Globalization and Cultural Diversity
—In the Case of Filipino Labor Export Policy—

Yasushi Kikuchi, Ed.D.†

Waseda University

E-mail: ykikuchi@mn.waseda.ac.jp

Ⅰ. Introduction

The question of Philippine national identity and how Filipino society is developed and globalized by her labor export policy under the Philippine Labor Code of May 1, 1974. The globalization of Filipino physical movement is typically out migration. During the Marcos regime, the government as the country's best strategy for economic growth encouraged export of Filipino labor. While those who had lived abroad as export laborers came back to the Philippines, some of them actually changed their lifestyles into individual oriented families, in contrast to the traditional bilateral extended family system. At the same time, through high technological communication system like satellite-TV, world wide web, e-mail and so on Filipinos are learning a lot of outside world. It means that they start to compare their life styles to others. They have become more concerned about their own family than their bilateral extended kinship group. What this means is, the scope of kinship consciousness is tending towards a restriction to members of the nuclear family. Expatriates have learned since that individual ability is very important in industrial societies for social mobility. And they have also experienced, and found enjoyable, liberation from the compelling influence of extended families. In turn, such attitudes will change their kinship and social behavior, and value system. Then, the scale of identities will expand to

community and national levels, up from the level of extended families. Philippine labor export policy is gradually making Filipinos globalized. Such a globalization hypothetically can give Filipinos the motivation to create the National Identity that would be able to encourage them to implement the socio-economic development in national level.

II. The Case Studies of the Filipino Globalization

As it is known, Kroaber states that there is a general absence of political organization or structure in Philippine society. He averred that no unilineal kinship form or corporate group characteristic of unilineal societies exists in the Philippines except Muslim areas. The dwelling areas of both majorities and minorities are decentralized (Kroaber, 1919:83).

This assertion, however, can bear refute. For this purpose, the concept of corporate group in cognatic societies (Leach, 1971) can be used to analyze the Filipino type of corporation. E.R. Leach presented this concept of corporation in cognatic societies in his study of the Sinhalese village of Pul Eliya, Sri Lanka, He explicitly stated in theoretical manner:

But in societies that do not have unilineal descent groups, what kind of "corporation" takes the place of the lineage in providing the nexus of continuity between one generation to the next ? It will be found that in the Sinhalese village of Pul Eliya it is locality rather than descent that forms the basis of corporate grouping (Leach, 1971:6-7).

Simultaneous with Leach's findings, I discussed a similar phenomenon of the emergence of corporate groups in the Batangan society in Mindoro (Y.Kikuchi, 1971). Murray also wrote in 1973 on the concept of a local kin group similar to a unilineal group in Central Luzon.

In discussing the possibility of the existence of a Filipino type of corporate form, four points were considered: (1) corporative understanding and recognition as reflected in Filipino social behavior; (2) corporative behavior which is based on reciprocal relationships established through the ritual kinship system (compadrazgo system; (3) the formation of corporate groups; and (4) the emergence of informal political leadership among cultural minorities. These points of analysis are essential in explaining within Leach's conceptual framework the present type of Filipino corporate group.

For generalized Filipino social structure and behavior, Frank Lynch wrote that tree basic aims motivate and influence a great deal of Filipino social behavior: and social acceptance, economic security and social mobility (Lynch, 1962:86).

Social acceptance refers to the range of personal kindred and solidarity within the nuclear family. Every recognized member of the kinship group possessed specific rights and obligations and owes loyalty to the nuclear family. The worth of an individual is dictated by his social status that is

determined by the member of one's followers. Besides being an advantage in the individual's daily activities, a significant number of followers who serve as subordinates, is a demonstration of one's social and political clout within the group.

The Filipino kinship group assumes an ego-centered bilateral form devoid of an established social or political leader to whom all members pay loyalty. This bilateral extended family is based on the consanguineal principle of blood consciousness and characterized by recognition of relationships on both parental sides. Mutual relationships among members of the same kinship group are maintained even beyond the locality.

This concept of the Filipino kinship system is typified by the human relationships in Philippine majority societies, e.g., the Filipino society. Within these majority societies, specifically among the Tagalogs, the kinship group is an almost perfect institution that provides individual social security. The group also creates social possibilities for the individual in relation with the other kinship groups or societies. In other words, the combined effect of those two types of social behavior (i.e., social acceptance and possibility) allows of members to compromise towards the maintenance of smooth interpersonal relationships (Lynch, 1970:10) . A member of the group formed on the basis of the consanguineal principle, therefore, must adjust well in dealing with kinsmen, and make psychological investments with the end in view of reaping future social, political, religious and economic benefits.

