The Community Development Concepts of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples in Benguet, Philippines

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Statement of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified or been awarded another degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution. All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant ethics/Safety Committees (where required).

Signed: Date: 15/07/11

Digna Lipa-od Adonis

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Iyaman son sikayo
Iyaman en dakayo
Ungabagabay kayo

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Abstract

This research explores the concept of community development among the Igorot Indigenous Peoples in Benguet, Philippines. It investigates the Igorots' understanding of their community in relation to their culture and their interaction with the 'modern' world. It explores Igorot perspectives on the relevance of their culture in obtaining their 'desired development' within the present realities of their community.

Exploring culturally and academically appropriate methods of conducting research with Indigenous populations such as the Igorot community was an important process of this study. This research reveals that Indigenous researchers undertaking research in their own communities have no 'automatic credibility' in navigating and utilising Indigenous Peoples' knowledge ways (Pohlhuas 2002). Drawing from Indigenous methodologies, the research employed Indigenous research methods using Igorot traditional ways of learning.

The findings of the study reveal that the Igorot understanding of community is a combination of colonial and traditional culture and values. The participants argue that although they cannot fully practice their traditional culture as their ancestors did, they still recognise its significance in their present lives.

This research explores the Igorots' coping and adapting mechanisms including the establishing of peoples organisations and informal education as

ways of working in the community. Specific models of community development, that utilise the strengths of the culture are explored which confirm that cultural context and knowledge systems are an essential component in researching and working with Indigenous Peoples. By recognising and appropriately using the strengths of cultural identity, consciousness and traditional values that the Igorots have, community workers are able to provide opportunities for the people to revive their traditional communal and relational living. The Igorots demonstrate that 'prescribed development systems' can be of great advantage to their community when deconstructed and viewed from the 'window of the peoples' culture'. Most importantly, the participants in this study have shown that Indigenous Peoples' despite being historical 'victims' of development have the capabilities to as 'active contributors' to their own and to mainstream community development.

Glossary of Igorot words used

bain/baing- shame

baliw ni timpo- changing times

barangay- smallest unit of governance; local village

Ibaloy- the tribe occupying the Eastern   and Southern part of Benguet

Igorot- refers to the collective term of the tribe who are the participants for this study

ili/dugad - an Igorot term for community, home

inayan- taboo

istorya/ tabtaval - story sharing

Kalanguya- originally from the Northern part of Benguet

Kankanaey- the tribe in occupying the North western part of Benguet

kedot-   a major celebration in a traditional Igorot community

 kiyew- tree of Life

lawa/ngaaw- Igorot concept of something 'bad'

mayat- good and proper

niman- the present time

nontan- in the past

panbekha - asking questions

panbisna - observing intently

pannemnem - reflection and evaluation

pan-oolnong- gathering

pansipot- careful investigation

pansukael- deep search of wisdom

pantetneng-listening

peki-da - participation 'as-one –of- them'

peki-istorya- sharing perspectives and stories

siged- wellbeing, success

tabtaval- communication between two parties; can also be considered sharing stories and views

yamyam -strong words of reprimand from elders

List of Abbreviations Used

ADB- Asian Development Bank

AKAP- *Alay sa Kapatid* Foundation

CD- Community Development

CDD- Community Driven Development

CVM- Community Volunteer Movement

BES- Ethnological Survey

Benguet Net - Benguet Network of NGOs and POs

CIDA- Canadian International Development Agency

HDI- Human Development Indicators

HUKBALAHAP- *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa mga Hapon* (People's army against the Japanese occupation)

IDS- International Development Studies

IPRA- Indigenous Peoples Rights Act

IPO- Indigenous Peoples'Organisation

NECCDP- Neighborhood Early Childhood Care and Development Program

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

OECD- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PO- People's Organisation

SFI- Shontoug Foundation Inc.

UBAPAS- Ubod Apunan Association for Healthy Living

UDI- Upland Development Institute

UNDP-United Nations Development Programme

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INTRODUCTION

THE JOURNEY TOWARDS EXPLORING IGOROT COMMUNITY

DEVELOPMENT CONCEPTS

> For over fifty years the so-called advanced economies have invested enormous sums of money in ʻdevelopmentʼ to promote growth in poorer countries, with the express aim of reducing poverty. Yet the statistics show that during the same period the number of desperately poor countries has increased relentlessly. Something clearly is wrong somewhere (Sillitoe 2002, p. 1).

I come from a Third World country and from an Indigenous community that has been a recipient of local and foreign funding for community development projects for many years now. My involvement in the implementation of community development projects in my own community makes me relate in many ways to the above quotation. As a community development worker, people always asked: *sino ngin di pansigedan ay i-ali yo en dakami?* The usual answer I gave was the project description, its goals and targets to satisfy the querry. After few months of consultation and planning, projects (physical or social infrastructures) began its target implementation and upon completion, reports are submitted to the funding agencies. Many projects get funded and implemented in the so-called ʻpoor communitiesʼ but looking at the continuing survival mode of existence of the people ignites the question: Does the project provide the kind of ʻdevelopmentʼ that the community needs? This question in many ways has guided me into this postgraduate study. Community work motivated me to explore the views of the recipients, specifically the Indigenous groups in the Northern Philippines on what ʻdevelopmentʼ means in their community and culture. This study will explore the community development perspectives and practices of the Igorots from the Province

of Benguet. It seeks to identify existing Igorots' Indigenous knowledge, culture and current actual concepts and practices in the area of community development work; and to provide a deeper appreciation and understanding of Indigenous Research methodology in doing research in Indigenous communities. This chapter situates the background of the formulation of the research topics and questions.

RESEARCH SETTING

Benguet Province of the Philippines is located at the roof of Northern Luzon at the southern end of the Cordillera Mountain Range with an estimated population of 372,533 in 2007 (PPDO 2008). According to the Benguet Provincial website (Cabato 2011), the majority of land in Benguet is classified by the current government as 'forest land'; thereby, the majority of land use is primarily determined by government planners. Geographically, Benguet shares boundaries with the provinces of Pangasinan (to its South), Ifugao and Nueva Vizcaya (East), Mountain Province (North) and La Union and Ilocos Provinces (West). Ifugao, Nueva Vizcaya and Mountain Province are inhabited by other Igorots groups while the rest of the provinces surrounding Benguet are part of the lowland (mainstream) provinces. As a result of government legislation which originated from the Spanish exploration in seventeenth century, Benguet is subdivided into thirteen municipalities namely: Atok, Bakun, Bokod, Buguias, Itogon, Kabayan, Kapangan, Kibungan, La Trinidad, Mankayan, Sablan, Tuba and Tublay. La Trinidad is the capital town and Baguio City, which used to be part of Benguet, was declared a 'chartered' city of the Cordillera Region. Baguio City used to be designated as an American military rest camp in the 1900s and the centre for the American government agri-business, transportation and mining industry development (Wiber 1993).

According to the Benguet Provincial government website (2011), Benguet has two distinct seasons: dry from the months of November to April and wet from May to October. Frequent typhoons and long rains occur between the months of August and October. The temperate climate (which ranges from 10 to 26 degrees) favours agricultural activities such as irrigated rice paddies, vegetable gardens, and upland root crops.

Benguet is primarily rural and characterised by rugged terrain and most interior communities can be accessed from Baguio City by public transport such as bus, jeepneys[1] and trucks (in areas with rugged roads). Most of the community's crop production is at a subsistence level but large amount of household needs that is purchased from Baguio City and La Trinidad, making the villages integrated into the local market economy (Wiber 1993, p. 6).

Although it is becoming increasingly diverse in population, the original settlers are the *Kankanaeys* and *Ibaloys*. The Ibaloy occupying the southeast speak *Nabaloy* (also termed as *Ibaloy*) and as established by research, the Ibaloy has affinity to the *Kalanguya* of Tinek, the *Mande'key* (Kankanaey), *Manke'dey* (Ibaloy) of Buguias and the *Kalahan* who live along the mountain range from the foot of Mt. Pulag (the mountain of Igorot god *Kabunyan*) including the *I-owak* of Kayapa in Nueva Viscaya (Cabato 2001, p. 7). Original settlements are described as 'scattered settlement patterns' called *sitios* (Wiber 1993, p. 6).

Traditionally, the Kankaneys and the Ibaloys are known for traditional rituals (*kanyaw*), beliefs and practices. Today, Benguet is known for its vegetable, strawberry and cut flower production, and for its agriculture and highland tourism

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[1]   A Philippine made public transport vehicle which could carry up to twenty–two passengers for one trip.

(Benguet Profile 2011). Maps one and two show the location of the Province of Benguet, the study site:
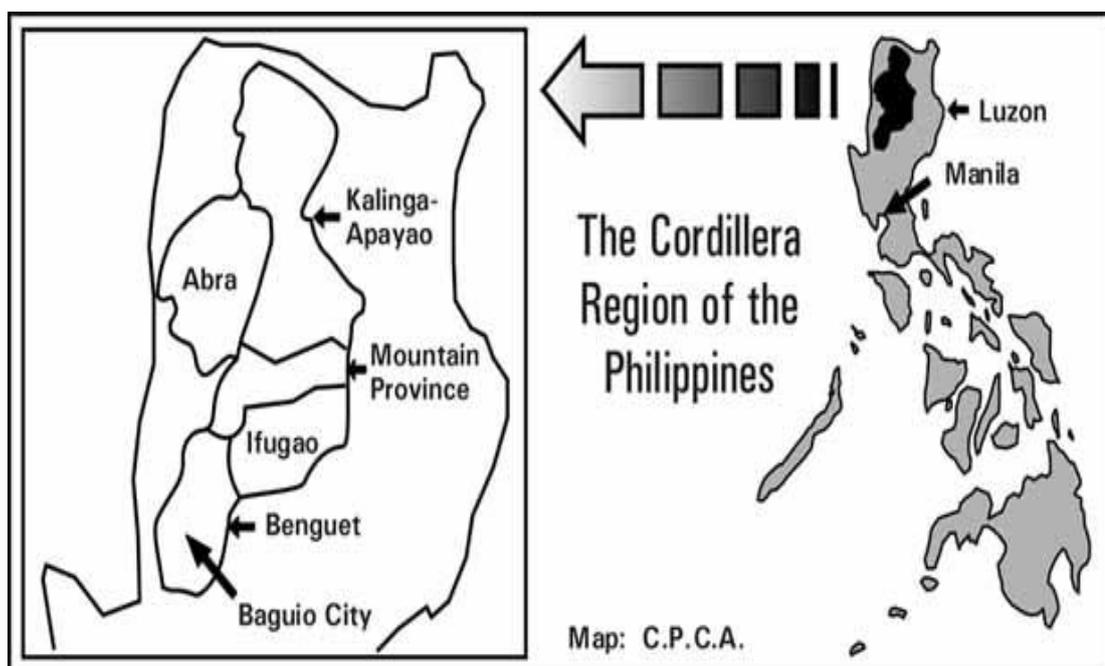
Map 1: Location map of the Province of Benguet, the study site (DA CHARMP Project, PPDO Benguet 2008)
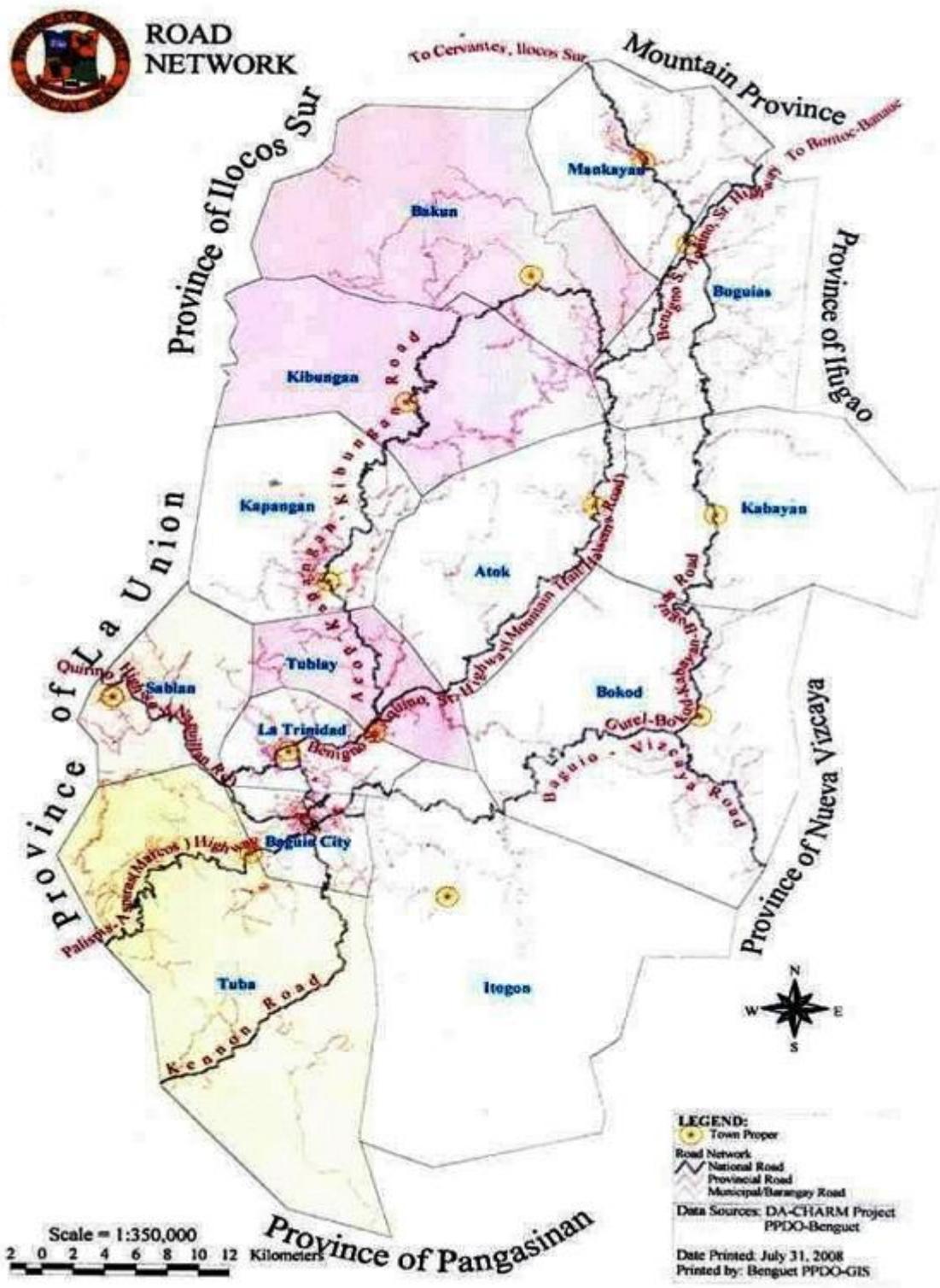
Map 2: The Map of the Province of Benguet (PPDO File, Benguet Province website 2011)

MY PERSONAL STORY ABOUT DEVELOPMENT

I was born in a small far-flung Philippine village known as *Bes-eg*. My *ili* (community) is located in one of the outlying *sitios* (villages) of Philex Mining Corporation (popularly called 'Philex Mines'), a big mining company which started operation in the area in the early 1900s. *Bes-eg* is approximately 10 kilometres away from the vicinity of Philex Mines. As a child, I did not know much about Philex except that it was one of the places where people in my community sold their farm produce like vegetables, fruits and legumes. It was also where people bought some of their basic household needs like sugar, salt, cooking oil and rice; other than Rosario and Pozorrubio public markets, both located in the lowland areas.

Hiking in the mountains was a skill I had to learn as early as five years old. People in the community travelled on foot to visit other villages, sell farm products at the nearest local market, go to work at the farm or *oma* (mountain clearing) and for many children, go to school. People had to walk for hours to attend community celebrations, events and rituals called *kedot* in neighbouring villages. The community, especially among relatives and clan members considered it a 'relational responsibility' to attend community rituals and celebrations. During the *kedot*, food was prepared for all guests and community members. Rice, *camote* (sweet potato) and meat comprised the community meal. The whole celebration is presided over by the native priest called the *mambunong* who facilitates ritual activities. The *mambunong* gives directions when to perform the native dance called *tayaw* (accompanied by native musical instruments such as the *kalsa, solibaw and tiktik),* butcher animals to offer to the ancestors, and cook rice and *camote* for community meals. The number of days for the celebration depended on the kind of ritual and the

cultural requirements that came with it (Picpican 2007).

Because community rituals were considered a 'break' from all farm work, the community people took this time to 'hang around' and share stories with other members of the community or with visitors from other villages. The usual stories were about farm work and the farm crops, the weather that could affect the crop for the season, or simply daily life experiences. There were also jolly people in the *kedot* who made the occasion alive by sharing jokes and humorous stories about farmers' lives or their experiences when they go to the city. The *tayaw* and the *ba'diw* (chanting) were sources of great entertainment, keeping people awake all night. My parents encouraged me and my siblings to take the opportunity to learn about life's wisdom by listening to the stories, chants and discussion of the elders during the *ba'diw*.

As a girl child, my mother taught me how to do household chores at about age six. Whenever she went to fetch water from the spring, I went with her carrying a small plastic water container. Every time she peeled *camote*[2] to be cooked for our family meal, she would give me a small knife to practise peeling a small piece of *camote*, warning me to take care not to hurt my hand or fingers. When she cooked rice or vegetables, I volunteered to assist her in little ways I could. Sometimes my help was encouraged but there were also times that it was rejected because my mother said I was too young to do it, but gave me the assurance that I would do more work when I grow up. The first few times my mother brought me along to the *oma,* she asked me to stay and play in my little shed which she built while she planted or weeded her *camote* and other vegetable crops. Later when I got used to going to the

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[2]   A staple root crop in traditional Igorot community.

oma with her, she showed me how to plant each of the root crops, vegetables, rhizomes and legumes emphasising the proper way of planting each crop. Determining crops' maturity and readiness for harvest and selection of good seeds to be kept for the next planting season were also part of the training. I also had to remember the small prayers and rituals that accompanied each stage of the crop production.

In the family, my mother was in charge of planting the *oma* and taking care of the crops until harvest but it was my father who cut the weeds and trees, burnt them when they got dried and prepared the *oma* for planting. Work in the rice field on the other hand was a family activity. My older brothers and sister worked hard to clear weeds from the rice paddies. Then, all the males in the family prepared the paddies for planting by ploughing the land with the use of the *arasho* (traditional farm implement) dragged by a *carabao* (water buffalo). Each paddy was filled with water that ran from the source through the manually made canal called *kolokol*. The paddies were irrigated for a few days before doing the *saluysoy* which refines, softens and levels the cultivated paddies evenly,making it ready for planting new rice seedlings for the crop season.

Rice planting day was scheduled based on the position of the moon and the stars in the sky. Full moon (*binmanal e bulan*) or when the moon can be seen in the sky (*sedag*) during the night was considered a good time to plant crops. It was believed that full moon brings a bountiful harvest and minimise pest infestation of the crops. My parents would let the neighbours know about their rice planting day. The invitation meant the practice of *amoyo*, *aduyon* or *alluyon*. On the planting day, my parents would prepare food for everyone and native delicacy snacks to be shared

to all those who came to help. For a small rice field like what my parents owned, manual rice planting usually took a day or two to finish rice planting using the aduyon. The form of labour exchange vary, the *atang* means those who came to help during planting would also come at harvest time and be paid the agreed number of cans or bundles of rice. The others would stick to the *aduyon* or sometimes called *amoyo*. When it was time for the neighbours to plant their rice field, my parents and my older brothers and sister would also go to help them as they did during our time of planting. The planting days were filled with laughters with the sharing of stories and jokes, and the fast movement of everyone makes the work lighter and easier to finish.

As a child, I participated in the *aduyon* and *amoyo* and always ended up getting more than what I had worked for. Rice field owners generally reward children's patience to work with the adults for a day with additional bundle of rice to bring home at harvest time. I was always happy with the additional rice bundles I received. At home, we would dry the harvested rice and pound it ready for cooking. Pounding rice and filling the *bagasan* (rice container) were the tasks of the children when they are left at home during the day. At times though when the family was busy with farm work during planting and harvesting time, everyone needed to go to the farm and the pounding of rice was done in the early evenings before going to bed or early morning at dawn so that the family would have something to cook for the day.

Helping in farm works and home chores were not only the hardship that I and and my siblings experienced. In going to school, we had to carry food stuff (comprising rice, camote and vegetables) and other things we needed for the week in

school. We stayed at the school dormitory during the week and went home during the weekends to help our parents in their farm work. During school breaks and vacation, I helped my mother sell some of our *oma* produce to the market at Philex Mines or in the lowland markets of Pozorubbio or Rosario. I carried about 150 pieces of unripe *kantong* bananas on most trips. The travel to and from the market was about five to six hours hiking each way. The most difficult part was to start from home carrying the load. I always wished we would reach the market soon to get rid of the heavy load we had on our backs in a strap basket called *kayabang*. I looked forward to coming back home as it was easier and fun just running down the trails with a lighter load.

When I reached my teenage years, my mother never tired of sharing her stories, reminding us to observe culturally- appropriate attitude, behaviour and communication, maintaining simple lifestyle, especially in going to the city and other places outside the village. My father on the other hand was strict and viewed that girl children had lesser contribution to the family. He did not approve of us girl children moving away from home to pursue high school and college because in his view,education was of no use to women as they end up staying at home, taking care of children after getting married. Despite the disapproval of my father however, I was able to continue high school at Philex Mines with the help of Uncle Tony, one of our village officials who recommended me for a scholarship grant.

In my first months at the private Catholic high school, I found myself very different from my schoolmates. I had few set of clothes and they had many. Their food in school was different from my simple rice and vegetables. At that time, I only spoke my *Ibaloy and Kalanguya* dialects and my classmates spoke mostly *Ilocano*

and *Tagalog*. I often received scoldings from my teachers on my first year because I did not know how to speak *Tagalog*. My classmates' parents visited them in school and attended parents meetings while my parents could not visit me because they were busy with their work back in the village.

In the course of studying and living at the mining area, I came to know more about the people who worked at the site. I came to know that Philex Mines was not only a market place as I earlier knew but also where many people work. Some workers were Igorots like me and the rest of the employees were from the 'lowlands' and other places outside my province. There were two kinds of workers in the mining company: those who are called *staff* who stayed at the central area, the *main camp*— the company provides them exclusive houses together with their families; and ordinary labourers called *miners* or *mineros* who live in bunkhouses built by the company outside the main camp area. The *mineros* continually dig deep into the ground to find gold and copper minerals. Most of the *mineros* seemed to have lightly accepted the reality that once they got inside the mine tunnels, there was the possibility of not coming back to the surface ground alive after eight hours of digging gold and silver minerals underground. Despite the hardship, most people in the mines found life easier and more comfortable than the life they had in their home provinces because Philex gave them better privileges and bonuses. It seemed that no one ever raised any concern with the ill effects of mining. In the 1990s, the continuous digging underground resulted to the waning of water supply in most of the outlying *sitios* of Philex Mining Company and one of the affected areas was my village. The company's response to the situation was to bring 'development' to the people by maintaining road access from the mines to the villages.

Community visits and catechism resulted in the conversion to Catholicism of many members of the village. I was baptised as a result of the first catechism done in my village. Part of the company's program was also to sponsor children from the outlying *sitios* to study at the mining company's private Catholic school. Technically, only people with family working for the mining company were able to study at the Catholic high school. Luckily with the scholarship however, I was allowed to stay and study at the mining vicinity with a cousin (who was a mining employee) who served as my guardian. Back in the village, many people were happy that finally we had road access to the town centre and it made easier to transport and sell farm products. Many of us looked up to Philex Mines as a responsible mining company.

After finishing high school, I was lucky once again to have my godmother convince my father to let me pursue college education. I moved to Baguio City and from that time, I had lesser opportunities to help my parents in their farm work. I should have been happy that I lived in the city and enjoyed its freedom, but did not because I had to work to support my other needs. I finished college with the help of another scholarship and by working as a food handler in a company run by Catholic nuns. While studying, I really had no specific goals in mind. I just knew that I wanted to finish college and show my father that women like me can do something besides getting married and staying at home to take care of children.

In the same year after finishing my Bachelor's Degree in teaching, I was hired as a classroom teacher in another ethnic Province, Ifugao. While in Ifugao, I envied how the people loved their culture and language. I was an 'outsider' and they used their language most of the time to speak with me. They did not 'adjust' to me (as most people would do); rather, I had to adjust to their culture. Within two years I

was able to speak in *Tuwali*, their local language. I was probably challenged by the love of culture shown by the Ifugaos so I wanted to go back to my own hometown. Summer break in 1997, I went back to Baguio to look for job. Accidentally, I 'bumped into' an old acquaintance who shared about a job opening at their office for a community worker. I went to the office for the interview but I was unsuccessful in getting the job. Instead, I was offered an option to start as a volunteer if I wanted to know more about community development work. I accepted to be a volunteer for two months. The manager thought that the volunteer period could serve as 'space' for me to reflect if I really wanted a career change. I was warned however that community development work is different from teaching and that I should make sure that I made the right decision. I was finally hired after the volunteer period but again was not given a program position until I completed and was evaluated after my first six months of community immersion where I was encouraged to live with the people, observed the program implementation the other staff were doing and reflected on my experiences.

The volunteer period could be viewed as a waste of time and resources but it helped me understand the world of community development and the difference in its approaches to that of classroom teaching. The experience made me learn more about my own community and its culture. The rest of my story is about my continuing search for my own space in this world. Seven years later, I still continued working in the community development field. I tried going back to classroom teaching but the work became less fulfilling for me. I then decided to pursue my Master's degree in community development. I wanted to work for my community and for my fellow Igorot people.

Going back to my village after many years of living in the city, I observed the many changes in the community. The access roads were improved (though still rugged), public transport (though limited) are now available to bring people and farm produce and other products to and from the market in Baguio City and in the lowlands ('better than nothing' the people say). Irrigation system and a church were also built through the help of the mining company and different government agencies. On the other hand, some environmental concerns began to be seen. Further erosion, sinking of the ground and lessened water supply and damaged ancestral lands are visible results of the mining operation. Some village members whose lands were affected were able to negotiate for compensation from the mining company; others however, were not able to fight for their land and ancestral rights. In a general sense, the community continue to hope that with development programs occurring in our village, soon we will have electricity that will allow us to have household amenities smilar to what the people who live in the city have; better roads and transport system, better school, health services, facilities and improvements in the use of appropriate farming technologies. Many young people now move out of the village to pursue high school and college education in the city. Parents have become more supportive and are working hard to cover the financial requirements of their children's education. It is the parents' hope that their children will be able to have a better life in the future than what they can give them today.

Because of today's 'requirements' for economic survival, the people's priorities in the village continue to change. Most villagers are now more focused on finding ways to earn cash to support the family's needs.Many aspire to experience the modern city life and acquire amenities for urban living. As a result, cultural

activities and rituals have diminished. After many years of living in the city, I wish I could convince people in my community that village life is the most sustainable way to live; that the village cultural values are the foundation of being an Igorot but the reality is that people have their own different paths in moving towards change. Though it may be considered overly romanticised and 'old fashioned', I continue to keep my wish for Igorot development: a community moving towards change and yet grounded in its cultural values.

Given my circumstances and background; coming from a Third World country from an Indigenous, non-native English speaker, non-academic background, the trail leading to this research degree has been a long, rocky road full of memorable stumbles and triumphs, especially in trying to study and fulfil the requirements of Western academic standards. I have, however, persevered as I did in my childhood trips to the market. I kept on track hoping this work could be a way (even the smallest possible way) for me to share my Igorot culture and story.

The 'pathway' leading to the research questions

In the course of the eight years of working with communities and agencies on various projects, my task as a community organiser was to fulfil the program plan of action and timeframes approved by the funding agency. I had to make sure that the funding agency requirements like activity reports were completed regularly on time because the extent of project accomplishment was the basis for releasing the funding to my organisation. In several funded projects, tensions between completing funding requirements and working on the actual community situation were often experienced. Community workers had to justify unfulfilled time frame and tasks when scheduled

activities were not implemented based on the funding calendar that the socio-cultural realities in the communities were sometimes not taken into account (Sillitoe 2002).

The common examples of community activities that could affect the pace of project implementation are: seasonal economic activities like weeding and clearing the farms, land preparation, planting and harvesting season, community celebrations, ceremonies and rituals. These events affect the community members' participation in project activities. In order to get activities done, the strategy of workers is to 'hurry' the peoples' pace which is not necessarily helpful to the quality of project implementation goals.

My Masters Degree research on the childrearing beliefs and practices of women in the municipality of Buguias in the Province of Benguet sparked my interest in seeking to understand the concepts of community development. From here, I also began to develop an interest in researching my own culture and community. In my NGO work, especially during the periodic program evaluations and meetings with other staff, we always expressed a wish to have the means to negotiate and stand for the community's interest when dealing with funding agencies. Due to lack of research however, the limited literature is not enough to provide a clear picture of the current situation in Igorot communities which impact project implementation. The opportunity to complete this PhD enabled me to work on my research interest and topic, finally finding a means to write about the community situation and community development focusing on the cultural concepts and strategies.

TOPIC OF RESEARCH

Exploring the Igorot Indigenous Peoples' concepts of community development

Working with communities for almost ten years made me realise that the desired changes in a community can happen only when they are decided and acted upon by the community members themselves (Hickey & Mohan 2000). People sustain projects when they see that their efforts and ideas have been recognised and utilised. In Benguet where traditionally the elders hold knowledge, the elders began to appreciate the contribution of community workers who consult with them and especially the professionals who still recognise the elders' leadership. This led me to the desire to further investigate the meaning and application of community development for the Igorot people in the context of their Indigenous knowledge and culture; to seek existing initiatives and experiences in utilising Igorot Indigenous knowledge and practices in community development work; and to explore how such concepts operate alongside the mainstream community development strategies and practices. Hand-in-hand with this investigation was the need to explore which appropriate and respectful methodology would suit me as an Indigenous woman and a community worker doing research in my 'own' community. I have always kept in my mind the question thrown to me by a former NGO colleague before I left to take up my candidature in Australia. She said 'Are you going to the west to sell our culture?' This question became a source of reflection for me in rethinking my position throughout this PhD journey.

Looking back, I had a combination of challenging and rewarding experiences related to defining my position in community development work. My teaching background interfered at times, especially during the first two years of my work as an early childhood care program community organiser. There were instances where I used my position and influence as a 'teacher' to make people do things as required

by the program therefore, making the community feel that they needed to comply so they could be 'beneficiaries' of the program. I thought that I 'should teach' the community things I learned from the university. Such strategy made me frustrated when I did not get the support I needed from the people. As a result some leaders slowly withdrew their participation from the project which in the end slowed down the implementation of program and project activities. I received feedback from the elders and some leaders that they were 'not comfortable' with my approach in running the program. Individual consultation with my coordinator, staff development evaluation and reflection sessions gave me the opportunity to question my own community work strategy and practice. I was confronted with the question of: 'for whom and for whose development am I working?' Through the untiring coaching of colleagues and my coordinator who at the time acted as my mentor, I was able to learn from my mistakes. It took years for me to understand and appreciate that the skill to be 'with the people' is an important tool to work with the Igorots in Benguet. I realised that emphasising my profession and professional role in working with the people was not only limiting my project output into a mechanical one, but also slowly distancing me from my connection with the values and culture that I grew up with. This really intensified my desire to go back to learn more about my culture which I had 'set aside' for many years.

More specifically, this study has four aims:

Firstly, this study seeks to explore the Igorots' understanding and perception of their community and its development in the context of their culture and contemporary realities. Looking from the outside, an immediate impression could be made that the flow of globalisation and modernisation has not exempted Indigenous

communities like Benguet from being affected by modern technology, lifestyle and ways of life. From looking at the infrastructure and facilities in Benguet, an observer could conclude that the province is now 'modernised'. I was interested in exploring the understanding Igorots have of their community and how it should be developed. It was also important to have an understanding of how the people perceive their Igorot culture and identity in relation to how they operate in contemporary Filipino society. This research will argue that the interplay of colonial influences such as religion, education, and modern lifestyle with the traditional cultural concepts and practices opens up interesting complexities of a changing Igorot identity.

Secondly, an important area of this investigation is to explore the cultural concepts and practices the Igorots find relevant and helpful for them in living with and finding their 'space' in modern society. The Igorots are undeniably part of the current global community (Mc Kay 2008; IGO 2010). This study aims to explore whether the Igorots have traditional practices or concepts that they find useful as tools to help them in their quest to live as part of the current society's 'procedures' and 'requirements' for living.

It is widely observed that most communities in Benguet are recipients of funded community projects and programs being implemented by government agencies, NGOs, churches and private organisations. The third aim of this study is to investigate how the identified cultural concepts and strategies were utilised in the implementation of community development projects. This study will search for stories from organisations and community groups, their experiences, issues, challenges and learning in the course of implementing community projects employing Igorot traditional concepts. This study also wanted to explore possibilities

for utilising such cultural concepts to inform mainstream community development work in Benguet. This third aim of the study came about as a result of expressed frustrations among community workers during program evaluations in my NGO work where community projects that have been implemented in Benguet both from foreign and local funding did not succeed and were not sustained by communities. Thus a large part of the motivation for exploring the use of traditional cultural concepts and practices was the desire to find out appropriate approaches for helping to make community programs and projects sustainable, and what is needed in order for empowering outcomes for the community to be achieved.

Equally important in seeking the research questions of this study, I also endeavoured to employ a research methodology that maintained respect and utilised the peoples' knowledge and ways of gaining wisdom which is the fourth aim of this study. The activity and idea of academic research are 'alien' activity for most people in the Igorot community; many have not had formal schooling. However, I stayed with my position that it was in the choice of culturally appropriate research methodology (given that I am 'one of them') that I would be able to collaborate with the research participants in the community (regardless of educational background). A culturally appropriate methodology has enabled me to give voice to ' Igorot knowledge ways' to inform my academic research process.

Given that my research was with a community whose people have developed a distinct knowledge system over the years, I endeavoured to give voice to Igorot 'knowledge ways' in the academic research process with the use of Indigenous research methodology and methods to underpin my investigation despite the fact that

Indigenous methodologies can sometimes be seen as controversial alongside Western academic research paradigms (Agrawal 2004; Kovach 2005; Royal 2002).

'THE FLOW'

Capturing the Igorots' community development concepts and practices

This thesis aims to explore the community development concepts of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples, in Benguet Phillipines, and is organised as follows:

Chapter One explores the main bodies of literature relevant to this study. The intention is to locate the reader in the current discourse of development in relation to Indigenous Peoples' communities by beginning with the history of Indigenous Peoples' experience of development in the European *Age of Discovery* and colonial expansion between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. Authors claim that this era planted the 'seeds' of historical discrimination and oppression of Indigenous populations. The chapter then progresses to explore the range of development theories including Modernisation, Dependency and World Systems Theories, as well as liberal and postcolonial and post-development perspectives, in relation to Indigenous Peoples' participation in mainstream development. To further situate the reader in relation to the setting of this study, the chapter concludes by presenting the colonisation experience of the Philippines and the Igorot Indigenous Peoples of the Province of Benguet.

Chapter Two describes the processes involved in researching Igorot Indigenous Peoples' community as applied in this study. The chapter aims to situate Indigenous research methodologies with constructivist theoretical perspectives and

qualitative research, including critical ethnography and 'decolonising' research methodologies. Drawing from Indigenous scholars' work, specifically Karen Martin's 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing' Indigenous research framework, the chapter elaborates on the deconstruction of 'western' research methodologies through the utilisation of Igorot Indigenous 'ways of knowing' in *pansukael* and *pansipot* research methods.

The six months period of fieldwork began with a translated informal interview guide and questionnaire that gradually shifted to Indigenous methods of gathering and sharing information from research participants in the Igorot context. The data gathering process from there involved staying in remote communities, participating in family activities such as home and farm work, and Peoples Organisation (PO) meetings, training and seminars. The informal conversations (*inpakiistorya and inpakitabtaval*), story sharing, group interactions and discussions and group reflections (*inpan-oolnong*) provided the picture of how the Igorots view their community and how they are working for its development. Aside from the community groups, government and NGO workers also shared significant perspectives, experiences and learning in implementing community development programs and projects. Continuing reflection and evaluation of data gathering strategies through regular consultation with elders and partner organisations were also important part of the data gathering process.

The participants' stories that are subjected to analysis in Chapter Three were gathered from a series of story sharing in *inpakiistorya* and *inpakitabtabal* and *inpan-oolnong* during the fieldwork. Using the Tree of Life Analysis (*kiyew*), the chapter presents the understanding of the Igorots about community in what they call

ili and their interpretation of development, *pansigshan*. The chapter also discusses the realities, the 'changing times' that the Igorots are currently facing in their communities and how they are coping and adapting to such challenges. In response to the issues, the chapter ends with the community development work initiatives that have been started by community workers in selected areas of Benguet Province.

Putting together the data analysis and the literature explored for this study, Chapter Four elaborates on the salient findings of the study which pertains to the Igorot concepts of community development. First, the concept of community is explained covering significant themes such as traditional culture, Igorot identity and consciousness, and the realities surrounding the changing *ili* such as 'survival' living and diminished culture and traditions. Second, the chapter explores the ways in which Igorots adapt to and cope with the 'changed system' and how they use some of their traditional cultural values that have withstood the test of 'the changing times'. Third, this chapter addresses the understanding of development for Igorot communities as it is situated in the Philippine community development context. Lastly, the chapter expands on how Igorot traditional values inform community development program design and implementation in Benguet as practiced by Peoples Organisation (POs) and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs).

Communities in Benguet are deeply affected by the transformed relationships brought about by development and globalisation. This thesis will demonstrate that the future survival of these communities depends on the ability of the Igorot people to develop the resilience and appropriate adaptation skills to redefine and design development of their communities in their 'own' terms while utilising and collaborating modern approaches and strategies. This thesis also argues that

'development from within'—the Igorots utilising their own resources of cultural knowledge, values and practices—is a way to promote their 'ownership' of community programs and projects; thus imparting the sense of responsibility for the community to be 'in charge' of their own 'development'.

CHAPTER ONE

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN THE EVOLVING DEVELOPMENT

DISCOURSES

> To understand development as a discourse, one must look not at the elements of development but at the system of relations established among these elements. It is this system that allows the systematic creation of objects, concepts and strategies; it determines what can be thought and said. These relations—established between institutions, socio-economic processes, forms of knowledge, technological factors and so on—define the conditions under which objects, concepts, theories, and strategies can be incorporated into the discourse. In sum, the system of relations establishes a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what point of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules to be followed for this or that problem, theory, or object to emerge and be named, analysed, and eventually transformed into a policy or plan (Escobar 2002, p. 83).

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, development has become a complex and highly debated discourse. This review attempts to present a 'historical backdrop' for understanding Indigenous Peoples'[3] participation in the whole discourse and practice of development, particularly in the area of community development. This review presents development perspectives starting from the European *Age of Discovery* and colonial expansion through modernisation and its broad range of post-colonial, post-development and alternative development interpretations. The 'historical backdrop' surrounding the evolution of development perspectives is an essential background that informs my study on the community development concepts of the Igorot

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[3] Part of privileging 'voice of the marginalised', this study uses 'I' and 'P' in capital letters (Indigenous Peoples) as a general terminology referring to ethnic populations of the world (Batiste 2000).

Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines. The review will focus on the Philippines and in particular Igorot community development experiences.

DEVELOPMENT BEGINNINGS IN THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

> Shortly after World War I, more than six hundred million people, about two fifths of the earth's population, stood under colonial rule: 400 million in Asia, 120 million in Africa, 60 million in Oceania and 14 million in America (Girault, cited in Osterhammel 2005, p. 25).

Scholars and researchers define 'development' in different ways. Development is used interchangeably, by some, with 'growth' or 'progress' (Agbo 2003) while others view it as synonymous with social change, advancement and modernisation or simply a better life for everyone (Machlup 1970; Peet & Hartwick 2009; Sillitoe 2001). Much development discourse is shaped by modernist traditions of social science and political economy; resulting from the legacies of colonial expansion through shifts in global dependencies of the post-war era up to the current reorganisation of the world systems. The discourse of development has been the site of various positions over the distribution of economic power (Harvey 2005; Peet 2003; Stiglitz 2006). Its significance not only covers interpretation, as it has significant influence in constructing national and transnational institutions (Peet & Hartwick 2009).

The discourse of development relevant to the study of Indigenous Peoples such as the Igorots could possibly be traced back to the period of European navigation of the globe from the fifteenth up to the seventeenth centuries (Dirks 2002, Wolny 2005). During this time, European mariners launched exploratory voyages to almost all regions of the world with the aim for adventure, conquest and expansion of

territories, and establishment of trade routes (Arnold 2002; Love 2006; McCannon 2010; Wolny 2005). Lewis (1972) and Irwin (1994) argue that adventure and conquest as motivations for voyages date back even to pre-historic times.

Ferdinand Magellan, Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus are known to have led the biggest European explorations during the *Age of Discovery* (Love 2006; McCannon 2010; Mancall 2006). In 1492, Columbus' discovery of the New World sparked Spanish interest in the American mainland (after landing at the Bahamas which he mistakenly thought was the Indies Spice Islands) (Keis 2002). Da Gama reached India in 1498 (sailing around the Cape of Good Hope from Portugal) and established maritime trade between Europe and Asian countries. Portuguese sailor, Ferdinand Magellan (who sailed the seas for Spain) was believed to have 'discovered' the Marianas and the Philippines in 1521.

The *Age of Discovery* and exploration brought European control over a majority of the world (Newton 1932; Furtado & Miguel 1980; Love 2006, p. xvi; Williams & Field 1994). The people and nations they came in contact with were eventually incorporated into the European Empires (Wolny 2005, p. 5). Western history has documented the conquest of the Americas, Asia Pacific and Africa; with the greatest empires built during the time of colonisation being the French, Dutch, Spanish and British Empires (Love 2006; Pretini, Berchandsky, Page & Sonnenburg 2003; Wolny 2005). By the eighteenth century, Britain had established control over India; the Dutch over Indonesia and South Africa; the French over Indo China (now known as Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and Thailand) (Love 2006; Wolny 2005, p. 6). The Age of European discovery not only resulted in colonial, economic and industrial expansion (accompanied by the rise of nation states), but was also part of the stimulus for the new age of scientific and intellectual inquiry; supporting the

Renaissance Movement and bridging the Middle Ages and Modernisation periods (Arnold 2002; Harley & Woodward 1992; Mancall 2006).

More recent writings explore how the literature on the *Age of Discovery* has evolved over the past one hundred years (Love 2006). Ronald Love in *Maritime exploration in the age of discovery, 1415-1880* claims that the literature started from a Eurocentric approach which he calls the 'seeds of the empire'; that is, Portuguese, Dutch, French and Spanish officials wrote to glorify the colonial ventures of their respective countries, which justified their empire building (Love 2006, p. xiii). Love believes that a shift in literature occurred after the Second World War when the interest in European expansion and exploration re-emerged. As a result of the broader understanding gained, historians and scholars started to write from a position of acknowledging the socio-cultural, economic, religious and political realities, experiences and situations involved in the European interaction with the societies of Asia, the Americas, Africa, the Pacific and Oceania. This transformation in literature eventually led to scholars presenting perspectives from non-Western and non-European experiences (Love 2006, p. xiv). This included contemporary scholars who began presenting the voice of 'the other' such as Indigenous Peoples. From the Indigenous perspective, European navigation and territorial expansion is considered to be the greatest aggression in their history of existence (Batiste 2000; Love 2006, p. xviii; Rigney 1997; Tuhiwai Smith 1999).

The Age of Discovery and Indigenous Peoples

The claim that the Western Hemisphere was discovered by European explorers was associated with the assumption of authority, control and rule over the lands and territories where they first arrived (called the *Doctrine of Discovery*). This

doctrine and the non-recognition and extermination of native populations who occupied the 'discovered' lands are hugely criticised by postcolonial and postmodern scholars (Dieffenbacher-Krall 2010; Eller 2009; p. 300). The *Doctrine of Discovery* is also considered to be the beginning of all the violations of Indigenous Peoples' human rights on a personal and collective level (Burger 1990; Frichner 2010; Newcomb 2010; Todorov 1984).

Terra Nullius saw Indigenous Peoples as 'less human'; barbaric, savage and pagans (Dieffenbacher-Krall 2010). This provided the legitimation for the colonising state to claim and to appropriate masses of land, territories and resources of Indigenous populations in the nations they dominated. According to Frichner (2010), the *Doctrine of Discovery* was also the tool used as a framework of dominance that resulted in centuries of the limitless extraction of resources from traditional Indigenous lands that further caused the continuing dispossession and impoverishment of Indigenous Peoples.

Studies on the colonisation of Indigenous Peoples which emerged after the 1980s question what is considered to be 'history's greatest lies' (Canduci 2009; Wier 2009) which remained 'covered up' for centuries (Maaka & Fleras 2005; Smith 1999)—the exploitation and oppression of the colonised populations. According to Miller:

> The Doctrine (*Doctrine of Discovery*) provided, under established international law that newly arrived Europeans immediately and automatically acquired property rights in native lands and gained governmental, political and commercial rights over the inhabitants without the knowledge [or] the consent of the Indigenous Peoples (2006, p. 1).

Scholars are in agreement with the claim that colonisation is a common experience among Indigenous populations (Fry 2009; Martin 2003; Rigney 1999). In the Age of European expansion [fifteenth to seventeenth centuries], Indigenous Peoples' traditional territories were appropriated in European colonial expansion (Burger 1990; Corpuz-Tauli 2001; Miller 2006). Colonisation resulted in a massive loss of traditional lands, oppression and genocide (Frechner 2010, Lyons 2010; World Conference Against Racism 2011; Smith 1999).

Prior to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations in 1948, Indigenous Peoples were represented in literature as primitive, backward and lacking in civilisation. Indigenous Peoples were named 'Indians', 'natives', 'primitives' or 'Aboriginal' (ILO 1990; Kipling 1899). They were also portrayed as living in unhealthy and unclean conditions with inadequate diet, hygiene, and clothing, an inferior standard of life and low living standards. This image placed them in a location 'outside' and 'before' the beginnings of Western civilisations. They were also considered 'ignorant' as indicated by their mythical conceptions (Romulo 1949). Overall, Indigenous Peoples have been viewed as lacking the initiative to pull their lives out from their backward state (Tennant 1994, p. 16). These generalisations were used to justify European colonisers' moves to destroy their traditional culture and traditional way of life and assimilate them into the modern world (Kipling 1889; Love 2006).

The first two waves of Indigenous Peoples'colonisation was that of the Americas and second, the colonisation of Africa and Asia. Miller (2006) who studied the conquest of the Americas, argues that there are ten elements used by the Europeans in the subjugation of Indigenous Peoples' lands justifying their claim to have 'first discovered' these lands. The elements include: actual occupancy and

current possession, pre-emption/European title, Indian title, tribal limited sovereign and commercial right, contiguity, *terra nullius*, Christianity, and civilisation resulting in the final element, conquest (Miller 2006, p.6-8).

Equally influential are the laws that legitimised colonisation and physical destruction of Indigenous Peoples and their lands (Newcomb 2010; Wolny 2005). UNESCO's *World Conference Against Racism* (2001) argues that the role of the Catholic Church in supporting colonisation of Indigenous People is founded in the *Papal Bull* issued by the Vatican in the fifteenth century. The *Romanus Pontifex* issued by Pope Nicholas V to King Alfonso V of Portugal in 1452 declared war against all non-Christian nations throughout the world; specifically sanctioning and promoting the conquest, colonisation, and exploitation of non-Christian tribes and their territories. The Catholic hierarchy not only set the stage for Europe to dominate the New World and Africa; it also encouraged conquest through the Church establishing Christian domination in conquered territories (Blackburn 1998; Davenport & Paullin 2004; Ehler 1988; Rotman 1996). Following Christopher Columbus' voyage in 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued the *Inter Caetera* to the King and Queen of Spain calling for the subjugation of the native inhabitants and their territories, giving Spain and Portugal rights to divide the newly acquired territories, later formalised through the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 (Legarda Jr. 1999, p. 11). *The World Conference Against Racism* (2001) claims that the Papal Bulls have never been revoked despite the call of Indigenous Peoples' representatives and Human Rights activists to do so.

The *Age of Discovery* paved the way for Europe to remake the world 'in its own image' for the following 500 years (from the 1600's onwards) through industrialisation, urbanisation, economic and scientific advancements, and

discoveries (Osterhammel & Frisch 1997, p. 49-60). It was assumed that all societies should share this goal of modernisation. Particularly for Indigenous Peoples, civilising missions were launched to 'convert' them to the 'modern man's way' of life. Missionaries were deployed into Indigenous communities to convert the 'barbaric ways' of the natives to the 'civilised' way of life (Devens 1992; Ferro 1997; Tracey 1845). It was also through modernisation that Indigenous leaders were selected to be trained in the 'white man's ways' through their formal education (Agbo 2005; Dos Santos 1973). Because Indigenous Peoples' culture and traditions were interpreted as the main obstacle to their leaving behind their primitive ways, Indigenous populations were introduced to—and accepted—Christianity (Kipling 1899). The civilising missions then went further building missionary schools and stations in Indigenous communities (Medina 2004).

Colonisation and territorial expansion

> Europe is literally the creation of the Third World. (Frantz Fanon, cited in Dirks 1992, p. 1)

Colonisation and colonialism are synonymous then, with the European Age of Expansion and Discovery. This association has been interpreted and debated in various ways by historians, sociologists, political scientists and others (Page 2003, p. xxi). Some interpretations celebrate Europe's control and influence over a large part of the globe; while on the other side is a criticism of Europe's territorial expansion as the exploitation, oppression and subjugation of weaker nations. Wolny (2005, pp. 5-6) in *Colonialism: A Primary Source Analysis* defines 'colonialism' (from the word 'colony') as meaning 'a group of people living in a territory are being governed by a superior state'; and that 'the coloniser exerts power over less powerful people and,

the coloniser takes more from the colony than they give in return'. In the same way, other scholars argue that colonisation was the tool used by Europe in the imposition of its development perspectives and systems on their claimed territories (Ferro 1974; Miller 2006; Osterhammel & Frisch 1997). Postcolonial scholars claim that 'Eurocentric perspectives' have made Europe the focal point of history and that the 'European discoverers' claimed to have brought the noble mission of modernisation and civilisation to many nations (Ferro 1984 ; Nabben 2010; Osterhammel & Frisch 1997; Sillitoe 2001).

