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EXPLORING THE NARRATIVE PATHS OF A KALINGA ETHNOGRAPHY: EDWARD DOZIER'S MOUNTAIN ARBITERS

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ABSTRACT: The narrative paths of Edward Dozier's works Mountain Arbiters and The Kalinga of Northern Luzon, Philippines are examined and discussed. Dozier's field notes (on file at the Arizona State Museum Archives), recent interviews with both Fred Eggan and William Longacre, as well as Dozier's biographical data and professional orientations are utilized to assess his narrative work in a postmodern framework. Dozier's narrative structure is found to be constrained to neither of Bruner's (1986) categories of dominant emplotments; instead, Dozier's work is described as transitional between the 1930s narratives of acculturation and the 1970s narratives of resistance.

The representation of culture in an ethnographic text is a complex process which is only partially revealed in the narrative itself. The mode of ethnographic production is a system of paths in the forest--intricate relationships which cross and re-cross to form a unique pattern of movement within time and space. There are the intersecting footpaths of the ethnographer, narrative consultants, multiple cultural structures and histories, and ethnographic encounters. The textualization of the field experience is a circuitous design which synthesizes intellectual and emotional constructions, applications of specific critical theories, analysis and interpretation, and literary expressions marked within the perimeter of the professional genre

and contemporary narrative styles.

The reading of ethnography is an attempt to understand the geography of the paths charted by the ethnographer to represent the lives of other people. This paper will explore a few of these ethnographic "paths" in an effort to retrace the story embedded within or outside the narrative. It is postmodern orienteering. It is an invitation to a personal expedition, to be undertaken with the foreknowledge that the reader-explorer may get lost and occasionally venture down the wrong path (but always with the hope of a discovery). Our map is a Philippine ethnography of the Kalinga people in Northern Luzon. The title of this 1966 ethnographic chart is Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People. The cartographer is Edward Dozier whose previous cultural trailblazing was confined to the American Southwest. This ethnography was his first expedition away from semi-arid landscapes and into the higher altitudes of tropical rainforests of the Philippine mountains.

In his field diary, Dozier described this walking down new and unfamiliar paths. He pencilled his impressions about his journey from Selegseg to Tappo and Mabaca, private thoughts of a forty-two year old ethnographer--experiences off the beaten path:

[October 15, 1958] Tomorrow morning--early - we will hike from here to Tappo Mabaca--to Lino D. Toways house where I will remain two or three days to observe, take a few notes and pictures and then return. Tappo is about 15 km. from here --trail rough and steep--will see how I fare!

[October 16/17, 1958]

The Saltan River...is swift and deep....clear, beautiful water - a hanging, shaky foot bridge spans the river. Across the river, the trail splits into a "short cut" and the regular, longer trail. Foolishly perhaps I consented to the guides' suggestion we take the short cut which climbed up the side of the mountain almost perpendicularly over wet slippery rocks. The boys all in their teens or rounding twenty scampered up the...side despite their bare feet (or perhaps because of it). The trip was too fast for me though I tried to keep up for a while. The hearty breakfast began to act up on me and I lost it about half way up--with attendant illness. But a wait of a few hours helped to get me over the worse of it and we resumed our journey--the trail seemed to be forever climbing. Three men carrying heavy bundles of window materials caught up with us and joined us, but since I had to call halt periodically they finally left us and proceeded on ahead...About 1 p.m. we finally reached the summit--after a terrific gruelling climb consuming almost six hours. The descent was almost straight down over a gravelly trail with frequent boulders--soon we were in terraced rice fields--but the descent never slackened in difficulties. It also began to rain and this added to our difficulties. Incidentally the baggage was being carried by the boys--one suitcase weighing I suspect close to 50 lbs., a hand bag of perhaps 20 lbs. and other odds and ends up to about 100 lbs. They seemed not to be bothered by all this weight and nimbly came down the Mt. (and up before it)--how they can stand the rough trail on bare feet remains an amazing thing to me (Dozier Field Notebooks, "Convento, Salegseg Notes" October 15 and 17 [1958], Dozier Papers, Arizona State Museum Archives).

Ethnographic Outfitting for Readers

Before we begin our venture down the slippery rocks of ethnographic representation, we need to check our provisions. We carry with us Barton's classic ethnography which Dozier sought to "add to"--The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law written by R.F. Barton and published posthumously in 1949. This book was approximately ten years old when Dozier was in the Philippines. It is essential to both writer and reader as a compass to the narrative structure of Dozier's ethnography.