Such an indigenous cognatic kinship system, mentioned above, I can defined as an uncrystallized society which has not yet evolve into an integral body in political life. But the smallest cell (kin ties) has the potentiality to create the corporate organization as an interest group occasionally. Then the member of the group start to realize the corporate unit or group can make them more stables financially.

Here I would like to show the example of the emergency of the new type of Filipinos who have experienced to live abroad especially in Italy and Japan. For the Philippines, what may have seemed, at first, an imminent restriction of Philippine migrant laborers to the Europe following its unification, has in fact turned out to be contrary to their anxieties. Since 1974, under Marcos administration, the Philippine Overseas Employment has pursued an active policy in encouraging export of contract labors. As President Marcos stated, "export of labor is the best policy for national economic growth". How national policy contended with national demand shall now be examined in chronological sequence. Surprisingly, the Philippines' greatest labor export destination to Europe is not her former colonial master Spain., but rather Italy (refer to table 1) . Labor export to Italy averages about 500 people per month. One reason for this is Italy's vicinity to the Vatican, home of Roman Catholicism. An Italian scholar says, "skin complexion" as another reason besides Roman Catholicism. Comparatively, fair-skinned Filipinos

and Italians differ little in skin complexion, which makes it a point in favor to find job or work there. Furthermore, with Italians, there is none of the psychological disadvantage felt when with Spanish, the latter being their colonizer in the past. These and the fact that Italian's labor code makes it relatively easy to obtain working visas make it popular choice among Filipino immigrant workers. At present, migrant labor policy in EU is not yet unified, but in the coming years, a more conservative and restrictive policy seems likely. As EU's future policies may result in the possible restriction of foreign laborers, this could further increase the influx of Filipino migrant workers to Italy.

When we observe Filipino expatriates, our immediate concern here is the emergence of new Filipino expatriates who brought home with them foreign values. A drastic change in Filipino family values has been observed since the mid-1980s. AS dominant factor for this is, they have learned and experienced the rationality and functionality of the nuclear family and the central role of the individual as a social behavior. And expectedly, complications in dealing with family and relatives arise upon homecoming. Thus, we see weakening signs of the extended cognatic kinship system unique to the Philippines, especially in the metropolitan or industrialized areas. For some of them, such kin-centered values and concept are superseded by the concept of a nation or society. For many Filipino expatriates, living abroad gives them an opportunity to cultivate patriotism and to evaluate their mother country from an objective perspective. At the same time, socio-economic development will change the social and kinship values because the industrialization strongly enhances the social mobility, which means the increasing numbers of the nuclear family. On the other hand, whether they like or not, the socio-economic activity is globalized dramatically, even domestically.

Among domestic young Filipinos through the global communication system and overseas workers with experiences can gradually observe and feel the changing values and indicates the depth and motivation of Filipino social behavior which is quite important to create National Identity as a Filipino, instead of concerning on ego-oriented kin concept.

They have become more concerned about their own family than their kins (extended family) . What this means is, the scope of kinship consciousness is tending towards a restriction to members of the nuclear family. Expatriates have learned since that individual ability is very important in industrial societies for social mobility. And they have also experienced, and found enjoyable, liberation from the compelling influence of extended families. In turn, such attitudes will change their kinship and social behavior, and value system. Then, the scale of identities will expand to community and national levels, up from the level of extended families. Philippine labor export policy is gradually making Filipinos globalized. For certain, such a change in values shall be continued over the next few decades.

III. The Role of Social Anthropology in Development for Cultural Diversity

What methodologies in social anthropology have so far contributed to research in socio-economic development and the implementation of development projects ? How useful will these methodologies be to development work in the future ?

The topic of development has become part and parcel for most social anthropologists today in their field research in third world countries-whether they like it or not. I can vouch for from my own experience working in Southeast Asia.

Until recently, development projects carried out from first to third world countries did not usually change the cultural contents of benefit groups to such an extent that the groups could not cope. However, starting in the late 1960 s, in the midst of international aid competition, development geared towards giant projects began to appear. The pace and scale of development has now grown to the point where cases of cultural destruction of local peoples have become common, triggering (belatedly) academic interests.