Colonisation as a result of the European *Age of Discovery* and territorial expansion assumed that the way forward for human civilisation was to develop economically and technologically (Andersen & Taylor 2007). After the Renaissance, the Reformation, and during the Industrial Revolution, scholars and philosophers (Jean-Baptiste Say 1803; John Stuart Mill 1819; and Auguste Comte 1842) developed theories to explain how industrialism, capitalism, secularisation, and the nation state were interconnected to create positive social changes and economic prosperity.

In the twentieth century, the rise of communism, the post Second World War aim to rehabilitate and solve poverty issues. The birth of nation states wanting their independence (decolonisation), and the increasing unrest in some countries that threatened capitalism gave rise to modernisation theory (Baily 2004). At this point, the global stratification (Andersen & Taylor 2007, pp. 252-254) of society became more apparent and scholars endeavored to explain why some societies had moved forward (in resemblance of industrial Europe) and others had not. Scholars started exploring ways to interpret European economic capitalism and Third World

underdevelopment using the modernisation framework, one of the earliest discourses on development theory.

MAJOR DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Understanding the major development theories is an essential underpinning to establishing insight into the current realities of development in Igorot communities. In this way this section of the paper will explore the concept of development and outline the evolution of development theories from classic theories to those focused on Indigenous Peoples' rights.

Among recent ways of understanding the term 'development' view is that it is 'a social condition in which the needs of a nation's population are satisfied by the rational and sustainable use of natural resources and systems' (Reyes 2001, p.1). According to Giovanni Reyes, development should include access to organisations by social groups including basic services such as education, housing, health services, and nutrition, and that above all else, their cultures and traditions should be respected within the social framework of a particular country. For American economist Michael Todaro, development is:

> ...a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of absolute poverty. Development, in its essence, must represent the whole gamut of change by which an entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and toward a situation or condition of life regarded as materially and spiritually 'better'. (Todaro 1985, p. 85)

Life-sustenance, self-esteem and freedom according to Todaro are the three core values of development. The main influential twentieth century developments

have been Modernisation, Dependency, and World Systems theories. These theories, explained further in this section served as the foundations of interpretation of development interventions carried out in developing countries.

Classic development theories

Modernisation theory

According to Giovanni Reyes (2001, p.2) modernisation is a result of world historical events. The first one is the rise of the United States as a 'superpower' beginning with the implementation of President Truman's Marshall Plan to reconstruct war-torn Western Europe following World War II, (Kolodziej & Kanet 2008, p. 117; So 1991). The Marshall Plan paved the way for the US to become a world leader and remain influential in many aspects of decision making in almost every State of the world. The second major event that led to modernisation is the strengthening of a united communism when the former Soviet Union expanded its influence to Eastern Europe, China, Korea, Vietnam and Cuba. Drawing from Marxist ideas, communism offered 'a way out' for countries that were oppressed by western colonial rule. The birth of new nation-states was the third historical event that led to the modernisation of the weakening European colonial influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These new countries who gained their independence were in search of a 'model of development' they could 'emulate' to enhance their economic and political independence as young nations (Chirot 1993).

Modernisation theory emerged in the 1950s after the West had embraced modernity and became one of the most influential theoretical paradigms in the field of social science (Knobl 2003, p. 96). The concept has its beginnings in the classic evolutionary explanations of social change (Comte 1865; Giddens 1971, pp. 137-

138; Tipps 1973, pp. 200-201; Smith 2003, p. 44); and draws on the different interpretations of modernity as transformation (through industrial revolution) explored through the works of Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx and Max Weber (Newby 1991; Warren 1994). Modernisation motivated the interest of western scholars and social scientists to study Third World underdevelopment, which in turn suggested ways of developing traditional societies. For example, Bellah in 1957 proposed Christianisation of traditional societies as way to develop Third World countries. Rostow and Parson (1960) believed in democracy and economic system development, while American sociologist Alex Inkeless (1964) believed that exposure to western-based education, values and teachers were the means for Third World nations to be developed; Coleman and Smelser (1965) believed in the adoption of Western political systems, governance and models of citizenship.

Some of the most influential thinkers of the modernisation period were Seymour Martin Lipset in *Political Man* (1959; 1988); David McClelland in *The Achieving Society* (1961); Daniel Lerner in *The Passing of the Traditional Society* (1958, 1965); Walt Whitman Rostow in *The Stages of Economic Growth* (1971; 1960) and Neil J. Smelser in *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (1960, 1959). These authors along with W.A. Lewis & Talcott Parsons (1964) argued that development can be achieved by following the processes and strategies of development that were used by the western developed countries (Barbanti 2004; Sorensen 2001; Thompson 2001). Among the modernists, Rostow's *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto* (1958; 1960; 1990) was most influential in framing the modernisation of the Third World.

Rostow (1960) wrote that there are five stages of economic growth: (1) the traditional society; (2) preconditions of take-off; (3) the take-off; (4) the drive to

maturity; and, (5) the age of mass consumption. Rostow 'predicted' the economic futures of some countries following his proposed stages of development:

> ...the central fact of the future of world power is the accelerations of the beginnings of take-off on the southern half of the world: South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. In addition, key areas and Eastern Europe (notably Yugoslavia and Poland), and, of course China are hardening up, as their take-offs occur; and while they remain vulnerable to military conquest or occupation.... they have lost or are losing their old spongy character...
> …In short, looking ahead some sixty years, it can be said with confidence that the world will contain many new nations which have achieved maturity. They may not be rich in terms of consumption per head; they may not yet be prepared by the turn of the century to plunge into the age of mass consumption; but they will have the capacity to apply their resources to the full capabilities of (then) modern science and technology. (Rostow 1990, p. xv)

There are several assumptions implied by modernisation development theory. First, modernisation is a phased process as shown by Rostow's proposed stages of development. Second, modernisation is a homogenising process that is assumed to produce convergence among societies (Levy 1967, p. 207). Third, with US and Europe viewed as having unmatched economic prosperity and democratic stability (Tipps 1976, p. 14), modernisation leaned towards these models of development, known as the 'Europeanisation or Americanisation process' (Reyes 2001, pp. 65-77).

Thus scholars viewed modernisation as a global and irreversible process of social change in which traditional societies had to move towards modernity and industrialisation for them to eventually attain development (Knobl 2003, p. 96; Roberts & Hite 2000, p. 9). Modernisation thinking became the analytical framework for development where the Third World countries are assumed to be 'traditional' and Western countries are 'modern'. Being traditional, the cultural, institutional and

organisational features of poorer nations were considered roadblocks to the economic progress that the nation has to eventually overcome (Roberts & Hite 2000, p. 9).

Development during modernisation also assumed that industrialisation and urbanisation were the roads that could lead a country to progress (Sillitoe 2001; Peet, Hartwick & Hartwick 2009). Development was based on capital formation that came with technology, population and resources, monetary and fiscal policies, industrialisation, agricultural development, commerce, and trade (Agbo 2005). Experts and scholars and policy makers believed that through material advancement, social, cultural and political progress could be achieved; and that the provision of capital for investment was the tool for the advancement for poor countries (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Griffiths 1998). Added to capital investment, education on the values of modernity was also promoted (Escobar 2002, pp. 82-83) to solve what was viewed as development stagnation of Third World countries; making modernisation theory a universal 'prescription' for poverty and underdevelopment (Andersen & Taylor 2007; Harrison 1988; Kendall 2008; Slattery 2003).

In order to develop, those poor nations need to adopt Western values and a methodology of development based on general scientific studies (So 1991). According to Smelser and Coleman (1964), Third World countries could learn from modern society's structural differentiation and secularisation of political cultures to enhance their political system (Coleman 1964, p. 268). Structural differentiation is the clear definition of functions and political roles for national institutions; and the secularisation of political structure provides an 'ethos of equality' which increases the functional capacity of modern organisations (Smelser 1964, p. 268). According to modernisation theory, modern societies are more productive, children are better

educated, and the needy receive more welfare; thus, modernisation is an 'irreversible' 'inevitable' process that will eventually become a desirable goal for poor nations (Huntington 1976, pp. 30-31).

Dependency theory

Drawing inspiration from Marxist perspectives, dependency theory emerged in Latin America in the 1960s as a response to modernisation theories of development (Chase-Dunn 1975; Kendal 2008). Dependency theory, (the theorists are called *dependentistas*) was a voice from the Third World and argued that the cause of underdevelopment in Third World countries was the inequality between societies created by the long histories of colonialism (Geddes 2003, p. 14; Kegley 2008; Majewski & Gaimster 2009). Gundre Frank (1972), the main proponent of the theory is a strong believer that the poverty of Third World countries is a reflection of their historical dependence on capitalist countries. Frank argues that the colonial economic system made Third World countries become exporters of primary products to satisfy the raw material needs of the imperial powers (Kegley 2008).

Dependency theory refutes modernists' claim that the main obstacle to development in Third World nations is being traditional and not having the characteristics of the 'Western' capitalistic economies; and that all social history is explained as a gradual transition from one ideal type to another - from the traditional, underdeveloped society to the modern developed society (Angotti 1981, p. 126). A major construct of Dependency theory is the 'core-periphery' theory sometimes known as the 'metropolitan-satellite' model proposed by Gundre Frank (1969) which describes the impact of foreign investment in dependent societies (Smith 1996, p. 147). According to Angotti (1981), the metropolitan-satellite model, is the most

progressive feature of Dependency theory because it has helped direct attention to the role of imperialism in the oppression and underdevelopment of traditional societies (Angotti 1981, p. 126), encouraging periphery nations to pull away from the Western-produced, state oriented development strategies (Edelman & Haugerud 2005, p. 112).

Dependency theory however was criticised because of its failure to present the potentials for Third World countries to develop within international economic relations and its inability to answer whether external forces could possibly bring development to the periphery (Leys 2005, p. 112; Smith 1996, p. 155). Another criticism is that Dependency theory failed to provide an independent framework for development without some degree of dependency in poor countries (Fagerlind & Saha 1989; Agbo 2005). Despite all the criticisms however, it is argued that Dependency theory paved the way for contemporary critiques of global capitalism (Martinez-Vela 2001, p. 3).

World Systems theory

> The capitalist world economy has no single political cent[re]: it has been able to flourish precisely because [it] has had within its bounds not one but a multiplicity of political systems, which has given capitalists a freedom of manoeuvre that is structurally based and has made possible the constant expansion of the world-system. (Wallerstein 1974, p. 348)

In World Systems theory, Immanuel Wallerstein (1976), attempted to provide a sociological version of Dependency theory (Chirot & Hall 1982). Wallerstein's argument is that the world system is a social system relationship between nations which is determined by regions where they belong and the role they play in the world economic exchange. Drawing from Marxist and Dependency theories and the work Fernand Braudel of the Annales School (which influenced French and Latin

American sociology and historiography), Wallerstein's major propositions were the ideas of core, periphery, semi-periphery and external categories of nations (Wallenstein 1974 cited in Halsall 1997, p. 1). The core is composed of Western capitalist nations or those considered as 'developed' which benefit most from the capitalist world system. On the outer are the periphery regions that are characterised by a lack of strong central governments or are controlled by other states. Regions at the periphery export raw materials to the core and rely on coercive labour practices, showing that unequal trade relations exist between periphery and core. The semi-peripheries on the other hand, are areas represented as either core regions in decline or peripheries attempting to improve their relative position in the world economic system; they act as 'buffer zones' in the core-periphery economic relationships by their involvement as manufacturing 'sites' of the raw materials from the periphery for the ultimate consumption of core countries (Todaro 1985). Nations who choose to maintain their own economic systems and remain outside the modern world economy are considered 'external categories' (Wallenstein 1974 cited in Halshall 1997, p. 1).

World Systems theory is criticised for its economic focused units of analysis and theoretical explanations of social relations. According to scholars (Bradshaw & Wallace 1996; Petras 1981; Zhu, 2003) World Systems theory analysis could be described as 'elementary' (Petras 1981, p. 148) and 'out of touch of current realities' (Bradshaw & Wallace 1996, p. 51) because it seems to put total blame on the core countries for the poverty of Third World (periphery) nations, the exact opposite of modernisation theory putting blame on Third World countries for their own underdevelopment (Bradshaw & Wallace 1996, p. 51). Shannon (cited in Roberts & Hite 2000, p. 15) on the other hand argues that world systems theory tends to be too 'economistic' with the assumption that economy is the sole driving force of all

realms of the system; ignoring the impact of culture. Petras (1981), Pieterse (1988) and Zhu (2003) argue that the failure of World Systems theory is to provide a clear conceptual structure for social change and action. Scholars (Goldfrank 2000; Peet & Hartwick 2009) however recognise that World System theory's framework on the centre, semi-periphery and the periphery has provided a framework for comparative analyses of the whole system and provides a way of understanding regional development in a global context (Peet & Hartwick 2009, p. 175).

Liberal alternatives in development discourse

The American civil society movements after the mid 1900s, the growth in the fields of scientific inquiry such as sociology and anthropology and the continuing critiques and debates on the theories of development led to the decline of modernisation theory. However, it ignited interest among scholars to explore at a greater and deeper length the development dynamics within different societies. One of the alternatives sought were the liberal alternatives; that is the promotion of individual rights and freedoms which includes freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and free markets to promote development (Barkly 2004; Ramsay 1997, p. 1).

Rights-based approach to development

> People are the real wealth of nations. Indeed, the basic purpose of development is to enlarge human freedoms. The process of development can expand human capabilities by expanding the choices that people have to live full and creative lives. And people are both the beneficiaries of such development and the agents of the progress and change that bring it about. This process must benefit all individuals equitably and build on the participation of each of them. (HDR 2004, p. 127)

Liberalism has several contested versions and propositions but classical liberalism adheres to the principles of freedom, people's choice and participation (Suda & Musil 2000, p. 54). Liberal scholars believe that civil and political freedom entitles people to public self-expression and participation, allowing them to express their opinions and make decisions on things that affect their lives (Rose 2000; Sen 1999). Michael Doyle proposes keeping the world economy open and free in order to encourage the formation of liberal states where democracy through good governance is promoted, thus serving the needs of civil society (Suda & Musil 2000, p. 54). Drawing from the works of scholars Amartya Sen (1999), Doyal & Gough (1992), Finnis (1987), Nussbaum (1998), and Rawls (1993), the Human Development Indicators (HDI) were developed by the United Nations (UN) which broadened perspectives and understanding of development. The HDI covers not only the importance of economic growth as a means to human development but also includes social progress (greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services), efficiency (growth and productivity that benefits the poor women and marginalised groups), equity (for both economic growth and other human development), participation and freedom (empowerment, democratic governance, gender equality, civil and political rights, (cultural liberty, particularly for marginalised groups defined by urban-rural, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, physical/mental parameters), human security (security in daily life against such chronic threats as hunger and abrupt disruptions including joblessness, famine, conflict) and sustainability (for the ecological, economic and social concerns for future generations) (UNDP Human Development Report 2010).

Liberal thinking and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the nineteenth century has also broadly established the foundation of a new relationship

between the individual, the state and the global political order (Bobbo 1996; Sano 2000, pp. 736-7; Wilson 1997). Scholars claim that there are three phases of human rights: first, civil and political rights; second, economic, social, and cultural rights; and third, the so-called solidarity rights (i.e. right to development, environment, and to peace and self-determination) (Krause & Allan Rosas eds. 1995; Sano 2000, p. 737).

Civil society movements and activism, and the creation of the United Nations as an international institution to address international human rights issues have altered the representation of Indigenous Peoples (Tennant 1994). The recognition and promotion of Indigenous Peoples' Rights provided opportunities for Indigenous Populations to move towards their 'decolonisation' from decades of their 'generational oppression'. With the birth of international Human Rights, the colonisation of Indigenous populations received its criticisms and movements and scholarship emerged that were devoted to helping Indigenous Peoples 'rebuild' their culture that was destroyed and rejected by the European occupation of their ancestral territories (Tennant 1994).

The emergence of Indigenous Peoples rights

International civil rights movements and the development of human rights laws and principles led to the recognition of Indigenous Peoples Rights which scholars believe to have made a remarkable contribution in their fight for self-determination (Anaya 1996; Maaka & Fleras 2005; Niezen 2003; Tauli-Corpuz 2001).

The emergence of Indigenous Peoples rights began with the social reforms of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in the 1950s; then proceeded to the

creation of the UN's *Sub-Commission on the Prevention and Protection of Minorities*, the formation of a UN working group on Indigenous population issues and finally, the Indigenous Peoples' Rights draft up to its final approval and proclamation in the late 1980s (Hoppers 2002; Niezen 2003; Stanley 1983; Tennant 1994). The later adoption of Indigenous Peoples Rights by the UN in September 2007 emphasised institutional support for Indigenous Peoples' concerns particularly in two lines of its preamble:

> Emphasizing that the United Nations has an important and continuing role to play in promoting and protecting the rights of Indigenous Peoples…Believing that this Declaration is a further important step forward for the recognition, promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms of Indigenous Peoples and in the development of relevant activities of the United Nations system in this field. (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by General Assembly Resolution 61/295 on 13 September 2007)

The official use of the term Indigenous Peoples[4] is also a result of the recognition of Indigenous Peoples rights. It is increasingly used to broadly describe any ethnic group of people who inhabit a geographic region with which they have the earliest known historical connection, alongside more recent immigrants who have populated the region and who are greater in number. However, internationally-recognised institutions like the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation and the World Bank adapted a more formalised definition of 'Indigenous Peoples':

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity[5] with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that

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[4] According to UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, on an individual basis, an indigenous person is one who belongs to these indigenous populations through self-identification as indigenous (group consciousness) and is recognised and accepted by these populations as one of its members (acceptance by the group).

[5] 'This historical continuity may consist of the continuation, for an extended period reaching into the present of one or more of the following factors:
  a) Occupation of ancestral lands, or at least of part of them;
  b) Common ancestry with the original occupants of these lands;
  c) Culture in general, or in specific manifestations (such as religion, living under a tribal system, membership of an indigenous community, dress, means of livelihood, lifestyle, etc.);

developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by General Assembly Resolution 61/295 on 13 September 2007)

My study draws from these definitions but more specifically in referring to the Indigenous Peoples of the Philippines, I am using The Declaration of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA)[6] definition of Indigenous Peoples (IPs) and Indigenous Cultural Communities (ICCs) as adapted in the Philippines:

> A group of people or homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as an organi[s]ed community and communal bounded and defined territory, and who have, under claims of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed of and utili[s]ed such territories, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, or who have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of coloni[s]ation, non-[I]ndigenous religions and culture became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos. IPs/ICCs shall likewise includes peoples who are regarded as Indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, at the time of conquest or coloni[s]ing, or at the time inroads of non-Indigenous religions and cultures, or the establishment of present state boundaries, who retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, but who may have been displaced from their traditional domains or who may have resettled outside their ancestral domain. (IPRA Provision 1987).

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d) Language (whether used as the only language, as mother-tongue, as the habitual means of communication at home or in the family, or as the main, preferred, habitual, general or normal language);
e) Residence on certain parts of the country, or in certain regions of the world;
f) Other relevant factors.

[6] A printed copy of the Republic Act (RA) 8371 of the Third Regular Session Tenth Congress of the House of Congress of the Philippines, Metro Manila, 28 July 1987. RA 8371 is entitled *An Act to Recognize, Protect and Promote the Rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples, Creating a National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, Establishing Implementing Mechanisms, Appropriating Funds Therefore and Other Purpose.*

The United Nations General Assembly declared 1993 as the *International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples* and 1995 to 2004 as the *International Decade of World's Indigenous Peoples* (Tauli-Corpuz 2001). Both declarations provided the opportunity for Indigenous Peoples to 'unlock their silence' (Maaka & Fleras 2005, p. 7) through publicity of their issues to the global community while at the same time seeking cooperation and support for solving political, economic, social and cultural issues. As a result of the declarations and recognition of the Rights of World's Indigenous Peoples, Maaka and Fleras (2005, p. 8) sum up the steps that authorities in key institutions have taken so far:

a. Acknowledge[d] Indigenous Peoples as distinct minorities;

b. Improve[d] meaningful consultations in areas such as environment and human rights;

c. Accept[ed] the reality of Indigenous cultural differences; and,

d. Promote[d] Indigenous [Peoples] involvement in solving socio-economic problems.

Tennant (1994) in *The Human Rights Quarterly,* Indigenous leaders and Native American Faith Keeper of the Turtle Clan of the Onondaga Nation and elder Chief Oren Lyons (2007), recognise that as a result of the UN Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights, Indigenous Peoples' voices began to be given opportunities to be heard at the level of international institutions. For example Chief Lyons (2007), argues that the first participation of Indigenous Peoples in a consultation at the United Nations in 1977 was a remarkable moment. This according to Lyons was the first venue where representatives of Indigenous Peoples from many

parts of the world were able to air their concerns on nationhood, land rights, genocide and self-determination.

The recognition of their rights and self-determination for Indigenous Peoples has been a major area of debate in Indigenous studies in recent years (Yeh 2007; Cadena, Starn & Wenner-Gren 2007). This centres on the post-colonial development alternative of moving towards 'decolonisation from within'. Decolonisation, according to Maaka and Fleras (2005) means Indigenous Peoples are now slowly moving from being the 'victims' of colonisation to participating in society-building initiatives, being part of the mainstream but constantly negotiating, evaluating and redefining their own terms for self-determination rather than just living under conditions set by 'outsiders' (Frideres 1998; Maaka & Andersen 2006; Maaka & Fleras 2005; Niezen 2004).

Scholars who support Indigenous Rights (Corpuz-Tauli 2001; Denzin, Lincoln & Smith 2007; Higgins & Burchill 2005; Pillwax-Weber 1989) however, claim that it is not enough to speak about Indigenous Peoples' rights, rather, a more important task is for Indigenous Peoples to 'teach' the mainstream how to work with them. Gro Harlem Bruntland, Director General of the World Health Organization, emphasised the need for workers to learn from Indigenous Peoples in order to work effectively to solve Indigenous Peoples health issues:

> Indigenous [P]eoples teach us about the values that have permitted humankind to live on this planet for many thousands of years without desecrating it. They teach us about holistic approaches to health that seeks to strengthen the social networks of individuals and communities, while connecting them to the environment in which they live. And they teach us about the importance of a spiritual dimension of healing. (cited in Niezen 2004, p. 69)

Niezen, who authored a number of books on Indigenous Peoples strongly believes that at a collective level, Indigenous Peoples have the capacity to offer

'corrective measures to the environmental and social abuses of modernity and the global impacts of reckless industrialisation' (Niezen 2004, p. 70). Niezen is in agreement with scholars' (Frideres 1998; Maaka & Andersen 2006; Maaka & Fleras 2005; Niezen 2004) earlier proposition and argues that international social movements of Indigenous Peoples should not only be limited to claiming rights and identity to themselves and of their people; but also engaging themselves and their culture in the current lived realities and situation (Niezen 2004, p. 71).

Niezen cites the Sami Indigenous Peoples of Northern Europe as a model of a pro-active Indigenous activism. They have developed a bureaucratic and sophisticated way of asserting their identity with the support of liberal institutions and yet maintained their cultural boundaries by turning around the 'politics of shame' into assertiveness and pride of their culture (Niezen 2004, p. 72). The Samis, according to Niezen, have also endeavoured to make their expression of identity and culture globally available through computer technology and networking (Niezen 2004, p. 71).

With the influence of postcolonial and critical alternatives, the dominant historical white discourse in the academy in recent years is also slowly finding a balance of perspectives in decolonising methodologies (Martin 2003; Moreton-Robinson 2003; Smith 1999). Indigenous Peoples' studies, one of the fields that began questioning the validity of white history has also been growing for the past decades. This emerged with the works of Indigenous scholars (Batiste 2000; Brown & Strega 2005; Hau'ofa 1981; Rigney 1997; Smith 1999) from countries such as North America, Canada, Australia, Asia Pacific and New Zealand in the 1980s with the inspiration from fields of anthropology, sociology, feminist, race and legal studies.

The concepts of 'Indigenousness' and self-determination however, are surrounded by politics, continuing debates and challenges as Indigenous researchers come from different perspectives (Dirks 2002; Lyons 2010; Fleras & Maaka 2005, Wolf 1982). There are authors who reject colonisation, the *Age of Discovery* and European-created historical events as 'evils' causing the victimisation of Indigenous populations (Batiste 2000; Burger 1990; Smith 1999; Rigney 1999); and on the other hand, other scholars continue to explore paths on the realities of living in two worlds (Dirks 2002; Maaka & Fleras 2005; Denzin, Lincoln & Smith 2008). Both claims highlight a real challenge in research and in current Indigenous communities: that is, how to find an appropriate concept of development that would provide a means of overcoming various types of 'unfreedoms' and historical deprivations (Sen 2001, p. xii); while at the same time gaining economic, social and cultural progress in ways which are socially and ethically meaningful to the communities themselves (Peet & Hartwick 2009, p. 3).

Indigenous scholarship, despite it being a new field of inquiry seems to have a glimmer of hope for its advancement given the continuing evolution and expansion of development discourses after the modernisation era. Along with postmodernism and post-structuralism, post-colonialism shares a parallel argument questioning the validity of modernists' claims that the way to progress for Third World countries is to follow the pattern of Western societies (Roberts & Hite 2000, p. 18).

POST-COLONIAL DISCOURSE

On the term alone, scholars suggest that post-colonialism is problematic (Castle 2001, p. 508; Fry 2009) as it inherently infers that it is possible to produce a contrasting de-colonised, postcolonial knowledge of development (Fry 2009; Mc

Ewan 2001, p. 2). Post-colonialists claim that their concern is not so much on the shift from colonialism to the era after colonialism; rather it tends to focus more on the perspectives that criticise colonialism discourses from the point of view of culture (Radcliffe 1999, p. 84). Postcolonial or "Po Co" according to Hall (1996):

> …refers to a general process of decolonisation which, like colonisation itself, has marked the colonising societies as powerfully as it has colonised in different ways, has gained a great deal of currency in academic circles and exerted an important influence on the developing discipline of cultural studies. (Hall 1996, p. 58 cited in Weaver 2004, p. 2)

Some scholars who have contributed to postcolonial thought are Hommi Bhabha (1994), Frantz Fanon (1952, 1961), Albert Memmi (1965), Edward Said (1978), and Gayatri Spivak (1988). Fanon is considered to be one of the earliest writers associated with post-colonialism for his analysis of the nature of colonisation and colonised peoples (Fanon 1963). Said's *Orientalism* (1978) draws from Foucault's discourse on power/knowledge pointing to the oppositional possibilities and constant shifting in the positioning of knowledge/power in the colonised-coloniser relationships (Fry 2009, p. 1; Ransom cited in Haggis & Schech 2002, p. xvi). Said's argument is that the 'West' has always viewed oriental countries (particularly the Middle East) as its corresponding opposite (the 'Rest'). Orientalism basically points out the assumption in knowledge that is systematised through academic scholarship, that the 'West is superior to the Orient' (Haggis & Schech 2002, pp. xiv-xv). This assumed authority of the 'West' over the 'Oriental' nations was based not on military power but on academic knowledge; this binary positioning of the knowledge of the 'West' and the 'Rest' has also affected colonised peoples' representations and identity (Fry 2009; Haggis & Schech 2002).

While Said's Orientalism focused on the treatment of the 'Middle Eastern Other' by the 'West', Frantz Fanon's works focused on the study of race and the effects of racism in colonial and postcolonial contexts (Castle 2001, p. 3). *The Wretched of the Earth* is an analysis of the violence and national consciousness that inspired movements for national liberation (Fanon 1967, pp. 196-197) and in *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon recounted the impact of colonisation and imperialism on the subjugated peoples and argues for the importance of reclaiming 'Negro' as a self-identity (Fanon 1967).

Building on the works of Fanon and Said, Hommi Bhabha's (1994) 'theory of disavowal' has contributed greatly in the understanding of the racial politics of colonialism (Castle 2001, p. 3). Bhabha, criticised for his dense use of 'jargon', disagrees with Said's assumption that the coloniser always has the power/knowledge and the colonised stays powerless. Bhabha believes in the uncertainty and what he calls 'hybridity in the double consciousness' of both the coloniser and the colonised position (Bhabha 1994, p. 72; Fry 2009); and therefore confirms Foucault's idea that power and knowledge could refigure the terrains of domination and resistance (Ransom 1997).

Postcolonial scholars attempt to put 'otherness' into perspective in the midst of ongoing global development by exposing the complexities of this 'otherness' in terms of race, gender, the colonised and the marginalised in the hegemonic development scheme. Spivak's *Can the subaltern speak?*, a founding text of postcolonial theory describes the 'subaltern' as those at the bottom layers of the society who in some modes are excluded from markets, political-legal representation, and the possibility of full membership in dominant social strata. Spivak argues that resistance (from the 'subaltern') cannot be 'recognised and heard' unless validated

by dominant forms of knowledge and politics (Spivak 2005, p. xx). Spivak focuses on the cultural texts of those who are marginalised by Western culture (the new immigrant, the working class, women, and other postcolonial subjects).

With these continuing debates, post-development came about and brought to the academy the observation that the development discourse has reached a stage of 'standstill' interpretations (Batterbury & Fernando 2005).

POST- DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE

Arturo Escobar (drawing from the works of Foucault and Said), argues that development is a discourse of power and control. He speaks of the colonising mechanisms of development (Escobar 1992, p. 142) and the colonisation of reality (Escobar 1995, p. 5). Escobar believes that development and its interventions have always been and continue to be a paradigm of 'Western geopolitical imagination', a Western-dominated paradigm which continues to make the Third World the assimilated, subordinate, inferior 'other' of the 'West' (Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 4; Slater 1993, p. 421). Escobar's theoretical argument places him as one of the leading post-development theorists. Roberts and Hite's observation coincides with Escobar's arguments:

> Throughout the world, the unevenness of economic development and social change presents us with stark paradoxes. While these visual contrasts seem sometimes irreconcilable, they are just microcosms of inequality between two worlds that exist in our one planet: the so-called 'developed' and the 'underdeveloped worlds', the First World and the Third World, the poor and the rich nations. (Roberts & Hite 2000, p. 1)

Batterburry and Fernando (2005) expand on how Western institutions continue to dominate Third World nations. Firstly, Third World problems and their interventions are identified by the West which 'creates the field of the interventions

of power' (Batterbury and Fernando 2005, p. 3). Secondly, the professionalisation of development that happened after World War II led to the 'field of the control of knowledge' by western 'experts'. The Third World became a research subject and object (Rigney 1997) in academic programs, conferences and consultancy services that continually justify western-defined development (Batterburry & Fernando 2005, p. 3). Third, the institutionalisation of development meant that the treatment of 'treat' Third World problems remains a western knowledge and power controlled site and this binds the Third World to operate in certain norms and behaviours as 'designed' by the West (Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 3).

Post-development writers make a persuasive point as to what they see as the continuing operation of Western hegemony through development interventions. Aside from Escobar, Majid Rahnema writes of the colonising of the mind (Mendoza-Strobel 2001). In *Development Reader* (1997), Gustavo Esteva (1992, p. 6) states that development power historically has been a singular intentional force coming from the 'West'. Esteva's (1992) example is the United States, which from the post-war era has projected itself as a master who always wanted something more from the Third World.

Post-development was critiqued by Peets and Watts (1996) in their book, *Liberation Theology* and they argue that that the problem is not centred on development or modernisation, rather, it is more on capitalism (Bradbury & Fernando 2005, p. 5). Peet and Hartwick (1999) and Kiely (1999) argue that it is the effects of capitalism that have 'penetrated all corners of the globe' that has to be transformed. The critique recommends revolutionising social relations (which continue to sustain the capitalist discourse) through active intervention against capitalism (cited in Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 5).

In contrast, Tony Bebbington (2000) in *Reencountering Development* attempts to resolve the debate between postdevelopment and interpretations informed by the neoclassical economic approach. Bebbington recommends addressing economic problems such as livelihood and production, politics and power, and emphasise negotiation and accommodation as much as resistance (cited in Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 6). His proposition calls for a notion of development that is 'alternative, critical and practicable' (Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 6). Bebbington cites the example of peasant culture and livelihood in the Andes which showed symbols of failure of development interventions because of:

> …high levels of out-migration, increased consumption of western commodities, and imported knowledge and technologies have been accompanied by increased [I]ndigenous control of everything from municipal government, to a regional textile markets, to bus companies and assertive and more ethnically self-conscious social organisations. (Bebbington 2000 cited in Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 6)

Bebbington concludes that alternatives to capitalist landscapes can emerge from all sorts of 'development' activities, and that post-development, has not examined the real needs of peasant farmers. He claims that central to the implementation of development alternatives are churches, NGOs and the state (Batterbury & Fernando 2005, p. 6).

COMMUNITIES AND DEVELOPMENT

Anthony Bebbington and other development scholars observe that poststructural and neoliberal interpretations and models of development seem to have not captured the full extent of complexities of rural development (Bebbington 2000, p. 495). Despite experts' efforts to come up with coherent and definite framework,

strategies and models for development for the grassroots, critics claim that international development theory, practice and study continue to be faced with contemporary issues such as economic growth, good governance, globalisation, gender, security and the environment which arguably impact program goals and vision for social change (Eversole 2008; Lusthaus, Adrien & Perstinger 1999; Kingsbury et al. 2008). International development organisations such as World Bank, UNDP and CIDA over the past four decades have been in question for their failure to promote grassroots development and for creating inappropritae technologies (Worldbank, cited in Lusthaus, Adrien & Perstinger 1999, p.1). By the 1960s, scholars (Bleckley 2008, Eyben 2008; Pasteur 2004) began to recognise that international development theories and interventions have historically ignored input of local communities. The 'top-down' nature of approaches according to Bleckley is the reason why developing countries have failed to achieve sustainable development (2008, p. 21).   Increasing the 'power' of communities and all stakeholders to participate in the development process then became the subject of interest for writers and scholars (Alinsky 1997; Bassette 2004; Eversole 2008; Earle & Simonelli 2000; Freire 1972; Morgan 1998; Worldbank 1997). As a result, the attempt to promote inclusive development began and scholars started introducing concepts such as participatory development, grassroots development, capacity development, community- driven development, bottom-up development; all terminologies aiming for 'people-centred' aids, program and project interventions (Bleckley 2008; Eyben 2008).

Lusthaus, Adrien & Perstinger (1999, pp.1) argue that in the 1980s the term 'Capacity Development' became the central purpose of technical cooperation among international aid organisations (UNDP 1996). Canadian International Development

Agency (CIDA) consultant Peter Morgan claims that Capacity Development subsumes other related terms such as institution building, institutional development, human resource development, development management/administration, institutional strengthening, organisational development, integrated rural and sustainable development (Morgan cited in Lusthaus, Adrien & Perstinger 1999, p. 2). Morgan narrows down the meaning of capacity development to the growth of formal organisational relationships and abilities indicated by 'changes in organisational behavior, values, skills and relationships that lead to the improved abilities of groups and organisations to carry out functions and achieve desired outcomes over time (Morgan 1997, p.iv)'. Morgan further (1997) classifies capacity development to either process or outcomes which could be grouped into four perspectives namely: organisational, institutional, systems, and participatory. Morgan further proproses the three 'Ps' as indicators for effective capacity development: product, performance and permanence. 'Product' refers to the actual capacities developed; 'performance' is the substantive program outcomes and 'permanence' which refers to the sustainability of the capacities produced (Morgan 1997, p.v).

The concept of 'participatory development' was popularised by development expert Guy Bessette, creating a model to standardise development communication which aims to guide development practitioners to communicate effectively program strategies and paradigms to stakeholders (Bessette 2004, p. 37). Bessette believes that for development to be participatory, it has to go through a cyclical, multi-faceted process which involves 'diagnosis, planning, intervention, experimentation and assessment which can occur at any stage of the program implementation' (cited in Beckley 2008, pp. 21-25). Bessette defines 'community participation' as 'facilitating the involvement of community groups, development and research agencies and other

stakeholders working with the community and decision makers' (Bessette 2004, p.1). The premise of community participation however was criticised by scholars (Cook & Kothari 2001, Hickey & Mohan 2004) to turn 'tyranical' when development agencies (considered to be 'the expert') has the 'upper hand' that somehow 'controls' the development efforts of the community (Bleckley 2008, p.6; Cleaver 2003; Cooke & Kothari 2001; Nikkhah & Ma'rof Redzuan 2009, p. 5).

'Community empowerment' is another development concept that has been consistently viewed in literature with the premise that people attain progress following a continuum from individual empowerment, small groups then to a wider group of action (community organisations to political actions)   (Laverack 2001, p. 135). Drawing from the works of Jackson, Mitchell & Wright (1989), Labonte (1990), Rissell (1994), Laverack claims that community empowerment is the concept that is consistently shared by scholars. Laverack further proposes four operational domains of community empowerment namely: participation, leadership, organisational structures and problem assessment; sharing overlapping concepts (community participation, community competence, community empowerment & community capacity) with other scholars (Bessette 2004; Eng & Parker 1994; Goodman et al. 1998; Rifkin 1988; Shrimpton 1995) (Laverack 2001, p. 136).

Grassroots and 'bottom-up development' is defined by researchers as helping groups to move from powerlessness and isolation into self-help and mobilisation by taking actions that create and strengthen self-awareness (Nikkhah & Redzuan 2009, p. 5) ; it is when ordinary people are involved in the decisions affecting their lives, (Caroll 1992, p. xi; IDS 2010). Authors (Atampugre 1997; Caroll 1992; Edwards & Hulme 1992) and international development organisations (ADB, EU, UNDP, World Bank) have 'discovered' that Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) serve

as important link and intermediaries to grassroots development for the since the 1990s (Carroll 1992, p.xi). Literature shows that between the 1970s and 1990s NGOs have increased involvement in international development stage that they now serve as channels of funding for international aid and programs (Atampugre 1997, Brown & Fox 1998). NGOs however are being questioned on their impact on the grassroots communities on their authenticity as representatives of the grassroots and whether they are able to bridge culture and power differences between 'Washington lobbyists and the distant villagers' (Carroll 1992, p. 2; Fox & Brown 1998, p.3).

International development and foreign aid organisations have recently launched approaches and strategies lessons learned from successful grassroots programs; as well as from the challenges and issues met by these organisations in creating sustainable impact, national ownership and appropriate technologies (World Bank 1998; World Bank 2011). The initiatives consist of new frameworks, poverty alleviation goals, debt reduction, and promoting more participatory, inclusive, transparent and results-oriented development efforts. Community Driven Development (CDD) aims to give voice to and empower community groups to control decisions and resources which affect their lives. These programs provide opportunites for communities, local government, NGOs and other stakeholders to directly take charge in the management and control of resources and investment decisions with the use of participatory decision-making and citizen monitoring mechanisms. Greater civil society participation is also provided through public sector policy and institutional reform, participatory budgeting and decentralisation. Programs designed within a CDD framework represent about ten percent of the World Bank's yearly budget (Worldbank 2011). The Institute Development Studies scholars (Chambers et al. 2001; Hinton & Groves 2004) stress the aim of working in

partnership, building ownership and improving transparency and accountability in the new development approaches and strategies. Such aims imply having a more nuanced understanding of local policy and institutional contexts (Hinton & Groves 2004; Eyben 2004). Amidst scholars' and development practitioners' continuing attempts to unpack the complexities involve in international community development, a fact remains that community development remains to be elusive goal (Eversole 2008).

The emergence of community development

> Development is communities willingly participating in the
> very process that lead to it. (Nora Quebral in Bessette 2004,
> p. viii)

Community Development (CD) has become a 'buzzword' (Sihlongonyane 2009) in the field of development work. Over the years, the academy and field workers have explored various contested objectives, aims and principles in trying to define 'community' and 'development'. For example, in the late 1960s alone, community development journals have recorded about 94 definitions of the term 'community' (Mayo 2008, p. 3). Scholars are in agreement that CD has acquired different meanings, theoretical grounding, and practical applications. The concept is not cohesive and unified but represents a repertoire of meanings which include many shades of CD that are not necessarily mutually compatible but reflect particular political and social practices in the contexts in which they occur (Sihlongonyane 2009, p. 136).

Community development as a field came about towards the end of the twentieth century up to the beginning of the twenty-first century to respond to the

'issues and problems of humankind and society' (Kenny 1999, p. 3). Communities identify their issues and needs and collectively act and are empowered to responsibly take control of their lives. Sillitoe (2002, p. 1) argues that community development practices of different agencies evolved from 'top-down' to 'grassroots participatory perspective'. For example, Smith (2006) describes the change in community work in the UK since the 90s: for the most part it remains a mixture of care, economic development and service delivery but stronger emphasis is now placed on community-based organisations and group functioning, and leading ownership of programs by the people. Kenny (1999) whose work focused more on community development work in Australian settings claims that the concept of community is broad in its scope and theoretical foundation. From the 1990s onwards, the emphasis was on consumer needs, rights and choices and the role of the growing number of community organisations to provide sites and resources that people can use to 'deal with their own issues in their own way' (Kenny 1999, p. 66).

Cook (1994, p. 5) characterised the community development approach as a holistic approach which is looking at the functional relationships not only of individuals, but of the whole community in relation to other communities and agencies. Cook argues that the concept of holism is also building on diversity, recognising that community members are diverse individuals and this shapes community work dynamics (Cook, 1994, p. 17).

Woodlock and Narayan (2000) argue that social capital 'is the ability of people to network together to act collectively for a common purpose' and is essential in working with communities. The sense of collectivism for a group of people is dependent on four perspectives of social capital and economic development which

are: the communitarian view, the networks view, the institutional view and the synergy view (Gilchrist 2009; Woodlock & Narayan 2000, pp. 225-249).

The elaboration and expansion of theories of community development according to Stacy Pigg (2002), resulted in the shift in development approaches from 'economic approach' to 'people-approach' from the 1970s that continues today (Stacy Pigg 2002, pp. 334-335). The relevance of village beliefs started to be recognised; catchphrases such as 'meeting people's needs' and 'putting people first' generated an interest in the community development practice. Culturally-appropriate development and Indigenous knowledge and research began to be carried out on the 'existing knowledge, attitudes and practices, and social feasibility began to be incorporated into program planning processes' (Escobar cited in Pigg 2002, p. 334).

Community participation, an 'option for the poor and the oppressed' as advocated by liberation theology, empowerment of the weak, and democracy are some of the principles and values of community development (Cohen 1985; Cook 1994; Botes & Rensburg 2000; Tandon 2008). The rise of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), social movements, and Community-based Organisations (CBOs) continually redefine community development theory and practice based on its varying aims ranging from reforms, advocacy, education, and mobilisation of the communities into the wide spectrum of social global movements (Korten 1987, New International 1992). The later civil and global movements aimed at the search for alternatives to capitalistic, neoliberal approaches and advocated for alternative sustainable futures for communities (Cook 1994; Ife & Tesoriero 2006).

Hustedde and Ganowicz (2010, p. 2) enumerate three limitations in building community development theories such as: the difficulty of sorting theories because they come from so many disciplines, the 'balkanization of theory' from academics

that only vaguely connects to the actual practice in the field, and the nature of community development professionals who often give more attention to 'get down to earth' rather than on theories. Hustedde & Ganowicz consider Giddens' structuration theory as being very important for practitioners of community development because of its claim that a community has the ability to influence macro and micro changes through cultural patterns and norms. With the varying definitions and opposing theories, approaches and strategies, Mayo (2008, p. 13) argues that defining community development as a field remains problematic.

Philippine community development

In the context of the Philippines, a strong civil society was instrumental in influencing politics and social life from the late 1960s to the mid 1980s. Community organising in the country is more popularly used to refer to community development work believed to be inspired by Saul Alinsky's (1971) radical community organisation and Paul Freire's popular education and 'conscientisation' approach (Gutierrez 1986). Community organising was employed to respond to the challenges of Philippine society, heightened by revolutions and resistance movements which dates back to the Spanish colonisation in the 1500s (Litton & Brainard 1999). One significant people's organising movement in the history of the country was the revolution (Edsa Revolution) organised against President Ferdinand Marcos' Martial Law rule from 1972 to the early 1980s. In the wake of the 1986, the 'Edsa People Power' movement was able to end Marcos dictatorship, creating significant political and social reforms in the Republic of the Philippines (Agriteam Canada Consulting Ltd. 2006).

This and other repressive situation led to a large number of activists and the formation of Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and organised the masses for different purposes: to wage armed and underground struggles against the regime, to implement projects to help communities and to lobby for sectoral reforms. As a result, cooperatives were formed, women's movements began, major organisations among the ranks of the peasants, fisher folks and Indigenous peoples were undertaken and other venues of development were explored, like programs on livelihood, gender equality, ecology, alternative legal assistance and support for migrant workers. The contribution of church-based programs to community organising is very notable. For example, the Basic Christian Communities of the Catholic Church became a means of socio-political work during the martial law days to advance the welfare of the masses (Community Organizers Multiversity, n.d).

'NGO-ing' became a phenomenon in the Philippines in the 1980s which continued to grow through the 1990s. According to Hillhorst (2003, p. 11), the Philippines is probably one of the most 'NGO dense' country in the world; with a range of organisations working on various program and agenda that covers community concerns such as socio-economic development, community organising, political campaigns and advocacy, arts and drama, research and publications. NGOs are concerned with the issues of poverty, human rights, justice, environment, gender, ethnicity, conflicts resolution and sectoral interests of fisher folk, urban poor, farmers, prostituted women, mineworkers and migrants. Some are highly specialised while others combine several of these interests and fields of work. In the 1990s, the once glorious image of NGOs declined as their effectiveness, grassroots connection, authenticity and accountability began to be questioned (Hillhorst 2003, p. 13). NGOs now, it is claimed, don't represent a unified development community but mirror the

full range of Philippine political interests and contradictions (Silliman & Noble 2002, p. 14; Hillhorst 2003, p. 12].

There are critiques that community development can sometimes become a form of colonialism where the staff, resources and technical expertise which come from outside dominate the education and consciousness of the people. Hickey and Mohan (2004) argue that 'participation' itself can become a tyrannical, hegemonic community development approach without the careful analysis of the complexities of power and control in a community (Gramsci 1971; Ledwith & Campling 1997, p. 5). In working with Indigenous communities, Maaka and Fleras (2005) emphasise that workers need a careful analysis and understanding of the complexities involved in the community dynamics that usually revolve around culture, identity, traditional values and modern life politics.

Indigenous Peoples participation in mainstream research and community development

> Research is one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realised. (Smith 1999, p. 7)

The birth of Indigenous knowledge in research and community development has been brought about by numerous debates on international development, postcolonial and post-structural ideas (Foucault 1926-1984; Borda 2005; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2006). Postcolonial studies and theories have brought into light the need to conduct inquiry into the complexities of the rapidly changing marginalised peoples.

Participatory action research (PAR) and Indigenous research methodologies share the aim for equal and open collaboration between the researcher and the

research community. In PAR, the research community are the 'owners' of the research rather than the researcher (Walter 2009, p. 2). Third World participatory research has strong links to the works of Paulo Freirie (1970-1972), Julius Nyerere (1978), Maria-Lisa Swantz (1986), and Orlando Fals Borda (2005) all of whom focus on groups who are often excluded or marginalised from dominant knowledge discourses (Hall 2005, p. 35).

The utilisation of Indigenous frameworks, paradigms and methods is a result of adaption and creative addition to existing qualitative research methodologies. The influence of postmodern, postcolonial and critical theories that work on theorising the nature of the colonised (Getty 2009) and privileging the voice of the 'other' (Smith & Riley 2009, p. 228; Anderson 2002), and the continuing evolution of qualitative research methodologies gave birth to Indigenous theorising (Sillitoe 2001). In New Zealand, Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999) was a pioneer in exploring the utilisation of their Indigenous community's wisdom and knowledge practices in conducting research in their own communities. Smith asserts decolonisation as an agenda for research, focusing on research that is carried out in Indigenous communities. Extending Foucault's theory of power, Smith argues that research is linked with European colonialism and imperialism that continues to marginalise the world's colonised peoples. In her work, Smith employs the strategy of 'researching back' where she uses postcolonial and anti-colonial literature to analyse colonialism. Meanwhile, other Indigenous scholars (Batiste 2001; Benham 2004; Danner 2004; Jimenez-Estrada 2005; Lavallee 2009; Nakata 2007; Martin 2003; Rigney 1999; Steinhauer 2002; Walker 2001; Wilson 2001) have begun the decolonisation of research and the privileging of Indigenous theorising by utilising

the 'ways of knowing' of their respective cultures in their research undertakings (Gegeo 2001; Martin 2003).

Indigenous research also has emerged as a result of a progression of theories in fields like Decoloni[s]ing anthropology (Harrison 1991), Developing Asian perspectives (Ho 2009) and Indigenous Psychology (Hwang 2004). In the Philippines, Enriquez began the process to Indigenise research approaches in the academy in the late 1970s (Pe Pua, 2000), also known as the decade of activism against Martial Law rule. This activism contributed to the growing number of social scientists who started to question the appropriateness or even the applicability of western models in Third World setting (Enriquez 1979). Enriquez argues that western research has been judgmental about Filipinos. Representations of Filipinos are either inaccurate or in a distorted form because they have been interpreted and analysed in the light of western theories that were not in tune with the realities and context of the culture of the people (Enriquez 1979, p. 211). Despite criticisms of its scientific validity and legitimacy, the advocates of Filipino Indigenous research frameworks and methods (Agrawal 1995; Enriquez 1992; Church, Katigbak & Pe Pua 2006), and Asian Perspectives and Psychology (Sinha 1986; Imada 1994; Hwang 2004; Ho 1998, p. 88; Ho 2009) claim that centring on the cultural context of a given community for research contributes to the 'generalisability' and 'applicability' of these methodologies (Ho 2009). Overall, Indigenous research methodology means researching, working, and looking through the 'window of the community's culture' (Caoili 1987).

As a result of their experiences and learning from working with Indigenous communities, researchers and scholars have started weaving in community development approaches in their academic work. Higgins and Burchill (2005), who

worked with the Indigenous Peoples of Australia, emphasise the need to understand the history of the colonisation of the community as this resonates their current realities. They also recommend that community workers must be armed with the skills to facilitate healing and handing back power to Indigenous populations. According to Burchil (cited in Burchil & Higgins 2005, p. 10):

> Community development practitioners arriving in Indigenous communities today must come armed with education, knowledge, patience, skills, cultural understanding, courage and respect. For change to take place within Indigenous communities, practitioners must not contribute to another generation of poverty, isolation and inequality. A positive Indigenous community development model must incorporate 'yarning up not down'. Yarning up relates to 'yarning for outcomes' rather than speaking down to Indigenous people. Yarning down is an indication that the outsider knows best or takes control of the outcomes for Indigenous people.