Additional anthropological voices from two interviews will also help us chart our way--the Eggan/Norcini interview of 12 May 1988 and the Longacre/Norcini interview of 28 November 1989. Both Southwestern anthropologists worked in the Philippines, Eggan conducting ethnographic research and Longacre researching ethnoarchaeology of Kalinga pottery.

The archival voice of the ethnographer will accompany us down our paths. Six boxes of Dozier's Kalinga fieldnotes, manuscripts, and photographs (photocopies of course, not the originals) will be carried by the grandchildren of those strong, young companions of Dozier. And lastly, a thin, 8 ounce paperback book will be thrown in our backpack--Dozier's condensed version of his 1966 ethnography intended for student readership in the Holt, Rinehart anthropological series, The Kalinga of Northern Luzon, Philippines (Dozier 1967).

The First Path

Reading the introduction to Dozier's Kalinga ethnography, we see Dozier situating himself within a long tradition of scholars who studied the diverse mountain peoples of northern Luzon. He grounds his authority in the unspoken metaphor of an anthropological foot race with the goal of covering all ethnographic ground--Dozier as the new runner reaches for the enabling baton from the runner of the first leg of Kalinga research, R.F. Barton.

Dozier writes:

Virtually the only study of these people is the report by Barton (1949) on Kalinga custom law. While Barton's study is excellent, it is on a specialized subject and of a group (Lubuagan) who have long practiced irrigated rice farming. The bulk of the Kalinga population is, or was until recently, engaged in dry rice cultivation, and hence a study focused on a group who are still predominantly dry rice farmers is needed to give us a broader knowledge of Kalinga social and cultural institutions.

The present study is an attempt to provide this knowledge to record the nature of social and cultural differences between those Kalinga who subsist primarily on wet rice and those who are predominantly dry rice cultivators. In order to add to the investigations of Barton, several weeks were spent in Lubuagan, while the remainder of the research time was devoted to the Northern Kalinga who still subsist largely on rice grown on hill and mountain sides by slash and burn techniques (Dozier 1966:3).

During the early twentieth century, Barton researched southern Kalinga custom law and

began an ethnography which was published posthumously by the University of Chicago under the editorial direction of Fred Eggan (Barton 1949). In 1941, Barton's manuscript was safely transported from the Philippines to the United States during World War II by Douglas MacArthur (Longacre/Norcini interview). It was "mimeographed for war use" (Eggan in Barton 1949). The ethnographer was interned by the Japanese in the Philippines for four years, survived, and returned to Chicago to work on the final editing of the Kalinga text. Barton died shortly afterwards.

By aligning himself with the most prominent areal ethnographer, Dozier as a new student of Polynesia declared his own marathon team membership and ran onto the Philippine anthropological track. An established ethnographer in the American Southwest, Edward Dozier assumed an equal footing with Barton. While Barton studied the legal customs of the Kalinga living in the irrigated rice fields south of the Chico River in Lubuagan, Dozier set his path further north to conduct a general ethnographic study of the dry rice cultivators.

The most remarkable aspect about the Dozier-Barton linkage constructed by Dozier is the basic similarity of narrative structure. Although their research problems, data collection, and writing style were distinctive, both texts are remarkably parallel in their organization. The geography of their ethnographic paths are so alike that it is logical to conjecture that Barton's book was used as a model of Kalinga ethnographic narrative by Dozier.

The similarities of narrative structure can be best considered by comparing the two tables of contents. In their approximately three hundred page ethnographies, Barton and Dozier ordered major chapters on social organization (with emphasis on the kindred group and the kinship circle, respectively), economics (especially inheritance and property ownership of land), and the Kalinga peace pact institution. Visual representations of Kalinga culture are also comparable; Barton's book concludes with 29 informal photographs of everyday Kalinga activities taken by himself in the field. Dozier's relatively more formal and posed photographs are interspersed as illustrations within the text. The diagram of a Kalinga kinship group (Barton 1949:67) is fashioned by Barton like the rising sun almost clear of the horizon, while Dozier's "Kalinga...Kinship Circle" (Dozier 1966:69) radiates like high noon. The similarities are too analogous to be accidental; Dozier closely followed Barton's interpretive paths.