External pressures on traditional cultures due to dramatic changes are devastating ethnic groups. It is only natural that anthropologists who are aware of this fact are becoming skeptical of development projects that exceed the ability of natives to adapt. Destruction by current socio-economic development projects includes the natural environment as well as group life. Development project is ignoring the integrity of nature as well as the adaptability of inhabitants. In several instances, social anthropologists have come to learn these realities about ruined lives and surroundings by being on-site during the period of development.

The development policies and principles of donor countries toward third world countries have not been able to keep up with these epochal changes. Anthropologists have pointed out four characteristic attitudes held by donor nations toward ODA and the recipients that are contributing to the current unintended and unwanted conditions:

1) An Euro-centered colonialist orientation that frequently seeks to create centralized national structures and modernistic societies as were envisioned by ethnocentric colonialists during the time of Western Empire;

2) A belief that the most effective way for ODA to lead to modernization is through donors and recipients both using Western management styles only;

3) An assumption that all societies go through the same processes of development, which produces monistic and linear development policies;

4) An absolutist argument-combining the above three points-equating development to modernization in the West. This point of view denies a validity and role to the recipient country's culture in the task of development, identifying Western cultural values as pre-eminent.

Such an absolute position informs most policy determination. Development plans formulated

from this thinking should theoretically result in third world being transformed into members of the first world with the change including a transfer of value systems as well as knowledge, wealth, and technology of industrialized societies of donors will have been possible for the first time.

Shaped by their pasts, the industrialized countries thus believe in sustained development through concepts of Western nationalism, political and administrative system. Assessing the impact of development, in the context of this culturally biased historical framework, social anthropologists are primarily conducting research through a ".people oriented" approach that seeks to maximize the interests of the ODA recipients. The aim of social anthropology is to perform comparative research on social organization and the meaning and basis for man's existence.

In other words, social anthropology, through comparative studies, analyzes how the social structure of the inhabitants of a region is applied and on what rules the social behavioral patterns stand which characterize that particular society. In this sense, when it comes to the cultural situation of aid recipients and the drafting of development policies, anthropologists, in theory, are able to share findings from their field work which facilitate ODA being implemented in a manner efficacious to the recipient culture. Anthropologists doing research on social change in the third world can give direct and practical ideas to people who are engaged in formulating development plans about how to fashion ODA so that it works in conjunction with a recipient society's integral values and social arrangements and not in conflict. As a result, one can expect the creation of policy recommendations that will be highly effective-and just.

The growing problem of refugees in recipient countries provides an example of the role social anthropologists can play in ODA work. In multi-racial third world countries, national minorities are driven to regions that are unhealthy or inappropriate for production under government-led socio-economic development plans. I define such displaced people as "Development Refugees or Domestic Refugees who are traumatized" and they are tortured often by the implementation of government policies. For politicians who belong to the majority, national minorities do not contribute to electoral votes and so get over looked by national welfare. It is a pity that not only the local governments but also donor countries have this apathy towards " development or domestic refugees." Anthropologists who study cultural minorities not only have a moral obligation to report the actual development situation of the area where they research, but it is also hoped that they can recommend realistic and culturally sensitive ways to improve the delivery of ODA. I have confronted the importance of what I call a "committed anthropology" in my own work with refugees from international, civil wars in the third world and natural disaster like Hanshin-Awaji earthquake which we experienced in 1995. For the past three years I have participated in a project sponsored by Harvard University to study refugees and mental trauma.

Until recently, the trauma suffered by refugees has been treated mostly by psychiatry. However, Some American psychiatrists are now realizing that mental stress cannot be cured by medical treatment alone. Thus, they have sought the cooperation of social anthropologists for insights into culture; group mental health norms and patterns of stressed behavior.

The Harvard project has found that international institutions like the UN and governments of donor countries have not been very positive and enthusiastic when it comes to the relief of people who suffer from trauma brought about by War, domestic conflicts caused by socio-economic development project and natural disaster. Such victims receive very little help through development aid programs. Documenting and diagnosing symptoms of mental disorder for aid eligibility is more difficult to practice than doing the same for illnesses like cholera or tuberculosis. Even worse, when ODA projects are implemented for evacuated refugees without properly taking into account these traumatized people, the rush for results may cause development to fall short of its potential good.

Most of donor's ODA to refugees is indicative of its inexperience as a donor country for this kind of development. Aid has been given but with reservations and has paid little concern to mental health needs.