Other Indigenous scholars like Sherwood (1999) and Dodson (2002) call for an Indigenous community development model that requires understanding, commitment, collaboration, partnership and respect. According to Sherwood, community development for Indigenous Peoples is:

> Working with communities to assist their members to find plausible solutions to the problems they have identified... must be conducted in an environment that advocates full and active participation of all community members in order that we understand and acquire skills to develop culturally-appropriate programs/projects and services to our communities. (Sherwood cited in Burchill & Higgins 2005, p.9)

The academy has also began to recognise the utilisation of Indigenous knowledge and cultural systems in different fields of community work like health (Bhattacharyya 1995; Humphery 2000; Voyle 1999); ecology and agriculture (Allan 1965; Barker, Bell, Belshaw & Chambers 1979; Brokenshaw et al. 1980; Clark 1999; Howes & Richards 1985; Inglis 1993; Scoones and Thompson 1994); community

organising (Briggs 2005; Chino 2006; Florin 1990) and education (Dei 2008). However, as Indigenous knowledge systems are context-based, fluid, non-linear and relational (Brown & Strega 2005; Martin 2003), researchers and scholars continue to face the challenge of appropriate, authentic 'transposition' of Indigenous knowledge into 'western' science and practice (Briggs 2005, p. 101).

Focusing on Indigenous knowledge *per se* without considering its appropriate context could lead to what Briggs calls 'arte-factual' researching (Briggs 2005, p. 100). For example, in researching and working with Indigenous People's health in Australia, Humphery and Wearne (2000) argue that Indigenous health research has undergone critical and reflective work from 1973-1999. As a result, reforms have been made that involved shifting in institutional as well as local research practices in the attempt to come up with 'good' research processes that promote empowerment among Indigenous communities (Humphery & Wearne 2000, p. 30).

Before going further in looking at the development context of the Igorots in this study drawing from the various discourses discussed, I will proceed to look at the major events in the history of the Philippines that have greatly impacted its contemporary realities. The major part of it is the colonisation and the European 'discovery' of the archipelago and its people by European navigators.

DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

> March 16, 1521 when the Philippines was discovered by Magellan…
> All people were baptised under the church of Christ…
> And that's the beginning of our Catholic life…
> (lyrics from Yoyoy Villame's song *Magellan*)

Filipino novelty singer Yoyoy Villame in a humorous take on Filipino life describes in his song a historical event that seemingly has remained unquestioned by

many Filipinos: that the Philippines was 'discovered' by Portuguese voyager Ferdinand Magellan (Bio Pinoys 2008). Villame humorously paints the scene of Magellan making friends with the local chiefs of Mactan; then Magellan baptising everyone (Catholicism) despite him not understanding the language of the 'Waray-Waray man' (Waray is one of the ethnic groups of Cebu). The song continued on when Magellan met chief Lapu-Lapu[7] and his men resisted and began fighting with Magellan's men; the song finally ends with Magellan hit by Lapu-Lapu's spears and on his last breath ordering his men 'call the doctor very quick' (Villame 1972).

Though a Portuguese voyager, Magellan decided to work under the service of Spain and his expedition in the sixteenth century was meant to be a voyage to the Spice island of Moluccas, to establish trade with the people by the order of the King of Spain. It is believed that Magellan and his three ships (originally five) the *Trinidad*, *Victoria*, and the *Concepcion* sailed ten degrees too far north and consequently they landed on the island of Homonhon in Samar instead of Moluccas on 16th March 1521 (Legarda Jr. 1999, p. 12). Magellan and his men however were resisted by the chieftain of Mactan Island where he met his death on 25th April 1521 over a month after he first landed on the Philippine archipelago.

Historians claim that from the three voyages that followed Magellan's voyage was the *Loaisa* whose chronicler Andres de Urdaneta survived and returned to Spain in 1536. The *Laoisa* expedition was the last expedition sent by Spain to the Orient until the eighteenth century (Legarda Jr. 1999, p. 13). Historians argue that it was in 1543 when Roy Lopez de Villalobos led the expedition that named the Island of Samar and Leyte as Filipinas (believed to be earlier known as the island of Mai) in honour of the King of Spain. However, the European conquest of the Philippines did

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[7] Lapu-Lapu is known to be the first to resist the colonisation attempts of the Spaniards by fighting and finally killing Magellan in the Battle of Mactan on the Island of Sebu (Canlas 1999).

not occur until Miguel Lopez de Legazpi's expedition in 1564 (Legarda 1999, p.15). The arrival of Legazpi marked the beginning of the conquest of the Islands which lasted for almost four centuries. From here, Philippines was 'baptised' as a Christian nation in Asia (Brainard & Litton 1999).

Filipino struggles for independence and self-determination

Philippine historian San Juan (2004) claims that within the 377 years of Spanish occupation in the country, about two hundred revolts were organised in resistance to the Spanish occupation that finally reaped its hard efforts on 12th June 1898 by finally granting Philippine Independence and the establishment of the first Philippine Republic headed by General Emilio Aguinaldo. What the Filipinos thought of as 'independence' did not last due to the Spanish-American War that resulted in Spain losing and ceding control of the Philippines to the Americans through the Treaty of Paris in 1898 for the sum of 20 million US dollars (de Leon 2006). This information was not known to the Filipinos who thought at first that the Americans were their allies (to help liberate themselves from the Spanish colonisers) rather than their new colonisers.

The First Republic under Aguinaldo fought the war against the Americans that took three years before he was captured in Palanan, Isabela. It was believed that resistance movements still continued on in some parts of the country (San Juan 2002). From 1902, the American government started 'training' the Filipinos as a 'colonial country' (Taylor 1964) and the annexation of the Philippines became a subject of debate among statesmen in the US (Wolf 1961, 2006).

When the Second World War broke out in 1941, the Philippines became involved, as by that time, it was known to the world as a US colony. In historian Yu-

Jose's estimate, ten hours after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbour on 8th December 1941, the Japanese army launched raids in US territories. This left the Filipinos with a memory of the Japanese-American War as one of massive destruction and cruelty (Yu-Jose 1992, p. 2).

The defending American and Filipino forces fought against the Japanese for a year until they were forced to surrender at the Bataan Peninsula in 1942, where they marched for 105 kilometres to their prison camp. The march was known as the *Bataan Death March* and it took the lives of thousands of Filipino and American soldiers (de Leon 2005). United States General Douglas MacArthur fled the country but promised to return, while then President Manuel Quezon fled to the US—on the invitation of US President Theodore Roosevelt to establish a government in exile. The Japanese occupation resulted in an attempt to establish a Second Philippine Republic who appointed Filipino Jose P. Laurel as the President. However, this did not gain much popularity due to continued resistance from the remaining Philippine Army and the strong people's armies—known as the Guerilla and the HUKBALAHAP [8] (*Hukbong Bayan Laban sa mga Hapon*) movements. The resistance against the Japanese was eventually won with the return of General MacArthur who brought more 'help' from the US Army finally taking back control of the country in 1945. On 4th July 1946 after war reparations, the US finally granted independence to the Philippines (Altomonte 2008).

Colonisation 'aftermath'

Whether colonisation has left a positive legacy on the Philippines and the Filipino people remains debatable. It is considered that the Spaniards left the 'gift' of

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[8] Literally translated as "A People's Army Against Japan" (Entenberg 1946, p. 245). HUKBALAHAP is one of the peoples' movements believed to have made a remarkable contribution to the Filipino resistance against the Japanese rule in 1942.

Catholicism; while the Americans left democracy, Protestantism and the system of education (Canlas 2009; Constantino 1999; Zaide 2001). The short term Japanese occupation (1941-1945) is probably the reason why there is little or no mention of their impact on the Filipino people. There has not been an in-depth study conducted about the Japanese-Philippines relations during the Japanese occupation except on the experience of war and the cruelties of Japanese soldiers and the recent stories exposed by their comfort women (Yu-Jose 1992, p. 2; Henson 1995). Historians tend to emphasise that foreign legacies were important and that Filipinos are presented as seemingly 'indebted to the colonisers' (Abueva 1976). This phenomenon was explained by more recent authors as a result of 'colonisation of the mind' or simply put as 'colonial mentality' (Mendoza 2001; Mendoza-Strobel 2000).

Today, the Philippines remain one of the most impoverished nations in Asia and continues to struggle for good governance despite its regained independence (Javier & Medrana 2007, p. 3). A study on the comparison of building good governance in Cambodia and Philippines revealed that their intricate histories of foreign invasion, suppression of democracy, civil uprising, political conflicts, social unrest and corruption have greatly impacted the present socio-economic and political conditions of these countries. A recent Asian Development Bank (ADB) report paints a picture of the current socio-economic and political condition of the nation. In the view of the report, 'poor governance underlies most other critical constraints to growth and poverty reduction in the country' (ADB 2007, pp. 63-68):

> Poor conditions of infrastructure are a result of insufficient development spending and of poor governance, which causes leakages and improper appropriation of public funds. Similarly, poor governance hinders the pace of poverty reduction, as it reduces growth of incomes and productive employment opportunities. It is also a major contributing factor to inequalities in access to education, health,

infrastructure, and other productive assets, as well as to weaknesses of many poverty reduction programs.

Corruption undermines tax collection, political instability hinders investment and growth and reduces the tax base, and both contribute to the 'tightness of the fiscal space'. This study has highlighted the high cost of electricity and inadequacy of the road and transport system as critical constraints to growth. (ADB 2007, p. 68)

The report further lists inequitable access to development opportunities, especially education, health, infrastructure as productive assets, and inadequate social protection and social safety nets in issues facing the country. Consequently, these issues go back to governance concerns (ADB 2007, p. 68; Khan 2010). According to Balisacan & Hall (2006) in *Philippines Regional Development*, the current issues about poor governance in the Philippines could be understood better by understanding the impact of the colonisation experience of the Filipinos under three nations (Spain, US and Japan). The so-called 'colonial mentality' (Mendoza 2001; Mendoza-Estrobel 2000) has established a historical dependency relationship with colonising countries through the creation of the ruling elite over the years of colonisation (Brainard & Litton 1999; Constantino & Constantino 1999; David 2002; Goldsmith 1999).

According to authors (De Dios 2007; Gonzales 1998), the positioning of the local elites (which started during Spanish colonisation) was crucial in the creation of a centralised power which enabled the control of geographically and ethnically diverse groups. The Spanish regime started working with the *principalia*[9] to control the population starting at the lowest level called *barangays*[10] (de Dios 2007, p. 159). The *principalia* came to serve as intermediaries and cultural middlemen throughout

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[9]   The pre-existing local leaders and chieftains in the different islands of the Archipelago.
[10]   Smallest town unit of political leadership that existed in pre-colonial Philippines headed by Datus and local chieftains.

the colonial regime and the rest of the population of the archipelago. This group, who mostly are of 'admixed' Chinese and Spanish mestizos[11] later on formed the middle and the elite ruling class of the country from 'post-independence' until today (Corpuz 1965, p. 28). The creation of the ruling elite (as proposed by Dos Santos and Frank's Dependency Theory 1973) continue to impact not only the economy but also, the social, political and cultural relationships both internationally and within the Philippine Society (Wiber 1993).

Critical writers have begun questioning the Eurocentric presentation of Philippine history, by analysing the realities behind the acclaimed glories of the colonisers. One of the significant arguments is that Philippine history should be transformed, written and taught (especially in schools) from the Filipinos' perspective (Brainard & Litton 1999; Constantino 1999; Galang 1999; Piza 2002). For example, Brainard (1999, p. 3) admitted that only as an adult she learn the correct history behind the story taught to her in school that Magellan 'discovered' the country:

> Only as a grown up woman did I stop to think that Magellan had not 'discovered' the Philippines; people had lived in the archipelago for centuries before his three ships showed up to irrevocably change the lives of the people born there.

Filipino historian Teodoro Agoncillo (1958) is of the belief that the word 'discovery' might have been popularly used by the voyagers in their diaries but it is not necessarily the truth from the point of view of the people who lived in the archipelago for centuries before Magellan's fleet arrived. He suggests the reason why the 'discovery' has been accepted over time is the fact that it was the foreigners who first came up with written works about Philippine history (Canlas 1999, p .4). The

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[11] That is, a person of mixed Spanish and native Filipino ancestry (de Dios 2007, p. 161)

first Filipinos who occupied the archipelago are believed to have their oral history[12] (songs, riddles, poetry, proverbs, and myths) and a way of preserving that was by word of mouth, passing on their history from generation to generation. Canlas (1999), in *Philippine 2 Millennium History* argues that the first written literature about the Philippines was from the early traders and colonisers such as chroniclers and colonial and missionary officials during the American regime. Known writers about Philippines history were Italian chronicler Antonio Pigafetta[13], Magellan's chronicler (Canals 1999, p. 2) and Henry Otley Beyer[14], an American anthropologist with 60 years of academic ethnographic and anthropological research in the Philippines (Halili 2004, p. 5).

LOCATING THE IGOROTS IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY

> ...that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civili[s]e and Christiani[s]e them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow-men for whom Christ also died. (General James Rusling, Interview with President William McKinley, *The Christian Advocate* 22 January 1903, 17)

The Cordillera, a mountainous area in the Philippines, comprises five provinces and is home to around 1.2 million Indigenous Peoples from ethno-linguistic groups, which are collectively known as Igorots (Hilhorst 2001, Molintas 2004). The term Igorot has been a derogative since Spanish colonisation in the sixteenth century up to present times, (Gonzales 2006, Delias 1998). The 300 year colonisation of the Philippines by Spain as well as several decades under American rule has perpetuated the discrimination of the Igorots.

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[12] Much of the early Filipino's history were preserved through oral traditions handed down from generation to generation which includes songs(awit), riddles*(bugtong)*, proverbs (*salawikain*), myths, legends and poetry(Canlas 1999, p.1)

[13] Pigafetta is believed to have recorded detailed accounts of Magellan's first voyage around the world (1519-1522) (Lansdown 2006; Sarti 2004).

[14] He was also given the title Father of Philippine (s) Archaeology and Pre-history(Halili 2004, p. 5)

Official Philippine history and the Igorot history of colonisation show significant differences. Firstly, Christianity (specifically Catholicism) which has been argued to be the 'legacy' of Spanish colonisers is not so for the Igorots. Scholars argue that while it is true that the Spaniards were able to establish military commands and baptise a few Igorots in the process, the Christianisation of the Igorots as a population happened during the American occupation in the 1900s (Kipling 1899; Medina 2004; Scott 2006). The Spanish military control in the mountains however is believed to have brought 'development' such as the building of horse trails that provided better mobility for Igorot travellers, lowland soldiers and missionaries who baptised hundreds of Igorots. The Spanish soldiers introduced farm products like cacao, coffee, and citrus fruits in some areas in the highlands. It is also believed that Spaniards taught a few hundred Igorots how to read and write; and increased the power of few Igorot leaders (Scott 2006, p. 5).

According to Sy-Chuan (1958, p. 14) and Delias (1998), the Spanish colonisers were largely unable to penetrate the Mindanao area south of the Philippines and the mountainous hinterlands in the North (now known as the Cordillera region) because of the strong resistance from the different ethnic groups largely occupying the region. The interest in extracting Igorot gold however made a Spanish colonial official named Galvey determined to persist in establishing the politico military provinces of Abra and Benguet. Galvey is believed to have led military expeditions through Lepanto and Ifugao, but his efforts remained futile because he was met with strong resistance by the people (Altomonte 2008; Chuan Guy 1958; Longboan 2003; Scott 2006). This was shown by the Igorots' refusal to pay tax for the Tobacco Monopoly of the Spanish government.

The Filipino uprisings and revolution against the Spaniards in 1898 caused disorganisation and the destruction of the economic position of the Spaniards in the country resulting in Spanish missionaries leaving their mission stations in the mountains. Momentarily, the Igorots were at peace from outside intrusion. It didn't take long for Spain, through the Treaty of Paris to cede control of the Philippine archipelago to the American administration. Sy-Chuan Guy (1958) argues that the Americans followed the politico-military government established by the Spaniards in terms of geographic division. On the 23rd of November 1900, military control ended and Benguet was established as a province. Mountain Province (refer to appendix) was also established covering Ifugao, Nueva Vizcaya, Amburayan area and Bontoc. Apayao was also incorporated in the Mountain Province (Sy-Chuan Guy 1958, p. 1).

Scholars claim that US colonial rule established the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT) in 1901 to integrate ethnic groups into the policy of assimilation and law to promote business (Chaffee 1969). This means that they employed a specialised approach to get the ethnic populations to 'collaborate' in their 'civilising missions' (Bagamaspad & Hamada 1987). Unlike the time of the Spaniards where the Igorots were able to utilise physical resistance, scholars argue that the Americans conquered the Igorots through laws, religion and colonial education (Corpuz 1957). The Philippines Commission Act 253 of the Department of Interior established the Bureau of Ethnological Survey (BES) that conducted an ethnological survey and study on the Philippines including the different tribes and varying cultures of the hill people of Northern Luzon and the islands of Mindanao. In 1916, the BES was turned into BNCT to:

> …continue the work for advancement and liberty in favour of the regions inhabited by non-Christian Filipinos, to foster all adequate means and in a systematic, rapid and concrete manner the moral,

material, economic, social and political developments of the regions; ...and the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence and complete fusion of all Christian and non-Christian elements populating the provinces of the archipelago. (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid *et al* 1987, p. 192)

From the ethnological surveys, social scientists claimed that the cultural minorities of the Philippines had a problem of acculturation or assimilation into the majority culture. Academic experts mostly criticised the Muslims, the Igorots and other Indigenous groups as lacking sophistication in the manipulation of the legal-commercial culture, unlike the Chinese groups (San Juan 1999). Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawd *et al* (1987) claim the creation of the BNCT seemed to give special treatment to non-Christian tribes but seemingly deepened the differentiation between the 'uncivilised pagan' of the mountains and the 'civilised' Christians in the lowlands which started during the Spanish era.

….The poor Igorots [are] certainly the poorest inhabitants of the Philippines, not only materially but most of all, spiritually… The poorest of the poor and the most destitute in the world both spiritually and materially…lack of culture, security, arts and sciences, religion and often times an abundance of tyranny among the pagan inhabitants. (Vandewalle, Lindeman's accounts cited in Medina 2004, p. 29)

The arguably poor condition of the Igorots justified the American colonial administration increase of missionaries, education and laws to accomplish their 'civilising mission' for the non-Christian Tribes of the Philippine archipelago (San Juan 1999). On the 21st of August 1901, the first American soldier teachers called *Thomasites* docked in Manila; their role was to establish English as a common means of communication, and vocational training as a means of livelihood. Following the campaign for education was the entry of religious missions of the Anglican Church in 1903 followed by Belgian Catholic missionaries in 1907. Religious instruction

went hand-in-hand with the opening of primary, elementary and secondary schools in the different mission stations of the province (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1985).

The BNCT's aim for the assimilation of the Igorots and the American's fulfilment of the *White Man's Burden* of civilising and modernising their colonies (as proposed by English poet Rudyard Kipling in 1899) continued (de Costa 2006, p. 62). The Americans pacified the resistance of the people by assuring the people that as soon as they could write and read as well as speak English, they would be given jobs in the government as teachers, clerks, secretaries, treasurers and they would receive salaries. American Governor Pack also promised that the Igorots, the Americans and the lowland Filipinos were equal before the law and therefore the Igorots would be given a chance to govern themselves according to American law, then their towns, provinces and even the Philippines (Kamora n.d).

Igorots in literature

Writings about Igorots primarily come from 'foreigners or outsiders' (Fong 2005, p. 3). American researcher Melanie Wiber (1993) in *Politics, property and law in the Philippine uplands* classified those who wrote about Igorots into three groups. The first group come from a typical coloniser's perspective with an assumed superior position. The writings of these authors revolve around an ethnographic description of an 'uncivilised' culture that needed 'redemption' (Clymer 1976; Hutterer 1978; Jenks 1904; Worcester 1904). For example, in *The Headhunters of Northern Luzon Mountains of Luzon: From Ifugao to Kalinga, a Ride Through the Mountains of Luzon*, Wilcox described the lives of the 'natives' (through the lens of primitivism) and the 'encounter' with the 'mountain people' on his visit to the different ethnic

groups in the region, justifying the need for American intervention to improve the peoples' condition (Wiber 1993, p. 4).

The second group of writers are those who claim to have lived among the Igorot communities for years and have established relationships with the Igorot people. The interest of these writers focused on documenting cultural practices, rituals, spirituality, kinship systems, and the agricultural production methods of these peoples (Wiber 1993, p. 4). The authors in this group include Keesing (1962); Barton (1949, 1969); Conklin (1980); Dozier (1967) and Jenista (1987). Keesing & Keesing (1934) in *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* is mostly referred to as a detailed account of the life and culture of the different ethnic groups in the region (NCCA 2010). Other authors whose writings focused on a particular ethnic group were Fred Eggan (1974) in *Applied Anthropology in the Mt. Province*; Howard T. Fry (1983) in the *History of the Mt. Province*; and Jenista's (1987) *The White Apos: American Governors on the Cordillera Central*. Lambrecht (1960) in *Hudhud* documented the epic song of the Ifugaos that showed a strong matriarchal Ifugao life in the seventeenth century (NCCA 2010).

The third group of writers according to Wiber (1993) are those who added a blend of criticism to the civilising mission and American imperialism. The authors in this group are Renato Rosaldo (1980) in *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History*; Martin W. Lewis (1992) in *Wagering the Land: Ritual, Capital and Environmental Degradation in the Cordillera of Northern Luzon, 1900-1986* and Gerard Anthony Finin (2003) in *The Making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera Consciousness; and, William Henry Scott in The Discovery of the Igorots* (2006).

Obviously, it was foreign authors who wrote the major pieces about the Igorots in Benguet and the Cordillera region (Cabato 2000; Canlas 1999). For

example, the principal ethnological accounts of the Igorots of Benguet particularly of the Ibaloys and the Kankanaeys were that of American authors C. R. Moss (1920); Otto Scheerrer (1905) and Keesing (1962). Wiber, who studied the traditional legal system of the Ibaloys of Benguet, claims however that Benguet is the least researched group among the ethnic groups in the Cordillera region (Wiber 1993). The probable reason is the fact that the Benguet Igorots were the first group to be exposed to western culture during the colonisation period. Wiber (1993, p. 27) however claims that despite the impact of colonisation, the Benguet Igorots 'were never completely subjected'.

A fourth group of writers which could be added to Wiber's classification are the 'budding' Igorot writers (Afable 2009; Aryo 2008; Baucas 1987; Fiar-od 1987; Picpican 2003; Prill-Brett 1987; Pinkerton 2006; Sacla 1987) and researchers (Ballasio Jr., 1987; Cosalan 2007; Fong 2005 and Pungayan 1999) who aim to present Igorot culture and realities from an Igorot perspective. Also included in this group are the recent cultural and historical documentaries about Igorots undertaken by Altomonte in *Portrait of a hill station: Discovering Baguio* (2009); Research Mate on the History of Bendiyan Dance in *Peshit shi Kabayan* (2008) and the *History of 66th Infantry Regiment, United States Armed Forces in the Philippines, Northern Luzon* (Cordillera World War II Veterans 2007). Igorot blogs and online discussion groups are also becoming a popular 'space' for Igorots as they continue to re-define their identity (Delson 2010; Longboan 2009, p. 1).

IGOROT FORMATION FOR 'COLONIAL ASSIMILATION'

Governance

The training of the Igorots for self-governance was based on those already invested with authority under the Spanish rule, who were re-installed and given the title *presidente*[15]. The provincial governor often met the town *presidentes* as co-equal advisers and consultants to his office. Prominent Igorots, the *baknang* (Moss 1920) were also appointed to an advisory committee and were called upon by the city council when matters concerning the original residents were deliberated and decided on. The town and provincial officials were also given training on local politics with the close supervision and control of American and mainstream Filipino administrators but the Igorots' leadership roles remained on the level of a mere supportive role; and because of the early Igorot leaders' inability to read and write, they and were barred from running for an elected position. According to Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid *et al* 1974, p. 193), the Igorots' leaders under the American colonial administration were denied power (as owners of the traditional land) in determining and legislating the changes that occurred in Benguet from 1900s-1935.

Education and religion

By the 1960s, the Igorots started to be educated and build their own system of government based on the tutelage of missionaries and American government (Canlas 1999). The establishment of mission stations and schools in the different provinces of

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[15] The role of the *Presidente* was to pursue local projects in support of the BCNT Programs which were the establishment of schools, hospitals, vocational and agricultural trainings centres, the opening of roads as well as communication networks, the advancement of cultural plurality through inter-tribal sports competitions, agricultural trade fairs and visitations. Those who were appointed to be the first set of officials for town *presidente*s were from the lowlands and it was only in the 1930s that Benguet people like Juan Ora Carino(1916-1923) and Henry Camora (1923-1924; 1931-1938) were appointed to represent Benguet in the Philippine Legislature.

the Cordillera meant that the majority of Igorots were taught Christian doctrines by the missionaries (Medina 2004). It is argued that those who were first educated were sent back to begin 'civilising' their own people (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1987). Igorot professionals became teachers, government workers and government officials running the government patterned to the system left by the ruling Americans during the war. Igorot young people were also trained by foreign missionaries for priesthood and religious congregations to run mission schools in the Cordillera region (Medina 2004, p. 52).

Local scholars Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid (1987) and Cosalan (1992) argue that colonisation, particularly colonial education has caused 'dislocation' and 'removal' of schooled Benguet people from their own culture:

> ...their very education made them different in their values, aspirations and lifestyles from their own kin and neighbo[u]rs. The beneficial effect of their training only indirectly and secondarily affected their communities. A seemingly easy lifestyle, away from the traditional occupations attached to the land and its resources instilled an ever widening desire for education among the townsfolk. Such a dependence on regular wages evolved into a heavily consumer-oriented economy. (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1985, p. 193)

As a result of education and religion, the traditional practices and cultural systems consequently started to decline.

Colonial land laws to traditional land loss

Another impact of colonisation was discrimination and dispossession of Igorot land through land laws (Tauli-Corpuz 2001). The American governors implemented what is known as the *Regalian doctrine* which consists of laws governing land, mining and forestry. The doctrine followed the Spanish classification of all natural resources as property of the King, and the people in 'his kingdom'

(Mining Act of 1995). All lands were classified as either alienable or disposable, timber or mineral during the American occupation through land laws such as the Public Land Act, the Commonwealth Act (137, 141) and the Forest Laws. Those open to disposition were further classified as agricultural, commercial, industrial, and educational-charitable or reservations for town sites and for public or quasi-public use (NCIP 2010).

The land laws opened the declared public lands for business purposes to mainstream Filipinos and American citizens (Tauli-Corpuz 2001). In the years that followed, logging, timber firms and foreign mining companies boomed in the area (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1987). Ownership of the mining companies was by a leasehold system and later by free patents that awarded claims and titles to individuals and corporate stakeholders for their exclusive exploitation, subject to complementary rules and regulations. Development of the industry proceeded in accordance with commercial and trade relations between the US and the Philippines as dictated by global commerce (Green Forum Philippines 2003). Through the US colonial law, labour and natural resources markets were instituted by granting private land titles to large owners and placing all undeclared land under state ownership, opening such lands to exploration, occupation and purchase by US and Philippine citizens (Swenson 1987, p. 200).

The establishment of a colonial hill station in Baguio City (geographically part of Benguet Province) led to the establishment of the major roads starting from Benguet going to the hinterlands of the Mountain Provinces. Altomonte (2009) claims that the main roads built (Igorots used labourers) were the Kennon and Naguillian Roads, with Halsema Road providing access to the opening of the Lepanto Mines and Suyoc Mines.

Critics and activists claim that because of the enforcement of the US land laws, the traditional owners of land in Benguet and other Indigenous groups were excluded from public parks, forest reserves, and other land sold by the government to settlers, foreign investors, and other capitalists (CPA 1987). It is claimed that the Igorots suffered the greatest loss of their tradition with the Marcos regime export-oriented programs, opening Benguet and other areas of the Cordillera region to mining, dams and logging concessions. From the 1940s to the 1960s, five mining companies and two huge dams have displaced hundreds of Ibaloy families in Benguet (CPA 1987; Komite 1981; San Juan 1999).

Discrimination

Aside from colonial laws, scholars argue that Igorots suffered and continue to suffer from discrimination which was first instituted by the Spanish expeditions. Aside from coining the term 'Igorot' that formed the image of barbaric and pagan people, it also created a social divide between the people in the highlands and those in the lowlands (Go & Foster 2003, p. 218):

> The grimmest result of the discovery of the Igorots was subtler, more tragic and longer lasting-the creation of a distinction between lowland and highland Filipinos which contrasted submission, conversion, and civilization on the one hand with independence, paganism and savagery on the other. (Scott 2006, p. 7)

On the international stage, Igorots were also participants of World Fairs and Exhibitions of barbaric and primitive life. According to the *Igorot Global Organisation (IGO)*, Igorots were exhibited in at least four international fairs in the US, Spain and Belgium in the 1900s. The *World Fairs and Exhibitions* resulted in the criticism of American imperialism (Afable-Tomas 2010; Rafael 1993; Romulo 1943; Russell 1989; Rydell 1984; Sullivan 1991; Vaughan 1996; Vergara Jr. 1995).

One of the controversial writings as a result of the Igorots exposition in World Fairs was Romulo's contention in *Mother America* (1943): 'The fact remains that the ***Igorot*** is ***not Filipino*** and we are ***not*** related' (cited in Finin 2005, p. 3). Romulo, who served as a Filipino diplomat and President of the United Nations General Assembly in 1949-1950 was ashamed at the portrayal of Filipinos in Western countries as a result of the Igorots exposition in World Fairs.

Recent similar incidents were met with protests from Igorots all over the Cordillera region in 1988 and in 2009. The first one was when the Baguio City Mayor Jun Labo (who is from the lowlands) was quoted in the *Manila Chronicle* (4 September 1988) saying discriminatory remarks against the Igorots and that Igorots are not worthy of respect. Twenty years later Filipino actor/comedian Candy Pangilinan's shows in Baguio City were banned again because of her punch line '*tao ako, hindi ako Igorot*' ('I am human, I am not an Igorot') (Baguio Midland Courier, 15 May 2009). These above mentioned incidents served as a challenge for the Igorots to turn their derogatory identity into a source of strength for regional consciousness (Longboan 2001; Finin 2005; Mc Kay 2006).

BENGUET IGOROTS TODAY

Some of the growing number of authors who have begun to write about their culture include Isikias Picpican in *Mummies of Kabayan (1999)*; Wasing Sacla in *The Treasury of the Rituals in Benguet* (1987); Morr Tadeo Pungayan in his regular *Nabaloi* column at the *Baguio Midland Courier* (2011); and Professors Patricia Afable Tomas (2010), Anavic Bagamaspad and Zenaida Hamada-Pawid (1987); and June Prill-Brett (1990, 1992). *Research Mate,* a research NGO based in Benguet has also endeavoured to develop a documentary video about the Igorot Veterans during

the Second World War and *Bendiyan* Ethnic Dance in *Peshit Shi Kabayan* (2008).

There is also a growing number of university-based researchers (Cosalan 2007;

Picpican 2003; Pungayan 2001; Medina 2004; Tacloy 2000) and government-based

projects (CHARMP 2003; Bakun ADSDPP 2004; LGU Barangay Profiling) who

have allocated funding for cultural research as part of their institution's programs.

Despite the increasing research interest in Igorot culture and way of life, there has

not been any literature that has explored the relevance and application of the cultural

concepts and strategies in the contemporary Benguet communities which this study

seeks to investigate.

The Province of Benguet like the other provinces of the Cordillera region is a

recipient of numerous community development projects implemented by government,

NGOs and private agencies funded by local and international bodies. Some of the

poverty alleviation projects in the region are internationally funded (i.e. JICA,

European Union, World Bank and ADB); these projects provide rural infrastructure

with the aim to alleviate poverty in the region (Bakun ADSDPP 2004; NEDA 2011),

particularly for Igorot Indigenous Peoples (IFAD 2007). However, there seems to be

a gap in utilising Indigenous knowledge in defining the development on 'their own

terms'. For example, the evaluation of the CHARMP (Cordillera Highland

Agricultural Resources and Management Project), a World Bank loan poverty

alleviation project for the Cordillera region conducted by the International Food and

Agricultural Development (IFAD) revealed that:

> Participation of barangay members in planning and implementation was
> passive rather than active, tending to take the form of representation by
> political leaders in government processes, rather than broad-based
> community development processes. Cultural practices played a
> significant role in the extent of participation [only] in some areas.
> (IFAD Report 2007, p. 16)

Aside from participation issues, the Benguet Igorots are also faced with the complexities and politics of their identity (Maaka & Fleras 2005). According to Arellano (2004) from the *League of Provinces,* Benguet is now considered a commercialised province in terms of agri-business, mining and power industry. Consequently, the City of Baguio and the municipality of La Trinidad are now cosmopolitan centres making it a fact that not all people living in Benguet are Igorots (Delmas 2010). The modernised way of life, migration and intermarriages with different cultures also continue to impact the lives and culture of the Igorots of Benguet.

Despite the continuing changes and influences, it is observed that there is a growing assertion of Igorotness and Igorot identity. This is evident in production of popular culture media like local film and documentary making (Altomonte 2008; Severino 2009); local song composition and recording (Fong 2008); and, cyberspace technology like blogging (Longboan 2009) and Internet group discussion sites (McKay 2006). At the community level, various organisations are currently engaged in programs and projects like advocacy on Indigenous Peoples Rights and lobbying and activism against destructive government projects (CPA 2007; Corpuz-Tauli 2001). NGOs are also engaged in community development work with Igorot communities in addressing livelihood, education and empowerment needs of different sectors like women, children and farmers (Hillhorst 2003). Again, because of limited research and documentation, most of these community development interventions rely on practices and strategies by outside experts (Fong 2005, p. 4).

CONCLUSION

This literature review has so far traced the historical discourses involved in the evolution, understanding and interpretation of development from its general European origin narrowed down to the context of Igorot Indigenous Peoples of Benguet, Philippines. This chapter has shown that the *Age of Discovery* and colonial expansion and its corresponding modernisation and development theories and practices had the greatest impact on Indigenous Peoples cultures and experiences. These impacts continue to create complexities for Igorot Indigenous Peoples lives despite the century that has passed since they were first 'civilised' as a people by colonisers and missionaries. The following chapter introduces the research design and methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER TWO

GIVING 'VOICE' TO THE IGOROTS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN

'WESTERN' RESEARCH

> My purpose is to promote continued discussion on Indigenist
> methodology, as a step toward assisting Indigenous theorists and
> practitioners to determine what might be an appropriate response to de-
> legitimate racist oppression in research and shift to a more empowering
> and self-determining outcome. (Rigney 1999, p. 110)

INTRODUCTION

In the past, social research often rested on a dualism between the researcher on one hand, and the people being described on the other, with positivist methods separating the researcher and the 'researched' in 'space' and 'culture' (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Hammersely 2007; Denzin & Lincoln 2007). In some branches of social science this distance is now being collapsed as researchers increasingly participate in the processes they describe (Goodall 2000). The process however of arriving at a dialogical, meaningful, critical and experiential method of research and analysis is fraught with contradictions and challenges.

Researching Indigenous Peoples likewise is faced with layers of complexities. As a member of the Benguet Igorot community, for me this research entails a blurring of boundaries between 'us' and 'them' in new and interesting ways. While this research is broadly situated within qualitative research and draws from a multiple, rather than a single method of collecting data, this study is predominantly anchored in Indigenous research methodology. Thus, the research relies on Indigenous Peoples' wisdom, contexts and perspectives.

This chapter provides a description of the research design and methodology that I chose to underpin my study on exploring the community development concepts

of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples in Benguet, Philippines. Focus is given to establishing the epistemological, theoretical, methodological framework; and to describing the research methods and processes undertaken in the study. The methods utilise a qualitative framework but are contextualised in the cultural experience and knowledge systems of the Igorot participants. A description of the 'pathway' taken throughout the research process is also included.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, COLONISATION AND RESEARCH

> Research [could] serve as one of the ways in which the underlying code of imperialism and colonialism is both regulated and realised. (Smith 1999, p. 7)

Indigenous scholars argue that research is linked to European colonialism and imperialism which controlled a huge part of the world in varied forms during the last five hundred years in human history (Nakata 2007; Martin 2000; Smith 1999; Rigney 1999). Research has been one of the ways colonisers created and produced Indigenous Peoples' imagery, which contributed to Indigenous Peoples' status as some of the world's most marginalised peoples. According to Moreton-Robinson, scientific inquiry has engineered an overwhelming collection of so called 'fact' and 'half-truths' about Indigenous peoples that have contributed to hegemonic colonial construction of Indigenous identities (Moreton-Robinson 2000). Scientific accounts of human origin in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries involved the ranking of supposed races into hierarchies of superior and inferior (Said 1978); Indigenous peoples were constructed as uncivilised, savages, and primitive cultures that were rejected as part of humanity (Moreton-Robinson 2004, p. 75; Tennant 1994).

Smith (1999, p. 1) describes the effect of 'western research' on Indigenous Peoples:

> Research is probably one of the dirtiest words in Indigenous Peoples' vocabulary. The ways in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excesses of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history for many of the world's colonised peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. Just knowing that someone measured our faculties by filling the skulls of our ancestors with millet seeds to the capacity for mental thought offends the deepest sense of our humanity. Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of us, on the basis of their brief encounters with some of us. It appals us that the west can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways.

Brown and Strega (Brown & Strega 2005, p. 12) use the word 'marginalisation' to refer to the context of Indigenous populations who routinely experience inequality, injustice, exploitation, discrimination and lack of access to resources. In the area of research, Rigney (1999, p. 4) argues that the colonists saw themselves as the 'legitimate scientists'. He adds that 'Western' racial superiority made western knowledge and research the only legitimated means used to investigate or transmit knowledge; and that other cultures' ways were inferior and irrational. The intellectual traditions and knowledge transmissions used by Indigenous cultures for thousands of years were not considered worthy to be categorised as 'science' (p. 112). Indigenous ways of thinking, understanding, and approach were considered theoretically of less value from the point of view of western academy (Smith 1989; Batiste & Henderson 2000; Martin 2003; Niezen 2004). More generally, Moreton-Robinson (2004 p. 75) in *Whitening Race: Essays in social and cultural criticism*, critiques how 'whiteness' (in an Australian setting) became the 'unseen' criterion by which other races are judged in the construction of identity, representation, subjectivity, nationalism and the law (Moreton-Robinson 2004 p. 75). Indigenous

scholars (Rigney 1999; Martin 2000; Moreton-Robinson 2004 and Nakata 2007) claim that the Terra Nullius Theory laid the foundation of the history of ethnocentric-dominated representations of claiming 'knowledges'. Rigney (1999) describes the conventional research process in Australia where the research academy is dominated by the 'experts' (mostly non-Indigenous Peoples). The research process is 'racialised' most of the time because the Indigenous Peoples' minds, intellect, knowledge, histories and experiences are considered irrelevant (p. 113).

Being marginalised also pertains to the ways of producing knowledge in which in many instances Indigenous Peoples are 'objects' of research, resulting in their knowledge systems being misappropriated and misrepresented (Smith 1999; Batiste 2000; Ermine, Sinclair & Jeffrey 2004; Walker 2001; Gower & Mack 2002; Casumbal 2004). There are a number of studies that give examples of how scientific 'experts' who conducted research with Indigenous Peoples have improperly appropriated their knowledge (Ermine, Sinclair & Jeffrey 2004; Gower & Mack 2002; Casumbal 2004; Walker 2001). In the report of the *Indigenous Peoples' Health Research Centre*, Ermine, Sinclair & Jeffrey (2004) analysed the ways in which Indigenous Peoples' experience has been susceptible to being dominated by 'Western' discourses which stream indigenous experience and understandings into scientific intellectualisations and validation processes. In the field of development, likewise, developmental agencies (government or private) implement development projects without consulting the intended beneficiaries. It has been a practice to send experts who, in many cases, ignore and devalue the knowledge of the local people (Burchill & Higgins 2005).

With the recognition of the world's *First Peoples* by the United Nations and the influence of critical, alternative and postcolonial ideals, Indigenism has gained

recognition in the area of research (Lincoln & Denzin 2007; Niezen 2003). This has encompassed Indigenous Peoples' interest in research to recover Indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge recovery can be called an anti-colonial project (Wilson 2004) that came to life from the disaster of centuries of colonialism's efforts to methodically eradicate Indigenous Peoples ways of seeing, being, and interacting with the world (Martin 2003, Nakata 2007). At the dawn of the twenty-first century the recovery of Indigenous knowledge is a conscious and systematic effort to revaluate that which has been denigrated and to revive what has been destroyed.

Following and parallel with the continuing initiatives in the academy to develop alternative ways of thinking about development including Dependency and World Systems theories, liberal, post-colonial and post-development theories, the Indigenous Peoples' experience of colonisation in research paved the way for scholars to search appropriate ways to de-colonise research especially in researching Indigenous populations. Decolonising methodologies is a recent move in qualitative research that attempts to engage in thinking, discussion and practices which provide opportunities for Indigenous communities and other colonially marginalised populations to take control in defining 'development' from their own cultural perspectives. Furthermore, such methodologies aim to enable Indigenous people to participate in 'knowledge making' in the academy by privileging Indigenous epistemologies and knowledge systems.

Indigenous Peoples 'Ways of Knowing' finding its way into the 'western' academy

> Decoloni[s]ation is about the process in both research and performance,
> of valuing, reclaiming, and foregrounding [I]ndigenous voices and
> epistemologies. (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith 2008, p. 21)

Indigenous research and Indigenous theorising can be categorised under the broad category of decolonising and participatory research paradigms (ALARA 2010). The idea of decolonisation in research came about as a result of scholars' work (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Hepi *et al* 2007; González & Lincoln 2006; Smith 1999) in response to the question of 'representation' and 'power' when researching marginalised populations. The movement started in the 1980s and was inspired by Paulo Freire's work on the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972). This work shed light on the oppressive contradictions that existed in the social, political, and economic realities of Indigenous Peoples as espoused by North American Scholars (Fine 2003, Giroux 2005, McLaren & Kincheloe 2005). As an educational pedagogy, Freire used 'conscientisation' to awaken the consciousness of people about their oppression and the power relations within which they lived. Awareness, according to Friere, brings action and reflection that can break the cultural silence of the oppressed; he further argues that the lack of knowledge, acknowledgement and recognition of Indigenous voices and perspectives results in continuing racism and discrimination towards Indigenous populations (Freire cited in Liek 1992, p. 27).

The *Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples* (1994–2004) 'fuelled' the interest of Indigenous scholars resulting in what Gegeo (2001) calls a 'full-scale attack' on western epistemologies and methodologies. Scholars (Foley 2003; Rigney 1999; Smith 1999) believe that the continuing 'epistemological racism' and Eurocentrism happening in research will perpetuate negative consequences for Indigenous populations unless it is 'questioned'. Sheurich (1997, p. 142) specifies the negative consequences of epistemological racism and Eurocentrism in research:

- Epistemological perspectives, methods, and findings that arise from research conducted within social contexts other than the 'accepted' historical foundations are in some way considered to be invalid or illegitimate within the mainstream research community;

- The dominant epistemologies and methods tend to distort the lines of other racial groups;

- The dominant epistemologies and methods are a product of 'white' social history and as such favour 'white peoples' because they accord most easily with their social history.

Mainstream scholars Hammersley (1992) and Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995, p. 234) among others had earlier criticised the practice of conventional ethnography which is commonly used in studying Indigenous cultures because of its 'one-sided' representation. According to these authors, ethnographies are almost used exclusively for academic purposes and the people whose lives and voices are depicted, are often not given the chance to participate, read and learn how they are being represented in public by researchers (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995, p. 234). Community people in the Philippines often express their sentiment of being 'used' by researchers to get their PhDs and other academic qualifications (Fang-asan 2007).

Indigenous scholars from nations such as Native America, Canada, New Zealand, Hawaii and Australia have sought decolonisation of western scientific practices in research (Batiste 2000; Grande 2004; Rigney 1999; Smith 1999) in resistance to their colonial heritage and colonial past. These Indigenous scholars assert the utilisation of their cultural paradigms in research into the western academy. A few examples of Indigenous paradigms that gained recognition in past decades are

Kaupapa and Whakapapa Maori of the Maori People of New Zealand (Henry & Pene 2001); the Cree *Mamatowisin* of Aboriginal Canada (Ermine 1995); *Kwaraʻae* of the Solomon Islands (Gegeo & Gegeo 2001); *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* of the Philippines (Enriquez 1992); and Aboriginal Australia's *Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing* (Martin 2003). These Indigenous paradigms encapsulate traditional Indigenous ways of doing, being and thinking in a given Indigenous culture's worldview or cosmology (Henry & Pene 2001, p. 235).

In the *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*, Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008) together with their contributors trace the alliance of the decolonisation movement to the existing qualitative research paradigms. Scholars in postmodern, feminist, race theory, critical ethnography, participatory inquiry and action research have inspired the attempts to construct anti-oppressive research theory and new ways of looking at research from the perspective of the 'marginalised' (Brown & Strega 2005, p. 17). In the social sciences, researchers (Brady et al. 2000, p. 89; Pillow 2003) claim that paradigms such as relativist ontology, subjectivist epistemology, naturalistic and collaborative inquiry, and interpretivist constructionist paradigms give emphasis to 'reflexivity' and 'reflection' thus allowing 'space' for the researcher and the participants' voices.

Building from these features of qualitative research methodologies, Indigenous scholars have begun developing research methodologies and approaches that put forward Indigenous 'knowledge, voices and experiences' (Smith 2005). This new generation of scholars has started to appropriate and rework western qualitative methodologies, epistemologies and systems of ethics (Grande 2004). Today, the decolonisation movement in research has motivated the 'deconstruction' and 'decolonisation' of the traditional ways of doing science by both Indigenous and

non-Indigenous researchers in the academy. Research validity and reliability using 'fourth world (Indigenous) paradigms' have, in recent years become an important considerations when researching Indigenous communities (Cameron 2004, p. 1). Scholars who commit to the use of the liberatory and emancipatory paradigms allow research to speak from the perspective of the oppressed, colonised person living in postcolonial situations of injustice (e.g. women; women of colour; Third World women; black women; Chicana and other minority group women; queer, lesbian and transgendered; First Nation; Native American; South African; Latin American; and Pacific and Asian Islander persons) (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith 2008, p. x). Overall, although Indigenous and Indigenist research paradigms are primarily constructed in resistance to western frameworks of research, they are in close affinity to existing critical qualitative research perspectives (Denzin & Lincoln 2000, Moreton-Robinson 2003; Oates 2003)

Decolonising research in the Philippine context

The 'misinterpretation' of Filipino peoples' behaviour in research is criticised by Filipino psychologist Virgilio Enriquez (1975). In the Philippines context, the development of Asian psychologies and Indigenous psychologies was promoted by decolonising Philippine psychology with the movement first developed by Virgilio Enriquez in 1975 known as *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino Psychology). The movement calls for an 'understanding of the Filipino thought experience from a Filipino perspective and orientation' (cited in Pe-Pua 2006, p. 110). Enriquez then developed concepts of Indigenous research methods such as *kapwa* (shared identity) which he believes to be the core of Filipino social psychology and the heart of the structure of Filipino values. With the use of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* as a framework,

Enriquez disproved some of the claims of American research about Filipino values such as *pakikisama* (explained as conforming to the decision for the majority because of the value of maintaining smooth interpersonal relationships). American researchers interpreted this method of communicating as a dishonest and deceptive verbal description of reality (p. 110). Enriquez clarified that from the Filipino perspective, *pakikisama* is 'a colonial accommodative surface value rooted in *pakikipagkapwa* which means to treat the other person as a fellow (*kapwa*) human being. The indirectness in communication from the Filipino perspective is not viewed as 'dishonesty and socially ingratiating' but is a concern for the feelings of others; to avoid the other person losing face 'if directly confronted with negativity'; and conforming to the norm of humility and modesty by not directly 'boasting about one's achievements' (cited in Pepua 2006, p. 110).

With *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Enriquez also attempted to contribute to Indigenous 'psychologies' by developing research methods based on the translation of mainstream theories, concepts, methods, and measures into 'Filipino' realities and experience (Pe Pua 2006, p. 111). Enriquez advocates grounded theory's emphasis on 'emergence' where research methodologies and methods work within the situation and context of the research participants, and its emphasis on helping the people in the situation to 'make sense of their experience and to manage the situation better' (Glaser 1995, pp. 3-17). For example, *pakapa-kapa* (groping in the dark) implies an exploration into the cultural, social and psychological data without the chains of overriding theoretical frameworks borrowed from observations outside the focus of investigation (Torres 1982, p. 71; Reimer 2008, p. 204). *Pakapa-kapa* gave a way for research to look at the natural existing patterns of behaviour of Filipinos and claims that 'western methods' were not relevant to the needs and ways of the

people because of its over-emphasis on the text of the data, rather than the research process (Pe Pua 2006, p. 112).

Some debates about Indigenous research

The fact that research is a western model makes Indigenous research difficult and challenging (Deloria 1991; Kovach 2005; Denzin & Lincoln 2008) primarily because of its different nature as a framework of inquiry (Dei 2008). Indigenous epistemology is fluid, non-linear, and relational (Brown & Strega 2005; Martin 2003). Knowledge is transmitted through stories that shape shift in relation to the wisdom of the storyteller at the time of the telling (Kovach 2005, p. 5). An Indigenous epistemology is a significant aspect of Indigenous methodology and suggests Indigenous ways of functioning in the world. Indigenous ways of knowing arise from interrelationships with the human world, the spirit, and the inanimate entities of the ecosystem (Kovach 2005, p. 6; Martin 2003). This makes it impossible to evaluate the philosophical grounding and social worth of Indigenous philosophies using the conventional lenses and concepts filled with definitional categories (Agrawal 2004; Dei 2010, p. 89).

Dei calls for the recognition and acknowledgement of particular knowledges in their own right and not in competition with other sources or forms of knowledge (p. 89). Giving too much attention to justifying and comparing it with the 'scientific', 'western' knowledge (Agrawal 1995) could lead to Indigenous knowledge 'not being as useful as hoped for and supposed' (Briggs 2005, p. 99). This does not mean that Indigenous researchers or those doing research with Indigenous communities have authority not to fulfil research rigour and or credibility (Pohlhaus 2002) but they should use research, a western practice, to privilege Indigenous voices (Benham

2003; Danner 2001). Dacog (2003), McKay (2007), and White (2007) suggest that Indigenous Peoples' participation in research helps them in the decolonisation process (Smith 1999) and helps them develop ways to cope with the need to live in the mainstream world and yet remain grounded in their identity and values as Indigenous Peoples.

