation*. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.

- Marsella, A.J., DeVos, G. and Hsu, F.L.K. (eds.). (1985). *Culture and Self: Asian and Western Perspectives*. New York and London: Tavistock Publications.
- Matsumoto, D. (1996). *Culture and Psychology*. New York: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Rosaldo, M. (1986). *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*. Cambridge University Press.
- Sampson, E.E. (1989). The Challenge of Social Change for Psychology: Globalization and Psychology's Theory of the Person. *American Psychologist*, 44(5), 914-921.
- Schweder, R. and Bourne, E. (1984). Does the Concept of the Person vary Cross-Culturally ? In: Schweder, R. and LeVine, R. (eds.). *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion*. Cambridge University Press.
- Shore, Brad. (1996). *Culture in Mind: Cognition, Culture and the Problem of Meaning*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Singer, M. (1980). Signs of the Self: An Exploration in Semiotic Anthropology. *American Psychologist*, 82, 485-507.
- Smith, M.B. (1985). The Metaphorical Basis of Selfhood. In: Marsella, A.J., DeVos, G. and Hsu, F.L.K. (eds.). *Culture and Self: Asian and Western Perspectives*. New York, London: Tavistock Publications.
- Triandis, H.C. (1989). The Self and Social Behavior in Differing Social Contexts. *Psychological Review*, 98, 506-520.