Ⅳ. **Theoretical Perception of Development Anthropology in Globalization**

I would like to take this opportunity to express in detail, the essence of the main components of my theoretical perception of development anthropology. It entails five major components as follows;

1) **Establish a common concept of development between donor, recipient and beneficiary groups, which I call the common triangular interest.**

The first step is for the government to gather specialists on local cultures from donor countries as well as recipient countries who will launch studies and regular consultative meetings that will aim at deepening the understanding at a level of basic cultural meaning. In order to understand on the indigenous culture, donor countries should moreover develop a human-resource-training program that will impart skills for implementing development assistance programs as well as for formulating policy itself. It is not enough to merely monitor the economic side of development assistance. In order to maximize the objectives of ODA, it is necessary to understand the values and social institutions in recipient countries that are mostly consist of multi-ethnic groups.

A comprehensive and systematic collection of field data on recipient countries must be started as soon as possible. Both software and hardware data are necessary ingredients for arriving at a rational foreign policy that will optimize mutual benefits for the three-way relationship among the donor country, recipient country, and the beneficiary community. Once such a system of data

collection and data analysis is established, a central data bank will service the needs of government as well as the general public.

2) Introduce and clarify the participatory model of development

Development anthropology or representatives of beneficiary groups can serve as a bridge between policy makers and aid recipients. ODA will not be effective unless social anthropologists and beneficiary groups are formally included into policy-making bodies. These groups must have authority to enact policies. Otherwise, they would have no direct influence over the formulation of development policies that understand recipient country needs. This is genuine human-oriented development policy.

3) Identify and work with kinsmen and non-kinsmen in order to create corporate organizations capable of implementing development programs.

We must examine if a particular locality is capable of organizing essential corporate activities for implementing development projects, and whether policy-making bodies recognize the significance of forming corporate community in development. Development economists and policy makers usually overlook this diversity of value systems, which are important factors in implementing socio-economic development. That is, in the absence of corporate organizations, implementation of highly effective development is practically impossible.

Organization is based on kinship ties. The corporate model of organization, creating "community" from non-relatives, widely practiced in Japan and the West, is not prevalent in the third world. People in recipient countries are unfamiliar acting the role of "organizational man." A bilateral society is a case in point.

Here I can show you the comparative analysis on the family kinship system between the Philippines and Japan. Family relations can be simplified into two types of structure: an ancestor-oriented or unilineal kinship structure and an ego-centered or bilateral (cognatic) kinship structure. Until 1945, Japan was typically a unilineal kinship system in structure where the first son dominates in the patrilineal type of kinship system, based on birthright. The father and eldest son form the nucleus of the family supported by the civil code. However, sons-in-law can succeed as heirs to the household, since emphasis on lineage is not high, as in bilateral societies. This means the Japanese family (Ie) takes precedence over the members where even non-kinsmen are qualified to perpetuate the family line.

In Filipino bilateral kinship systems, blood consciousness is very strong, comparing to Japan and sons-in-law are normally ineligible to manage the household. Hierarchy among siblings is based on order of birth, regardless of gender; it is a sexually fair society, unlike the Japanese

family, which is extremely sexually discriminatory.

The unilineal kinship system exhibits rudimentary aspects of corporate consciousness; there are more people surrounding one individual in than in the ego-centered bilateral kinship systems. Corporate group proportionally increases with each generation. In sociological terms, everything is defined by kinship: group members can enjoy protection from their forebears' legacy. While membership is congenital, rights and obligations to the group are clearly defined. For the family members, the perpetuity of the family strengthens the solidarity of the group. The perpetuation of the family or Ie demonstrates ancestral deference, leading to a trust-based group. In this sense, Japanese type of unilineal society can be called a "highly mutual trust-based society."

However, Filipino bilateral kinship societies do not have the cross-generational protection afforded by the family name or inheritance built up by forebears. The individual in a bilateral society must build mutual aid relationships himself in order to survive. Thus, he forms kinship relations oriented toward him. For the individual, personal kindred is the only reliable form of human relation. While bilateral societies are focused on personal kindred, they also have to branch out to meritorious contractual quasi-families that will be trustworthy. Therefore, they can also be called a "skeptical or distrust society." In bilateral societies, the basis for human relation is person-to-person, supported by gain-and-loss relations. In an obvious move to seek mutual aid relations, the individual tries to increase the number of people who can help each other through the ritual kinship system, such as compadrazgo in Catholic societies. This serves to rationalize the profit-loss relation between two parties in bilateral societies. Based on this informal kinship system, prioritizing their kin would ensure their own future. At the social level, individual relation is emphasized, and gain-loss relations between two people are preferred over public institutions.