Kovach suggests four key concepts as a guide for Indigenous researchers in privileging Indigenous voice in knowledge making. These are: recognising that experience is a legitimate way of knowing; accepting that Indigenous methods such as storytelling are legitimate ways of sharing knowledge, understanding receptivity and the relationship between researcher and participants as a natural part of the research methodology; and lastly, working within the perspective of collectivity as a way of knowing that assumes reciprocity with the community (Kovach 2005, p. 6). Through Indigenous epistemology, Indigenous Peoples are likely to understand and share their experience from their perspective (Kovach 2005, p. 6; Steinhauer 2002). Karen Martin (2003) supports this claim through her framework of Indigenous research known as 'ways of knowing, ways of doing and ways of being' for Indigenous Australians. From the context of the experiences of American Indians, Deloria (1991) asserts that apart from documenting narratives of traditional culture for future generations, there is also a great and pressing need for research on contemporary affairs and conditions of Indigenous communities. There is a need to take back control of research so that it is relevant and useful, Indigenous research is 'researching back' and it implies resistance, recovery and renewal (Smith 1989, p. 7).

Indigenous research attempts to add the dimensions of Indigenous cultural perspectives, values and decolonisation to its aims; to go deeper into the context of the culture who owns the research. It recognises that colonialism can continue in

research, thereby asserting that research should not only describe the effects of colonialism but it should also contribute to decolonisation where the colonised participate in the research process and support Indigenous Peoples' moves for self-determination (Smith 1989; Batiste, 2001). Indigenous theorising works from the participants' experiences and perspectives in the context of their cultural wisdom and knowledge systems. It also attempts to contribute to Indigenous Peoples' healing from their historical experiences of colonisation and marginalisation and privileges their voice for empowerment (Rigney 1987; Smith 1989; Wilson, 2001; Getty, 2009). Indigenous research methodology according to Kovach (2005) though still new in the formal academic sense, has emerged as a research process with its own methodology. While it can draw from both interpretative and critical 'emancipatory theories' and related practices, it does not easily fit into pre-existing Western categories.

Despite the many issues surrounding Indigenous research, many scholars and community development practitioners have seen the use of Indigenous knowledge as an alternative way of promoting development in poor rural communities in many parts of the world (Briggs 2005, p. 89; Sillitoe 2001).

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES, RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

Theoretical perspectives

According to scholars, epistemology refers to the theory of knowledge and theorising knowledge, including the nature, sources, frameworks, and limits of knowledge (Gegeo 2001; Kuokkanen 2003; Smith 1999). Epistemology is concerned with who can be a knower, what can be known, what constitutes knowledge, sources

of evidence for constructing knowledge, what constitutes truth, how truth is to be verified, how evidence becomes truth, how valid inferences are to be drawn, the role of belief in evidence, and related issues (Audi 1998; Goldman 1986, 1999; Fuller 1988; Landesman 1997; Gegeo 2001, pp. 57-58).

The theoretical foundations of this study as reviewed in the literature are the mainstream theoretical bases which provide the opportunity for the Igorot Indigenous Peoples to 'define' their concept of development in the light of Igorot understanding and epistemology. These theories developed through years of practice in the academy started with the critique of modernisation theory: Dependency and World Systems theories explaining development from the Third World perspective (Frank 1972; Wallerstein 1976); liberal thinking advocating 'freedom' as the key to development (Doyal & Gough 1992; Sen 1999, 2005); postcolonial theory with the critiques of the coloniser-colonised positioning as a hegemonic structure (Bhabha 1994; Fanon 1952, 1961; Memmi 1965; Said 1978; Spivak 1988); then post-development discourse which argues that the 'Western' paradigms are still inherent in present 'development interventions' (Batterburry & Fernando 2005; Escobar 1995).

This study, situated in the Philippines—a colonised country with its resulting different layers of 'otherness'—calls for the need to highlight postcolonial theory as a theoretical basis. According to Madison (2005), post-colonialism applies to all cultures affected by the imperial process of colonial expansion and its 'after effect'. Postcolonial theory asserts that the colonial experience of countries had a profound effect on education, language, geographic borders, religion, government structures, and the cultural values of the present and will continue to be carried on to the future (Madison 2005, p. 47). Postcolonial theory investigates the present setting of

colonised countries which include cultural symbols and material remnants of colonisation; issues of settlement and dislocation, economic and material satisfaction, strategies of local resistance, representation, identity, belonging and expressive traditions (Mertens 2008, pp. 177-180).

Dependency Theory and World Systems Theory present a critique of the historical domination of Western countries over the Third World that started from the colonial era and continued into the post-colonial period with the global expansion of capitalistic economy (Frank 1969; Wallerstein 1976). Liberal thinking on the other hand, that is based on a critique of the unilinear, western-based economic model of development, promoted freedom, human rights and an open economy for each civil society to define their own context of development.

In addition to these critical perspectives in this study, constructivist theoretical perspectives such as symbolic interactionism and standpoint theory are also used. Theoretical perspectives derived from constructivist epistemologies have affinity with Indigenous epistemologies as 'ways of knowing' which are fluid, experiential, derived from Indigenous traditions, cultures and languages transmitted through stories and narratives (Brown & Strega 2005, p. 27). These include symbolic interactionism, for example, which emphasises the way in which shared cultural meanings are inherited, constructed and reconstructed through interaction (Glesne 1999; Newman 2000; Taylor & Bogdan 1998; White 2007, p. 84). Finally, in order to be able to work from the cultural perspectives and understanding of Igorot community development, I have employed Indigenous epistemology as a theoretical stance for this study, specifically Indigenous Standpoint Theory and Indigenous Worldview Construct (White 2007).

Indigenous epistemology

> Indigenous epistemology understands the world from a holistic perspective where all things, material and spiritual, are interconnected and interdependent. (Aluli-Meyer 2001)

Indigenous epistemology demonstrates a holistic understanding of how the interrelatedness of changing natural cycles and spiritual dimensions hold valuable insights into knowledge formation. Indigenous teaching and learning emphasise observation and direct experience of Indigenous cultural understandings of the relationships of human beings with the natural world and each other. These, like all cultural patterns, are patterns of thought and behaviour, including values, beliefs, morals, rules of conduct, political organisation and economic activity, which are passed on from one generation to the next by learning, rather than by biological inheritance (Hatch 2002). Indigenous epistemology expresses the worldview of a people, a culture or an identity group that is based on 'knowing' the stories of relatedness to people, country and all entities of the world; where the process of 'knowing' comes with respect, accountability for rites, rituals and stories (Leik 1992, p. 28; Martin 2003).

Supporting the aim of privileging Indigenous perspectives in the study are Indigenous Standpoint Theory and Indigenous Worldview Construct (White 2007). Indigenous scholar Martin Nakata's use of 'standpoint' in Indigenous research is drawn from Feminist Standpoint Theory (Harding 1993) which emerged in the 1970s and 1980s to advocate women's voices in the production of knowledge amidst the conventional socially constructed 'position and authority of men over women (Nakata 2007, p. 217). Indigenous Standpoint Theory emphasises that the relationship between the researcher and the Indigenous community being researched

is on equal ground (Pe Pua 2006; Enriquez 1979); the researcher and the community being researched are both learners throughout the research process (Mutua & Swadener 2004; Nakata 2007). These approaches are consistent with the methodologies of critical ethnography, sometimes called the 'new ethnography' (Goodall Jr. 2003).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Fulfilling methodological validity in research is currently one of the biggest challenges for Indigenous researchers researching their own communities. This study had to go through a long process of searching amongst existing academic research methodologies to determine which would be appropriate for the Igorots to share their perspectives and stories.

Critical ethnography

Ethnography has its roots in the tradition of anthropology in studying a cultural group (Reimer 2008, p. 204). Ethnographic research is the methodology used in the academy to document and come to a deeper understanding of 'native' cultures' perspectives (Maanen 1998; Malinowski 1996). Ethnographic studies rely heavily on personal experience and use participant observation, requiring the researcher to become an 'insider' while describing the experience for outsiders (Riemer 2004). This prolonged interaction with the people in the community is called 'fieldwork' (Manning & Fabrega Jr. 1976). According to Genzuk (1999), the principles that govern ethnography are *naturalism* which aims to capture naturally occurring behaviour by close contact and first-hand experience; *understanding* involves learning the culture of the group as a basis for valid explanations; and *discovery* rather than testing of explicit hypothesis (Genzuk 1999, p. 4).

In critical ethnography, writing and, 'decoding' of cultural symbols and languages through 'thick description' are emphasised (Geertz, 1973; Stoller 1997). The works of Clifford and Marcus (1986); Van Maanen (1988); and Paul Atkinson (1990) built on the earlier foundations of Geertz and others. Paul Stoller (1997) and David Abram (1996) introduced 'embodied knowing' in ethnography where 'the notion of 'bodily attending' and 'mindfulness' is explored in relation to reflexivity, narrative writing and pedagogy (Stoller 1997, p. xviii). Ethnographic research practice however is still criticised as being ultimately based on the researcher's assumptions and interpretations based on the structured character of the data collection process (Hammersley 1990, p. 597). According to Reimer (2008, p. 205), interpretation of research is inevitably coloured by the ethnographer's own ideas and 'culture'. Therefore, it is not possible for an ethnographer to see life completely through another person's eyes (Reimer 2008, p. 205). Ethnography which tends to rely on the thick description of 'what people say' without also observing 'what they do' is at risk of misinterpreting their behaviour (Hammersley 1990, p. 597).

Working with postcolonial theory, critical ethnography takes on the 'ethical responsibility' to address processes of unfairness or injustice within a particular cultural setting (Mertens 2008). Mertens defines 'ethical responsibility' as 'a compelling sense of duty and commitment based on moral principles of human freedom and well-being, and hence a compassion for the suffering of living beings' (Mertens 2008, pp.177). Madison proposes elements in designing critical ethnography which were useful in designing this study. The elements include (cited in Mertens 2008, p. 180):

- A description of data- collection methods, including interviewing, journaling, and coding processes, and how these will be accomplished with the researcher as a co-performer in the field or participant observer;

- An explanation of ethical methods and how the welfare of the participants will be put first by protecting their rights, interests, privacy, sensibility, and offering reports at key stages to them, including the final report;

- A description of the participants in terms of population, geographic location, norms and rules, significant historical and cultural contexts, and expectations for key informants;

- A timeframe for entering the field, collecting the data, departing from the field, coding and analysis and completion of the written report, and/or public performance; the use of a critical theoretical framework in the design, implementation and dissemination of the study.

With the attempt to apply the guiding principles of critical ethnography, I aimed to privilege the 'ways of knowing' of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples by developing an Indigenous Research methodology based on Igorot cultural understandings. Indigenous methodologies can be defined as research for and by Indigenous Peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledges of Indigenous peoples (Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson & Sookraj cited in Denzin, Lincoln & Smith 2008, p. x).

Indigenous methodology

> [Our ancestors] successfully sustained our people and environment as they talked, sang and danced the knowledge on to the young, while others used bark, branches, sticks, stones, ochres, fire and smoke for communication... These methods were shared amongst the many nations through clan gatherings, family gatherings, message stick carriers, storytellers, songs, dance and paintings. (Oodgeroo cited in Martin 2003, pp. 11-12)

As part of decolonising research methodology, this research aims to give a voice to the Indigeneity of 'space' and 'place' (Gegeo 2001, p. 2; Suminguit 1998) of the Benguet Igorot Indigenous peoples. As an Indigenous 'insider' researcher, it was very important in the choice of my methodology and methods, to be culturally sensitive and appropriate. This is because Indigenous researchers are not only accountable to the academy but more so to their relations in the community (Steinhauer 2002; Lavallee 2003; White 2007; Wilson 2008).

Indigenous methodology draws from ethnographic practice and attempts not only to write and construct knowledge from the point of view and experiences of the participants but also, utilise the community's Indigenous culture and tradition of inquiry practices, knowledge making and wisdom in the research process. In an Indigenous context, as in all cultural contexts, knowledge develops as a result of the interaction of the individual with the environment; objects and events in the culture becoming a curriculum for learning (Hawkins & Pea as cited in Semali & Kincheloe 1999, p. 103). Wisdom, knowledge and understanding are shared through rituals, practices and ways of life in a specific cultural framework. In the utilisation of Indigenous way of knowing, it must be understood that this way of knowing encompasses the spirit of collectivity, reciprocity and respect for the community (Lavallee 2009; Steinhauer 2002). Experience, listening and oral traditions are

legitimate sources of knowledge and ways of knowing (Gower 2003; Brown & Strega 2005, p. 277).

From the Indigenous methodology perspective, research is a ceremony (Wilson 2008) and the validity of research lies in the community themselves owning their participation and recognising the contribution that their knowledge adds to processes and wisdom in the research, thus privileging their voice (Rigney 1997). Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001, p. 55) assert that the utilisation of Indigenous methodology is not only about ethnic identity and revitalising culture but it is also the Indigenous community themselves exploring how they construct knowledge as opposed to being subjects of research and analyses by outsiders, which perpetuates the experience of colonisation (Smith 1999; Umulliko Indigenous Higher Education Centre). Indigenous methodology aims to see that Indigenous Peoples undertake the recording and writing of their culture-based epistemologies and their cultural way of theorising knowledge (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo 2001).

The utilisation of Indigenous research methodology in this study took into consideration the following guidelines as summarised by Weber-Pillwax (1999, pp. 31-32):

1. The interconnectedness of all living things

2. The impact of motives and intentions on person and community

3. The foundation of research as lived Indigenous experience

4. The groundedness of theories in Indigenous epistemology

5. The transformative nature of research

6. The sacredness and the responsibility of maintaining personal
    and community integrity and,

7. The recognition of languages and cultures as living processes.

With the emphasis on participation rather than 'prescription', receptivity and the relationship between the researcher and the participants is a natural part of the research methodology. As Nakata (2007) points out, the researcher is not considered to be the expert. In the case of Indigenous researchers, they make use of their being 'outsiders within' (Andersen 1993, p. 42) to enter into and participate in the Indigenous inquiry process.

In this study of exploring the community development concepts of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples, the use of Indigenous research methodology also covers my cultural limitations as a researcher who is single, considered young in age and has not done any of the rituals called *sida*. Culturally for the Igorots, experience comes from childhood and growing up, working to support family, marriage, parenting, living and helping others in a community, and cultural status. These are some of the 'unwritten criteria' for someone to be considered 'culturally eligible' to talk about Igorot knowledge making and Igorot wisdom. The elders' (symbolically called the *naubanan* which means 'with gray hair who has wisdom') wisdom and authority in knowledge making comes from life's experiences, traditional community leadership and number of rituals performed (Cosalan 2007). Being a 'learner' and a participant in this study, allowed me to work in partnership with the elders and the community in 'our' inquiry of Igorot wisdom.

PRIVILEGING INDIGENOUS 'METHODS OF KNOWING' IN RESEARCH

The participants for this study are called Igorots, one of the groups comprising about twenty percent of the population of the Philippines (Longboan 2009, p. 1). 'Igorot' is an ascribed term that the Spanish colonisers gave to the mountain people of the Northern Philippines in the early 1500s and was perpetuated

by the Americans in the 1900s. The different groups know and call themselves according to the groups to which they belong: Ibaloys, Kankanaeys, Kalanguyas, Kalingas, Ifugaos, Bontoks, Applays, Isnegs and Tingguians, (NCIP 2003) and the term is not part of their language. Scholars have varied explanations about the term 'Igorot'. Prill-Brett (1987, p. 11) suggests that the word may have been derived from the Ilocano word 'gerret' meaning 'to slice off'; relating to headhunting practices in the early days. From Scott's compilation of the Spanish conquistador writings, 'Igorot' means 'from the mountains' (Scott 2006, p. 26). Whatever meaning was used, the Igorots were classified as uncivilised (Finin 2006, p. 29); and within the last one hundred years, early writings about them have been made by outsiders (Fong 2007) particularly colonial officials, foreign anthropologists, and Catholic and Anglican missionaries. From the colonisers' perspective, they believed that they had brought 'civilization' (Finin 2005, pp. 19-20; Henry Scott 2006) to these mountains first people. Igorot scholars say otherwise however; because for them, colonisation made them 'misinformed, miseducated, misrepresented, marginalised, left confused and forlorn' (Fiar-od 1990; Dacog 2003 p. 6; Fong 2007).

'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing'

In my search for an appropriate approach for Igorot research, I draw my methods from those that speak of resemblance to Igorot experiences and understanding. Australian Indigenous scholar Karen Martin's (2003) *Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing* framework of study positions herself as an Indigenous Quandamooka woman. Inspired by Indigenous scholars Rigney and Errol West, Martin argues that there are three main constructs of *Quandamooka* ontology. The first one is establishing through law what is known about the entities

of the world which she calls 'Ways of knowing' (p. 9). The entities include the waterways, animals, plants, climate, skies and spirits; the co-existence of the Aboriginal people with the entities is where they learn, relearn and pass on their knowledge system and wisdom (Martin 2003, p. 9). The processes of knowledge acquisition and reproduction involve listening, viewing, reviewing, reading, watching, waiting, observing and applying (Martin 2003, p. 7). The second construct is the 'Ways of being' which refers to establishing a relationship with the entities. The third construct is the 'Ways of doing' which is enacting the knowledge system and maintaining the relationship with the entities and with all other beings as seen in the way of life, arts, songs, rituals and ceremonies performed in Indigenous communities (Martin 2003, p. 11).

Kaupapa and *Whakapapa Maori*

Martin's emphasis on relations to the entities slightly differs from that of the *Kaupapa* and *Whakapapa* of the Maori of New Zealand which places importance in influencing the development of curriculum and research. *Kaupapa Maori* emphasise that 'research about Maori culture should be done by a Maori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be a Maori' (Henry & Pene 2001, pp. 237-239). *Kaupapa Maori* aims to establish an academy that is more representative of the traditional worldview and to deliver curriculum for both primary and secondary schools in Maori. *Whakapapa* research methodology is another research framework which concerns the birth of new knowledge (acquiring new knowledge) in order to maintain and develop a Maori knowledge base that is inherently Indigenous Maori. This framework recollects the past so that a pathway for the present can be established for its application today and in the future (Graham 2005, p. 89). *Whakapapa* research methodology always asks the questions 'what is the meaning of the research; what is

the research for; what relevance does the research have; and what are its benefits?' (Graham 2005, p. 90).

Medicine wheel paradigm

Polly Walker's (2001) *Medicine Wheel Paradigm* explores the American Indian (Cherokee) ontologies and epistemologies and emphasises the interconnectedness of all things through cultural symbols. It is both ancient and modern, expressed through the American Indian Medicine Wheel, which encompasses a holistic integration of humans and the natural world, including all beings, processes and creations. The wheel that has four directions or four Grandfathers represents a complex system of knowledge explicated through the use of narratives. In her research with the Cherokee Indians, Walker utilised the four directions of the medicine wheel to describe and analyse all aspects of the experience of the research participants.

Tree of Life (*Ceiba*)

Similarly, Vivian Jimenez Estrada's (2005) *Tree of Life* or *Ceiba* is a research framework and methodology based on Mayan culture with the *Ceiba* encompassing understanding of the four sacred directions and the wheel of life. The life concepts revolve around the 'Mayan cosmo-vision and concepts of duality: east/west, north/south, above/below; sky/earth; good/evil; shadow/light; male/female; life/death; beginning/end; emptiness/fullness' (Jimenez- Estrada 2005, p. 44). With the Mayan cosmo-vision as a guide, she structured the research processes into the different parts of the tree. The bark represents the theories guiding the research; the trunk not only holds the life-promoting energies but also all the ideologies with which a researcher will ally his or her research. Jimenez-Estrada defines her theoretical and methodological framework as one that is informed by Indigenous

knowledge yet intersects with theories of feminism, anti-colonialism and critical pedagogy (p. 50).

Sikolohiyang Pilipino (**Filipino Psychology**)

Drawing from the decolonising framework of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino*, Santiago and Enriquez propose an Indigenous approach to participant observation (*nakikiugaling pagmamasid*) (Bennagen 1985) which provides a greater precision to the practice. Some of the methods developed are *pagmamasid* (observation); *nakikiugali* (adopting the behaviours and ways of a particular group as one's own); *pagdalaw-dalaw* (frequent visits); *panunuluyan*, *pananahanan, pakikipanirahan* and *pakikipamuhay (*'residing and living within the research setting'); *pakikibagay* ('being in accord with' the research participants) (Pe pua 2006, p. 113).

In conducting interviews or data gathering, the practice of *pakikipagpalagayang-loob* (rapport, mutual trust) and *pagtatanung-tanong* (asking questions in a casual manner) (Gonzales 1982) are employed. Santiago and Enriquez argue that casual conversation is the appropriate way to get answers to research questions because Filipinos are more used to spending hours chatting and exchanging questions and ideas rather than sitting in a formal way answering interviews (Pe Pua 2006, p. 115).

From the above mentioned methodologies and methods, I found the 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and ways of Doing' by Martin as most suited for my research with the Igorot Indigenous Peoples. The utilisation of the framework in my research follows similar principles to utilise the Igorots ways of knowing, ways of being and ways of doing throughout the research process. I seek recognition and utilisation of the Igorot community's worldviews, knowledge's, realities and the privileging of their voices, and experiences (Martin 2003, p. 205). In utilising the

'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing' as a framework, my position as a researcher is not as an expert but an active learner of my culture's knowledge systems and wisdom (Brown & Strega 2005).

Pansukael: Benguet Igorots' 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing'

With the aim of employing respect, reciprocity and relationality (Weber-Pillwax 1999) in research, the methods of the Igorots in seeking wisdom called *pansipot/pansuka-el* were adapted as the research methods for this study. *Pansuka-el* is an *Ibaloy* word, which means, 'deep search for wisdom'. *Pansipot* (also an Ibaloy word) means 'careful investigation' which requires 'immersion' into the experiential processes of seeking wisdom in the Igorot culture. *Pansuka-el* entails processes of seeking wisdom to attain full development as a person, as a family and as a community. The fulfilment of the search is called *pansigshan* meaning 'total well-being' (Aare 2003; Arabena 2008). The search for wisdom in the process of *pansuka-el* takes different forms in the experiential and oral traditions and culture of the Igorots.

To utilise Igorot 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing' in *pansipot/pansukael* I took these steps as the process of inquiry for this study as a result of consultation with the elders in the study:

1. *Panbeka* (inquiry/asking questions)
2. *Panbisna* to intently observe with the use of all senses; obligates proper use or practice of what has been observed.
3. *Pantetneng* (listening)
4. *Peki-da/peki'man* (participating/doing)

5. *Pannemnem* (reflection and evaluation)

The way Igorots learn about their culture is usually done in an informal manner. I was able to utilise the Igorot ways of inquiry through participation in rituals and asking questions from the elders *(panbekha)* about the rituals and practices, listening to stories and daily life conversations in the community (*pantetneng*), participating in community activities like farming, meetings, seminars *(peki-da/peki-man),* and observing how the people do things (*panbisna),* then reflecting *(pannemnem)* on the experience to be able to connect and make sense of the information gathered. In order not to lose the original meanings of my experiences in the process of *pansuka-el*, I initially wrote in my field notes using my village language then later translated it to English.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Embarking into the research journey

Prior to commencing my PhD candidature in Australia, I had informal conversations with co-workers and some community leaders about my research topic. The need for research to document the Indigenous community development work concepts, approaches and strategies in working with the Igorot communities in Benguet came about as a result of story sharing, reflection sessions and, program and project evaluations among community development workers. I regularly participated in these activities as part of my work as a Community Development Field Worker (CDFW) from the years 2003 to 2006. It has been observed widely that aside from reports submitted to funding bodies, not enough research has been conducted to disseminate the wealth of experience of community workers in project design and

implementation (ADB 1999, p. 4) especially in working with Indigenous Peoples like the Igorots.

One of the Peoples' Organisations (PO) I worked with was of great assistance to me throughout the research journey; a team of three (composed of two elders and one community worker) volunteered their support to my research by serving as my local contacts with the research community while I was in Australia. The section below describes the processes my team and I undertook when I went back to the Philippines to do data gathering for six months from November 2008 to May 2009.

Working with the research community

Entry into the community

As an insider researcher, my first point of contact was the local NGO research partner staff who recommended the communities I first visited. As the data collection progressed, the participants themselves recommended community organisations, individuals and groups who expressed interest in participating in the study. Upon entry in the community, I arranged to meet with the elders, organisation officers or *barangay* (village) officials who are the recognised leaders in the community for courtesy calls. I presented my research project and the purpose of the interviews and with their approval I visited community organisations and participated in some of their community activities and events with the assistance of the local NGO staff.

Most of the interior communities of Benguet I worked with are not reached by public transport. Getting to the area meant walking for about an hour followed by a three hour ride by jeepney, bus or truck on rugged terrain. During the six months fieldwork period, I stayed in the communities on several occasions to learn more

about the community and their organisation activities and programs with their NGO partners (Bennagen 1995). For accommodation, we either stayed at a community centre or with families who invited us into their homes; sharing their food and 'home space'. Inviting a community visitor in one's house is a common act of respect and hospitality for Igorot families sharing resources like farm produce and welcoming strangers are part of their cultural practice.

Accessing the research participants

In meeting with research participants I presented my research project along with the purpose of the interviews for their approval. I visited community organisations and participated in some of their community activities and events with the assistance of one of the staff of the NGO partner organisation, *Benguet Network of NGOs and POs* (Benguet Net).

Community structures and leadership were consulted throughout the data gathering process, consistent with Bouma and Ling's (2004) stress on the importance of consulting an authority as a way of knowing in research. In this research, the Igorots of Benguet are the central authority because they speak about their lived experiences and life projects (Barras 2004); they define their own realities by identifying theirconcepts of development in their community. At the start of my fieldwork, community visits were arranged through the community leaders to invite participants who were willing to be part of the research. In order to obtain the prior informed consent of the research participants, verbal invitations, and orientation about the research and its purpose were done in a community meeting. It was made clear that participation in the informal conversations, story sharing and group sharing circles would be voluntary and that they could withdraw from participating at any time if they felt discomfort at any stage of the interactions.

Process of selection

To ascertain which Igorots were to be interviewed I considered people from different groups in relation to age, occupation, status, education and language spoken. This was for the purpose of trying to get a cross-section of experiences and perspectives (Babbie 2010; Bailey 2007; Stiffman 2009). To narrow down the scope of the study however, I considered only Igorots who come from interior communities. There were thirty-six participants who agreed to participate in this study. They comprised a sampling from younger generation Igorots, government workers, NGO workers, peoples' organisations and local experts from the three groups in the area*:* the *Ibaloys*, *Kankanaeys* and the *Kalanguyas.*

Community members who expressed interest in participating in the story sharing circles were listed and appointments were made as to when and where they were available. In keeping with the University's research ethics guidelines, the participants were asked to sign consent forms before the *pekiistorya* (story sharing) took place. Those who could not write or preferred to give verbal consent had a community elder, a community member, or the partner organisation staff acted as a witness to their agreed participation. Upon completion of intake of target participants and getting their informed consent, the participants were orientated on the research objectives and the process of the *pekiistorya*. Most participants preferred to share their stories at the community centre after their activities but there were those who wanted to do it in their homes while others had our team visit their home after their farm work. The NGO workers and the government and private organisation staff were invited to participate in the research via courtesy calls and office visits. Those who lived in town centres invited me either to their offices or to their homes for the story sharing and informal conversations.

Re-experiencing the Igorot community life

Community immersion in villages took three to four days for each visit. I participated in community activities such as story sharing and informal conversations with individuals and groups; I observed, listening (Steinhauer 2002; Kahakalau 2004) in community meetings, trainings and seminars, rituals and other events. This approach of rapport building (Pe Pua, 2000) made the participants more comfortable in sharing their thoughts towards the research topic during the informal sharing of ideas. In some instances, I also participated [*peki-da/peki-man*] in community activities such as farm work, rituals and at times, I just 'hang around' as part of relationship building with the community and just listening, observing and involving myself in the experience of community life. In all my interactions with the community, it was also important in gaining the peoples' trust that I communicated with them in the local language (*Ibaloy, Kankanaey* or *Kalanguya*). I endeavoured to maintain 'cultural credibility' in the study by making a conscious effort to 'operate' within the Igorot cultural systems and 'set aside' my 'western-acquired' way of life throughout the fieldwork (Steinhauer 2002; Lavallee 2003; White 2007; Wilson 2008).

Given the fact that knowledge making in the traditional Igorot setting resides in the elders, two elders and a community worker from the partner organisation agreed to assist me and give cultural advice for this study. They served as 'guides' to help ensure that the processes undertaken throughout the research process respected the *Igorot* culture and spoke of their reality (Abluyen per. comm., 10 May 2009).

Re-experiencing 'familiar' village life is an important journey for an 'insider' researcher; but also presents challenges (Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Morgan 2006; Sikes & Potts 2008) between being an 'objective insider' (a researcher seeking to

answer research questions) a *kailian* (fellow community member), and as a fellow Igorot woman from the village (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). While in the field I had to balance immersing myself in experiencing and re-learning the Igorot community life while fulfilling my traditional role as an Igorot woman to my own family and community.

THE RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

In keeping with the research design and purpose, this study has attempted to put the Igorot research participants in the active role of talking and sharing their knowledge system and practices about community development. Initially, only thirty participants were targeted for the study but during the community visits, six more participants were interested in involvement. During the informal interviews, the participants were among other community members as it was not possible to have a segregated space for the purpose of the *pekiistorya* and *pekitabtaval* because most of the time they share common spaces at home, farm work and during community events. The Igorot community is characterised as collectivist, most activities are done in groups and rarely are things, especially farm work, done individually. Table 1 presents the basic profile of Igorots who participated in the study, to honour and respect the participants 'knowledge' they contributed to this study, with their consent, the table contains their real names, age bracket, language spoken and occupation:

Table 1: The Igorots in the study

Name	Age bracket	Language spoken	Occupation
Ruth-Ann Kingay	Early 20s	Kankanaey	college student
Shirley Francisco	Early 20s	Kankanaey	college student
Lolang Tamay	Early 60s	Kankanaey	small scale farmer
Coloma Laoyan	Mid 60s	Kankanaey	small scale farmer
Domingo Fermin	Mid 40s	Kankanaey	small scale farmer
Hesusa Fermin	Early 40s	Kankanaey	small scale farmer
Ana Fermin	Early 50s	Kankanaey	small scale farmer
Senia Lo-ot	mid 40s	Kankanaey	per day labour
Wilman Gaydao	Mid 40s	Kankanaey	maintenance
Susana Lo-ot	Early 60s	Kankanaey	lives with children
Asuncion Anod	late 50s	Kankanaey	Head nurse, government hospital
Camilo Alumit	Mid 40s	Ibaloy	Provincial cultural officer
Charo Solimen	Late 20s	Kankanaey	Research officer, Municipal office
Geronimo Dalmacio	Early 70s	Ibaloy	*Mambunong* (native priest)
Pablo Abluyen	Late 50s	Kankanaey	Chief Executive Officer, NGO
Peter Cosalan	Early 60s	Ibaloy	University administrator
Eufronio Pungayan	Late 50s	Kalanguya	College professor
Juna Sabelo	Late 30s	Kankanaey	Teacher
Adel Timoteo	Early 40s	Kalanguya	Program coordinator

Name	Age bracket	Language spoken	Occupation
Bernadette Willie	Mid 50s	Kalanguya	Manager, cooperative
Nestor Caoili	Late 40s	Ilocano, Lowland	NGO volunteer group manager,
Aida Bayangan	Late 30s	Ibaloy	NGO worker
Adelina Pater	Early 60s	Kalanguya	Small scale farmer
Teddy Quintos	Early 40s	Ibaloy	*Barangay* Captain
Doria Reyes	Early 50s	Kankanaey	Strawberry farmer
Felix Pedro	Early 40s	Kankanaey	Daily wage farmer
Lucio Awidan	Early 40s	Kankanaey	Small scale farmer
Pedro Montero	late 40s	Kalanguya	Small scale farmer
Isikias Picpican	Early 50s	Kankanaey	Museum curator
Maria Tita Butz	Early 50s	Ibaloy	NGO Executive Officer
Lolong Osting	Mid 60s	Kankanaey	native priest
Moises Carpio	Late 40s	Ibaloy	farmer, labourer
Belmer Yano	Mid 40s	Ibaloy	Indigenous rights advocate
Crisanta Tacdoy	Late 50s	Kankanaey	Farmer
Aileen Adones	Early 20s	Ibaloy	college student
Meling Laoyan	Mid 60s	Kankanaey	elder, farmer

COLLECTION OF DATA

Deconstructing research methodology

Starting data gathering presented an unexpected turn in this study which required me to clarify my standpoint as a researcher. Let me go back to when I first started navigating my way through academic research in Australia:

One of the first realities I had to deal with was finding out that as a novice researcher; my being an Igorot bears no credibility in the academy because although I am an Indigenous person, I have not written any books, articles, journals or research reports that scholars can refer to. It was hard at first to accept that it is not the reality that a person lives but rather what the 'experts' write that matter in the 'academic world'. With this in mind, every scholar's work I found seemed to be the 'holders of truth' about me and my community; this made me question whether I could ever be part of the academic world. All the research I read seemed to be saying that they are the 'experts' that I should believe in. Academic experts, they seem to know and write about everything. I was overwhelmed and even got to a point of doubting who I am and what I could do. The experts' almost shouting to my ears that they have already written about me made me almost surrender to their claim of who I am. I almost agreed, that yes, they are the experts and I should 'bow down' to them as taught by my colonial background.

Constant prodding however from my supervisors motivated me to muster all the courage I had to find my voice in this study. My doubts and feeling of inferiority made it challenging for me because I thought of my disadvantaged background— non-native English speaker and writer, from a Third World country, from an Indigenous group, from a village. It was during the fieldwork that I finally had to accept the responsibility that came with my choice to do this study in a western academy. I went to the field thinking I was prepared to go back to my community and do the interviews in my own language. I went to the field with my guide questions for informal interviews, trying to memorise the questions in my mind only to find that the participants were not comfortable answering questions one after the other.

Few of the first participants who I tried to interview using a guide questionnaire ended up answering my 'numbered questions' with 'cold, dotted, few phrase answers' in the same manner that I structured my interview causing me to struggle to motivate further explanation for each answer given. At the end of the informal interview, I felt that I failed to give the initial participants the space to share their personal stories from which their perspectives of community development was built. This made me panic, again thinking that I will be in trouble If I do not follow what I planned in my research proposal and what I had submitted to the ethics committee of my university. Because I was in my community, the community leaders and the staff of the partner organisation were the proper people from whom I could seek feedback, which I did.

The elders recommended that I undertake the traditional ways of sharing knowledge among the Igorot community—the istorya and the informal tabtaval—and the other information I wanted to know would flow from there. I was also invited to participate in the community activities so I could observe and experience the realities of what the participants have mentioned. Even if most Igorots can read and write, their cultural ways of passing information and wisdom is still primarily by oral means. I knew all these but I was overwhelmed by the academic requirements and it took me until this event to realise that I had to change my thinking if I want to get the closest data that I could from the field. So in the following months of going to the community and living like any other village woman I came to the awareness of how to maintain respect to the community. It was when I released my fears of 'disobeying' the academic standards in data gathering that I began to feel free to explore the appropriate and culturally-sensitive ways of gathering the perspectives of the participants.

It was also during the fieldwork I decided to risk using the methods that work for the Igorots— their own ways of knowledge making. I then further investigated the process of knowledge making and discovered that the elders shared the pansukael *and* pansi-pot *which involves* panbisna, panbeka, peki-da/peki-man, pantetneng *and* panemnem. *These methods then replaced the informal interviews and questionnaire I earlier planned. More than anything the greatest realisation I had is in agreement with Pohlhaus' claim (cited in Nakakta 2007) that Indigenous researchers' being insiders does not give them the outright qualification to work with Indigenous research methodology. This challenge taught me that in research, experiencing 'the familiar' even if it means my own culture, entails 'taking off my shoes', unlearning and 'untying' my preconceived authority and notions of being an academic researcher in order to go to the community and 'connect' with the research participants effectively. I had to shed my colonial education, and freely be the village Igorot 'child' again who is eager to learn about life's and my own people's perspectives. By allowing myself to be a student of Igorot ways of knowing, I felt that the study purpose and perspectives took its shape.*

The measure of credibility of qualitative types of inquiry is that the data generated presents the world from the point-of-view of the participants rather than from the perspective of the researcher (Liamputtong & Ezzy 2005, p. 2). Being respectful according to Lavall□ee (2005) to the culture is a measure of research credibility in an Indigenous community. The two key principles of Indigenous research which serve as key decisions regarding research methods are: the researcher is accountable for the effects of the research project on the lives of the participants; and the purpose of research is to benefit the community and the people of the

community (Pillwax-Weber 2004, p. 4; Lavall☐ee 2009). In respect to the Igorot community systems and structures, community protocols were observed at every stage of the study. The research paradigm guided the data collection techniques in this study by following the cultural protocols in the community.

Story sharing in *inpakiistorya, inpakitabtaval*

The informal conversations conducted were placed in the context of the community experience and ways of sharing knowledge in the Igorot culture namely: *inpakiistorya* (story) and *inpakitabtaval* (focused conversation) following Gonzales' (1982) *pagtatanong-tanong* (asking questions one a time) as a Filipino research method; and Kahakalau's (2004, p. 19) talk story in the context of native Hawaiian culture. A semi-structured questionnaire was initially prepared as a method to conduct informal interviews; however, feedback from community leaders and staff from the partner organisation determined that it was not culturally appropriate because an informal interview is 'not the way' that Igorots culturally share information (Butz, *per. comm.*, 10 December 2008). Instead, individual and small conversations were done through story sharing called *peki-istorya* which means 'exchange conversation' which entails the sharing of ideas from both parties. Initially, I would start *panbeka* (asking questions) from the participants about their community, their farming activities, organisation activities, family life and other things that they were comfortable talking about. They started sharing their stories, experiences and perspectives and from here, I began to ask information related to my research topic.

In exchange, I also shared information about myself, my village, my family, and my experiences. The participants were also given the chance to ask if they had questions for me. In this process, again I had to be mindful that as an Indigenous

researcher, I was on an equal 'ground' with the participants (Polhaus 2002) and I had to share stories that were at their 'level' and 'context' to keep their trust and interest. Igorots in the villages often times distrust those who appear to be boastful of their experiences or qualifications gained outside the community (i.e. education or overseas experience).

Story sharing (*inpakiistorya*) is a common way of building rapport in an Igorot community. It is also a common way of tracing the genealogical background of ancestors called *tonton*. At first, the topics for the *inpakiistorya* may not be directly related to the research topic but this was the preparatory step of 'loosening up' that made the participants comfortable in sharing their ideas and experiences when we eventually talked about the research topics.

Sharing and discussion circles in *pan-iistorya, pantatabtaval*

Lavallee (2009) used sharing circles in the context of her research with Canadian Indigenous Peoples. She used the method for gathering stories, experiences and learning about the participants' feelings and perspectives. In the Igorot context, sharing and discussion circles are called *pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval,* both methods involve a group discussion and exchange of ideas based on a topic started by a facilitator or main story teller. *Pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval* traditionally happen when people are having a break from work or during community gatherings and rituals; by sitting (on the ground or inside the house) facing each other in a circular-like formation. These serve as a way of relaxation and information sharing depending on the topics discussed and could also motivate sharing of deeper perspectives, ideas and feelings from the participants. Traditionally, the process of *pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval* is where elders share wisdom from the metaphors of

life and experiences. Lively debates about differing views, jokes and humorous stories can also come out making the sharing and discussion circle a fun activity.

The sessions for the *pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval* done in this study were divided into three: one for young people, one for the parents and elders and one for the community development workers. The topics for the discussions were: 'what comes to mind with the mention of community development?', 'what do you think can bring development to the Igorot community?' and 'what forms of development do you wish to see happening in your community?' The *pan-iistorya* was able to bring out the participants' views, experiences, issues and concerns about the continuing development happening in the community which the participants referred to as 'the changing times'. The sharing circles took place either in a community member's house or a community centre whatever was more comfortable for the participants. As a sign of respect, I provided tea as a way of thanking participants for volunteering their time. For the village-based venues, a few grocery items like sugar, coffee and fresh bread were given as a present to the host family.

In the sharing circles of *pan-iistorya* and *pantatabtaval*, I participated both as a facilitator (*peki-man/peki-da*) for the discussions and at other times, I was a passive participant observing (*panbisna*) and listening (*pantetneng*). As a facilitator, I could 'direct' the topic for the sharing circle but as a listener, I came to know more details and background of the participants' opinions, perspectives and community dynamics.

Data analysis in *pan-oolnong and panemnem* in the *Tree of Life (kiyew) Analysis*

For the analysis of my research data, I combined the qualitative data analysis with text and word segregation, coding (Glesne 2006), describing, classifying and connecting (Dey 1993), guided by the feedback from the research participants in the

process called *pan-oolnong* (gathering). *Pan-oolnong*, which happened towards the end of the fieldwork, was conducted to present the results of the interviews and gather the participants' feedback and reflection on the data gathered. Group and individual reflection (*panemnem*) was also done which helped make the 'connections' between participants' responses; and to understand the situated nature of participants' 'interpretations and meanings' (Ezzy, 2002, p.81). The interview transcripts were presented during the Indigenous knowledge discussions called *pan-oolnong/pan-aaspul* to let participants know the draft result of their participation in the research work. The *pan-oolnong* also involved some elders providing ideas and historical background and the context of the responses gathered from the interviews.

When I came back to Australia to write up the data analysis, I continued classifying the different themes from the data and was finally able to present it through the *Kiyew Analysis* (Tree of Life Analysis) with the assistance of two elders who continued to work with me throughout the research process.

Maintaining respect, reciprocity and research integrity

Traditionally in seeking wisdom, I am considered 'too young' as captured in the saying by elders that 'you still have a lot more water to drink' to people who have not yet reached the elderly age and claim or act like they have more wisdom than the elders. This is because, as noted, the cultural credibility to talk about Indigenous wisdom resides in the elders. These elders were given the authority and the credibility of leadership on two accounts: authority of experience and authority of appointment (Buoma & Ling 2004). For Indigenous research to be credible, it is deemed important therefore to include Weber-Pillwax's (as cited in Steinhauer 2002, p. 4) 3R's guiding researches which are 'respect, reciprocity and relationality'. The

researcher must also come to a deep understanding of the cultural protocols, values and beliefs of the Indigenous communities where they are conducting the study (Steinhauer 2002). As part of respecting the Igorot cultural beliefs, I organised with one of the elder participants a cultural blessing ritual for me and the staff from the partner organisation towards the end of the fieldwork. My parents also organised a 'send-off ritual' for me before I returned to Australia to continue this study. Aside from maintaining respect to culture, the rituals were also performed because Igorots view every human activity (such as this research) as a task that needs to be done with the blessing of the god *Kabunyan*, the ancestors and the spirits (Martin 2003). Two elders and a community worker volunteered as research assistants for the study serving as a guide in the research to ensure that the processes undertaken throughout the study respected and spoke of the Benguet Igorots' reality (Abluyen, *per. comm.*, 10 May 2009).

RESEARCH ETHICS AND CREDIBILITY

Social science research usually involves dealing with people, organisations and groups, and all dealings with people raise ethical issues. The ethical issues include the researcher's personal approach—loyalty, honesty, integrity, being considerate and prepared (Bouma 2000, p. 190). In this context, acting ethically also means putting the research in the hands of the research participants; this is a measure of research credibility in Indigenous research. Hingangaroa Smith (2001) reminds Indigenous researchers to satisfy not only the Indigenous community requisites of validity but also to fulfil the requirements of credible academic research as well. Martin confirms Hingangaroa Smith's claim by asserting that credibility should become a way of life for an Indigenous researcher:

> For the Indigenist researcher, acting in a culturally safe manner is a twenty-four hour per day situation. We are accountable to ourselves, our people and country and also the research for educational institutions of which we are also a part. So within Indigenist research, ethical rigour is part and parcel of our ways of knowing, being and doing. (Martin 2003, p. 4)

To apply the aforementioned principles, the researcher applied for and received ethics approval through the Australia Catholic University (ACU) Human Research Ethical Committee (HREC). To ensure authenticity and validation of data gathered (locally termed as *pengitudok*) the summary of data and analysis were presented to the research participants. Through community leaders, the researcher sought involvement of the participants not only during the data gathering but also in the summary and analysis of data gathered. The researcher will continue to keep in touch; as Steinhauer (2002) claims that Indigenous researchers' accountability is not only to the academy but most importantly to their relations, to their people and to their community.

CONCLUSION

This chapter described and provided an account and justification of the guiding ideas, and the methodology that underpin this research, exploring the community development concepts of the Igorot Indigenous Peoples of Benguet. Given the complex position of an Indigenous researcher, it was important that as an Igorot woman researching my own community that I deal with the layers of complexities of positioning, cultural and academic credibility and integrity throughout the research process.

The chapter began by tracing the relationship between the colonisation of Indigenous Peoples and the 'evolution' of approaches in researching Indigenous

communities. The chapter proceeded with a general overview of Indigenous participation in western academy and then went on to present the issues and debates surrounding Indigenous research. Recognising that research is a 'western-based' academic practice, the succeeding section of the chapter discussed the epistemological, theoretical and methodological grounding for the utilisation of Indigenous research methodology. The over-all theoretical bases of this study are comprised of the critique of modernisation theory by Dependency and World Systems theory, liberal development theories, and postcolonial and post-development theories; all contributing to how Indigenous Peoples and other marginalised populations position themselves in the whole discourse of development in communities.

The research epistemologies that I chose to inform this study are constructivist perspectives, which view truth as what humans make of their experiences and interactions; and Indigenous epistemology, which sees truth and knowledge as a product of human interaction with the different elements of the universe passed on for generations. More specifically, I used symbolic interactionism: people act on things based on its meaning to them; Indigenous Standpoint theory: the Indigenous researcher taking on a 'decolonising position' in the study, and Indigenous Worldview Construct: the centring of the relational interconnected philosophical views of the world.

After establishing the epistemology and theoretical perspectives, the chapter proceeded to discuss the primary employment of the Indigenous research methodology in this work, drawing from ethnographic research practices. The section presented examples of Indigenous research methodologies as used by scholars and researchers (Enriquez 1992; Graham 2005; Jimenez-Estrada 2005;

Martin 2003; Walker 2001). From these examples, the last part of the chapter proceeded in establishing the cultural context and concepts of researching the Igorots. In exploring the 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing' by the Igorots, *pansukael* (deep search of wisdom) and *pansipot* (careful investigation) were employed to work within the oral and experiential ways of knowing of the Igorots. Following the essence of *pansukael,* Igorot data gathering methods of *istorya* (story sharing/sharing circles), *tabtabal* (discussion circles) were used throughout the research process; and data was analysed with *pan-oolnong* (gathering), and *pannemnem* (reflection and evaluation) along with thematic classifications from the participants' stories. The data analysis was finalised in a *Tree of Life data analysis* (*kiyew*).

The journey of establishing the appropriate methodology in researching the Igorots attempts to bring into light a significant addition to the current reflexive research paradigms in the academy involving research with Indigenous populations. The Igorots allowing their oral and 'experiential knowledge systems' to be shared in academic research is their *adivay* (cultural sharing and connecting) to whoever comes across this piece of research. As an Igorot woman, re-experiencing my 'familiar' Igorot culture and allowing myself to once again be a 'learner' of the culture throughout the research drew me to a greater appreciation of one of the oldest source of wisdom—cultures and traditions.

CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITY AND DEVELOPMENT FOR THE BENGUET IGOROTS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis of the data gathered from the six months fieldwork for this study. With the help of the participants' reflection and suggestions the results of the data gathered were analysed and summarised with the use of a simple hand drawing called the *Tree of Life Analysis*,[16] (known as *kiyew* in Igorot) which symbolically represents the history of the Igorot people in Benguet from the time of their ancestors up to the present (see page 214). The use of hand drawings and caricatures to summarise or explain ideas is a common strategy used by community workers while giving village trainings in the Philippines.

The first part of this chapter (the roots of the tree) describes the Igorot understanding of community and development which include the different aspects of life from the traditional perspective. The second part (the trunk) deals with the changes ('changing times' as referred to by the participants) that have occurred over time in the Igorot community as a result of outside influences and the 'coming in of foreigners'. Along with the changes are also the issues and complexities faced by the present generation of Igorots. This section also includes the ways in which the Igorots today are coping with the 'changing times' (branches, leaves and fruits) as shown by the community development approaches currently being developed in Benguet communities.

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[16] This visual analysis was adopted from Indigenous scholar, Jimenez-Estrada who used the Tree of Life, *Ceiba* as a research methodology in her work with the Mayan Indigenous Peoples (Jimenez-Estrada 2005). The use of tree drawing is taken from the one of the community workers methods in delivering village-based training in Benguet. Aside from drawings, they also use caricature and cultural metaphors to summarise, discuss or share ideas to contextualise learning (Freire 1972).

It can be noticed in some sections that two or three different Igorot words are used to refer to one meaning (as indicated by '/'). This is to acknowledge the different terms used by the participants from the three main language groups namely *Ibaloy*[17], *Kankanaey*[18] and *Kalanguya*[19]. In keeping with the participants' request for authenticity[20], the real names of the participants and places they mentioned are referred to throughout this study.

THE *ILI,* THE IGOROT 'HOME' AND COMMUNITY

For the participants, 'ili'[21] is a very important part of Igorot identity. Manong Pablo, an elder describes the *ili* as the village or town where Igorots are born: '*nay-anakan*[22]'; where they grow up: '*binma-degan/dinmakdake-an*[23]'; where their family, relatives and clan lived and 'multiply'; '*ebonatan/nanganakan*[24]'; and, '*pan-udian/pantauli-an*[25]', the place where they will always come back to:

> *Traditionally, we believe that 'home' for the Igorots is the place where a child's umbilical cord was cut and placenta at birth was buried as described in the metaphorical expression '*naikautan di puseg' ('where the umbilical cord was buried')*. It was also believed that the place where the child's umbilical cord was cut and buried will be the home the child will always go back to wherever the child goes in adult life. As a member of an* ili, *the people valued their connection and relationship with the other members of the community whom they call* kaidian/kailian. *Whatever they did, they recognised relatedness with one another as '*kaidians/ kailians' *to refer to this sense of belonging to*

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17   *Ibaloy* is the language spoken by the ethno-linguistic group located in the Southern part of Benguet Province.