Time and experience, however, mark differences in ethnographic content. Dozier, writing in the heyday of anthropology's use of ethnohistorical methods, contextualized his Kalinga ethnography in chapter one with an anthropologist's historical review of secondary references outlining Asian, Spanish, and American influences. In contrast, Barton emphasizes regional districts of jurisprudence in peace pacts, torts, crimes, and punishment. Dozier utilizes a regional approach also, but orients his interpretation toward functional classifications of the culture area approach (Dozier 1966:20,24). In the use of tables to chronicle the history of Kalinga peace-pacts, the two ethnographies are again subtly yet strikingly familiar. Overall, it becomes obvious to the reader that Barton's classic study is most probably the literary compass used by Dozier in charting his paths through the Kalinga mountain passes.

The Second Path: Why Did Edward Dozier Write a Philippine Ethnography?

The redirection of Dozier's professional career needs to be addressed because it situates

him rather unexpectedly on a second path, far afield from Southwestern studies. Rosaldo writes that "no analysis of human action [read the act of writing an ethnography] is complete unless it attends to people's own notions of what they are doing. Even when they appear most subjective [add "and most objective"], thought and feeling are always culturally shaped and influenced by one's biography, social situation, and historical context" (Rosaldo 1980:103). These comments are essential to any critique of anthropological writings, especially the element of personal biography and the construction of a "professional self" or professional path.

The postmodern reader should be aware of the influence of the discipline's "structure" and mode of ethnographic production. For instance, we need to assess the role and effect of anthropological mentorship on the portrayal of cultural events within the ethnography. Anthropological mentorship can develop, like the Boasian school of salvage ethnography, into a sub-genre of professional literature with patterned narrative emplotments. In a subtler yet equally persuasive way, many anthropological writings of the 1950s and 1960s can also be referred to as a sub-genre--a "Chicagoan/Eggan" ethnographic style which privileges social organizational studies.

A professional circle of anthropological practitioners not only inspires a unique sense of collegiality, but also influences the cultural areas of research, analysis, theoretical approaches, a specialized vocabulary, and linguistic tropes. A critique of an ethnography must take into consideration these sub-genres which are based in the professional relations of production between ethnographers as colleagues in a professional network or between a mentor and a younger professional (e.g., Eggan/Dozier, Schieffelen/Feld, Geertz/Danforth, etc.). This social organization of Chicagoan/Eggan anthropologists (what we could call ethnographers' kinship) may help sensitize readers to the ethnographer's professional "target audience" to whom the ethnography is covertly addressed. If we reconstruct then de-construct anthropological mentorship, critical readers can then recognize how the anthropologist is situated within the ethnographic sub-genres of anthropological writing.

By examining Mountain Arbiters within the Eggan/Dozier mentor relationship we can be better prepared to read between the lines and more easily assess the book within the history of the Chicagoan/Eggan social anthropological sub-genre. Carefully applied, this contextualizing will help us explore why certain cultural paths were chosen for ethnographic research (i.e., bilateral descent studies in the Philippines), how an ethnographer expresses an intellectual commitment to a specific theoretical orientation through anthropological literature, and what professional walking sticks were used to repel the unexpected or unwanted when it crossed in front of the beaten path.

To me as one reader-explorer, the answer to the question of why Southwestern ethnographer Edward Dozier chose the Kalinga as his second path is to be found in his close professional relationship with Fred Eggan, a basically "unwritten" story behind the story. Dozier met Eggan as a graduate student while conducting dissertation research on the "Hopi-Tewa" in Arizona during the late 1940s. Eggan lent the UCLA doctoral candidate a chapter on "Hopi Social Organization" from the manuscript of a forthcoming book on the Western Pueblos (Eggan 1950). Even by this time, Eggan was (as Dozier was to become almost twenty years later) both a Southwestern and a Philippine ethnologist.

Their relationship grew while Dozier was on the faculty at Northwestern University in the early 1950s. Eggan remembered Dozier's frequent visits to the University of Chicago being motivated by "intellectual isolation" and by emotional loneliness. In a taped interview, Eggan recalled how he re-directed Dozier's professional future through suggestions and support over the years. During discussions on social organization at Stanford University's Center for Advanced Study (1958--1959), Eggan proposed the idea that Dozier study and write about Philippine culture as a healthful contrast to his experiences with Puebloan ethnology:

The reason I was interested in sending Ed there was for his own education. Growing up in the Pueblo...[with the] need for secrecy...I thought it would be good for Ed to do fieldwork...to see a society like the pagans in the Mountain Province that is anxious to help you...you can ask an intelligent question and get an answer, and that's the kind of situation that sometimes Chuck [Lange] and I wish would happen in the Rio Grande here.... (Eggan/Norcini interview, 12 May 1988 in Santa Fe).