The fact that kinship is relatively tenuous in Japanese society is shown by the existence of a patrilineal kinship system prioritizing eldest sons. Practices such as disinheritance and qualifying sons-in-law for succession are conceptually different from the strong blood consciousness toward relatives in bilateral societies and patrilineal societies in China, Korea and East Africa. This behavior toward kin may seem harsh, but on the other hand, it is very effective for supporting a family or group. In other words, in order to perpetuate a family, informal family centered structure must give into formal public institutions that have come to play an important role. The extent to which individual behavior is tolerated within a society has been restricted; the society or group has replaced the role formerly played by the family in relation to the individual. Differences in basic kinship systems can thus be understood from this comparison.

Unilineal societies in East Africa such as Kenya (patrilineal) and Zambia (matrilineal) are structurally similar to the Japanese, but a major difference is that the former has strong

blood consciousness similar to bilateral societies. Due to this fact the gain-loss-based interest group increases to the extent of the generational depth. Therefore, strong blood consciousness encourages profiteering practices like nepotism and cronyism in bilateral societies. This type of blood consciousness is also observed in Latin America. Kinship behavior in Latin America is basically similar to the bilateral extended family in the bilateral societies, where Catholic baptism is also practiced. What is characteristic in Latin America however, is that national elites of colonial descent still persist even to this day.

Even in unilineal societies with strong blood consciousness similar to bilateral societies, the gain-loss based interest group increases to the extent of generational depth. In such cases, strong blood consciousness may encourage the practice of nepotism or cronyism. Although the basic kinship structure of such societies may be unilineal, the common behavioral factor shared by these societies and bilateral societies is the exclusion of non-kinsmen whom they distrust. Such behavior helps to create strong blood consciousness (which contrasts with the Japanese case, where the continuity of the group takes precedence over the lineality of the individual) . We should consider how a society could go beyond kinship relations and interact at the community level. For without an awareness of these invisible links binding any society, donors for development aid cannot expect in theory to achieve an effective social development project.

Most development assistance policies have a bias in the interests of political effectiveness, economic efficiency and military strategy-ignoring the real needs of local inhabitants. A number of anthropologists now point out the importance of considering beneficiary's cultural and social structures in decision-making processes. However, theories on the effects of a development project on an ethnic social system-the ideal organizational system needed for a smooth undertaking of a development project- and what other specific questions should be addressed regarding development assistance are not yet systematically discussed in Japan.

4) Promote cultural diversity and development methods

Mutual recognition on the diversity of development methods should be allowed for development to take place. This is a dilemma for social anthropologists. They have had to convince policy makers how social anthropology contributes to development policy. But unfortunately, the bureaucratic system is hard to break open. It is recommended here that both sides should try to meet each other halfway. At the same time, we should also try to break the exclusivity of theoretically oriented academics, encouraging social anthropologists to cultivate interest in applied or development studies. Social anthropologists who are interested in development anthropology must have the confidence to actively present or advise comprehensive development policy proposals.

There is an urgent need to implement comprehensive public education in recipient countries.

Applied anthropology makes this possible through assisting recipient countries appreciate their own value systems in order to build national identity.

5) Promote mass education to establish a national-ology capable of enriching the public goods at all levels of society in cultural diversity.

Education for the whole nation at all levels should be available where everyone can and should have access to learning. Such an education should institutionalize national taxation policy.

As a part of their national obligation, citizens should be aware of the importance of taxation for effective sustainable development. The pressing matter would be whether organizational theory could be easily included in educational curricula as a basis for development. National identity is indispensable for nation building. In order to enhance this consciousness, national cultural education should be emphasized.

V. Conclusions

The concept of globalization is including the meaning of localizations. In other words, as mentioned above, the most developing countries are consisting of multi-cultural-linguistic groups that cause difficulties for them to integrate as a nation. That is the reason why they start to recognize the existence of multi-cultures. In such a globalized age, the developing country must create the concept "Trans-ethnic multi-culturalism" which only can make such multi-ethnic countries unified as a nation. And then they can respect and recognize each other's culture and value system with tolerance. In terms of cultures, there is no cultural homogenization in broad sense. Culture is heterogeneous.