18   *Kankanaey* is the language and the ethno- linguistic group located in the northern part of the Province of Benguet.

19   *Kalanguya* is the language and the ethno-linguistic group located in the northwestern part of the Province of Benguet

20   The participants in this study viewed the use of their real names in this study is a sign that they are standing up for their words and stories.

21   *Ili* is a term that means 'home'.

22   *Nay-anakan* is a term referring to the place where a person was born.

23   *Binma-degan* is a term that refers to the place where a person grew up and was raised.

24   *Ebonatan* is a term that refers to where clans settled for generations.

25   *Pan-odian/pantaulian* means where one returns to after going out of the community for a period of time.

one ili. Kailian means the people who are from the same ili *or fellow community members. Because of this interconnectedness with everyone in the ili, the action of one member affected almost everyone in the community* (*inpakiistorya* en Manong Pablo, 2 March 2009).

The interconnectedness within the *ili* also extends to other communities. In meeting someone for the first time for example, people ask '*into di kad-anyo*' or '*tuwa e ili yo*' (*'which village or town do you come from*?'). By knowing this information, people start to do *tonton* (tracing back of ancestors' origins) and other related topics like clan history, work, farm crops and others. Exchanging conversations about the *ili* where one belongs makes people at ease to share their stories when they know that the person they are talking to is 'related' to them in some way. The relatedness makes people treat new acquaintances not as a stranger but like a family member. The expression '*enshi gayam e ap-afil, sangkakhait kito*' ('we are not strangers to each other, we are related') means that they are welcoming and accepting the person as someone belonging to their own family, clan and community. In working with participants in this research, I made sure that I introduced myself, and that they knew that my family are *bunal* (migrants) from Tuba, where my *ili is* and that my father and mother and their ancestors came from the municipalities of *Atok* and *Kibungan* respectively. The participants knowing that I am their *gait/khait (from similar clan or community of origin)* made them comfortable to share their stories. In one of the story telling sessions with participants from Kibungan, one of the participants used the phrase '*ili tako ed Kibungan*' ('our community in Kibungan'), the use of the word '*tako*' included me

as one among the community members in their *ili* (*Inpakiistorya* en Wilman, 14 December 2008)[26].

Pantingkhay ni khait (acknowledging others) is one of the simplest ways of maintaining loyalty and connection to one's *ili* and to one's *khait/gait*. Aileen, a college student explains how this is done:

> *When you meet fellow community members in the city or elsewhere, it is expected that you stop and recognise them by asking questions like 'where are you going?'; or exchange short conversations with them about how their family and relatives are doing; or merely smile to them and tell them where you are going. It is not much the information you give that is important but it is more the gesture of acknowledging them. This is a sign of being united as a member of one* ili (A. Adones, *inpakiistorya*, 1 December 2008).

Aileen also explained that *pantingkhay ni khait* is a way to balance out differences of social and economic status among community members in an *ili.* Often, community members feel shy acknowledging their *kailians* who are known to be *baknang* (rich) or those who had formal education because they feel inferior. But if educated people and the *baknangs* initiate and maintain doing the *pantingkhay ni khait*, the common people feel comfortable dealing with them despite differences in social and economic status.

Aside from 'relatedness' and kinship, the members of an *ili* share a common knowledge of their history, legends, folk tales and stories. For example, the stories of how villages were named and the entry of foreigners and missionaries into the land are known to most members of the community. From the story of Coloma (*istorya en Coloma, 13 December 2008*) by an elder participant, the village of *Dayukong* in the municipality of *Kapangan* got its name from the first people who lived in the area generations ago. '*Dayukong'* (literally means 'lake-like') refers to the deep dug out

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[26]   Story sharing with Wilman.

portions of the mountains formed by strong running water from rains and typhoons temporarily forming 'lake-like' water formations.

'Apunan' is the name of another village in *Kapangan* and in most communities in Benguet refers to places where the early people grazed cows, carabaos, horses and other animals. 'Apunan', (literally meaning 'a gathering place') where cows are gathered together for feeding and giving of salt. According to Professor Jimmy Fong (J. Fong, *per. comm.*, 2 February 2009) who is an Ibaloy from Kapangan, *Apunan* is also a reminder today of the memories of the pasture lands of early Benguet people and the 'Benguet cowboys' which are now extinct. *Kapangan* is believed to have been named when Americans (who the people call *Merikano*[27]) first visited the area and asked one of the local Igorots 'what is the name of this place?' The local not knowing and understanding what the strangers said and thinking that the strangers were hungry answered '*kaladjo kayo pangan*' ('come, you go eat') and offered food to them. The foreigners then remembered the place by naming it 'Ka-pangan' (literally translated as 'come, have some food').

Other *ilis* are known for what their great ancestors did. According to Pablo, another elder whose ancestors came from *Buguias* and *Kibungan*:

> *My sense of history is that my ancestors came from Kibungan (mother) and Buguias (father). My father came from an area where the known warrior ancestors originated—Samiklay—my late-late grandfather was known for fighting hard to protect his community from enemies (called busol) and for passing on to his children and grandchildren 'faithfulness' to the traditional values, beliefs and practices. I think what is glaring about my history is the rootedness of my ancestors in the culture* (Manong Pablo, *inpakiistorya*, 2 March 2009).

The stories of each *ili* in some way reflect characteristics of the people in a certain location. *Buguias, Kibungan* and Pablo's community in *Lucnab*, for example

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[27]   Merikano is the term used by the Igorots of Benguet to refer to American people

are known to be keepers of traditional culture. Many families in these *ilis* still perform traditional rituals and practices today. The participants claim that in their present *ili*, they recognise greatly the traditional understanding of the different aspects of life as passed on to them by their ancestors. The next section provides a description of how early Igorots operated in the *ili*.

NONTANDA: THE IGOROT TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMMUNITY

According to the participants, the traditional practices of their ancestors are still relevant in the development of their community today. *Nontanda* ('in the olden days...') is the common expression that they start with when asked about their understanding of community. '*Nontanda...*' as integrated in their stories also refers to a comparison of their present situation with the time of their early ancestors.

Community life and living

Traditionally, Igorots lived a self-sufficient economy. The land where the Igorots work and traditionally get food for survival is considered a very important resource of the *ili*. Working on the land for them is a basic skill that is passed through generations. They grew crops in the *oma*[28] and the *payew* (rice field) for the consumption of the family and raised livestock for the family's meat supply and for different rituals and occasions. Only a minimal percentage was used for trading within the community and with 'lowland'[29] tradesmen. Cosalan, a member of a prominent Ibaloy clan explains the traditional views about economy for the Benguet Igorots:

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[28]   *Oma* refers to the clearing in Igorot upland farming.
[29]   General reference to mainstream Filipino groups.

...the concept of the market is an occidental matter. In other words, the traditional Benguet family was a self-sustaining family. Their production levels were plainly for the self, family and clan. In other words, they did not talk about being commercialised... European missionaries who lived with the Igorots for many years have recorded Igorot Indigenous Peoples' traditions—that when the people went to the gold mines where they extracted gold from nature, they only mined out what they needed to exchange with lowlands products like salt, sugar and clothing, products they didn't produce in the highlands. They did not take more than needed. They did not have the concept of extracting and accumulating wealth from natural resources... (P. Cosalan, *inpaki-istorya*, 9 March 2009).

In addition to the self sufficient way of living, Pablo adds that in activities like hunting, fishing and cutting trees, the basic principle of 'take only what you need' was applied because Igorots believed that they co-exist with other living beings:

...if you were a good hunter and you already hunted 12 of each kind of wild animal like Macawas *(wild deer),* Ugsa *(wild pig) in your entire life, then you should stop hunting because you already had so much. When people travelled by feet in the mountains, there was* illengan *(resting spot) where people stopped and ate whatever food they brought with them, drink water, and rest a bit before continuing with the journey (there were no access roads or public transport so people need to walk to reach places). If you were a traveller and you had left-over food, you have to wrap it nicely and leave it in a spot in the* illengan *for the next traveller or hunter who might need food. But if they did not need the food, then it was left to rot for the nourishment of the earth.*

So for a hunter or a traveller who was hungry, they just went to the illengan *to see if there was food and water left by other travellers... I think you also have heard about the story where when you see a guava tree full of ripe fruits, you should only pick the ripe fruits that you can eat and leave the rest for the next person who might pass the same way or for animals in the forest that might need food. Don't get all the ripe ones and put them in your bag!*

The reason why people in the past survived despite the fact that they travelled solely by foot was because aside from the food available in the

mountains, they only got what they needed… (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 10 March 2009).

According to the participants, the farming practices of early Igorots took into consideration other life forms such as insects, birds, and wild animals including wild rats, pigs, chickens, eagles, deer and monkeys. To maintain balance, the Igorot farmers developed farming practices and rituals so they were able to prevent the destruction of their crops by wild animals and yet try to share a portion of the crops with them. During the maintenance of the crops, farmers prepare baits or some locally made poison to control the destruction of their crops but after harvesting the rice field, the farmer would leave the small stalks of *palay* for the wild birds to eat. The terraces will be left irrigated for some months letting few more *palay* stalks and other weeds to grow for food for other creatures.

The clearing, called *oma* was also maintained by the farmers for a year or two. After that, they would leave whatever crops they planted as food for monkeys, wild pigs, deers and other animals in the forest. The practice of leaving the land uncultivated for months or years was also part of letting the soil regain its fertility after being used up during the cropping period. In their small rituals, the farmers pray for a bountiful harvest and make sure not to curse the wild creatures because it was believed that failure to respect and share with other living beings could create 'misfortunes' to humans who are working and living in the land *(*P. Abluyen*, inpakiistorya, 10 March 2009).*

Aduyon/amoyo/alluyon

Working together also forms part of community life in an Igorot community. According to Ruth-Ann, a youth leader, *aduyon* and *innatang* are the two practices

that still exist today in Igorot communities. *Aduyon* is a form of labour exchange where able members of the family help their neighbor in their farm work, usually at clearing, planting and harvesting time. This is done until all members of the community have finished their major farm work for the season. The host family usually feeds everyone who comes to help them and in cases where someone cannot do the *aduyon* for the neighbour who helped them, they can come at harvest time to get the agreed pay in terms of farm products. One version of *aduyon* is *kamal* where the host family would butcher an animal to share to the neighbours who come to help in the family work.At the end of the work day, the host distributes the remaining meat to all those who participated in the farm work to thank them for their help. (R.A. Kingay, *inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 4 December 2008).

Innatang is another practice that translates to helping one another, especially in times of need; for example, in times of loss of a loved one or in the case of illness of a family member. Tyson, a youth leader claims that carrying a sick community member to the nearest hospital is a common practice especially in the olden days where there were no roads or vehicles or health services available during health emergencies. When a neighbour is sick and cannot be cured by the traditional ways of healing, the men in the community were requested to take turns to manually carry the sick person by *aksiw* (blanket hammock) or *eba* (piggy back carry) to the closest health facility accompanied by a member of the family. This is one way where the responsibility towards each others' welfare and doing favours for each other with no cost were developed. Some of the participants discourage paying a community member who does a favour for a neighbour because of the fear of losing the essence of the *innatang* practice (T. Bayacsan, *inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 4 December 2008)[30].

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30   Story sharing with young people in *Kankanaey*.

Ulnos/urnos were also identified as a strong part of Igorot community life. *Urnos* is closely related to *innatang* where the concern is focused on the welfare of the many. *Urnos* is explained by the participants as the effort of everyone in the community to maintain good relationships with one another and supporting each other. Ruth-Ann, explains how *urnos* is done in her hometown in Tublay:

> *If you know that a person is your* 'gait'*, you will treat the person as a brother or sister, not only sharing resources and helping each other in times of need but also inviting them during rituals and celebrations. In weddings for example, the community help each other in the preparation of the event—from gathering firewood, preparing the house where they will hold the event, cooking, and entertaining visitors.*

> *There are also times when they do the* 'patak-patak' *where some relatives contribute some amount to buy* cavans *(sack) of rice or an animal as a help to the new couple.*

> *Even in simple ways like a neighbour has a visitor from another ili. As neighbours, we treat the visitors as our guests too so we go and make* adibay *(entertain and interaction) with them. When there are rituals in the neighbourhood, we also go because we are one as a community* (R.A. Kingay, *inpakiistorya so ni aanak*, 4 December 2008).

Despite recognising relatedness and kinship, the Igorots in the past maintain some degree of 'individuality' as shown in their concept of property and land ownership.

Property and land ownership

During training on the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA)[31] conducted by *Alluyon*, an organisation of Indigenous Peoples' Organisation (IPO) in Benguet, the topic of land ownership was discussed by the elders who traced back the concept of land among Benguet People. Based on the result of the discussions, Belmer, the

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[31] IPRA is the law created through Republic Act 8397 of the Republic of the Philippines recognising the rights on Indigenous Peoples like the Igorots.

facilitator, confirmed that land ownership in Benguet is based on family and clan-based ownership [B. Yano, *IPRA Trainers Training*, 18-20 February 2009]. The ownership of land was based on who cultivated it first shown by a ritual called *boton* (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008). Lolang Tammay, one of the female elder participants whose ancestors settled in Itogon believes her great ancestors approved them settling in the area because they experienced peace of mind, family members were in good health and the crops and livestock production went well after performing the *boton* (Lolang Tammay, *inpakiistorya,* 15 January, 2009).

Land inheritance was considered sacred and land was not allowed to be sold rather it was intended as a source of living, where the children work and build their own lives especially when their parents die. The land was owned by the family, and then divided among children as inheritance called *'tawid'* when they marry. Inherited lands had landmarks that served as boundaries such as creeks, springs, a stone or a tree, that reminded the owners of the coverage of their property. Before parents died, they made sure they showed their children what each one would get as their inheritance. This was done to prevent future conflicts. Inherited lands were expected to be taken care of by children as a precious memory of their parents' toil and love for them (L. Awidan, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008). The elders' discussion also added that land and other things inherited from parents and grandparents had to be kept sacred by whoever received it and made sure to pass it on to the succeeding generation. One of the participants mentioned what elders commonly say about land inheritance and ownership (IPRA Trainers Training, 20-22 February 2009):

> 'Say tawid, ampat maajuwanan,eg meba-bangat tep inayan, un-apos e engi-kan; un-abig e egma-sas'.*(An inheritance in any form should be taken care of, if not, the one who gave it will be sad and the spirits of the ancestors can cast a curse on the receiver*) (P. Montero, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December, 2008).

Despite the presence of property ownership, the farmer participants claim that the sharing of land space and its resources were practiced in the Igorot past. Lola Senia, one of the female elder participants shared her story of how her family lived cultivating a spare land property:

> *My parents' ancestors were poor and they did not own a wide piece of land so my parents' inheritance was not enough for us to cultivate as a family. I remember my father went to ask permission from one of the* baknang *(rich) clan in our* ili *(community) to let him cultivate the portions of their property that they were not cultivating, and the* baknang *agreed. My parents cultivated the land for free for many years without any rent. Sometimes, when we had good produce, we would give some of it to the family. I know people like us who were helped by the* baknang (S. Lo-ot, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Senia's observation is that in the past where there were still few people in the Igorot community and life was simple, it was easy for people to share their resources. Those who had land space that was not used could be cultivated by anyone for their living. Those who had more land and shared their resources, gained the respect and leadership in the community (W. Gaydao, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Leadership

Traditional leadership among the Igorots in Benguet was primarily held by elders and was attained in several ways: by social status (as a *baknang*); extending service to others and displaying good examples; and by having skills or traditional wisdom believed to be a gift from the ancestors and the god *Kabunyan* (G. Maximo, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008). According to Camilo, the cultural officer of the Province of Benguet, traditional leadership among Igorot people came naturally to those from a higher social status such as the *baknang* (rich) because aside from them coming from a big family or clan, the *baknang* were known to have performed all the

required traditional rituals (locally termed as *kedot* but more popularly as *kanyaw*), and owned wide pasture lands, rice fields and livestock which were the major criteria of wealth in the past (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008). People go to the *baknang* not only to ask for material help, but also to seek advice concerning traditional rituals. Other participants claim that families and clans who were known for their service to the community even if they were not necessarily *baknang* were also considered leaders. For example, a family whose house is 'open' to feed and accommodate strangers is described in the local language as '*samaran e baley to*' (meaning 'where most travelers drop by') also included are those who help in community events and activities and assist other community members in need (M.T.P Butz, *pan-oolnong*, 13 May 2009).

Another category of leaders were less well known. These leaders are '*ka-ege-eget*'; they teach others in the community through their specialised skills. During a *kanyaw*[32], they were the ones who knew how to perform the ceremonies and the proper procedures of preparing the animal offerings, which involves butchering, cooking, cutting-up, and distribution during community meal times (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 2 April 2009). Aside from the butchers and cooks, the traditional instrument players were also included in this category. These skilled people have to stay awake all night during rituals because it was to them that the native priests gave instructions for the ritual rites and entertainment of the community. Camilo also explains that it takes many years of apprenticeship for someone who wants to learn the skills of the ceremonial butchers and musical instrument players. These skills according to him are 'specialised' in a way because a mistake in handling the animals that are offered to the ancestors could lead to having to do the ritual again. In

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[32]   Kanyaw is the mainstream term for Igorot rituals.

playing musical instruments, all *kalsa* (gongs), *solibaw* (drums) and other instrument players must blend together to motivate not only the community people to dance, but also the spirit of the ancestors to accept the ritual being offered by the host family (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008).

Finally, the last type of leadership in the traditional Benguet community belonged to the holders of traditional wisdom; believed to be given special skills by the ancestors and by the god Kabunyan (G. Maximo, *inpakiistyorya*, 22 December 2008). They comprised the *mambunong*, *mengsas, memontos, mansi-bok* and the *menudong.* According to Lolong Geronimo, the community people usually go to these traditional healers to ask for advice or guidance related to rituals and spirituality. These leaders, like Lolong Geronimo believe that the skills they use to help other community members were specially passed on to them by their ancestors (G. Maximo, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2008).

Asun, a *Kankanaey* nurse tried to distinguish these traditional wisdom holders from each other. The *mambunong* is the native priest who presides over and prays for all the rituals performed while the *mengsas*, *memontos* and *mansi-bok* are the people who are able to diagnose what type of rituals have to be done to cure a certain type of illness. The *menudong* is the general term to refer to people who have the skills to fix sprained ankles, entangled veins, and body joint pains through bare hand massage *(mengidot).* They can also be the traditional birth attendants (*manpa-enak*) (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008).

In general, Camilo and other participants describe the leadership of Benguet Igorot people as 'leadership by action' because the community leaders did not promote themselves or their skills to anyone inside or outside the community. Tita, a

chief executive officer of an NGO and an elder, describes leadership of Benguet people as 'silent and action-based':

> *Traditionally, our ancestors did not promote themselves or their skills for other people to believe in them. 'Ikuwansha et ali e edastog kita'* *('people might think that you are arrogant'). Igorots do what they can and other people will be the ones to say if the person was doing good or not. If people come to our ancestors, then it was a sign that they were doing good leadership. If people were aloof to them, this was a sign that they needed improvement on how they relate to other people in the community* (M.T.P. Butz, *inpakiistorya*, 16 February 2009).

According to Geronimo, the traditional healers as holders of traditional wisdom like a *mambunong* (native priest); have to keep the 'sacredness' of their *Kabunyan* and ancestor- given skills. For him, he had to maintain 'discipline' so that the 'gift' of helping others will be effective. He also said it was a challenge for him accepting the 'gift':

> *When my father died I did not have any idea that he would give me his skill as* mambunong. *The way he handed it to me was through a series of dreams. At first, I resisted and did not want to accept it until I fell seriously ill. I then was forced to ask the elders about it; they advised me to accept the 'gift' and warned me to be patient and be ready do a lot of sacrifice because it is not easy...people come and call me to go even to very far places.*

> *Traditionally, there were only one or two people chosen to be* mambunong *in a community. This makes the task of a* mambunong *hard. I ask people who are older than me to be the ones to do it but they say they cannot do it. When I go home after every ritual I perform, I make sure that I help people the best I can by observing* silib *(traditional discipline) so that the family who hosted the ritual will receive the blessings they need. I keep the fire at home burning* (isingpetko ngo e apoy ko) *to continue to pray for them…* (G. Dalmacio, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008).

Geronimo shared that he eventually had to develop patience and acceptance of his role as a *mambunong* to help people in the community (*G. Dalmacio, Inpakiistorya, 21 December 2008).*

Decision making and the justice system

Directly related to the leadership in the traditional *ili* was the leaders crucial role in decision making and in ensuring that the justice system is maintained in cases of conflicts. Belmer, the President of a Peoples Organisation (PO) claims that traditionally, community leaders were not elected or nominated in a position. The people trusted and went to them to seek advice or to act as mediators when there were issues and conflicts in a family or among community members (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya*, 9 February 2009). Primarily, the elders used the customary laws and justice system to help facilitate the solution on a case presented before them. The process of conflict resolution in Benguet is called *tongtong* (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya*, 9 February 2009).

A discussion of the process of *tongtong* was elaborated in one of the workshops for elders that Yano facilitated (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya shi nangkaama*, 12 February 2009)[33]. According to the elders, parties involved in a conflict call for the presence of the respected elders and community members in a community assembly. Examples of conflicts cited by the participants were related to relationships (between husband and wife or neighbours); property matters (like loss of animals or destruction of crops by a neighbour's animal; conflicts on land boundaries) or behavior-related (stealing of livestock; quarrels or someone causing trouble to others in the community) (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya shi nangkaama,* 12 February 2009). In the process of the *tongtong,* both parties were given the chance to talk about the event that caused the conflict and present their own 'side' of the story. This was followed by interrogation by the group of elders and through the

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[33]   Consultation with elders.

conversations; they are able to make the person at fault admit the mistake done (D. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009).

Lolong Coloma, an elder in Kapangan also explained that the overall aim of *tongtong* was for both parties to come to an amicable settlement of the conflict so throughout the process, the elders maintain a calm, non-judgmental attitude towards both parties; and let them agree on the solution to their problem (Lolong Coloma, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009). In the case of an animal destroying another neighbour's crops, both parties might agree to settle it in terms of money or in kind, such as crops or animals to pay the damage called *multa*. When the case is settled, an elder says a prayer for the broken relationship to be restored and healed. Both parties are advised to perform a ritual (*mansingpet*) in their own homes for cleansing purposes.

The same strategy was applied to a husband and wife who were in conflict. Since separation was not culturally accepted, the elders would help both parties explore ways to improve their relationship. Whoever committed the error, the elders gave their *yamyam* (a strong word of reprimand) to challenge the person to improve their attitude (Lolong Coloma, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009; B. Willie, *inpakiistorya*, 29 March 2009). Lolong Coloma, Manang Ana and Doming who are *Kankanaey* community leaders explained that in the *tongtong* process for couples, elders try to dig out on the root cause of the problem and recommend a solution usually by citing their own story or someone's story. The couple in conflict was encouraged to see themselves in the story and in the end, talk about out how to solve their own marital problems and ask forgiveness from each other (A. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009).

For heavy crimes like murder and theft where no one admits fault, a heavier way of trial was applied. There were two ways of finding out the truth in a case. One was the process of *sapata,* which was vowing for truth in front of the god *Kabunyan* and the ancestors. Each person suspected to be involved in the crime was asked to profess before *Kabunyan* of their innocence in the crime and swear that if found *guilty* would accept the curse or misfortune as a consequence of the act. Below was a translated sample of the oath of truth, *sapata* given by the *Kankanaey* participants from *Kapangan*:

> *'O God Kabunyan, the moon and the sun and the kaapoan (ancestors), you who see all that is happening in this world. I declare that I am not responsible in _____ (mentions the crime). If I am, I accept that my right leg will turn lame …'*(Lolong Coloma, *inpakiistorya*, 13 December 2008).

After the *sapata* was made by both parties, the community will watch for the results. Even if the elders did not declare who was guilty, it was believed that time revealed the truth. Domingo, for example shared a story about a case where a man made a *sapata* that he did not steal a neighbour's property and declared that *Kabunyan* could make him lame if he did the crime. Not long after, his neighbour's noticed that he started limping (D. Fermin, *inpakiistroya*, 14 March 2009). Domingo thinks that *sapata* really works:

> *...this is how life gets back to us, we may not see the consequences of what we do now but it will come back to us or to our children or to the next generation. I think that is how the universe operates...* (D.Fermin, *inpakiistroya*, 14 March 2009).

In serious crimes, another way of reprisal for a crime was through a curse ritual called *ba-oas* where an elder prays for justice to be served (with only

Kabunyan as witness) to cause misfortunes to whoever is at fault in a crime (D. Fermin, *inpakiistroya*, 14 March 2009).

Aside from domestic problems that elders have to mediate through *tongtong*, they also lead the community to face issues that affected everyone. Many of the elder participants could recall that during the war known as *timpo ni gubat* (American-Spanish; American-Japanese wars) illnesses occurred (malaria, chicken pox, diarrhea) throughout the community and many people died (C. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009). During those difficult times, the elders and able bodied men had to lead the community to safe evacuation places *(panbakwit)* so as not to get caught up in the fighting (D.Fermin, *inpakiistorya ed Bileng*, 14 March 2009) [34]. Lolong Coloma claims that other Igorots in the community were recruited to fight in the war to support the American soldiers, who are now called *beteranos* (war veterans). It took years before people went back to their original *ili* (community) after the war while the rest had to find areas of settlement (C. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009).

Although the participants were unable to recall their immediate ancestors training for tribal wars; some, like Ibaloy University Professor Eufronio Pungayan thinks that Igorots in Benguet must have gone to war against other groups as evidenced by the stories of slaves *(bagaen)* from other places who served as workers of the *baknang* (rich). Slaves were believed to be brought home by Igorot men who were victorious in wars. Pungayan also added that there was a possibility that Igorots in Benguet a long time ago practiced headhunting like other Igorot groups in the Cordillera Region as a way of developing bravery and leadership, and in defense of the welfare of the traditional *ili* (community) from outside incursion. Going to war

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[34] Story sharing in a village called 'Bileng' in Kapangan, Benguet.

and headhunting were believed to be associated with the traditional dance called *Bendiyan,* where the dancers form layers of circles with the men on the outermost circle, followed by the women and then the children (symbolising the men protecting the women and children). Pungayan claims that the *Bendiyan* was more associated with a victory (in war) dance rather than simply a thanksgiving dance as other people claim (E. Pungayan, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009).

Social status

As mentioned earlier, land and livestock possession, and rituals performed demonstrate the social status among the Igorots in Benguet. This social status existed during their lifetime on 'earth' and extended into the time of death. Charo, a researcher for the municipality of Kibungan explained that historically, there were two predominant social statuses that existed among early Igorot people. These were the *baknang* (rich) and the *ebiteg/nabiteg* (poor). The *baknang/kadangyan,* acquire their social status by the inheritance of leadership and material possessions of their ancestors; and some acquired their social status by striving and working hard (C.Solimen, *inpakiistorya* en Charo, 23 December 2000). The other end of the spectrum of the *baknang/kadangyan* status was the poor, *ebiteg/nabiteg* that owned and cultivated a small area of land with all material resources being just enough to sustain their family survival. They often needed to ask for help from others especially from the *baknang* (C.Solimen, *inpakiistorya* en Charo, 23 December 2000). For one of the female participants, Susana Lo-ot*;* being *nabiteg,* meant that they often had to work for the *baknang* (farm work) and ask for in kind payment (usually rice) to add to what they could harvest in their small plot. (S. Lo-ot, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Aside from economic and leadership privilege, the *baknang* were also given special treatment during rituals. According to Adelina, one of the Kalanguya elder participants:

> *When a* baknang *attends a community ritual, the person is usually given a special treatment in the sense that the meat distributors become mindful of what to give them as their share during the community meals. The* baknang *are usually given the best parts of the butchered animals* (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009).

Charo showed some photos of coffins placed in stone caves. He said that the caves, usually located in high mountains overlooking the community, served as the traditional burial places of the *baknang/kadangyan* in the past. Prior to keeping the body in the burial cave, the *baknang* who dies is placed in a *sangadil/sinadag*[35] to preserve the body from decay.

> *There were no cemeteries in the olden days. Igorots believed that when the dead is placed in a cave or in a high mountain, the spirit could still have a good view of the community. For those who have graduated from performing the rituals, they are considered rich so as a form of respect, they put* carabao *head design of the coffin before it is carried to stone caves for final resting… And mostly the rich ones do the* sinadag. Sinadag *is done to respected people (those who have finished cultural rituals from the ninth stage and up[36]). When the person dies, they would sit him down on an elevated chair throughout the wake exposed to the crowd. The elders in such a way will fix the position that it will not scare away people—they would fix the face, the eyes and mouth. On the side, they will maintain a burning fire and make sure that no flies come. The normal count of wake is nine days. Coffins are made in the community; they use wooden nails because iron nails are not allowed— any material that rusts is believed to bring impurities to the dead and this might disturb his journey and affect his being accepted by the spirit world ancestors (C.* Solimen, *inpakiistorya en Charo, 23 December 2009).*

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[35] *Sangadil/sinadag* is the first stage of that believed to be similar to mummification process where the
body of the dead is placed in a seated position during the wake while preserved by smoke.

[36] The number of times a family hosts a ritual, especially the festivities called *peshit*, is counted and this
determines their social status. A family who has reached the ninth stage would be considered rich and
their death ritual is done differently from the commoner, through the *sinadag*.

Camilo also mentioned a process done in the past which is similar to what is known as mummification in the municipality of *Kabayan* which is believed to be the seat of Ibaloy civilisation. For Camilo, the bodies in the caves of Kabayan are the early *baknangs* who were laid to their rest in the high mountain caves (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008).

Ancestors, spirits and *Kabunyan*

Igorots believe in 'relational' existence, not only with fellow humans and living beings but also, with the spirits dead ancestors, spirit of nature and in the supreme god *Kabunyan* who was believed to reside at *Mt. Pulag*[37]. Camilo elaborates that aside from their communal relationship with *kailians* (fellow community members), connection with the ancestors was very important as it was believed that they act as the 'mediators' between the world of the living and the world of the spirits and serve as 'intercessors' (on behalf of the living) to the god *Kabunyan* (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2008).

Ancestor spirits are called *kaameran/a-mmed/kaapo-an*. According to Lolong Coloma, when someone dies; it was believed that the spirit of the person still continues to look after the living as the person's spirit joins the other ancestors in the spirit world—where *Kabunyan* designated them to be. Performing rituals and traditional ceremonies were the ways of maintaining connection with the *kaameran*. Most of the participants revealed that their families have done rituals for the ancestors. In adding to Coloma's thoughts, Ana and Susana's story cites other reasons why Igorot people perform rituals for the ancestors;

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[37]   *Mt. Pulag*, located in the Municipality of Kabayan is the highest mountain peak in the Province of Benguet and believed to be the 'mountain of the gods' by the early Igorots. Today, *Mt. Pulag* has become a tourist destination for mountain hike and camping (C. Alumit, inpakiistorya, 22 December 2008).

Rituals that people performed for the ancestors in the past were ways of communicating with them like when they were still alive. When we performed rituals, it was because one of the ancestors requested it. The request was communicated through dreams, through illness that occurred to a family member; and through unusual events that may have happened in the household. People did not hold rituals for no reason. When parents die for example, all married children have to perform their own family rituals when they go to their own respective homes after the burial. This ritual is a way of thanking and giving respect to the parents for all the things they have done for their children their entire life (A. Fermin, *inpakiistorya ed Bileng*, 13 December 2008).

The spirits of nature were called *eg ma-sas/adi kaila* (C.Solimen, istorya en Charo, 23 December 2009). They are the spirits believed to be caretakers of nature or spirits of people who died who are still here in this world. There were good and bad spirits (I. Picpican, *inpakiistorya*, 12 April 2009). The good ones were believed to be friendly and provide humans with what they need and took care of nature's resources. The bad ones were those who harmed people. Manong Moses, an Ibaloy from Atok who travelled and worked in different areas in Benguet shared some stories about the importance of respecting the spirits of nature:

There was a natural hot spring located in one of the far villages in Benguet. The spring had existed in the area since time immemorial and so for many years, people had been using the spring for many beneficial uses: for bathing, cooking, washing and for curing skin-related illnesses. People in the village and from other places who had skin–related problems went to the hot spring to bathe themselves and after several times of soaking the body in the 'mud-smelling' water, the skin disease was cured. There was one time when the government attempted to make the area a tourist attraction so that the local government could make more money. The government started building swimming pools and fences around the hot spring. When the rainy days came, however, floods and strong rains washed all construction works and materials away. Nothing was left from the improvements made. The local government tried the same project a second time, then a third time but like the first ones; the construction was washed away by a typhoon. Finally, the government gave up making the place a tourist attraction. Locals in the area believed that the spirits taking care of the hot spring do not want it to be used for making money. At one time, there was a group of young people who claimed to be good swimmers who went

swimming in the nearby river without doing 'the ritual of asking permission' from spirits of the river. One of the good swimmers drowned.

In many other places, many caves have gone dead because people who visited them did not give any respect. People took away the crystals from the cave, they did not respect the cave…those who have no cultural beliefs do not understand that nature has its own spirit that must be respected. They do not believe in what elders say 'inayan, unbaos e eg ma-sas no angyaen ira' ('beware, the unseen spirits can get back at you when you harm them').

Igorots in the past did their share to take care of natural resources such as caves, rivers, the mountain, the forest and its living beings. This is the reason why old folks ask permission when they cut a tree, gathered honey from the beehive in the mountains, took a bath in the river or used any of nature's resources. They also made sure that they did not waste natural resources (M. Carpio, *inpakiistorya*, 15 March 2009).

Igorots in the past also were sensitive to the message of nature. People listened and believed when elders say that a certain act was *ngaaw/lawa* (not good), *pijew/paniyew* (taboo) or *mayat/siged* because they knew and have developed sensitivity to the signs—when it was going to rain and when there were long droughts. Manong Moses also claimed that the early Igorots worked with the signs of nature—they knew the proper time to plant and harvest their crops, they could tell from the flowers of plants and weeds when the typhoons were coming. They listened to the messages of the sounds of the birds and other animals. They listened and obeyed nature. The old folks memorised the changes in the seasons and they planted crops and worked according to what was appropriate in the law of nature…and *Kabunyan* (M. Carpio, *inpakiistorya*, 15 March 2009).

In the traditional Igorot world, the god, *Kabunyan* was believed to be the creator of all living beings including humans. Cosalan explains the Igorot relationship with *Kabunyan*:

According to the religious belief of Indigenous Peoples like the Igorots, we are all creatures of equal standing by a supreme being. The forests have their own anito *(spirits), we have our own souls and we have the* a-mmed*; the spirits of ancestors who have gone ahead of us. The belief in the unseen taught to us to believe in the creator* Kabunyan*, maintaining connection and respect for our ancestors and the spirits of nature.*

*So the animistic Igorot (as foreign writers call them), before he goes to his tunnel to dig gold or to the riverbed would offer something in 'exchange' for the gold that the person is extracting—it was symbolic. When a person goes hunting, he makes an offering (*memalti nin*)— performing certain rituals to 'ask permission' from nature—when he went to fish, he observed certain rituals… in other words, rituals were done for the purpose of respecting fellow creatures in nature; and ultimately* Kabunyan*, who is present in all living beings…* (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February, 2009).

Among all the other Igorot ethnic groups in the Cordillera Region, the people in the Benguet province were known to be the most ritualistic. They had the largest number of cultural rituals especially in terms of maintaining connection and remembering ancestors. The following section presents the general processes involved in family and community rituals.

Community and family rituals

The participants mentioned several purposes to performing rituals in the past (most of which are still observed today): prevention, curing an illness, and celebrating life's bounty (I. Picpican, *inpakiistorya*, 12 April 2009). Curative rituals are those related to illnesses caused by broken relationships; whether with other people, the environment or the ancestors. The common example given for a curative ritual was when a person got sick and doctors and modern technology were not able to diagnose the sickness, ; the family of the sick resort to seeking the help of *mansi-bok/mansib-ok* or the *mengsas* to determine whether the illness is caused by the

ancestors or other entities. Through the process called *manpa-sas*, the *kemengsas*, the traditional healer determines the cause of the illness. Then, instructions were given to the family on what to do, to perform a ritual to regain back the broken relationship.

One example of a case that needs to be treated by a ritual as shared by Picpican is the case of dead ancestors whose tomb might be ruined by roots of trees. A family member might suffer from an unexplained pain on the part of the body where the ancestors' body was being 'disturbed'. When the *puntos* or reading of the *mengsas* is correct, the sick person gets well. This serves as a sign for the family to go to the *mambunong* to perform the appropriate ritual. In this case, the ritual is usually a big one; with more animals to butcher with traditional dancing that could last for days (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 22 Decmber 2008). After the requested ritual is performed, the sick person gets back to normal health completely (I. Picpican, *inpakiistorya*, 12 April 2009).

In the past, rituals for curing illness also apply when Igorots have caused harm to the spirits of nature or the other way around (A. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009). Manang Ana, one of the Kanakanaey mothers who cited instances where people could harm nature's spirits such as: cutting down a tree believed to be the 'abode' of the spirits, hunting or harvesting forest products without doing the rituals of 'asking permission' from the spirits called *eg ma'sas* or *angpasit* (A. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009). These are considered minor rituals and do not require livestock for the ritual offering compared to the *kanyaw*. For example, in the ritual called *kesheng* the animals used for a 'reconciliation' offering were either a chicken or a pig and no traditional dancing and playing of gongs was involved. *Kesheng* was a ritual confined to the family and close neighbours. Also, minor rituals take only a few hours unlike the major ones that last for days with more preparation,

animals, and the whole community participating in it (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008).

The *manbunong* participants Lolong Osting and Lolong Geronimo think there were ways of keeping balance without having to perform frequent rituals. This was through the observance of daily prevention rituals that do not require the offering of animals. One way was the traditional prayer called *madmad* which should be done before different personal and work activities like cutting a tree, going hunting or fishing, before going on a long journey, before planting and harvesting time, before husband and wife begin their life together, and even before giving birth (C. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009). According to Lolong Osting and Lolong Geronimo, Igorots in the past did *madmad* to prevent accidents happening when travelling to the lowland to barter products. In *madmad* prayer, the person asks for protection from the spirits and from *Kabunyan* to avoid any misfortune, accident or conflicts throughout the journey. Appropriate *madmad* are said during planting to prevent pests from destroying crops and for requesting a bountiful harvest. Whatever the circumstance, the *madmad* was a prayer for 'well-being' (Lolong Geronimo, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008; Lolong Osting, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009).

Preventive rituals also served as healing rituals. For example, when accidents or conflicts and misfortunes happen to a family, they are advised by the elders to perform a ritual that would symbolically cleanse them from the 'bad' experience and for them to 'start living anew' (Lolong Osting, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). *Sumang* is the term for the ritual used to prevent or stop a misfortune from happening due to the loss of balance in relationships among human beings, their environment, with their ancestors and *Kabunyan*. One of the participants, Domingo claims that *sumang*

was also done to prevent a curse from conflicts from taking effect on innocent people (D. Fermin, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009).

Aside from preventive rituals, Charo also shared that some Igorot rituals were done as a form of a petition or asking for blessings from the ancestors and *Kabunyan* (C. Solimen, *inpakiisotrya,* 23 December 2008). Charo identifies two rituals of petition. The first one is called *sangbo* and the second one is called *lawlawit*. These two rituals were believed to bring blessings of good luck in farming, good health and good relationships. When close relatives especially parents and great-grandparents die, people believed that the dead leave behind blessings to their living relatives or children. *Sangbo* is the ritual done to accept a blessing that was given by an ancestor through a dream. Dreams that keep appearing to someone or a dream that was 'unusual' when interpreted by a *mansi-bok* or *mambunong* were considered to be a sign of blessing. The *lawlawit* on the other hand was the last part of the ceremony for married children to perform when their parents die as a thanksgiving and prayer for continued giudance (C. Solimen, *inpakiistorya*, 23 December 2008).

For festivity rituals, the participants mentioned the *kedot* (community-wide festivity ritual)*, batbat, sangbo* (prestige rituals), and *lawlawit* (commemoration of ancestors)*. Kedot,* the most common one*,* is a big event where the whole community and nearby communities, relatives and friends are invited to participate (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2008). Children are encouraged to participate, watch, listen and learn from elders and from other community members on these occasions (I. Picpican, *inpakiistorya,* 12 May 2009). Through time, as a family performed more rituals especially the major ones, the *kedot* and the *peshit* gained them respect and higher social status in the community. It was also believed that families who finished the higher stages of performing rituals were blessed with wealth (material, health,

relationships) by god *Kabunyan* and the ancestors (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008; C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2008).

The *kedot* as community event also provided opportunities for learning skills and traditional wisdom by participating in the different activities—especially in the rituals performed at every stage of big community celebrations (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009). All members of the community had the 'social responsibility' to attend and participate in the celebrations (Manong Pablo, *inpakiistorya*, 2 March 2009).

Teaching and learning

Geronimo explains how wisdom was gained from joining the traditional rituals. One way was for young people to participate in the different activities and processes of the rituals. For young men, the basic skill they are expected to develop was butchering animals and cooking it for ritual purposes. They had to learn the butchering process, particularly cleaning properly and making sure that the internal organs were intact, especially the liver (with its bile) where the *mambunong* read signs of acceptance of offering from the ancestors. Young women, on the other hand, work with the older women in the community to learn how to prepare and cook rice, *aba*, *tugi, camote* and other root crops to feed all the members of the community.

Young and old people alike were also given the chance to learn and sharpen their skills in performing the traditional dance (the *sarong* for the women and *tayaw* for the men) and playing the accompanying instruments such as the gongs called *kalsa* (which comes in different sizes), the *tiktik* (iron instrument) and the *solibao* (drum). All music players synchronise beatings, rhythm and sounds to accompany the dancers. After the official ritual dancing, the elders and the *mambunong* allowed

the change of mode from sacred to entertainment to give chance for practice to those interested in learning. Children who are not able to participate were encouraged to learn by watching closely the activities during the rituals (G. Dalmacio, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008; C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008).

Another venue for developing skills in listening, thinking through and gaining traditional wisdom was during the *ba-diw* (chanting) and in the *istoryaa-an ni na'tengan* (story sharing among elders). The *ba-diw* was a form of entertainment so that most people would stay awake through the night. The way the *ba-diw* was done was that elders exchange ideas and engage in discussions on a topic or theme (could be about the occasion, life's wisdom, about marriage or about the person's feelings) by chanting rhyming lines to express their ideas (G. Dalmacio, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008). Chanting themes and topics could also be about debates on various topics of life or simple guessing games called *borbortiya* (riddles) for entertainment called *adivay*. Rice wine is passed around for everyone to have a sip while the chanting continues (Mtp. Butz, *pan-oolnong*, 13 May, 2009; G. Dalmacio, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008). Geronimo added that there were many opportunities for learning during a ritual:

> *The* ba-diw, *the* istorya, *the dances and all other activities during rituals happen simultaneously. There are many opportunities to learn if you go out there and use your different senses. All the things that children see, the things they hear, the skills they learn give examples of what they could do in their adult life. It is not possible to gain life's wisdom if one does not 'look* (manbisna), *listen* (mantetneng) *and do* (meki-da). *As he puts it in the local dialect,* 'enshi e ma-ashal no egkita mantetneng, manbuja tan meki-da so ira ni obda tan digat shi ili' ('one cannot learn without participating, listening, observing, reflecting and working with others especially when there are occasions like* kedot *and other rituals in the* ili' (G. Dalmaco, *inpakiistorya,* 21 December 2008).

The skill of asking questions as part of gaining wisdom was also shared by another *mambunong* Lolong Osting who is a Kankanaey mambunong from Kibungan. I asked why it is that elders do not impose on children to learn the meanings and significance of each of the rituals other than just encouraging them. What if they refuse to learn from these opportunities? The answer that Lolong Osting provided was his own personal story:

> *As a* mambunong*, not all people believe and understand what I do, and the rituals that I preside. Those who believe come to me, ask questions or ask help while other people do not. This is our way of learning as Igorots; those who are interested to learn are eager to ask questions about things they do not know or confuses them or that they have to exert effort to learn more; others just stick to what they know or prefer their Christian faith. We do not impose learning; it is up to the person, especially those growing up. But when children start learning young with proper attitude, then they will know how to 'live' later in life...* (L. Osting, *istorya en Lolong Osting*, 11 May 2009).

TRADITIONAL UNDERSTANDING OF DEVELOPMENT IN *PANSIGSHAN*

According to the participants, the term 'development' is probably closely related to the Igorots understanding of wellbeing called *pansigshan/pansigedan*. The root word '*siged*' is an Ibaloy and Kankanaey term that speaks of a state of wellness, total wellbeing and development. Pansigshan in the traditional understanding of the Igorots includes development for people (*siged jen to-o/siged ay ipugaw*); development for a community (*siged jen ili/dugad*) and a stable condition in life (*siged jen biag*). According to Lolong Geronimo, *siged jen to-o/siged ay ipugaw* refers to a person who has constantly shown a behavior of adherence to the customary traditional values of the Igorots such as *inayan, paniye/pijew* (cultural taboos), *lawa* (concept of bad), *mayat* (concept of good) and *bain/baing* (concept of

shame). For the participants, the simplest application of the traditional values and customary laws in the past was by the simple rule of living in harmony with fellow humans and other living beings (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009). Manong Pablo adds:

> *...there was an 'unwritten rule' that every member of the* ili *remain loyal and uphold the welfare and good image of the community all the time within and outside the* ili. *Whatever Igorots do with their lives, it was expected that they bring back something good called '*pansigedan/pansigshan*' to the* ili *such as a harmonious family and community, maintaining communal living and sharing the bounty of the land, and connection with ancestors and spirits through rituals* (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 2 March 2009).

Similar to leadership recognition, a person who lived a life of integrity as proven by his relationships and participation in the community even if they had little material wealth, were also regarded in the community as someone who has attained development. People who served as models of wellbeing and development (*siged jen to-o*) were described more as the 'doers'; they lived a life that serves as a good example for others in the community.

Traditional Igorots believed that material wealth was not the only criteria for development because they emphasised the attitude and way of life of the individual. Eufronio, an Ibaloy from Kabayan and Itogon shared the traditional Igorot goals for development:

> *The traditional Benguet Igorot community lived a simple life with simple goals for development. Generally, the concern of people in the past was to work on the land for basic subsistence for their family and raise livestock for family rituals. When their neighbours, relatives or clan members were in need of help, they would be there with the rest of the community to help. The peoples' goals were centered on the family and community. That for them was considered* siged *or* pansigshan (wellbeing) (E. Pungayan, *inpakiistorya*, 7 May 2009).

In terms of raising a *siged* family, it was believed that parents who let themselves be guided by the elders were likely to have a good family and good upbringing of their children (G. Dalmacio, *inpaki-istorya*, 21 December 2008). Lolang Meling in her 60s shared how the rearing of her children was done the traditional way, assisted by her parents and elder relatives beginning with pregnancy:

> *My great-grandparents and elders believed that childrearing starts even before the baby is born, when the mother is pregnant. When I became pregnant with my children, my parents and other elders taught me what to do to have a healthy baby. When I ate, they would say I should eat more because I was also feeding the baby inside. I was not allowed to look at or think of scary-looking things because they said it will affect how my baby will look. Also, I was reminded often not to criticise or make comments about people, who are impaired or not normal, again it might affect my baby inside.*

> *When somebody died in the community, I was not allowed to go and attend the wake or burial, this would not be good for my baby. When the baby's due date was close, my husband prepared one corner of our house where I gave birth. He sharpened a bamboo strip to cut the umbilical cord; he prepared the* 'palanggana' *(basin) to bathe the baby, another basin for my wash, blankets and my clothes to change after giving birth, and made a strong wood rail for me to hold onto for support during labour. My parents had the old woman called* 'manpaanak' *who lives nearby to help me give birth, although for some, they were comfortable giving birth with just their husband, mother-in-law or their mother to help them. Other strong women I heard can even handle giving birth alone in the house!*

> *When the baby was born, we performed the* 'anawang' *or the* 'abusang' *ritual which is to offer a chicken and pray for good life for the mother and the baby. The chicken was butchered, cooked and spiced with lots of pounded ginger. An elder prayed over the cooked food then the chicken meat and soup with rice was served as my first meal after giving birth. Another thing we did after giving birth was that my mother-in-law and some elder relatives saw to it that the first day the baby was taken outside was a bright day, with the sun shining brightly and the sky clear from clouds. Then, they prayed for blessings of a good life for the baby. It took about a month before I went back to my normal activities and work in the fields and in the* oma*. With the god* Kabunyan's *blessing, I can say that it was not very hard to discipline my children and they didn't have any serious illnesses while growing up* (Lolang Meling, *inpakiistorya ed Bileng*, 13 December 2008).

For Lolang Meling, her experience of strictly following the traditions in raising a family was hard but she claims to see the results, especially when her children began having their own families.

A community that had a history of helping each other with community work, activities, rituals, celebrations and events was considered a 'developed community' (*siged jen ili*). Participants also described the 'developed' *ili* as peaceful (*enshi e manbabakal*) where members maintained good relationships with each other and showed a sense of responsibility for each member and for the community (A. Pater, inpakiistorya, 1 January 2009). According to Cosalan, another Ibaloy elder, traditional Igorot thinking of *pansigshan* simply meant 'something that is good for the self, the family and the community':

> *The end result is* pansigshan ni emin *(welfare of all) but the process was viewed in terms of activities… that the individual acts according to the* pansigshan ni emin *(means 'good for all')—the family acts accordingly and then the community acts for the* pansigshan ni emin. *In other words, while there was no specific term for this process, there was the norm that any action of the individual, the family, the clan of the community must be towards* pansigshan ni emin—*not only for self. That is the gauge, the norm that regulated peoples' behaviour* (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009).

In summary, Eufronio and Pablo claim that the development of the people and the community (*ili*) in the past was grounded in the simple rules of living: that was the principle of *mayat* (good) and *ngaaw* (bad), and the basic values such as *inayan, lawa/ngaaw, paniyew/pijew and baing*:

> *Igorot moral teachings could be summarised in* 'mapteng'/'siged' *(good) and* 'ngaaw' *(bad) which had deep meaning more than just mere words. So when elders gave a warning that something was bad through the word* 'inayan' *and* 'pijew', *people obeyed without hesitation. The customary laws were the source of values for the people in the community. It was the commandment of a respectful,* siged *living of individuals and families. These were the laws that governed relationships; rituals (from birth until death), behaviours, peace and*

order, governance, decision-making and conflict resolution. Customary laws served as the basis for morality among the people (E. Pungayan, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009).