Eggan also recommended that Dozier apply to the National Science Foundation for funding and to university presses for publishing--both paths obediently followed by Dozier. The mentorship continued to influence the Kalinga ethnography in other ways such as field contacts, letters from the field discussing issues and events, safe-guarding copies of field notes [Felix Keesing at Stanford also received a copy], and critical reviews of the manuscript (Eggan interview and Kalinga correspondence in the Dozier Papers at the Arizona State Museum Archives). Additionally, Eggan's interpretation of the neighboring Bontoc is echoed in Dozier's explanation of cultural diversity through ecology (differential rice farming techniques) and population densities for the Northern and Southern Kalinga (Dozier 1966:23).

It is insightful to compare these years of interaction with Dozier's acknowledgment of Eggan in the narrative. Besides citations within the text and references in the bibliography to articles written by Eggan from 1941 to 1969, Dozier briefly summarized years of anthropological mentorship with a three sentence professional credit in the preface of Mountain Arbiters:

My debt to Professor and Mrs. Eggan is immeasurable. They first aroused my interest in the peoples of the Mountain Province and assisted in many ways in making our field work in the Philippines a pleasant experience. Professor Eggan followed my work in the field and has read this study critically in final draft (Dozier 1966:x).

Roads Not Taken

No matter whether it is an ethnographer who is constructing a cultural narrative or some other writer who is "fashioning a text" (Dillard 1987), the choice of paths in a narrative implies the acceptance and non-acceptance of certain routes. For instance, in the introduction to this paper, we read that Dozier's field notes which described his arduous mountain hikes were excluded from the ethnography. Why? Although Dozier did write briefly about unsanitary conditions in the villages [which according to Longacre necessitated that Dozier's young family live in Banguio where he interviewed Kalinga school students,

taking only a few minor trips of two or three weeks to villages], a number of omissions regarding field experiences is evident in the original field notes. Specifically, Dozier omitted: (1) his impressions of the "rather plush comfort American Protestant missionaries enjoy in the Mt. Province...as compared with the Belgian fathers whose comforts are bare and who live a rather tough existence" (Field notes, October 15[1958], Arizona State Museum Archives); (2) how he disbelieved warnings about the Kalinga who "kill by witchcraft" (*ibid.*); and (3) how he was the brunt of joking at the birth feast in Obol where he had his first taste of carabao (water buffalo) which he found "similar to beef but extremely tough" (Field notes, October 16-17 [1958]).

There is also the lack of representation in Dozier's ethnography of Kalinga songs (a romantic ballad and head-hunting songs) and musical instruments (violins and lip flutes) even though he made forty pages of drawings, notes, and native texts. In the appendix, Dozier chose to list fourteen categories of songs using appropriate Kalinga terms (*gosombi* for ballads and *As-assay* for head-hunting songs) instead of providing the few rich native texts he collected.

The field notes preserved in the anthropological archives document boastful refrains from head-hunting songs such as:

In our trip to Dakalan
I took an old woman's head
In a Dakalan ricefield
I brought it to Lubuagan
So my cousin would celebrate.

Figurative language of the Gawan ballad narrated by a female who was travelling through dangerous territory is also omitted. One example from the translated native text is: "pet honey bee spread out your thread bridge as a path for us" (Field notes, Dozier Papers, Arizona State Museum Archives).

It slowly becomes apparent that Dozier's Kalinga narrative path is conservative and categorical. It stays within the boundaries of the mid-twentieth century genre of ethnographic realism and the Chicagoan/Egganian sub-genre of emplotting "social structure...as the framework within which...institutions in complex societies could be discussed systematically" (Marcus and Cushman 1982:40). *Mountain Arbiters* keeps faith with the "social contracts between a writer and a specific public, whose function is to specify the proper use of a cultural artifact" (Marcus and Cushman 1982:29). Dozier walked the straight and well-worn ethnographic path of a social anthropologist writing in the 1960s.