The first step for the government is to gather specialists on local cultures from donor countries as well as recipient countries who will launch studies and regular consultative meetings that will aim at deepening the understanding at a level of basic cultural meaning.

Secondly, applied anthropology can serve as a bridge between policy makers and aid recipients. ODA will not be effective unless social anthropologists are formally included into policy-making bodies. Otherwise, they would have no direct influence over the formulation of development policies that understand recipient country needs.

Thirdly, mutual recognition on the diversity of development methods should be allowed for development to take place. This is a dilemma for social anthropologists. They have had to convince policy makers how social anthropology contributes to development policy and try mutually collaborating with the bureaucracy to create constructive and worthy development policy for beneficial groups, instead of opposing to the bureaucratic system. It is recommended here that both sides should try to meet each other halfway. At the same time, we should also try to break the exclusivity of theoretically oriented academics, encouraging social anthropologists to cultivate interest in applied or development studies. Social anthropologists who are interested in

applied anthropology must have the confidence to actively present or advise comprehensive development policy proposals.

Finally and most important, even beyond changes in government operations, to achieve development in third world countries, there is an urgent need to implement comprehensive public education in recipient countries. Applied anthropology makes this possible through assisting recipient countries appreciate their own value systems in order to build national identity through the creating National-ology as I strongly recommended. And again I would like to emphasize that the establishment of a common concept of development between donor, recipient and beneficiary groups, the participatory development based on the human oriented policy, and creating corporate organizations capable of implementing development programs are very important and should not be forgotten.

Lastly, failure to offer professional recommendations to government authorities would seem like a waste of time and effort for practical disciplines like development anthropology, development economics, and development political science.

Chart I. The Genealogical Model of a Bilateral Kinship System
Multi-ancestors oriented kin concept

- ego centered concept
- gained membership
- distrusted
- gain and loss relationship
- ego blood consciousness
- personal kindred
- relatedness(ritual kinship)
- lack of leadership
- strong contract consciousness
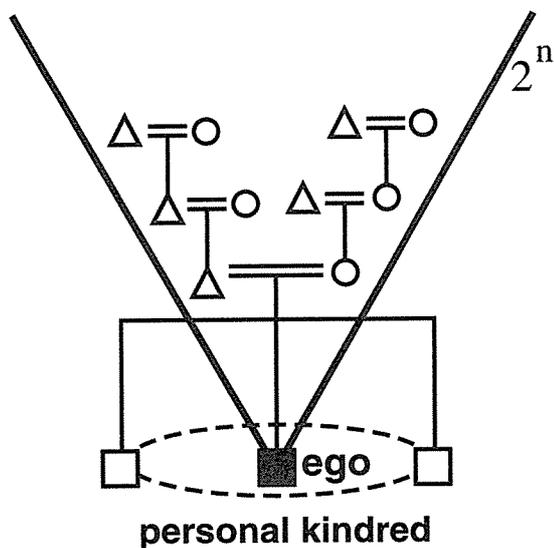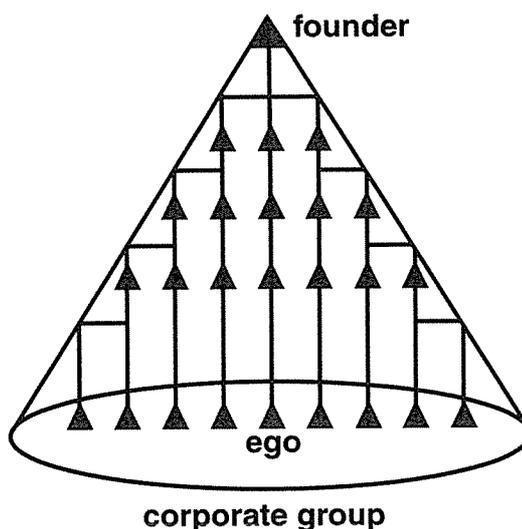- horizontal consciousness of relatedness

personal kindred

Chart II. Unilineal Kinship System
monoancestors oriented kin concept

- axial family line
- membership in-born
- highly trusted
- give and take relationship
- group blood consciousness
- lineage
- corporate group
- lack of contract
- consciousness
- vertical consciousness of lineality

corporate group

from Y. Kikuchi, 1996

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