Over all, the Igorots in this study display a strong memory, attachment and respect to the different aspects of the traditional Igorot life as lived by their ancestors in the past. They claim that this traditional culture is the ultimate source of their story and identity as highland peoples. They recognise however that the Igorot *ili* has greatly changed over the years. The following section presents the changes in the Igorot *ili*.

BALIW NI TIMPO: 'THE CHANGING TIMES'

The participants in the study describe a big difference in their current communities compared to how their great-grandparents and ancestors lived. The focus of their story sharing showed not necessarily the chronological events that caused the changes, but rather how they experienced and were impacted by the changes over the years. Peter Cosalan believes that the nature of the Igorot culture is focused more on 'experiential history' rather than the narration of factual, chronological arrangements of events (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009). Thus, the presentation of the data follows how they were shared by the participants, and timelines when the particular change has occurred were not necessarily delineated.

The contemporary home, the *ili*

Nanbaliw e timpo (times have changed) or *afil e timpo niman* (times are different now) are phrases that the elders used to talk about the 'developments' that occurred in the traditional communities and in the lives of the Igorots in Benguet.

Belmer Yano, an elder, identified the events that caused changes as being: *timpo ni kuvat* (second world war), and the arrival of foreigners: *Espanjol* (Spaniards), *Merikano* (Americans) and *Hapon* (Japanese). The common stories of war were related to *panbakwit* (escaping and evacuation of families to save their lives), *bitil* (famine) and *sakit* (illnesses). In a discussion with other elders from the Indigenous Peoples Organisation [IPO]-Benguet, the participants mentioned the natural disasters that had occurred and brought many changes to the formation of the lands and livelihood of the people: *jegjeg* (earthquake), *puwek* (typhoons), and *enshokey jen ugew* (long dry months) (IPO-Benguet leaders, *inpakiistorya*, 9 March 2009).

In the workshops for Kapangan leaders, the participants were asked to describe the current situation of their *ili* (community) by answering the question: '*Ania ti kasasaad ti ilik tatta?*' ('What is the present situation of my community?') Then, they were asked to present their answer by drawing a map of their community creatively showing its current situation from their perspective. The detailed description of the presenter for *sitio, Dagao, Kayapes* painted the current picture of the Igorot community:

> *This is our community in sitio, Dagao. This is the provincial road coming from Baguio City going to Kapangan, and from Lomon, this is the barangay road that goes to our sitio. We have some cemented foot trail and barangay road. Dagao has a population of 316 with more than 53 households with electricity and with sanitary toilets. We have a clinic where women bring their children for immunisation; Botika Binhi where we buy generic medicines; and barangay hall where we hold barangay council meetings and other organisation meetings and activities. The projects given to us by different agencies are our barangay roads, bridges, pathways, electricity connection, and domestic water supply among others.*

> *We have churches, a school and community rice mill. We also have community groups like the Irrigators Association, Women's and Youth Association, and some of their projects include basic consumer stores and lending services. For leadership, we have the barangay council as*

our elected leaders who try to bring some projects into the community; and the lupon *composed of elders who facilitate the* tongtong *and amicable settlement of conflicts.*

As a source of income, we plant beans and other upland vegetables and rice which is usually one crop a year because of the limited irrigation supply. We sell the vegetables in Lomon and in Baguio City; however the rice is mostly for family consumption. We have rivers where people get sand and gravel for construction and it is the source of our farm irrigation and domestic water supply but is limited.

Animals usually owned by the households are carabao, cow, pigs, dogs and cats. The season for planting rice and most farm crops is during the rainy months of June to August. Our farm products are banana, mango, herbal plants, tiger grass, lokto tugi*, gabi and,* ube *(yam varieties), ginger, coffee and others. We also have clay soil, kawayan bamboos and caves.*

We have community stores but the problem is that many community members get the products on credit and many of them take a very long time to pay. Many young people have finished a college degree but find it difficult to land jobs so they are back in the community to work in the farm or apply for work overseas or find any job available in the city (Leadership Training for Kapangan Leaders, 25-27 April 2009, AKAP Baguio City).

The participants' description of their *ili* shares similarities to the typical rural village in the Philippines.

Community life and living: from self-sustaining to survival living

Another thing that has changed over time is the quality of cooperation among the people in the community. Before, people helped each other more, they respected elders, they did a lot of kalot *(traditional rituals)—people were more obedient to the wisdom of the elders. But now people often work for pay and they seldom do the* kalot*. Now people are busy looking for ways to obtain an income to survive* (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2008).

It is a common claim among the research participants that the self-sufficient living experienced in the past can no longer sustain Benguet Igorot families today. Those who originally come from remote villages and decided to move to town centres claim that they no longer have land to till back in their own *ili*. With the increase in population, there are hardly any spare lands to cultivate. They are now legally declared owned by individuals and the *baknang* (rich). People who cannot afford to buy a piece of land to cultivate are forced to move out of the community to find employment as a source of living. Wilman, who came from a village in *Kibungan* but moved to La Trinidad over fifteen years ago, said he has nothing to go back to in *Kibungan* because he does not have any land:

> Ipaagpos mi et sina ay panpordiyaan (*we prefer now to stay here to look for a source of living*). Ta no suma-a kami, maga di oblaenmi ay num-a (*because when we go home to our village, there is no more land for us to till*). *Unlike before when we were allowed to till someone else's land for free when they were not using it; now all lands are bought by individuals and sharing is no longer possible, it has to be rented out or sold. The land that was cultivated by our ancestors (owned by the* baknang*) was bought already and the current owner does not rent it out because their children need the land* (W. Gaydao, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Por dia is the main reason why many farmers who originally come from the interior villages of Kapangan, Kibungan and other areas in Benguet migrated to La Trinidad to become tenant farmers. Doria, a farmer with five children said:

> *We decided to stay here because of our children—at least here the schools are close and they don't need to walk very far and we have a basic comfort which is better than the village life. We are patiently doing* por dia *for them…*(*Inpakiistorya sin* Strawberry Farmers, 14 December 2008).
>
> Other farmers, Pedro (single), Felix (newly married) and Pauline (single)

mother) said similar things. According to them, the advantage in renting a government-owned lot is that the crops turn into cash in a shorter period of time.

They are also closer to the market and do not have to pay expensive transport costs, unlike when the products are transported from the village. They can also sell a small volume of their vegetable produce where as village produce has to be delivered to the market in bulk. Lucio, also mentioned that *por dia* is the *pamuspusan* (remedy) to have a source of living for people who were not able to go to school:

> *For us, who didn't go to school (did not finish a degree course), we have to be patient and persevere in working per day labour to earn something for our family and support our children. We have to remain working on the land because this is the source of living that we know...* (Inpakiistorya sin Strawberry Farmers, 14 December 2008).

Living with the present 'cash economy' is a struggle for most Igorots in villages. Adelina, now a grandmother who is also a farmer, compares her experiences of earning an income and the changes in the value of money when she was young and today:

> *My experience when young was that life was a hand to mouth existence; parents and children were working in the farm all day. Life today has become more comfortable. People now have vegetable gardens and they can earn money. In the early days, it was hard to earn money but you can buy many things with just a small amount. I see no change in the quality of life economically—it is just the same because today you can have lots of money but goods are so expensive. Before, with a little amount of money, you can buy many things even if earning was harder back then.*

> *When I was studying in elementary school, we carried one hundred pieces of bananas and brought them to the market [from Ligay to Gusaran] which was fifty cents per a hundred pieces. With the one or two pesos I earned, I could buy at least* viand, *paper and pencil (for school) and still I had a few cents left as my allowance. With fifty cents back then, you could buy basic things for yourself. My older sibling and I normally spent one peso and we still had a savings of fifty cents every time we went to sell bananas to the market. Today you can earn more money but the prices of goods are also expensive so I think it's just on the same level of economy as before* (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009).

With a focus on survival, Adelina notes that many of the traditional ways of connection and taking care of the land and nature are now less recognised and applied. In farming, most of the farmers renting lots have to use high yielding varieties and chemicals to hasten the growth of their crops (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008). Both the farmers and young people observe that because of the need for money in order to survive, there are now less opportunities for people to maintain a sharing of resources and the communal way of working on the land.

Property and land ownership: from communal to individual, legal-based ownership

> *People in Benguet used to be free, peaceful people and they used to live in mountains away from each other. So when all the foreigners came into the land, (like La Trinidad) the Igorots retreated and went to the outskirts. Some people classify Benguet Igorots as individualistic but actually not, they are just used to and comfortable working within a community on the level of family and clan than with other people that they are not related to. I think this explains why they moved to the 'kilig' (outskirts)* (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya,* 12 February 2009).

Benguet people who used to own lands in Baguio City and its surrounding towns were criticised for selling their land and moving to the 'outskirts'. Igorots from other groups comment that people in Benguet have not guarded and fought enough for their land. In one of the group discussions about the concept of land, one of the participants not from Benguet said:

> Baknang koma ti I-Benget ngem inlakoda met ngamin amin ti dagdagada, tatta ngay isuda ti naawanan, saanda ngamin nga inlaban ti karbengan da (*The Benguet people could have been rich but they were not able to manage their land properly, they sold it away and now, they are pushed away to the interior as they didn't use the cultural practices to fight for their rights). Mining companies and dams were opened in*

the area and they were not able to stop it (IPRA Training discussions, 18-20, 2009).

The above comment created vigorous discussion with another participant (from another Igorot province), asserting his opinion:

I have worked in many parts of the Cordillera Region and we have seen that projects in other areas cannot work because the people are unwilling to cooperate. In a certain province I know for example, when the government tries to build a project, even if this is for the good of the people like a water system; the materials will not reach the construction site because some of the people in the community hold up the delivery truck on the way and steal the materials. It is true that Benguet has opened up its resources to outsiders but without Benguet, then I would say, the people in the other provinces would have no other way to find work and have a source of living. I worked in Benguet for many years and without the mines, my children would not have gone to university, finished a degree and found work in their profession as they have now (IPRA Training discussions, 18-20 February, 2009).

Further discussions on the background and history of the loss of land for the Indigenous Peoples of Benguet, and other regions in the Cordillera were analysed in groups. Belmer Yano, claims that the loss of most lands in Benguet was through legal 'deceit' that started during the colonisation of the region. Belmer gave an overview of the laws that transferred the ownership of most traditional lands and its resources to foreign investors:

The Philippine legislation on land commercialisation favours foreign investors (like mining companies) and started with the American occupation of the country and the extraction of mineral. Two of the popular laws (Presidential Decree [P.D.] 705; Mining Act of 1995) were believed to be the legal laws that declared all lands in elevated areas; (like the Igorot lands in the Cordilleras) are owned by the government and they can use these resources for any government project or business application they approve of. The reason why we are training and sharing as much information as we can to the community about the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) is because we are looking for more community leaders to work with us is to help make communities aware and use the provision of IPRA for the purpose of

> *protecting and asserting Indigenous Peoples Rights as it is supposed to be.*

> *We know that IPRA is not a big law compared to the constitution but we can use its provisions as a tool to help communities know and assert their rights* (B. Yano, *IPRA Training*, 18-20 February 2009).

Because of the inability of the Igorots to read and write, common stories of *sheppel* (putting a thumb mark on paper) where old Igorot people were asked to sign with their 'thumb mark' written in English which they did not understand; false promises and bribery were used to buy most of land in Benguet from the traditional owners (IPRA Training group discussions, 18-20 February 2009. With traditional land being commercialised accompanied by diverse groups of people moving in, Baguio City and many of the town centres have become diverse metropolitan areas. As a result, mainstream political leadership has been enforced in all Igorot communities, a system the younger generation Igorots are exposed to *(*P. Cosalan*, inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009*)*.

The leaders who are advocating for the IPRA claim that the changes in Benguet communities are rapidly influencing traditional community living. Belmer, notes that most of the drastic changes happened after land was 'taken away' from the Igorots:

> *In our organisation* Alluyon*, we think that the laws implemented to take away the land from the people led to the coming in of outside influences in Benguet. The Presidential Decree 701 of 1905 which enforced tax declaration and ownership of the land started to remove Benguet people from their ancestral lands. Because they did not know how to read and write and they did not understand the meaning of documents, they were taken advantage of by schooled people…*
> *In the case of children who went to school but never worked on the farm, naturally they would prefer a mainstream lifestyle and culture and at some point lose grip of the tradition where they come from. Now, we have many lawyers and professionals in Benguet but how many are aware of the issues of their community? And if they are aware, how*

many are willing to act against the bureaucratic system? (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya*, 9 March 2009).

With more awareness raising undertaken by NGOs at the community level, peoples' organisations and advocacy groups hope to strengthen community vigilance and resistance against further destructive development projects in Benguet province (B. Yano, i*npakiistorya*, 9 March 2009).

Leadership: from elder-based to 'school-based' political leadership

The leadership in Benguet today follows the democratic-based, government structure introduced by the American occupation in the 1900s (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009). Teddy, a barangay captain who comes from a family of traditional leaders observes that with present socio-economic and political structures, traditional structures have slowly diminished. The traditional leadership roles based on *baknang* (wealth) and elder status have been radically transformed with both having reduced recognition from the community:

> *Here in* Ambiong, *those who used to be recognised as leaders because of their cultural wisdom are less recognised today. Leaders are now elected and the way of organising what will bring good to the community is through laws, legislations and resolutions to access projects. As a barangay captain, we appropriate budgets for community projects like physical infrastructures and other needs of the community based on consultation with the other officials and* sitio *(village) representatives.*

> *As much as we can, we try to involve community people. When there are new projects, we usually hold public consultations by inviting people to come to join the meeting at the barangay hall. Sometimes, we also visit the* sitios *to see how the people are doing. We also conduct sitio-based meetings to understand the needs of the community and listen to their ideas, which could serve as an input to our barangay planning on what projects to implement for the year. Unfortunately, we cannot respond to all concerns because of a limited budget* (T. Quintos, *inpakiistorya*, 21 February 2009).

Despite an increasing number of Igorot people entering government positions, development is prescribed based on high ranking officials' plans. Development programs and projects are 'prescribed' from the top bureaucracy with workers in the lower ranks having no option other than to go along with it. (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2008).

Although he prefers a traditional Igorot system of leadership, Pablo observes that people have adapted to the dominant forms of leadership that have emerged:

> *These days, the people in Benguet often go to the existing structures of leadership in the community like the barangay officials and local courts when there are problems or issues in the community. For me, I still find the system of the elders in leading and keeping peace in the community effective—they have the wisdom, they have the experiences… despite my having attained formal education, I still look up to them…* (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 2 March 2009).

Some community leaders however maintain that the role of the elders and their decision making powers have been adapted into current political governance through their role as *Lupong Tagapamayapa* (peacemaking council). The elders' council serves as the first point of contact for conflict resolution at the local council (barangay) level. The leaders claim that having elders part of some decision-making processes at the local council level is a good sign that the traditional leadership and conflict resolution has still a degree of recognition in the current system of governance (IPRA Training, 18-20 February 2009; Kapangan Leaders Training, 22-25, 2009).

Decision making and justice system: from customary laws to formal laws and local courts

With the installation of local government in Igorot communities and villages, decision-making was placed in the hands of the local council called *Barangay Council* (P. Abuyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009). Pablo reflects how the present justice system has changed from community-based amicable settlements to local courts:

> *The problem now is who decides for development? People go to the barangay captain or the municipal councillor or whoever makes the decision in the present political set-up, who often times approve projects without proper consultations with the people. Why did that happen? Is it because of a lack of proper information to the people or is it because of peoples 'don't care' attitudes? Or does the person just wait?*

> *Now, most often the scenario is that when big projects (like mining exploration) starts operation, the people do not know what is happening to their community and when they come to know of it, it would be too late to make the necessary actions because decisions have been finalised by the few parties involved. Then the people just become reactive—when the issue is right there in front of them—they were not able to foresee the problem, there was no time to analyse and to plan and come up with actions—people are caught off guard—there is no preparation…*

> *Probably, the other thing here is also a lack of knowledge or awareness. The glaring thing we see in here is that people are not informed. They are not aware of their rights being violated. If we look closer at our justice system, we could say it is not really a fair justice system. Those who win in the courts are those who have money. When the violation of the rights of the common people happen, it is usually because of a lack of knowledge and information, and being helpless as an individual—people do not know where to turn to seek help* (P. Abuyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009*).*

Pablo, Nestor and Belmer (P. Abuyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009; N. Caoili, informal interview, 10 May 2009; B. Yano, *inpakiistorya*, 9 March 2009) believe that with a legal-based decision-making and justice system in place there is now more reason for community workers to endeavour to increase and strengthen the awareness of the *ili* regarding their rights as Indigenous Peoples. It is when the community find a way to work together to protect and assert their rights that their voice will be heard (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya*, 9 March 2009).

Social status: from 'relational' to material wealth, career and political-based influence

> *Today, what gives Benguet People their status in life is both material and non-material possession. Primarily, those families who participate in the local politics, those who are educated, those who have properties like lands in different places and families who host grand traditional rituals like* kedot *or* batbat *are considered of high status in the community* (E. Pungayan, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009).

According to Eufronio, Igorots in Benguet are considered *baknang* (rich) if they have the political influence, land, material wealth and are able to perform the festive rituals (*kedot* or *batbat)*:

> *Today, people who get elected into office either at the barangay up to the provincial level are being looked up to as* siged jen to-o *(people who have attained success and wellbeing) nowadays. Education; parents are proud of their children who have become professionals and have work in-line with their degree. The parents who are able to send their children to formal school and who obtain their degrees are respected by the community. Wealth; money, these compose of cash and real properties like lands and rice fields in the lowlands. They say someone is* baknang *(rich) when they have a source of income from their farms in the lowlands. Performing traditional rituals—the respected people share their blessings by hosting the rituals like* peshit *or* kedot *(big cultural feast).*

> *On the other hand, those who are silent in politics, not educated, do not own properties and do not host traditional rituals are people whose*

leadership is readily ignored or not recognised in the community. Also, many Igorots want to go into politics because this is the way of being recognised as siged jen to-o *(an individual who has attained good life)* (E. Pungayan, *inpakitabtaval*, 10 May 2009).

Khait or *kailian* according to Pungayan has become very important not only in maintaining connections and relations among clans and relatives but also in building political networks and maintaining social status:

> *In the case of politics, if a community member runs for a position, the community members' loyalty is to him because the candidate is their 'kailian/kaidian'. If someone is doing well in business or received an education or is famous, the community members will always make the person as an example in teaching values to their children or sharing stories to fellow community members.*
>
> *Community members are also eager to talk about their relation to the person and they would say "'kaidianmi si iman' or 'kailian mi di or gait adi di' ['that person is from our community' or 'that person is one of us]. On the other hand, the community members feel uneasy in acknowledging a community member who is known to have committed illegal acts or shows bad behaviour. They would say, 'kailianmi sa ngem bakenda abe' ['he is from our community, but not related to us']. Or some people will completely deny a person with bad reputation. With intermarriages continually happening among Igorots and other cultures, the composition of the Igorot* ili *today in Benguet is a mixture of different Igorot tribes—those from the lowlands and even from other countries* (E. Pungayan, *inpakitabtaval*, 10 May 2009).

The *ebiteg* (poor) on the other hand differentiate themselves from the *baknang* as having little or not enough material wealth and no formal education, forcing them to work on the farm or daily labour jobs (L. Awidan, *inpakiiistorya*, 14 December 2008). Participants who consider themselves *ebiteg*, believe that sending their children to formal school to finish a degree is the greatest tool for the children to improve their economic future. The farmers' primary motive in deciding to leave their village to migrate to the town centres (to look for opportunities to earn money – *por dia*) is so their children can be closer to schools and universities.

With families migrating to the city living a 'mainstream way of life', parents

have come to recognise and accept that it is a challenge to teach their children about

Igorot culture and tradition (La Trinidad strawberry Farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14

December 2008).

> *I wish I could pass on the traditional discipline but children today are just different, they learn a lot of things from television and all these technologies. We, parents have to make friends with them like their 'barkada' (peer friend) to communicate and discipline them. My only request to my children is for them not to forget their language and where they come from wherever they go* (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 2 January 2011*).*

Ancestors, spirits and Kabunyan: from 'interconnectedness with all beings' to

Christian faith

> Nan-eskoyda mala e to-o niman *(people today have gone to school)* uno saan nanrerehiyon mala ira *(or they already have religion). We cannot blame them if they choose to turn away from the traditional beliefs and practices* (G. Dalmacio, *inpakitabtaval,* 21 December 2008).

The Igorots traditionally see their connection not only with fellow community

members but also with other living beings. The spirits and ancestors who are

believed to be created by *Kabunyan* are shown in their beliefs and rituals. However,

according to Adelina, many Igorot families have accepted a Christian faith primarily

for economic reasons:

> *With the changes on how the land is used, it is no longer possible to just depend on subsistence living where not much cash is needed. The way of life now is based on a cash economy so everyone is looking for ways to gain an income in order to survive. Traditional farmers find it hard to grow traditional varieties of crops because of the massive introduction of chemical farming and high yielding varieties by the government. Because of health and sanitation regulations, the raising of livestock and other animals has become commercialised and only a few families in the interior maintain the tradition of raising livestock. Everything that is produced now has to be for the purpose of selling to*

the market for money. This makes holding a ritual like kesheng *or* kedot *expensive and impractical. Instead of spending their money for rituals, they would rather spend it on the education of their children or for other needs of the family.*

I think it is more of the hardship of life that pushes people to become Christians—and also the lack of knowledge about the traditional rituals. Before there were many elders from whom we can ask how to do a certain ritual, but now most of those knowledgeable about our culture passed away so naturally people resort to the Christian way (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009).

During one of the sharing circles with young people most of them consider performing the traditional rituals and seeking the help of the *mambunong* no longer relevant to their lives:

I grew up in the Christian faith and my view of the traditional rituals, the kanyaw *and remembering the dead ancestors is that it is contradicting Christian faith. My grandmother uses the traditional* kanyaw *rituals to cure her illnesses. When she is sick, she does not go to the doctor, instead she goes to consult the* mambunong. *To get well, she will perform a* kanyaw, *killing pigs, cows, carabaos, goats, chickens, and dogs. The point is that she doesn't seek medical treatment because she believes that the traditional ritual will cure her. Until such time that her illness became worse, then, eventually she agreed to be brought to the hospital.*

*I agree with Joyce that traditional rituals of Igorots in Benguet are costly. My grandmother has a business that didn't really progress that much because she performs '*kanyaw*' every year. Her reason is that this is her way of showing recognition to her dead ancestors especially her parents who she loved very much. Performing* kanyaw *for her is showing love to them (the dead). Because of this tradition, even we, her Christian relatives had to contribute financially to her needs. '*Kanyaw*' is not really helpful* (*Inpakiistorya shi aanak*, 4 December 2008).

Charo, a cultural researcher from the municipality of Kibungan reflects that while the two are not mutually exclusive it is possible to follow Christian beliefs whilst still undertaking rituals and recognising the teachings of the elders:

In Kibungan, we still have elders who are the authority in the community. They are the centre of respect and governance, so we still

listen to them. Those in position in the municipality, the politicians and even the mayor cannot do anything when the elders prohibit the playing of gongs which are considered sacred instruments for fun and entertainment. Those who insist mean they don't respect the elders.

One of the values that is still being practiced here in Kibungan is innayan *(don't do something that might bring you misfortune in life). For me, I want to respect the elders while they are here. In the future, in our own time… all these things will change—this time let us just maintain respect due to the authority of the elders. We will have our own time… When the elders are gone, modification will naturally happen…change in culture is gradual…* (C. Solimen, *inpakiistorya*, 23 December 2008).

The conflicting points of view about spirituality extend to discussion about community and family rituals. Participants who believed in keeping Igorot rituals agreed that they have to be modified to suit the current circumstances and situations (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008; A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 2 January 2009). Modified cultural rituals are done by performing the traditional prayers and rituals but lessen the butchering of animals. Sometimes cultural rituals are also done to coincide with modern events such as birthdays and family gatherings to lessen the cost.

Community and family rituals: from traditional to the 'modified' way of performing rituals

Camilo, the Provincial Cultural Officer of Benguet agrees to modifying and making adjustments in fulfilling the requirements of the traditional rituals:

Cultural rituals in these days of economic crisis should be lessened as much as possible but not be eliminated. Sometimes, we are pressured because of the expectation of culture. Especially if you come from a family who has completed the rituals like the peshit, *there are pressures that children also have to do it. The elders would encourage you to do it, especially if you are a professional or have stable work. But because*

of the hardship of life these days, for me we should not be dogmatic on the cultural practice. We should modify and adjust to the needs of the time. We should not lose the rituals as an important part of the culture but if possible, lessen the panpalti *(performing traditional rituals). This could mean reducing the number of animals say, from 20 pigs to just one or two—we should do the rituals within our budget* (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008).

For Lolong Osting the modification of the rituals should not make the present generation feel that performing the traditional rituals is a burden but rather see it as maintaining a connection to their ancestors and living their culture and tradition as Igorots. In his final prayers and blessings for my departure ritual at the end of the fieldwork for this study he asked my ancestors to guide me in this scholarship:

Your ancestors, who searched the wisdom of this world, look down on your apo *(grandchild) who is studying very far away. Please understand that our times in the living world now is not like when you were still here with us. Your* apo *cannot do the* ngilin *(cultural discipline) as you used to do while you were still here with us because she needs to go to work and travel.* Hayay e kabibiag jen sina-kop ni to-o niman *(This is the kind of life that we have now).*

Guide her in her travels, in her studies, in trying to find a better way for her life. This is how people these days have to survive in the land of the (maviday) *living* (Lolong Osting, *inpakiistorya* , 18 May 2009).

Performing big community rituals such as the *kedot* festivity has expanded in its purpose. It is not only for ancestral connection but also incorporated in mainstream celebration and purposes. For example, as a culmination of the opening day of the *La Trinidad Municipal Fiesta*, the traditional *owik*[38] where four pigs were let loose in the middle of the gym and men had a contest in catching and pinning each of them to the ground was conducted. When all the pigs were caught, the men held them up for the *owik* ceremony. The *mambunong* gathered all the municipal

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[38]   The traditional ceremonial killing and praying over of pigs to be offered to the ancestors in a community ritual.

officials and their wives and they surrounded the pigs. Then the *mambunong* took rice wine and said his prayers, then all the municipal officials led by the mayor danced the *tayaw*[39] and the *sarong*[40]. After some minutes of praying by the *manbunong* and dancing by the municipal officials, each couple were given rice *tapey* (rice wine) to drink before the *mambunong* killed the pigs as an offering to the ancestors. The mayor, the deputy mayor and their wives symbolically stood as the hosts of the rituals performed. Everyone was invited to stay for the *kanyaw*[12] dinner (notes from La Trinidad Strawberry Festival opening day celebration, 8 March 2009).

Unlike the past where ceremonies and rituals were considered sacred and an opportunity for Igorot people to learn about the culture and the traditional ritual, the Municipal Fiesta was a deliberate demonstration of pride in Igorot identity (notes from La Trinidad Strawberry Festival opening day celebration, 8 March 2009).

Teaching and learning: from oral and experiential to formal and university-based 'ways of knowing'

The Igorots in this study recognise that times are quickly changing and many of the traditional rituals are no longer being conducted. The elders explain how education and religion have changed the traditional ways of teaching and learning. When I asked Geronimo how he, as a *mambunong* keeps the balance of practicing the traditional practices in the present time, he said:

> *I wait for people who need my service to come to me and tell me what they want* [No sikak ket seskerenko no aykhan shaak e nganto e keksewne sha]. *In a case of the death of a loved one, I would tell the family to agree how they want the rituals to be performed. When they ask me to do the traditional way, I do my part and if they decide to do them the Christian way, I do it also the way they know. I don't impose*

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[39]   Traditional dance for the male during the kanyaw.
[40]   Traditional dance for the female during the kanyaw.

because people might get annoyed. But I am willing to sit for long hours with the person who comes to me and asks questions about what I do. I am more than happy to share what I know and the lessons I learned in life to anyone who is interested (G. Dalmacio, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2009).

I then asked if traditional practices will be forgotten because of religion and education. Geronimo said he believes that traditional practices will live on despite the changes happening:

Egma-enshi e ugadi *(the traditional practices will not be gone forever). Look, even if times have changed, there are always mambunong coming up. Even if it will be reduced, there will always be people who will perform the rituals.* In-akan ni Emarsua iyay, in-akan ni Apo Shiyos *(this is a gift from the god, Kabunyan). The rules of life remain the same, respect all created beings, know how to help and share with the people in your community, pay respect to the ancestors and to the Creator....*

I have seen some people, they are professionals, they have a nice house and they are rich but they do not help their neighbours. When they died, it was sad because it was not their fellow rich people who came to help them but their poor neighbours (G. Dalmacio, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2009).

In terms of language, grandparents find that teaching their grandchildren their village dialect can be hard because *Ilocano* or *Tagalog* is the language used by people in town and city centres where many people migrate to find work (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 2 January 2009; Strawberry famers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008). They also find it challenging to teach their children Igorot traditional values because of the strong influence of city life, media and peers. Often, they find their children hard to discipline, especially the teenagers. According to them, they feel they can no longer use the way they were taught by their parents (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Teddy, an Ibaloy father in his early 40s finds that the way he was trained as a child and the way his children are growing up is very different:

> *We grew up doing all farm work and difficult tasks as part of our training to work on the land, our kids now have no chance to be trained, they just watch television and work less in the house. Children now are very hard to deal with. Their sense of respect, sense of responsibility, and their willingness to help their parents work can be very disappointing, but what can we do? I think children nowadays are like that. What I do is constantly look for ways to talk to them. What I found is that they listen better if I talk to them like a* barkada *(peer). That's it, we parents now are the ones adjusting to our children's moods unlike our time where kids listened and obeyed their parents* (T. Quintos, *inpakiistorya*, 24 January 2009).

The participants in this study also claim that work training of children in the community was based on their gender. Adelina, one of the elder participants said the mother trains her daughters the female's work at home and in the *oma* (upland clearing) while the father trains his sons the men's work in the fields and other works related to providing for the needs of the family. Teddy shared how he was trained to work as a child:

> *When I was young, children were trained at a young age to work on the farm. I can still remember that after school, they would ask us to go and carry bags of* sayote *(vegetable variety) from the farm. Our task was to bring all the bags home to be ready for delivery to the market early the next day. Even if it was already dark, we needed to finish the task given to us. There were times I cried because there many tasks to do. At a young age, I and my siblings felt the difficulty of life and this challenged us to do our best in our studies—and to work harder to gain a better life. As training, we were obedient to our parents and elders when they asked us to do errands. During* kedot *or* kesheng, *our work was to call for the* mambunong *and if the person is of old age; we took turns in carrying the* mambunong *on our back. All this training inculcated in us the value of hard work, respect for elders and parents, determination and patience in life* (T.Quintos, *inpakiistorya*, 24 January 2009).

For women, the basic tasks were cooking, cleaning, taking care of the home and the animals like pigs, chicken, dogs, cats and ducks (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya* , 2

January 2009). In the *oma*, women do the planting, maintenance and harvest while men do soil cultivation, and they help in the preparation for planting (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009). Work in the rice field was a family effort; men do harder tasks while the women do the lighter ones. Vegetable gardening which came later (1930s) as a source of living was also a family enterprise. Every child in the village was expected to be trained to work in the *oma,* in the rice field, or in the vegetable garden. Parents always tell children '*no egkita man-obda, egkita mengan'* ('if you don't work, you don't eat') (A. Pater, inpakiistorya, 1 January 2009). Asun, now working as a nurse supervisor in a government hospital comes from an interior *ili* and appreciates the training given to her as a child and used it as a challenge to get a degree and find a job:

> *I was born in one of the poorest* barrio (*village*) *of the town of Kibungan, Benguet. When I first went to school, we had to walk for hours and endure the bite of leeches on the pathways, especially during rainy days. Our food then was limited to* camote *(yam), vegetables, bananas and whatever root crops that we grew in our* oma*. I finished high school as a working student, working as a dormitory assistant and doing laundry for nuns. I finished my pre-nursing course and nursing proper through the hard work of my parents and some relatives. They always said* 'es-estem di eskwela ta magay udom iptatawidmi en sik-a*' ('persevere to get an education, this is the only inheritance we can give you')... which I am thankful I did (*A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008).

Adelina, Asun and Teddy who claim to be trained with farm work in their early childhood think that more than working in the farm, their experience and the training from their parents made them value hard work, determination and commitment to pursue their dreams in life. Despite hard lives they were able to go to a formal school and claim that they are happy to pass on these values to their own children (A. Anod, inpakiisotrya, 12 December 2008; A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009; T. Quintos, *inpakiistorya*, 24 January 2009).

Despite the issues surrounding teaching and learning, parents assert that attaining a formal education is a great advantage in order for their children to be able to find their own way and build their future in mainstream society (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008):

> *I came from a far-flung village in Kapangan (Tadayan). Because of the hardship of life we decided to come here in La Trinidad to look for work. Before I went into strawberry farming, I worked as a security guard for some years. We did not want to leave home if not for the future of our children. We want to look for ways to support their schooling. We want them to have a good future* (L. Awidan, *inpakiistorya* sin Strawberry Farmers, 14 December 2008).

Lucio claims that economic considerations made him and his wife decide to have only two children, a small family compared to the traditional family composition.

PANSIGSHAN (DEVELOPMENT): FROM LIVING THE TRADITIONAL SYSTEM TO ADAPTING TO THE CHANGING TIMES

> *In our case here in the mountains, I would say good access to roads, good schools and given that the people here are farmers, development would be for farmers to be able to better use appropriate technologies in farming. Here, people also believe that when there is electricity, there is development in the community.* (A. Adones, *inpakiistorya*, 2 December 2008)

When asked about what would bring development to their community, the participants' responses were related to them and their community being able to live and cope with the changing times especially economically. At the community level, they believed better access to the city market and other regional centres, better access to roads, provision of electricity, better school equipment and more education and awareness-raising. According to the Kapangan leaders:

> *Generally, the common issues we have in the five barangays are low levels of income, unemployment and lack of alternative sources of*

income, lack of infrastructure, technology and some 'attitude'. We appreciate NGOs and government agencies are helping us but there are still things that we wish our community would have. We still need farm to market roads for the interior areas to make transport of farm products easier. In relation to farming, we also need to learn about related technologies like organic/biodynamic farming, sugarcane production and sugar making technology because we plant sugar cane in the community but only limited to household consumption. Most of our small-scale rice fields are also not being planted throughout the year because of the lack of irrigation.

We think that with better irrigation systems, we can plant our rice farms twice a year. There is also an issue of unemployment in our sitio *because even if young people have finished college, many still cannot find a job in line with their profession. So, we need some sources of additional income, maybe more livelihood training like making money from recycled materials and others to help raise family income above the poverty threshold.* Sitio-*based learning centres like day care and training centres would also help. We also need reforestation of our mountains. In terms of attitude, we need to develop a deeper sense of responsibility among our people and our barangay officials* (Group discussion, *Kapangan Leaders Training*, 25-27April 2009).

For parents, development is more geared towards having the capacity and means to provide their children a good future by giving them their basic needs and a good education, and their community having the ability to address issues and problems as a group. They believe that even if their present life is hard, their children will have a better chance to find ways of surviving if they have finished a degree (La Trinidad strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya,* 15 December 2008). Older people emphasise the continuation of Igorot culture and language is a very important part of Igorot development. Adelina, who is now a grandmother from *Tuba* thinks that Igorot culture and language should not be lost even in the case of cross-cultural marriage:

Our culture should not be lost, especially the gansa *(gongs), this is the reason why even if we no longer do the big traditional rituals today, we still dance the* tayaw *in modern-day events like weddings; we play the gongs and dance the* tayaw. *Another is the* ba-liw *(chant) and also most importantly, our language. For me, even if we Igorots marry someone from the lowlands or from other cultures, we should not forget our own language. When we are in the lowlands, we speak their language but when we come home, we should not forget to use our own language. If you are a Kalanguya, do not forget to speak Kalanguya when you come back. Or like you, you went to other places and when you come back, you should not forget our own language.*

I know other people who go to other places, for example in Pampanga—when they come back they are disoriented—they no longer know their language which is Kalanguya. The future of our language depends on our children... When they do not use the language, it's like they have forgotten us their parents. I will not allow for example my children to speak to me in Tagalog instead of Kalanguya, I will think that if they do this, it is like they have lost respect for me and they have forgotten me (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009).

Adelina also thinks that Igorots who go overseas and do not dream of going back to their land of birth can lose their attachment to their community. Shirley, one of the young people in a group discussion thinks in a similar way:

I believe that Igorots should adapt to changes but should never forget their cultural practices because this is part of our identity. It is in our culture and its practices are where we belong, where we are accepted, and where we can develop and enhance our potential. This potential will lead us to our direction in life (S. Francisco, *inpakiistorya* ni aanak, 4 December 2008).

Ruth-Ann, a youth leader cited issues in trying to balance maintaining an Igorot identity and adapting to a modern and mainstream lifestyle:

Let's take the good part of the modern world, for example, learning how to use technology—we learn how to use computers to update our skills because we are no longer in the stage of typewriters. But use the computers for its purpose and not the negative uses. Let's talk about clothing—in the province, our parents always remind us to be modest in our way of dressing— for women not to wear revealing clothes—but when we go to the city, people and friends might say 'you are too

baduy' *(old fashioned). I think we need to continually personally evaluate our own values to know how much of the modern world should we adapt to* (R. Kingay, *inpakiistorya ni aanak*, 4 December 2008).

As a way of maintaining connection and giving back '*siged*' (something beneficial) to her original *ili* (hometown) in *Kibungan,* Asun who now lives in La Trinidad where she works as a nurse still goes home to the *ili* to give some help through her profession:

> *I respect my parents very much so when I finished, I made sure that I got a job and tried to give back by providing for their needs when they got old and were no longer able to do farm work as they used to. I also decided to give back to my people, which is why I applied at this hospital because this is the nearest hospital in our community. Aside from being a nurse, we also organise medical missions to Takadang for example, one of the farthest* barrios *of my town. We had to hike for hours to get there but this is part of serving the community. In my own area here at La Trinidad, we also give health information, clean and green campaign, waste management and of course being a model of what we teach in the community* (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008).

For the young people, development means having a good future by finishing a degree, having better schools and facilities and utilising farming technology in their village to improve family incomes. They however observed that sometimes those people who claim to bring development to the community do not do it as well as they promised:

> *There are people who go to the community and say that they are here to help the people to 'develop' but in the end, they do not do their job well. Examples of this are the projects to build schools in a village. There are projects where the builders made use of low quality materials and worse, there are those who leave projects unfinished or of low quality work* (R. Kingay, inpakiistorya, 7 December 2008).

Cosalan explains that often people have no control over these processes and changes because it is gradually imposed on them by the present system:

Now, when people say piyanmi e kalsara *(we want a road), is it connected to* pansigedan *(development)? We need roads now for mobility. Before, we only had pathways because of the subsistence level of economy, but now people are educated to need more things than what they could produce themselves in their own communities. They were 'educated' to need certain things. Before, they were contented with few clothes (a good set of clothing) for the whole year because they had nowhere to go...they had no parties...their parties were the* kesheng, peshit *and other rituals, which are within the community. So they did not need many sets of clothing, or shoes because they traveled barefoot...but they were 'educated' to need shoes, more clothes and many other things...and then came commercialisation and the commodification of all items including labour, made them want more.*

That is what I meant by 'educated to need' more things that they could not produce in their subsistence economy. So therefore, they needed mobility, access; they needed roads and transportation facilities. Water had to be piped into the house for domestic use because children had to wash to go to school where they were educated to do this and that...the parents necessarily had to 'react' (adjust) to that. So with modernisation, children were told that 'planting rice is never fun, bent from morn till the set of sun'... then 'I have two hands, the left and the right, hold them up high so clean and bright, clap them softly one two three, clean little hands are good to see,'.... So the children do not like to do to agriculture anymore, they don't go to plant camote *(native root crop) anymore... They are educated and they move out of the communities because planting rice or* camote *is never fun. When they go farming, their hands are no longer clean and bright* (P. Cosalan, *inpakitabtaval*, 10 February 2009).

The experience of development and its harmful impact on Indigenous communities has led to leaders not only to critiquing the projects, but the wider development discourse that informs it, as youth leaders identify:

Community development helps provide progress in a community but in many instances, it has to compromise with other ill effects. For every modern development that goes to a community, there is a corresponding negative effect for the people, especially for the next generation. For me, genuine development is enhancing resources that are present in the community. Whatever is present in the community should be developed further. Building access roads is a way of

promoting development in the community if it is done without exploiting the rest of its resources such as what mining companies did in many areas in Benguet (*inpakiistorya ni aanak*, 4 December 2008).

For the young people, development should be something that will bring good to the community but will not damage nature, the environment and the culture (J. Francisco, *inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 7 December 2008). The discussion reflects that development has both material components, as well as sustaining the living systems, society and culture, using surrounding forests and living with extended families in their community. Participants claim they need to examine all aspects of changes carefully; weighing its costs and benefits in their lives and accept them only when they are perceived to be useful. To do this however, the young people admit is a great challenge given the strong attraction of modern life (J. Francisco, *inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 7 December 2008).

GOALS FOR *PANSIGSHAN*: LIVING, COPING AND ADAPTING TO THE CHANGING TIMES

Survival economy

In their search to find ways to produce a better cash income, some participants chose to leave the *ili* and migrate to town centres to look for other sources of living, which to them is easier than the traditional agricultural life. Senia, who moved to La Trinidad, did not want to go back to her *ili* in *Kibungan* after she got married:

> *After we were married, Wilman asked me if I wanted to go back to the* ili *and I said I didn't want to because life is hard there. When I was young, I would wake up very early, cook food for the family and before going to school, I would gather food for the pigs from the nearby* uma

(clearing), feed them, the chickens and the other animals...sometimes pound rice if our rice bin was close to empty, 'mansama si lokto ed num-a' (cultivate the land and plant camote in the clearing)... I have been trained to work in the fields, help my parents in their work and take care of my younger siblings. There are many tasks to do and it does not seem to end [S. Gaydao, *inpakiistorya,* 14 December 2008].

Francesca who comes from another Igorot province but married an Igorot man from Benguet has a similar reaction:

In the ili *where I come from, we plant native rice and harvest twice a year. The rice planting season is called* bangkag *(during dry months) and* talon *(done during rainy months). As others have mentioned, we needed to work hard to help our parents in the rice field. There is hardly time to take a rest. When I married someone from Benguet, we decided to stay here in La Trinidad because we can work* por dia *(per day labour) and we can a rest at least in between. Also, here I can take care of my children better because the schools are nearby and they don't need to walk far distances, unlike in the* ili *where school children need to walk for hours to and from home* (Strawberry Farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Felix, who stayed many years outside the community working as a day labourer (*por dia)* prefers to live close to modern life:

I personally chose to stay close to the city even if I don't own a house here and my family is renting a room where we stay. Here, I have a way to earn money and buy anything that I want to eat. Back in the village, there were lesser ways to produce cash and even if you feel like eating bread or buying other food you wish to eat, you have to content yourself with having to eat whatever is available. I really prefer to stay here... (Strawberry Farmers, *inpakingalat*, 14 December 2008).

Despite migration to town centres and cities, many have retained their memories of the *ili* where they grew up. According to Wilman, nothing compares to how he enjoyed his childhood tending carabaos:

Manlublunak kami ya man-ayayam sin pitak ay lubnak di nuwang, manlangoy sin ginawang, mantagtagtag. Naganas adi! (*We played in the mud where the carabaos rest, we swam in the rivers, we ran around...we enjoyed playing a lot!*) (W. Gaydao, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Senia and Lucio added similar fond memories back in the village:

We are here now but we still long to go back to the great times in the mountains...we still miss the 'air' and 'land' where we grew up... (S. Lo-ot, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

From the observation of young people, traditional Igorot culture and practices (like that of *sitio Dagao* in Kapangan) are still of great importance in the villages unlike in the city (Baguio City) which has become highly commercialised:

I see that the traditional practices are more observed in the provinces and villages than in the city. The set-up in the city for example does not give the chance to practice the aduyon *(helping one another at work). People in the city are more profit-oriented, people do not work without money in exchange for their labour. In the villages, there is close interaction among people, relationships and working together is very important, while the city is more individualistic, interaction is limited by time because people are busy. People need to work to survive so there is not much time to talk and because of the cost, they perform less the traditional cultural practice* (Inpakiistorya ni aanak, 4 December 2008).

'Promoting' and maintaining Igorot identity

Our identity as Igorots has broadened. We no longer see ourselves and our own village but we identify with other 'highlanders' in the region. We are all Igorots. Kina-Igorot/Kina-Igodot for me is something that will never change. Igorotness is in our blood, in our ways, in our lifestyle, in our language. As we have started adapting to modern culture, speak other languages and live a modern lifestyle, the reality of who we are is still within us. The blood running through our veins is Igorot blood. Because of the needs of the times, Igorots have to move forward with modernisation; learn about modern life, technology, education, religion and many other things. But I believe that no matter what Igorots do, they should stand on who they are all the time. (J. Sabelo, *inpakiistorya*, 16 February 2009)

'IGOROTAK' ('I AM AN IGOROT'). These are the bold letters printed on some t-shirts for sale during the Municipal Town Fiesta of La Trinidad in Benguet in March 2009. The shirt sale was part of a booth set-up for each of the *barangay*[41] to

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[41]   *Barangay* is the smallest unit of governance in the Philippines.

display and sell their local products. There were also young men selling CDs and DVDs of Igorot songs recorded by the increasing number of Igorot singers. I viewed more of the displays of each of the *barangays* and saw some artefacts and photos of the early 1900s. I looked closely hoping to find a Benguet Igorot clothed in the traditional way, with men and women wearing only the *kuval*[42] made of the bark of trees as described by foreign ethnographic studies, but I didn't find one. What I saw were women wearing the *divit*[43] and the *Kambal*[4] and men wearing *Americana*[5] *[American suit]*. Few men were wearing the *kuval* under their *Americana*. Some of the *Ibaloy*[6] women minding the booth said that the people in some of the old photos were the first Ibaloys assigned to take roles as *barangay* officials in La Trinidad during the time of the Americans.

I moved to another booth and saw some large sized dresses on display. One had a label 'dress of American women who came to civilise us' (display booth, Strawberry Festival, 8 March 2009). At lunch, people started lining up to get some food at the Municipal gym. Like in the traditional ritual called '*kanyaw*'[7], all those who came to see the opening of the Fiesta were given food for free. Later in the afternoon, the program started with the usual formal opening speeches by the mayor and other town officials. Cultural dance presentations followed; one from a dance troupe of Igorot students who presented different cultural dances of the *Cordillera Region*[8]; then, lowland dancing and singing presentations followed. It was explained in the mayor's speech that La Trinidad is not only a home for the Igorots but it has become one for many people from the lowlands and other places who settled in the area, thus recognising their participation. Representatives from the different

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[42]   *Kuval* is the male traditional cloth/g-string.
[43]   *Divit* is the female traditional skirt for Benguet Igorots.

barangays of La Trinidad also presented Igorot dances and songs (Mayor A. Galwan speech, Strawberry Festival opening at La Trinidad, Benguet; 8 March 2009).

In Baguio City, the traditional festivities are also featured as part of the yearly mainstream festivals for tourism purposes. The participants acknowledge that there is a danger in commercialisation of culture in tourism, but this is also an opportunity to make people understand more about the culture (MTP Butz, *inpan-oolnong*, 10 May 2009).

Education, awareness and asserting rights

For the IPRA advocacy group, the mainstream political system and governance have placed many Igorots in the marginalised position of having to search for means and ways of survival in their own traditional land (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008). In areas where many families have been displaced by foreign development projects the people have learned to live by searching for other ways to survive. Camilo cites the case of the *Binga* and *Ambuklao* communities which were taken over by development projects and explains the complexities of resisting big projects:

> *…Benguet is seen to have suffered from the building of dams and mining. Most parts of* Bokod *for example are submerged because of the* Ambuklao *and* Binga *dam. The people were displaced; they went to* Mindanao *and* Vizcaya. *Looking from the side of survival though, the Igorots in Benguet in some way benefited from these development projects. Many of them were able to work in the mines, got their education and established their business in the community. Another benefit is education.*

> *When the big development projects were first built in Benguet, there were no FPIC (free prior informed consent). The early Igorots seemed to have no choice because the outsiders took advantage of the early Igorots being naive—they didn't know about laws, many people did not have a formal education to interpret what the government wanted from their lands; the people did not have enough information about the project. They were offered relocation benefits, but the payment was*

never enough to pay the equivalent of losing traditional lands and part of their cultural identity (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya,* 20 December 2008).

Given that the existing political governance and development process is more concerned with profits than the welfare of the people and that most of the decisions are made at the upper level of management before information reach the community level, Camilo and the IPO leaders claim that awareness on the 'provisions of law' (IPRA Training, 18-20 February 2009) and negotiating for their rights and entitlement are some options that the community take:

> *...we cannot totally resist development projects coming to our communities—especially for the 'special' projects of politicians. People might try to resist but they cannot do anything when politicians have already signed papers, contracts or agreements. With the FPIC however, the community is given the chance to come up with conditions as a point of compromise with the coming in of the development projects in their community. FPIC negotiates proper compensation (right price) for the communities affected* (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008).

Because of the loss of their ancestral lands, parents in areas affected by development projects such as dams, (i.e. the Ibaloys of Bokod) prioritise sending their children to schools and universities. This has occurred to the extent that Bokod is now known for its high percentage of professional workers. Acquiring a degree has been seen as a strategy for the present generation to find a way to survive (C. Alumit, *inpakitabtaval*, 20 December 2008).

With the majority of present development and planning processes not necessarily taking into account the real needs of people or communities it was interesting to discover that there were successful stories from other Igorot provinces in stopping 'big government development' projects. These involved successful social movements against the Chico River Dam and Cellophil Mining in the Provinces of

Kalinga and Mt. Province (N. Caoili, *inpakitabtaval*, 10 May 2009). Nestor, a community organiser during the protests against the Chico River Dam and the Cellophil mining projects in the 1970s thinks that the success of the people's movement was a combination of cultural strength, in particular, the use of the Kalinga *bodong*[44] and traditional leadership structures and the overwhelming support of the wider civil society both local and international. According to Nestor, the issues and the protests caught the attention and cooperation of countless organisations, churches, local governments and media:

> *In the process of organising, the community people must be able to articulate what kind of development they want. The community workers on the other hand should be able to identify 'for whom and for what development' they are working for as an individual and as an organisation. As workers, it is only when we are able to dream, journey and look at development from the 'window' of the people's culture that we can truly say we are doing justice to our organising or development work.*
> *In the case of the Igorot communities, the role of customs and existing traditional governance and structures play a vital role in facilitating peoples' decision-making and in identifying development directions inspired by the peoples' dreams for themselves and for their community* (N. Caoili, *inpakitabtaval*, 10 May 2009).