Backtracking

Although I have not discovered any reason for the six-year delay between Dozier's Philippine fieldwork (1958-59) and the publication of the manuscript (1966), just one year after *Mountain Arbiters* was printed by the University of Arizona Press a second version appeared. *The Kalinga of Northern Luzon* (Dozier 1967) was a condensed and reworked version of his 1966 book. Intended for "student readership", it was published as a case study in cultural anthropology for Holt, Rinehart. Marcus and Cushman (1982:52) comment on this

audience:

The ethnographies produced for this readership of which the Holt, Rinehart series is only the oldest and most prolific, too often seem to be conceived as watered down and highly simplified versions of professional ethnographies. As such, they often exhibit a pedestrian adherence to the conventions of ethnographic realism....

From my own experience, I read this abbreviated student version before I read the full-length professional ethnography. I found it more distant and disjointed in comparison perhaps because of the manner in which it was condensed. There were many identical passages in both books, but the narrative did not flow as well in style or in the continuity of ideas and logical argument as Mountain Arbiters. It read as a more scientifically objectified text. Unfortunately, considering the intended student readership, the 1967 Kalinga ethnography is less inspiring to young professionals and less descriptive of Kalinga lifeways due to bad editing of text and photography.

Naming the Narrative Paths

Edward Bruner, in his article "Ethnography as Narrative", proposes two categories of ethnographic discourse based upon dominant storylines--"a narrative in our heads which structures our initial observations in the field" (Bruner 1986:146). Within the historical context of ethnographies which focus on Native American culture change, Bruner posits that the implicit structure of 1930s and 1940s studies can be read as narratives of acculturation and that the 1970s and 1980s studies can be read as narratives of resistance.

I will attempt to situate Dozier's two versions of Kalinga cultural change, Mountain Arbiters (1966) and The Kalinga of Northern Luzon (1967), according to these named categories of narrative structure. My reading contests Bruner's sense of historical discontinuity between the two narrative emplotments. Bruner believes that "the transition from one narrative structure to another occurred rapidly, within a decade after World War II...there is so little historical continuity between the two dominant stories: one story simply became discredited and the new narrative took over" (Bruner 1986:139).

To this reader--explorer, Dozier's two Kalinga ethnographies reveal a transitional narrative structure which combines features of an older acculturation story-line with a more recent theme of ethnic resurgence. He tells his story of the Kalinga presuming in the older 1930s ethnographic manner that the traditional mountain culture would surely disappear with the influence of Western civilization (politics, education, and Christianity). This assumption pervades the writing. Like a Boasian salvage ethnographer, Dozier studies the Kalinga as a vanishing, assimilating people. Both ethnographies are based upon this anthropological axiom and rationale for research.

The narratives, however, contradict themselves. The acculturation theme is discordant with the more modern emplotment of resistance to colonialism, the rise of ethnic consciousness, and Philippine nationalism. Dozier's use of Kalinga ethnohistory shows how the past pervades the present (1930s structure), at the same time, ethnohistory shows how the past is the future (1980s structure). This contextualizing, however, is often more complementary

than contradictory. The Kalinga narratives are a "sometimes" problematic text which employ a modern strategy of problem-focused research but within an older frame of reference: acculturation.

And so it seems that Bruner's historical discontinuity of narrative structures has its exceptions. Dozier's texts are transitional, bridging both historical story-lines. They are basically conservative texts which utilize the then current methodology of ethnohistory (see Spicer 1962) within the older static model of the culture area concept. Yet, at different times within the text, there are also tracks of the new social action themes of ethnic identity, resistance, and cultural continuity. These texts are ambiguous in their narrative structures requiring multiple naming rather than just one classification. Both the ethnographer, Dozier, and his ethnographic narratives seem to be transitional representations of historical shifts in anthropological paradigms, emplotments, interpretations, and practices.

Conclusion: An Areal View of the Narrative Path

This exercise of exploring the narrative paths in a Philippine ethnography illustrates the complexity of the task. The postmodern reader must become aware of the multiple components in the process of researching, interpreting, and writing about other cultures. The ethnographer's biography and professional orientations (*i.e.*, anthropological mentorship) must be assessed within the history of anthropology and within previous cultural representations of that culture (*i.e.* Barton--Dozier ethnographic continuum). Narrative paths can turn sharply, decline and descend, be slippery to impassable with hidden traps and dangerous passages. The keen postmodern reader-explorer must be alert to these multiple signs. Above all, while orienteering through circuitous ethnographic paths in search of new discovery, we may find it helpful to remember that the key to reading ethnography is often in identifying and understanding the message of the meta-narrative--the story within the story.

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