Through the grassroots works of NGOs and advocacy groups, Nestor added that similar protests have been held in recent years to negotiate the peoples' rights and stop government development projects such as the San Roque dam and further mining explorations in Boneng, Kibungan, Benguet and other provinces such as Vizcaya Petitions, resolutions, lobbying at the local, regional and national government level and advocacy work accompanied the process of asserting the peoples' rights (N. Caoili, *inpakitabtaval*, 10 May 2011).

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[44] A peace pact process and agreement established between two warring tribes. Through the *bodong*, there was a peace pact among warring tribes in Kalinga and Mt. Province, thereby allowing all communities to combine their strength to organise protests against the Chico Dam River Project (Caoili 2007).

The 'official' Igorot assertion of identity was started by Igorot professionals who formed a regional association of Igorots from the Cordillera Region (comprising its six provinces) called *BIBAK* (Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, Kalinga*)*. BIBAK's aim is to promote the collaboration among all Igorots in the Region. In the 1980s, BIBAK members who migrated to the US started the *Igorot Global Organisation* (IGO) to serve as a 'meeting point' and support to Igorots overseas. From then on, Igorots working overseas in Europe and Asia were motivated to develop their 'local chapters' of the IGO based on their location. During 4-9 August, 2010, the IGO-Vancouver Chapter hosted the *Eighth IGO International Consultation* (IIC-8) which showcased Igorot culture and tradition through talks, presentations, consultations, art displays, songs and dances. The activities according to the organisers of the conference provided opportunities for the Igorots to maintain their connection with one another and to their culture despite their being away from their *ili* (community). One of the highlights of the consultation in Vancouver was the *Igorot Village Display* which made an attempt to simulate and yet disprove to some degree the *Igorot Village* displays done by foreign exhibitions (in the US and Europe in the early 1900s) that showed Igorots as barbaric 'freaks' (P. O. Afable, *IIC-8 Consultation*, 4 August 2010).

Part of the *IIC-8 Consultation* was a report from the current IGO Officers. One of the current projects of the organisation is supporting 'poor but deserving' Igorot students in their college education through a college scholarship (Officers' Report, *IIC-8 Consultation*, 6 August 2010). Locally, Igorot community-based workers who participated in this study also shared some of the culture-based strategies and approaches that they have found effective so far in strengthening Igorot identity, while adapting to the changing times in the mainstream society:

> *After many years of a traditional self-sustaining communal way of life, the Igorot people claim to have been greatly affected by the changing times. Such changes have placed many Igorots in a position where they have to search and do almost anything as a means of survival* (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

With most development programs and projects designed at the national level NGOs,community groups attempt to provide an alternative to mainstream development by 'going back' to the strengths of Igorot traditional culture and values in the implementation of community development programs.

Utilising traditional culture in working with communities

Ili-based organising

Manong Pablo is a chief executive officer of an NGO. He shared the *Ili* concept of community organising that his organisation has been able to develop and implement in Benguet over the last ten years. This concept came into existence in the early 1990s as a result of assessing organising work in Benguet among members of the Community Volunteers Movement (CVM) developed by the Upland Development Institute (UDI). Manong Pablo claims that for years Peoples Organisations (POs) were formed then nothing happened to the community after the worker left (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009). The concept does not come from a single ideology or philosophy. According to Manong Pablo, the *Ili concept* was a product of what the group learned from books, experiences and observations based on the community development work done in Benguet and in the Cordillera Region. Community development in Benguet specifically in the area of organising differs from other tribes in the region. For example, in the Mountain Province they

have the *ato*[45] which is their traditional seat of decision-making and governance run by the elders. Their community structure is that houses are built close to each other, making it easier for the community members to gather, communicate, discuss and decide on issues and concerns affecting the community. This was done because of tribal wars. In Kalinga Province, they call the elders *pangat*. The *pangat* leads the community in governance and decision-making. Before becoming a *pangat* an elder has to fulfill a set of criteria identified by the community. Their peacemaking process to stop tribal wars is called *bodong* (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009). The structure in Benguet is different; houses are built very far from each other because they had to maintain pasture lands as part of their livelihood. The elders who act as the leaders of local governance in the community meet during rituals and scheduled *tongtong* (conflict resolution session) to resolve issues (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009).

Ili-based organising, according to the UDI Director Nestor Caoili, requires a careful study of the situation and the dynamics of each community:

> *In organising and implementing projects with the urban poor for example, the strategies and approaches have to be fast paced because the people there are impatient given their concern for daily survival. The worker must also learn how to effectively temper down people's rage because of the tendency to resort to violent means as a way of attaining what they want* (N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009).

Nestor also emphasised that organising among Indigenous peoples in the Cordillera Region has to be understood through the window of the culture:

> *In Benguet, the community workers approach has to be more motivating than being pushy, blunt and frank as compared to the* binudngan *areas (Ifugao, Mt. Province, Kalinga and Abra) areas* (N. Caoili, personal *inpakiistorya*, 10 May, 2009).

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[45]   Is the traditional gathering place for elders in Mt. Province. The *ato* is where the elders sit down together and discuss issues, share ideas and knowledge systems.

Inspired by the *ili*-based concept, several community organisations have made significant attempts in using the traditional values of the community as tools in forming groups and running community programs.

Working together, (aduyon/amoyo/alluyon) 'lessened' but still alive

Amidst the many changes taking place in the Igorot *ili* and quickly changing peoples way of life, participants claim that there are still many significant Igorot traditional values that remains evident today. Ruth-Ann shares how *aduyon* is still practiced in her community:

> *In our community in* Tublay*, the practice of* 'aduyon*' is still being practiced. During rice planting season, building a house or any other work that a family needs help with, the head of the family will call on the neighbours to come and help. There is no pay being given, it is just helping each other* (R. Kingay, *inpakiistorya ni aanak*, 4 December 2008).

Similarly, Adelina claims that her *ili* in *Tuba* still practice alluyon:

> *Oh yes, here* alluyon *is still popular and strong, although sometimes we have to adjust our rice field work schedule when the neighbours are not busy with other things. But overall, in our village, we still see to it that we help each other, especially during planting and harvesting rice. Life is hard here but I can say that everyone still tries to help their neighbours* (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya,* 1 January 2009).

Bernadette, the manager of one of the biggest community-based cooperatives in the municipality of Buguias shared how the spirit of helping was taken to a higher level by establishing their cooperative:

> *Traditionally, we* Kankanaeys *call helping each other,* ug-ugbo. *When brother Talata (from a religious congregation) came to live in* Bad-ayan *in the 1960s, he proposed that the community do the* ug-ugbo *in terms of money—thus starting the cooperative. During that time, not many people had cash, only a few people had a little money. The* por dia *[per day labour] was 20 cents (but could buy many goods). What*

Brother Talata did was to encourage the community to put together the little money they had to start the credit program.

There were 35 members who started. If they let one member borrow about two dollars, it was very helpful to buy rice and other goods. Later, Brother Talata suggested the election of officers. The first president was Teodoro Maliones in June 1967 followed by a few others. The credit continued but it didn't last long, probably because the members did not yet fully understand cooperative operations….the coop 'slept' for about five years until it stopped operation.

In October 1971, Sr. Fe and Sr. Asuncion from the Tuding Religious sisters came to give us training and encouraged us to revive the cooperative. They provided us training. It was during the reorganisation stage that the members voted for me as the treasurer of the organisation. From then on, they guided us on the operation of the coop. The old members came back to the coop and we increased members from 35 - 58 in June 1972 where we were able to accumulate around 80 dollars from the community ug-ugbo. *In 1974, the Benguet Union of Cooperatives was organised at the Bishops house. The union provided us with training in running and maintaining records in a cooperative. Until the Northern Luzon Audit Union (changed to NORLU) was formed.*

We were trained to start from our internal fund; the money of the coop came from the members. Then we registered our coop as Bad-ayan Credit Union in 1976. Then we continued our lending programs. Our money continued to increase as the members became active in depositing and paying their loans. When most of the members started sending their children to college, our lending program started to grow. We needed to complete our set of officers. We elected our board of directors, credit committee to approve loans, audit and inventory committee to check and put together all transaction papers, and an election committee to take care of votes. We started working for the coop as volunteers until we were able to provide for salaries of the workers (B. Willie, *inpakiistorya*, 4 March 2009).

The BABUDEMPCO is currently a self-sustaining community-based cooperative providing bank-like services in the province of Benguet. Bernadette reflects that her difficult life experiences and the commitment and hard work taught

by elders to everyone involved made it possible for the cooperative to grow to what it is now despite its years of struggle *(*B. Willie, *inpakiistorya,* 4 March 2009)*.

Peoples' Organisation 'Building'

Similar to Bernadette and Ruth-Ann's stories on how the concept of working together and communal life is still strong in their communities, four community organisations based in Kapangan have also made an attempt to use these values to organise and run community projects in partnership with different agencies. These organisations are: UBAPAS (Ubod-Apunan Association for Healthy Living), Dayukong Association, LAMPADA Organisation and TAROY Women's Group. These four organisations are located in remote villages where the main source of living is small scale upland farming. According to Aida, the coordinator of the program, the way UBAPAS was organised was by reviewing the cultural values common among the community members. Similar to communities in Tublay, the community of *sitio Ubod aduyon* and *ulnos* are some of the values that the people claim are still strong in the community. It is from these traditional values that the mission, vision and goals of UBAPAS were developed. Below are their stories and experiences: Although the leaders were chosen via election, their induction was done by the elders and accompanied by traditional rituals in taking their oath of responsibility. UBAPAS currently run an alternative health care program integrating their cultural practices of healing combined with the modern health care remedies that the Department of Health staff has taught them. As part of promoting alternative health, the group is also advocating the traditional ways of farming together with new organic farming technologies (A. Bayangan, *inpaki-ol-olop*, December-March 2009; R. Camacho, *inpakitabtaval,* 6 February 2009).

In 2007, UBAPAS added study tours as an additional program where they welcome cultural exchanges with other cultures. They invite funding agency representatives and networks to visit *Ubod* and *Apunan* offering their homes for homestay for guests to experience the Igorot culture and village life. Japanese women's groups and young people are their current cultural exchange partners (A. Bayangan, *inpaki-ol-olop*, March-December 2009). As part of their move for organisational empowerment, UBAPAS also offers training and support to other People's Organisations [POs] to start their community-based health programs by transferring the skills they acquired. In 2008, they started assisting the *Dayukong* and *LAMPADA* Organisations both located in Barangay Sagubo in Kapangan. Its members are a combination of formally schooled young adults and informally schooled parents and elders of the community. The formally schooled members and officers undertake the writing roles of the organisation while the other officers facilitate meetings conduct conflict resolution through *tongtong* and monitor operations and progress of the organisation.

As part of sustaining their organisation financially, the Dayukong association built their small village-based mini-grocery store which operates like a small cooperative. The construction of the building was through *urnos* and *alluyon*—the concerted effort of everyone in the community. According to Mario, one of the current officers:

> *We are glad that finally, we were able to see the completion of this multi-purpose building. This is the result of the sacrifice of all the members, officers and everyone in* Dayukong. *The money we received was all used for buying the materials and we, members took turns in working here for many days. The skilled carpenters were the only ones given honorarium but the food and labour for the construction (from beginning till it was finished) were from the generosity of the members. Now, we are happy with this result of our sacrifices... and still being*

guided by our elders who are at the same time the board of directors for the organisation (Manong Mario, *inpakiistorya*, 14 March 2009).

LAMPADA on the other hand chose to follow UBAPAS by offering alternative health care to the community by providing further training to traditional birth attendants and offering classes on acupuncture, acupressure and traditional herbs processing combining modern basic health skills like first aid and maternal health care provided by the local health unit staff (A. Bayangan, *inpaki-ol-olop*, December-March 2009).

TAROY Women's Lending Group is a women's low-interest money lending group operating in a small village in Kapangan. According to one of its leader, Manang Linda, *ulnos* among its members and officers is what has made their project successful. The group was named *Taroy,* which is an Indigenous way of channeling water for farms and irrigation. Symbolically, the group wants to be the channel for unity, cooperation, *pan-aaspul* and *pan-aadivay* in the community. There are 23 members and the officers are women leaders and elders of the community. Most officers and members had only basic literacy skills but they were elected based on the respect, confidence and trust given by the community. Over the past six years the group's financial assets increased from an initial starting capital of $50 to $2,500. According to the elder leader Manang Linda, the members and leaders used their kinship (*sangkakait*) and shame (*bain*/*baing*) values to make sure the agreements in the group were followed and that borrowed money was returned on time. Manang Linda recounted that when meetings occur, the members are reminded that if they do not pay the money on time, it is *kababain* (shameful) and they are depriving the opportunity of *kait* (kin) to borrow. Manang Linda also acknowledges that the women members respect the elder leaders of the group; and appreciate that women

'listen' when they are reprimanded for failure to meet payment deadlines (L. Picart, inapkiistorya, 18 February 2009).

Alternative child care program employing *adivay*

Adivay is an Ibaloy word that generally means reconnecting and socialising with relatives and kin. Adel, an NGO program coordinator, shared her experience of using the concept of *adivay* in developing an alternative day care program in selected villages in Benguet. The program is called *Neighbourhood Early Childhood Care and Development Program* (NECCDP) (A.B. Timoteo, *inpakitabtaval*, 23 March 2009): The program concept emerged from their organisation's community program reflection and evaluation:

> *NECCDP day care approach emphasises on three to five year old kids learning their language and culture. They socialise, learn values under the care of one of the mothers in the community. The learning materials are the resources found in the community like stones, tree twigs, leaves, fruits, flowers, seeds and others. The day care centre involves the parents by organising activities for the community where they could teach children stories, legends, chants* (ba-diw), *the cultural dances* (tayaw) *and musical instruments* (kalsa) *among others. The parents also organise community gatherings like* adivay *and mini-camps geared towards learning more about the traditional culture.*

> *The day care structure follows the traditional practice of* 'panbantay ni aanak' *(taking care of kids) where parents leave their small kids for the day under the care of a neighbor (usually who also has small kids) during the day when they go to work and come to pick them up on their way home from the fields. The day care facilitator is usually a mother, not necessarily formally schooled. The community chooses her to take care of their kids. In return for her service, the parents contribute an agreed amount monthly for her honorarium. We support the day care facilitator by providing her training and exposure on how to provide interesting learning opportunities for the kids. Oftentimes, other mothers in the community who stay at home taking care of their babies go to the centre to assist the facilitator.*

> *The programs evolved from being a teacher-centered, formal approach to education into play and traditional values-laden curriculum. Mothers were trained to be the teachers and parents were trained to*

participate in running the program by helping prepare the indigenous teaching materials, take turns in assisting the teacher at the day care center and give input in updating the learning curriculum. Aside from the use of Indigenous training materials, the day care centres also make use of the local language to teach the kids. The stories were collected from the elders in the community. Fieldtrips and cultural celebrations were also organised for the kids to learn about the chants, the dances, and the musical instruments of their community (A.B. Timoteo, inpakitabtaval, 12 March 2009).

The day care centre and the activities serve as a meeting, socialising and reconnecting place for the parents and community members, especially when they organise activities called '*adivayan ni aanak*' where the children show their talent and skills and the parents are given the chance to perform the traditional dances, the chanting and story sharing. The parents claim that the day care centre has been a great opportunity for them to come together as a community (A.B. Timoteo, *inpakitabtaval*, 12 March 2009; L. Picart, *inpakiistorya*, 10 February 2009).

According to Manong Pablo, each community is unique so in the *Ili-organising*, it is important for the workers to have a good understanding of what traditional values and principles could be used as tools in community work. There is no single rules to follow other than journeying with the community people to look back to the traditional culture and practices lived by their ancestors that could serve as a tool for the present generation's 'development' (P. Abluyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009).

The *Data Tree Analysis (kiyew)* of the Igorot concepts of 'community' (*ili*) and its 'development' (*pansigshan*)

As a summary of the salient points gathered from the participants' stories and perspectives of community development, below is the simple hand drawing (Figure

1) of the *Data Analysis Tree (kiyew)* that guided the organisation and analysis of the research data. The *kiyew* analysis presents dynamics involved (the traditional *ili, '*the changing times', the *ili* at present) in understanding the Igorot community and its 'development'. Aside from each major part of the tree representing the different stages that the Igorot traditional *ili* has gone through, the *kiyew* analysis also presents an analogy for the research participants of the Igorot traditional community life and values. The roots of the tree remain the foundation of the Igorots in continually 'redefining' their 'place' and identity in the midst of the 'changing times'. With the aim of 'cultural continuation' while finding their 'space' in the present society, the Igorots continue to adapt into the different aspects of changing times (trunk of the tree). They also claim to have developed coping mechanisms to deal with the realities and complexities of the 'changing *ili'* (branches, leaves and fruit) through the utilisation of the significant traditional culture and values.

TREE OF LIFE DATA ANALYSIS (KIYEW)

LAMPADA   TAROY   WOMEN'S GROUP

DAYUKONG   NECCDP   UBA PAS

community - based organizations

maintaining Igorot identity

finding & negotiating - space & place in the mainstream

ili - based community organising

community development: adapting & living with the changing times

PRESENT

THE CHANGING TIMES
(BALIW NI TIMPO)
The ili now
community life & living
  - survival living
  - access to social & physical infrastructures
  - adayon/amoyo/alluyon
Property & Land ownership
  - legal - based (land title)
Leadership   social status
  - 'schooled'   - 'political &
  - political leaders   material-
                                based
decisionmaking   ancestors, spirit, kabunyan
& justice system   - christian faith,
  - formal laws   modified rituals
  & local courts
Teaching & Learning - school - based

BEFORE (NONTANDA)

 IGOROT TRADITIONAL CULTURE & TRADITIONS
IN THE 'HOME', THE ILI   development
                                    - 'pansigshan'
community   property & Land ownership   Leadership
Life & Living   - family & clan-based   - elders, bakenang,
                         - land - inherited   traditional healers,
-adayon/amoyo/alluyon   native priest (manbunong)
- agriculture -based   social status
                         - bakenang (rich)   Teaching & Learning
decision making &   - ebitey (poor)
justice system   panbisna (intently observing)
  - customary laws   ancestors, spirits   pantetneng (listening)
  - tongtong, sapata   & kabunyan   peki-da (participation/action
  - mutta   - community &   panbeka (asking questions)
                           family rituals   panemnem (reflection / evaluation)

Figure 1: The Tree of Life (*Kiyew*) Data Analysis

CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the data using the *Tree of Life analysis* (*kiyew*). The *Tree of Life* reflects the integrity of the data by summarising the Igorot participants' perspectives about their community (the *ili*) and its development in relation to the context of their current realities as Igorot Indigenous Peoples. The use of the image of a tree (*kiyew*) is a result of the data validation with some of the participants and elders as it symbolically represents the history and journey of the Igorots from the time of their ancestors up to the present generation.

The first part of the chapter describes the Igorot understanding of community life and the different aspects of development in a traditional community such as the 'home' community (the *ili*); community life and living which comprise *aduyon/amoyo/alluyon*, property and land ownership, leadership, decision-making and justice system and social status; ancestors, spirits and *Kabunyan*; teaching and learning and the traditional understanding of community in *pansigshan*. Overall, the traditional understanding of the Igorots of their community and its development in the past is perceived by the participants in the study as an important part of their current life and identity. The participants' view of their traditional culture as part of a time in the past for them is an acceptance of the reality that they can no longer totally go back to the way their ancestors lived. The Igorots claim to still be rooted in this identity, this however leads to the question of what made the Igorots move away from this past and yet continue to anchor their memory, identity and belonging to their ancestors' views.

The second part of the data presented in this chapter elaborated on the 'changing times' in the Igorot community and the development concepts of life in the traditional community. This part of the chapter painted the image of how Igorots

came to be 'modernised' through outside influences (primarily brought about by colonisation and American occupation of the country) and how they have learned and continue to adapt and cope with the changing times. The participants' stories indicated that the 'changing times' led to the introduction and imposition of a new way of life on the Igorots; such 'new developments' are generally opposed to what their traditional culture has taught them. The process of living with and adapting with the changing times has presented issues and complexities that has become part of the realities of the present Igorot community. In order to be part of the mainstream, the participants' claim they needed to develop ways of adapting to all aspects of modern life they have no choice but to be part of.

Finally, the chapter presented the attempts of selected community groups in Benguet to use the strengths of the Igorots traditional culture in developing and implementation of community development projects in the villages. For the Igorots, these attempts of deliberate 'revival' and strengthening of some significant traditional culture practices and values is not only to cope and find their 'place', but also exploring possible ways of bringing with them their 'Igorotness' in the current society.

Overall, the data chapter presented the Igorot Indigenous Peoples whose ancestors have passed on a development that is based on sustaining the traditional culture and way of life. This development however, has been diminished in its significance and application by outside influences such as the coming in of foreigners and the imposition of laws on lands, socio-political and economic systems that is primarily opposed to the Igorots' traditional ways of life. With limited choice to sustain existence, the Igorot community today faces the complexities and realities of survival as people and as a culture.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN A CHANGING IGOROT *ILI*

> *People today have to learn about modern life, technology, education, religion and modern science. We Igorots in the process of all these might decide to speak another language, and adapt to modern culture and lifestyle; but our identity, which runs in our blood remains forever within us, whether we choose to acknowledge it or not* (J. Sabelo, story sharing, 7 February 2009).

INTRODUCTION

Reflecting on the relevant literature (Chapter 2), the methodology (Chapter 3), and the data analysis (Chapter 4), this chapter presents the significant findings of the study to in answer to the research aims. Following the themes explored in the literature and the data analysis, the Igorot concept of community development is discussed in relation to the broader picture of Indigenous Peoples' realities. This chapter focusses on three main themes which are: the Igorot concept of community; development for the Igorot community; and the use of culture-based approaches as uncovered in this study.

The foremost issue for Igorot people today is the fact that modernisation and outside influences have made it no longer possible for them to 'live' their traditional culture and traditions: this has been categorised by participants—as a 'culture and tradition in the past'. However, in the Igorots' consciousness and 'imagination', the Igorot traditional culture continues to define their current identity and their future life directions in the community. In response to the issues brought about by the modernisation of the Igorot community, their coping and adapting skills are also

discussed. The Igorots in the study claim they want to retain their identity and culture, however, the present political, economic and social systems provide limited opportunities for their authentic participation in development projects. In response to such issues, Benguet-based community workers have made attempts to develop culture-based community development practices that capitalise on the strength of the Igorot traditional culture in project development and implementation. This *ili*-based organising offers an alternative approach to the present colonial governance in the Philippine society which has become part of the Igorots' daily life.

IGOROT CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

Traditional culture

According to Kapuri (1993, p. 52), culture is a 'patterned' and shared way of life by a group of people. This way of life covers agreed-upon principles of human existence such as values, norms, sanctions and technology for survival. In general, culture includes all human activities related to food production and consumption (source of living), relationship-building with other members of the group and adaptation to the physical and social environment. The 'tribal slot' applied to the historical and geographical representation of the Igorots of the Cordillera Region of Northern Philippines resulted to the group being seen as racially, culturally and socially 'different' from the rest of the Filipino population (McKay 2009, p. 294). The Igorots' discrimination as 'natives', bearing the 'imposed' group identification (the term 'Igorot') was a result of their initial resistance to Spanish colonisation (Scott 2006). Despite the term 'Igorot' being a discriminatory and derogatory label, the people 'owned' this image and over time were able to turn it into a strengthened regional consciousness of their identity and culture as a people (Finin 2005).

Igorot identity consciousness

At first glance, the current Igorot community appears no different to any other rural community in the Philippines. The people are engaged in upland agriculture, surviving in the cash economy with dreams for a better economic life. What sets the Igorot distinct from other groups is their claim of an identity that is hugely anchored on their traditional culture. According to Moss, the strong culture of the Igorots was what distinguished them from people in the lowlands (mainstream):

> Unlike the lowland Filipinos, the Igorots were not influenced to any considerable extent by Spanish civilisation, but clung tenaciously to the customs of their [fore] fathers. At the close of the Spanish regime, they doubtless differed from their ancestors who lived there at the time Magellan discovered the Islands. While their lowland neighbo[u]rs were adopting the Christian religion and Spanish principles of justice, the Igorot were still practicing their religion of animism and magic and following their old custom law. (Moss 1920, p. 210)

Anthropological and ethnographical accounts (Keesing 1962; Moss 1920; Scheerrer 1905) have described at length the traditional socio-political and economic life of the Igorot people. Almost a century after colonisation, this study reveals that even today the Igorots in Benguet still maintain their connection to their traditional culture and traditions. There are different aspects of traditional life that are of great significance to Igorots today. The communal, relational and interconnected existence in the *ili* governed by customary laws, leadership structures, cultural values and spirituality (M.T. Butz, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009) is the basis of their community dynamics and daily life operations. The sense of accountability and responsibility to be 'each other's keeper' within and outside the community is apparent among community members in the *ili*. The unwritten sense of responsibility does not end in their human relationships but also extends to a 'relational existence' with the land

and all its resources (minerals, water, vegetation and its spirits), above (skies, air and its spirits) and on the surface (vegetation and its spirits). The *ili* is still believed to be protected by the creator *Kabunyan* and the spirits of ancestors of the living called *ammed/kaameran* (Ballsaio Jr. 1987; Sacla 1997).

The Igorots' use of their traditional culture as lived by their ancestors as a reference point that informs their present life shows that they have great respect and recognition of their identity and origin. As indicated in the participants' stories on how they view development in Chapter Four, the Igorots provide a vivid description of their community in the past (*nontanda*). They presented at length the different aspects of how their ancestors lived, their teachings, rituals, beliefs systems and practices. In recent years, the Igorots have also learned to use the media (blogs, newspaper, online discussion groups), technology (Igorot song composition and recording), local tourism, festivals, and community organisations (local and international) as tools to express their 'Igorot pride' and to share, discuss and strengthen the 'cultural bond' among the different Igorot groups in the Cordillera Region (Fong 2007; Longboan 2008; Severino 2009).

Integrating rituals, dances and showcasing Igorot culture is becoming a common practice in annual town and city festivals. This move reveals a growing assertion of '*Kina-Igodot*' (Igorotness) and Igorot identity in Benguet amidst the changing times. The activities during the town feasts also showed a combination of the modern and traditional practices as a way of coping with the changing times. For example, during the Strawberry Festival in the Municipality of La Trinidad, the different barangay booths displayed photos and other cultural artefacts together with their processed products for sale; shirts printed with the word 'IGOROTAK' (means

'I am proud to be an Igorot'), and CDs and DVDs of Igorot singers being sold in other booths. Advertisements about an evening concert of Igorot and country music as part of the municipal feast celebration were also posted in front of the municipal hall building (La Trinidad Strawberry Festival opening day celebration, 8 March 2009). Although it could be purely for modern tourism purposes, the parade was accompanied by the traditional musical instruments like *solibao* (drum), *kalsa* (gongs) with women wearing their traditional dress—the *divit* and the *kambal*. Two of the women's groups who joined the parade held their banners saying they are members of a traditional dance troupe.

People in Benguet initially resisted performing their cultural dances for public entertainment and tourism purposes because of the issue around keeping cultural practices sacred (Russell 1989). However, the elders eventually agreed to its 'display' from the point of view of preservation and promotion of a diminishing culture. During town festivals, traditional butchering of animals (the *owik*), dancing (the *tayaw* and *sarong*) and prayers by the *mambunong* (native priest) similar to the traditional community festive ritual of *kedot* and *peshit* were also done, with the municipal mayor and the vice-mayor (with their wives) as the symbolic hosts for the ritual. In some parts of the ritual, all the municipal officials (including the non-Igorot officials were asked to dance the *tayaw* and *sarong*). There were also a series of cultural presentations from both the lowlands and the Cordillera Region which show recognition of the growing diversity of the community (La Trinidad Strawberry Festival, opening day celebration, 8 March 2009).

A recognition and acceptance of change

> Land is Life
> What is the most precious thing to man?
> Life. If life is threatened, what ought a man do?
> Resist. This he must do,
> otherwise he is dishono[u]red and that is worse than death.
> (Macliing Dulag, a Kalinga warrior and elder who was one of the
> leaders of the protests against the Chico Dam River in the 1980s)

The mountainous settlement of early Igorots provided them with an 'upland' agriculture-based economy which was primarily self-sufficient in nature (Molintas 2004). The sources of living for the people were mainly rice and upland farming, small-scale mining, livestock and animal grazing (Caballero 1999; P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 2 March 2009). The use of natural resources was primarily based on need. The root crops, vegetables, and rice they plant in rice fields or in a clearing called *oma*; and the different livestock that they raised served the food and other basic needs of the family. The concept of market that their ancestors knew was buying or trading their upland farm products for basic needs such as clothing, salt, sugar, and cooking oil at the lowland with whom they established an 'economic exchange' for many years (P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009). Supported by their belief in relational existence, early Igorots viewed themselves as part of the land, thus did not advocate strict delineation of land ownership other than the use of natural lands boundaries (rivers, rocks, trees).

Self-sustaining to survival existence

Sustainable land cultivation became commercialised leaving the landless to struggle for a living. Martin Lewis (1992) in his study on the environmental degradation in the Cordillera Region from 1900-1986, argues that land areas in

Benguet previously marked by subsistence cultivation shifted to market-oriented agriculture in vegetable farming that fully bloomed in the 1960s. As a result vegetable growers encroached on forest and watersheds, increasingly degrading their lands with the use of pesticides, biocides and commercial fertilisers (Lewis 1992, p. 4). This kind of commercial farming is only afforded by the wealthy vegetable growers and those who did not own lands were forced to look for other means of living. Participants in this study who did not own land for commercial farming claim they had no choice but to migrate to other town areas where they could find seasonal labour jobs (W. Gaydao, inpakiistorya, 15 December 2008; Strawberry Farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 15 December 2008).

Following modernisation's pattern of centralised and unilinear development, economic commercialisation was also coupled with 'political incorporation' (Wiber 1993, p. 14). With the legal powers and mechanisms of the created central government, the Igorots who were considered to be 'peripheral communities' were coerced to operate in the 'mainstream system' (Wiber 1993, p. 15). Rooted in the Spanish 'Regalian Doctrine' (Miller 2006), the imposition of land laws such as Mining Act of 1995, Commonwealth and Forestry Laws had caused a complete dispossession of the Igorots in Benguet of their traditional lands (Tauli-Corpuz 2001). By virtue of these laws its provisions, and legal procedures, the ownership of land and its natural resources were transferred from the traditional owners to the state government who either used it for 'development projects' or leased it to rich Filipinos and foreign investors (Altomonte 2008). State ownership of land made the Igorots in Benguet move their settlement to the outskirts, that is 'outside' the 'development' sites. Baguio City, prior to it becoming a Colonial Hill Station for American officials used to be a pastureland of many Ibaloy families (Altamonte

2009). As a result more displacement of Igorots in Benguet occurred with the opening of foreign mining and dams (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1987; Yano, *IPRA Training*, 18-20 February, 2009).

Following the migration of more lowland populations in Benguet, legal-based material property ownership and mainstream socio-economic and political systems began to be adapted in the province. The land that used to be a sacred source of self-sustaining living began to be sold for commercial purposes. Stories from the elder participants on how ancestral lands were sold were through '*sheppel* system', was considered deceit (B. Yano, *inpakiistorya*, 7 February 2009). Early Igorots who were unable to read and write and transact business the 'colonial way' were promised big compensation and were asked to affix their 'signatures' on legal agreement papers through 'thumb mark'(called *sheppel* in Ibaloy), without properly understanding the scope of the land being sold. They were also promised to be given leadership positions in the new government, formal education and material property (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1987). With little understanding of the background of land commercialisation in Benguet, Igorots from other provinces criticise Benguet people for selling their lands to lowlanders; that they 'were not good' in fighting for and protecting their ancestral land (Group discussion, *IPRA Training*, 18-20 February 2009).

On a deeper analysis, Belmer Yano, an Indigenous Peoples' rights advocate argues that the family and clan-based ownership of land in Benguet could be a 'loophole' in their resistance to development among Benguet Igorots. The traditional family and clan-based ownership (as opposed to the community-based ownership practiced by other Igorot groups) required negotiations per families and clans which

made it easier for the colonial government and rich Filipinos to 'lure' them to give up their lands. Buyers of lands usually target elders who have not gone to school and therefore cannot fully understand the long term and legal implications of selling the lands (B. Yano, *IPRA Training*, 20, February 2009). The family and clan-based ownership also meant that the wider community has less influence in terms of a family or clan selling their land.

Overall, in terms of property and land ownership, Igorots in Benguet did not appear to have the proper preparation and coping skills to adapt commercialisation to their advantage leaving most of the original owners of land, landless today (Wiber 1993).

Diminished practice of culture and traditions

The participants in this study identified the introduction of a religion, education, legal and government systems, and a cash-based economy as the major influences that caused the weakening of Igorot's traditional culture and traditional Indigenous spirituality (Hopkins n.d; Osterhammel 2005). Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid (1987) and Carlos Medina (2004) in their research on the Christianisation of the Igorots in the Cordilleras claim that collaboration between the missionaries and the colonial government, particularly during the American period, resulted in the Christianisation of the majority of the Igorots. Medina's writings describe how Christianisation and western-education and skills training were effectively carried out by the missionaries who ran private Christian schools and built dormitories where young boys and girls were trained the 'civilised way' (Medina 2004; pp. 42-50). By the 1960s, the first Igorot professionals were sent back to their own

communities as catechists, teachers and government workers to 'convert' the rest of their community into the 'white man's ways' (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1987).

It is widely observed among participants especially those in the villages, that the Igorots have accepted that the colonial influences and imposition of new systems in their culture is part of the 'changing times'. This is not surprising as the American administrators who officially introduced 'new development' viewed their role 'as protectors and guides, bearers of civilisation to a benighted land of poor, timid, and oppressed barbarians' (Lewis 1993, p. 103). Medina's compilations of the missionaries' journals described the efforts to promote development through Catholicism and education in the Igorot villages. From the perspective of the missionaries, their mission was 'to liberate' the Igorot people from poverty by introducing education to them. In the words of Vandewalle (as cited in Medina, 2004):

> You, who help to educate and Christiani[s]e them, know yet this: that first you who help them to better their material condition of life, for a better education means a less miserable life and more efforts to live according to a higher standard. As long as our Igorotes remain pagans and do not follow sincerely the Catholic faith, whatsoever others, even intellectuals and authorities say and think perhaps of material and social progress in the Mountain Province, the efforts to build up these poor people will [b]ring only a castle in the air (p. 52).

From 1907-1933 the missionaries claim to have Christianised 370,000 Igorots (Medina 2004, p. 98) which led to changes in the traditional structures of the culture. For example, the traditional dwellings where young people gather and listen to the stories of the elders called *olog* (for young girls) and *ato* (for young boys) were turned into schools and dormitories where medical, food and clothing relief, trades and services trainings for the Igorot young boys and girls were provided by the

missionaries (p. 60). The impact of the missionaries' education system was eventually so great that the Igorots started to enter the work force as professionals. In the words of Jurgens, (as cited in Medina, 2004):

> These boys exceeded my expectations. Later, they obtained positions; they became the Catholic leaders of their people: we are glad to count among them and those of the other missions, assemblymen, deputy-governors of the sub-provinces, mayors of the towns, justices of the peace, a captain of the constabulary and last but not least a Catholic priest. Just imagine, the former pagan mountaineer taught the Christian of the lowlands (p. 63).

Over the years, the educational system in the Philippines was consolidated by missionaries into both formal and informal education. For example, most of the mission schools left by the missionaries have now become private diocesan high schools, colleges and universities serving as the foundation of higher education in the region, north of Manila. Gradually, the resistance and hostility of the Igorots during the Spanish colonisation were pacified by education and Christianity during the American occupation (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid 1987).

As a result of the years of colonisation, there were two perspectives presented by the participants in terms of current Igorot spirituality: there are those who are now baptised as Christians but still believe, recognise and perform rituals as an expression of Igorot spirituality, while on the other hand, there are Igorots who became Christians and now reject the performance of rituals to connect with the spirits of dead ancestors and other living beings (*Inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 7 December 2008). Some of the young people in the study feel that the rituals performed in the past by their ancestors especially in terms of healing an illness are no longer applicable today given modern medicine and technology (*Inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 7 December 2008).

Asun, a *Kankanaey* who now works as a nurse claims that for her and her family, they have always given respect and believed in the traditional spirituality despite her education and her being a Catholic. She believes that because of this, she and her husband are blessed that all their children have finished their education and are now working in their chosen careers (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya,* 12 December 2008).

The participants and elders' analysis during the small gathering conducted revealed that the differences and divisions that religion and culture could cause between family and community members is a serious concern today. But for Manang Tita, one of the Ibaloy elders, the differences are a result of lack of understanding of both the context of the Christian religion and the Igorot culture. She believes that the faith preached by Christian religions have parallels to the cultural values taught by the Igorot culture and should not cause divisions and fragmentations among groups (MTP Butz, *inpan-oolnong*, 10 May 2009). Manang Tita and the other community workers claim that religion and culture have affected the dynamics of working with the contemporary Igorot communities. Tita and Pablo believe that bringing people back to the values of the culture is the most fertile ground to provide opportunities for community members to re-learn their culture, reflect, and be united by their identity as Igorots to work together for the common purpose of improving the community (inpan-oolnong, 10 May 2009).

Living and adapting within the 'changed' system

With rapid modernisation happening in contemporary Igorot communities, they are left with no choice but to look for ways to be counted as part of Filipino society. To adapt to the changing times is the foremost concern of Igorots in Benguet

today. From having enough sources of living for family subsistence, and maintaining connection with the land, ancestors and nature, survival-based development has become their main goal. For those living in interior communities, physical and social infrastructures like road access, electricity, raising the awareness of the community, better education systems and modern farming technology for them have become a 'requirement' for a better life (A. Adones, *inpakiistorya*, 21 December 2008).

Primarily, the participants' major concern is related to earning a living. Many now earn an income through commercial farming (that has replaced traditional subsistence farming), many move to employment in cities and town centres, and others take the risks of overseas-based contract employment. Most young people move out of the community to get their higher education degree in the city (in most cases in Baguio City). Farming parents now subscribe to chemically-dependent high yielding varieties of crops (vegetables, flowers, strawberries) hoping to receive a bigger income to pay for their family's needs and their children's school fees. Some farmers from the village migrate to other towns and rent parcels of farm lands. According to them, they still miss the village life where they come from but are forced to move out in search for ways to survive (strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 16 December 2008). Those who own parcels of land in the villages have converted it to mono-cropping production (i.e. sayote plantation, cabbage, potatoes) to be able to sell bigger quantities of crops and earn more money.

Attaining formal education has become an important tool to adapt to the ways of the mainstream. Interviews with parents' groups revealed that education is considered to be a tool to make the present hard life a better one in the future. For young people, attaining a higher education degree is a step in fulfilling their dreams

in life. Education not only refers to formal instruction in the classroom but also includes participation in community and school organisations, taking active roles, volunteering, and being a youth leader, helping to build self-confidence and gain skills for life. The primary reason families migrate closer to the city and town centres is for them to obtain a better source of cash for the education of their children. Parents claim that they do not want their children to experience the same hard lives as they had when they were young. One of the parent participants whose family migrated to La Trinidad to become strawberry farmers said:

> *If I and my wife were only thinking of ourselves, we could have stayed in the* ili *(community) to enjoy the simple, peaceful life but when the kids started growing up, we saw the need to move out and look for* por dia *(paid labour) to be able to pay for their school needs, we wanted to take them closer to the school and expose them to an environment where they can learn more things outside the* ili.

Some traditions live on

Communal living and traditional values

Despite the changing times, the Igorots find it important to continue traditional practices such as cooperative, communal living. The participants claim the concept of working together through *aduyon/amoyo/ug-ugbo* is still practiced in Igorot communities. *Ulnos* is about putting together a cooperative effort to accomplish a task or to help someone in need, especially in difficult times (sickness, death in a family, in times of disasters). Adelina, one of the elder participants shared that despite survival living, the community members still practice *alluyon* in farming, building a neighbour's house, during rituals and when there are community projects (construction of a community hall, opening of roads, clearing of pathways) (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 2 January 2009). Bernadette, the manager of a community cooperative

on the other hand claims that the growth of their community cooperative is a result of *urnos* (cooperation among community members) and *ug-ugbo* (sharing). For Bernadette, the cooperative is the modern translation of the traditional values of *inayan, yamyam* where the leaders were guided by the elders, reminding them all the time to keep the peoples' trust by managing the members' money 'properly'. Bernadette also claims that it was because of the values taught by the elders to her from her childhood that she was able to develop the strength to lead their community cooperative despite lack of formal education (B. Willie, *inpakiistorya*, 22 March 2009).

The Igorot customary law has been practiced by the people since 'time immemorial' (Bakun ADSDPP 2004, p. 50). The customary rules and guidelines which served as an important foundation in maintaining harmony within the early Igorot community were communicated through the traditional ways of oral and experiential learning (C. Fermin, inpakiistorya ed Bileng, 13 December 2008). The concept of good and bad (*mayat, lawa*), respect and discipline (*inayan, paniyew/pijew*) are the unwritten rules that inform community life and relationships. The oldest justice institution in the council of elders as holder of wisdom in guiding decision-making and justice system is the process called *tongtong* (a process of conflict resolution) which is still given recognition in the present barangay-based courts. Igorots highly recognise the leadership of elders with wisdom called *enemneman* (Keesing 1962) because of their life experience and knowledge of the traditions and life's 'truths', and they serve as guides in enforcing the Igorot unwritten customary laws (Moss 1920, pp. 236-268). The recognition of the validity of the use of *tongtong* in conflict resolution at the community level is being

advocated by the supporters of Indigenous Peoples Rights Acts (IPRA) (IPRA Training, 18-20 February, 2009).

These same values are what community workers consider essential foundations in implementing projects in Igorot communities. They argue that going back to culture-based concepts of development (*siged/pansigedan*) is a way to motivate peoples' participation in deciding and acting development in 'their own terms' (Pablo, inpakiistorya, 24 January 2009; N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). Leaders of community organisations confirmed that they have also utilised these values in running and sustaining their group initiatives, which will be discussed later in this chapter (Kapangan Leaders Training Workshop, 24 April 2009; B. Willie, *inpakiistorya*, 24 March 2009). From the participants' stories, a conclusion can be made that communal living and working together, despite the individualistic influence of modern life remains an important component in working with Igorot communities (Woodlock & Narayan 2000).

The practice of traditional rituals which maintain connection with the spirits of ancestors remains a debate among the Igorot participants. For those who have shifted their spirituality completely to Christianity, especially young Igorots, remembering and connecting to spirits and ancestors by doing rituals no longer applies and has no relevance to the current day (story sharing with young people, 7 December 2008). For older participants and community workers, the traditional rituals and practices are still an essential part of Igorot identity that should not vanish (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008; C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008; C. Solimen, *inpakiistorya*, 23 December 2008). They agree that the cost of performing rituals is costly but they believe that the expenses could be reduced by

not making it lavish such as what was done in the past. Charo for example, who is a municipal researcher believes that maintaining ritual practices despite being Christians means respecting the elders who have been the important 'keepers' of the traditions and culture. He accepts that the traditional culture is changing but he thinks that the elders must still be respected in the community (C. Solimen, *inpakiistorya*, 23 December 2008).

Traditional ways of teaching and learning

The journey into this study has also uncovered a tradition that is still present but rarely used in the traditional ways of teaching and learning. Traditional Igorots had developed their own way of teaching and learning that supported their cultural values and priorities despite it being rejected during the time of colonisation (Medina 2004). The Igorots' 'ways of knowing' does not necessarily fit into the western-based category of formal teaching and learning (Kovak 2005). The transmission of Igorot culture and traditions were primarily oral and their ways of teaching and learning, experiential (T. Quintos, *inpakiistorya*, 24 January 2009; A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008; S. Gaydao, *inpakiistorya*, 14 December 2008).

Conversations, story sharing and consultations with elder participants reveal that the traditional ways of learning for the Igorots were *panbeka* (inquiry/asking questions); *panbisna* (observing); *pantetneng* (listening); *peki′ da* /peki′ man (participating/doing) and *pannemnem* (reflecting/evaluating). Elders do not deliberately 'teach' the cultural values, beliefs systems and the rituals to the younger generation. This is because traditional Igorot wisdom was not meant to be 'preached by mouth' for people to follow and live by; rather these values and beliefs were demonstrated in action for people to see, observe, emulate and reflect on its

significance in their lives and investigate further in the process called *pansipot* (V. Mesa, pers. comm., 13 March 2011). According to Lolong Osting, a person who loved learning in the past, she would ask questions from those who had the knowledge and experience. The elders in the past answered the questions and guided 'those who asked for it' (Lolong Osting, *inpandamag*, 10 May 2009; Lolong Geronimo, *inpangisho-pet*, 22 December 2011). Searching of knowledge through *panbekha* is a personal volition. Those who seek knowledge and ask questions from the elders were believed to acquire greater cultural knowledge and wisdom in the process.

The Igorots' way of experiential learning and teaching presents contradictions when placed alongside the scientific 'western' ways of knowing (Tuhiwai Smith 1999, p. 94). This traditional knowledge system has been 'dismissed' by foreign missionaries as the cause of the miserable situation of the natives (Medina 2004, p. 52).

DEVELOPMENT FOR THE IGOROT COMMUNITY

> Take up the White Man's burden—
> Send forth the best ye breed—
> Go send your sons to exile
> To serve your captives' need
> To wait in heavy harness
> On fluttered folk and wild—
> Rudyard Kipling's verse, 1929, Doubleday, New York:).

> *....afterwards, the Igorots needed more clothing, they needed more shoes, they needed more food rather than what they could produce in their own backyards, then they needed road access ... and transportation facilities…*(P. Cosalan, *inpakiistorya*, 12 February 2009)

Complexities of the 'changing times'

Indigenous communities today are full of complexities and politics (Maaka & Fleras 2005). In working with them, one has to carefully study and understand their history of colonisation which informs their current realities, issues and struggles (Burchill 2005). The changes that happened to the Igorots confirm how their colonisation experience and outside influences has dramatically changed their lives and realities like most Indigenous Peoples in the world (Batiste 2001; Nakata 2007; Rigney 1987). The 'changing times' describes the Igorot Indigenous Peoples' moving from the traditional way of life to modern mainstream society. This study reveals that the Igorots are no longer the 'fully distinct society' as portrayed in the traditional *ili*; rather they are now operating within the mainstream society in search for survival (Benham 2004; Danner 2004).

The changing times have also resulted in the Igorots adapting to the western culture that was imposed on them through the process of European colonisation (Eller 2010; Wiber 1993). The community worker participants criticised the introduction of colonial education, religion, cash economy, and political systems and structures (N. Caoili, informal interview, 10 May 2009; B. Yano, informal interview, 10 February 2009; P. Cosalan, pers. comm., 12 February 2009) for causing 'identity issues and confusion' among Igorots. For most, modern life and 'outside-looking' development interventions continue to threaten the continuation of the Igorot culture and tradition of the next Igorot generation. The government workers also claim that the present political systems and structures sometimes leave them little choice but to comply with bureaucratic and political requirements thereby, compromising genuine

community service to their own people (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 22 December 2008).

Igorots express a strong desire to keep their culture and language but at the same time, they acknowledge the challenges and complexities surrounding cultural continuation. Given that their being Igorot is a reason for their discrimination in the present society, keeping the culture could be viewed in some aspects as a 'hindrance' to development (Bellah 1957; Inkeless 1964; Reyes 2001). Debates whether to keep the culture or not are apparent in the areas of religion, language and lifestyle. Younger generation Igorots assert that for practical reasons, people should just accept Christianity and not conduct cultural rituals anymore; others suggest a 'modified' traditional ritual celebration by reducing costs; some claim to combine traditional and Christian spirituality, and some of the elders standing their ground remain committed to traditional spirituality. With modern media and technology, intercultural marriages and the increasing migration of other Filipino groups in Benguet, it is challenging for young parents to teach their children their first language, especially in town centres because the regional (*Ilocano*) and national language (*Filipino*-popularly known as *Tagalog*) are more commonly used. Some of the parent participants expressed fear that if they do not teach their children *Ilocan*o or *Tagalog* before they start school, the children might feel 'left out' and will be discriminated against by their school mates (W. Gaydao, *inpakiistorya*, 15 December 2008). College students also face the dilemma between maintaining a simple lifestyle or go with the trend of young people and fashion in the city to be accepted as part of peer groups (R. Kingay, *inpakiistorya sin aanak*, 7 December 2008).

Outside and mainstream influence on the culture and the identity of the Igorots seems to be stronger especially for the present generation (C. Alumit, *inpakitabtaval*, 22 December 2008). The fear of most parents is that their children and grandchildren in the next generation might become '*Iloko*', someone speaking another language and 'putting on' another culture and eventually forgetting where they come from (A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 1 January 2009). Parents observed that young people are greatly influenced by what they see in television and in modern life in the city. They expressed concern of how their children will live when they are gone as it appears they are 'removed from' the traditional *ili* living (Strawberry farmers, *inpakiistorya*, 16 December 2008). However, young people argue that they are still 'connected' with their Igorot identity despite modernity. Juna, for example thinks that Igorot identity, even for those people who deliberately deny it, will continue to be with them because it is in their blood (*naidada*) (J. Sabelo, *inpakiistorya*, 7 February 2009).

Overall, the Igorots today see the need to utilise the 'amenities' of the 'new system' and fulfill mainstream life requirements in order for them to find their space in the present world. However, adapting to the current system is accompanied by a desire to bring with them their identity and culture.

Community development as an 'unfinished business'

> The fact that for many years, the industrialised nations of North America and Europe were supposed to be the indubitable models of the societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the so-called Third World, and that these societies must catch up with the industrialised countries, perhaps even become like them... Development was and continues to be—although less convincingly so as the years go by and its promises go unfulfilled—the magic formula. (Escobar 1995, p. vii).

The result of this study is a confirmation of Escobar's 'puzzlement' as to why the many years of industrialised nations' attempts to be a 'model of development' to Third World countries remain a 'dream' unfulfilled (Escobar 1995, p. vii). The Igorots' experiences of an imposed system of development and the 'salvific' attempts of experts to develop them using the assumed 'desirable' western framework have resulted in interesting realities in their community life. On one side, the Igorots have become part of the modern world confirming modernisation sociologists' claims that religion (Bellah 1957), economic development (McLelland 1961), democracy (Lipset 1963) and exposure to western values through education (Inkeless 1964) is what makes modern civilisation (cited in So 1990, pp. 42-43). This forms a strong assertion among Igorots in the study that they are no longer the known 'headhunters and primitive people of the past'.This study reveals that the Igorot Indigenous Peoples of Benguet, Philippines are currently active agents in Filipino society. They receive education, and work in the private, government and NGO sectors in local and international settings. Most families belong to a church; they speak the Filipino regional and national languages; run for political office; and enjoy the use of modern amenities and technology. The Igorot communities have been transformed tremendously as a result of the physical and social infrastructures set up even in the remote, interior communities. Local government project priorities include the construction of access roads, bridges, school buildings, road repairs, electricity, improving farming technologies, and providing livelihood projects to improve the economy. Most communities have organisations such as women's groups, community associations, farmers' organisations, and cooperatives that provide 'hands-on' training and skills in community projects.

But equally, the neo-marxist and postcolonial critiques of modernisation theory are borne out by current realities in Igorot communities. The other side of the prescribed development of the Igorots is the symbolic loss of their 'gold' as Wiber cites in a popular Igorot phrase:

> When the lowland got the cross, the Igorots had the gold. Now that Igorots have the cross, the lowland got the gold (cited in Wiber 1993, p. 9).

Behind the outside grandeur of the modernisation that the Igorots have attained are realities and complexities pertaining to loss of ancestral lands and domains, a culture threatened of extinction, 'confused' societal values and survival living. According to the Asian Development Bank's poverty assessment, the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) is one of the poorest and most marginalised regions of the Philippines. All the Igorot provinces are among the country's poorest provinces, more popularly known as 'Club 20' which ranks fifth in poverty incidence (42% of all Cordillera families live below the poverty threshold) among other regions of the country (ADB 2000, p. 25). The continuing struggle for survival of many Igorots shows that the imposed colonial socio- economic and political system was largely not successful in its claim 'to liberate' a people perceived to be living a miserable condition of primitiveness (Medina 2004). Cosalan, one of the participants asserts that modernisation has alienated the Igorots from their traditional values of 'having enough' to 'needing more', thus resulting in the proliferation of cash-based economy and materialistic consumption (P. Cosalan, inpakiistorya, 12 February 2009). Cosalan's claim confirms Bagamaspad and Hamada- Pawid's (1985, p. 193) earlier assertion that colonial education has caused some Benguet Igorots to be detached from their culture when they began to adapt foreigners' ways, became their

agents in promoting the conversion of early Igorots to Christianity and accepted western education.

Today, the participants acknowledge a reality that many Igorots in Benguet (usually the rich and the educated) no longer 'look back' to the *ili* and to the traditional culture. These people have chosen to leave behind their Igorot 'past' and they choose not be involved in any of the struggles and issues of ordinary community people because they have attained modern life's comforts. Belmer for example, cites Igorot lawyers who are unwilling to support community issues on development. These complexities according to Adel, another participant, have pushed community workers in Benguet to constantly re-evaluate their program concepts and approaches. This further led to them exploring what approach to community work is appropriate for the Igorot *ili*.

Community Development - Philippines

'Community development was born out of a commitment to practising ways of empowering people to take collective control of their own lives' (Kenny 2010, p.1). From the influence of liberal, postcolonial and post-development thinking and advocacy of human rights, people' s freedom and community participation in development came to the foreground of community development practice (Sillitoe 2001). With the strengthening of critical awareness, people from communities increasingly demand more meaningful participation in the development process as confirmed in this study. Community participation in the development process is a recurrent theme in academic studies for rural community resource mobilisation. According to Henry (2004, p. 152), the indicators of participative community development can be seen when the community are able to fully claim a project as

their 'own' (no longer just an 'agency project') and utilise their resources for the projects sustainability. It is a common observation that many projects are short-lived because they only exist as long as there is agency funding. Another indicator of participation is when communities are able to demonstrate that they deserve assistance through their commitment, enhanced project management and implementation, monitoring and evaluation skills (Henry 2004, p. 152). It is critical to emphasise that participation must result in an empowerment process and transformation of communities for the 'for the common good'. Empowerment that contributes to the 'rise of the few' could result in participation contributing to a hegemonic, tyrannical development (Cook & Kothari 2001; Giles & Mohan 2004).

For a developing country like the Philippines, community development and civil society movements have been instrumental in raising awareness and strengthening capabilities at the grassroots level among people for networking, coalition building, campaigning for policy reform, developing community work, practice standards, and advancing 'sustainable development' (ADB 2000, p. 25). Philippine civil society is considered a 'prime mover' in lobbying for political change and beginning the fight for the country's independence in the nineteenth centuries from the Spanish colonisers (Duthy & Bolo-Duthy 2003, p. 13). The Asian Development Bank (n.d., p. 25) provides three major characteristics of the Philippine civil society that most experts find distinct in the country. These are: political activism takes on a larger role for Filipino organisations than elsewhere, welfare activities emanating from the non-government sector are clearly distinguished from religious or state-initiated welfare activities, and NGOs in the Philippines have benefited from government administrations that, since the mid-1980s have been generally supportive of civil society which resulted in the Philippines being one of

the most well-developed and institutionalised civil society sectors in the developing world (Hillhorst 2003; Murphy & Batistiana 2002).

The two most important civil society categories in the country are Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) and peoples' organisations (POs). The NGOs are the intermediaries between the government and the community (in other countries they are commonly called community-based organisations). NGOs work to strengthen POs by providing financing, establishing linkages, and undertaking advocacy by engaging volunteers and employing staff members. POs are grassroots organisations, and their members typically work on a voluntary basis, generally composed of disadvantaged individuals who work to advance their members' material or social well-being (ADB n.d., p. 25).

Igorots in this study are familiar with the community development set-up in the country as most villagers are involved in and recipients of various community projects in partnership with NGOs, government, private, local and international agencies in the implementation of various community development projects. Igorot villagers are commonly members of peoples organisations engaged in community projects in response to community needs. The community workers work in partnership and collaboration with the communities in developing and establishing their community organisation. The community workers in this study claim to have been involved in community projects in Benguet with various approaches (depending on the mission–vision of an agency). The approaches include welfare or 'dole out', church-based, needs-based, issue-based, resource-based approach and culture-based approaches (CO Multiversity-Philippines). The *ili*-based approach which the participants highlighted in this study is a new addition to the existing approaches to community development that could be used, not only for the Igorots but also for

other Indigenous groups. The welfare and 'dole-out' approach according to community workers is best used in times of emergencies, natural disasters and calamities, which usually involves 'giving out' basic survival goods as an immediate response to a need. Church-based community work primarily uses faith and spirituality to move people to act together for a common purpose. For example, the participants mentioned that Catholic institutions—known for years for their evangelising work since the American period and in the 1970s—started forming what is called Basic Ecclesial Communities (BEC) composed of a neighbourhood group who meet regularly to pray together and then come up with concrete action plans for actually applying the gospel values learned through community activities (Community workers, *inpan-oolnong*, 7 May 2009).

The issue-based approach is what the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (the Philippine version of the Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights of 1987) advocates to increase awareness of people at the village level regarding the 'politics of development', their rights as Indigenous Peoples and how to use such rights to protect their ancestral lands from 'destructive development projects' coming from the 'outside' (B. Yano, IPRA Training, 18-20 February 2009). For example, in the 1980s advocacy groups have used rights-based approaches in fighting against government development projects in the Cordilera Region (Caoili 1987; Tauli-Corpuz 2001). According to Nestor, the success of the opposition to the planned damming of the Chico River is one of the most successful peoples' movements he has experienced (N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). The movement united civil society, churches, the Igorots of Kalinga and Mt. Province (with their traditional justice institutions) for a common purpose of stopping the government from destroying the main source of irrigation of their traditional farmlands. In recent years,

people in Benguet, specifically the communities with mineral resources—which continue to be threatened by foreign mining explorations—have formed groups not only to lobby for their rights and oppose destructive developments, but they are also engaged in educating more people in the communities to understand their rights and be able to use such rights to protect themselves (N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) lobby groups believe that this act in spite of its legal loopholes could be used as a tool for asserting and protecting Igorot Rights (B. Yano, IPRA Training, 18-20 February 2009). Given that the Province of Benguet is further threatened by mining exploration and dams construction, issue-based is becoming a popular approach among community workers.

Because of the sensitive nature of resistance in the country, community workers claim that the use of the rights-based approach must be carefully studied and planned creatively and strategically as issue awareness among community people could incite 'rage' that could result in violence and risk ordinary peoples' lives. Also, the survival nature of existence in many communities makes it unhelpful for people to engage in rights awareness alone. Grassroots-based education, information and capability-building, and livelihood opportunities combining all other approaches may possibly provide a more holistic approach in working with communities (Community workers, *inpan-oolong*, 7 May 2009).

According to the participants, needs and resource-based approaches are basically the same in their aim for empowerment but come on an opposite spectrum when it comes to strategies. A needs-based community work approach is providing communities with the power of decision-making and empowerment by identifying their issues and problems, ranking and prioritising them, and collectively identifying and working in response to the issues and needs. Resources-based on the other hand

starts by making an inventory of the human and natural resources present in the community, and then planning on how to utilise such resources to answer community needs and issues.

Finally, the culture-based approach is one of the emerging approaches developed by community workers from the many years of community work with Igorot communities in the Cordillera Region. The basic principle involved in the culture-based approach is to understand, plan, and implement community development from the 'window of the community people's culture' (N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). Specifically in this study, community workers in Benguet, after years of applying and evaluating the various approaches to community development, have developed what they called the '*ili*-based organising approach' to suit the community's situation in the province of Benguet. The *ili* concept is an attempt to understand development through 'the window of the people's culture'. The *ili*-based organising uses Igorot cultural frameworks, values and approaches in developing and implementing community development programs (N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya,* 10 May 2009). The following NGO and PO initiatives illustrate the actual application of *ili*-organising in selected areas of Benguet:

Cultural values as 'tools' in community building

Building community organisations (POs) is one of the major components of community work in the Philippines and in Benguet in particular. PO building is an important step in assisting communities to secure an official voice in their involvement in community projects. Establishing a cohesive peoples' group in a community also aids in ensuring the sustainability of community projects and programs. The focus on the utilisation of culture as an approach in community

development work is an area where this study offers a contribution. Specifically, this study has uncovered the use of the *ili*-based community organising concept developed by Igorot community workers in Benguet. The *Ili* Concept of organising was developed by Community Volunteers Movement (CVM), an NGO whose specialisation is helping communities build and sustain people's organisations. This concept had been in existence for about 15 years in 2008 (P. Abluyen, story sharing, 10 February 2009). This concept requires going back to the traditional values of the people in the community and assisting them to make these values their foundation in implementing community programs and projects.

The *Ili* concept of organising believes in the uniqueness of each community and the cultural approaches used vary according to each individual situation. Defining development by recognising and utilising traditional cultural values and the traditional system is the advocacy of community worker participants in this study. For them, the positive Igorot cultural values and traditions are the foundation of being able to cope and live effectively with the changing times. Most Igorots' response to the changing times is by adapting to it without giving up their Igorot identity (in order to be considered 'modernised'). By using the traditional values they cannot give up despite modernisation, community people will be able to clearly identify the appropriate type of development they want for their community (A. Bayangan; A. Moray; A. Timoteo, inpakiistorya, 18 February 2009). The next section presents the *ili*-concept as an inspired, culture-based community development approach.

PO Building through *ulnos* and *aduyon*

The use of culture-based frameworks in developing and implementing community development projects has proven its feasibility in the case stories of five village groups in the Municipality of Kapangan and Buguias, Benguet. The first organisation, BABUDEMPCO is a cooperative that has grown by applying the principles of *ug-ugbo* (helping each other and working together) principle. The cooperative grew in members and in assets with community members putting their money together to provide bank-like cooperative services to the community such as loans for farm capital, savings creation, selling of farm needs, equipment and training. Bernadette (culturally named *Bonsian*), the cooperative manager claims that the existence of the cooperative since the 1970s has been guided by elders who always give their *yamyam* (words of reprimand) to erring officers and remind them of the rule of *inayan, mayat*, *lawa*: the concepts of 'karma', 'good' and 'bad' respectively.

The second community organisation where the *Ili* concept of *ulnos* and *aduyon* were applied is the Ubod-Apunan Association for Healthy Living known as 'UBAPAS'. The main program of the organisation is reviving traditional and alternative health practices and enhancing these with modern community health practices. This program idea came about as a result of the communities' assessment of their situation in their existing villages; they are far from the main road and far from health and other service facilities. With the assistance of an NGO partner, the group learned how to process traditional home remedy medicines like ointment for cough and colds, herbal tea and traditional healing practices like massage, acupuncture, acupressure and ventosa (Community integration, December 2008 - January 2009). Traditional birth attendants (called *mengidot*) were also asked to train other women in the community on how to assist home birthing which is the prevalent

method because they are far from the municipal hospital in Lomon. The trained members and officers in the community shared their skills by providing free services to other community members who need their assistance in terms of their illnesses. The group also started selling some of their herbal products to others communities and local shops in the area.

In order to enhance their traditional skills, the group also partnered with the Department of Health and Red Cross-Benguet chapter who provided them with a series of health training on reproductive health, parenthood, basic health skills like taking blood pressure and body temperature, weighing of children, nutrition, women's health and family planning. Today, UBAPAS runs a small community *abong* (traditional house) where women take turns processing herbals and providing basic health services to other community members. Aside from their health program, they also expanded their programs to the promotion of organic farming led by the mostly male members of the community. A latest addition is their cultural exchange program where they invite partner agency supporters and friends (they started with Japanese and Australian's) who wish to experience village life to come for homestay visits with the families (A. Bayangan,*inpaki-ol-olop*, December 2008- January 2009).

Like Bernadette, the officers and most of the members of UBAPAS have no formal schooling; they rely on their traditional values of *ulnos* to work together as a group. As part of the sustainability of the programs and projects, the officers of UBAPAS were trained by their partner NGO to expand and assist other community groups in the interior villages of Kapangan with similar programs and services. UBAPAS assisted two new organisations namely, the Dayukong and LAMPADA village organisations. The community organising matrix used is presented below:
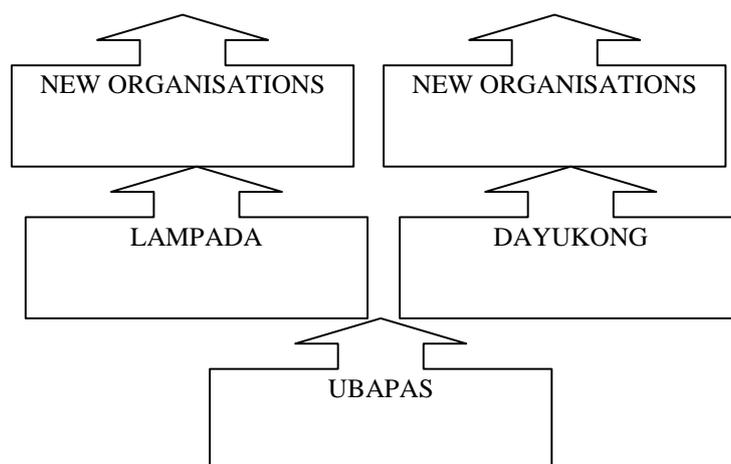
Figure 2: UBAPAS applying the traditional values of *ulnos* by assisting two other organisations - the DAYUKONG and LAMPADA community associations. DAYUKONG and LAMPADA in turn will have to assist new organisations in villages who express interest in developing village-based alternative health programs.

After evaluating their village needs, the Dayukong Association decided to establish a small village basic goods store where members can buy basic household goods, that operates like a small village cooperative (A. Bayangan, *inpaki-ol-olop*, January-April 2009).

Reviving the concept of *adivay* and traditional childrearing practices in a child care program

Another potential for success of the *ili* concept of organising at an NGO level is the Neighbourhood Early Childhood Care Development Program (NECCDP) of Shontoug Foundation Inc., an Indigenous NGO operating different villages in the Province of Benguet. The concept of NECCDP is the use of the traditional ways of childcare and learning for children in day care. The way it operates is that parents and community members in a village are consulted and trained in setting-up a village-based centre for *adivayan ni aanak* (kids play and meeting place). Parents who have toddlers bring their children to the centre before they go to the farm and pick them up after their work or after the day care sessions. One of the mothers in the

community is assigned to take care of the children at the centre with the assistance of volunteers. The mother facilitator is trained by Shontoug Foundation staff on how to run different outdoor and indoor activities for the children at the centre. The teaching materials are made out of the resources found in the community like leaves, seeds, twigs, stones and other items. The children learn songs, stories, chants and legends about their community and in their language. During the year, community gatherings are organised for bonfires, cultural dances and simulated rituals which are done with the elders of the community teaching the children about their Igorot (*Ibaloy*/*Kankanaey*/*Kalanguya*) culture. Regular community gatherings are also organised by the parents and officers of the day care centre to provide opportunities for the community to bring alive the practice of *adivay* to give them a break from farm work. After a few years, the NECCDP will be turned over to the community and their leaders to sustain and continue its operation. Prior to this, the community leaders are given program management and livelihood skills training to prepare them to take over the management of the programs.

Ulnos (working together) and *sangkakait* (kinship relations) in women's lending project

One of the groups that sustained their NECCDP (and even expanded it) is the TAROY Association located in the village in Kapangan, Benguet. TAROY stands for the acronym of the *sitios* that comprise the smaller villages of the area but as a word, it symbolically refers to the traditional wood or bamboo that helps channel water for irrigation or drinking or purposes. TAROY is an association of mostly women who have children and grandchildren who go to the day care centre. According to Manang Linda, one of the officers of the organisation, they conducted

several fundraising activities to add to the sustainability fund that was given to them by Shontoug Foundation when they turned over the project to the community. Their day care is still running and they were able to seek assistance from the local council for funding and allowance of the teacher. What the group did with the funds they raised was to turn it into a women's group lending project as well as supporting the other needs of their day care centre. The members and officers take turns to borrow the money—whoever is in need at the time—and then they would agree on a low interest rate and cut-off time to return the money. As soon as the borrowed money is returned to the group, they loan it again to whoever is in need in the community. Manang Linda cited that the usual cases where women need to borrow money are for paying school fees, for health needs and sometimes for people applying to go overseas to work. In 2008, their small capital had grown so much that they needed to learn bookkeeping. For the first years of their operation, they only relied on their trust and relationship with one another captured in the phrase '*angkhen tep sankakait kito*' (L. Picart, *inpakiistorya*, 12 April 2009). As in the other organisations, most of the members of TAROY are not formally schooled women. They claim that even if most of them do not know how to read and write, they know how to count and their *ulnos* (cooperation) made it possible for them to sustain their community project.

The above examples and experiences of community initiatives show the Igorots in Benguet have started developing ways of combining the best from their own cultures and what modern contemporary life and outside influences have to offer. When asked if the *Ili* Concept of Organising is ready to be considered successful and shared with mainstream practice, Pablo, one of the founders said that at this point it is best to apply it first to more villages and communities in Benguet who need it. He added that the *ili* concept cannot be claimed a success once and for

all because the Igorot culture is rapidly changing in the process of adapting. The values on which the concept now stands may not be the values relevant to communities a few years from now.

Community workers involved in these culture-based community organising approaches see the potential of their success when the community allow themselves to 'look back' to the richness and strengths of the traditional culture. However, for communities who are of the view that traditional culture belongs to a distant past, understanding and appreciation of this approach could be challenging. Pablo claims that the bottom line principle for community workers—prior to bringing any development intervention in the community—is to develop a deeper understanding of the culture of the community and their current realities. It must be made clear that 'development' is what the people want for themselves (P. Abuyen, *inpakiistorya*, 4 April 2009).

The other tools for developing Igorot communities as identified by the participants in the genealogical tree, are maintaining values while moving on with the changing times; continually negotiating 'place' and 'space' both within the culture and the mainstream; reviving biodiversity through eco-tourism; culture preservation and development; and, developing alternative programs to suit the needs of the Igorots (J. Sabelo & A. Pater, *inpakiistorya*, 2 January 2009). Maintaining values while moving with the changes was demonstrated by the young participants who claim that in spite of them taking on the modern ways like following the trend (*uso*) in clothing, learning how to use technology (computers, mobile phones, internet) and modern way of life (living in the city), they claim that they will always be proud of their identity. Participants who finished their degree and are now working in professional jobs in government and NGOs similarly show a stronger

connection to their identity by performing some of the traditional rituals, taking opportunities to learn more about their culture (traditional dances and musical instruments, traditional wisdom) and by serving back their *ili* using their profession (medical missions, trainings and seminars) (A. Anod, *inpakiistorya*, 12 December 2008). Older generation participants who were trained the traditional way have shown acceptance of the changing Igorot community and yet they stay true to their traditional training and roles (i.e. as an elder, as a native priest).

Continually negotiating 'space' and 'place' within the culture pertains to how the participants modify some part of the culture and traditions to further the continuation of their culture in the present times. Benguet culture traditionally does not allow playing of musical instruments (*kalsa, solibaw, tiktik*) when there are no official rituals because in the past it meant sacrilege of a sacred culture (Russell 1989). Benguet *Ibaloy* and *Kankanaey* groups initially opposed performing the traditional festivity *kanyaw* in public mainstream celebrations, cultural presentations and other forms of 'public display'. In official rituals, only adults with proper knowledge were allowed to play the instruments in the past. This created a notion that rituals and the sacred activities related to it were 'adults' business'. Today, because of the need to preserve the culture, present leaders agreed to have the Benguet traditional dances and rituals taught and shared in various modern means. For example, the Provincial Local Government of Benguet has their traditional dance troupe and one of the yearly activities for school children is cultural competition (dance, songs, chants and playing of musical instruments). Cultural workshops are also offered to selected elementary schools in partnership with the national Department of Education Program called The School of Living Traditions (C. Alumit, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2009).

Negotiating 'space' and 'place' within the mainstream is part of the participants' lengthy description of their need to work hard to be part of current society. This made them value formal education and obtaining a higher degree because they feel that it is through education that they are able to learn to understand how the mainstream society works and eventually be part of it without losing their culture. The fact is that the historical discrimination of Igorots as a people still exists. Ike Picpican, a *Kankanaey* museum curator relates the story of how his co-participants in a conference in Manila asked him if he has a 'tail' when he introduced himself to the group as an Igorot. Similar stories known to participants are the case of a Manila-based actor making derogatory humour about Igorots (she was banned from performing in Baguio City until she made a public apology) and a public official from the lowland claiming that Igorots are making Baguio City 'dirty' was not voted to run for office again plus many more. Over time, Igorots have learned to live with the highlander-lowlander divide (J. Francisco, *inpakiistorya ni aanak*, 7 December 2008). For these reasons, the Igorots in the study feel that personal empowerment is their way to be able to assert themselves to find their way to live in the modern world, meet the criteria of getting jobs, earning a decent living and supporting the needs of their families. Survival in the 'big world' are the reasons why most parents' want an education for their children because they have observed that today, the 'known' people are those who are educated (*no enshi'y ashal, egsha kita am-amta ni to-o*).

Reviving biodiversity through eco-tourism is one of the programs of the local government that started only in the 1990s. The concept of the program is to showcase the experience of a traditional through the natural tourist attractions found in communities like historic spots, caves, rivers, mountains for camping and hiking

activities. Eco-tourism aims to introduce tourists to the natural resources of the community but at the same time inculcate the importance of taking care of nature by providing an experience of the traditional life of the people in the community. The municipality of Kapangan who started annual '*Christmas ed Kapangan'* (Christmas in Kapangan) tourist activities that consist of trekking the historic mountains and caves in the area, and a local experience of community life like manual harvesting and pounding of rice, preparing and cooking traditional dishes and cultural celebrations. Being a new program, the ecological part of maintaining and preserving natural resources aims still need strengthening (J. Fong & MT. Butz, *inpakitabtabal*, 29 November 2008).

Culture preservation and development is one of the 'dreams' of the community worker participants: to develop a sustainable program and a centre where Igorots are given opportunities to learn about their culture, language and traditions and share it with others. Cosalan, who works as an administrator, expressed a plan to establish an Indigenous Research Institute to undertake research about the Igorots in the Cordillera Region. Pungayan, who started teaching Ibaloy language lessons expressed frustration that his and Cosalan's ideas are not given support by government and private institutions because the focus of projects are more on the physically tangible initiatives where politicians can write their name (donated by…) on its label (E. Pungayan, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). According to the community workers, establishing and developing a formal 'cultural school' for the Igorot remains on the 'wish list' of NGO contribution to Igorots as it would entail much resources which are way beyond their present resource capacity as NGOs and POs (Community workers, *inpan-oolnong*, 10 May 2009).

Developing alternative programs for the Igorots according to the participants requires creativity and a deeper understanding of the situation of the community so that development is redefined in a way that can bring positive changes to Igorot peoples' lives while empowering them to take action for the 'self' and community development. The 'space' for creativity and flexibility is observed to be the difference between NGOs and government programs. According to Camilo, government workers have to deliver the pre-designed community programs of the national government while NGOs and POs have the flexibility to experiment with strategies and approaches such as the *ili*-based concept of organising.

For the community workers, each of the above-mentioned approaches has its advantages and disadvantages. It is the community worker's role to investigate and develop ways to effectively deliver programs and projects using the different approaches separately or combining them to suit the current situation and community needs.

The community worker

Nestor emphasises the crucial role of community workers in community organising necessitates constant reflection on their part on their personal motives in doing the work and in defining 'what kind of development do they stand for' (N. Caoili, *inpakiistorya*, 10 May 2009). Philippine community development work, emphasising more on practice than theory, requires a deep level of creativity among community development workers (popularly called 'community organisers'). The 'freedom' to do 'experimentation' with several approaches, results in development organisations, particularly NGOs being criticised as 'not as clear-cut organisations,

but often with several different faces, fragmented, and consisting of social networks whose organising practices remain in flux' (Hillhorst 2003, p. xvi).

Co-Multiversity, one of the leading development NGOs in the Philippines suggest there are four key roles of a community organiser which are: facilitator, animator, enabler and catalyst. As a facilitator and community organiser they provide space and opportunities for communication, discussion and decision-making that involves the majority of community members. As an animator, the worker motivates people to think for themselves and have the courage to voice their opinions so they are valued in a group. The legacy of the colonial system has left the Philippines a hierarchical society, giving those in political positions and with a higher economic standing the 'loudest voice' in public decision-making. The animator assists the community in discovering and believing in their potential for creative and constructive team work. As an enabler, the popular phrase 'create your unemployment' describes this role, as community workers gradually transfer project management, implementation and evaluation skills at the end of a project funding, the community will be able to continue its operation. As a catalyst of change, the community organiser journeys with the people in finding solutions to their issues and struggles. According to Murphy (1987), the general rule of community organising is that in cases where the community has a conflict with authorities (regarding development project concerns), the community organiser take on the 'peoples' side'. The Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM) summarises the role of a community worker in its credo of Rural Reconstruction:

Go to the people
Live among among them
Learn from them

Plan with them
Work with them
Start with what they know
Build on what they have
Teach by showing
Learn by doing
Not a showcase but a pattern
Not odds and ends but a system
Not piecemeal but integrated approach
Not to conform but to transform
NOT RELIEF BUT RELEASE.

The community workers attest to this reality in their organising work with Igorot villages. Aida, who coordinates village-based projects in Kapangan, shares that because of the nature of community work which demands much time spent in the community, one of her challenges is to balance and delineate time between family and work (A. Bayangan, *inpaki-olo-olop*, January to April 2009).

Indigenous Peoples viewed from a 'contribution perspective'

Indigenous Peoples like the Igorots over the years have learned to cope and adapt to the 'changing times' and have become a part of current society. The Igorots in particular today have found it useful to take on some of the 'mainstream ways' like education and access to media and technology to pursue their desired development in *pansigshan,* which is to live in the present society bringing along with them the strengths of their traditional culture and values. From the participants' stories, it can be deduced that traditional culture is deeply valued in Igorots' imagination and consciousness. This is confirmed by Juna, one of the participants who emphasises that 'Igorotness' is 'in the blood'; it cannot be taken away by changing times. Juna argues that even if people might choose not to acknowledge they are Igorot, the truth of who they are remains in them (J. Sabelo, *inpakiistorya*, 7

February 2009). Geronimo has a similar claim: when asked if the traditional rituals will become extinct, he said the traditional culture and ritual will not be gone totally even if 'times have changed' because culture is a gift from the god *Kabunyan* and will never be totally extinguished (G. Maximo, *inpakiistorya*, 20 December 2008).

The *ili*-organising approach confirms the postcolonial claims on the capability of the 'colonised' to take charge and define their perspectives and actions for development. The Igorots have shown a resilience to live and adapt to the complexities of their colonisation experience and in some way has turned the 'sword' of 'imperial discovery' into a 'tool' to cultivate and redefine development in their community.

CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the Benguet Igorots' view of the meaning of community and development in the context of their present situation as an Indigenous Peoples' group in the province of Benguet, Northern Philippines. This discussion raised important aspects in the Igorots' understanding of community embodied in their perspective of the *ili*. The Igorots interpret the present realities of the *ili* as the interplay of the past, the 'changing times' and the present. The *ili* today is defined by the past because for the Igorots, this is where they originated and where the foundation of their identity is based, this is the time where their ancestors fully lived the Igorot traditional life and culture. But such culture, interpreted as primitive and savage by colonisers was tremendously transformed during the 'changing times' which imposed a new system and way of life that is generally opposed to Igorot traditional system and meaning. This imposed new way of life led to the formulation of laws that made Igorots lose their ancestral lands and move to the outskirts of

Benguet. Commercialisation of traditional land resulted in the migration of other groups to the towns of Benguet, and the establishment of Baguio City inviting diverse groups of Filipinos to move to the area.

In the name of survival, Igorots have learned to cope and adapt to change by learning the modern way of life through education, migration out of the village in search of the cash economy, and generally seeking ways and means to be part of the present society. In the process of adaptation however, the complexities and issues of keeping their traditional culture and taking on modern ways come to a 'crossroads. The most common debates revolve around spirituality (Christianity versus traditional rituals and ancestor connection), lifestyle (simple clothes versus trendy fashion), and language (teaching and training children with the village language or the regional and national language). Amidst complexities of trying to cope and adapt to modern times and the present system, the participants claim to have retained significant traditional values that are still practiced in many communities. These practices revolve around working together, helping each other in times of need and the existence and application of some customary laws and traditional values.

This chapter also presented the evolution of the Igorot concept of development. Traditionally, development was understood in the term *pansigedan/siged* which loosely translates to 'wellbeing'. Originally, the Igorots understood development in the past as maintaining the communal and relational living in the community, with the ancestors and all other living beings. Development considerations for the individual, the family and the community revolve around acquiring a good education by finishing a degree, building a career and finding a job

in the mainstream and building wealth and influence. On top of these concerns, the Igorots still express a desire to maintain their Igorot identity and their significant traditional values as they assert and maintain their identity as Igorots by promoting songs, rituals and dances during festivals.

The complexities and issues of the Igorots' life and identity in the current society have led community workers to seek ways for community people to have their say in the development of their community which the present political and governance systems generally does not provide to them. Philippine community development approaches aim to give voice to the community to define development in their own terms with the use of various approaches namely church-based, issued-based, needs and resources-based and finally a new addition of the cultural values-based approach to community organising with the use of the *ili* concept. The modernisation and colonisation experiences of the Igorots has resulted in them being able to operate in the mainstream society but has also led to the erosion and diminishing of their traditional culture. Amidst the 'changing times' and the present-day threat of the complete dilution of their traditional culture, they still hold to an 'imagined Igorot identity' that remains strong. These remaining cultural values, being shared to inform community development practice opens a possibility of Indigenous Peoples rising up to the challenge of transcending a marginalised image and becoming a people with significant contributions to development.

CONCLUSIONS

IGOROT INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY

DEVELOPMENT

> Indigenous Peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State. (Article 5 of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples adopted by General Assembly Resolution 61/295 on 13 September 2007).

Igorot experience of and response to development in their communities discussed in this study offer new ways of looking at Indigenous Peoples globally. The Igorot resilience in surviving a prescribed development system and their continuing ability to transform, adapt and redefine development while still carrying with them their deep Igorot 'consciousness' presents valuable insights that inform the community development field and practice.

By way of overview, it may be best to address each chapter in sequence. Chapter one provides the background history of Indigenous Peoples' recognition and participation in the development field situating the study within the development discourses which have greatly impacted the Igorot Indigenous Peoples lives. These begin with the ideas of the European Age of Discovery, through the classic development theories of modernisation, dependency, world systems and liberal theories, and proceeding to postcolonial and post-development theories. These theories demonstrate how the constructed image of savage and primitive has led to historical colonisation and discrimination. Prompted by the Declaration of Human Rights and Indigenous Peoples Rights, the positioning of Indigenous populations of

the world has altered, although some may argue that it has merely moved from 'ignoble savage to noble savage' (Tenant 1994). The emergence of a postcolonial and post-development critique to Eurocentric development discourse has paved the way for a growing interest in grassroots community development, which although contested continues to provide space for people-based empowerment. The chapter also situates the development experience of the Igorots in the colonisation history of the Philippines and its community development context rooted in strong civil society movements that continue to shape the rural Philippines today.

The theoretical and methodological underpinnings of the study are addressed in chapter two. The chapter elaborates the difficult and challenging position of an Indigenous woman conducting research in the western academy, and argues that the utilisation of Indigenous research methodology—which draws on Indigenous cultural ethics and procedures, knowledge and cultural values systems in the process of investigation—is an essential consideration when undertaking research with Indigenous communities. The validity of Indigenous research methodology is supported by constructivist theoretical perspectives particularly symbolic interactionism and standpoint theories which emphasise how peoples' experiences and interaction determine their view of and stance on 'truth'. Drawing from the critics of modernisation theory (Dependency, World Systems, postcolonial and post-development theories), this chapter argues for the need of reflection and evaluation of researchers' motives when conducting research in Indigenous communities and raises the dangers of the tendency to hegemonic research practice when 'expert notions' prevail in the research process.

Drawing from decolonising methodologies in anthropology and critical ethnography, this chapter further argues that the use of peoples' ways of knowing,

specifically in this study of the Igorots' *pansukael* and *pansipot,* be employed to fulfil not only the academic but more so, the cultural validity of Indigenous research process.

The participants' stories of attachment and consciousness about their community of origin express Igorots' concept of community development rooted in the *ili* (community) and *pansigshan* (development), and are summarised in Chapter Three. The *ili* for the participants holds together the memories of a sustainable traditional culture and life in the past but at the same time serves as a showcase of the 'changing times' (*baliw ni timpo*) that continually challenge them to strengthen their resilience to survive, adapt and find new ways of holding on to their cultural identity and significant traditional values. The system of development prescribed for the Igorots during the colonisation era resulted in the erosion of all aspects of their culture and traditional systems of existence but they had taken on some tools of the modern world in the form of formal education and empowerment in the 'ways of the mainstream' to respond to the needs of the 'changing times'. An important part of their struggle for survival is the continuation and strengthening of traditional values which for them are important to take with them as they operate within the mainstream.

Taking further the community development concepts of the Igorot in conversation with mainstream arguments, chapter four discusses the potentials of the *ili* and *pansigshan* concepts to inform broader community development frameworks. The chapter elaborates the realities and complexities of Igorots living within present Philippine society particularly at a basic survival level as a result of mainstream development control over their diminished traditional culture. In response to such realities, the Igorots have risen to the challenge of being 'victims' of development by

recognising, and accepting the changed times, and living with and adapting to the present society's realities and requirements. Like any other rural community in the Philippines, Igorot communities today subscribe to physical and social infrastructures like community programs and projects from various agencies (NGOs, government, POs).

What defines the unique community development approach of the Igorots is the use of the strengths from their traditional culture that remain with them today. Communal, relational living and its principles of good and bad, elder-based wisdom, traditional teaching and learning among other 'living' Igorot traditions have been instrumental for community workers in identifying and conceptualising ways of appropriately working with Igorot communities. Chapter four uncovers the Igorots' application of their concept of community development in what they called 'the *ili*-based organising concept' which community workers have creatively developed as a result of their learning and reflections from the use of several contemporary community development approaches. The *ili* concept provides a culture-based framework for developing, implementing and evaluating community development programs and projects anchored in the traditional values of the people. The *ili*-concept provides a new way of looking at 'community people' in community work; thus, Igorot culture, like that of other Indigenous People, though no longer in its 'imagined pure form' continues to offer potential contributions to the community development field. The chapter also highlights that the specific role, personal stance on issues, and motivations of a community worker are very significant in the success of community development initiatives.

Future dimensions

Discrimination, dispossession of their lands, poverty and oppression are the 'common denominators' of the experience of development for most Indigenous communities in the world (Burger 1990). 'Igorot' (Ygorotte) as a regional identity and consciousness is a result of imposed colonial and postcolonial governments' attempts to 'mission' and civilise a primitive population through administrative planning that came with economic incursions embodied by large-scale development projects (Finin 2005; Labrador 1997). The Igorots' response as discussed in this thesis is to turn around their experience of being 'subjects' of development' to being 'actors' for the development of their own communities. Empowering themselves in the mainstream ways by attaining education, building community organisations, 'living and moving with' the 'changing times' yet remaining on the ground with *ili* values has enabled the Igorots to pursue their agenda of culture continuation. Currently, the Igorots continue to acquire and combine 'tools' from both the 'lowland' (mainstream) and the 'upland' (Igorot culture) as their framework of community participation in the present Filipino and global society. They recognise that their Indigenous culture is 'no longer what it used to be', that the current definition of 'Igorotness' and 'Igorot identity' is laden with the debates and tensions of being part of the 'modern community' whilst still retaining an Indigenous consciousness embedded in their ancestors' traditions.

Being an Indigenous 'knower' (Pohlhaus 2002, p. 285), does not yield a ready-made credibility for a non-hegemonic research practice, but rather provides the question from which one must start in order to procure more objective knowledge (Pohlhaus 2002, p. 287). Researching a 'familiar' culture leaves the critical challenge of establishing connections between academic terminologies and the traditional

knowledge traditions (Bolak 2005, p. 1). The elders in this research guided me to redesign my ways of collecting the data using the Igorot 'ways of knowing' (*pansukael* and *pansipot*) after my semi-structured interviews and questionnaires received a passive response from participants at the initial stage of the fieldwork; this has impacted my view of researching in my own community as an Indigenous woman researcher. The employment of 'Indigenous ways' to inform the research process, approach and strategies and deconstructing preconceived research procedures to suit the culture of the community being researched is the ultimate 'test' in utilising Indigenous research methodologies.

'They [the (community) developers] arrived already knowing everything. They come here and look around, but they see only what is not here' (Indian villager cited in Botes & Rensburg 2000, p. 42). The community workers in this study claim to have drawn their community work approaches from their many years of working with community people. They share the view that the Igorot communities are the authorities and primary 'movers' of their own development and what workers do is to creatively guide the people towards the attainment of their development goals. The community workers claim to have learnt from their frustrations of the previous experience of prescribing 'development' to communities for many years, a strategy which did not work. However, through continuing reflection and evaluation of their community work practice and approaches, the community workers argue that they have found appropriate development approaches and strategies by looking 'within' the Igorot community. Cultural values and practices, the most valuable assets of Indigenous Peoples are a 'gold mine' which is often overlooked by outside development interventionists. The strengths of the Indigenous Peoples culture needs tapping into by community workers and development agencies. Overall, the

community workers brought to the surface the role of the community worker (and the workers' motives, values and principles) as a crucial factor in impacting in the empowerment process of communities.

Specific recommendations

The previous chapters have provided some answers to the research questions that have informed the study. Clearly however, not each question is answered exhaustively and all could be subject to further investigation. Yet there are a few important dimensions of this research that require further elaboration if there is going to be a more complex understanding of Indigenous communities and community development.

Firstly, although this study deals with the present dynamics of Igorot communities in Benguet, the stories of the participants are not a comprehensive representation of the voice of Igorots in the Cordillera Region. The focus on Benguet was an important starting point in examining Igorot concepts of community development. However, for a wider scope of understanding Cordillera Igorots' perspectives on community development, subsequent research is recommended to include Igorots from other provinces (Abra, Kalinga, Apayao, Mountain Province and Ifugao) of the Cordillera Region. Given that each of the Igorot groups in the region has its own distinct cultural practices and traditions, this may lead to the expansion and addition of Igorot community development strategies that community workers can tap into.

Second, one important factor of Igorot community development that needs to be explored is the degree of exposure to mainstream development and its relationship to Indigenous peoples identity 'claims' and consciousness. The Igorot concept of the

ili and *pansigshan* are the perspectives of participants who come from interior villages. It does not include perspectives from Igorots who were born in town centres and in the city. The participants who currently live in the city were born and raised in a village setting. As stated in chapter three, the *ili* concept of organising, despite it being used for over ten years is not yet considered a fully successful approach by community workers. One of the reasons is that the traditional values of the *ili* might not find relevance for Igorots in communities who are more exposed to 'mainstream ways' than the traditional culture.

Despite the fact that Igorots at the community level are currently active in working and redefining development, the third recommendation is a further study on the feasibility of institutionalising and formalising grassroots-based concepts (such as the *ili*-based concept) by adapting them as official community development approaches at the local government level. This will provide further motivation for Indigenous Peoples' groups to contribute to the community development field.

An important part of the process of institutionalising village-based community development approaches are universities and formal learning institutions. Universities specifically through its curriculum development have the capacity to disseminate emerging concepts to a wider audience and networks. A university-based research and documentation of the Igorot cultural ways of knowing and learning, and integration of the Igorot knowledge systems (as identified and recommended by two participants) will provide opportunities for university students to learn and appreciate their culture, and their university Indigenous research and curriculum development, if done in partnership and collaboration with lobby groups and various agencies can result in the institutionalisation of cultural continuation among Igorot people. Such research could be situated in what could be called an Igorot Indigenous Knowledge

Institute, and will be useful to equip the present and the future generations of Igorots to contribute to development, not only of their own Indigenous communities, but to the global *ili* as well.

A related but different interpretation of such an initiative is the idea of some NGO participants who expressed a desire to run an Indigenous Knowledge Institute which would explore community-based cultural teaching and learning through interaction with other Indigenous Peoples who have similar experiences (i.e. Maori of New Zealand, Aboriginal people of Canada).

This research has uncovered the multiple complexities of contemporary community life of the Igorots which primarily concern economic survival, maintenance of culture and evaluation of personal values and choices. These realities inform the coping and adapting mechanism of the Igorots to the 'changing times'. However, the debate surrounding the seemingly conflicting 'principles' of culture and religion as mentioned by some participants (Christian faith and dogma versus Igorot traditional *Kabunyan,* ancestors connection and traditional rituals) has been given limited analysis and discussion in this study. The final recommendation therefore is a further investigation on the impact of religion on Igorot traditional culture, identity and consciousness. This subsequent research may generate findings that will provide a 'meeting point' for Indigenous spirituality and 'western-introduced' religion that will offer alternative views of redefining Igorot spirituality in the contemporary world of 'religions'.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

My development story in 'navigating' the Western academy

It brings great relief that an Igorot woman's search for 'space' and 'place' (Mc Kay 2009) through this PhD journey has finally come to its completion. Knowing that I have taken a 'baby step' of attaining the credibility of writing about 'me and my community' in Western research is a great reward that I am bringing home and offering back to my ancestors. I look forward to once again walk barefoot on the land where I was born and dance the *sarong* to the beat of the *kalsa*, *tiktik* and *solibaw* wearing my *divit* and *kambal*, at a welcome ritual that my family prepared for me. It will be a great joy to see my family and share this journey, a beautiful and empowering experience of attaining a degree in a Western academy that will give me an external 'paper' validation that serves as an access to further interact and communicate with 'other worlds'.Most significantly, the greatest part of it is 'coming home' to who I am and connecting more deeply to whatever reason the god *Kabunyan* has for me being born with this Igorot identity.

I came to this journey with just one purpose: to earn a degree. But because I studied my culture, the realities and complexities of my experience of colonisation was the most challenging part that I had to deal with throughout the journey. The colonial mind of 'I am less, they are the best' often overwhelms me and made me fearful to write in my own voice and stand my ground. At times many questions and conflicting feelings come to my mind: despising myself—why I am trying so hard to get a 'Western qualification'? (when in fact such a tool has threatened my culture to extinction), questioning my position (a coloniser or a colonised) and often feeling 'I can't do this', feeling desperate and frustrated. But in the end, the 'ups' and 'downs' of completing this study have taught me that the complexities and struggles of my

Indigeneity will always be a part of my life's reality which I have to learn to accept and live with. This awareness informs my actions on whichever path I decide to take further in life.

But as has always happened in my life in the past, I was able to survive and persevere through the support of people who believed in me. This brings me back to my development story in the introduction of this study, the memories of the strangers who first enlisted me to go to my village school at age seven: Uncle Tony who recommended me for a scholarship to finish high school, the nuns who supported my college education, the institutions who gave me a job and source of living when I finished college, and most of all, the people who led me back to work in my own community, an act that shifted my career—these people have offered opportunities that have greatly shaped my life into what it is now. Particularly in this PhD journey, the scholarship opportunity, the support of my supervisors who provided undying commitment and compassion made it possible for me to come this far. In my life, I can say that I am who I am now because of the 'gift of people'.

Taking this inspiration back to *Bes-eg*, my *ili* in Benguet, Philippines I am passing forward this gift of education and self-awareness as I continue my community development work back home, bringing the belief that people have capabilities and that they have in them the potential to act and define their own development. I no longer wish people in my community not to want things that they saw in the city to be present in the community. I will no longer try to convince people that village life is the most sustainable way to live, that the village cultural values are the foundation of being an Igorot. But I would encourage—especially young Igorots—to explore and experience the 'changing times' learn from it and be empowered by exploring what other worlds offer and to appreciate one's 'Igorotness'.

My wish for development still remains: an Igorot community moving towards change and yet grounded on its cultural values.

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Appendix
Publication Relevant to the Study

'The trails to get there': Experiences of attaining higher education for Igorot Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines

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Introduction

I come from a remote village in the highlands of Benguet. At an early age, my siblings and I were trained by our parents to help in the house chores, farm work and participate in family and community rituals, which according to the Igorot culture are good ways to learn about life and its wisdom. Shortly before I turned seven, government representatives came to our village and enlisted children and told us we needed to go to school to learn. After I finished elementary,[1] I needed to leave my village to study at a private high school in a mining town centre,[2] about five to six hours' hike from my village. My fees were paid for by a politician who promised to support the education of one young person from my village when he campaigned in the previous election.

During the first year of my study, I experienced discrimination in and outside the school. I was often scolded because I did not know how to speak and use respectful words in Ilocano and in Tagalog[3]. There were times when my classmates would resist accepting me as a member in some group projects and assignments because they thought I could not contribute to the tasks. Many times, I just had to ignore belittling stares and conversations of people about me. Knowing very little about urban ways and lifestyle, I developed a feeling of inferiority to people from the mainstream. These and other circumstances strengthened my desire to attain education. I kept in my mind that I had to get education to help me gain the confidence to survive in the mainstream society. For the rest of my high school life through to college when I had to move to the city, I had to learn to speak and 'behave' like my classmates in order to be accepted and belong to a group and have friends. I pursued and finished my teaching degree by being a working student. The fact that working while studying meant I had to do a four- year degree over five years did not matter.

Like me, many Igorots who come from remote villages struggled to attain higher education. In the following discussion, I start by giving a background about formal education in the Philippines and in the Igorot region. I then give an overview of the methodology that I used for my PhD study, since these methodological issues are an important part of my argument about the meaning of education for Igorot professionals. The hardships of attaining higher education and the effects of education on the Igorots will follow. I conclude by sharing the experiences of some 'educated' Igorots on how they have used their higher education learning to work for the promotion of their Igorot culture.

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[1] Elementary schooling in the Philippines is for six years; grade one up to grade six.

[2] Foreign-owned mining companies in the Province of Benguet provide private Catholic education (pre-school, elementary, high school) for the dependents of their workers.

[3] Ilocano is the regional language used in the mining town areas and in most town centres of Northern Philippines. Tagalog used to be the term used for the National language of the Philippines, which is used as the medium of instruction in schools followed by the English language. Through Philippine legislation however, Filipino is now used to refer to the National language instead of Tagalog.

Education and the Igorot Indigenous Peoples

The 'civilising mission' (Lewis & Murphy, 2006) during the colonisation period which intensified during the American occupation of the Philippines was implemented through the introduction of Christianity, 'democratic' government and formal education (Bagamaspad & Hamada-Pawid, 1985; Rigney, 1989). From the Spanish-run schools for priests and for Catechism purposes (Karnow, as cited in Litton, 1999, pp. 86-87), the American occupation brought education to all people in the Philippines (Litton, 1999, p. 87). Several authors argue that education was used as a tool to train Filipinos to adhere to the creation of an ideal American image (Pastores-Palffy, 1999; Litton, 1999; Mendoza, 2001; Mendoza-Strobel, 2001). As it was an American colony, English was used as the medium of instruction in the schools with American soldiers as the first teachers called 'Thomasites'; and all their educational materials were from the United States (Galang, as cited in Litton, 1999, p. 87). This led to an entrenched colonialism among Filipinos (Okazaki, 2007; Mendoza, 2001; Mendoza-Strobel, 2000). This is seen in the Filipinos' general view that their culture is second rate to the culture of the colonisers; their delight in being able to speak English and, their pride in wearing American fashions (Constantino & Constantino, 1999; Ponce, 1980, p. 160). Consequently, Revilla observes that young Filipinos today have an identity crisis that revolves around their lack of self-respect and self-love as Filipinos (Revilla, 1997, p. 101).

From 1907-1933, the missionaries claim to have Christianised 370,000 Igorots, which led to changes in the traditional structures of the culture (Medina, 2004, p. 98). The traditional dwellings where young people gather and listen to the stories of the elders called *olog* (for young girls) and *ato* (for young boys) were turned into schools and dormitories. It was here that the missionaries provided medical, food and clothing relief and trades and services training for the Igorot young boys and girls (Medina, 2004, p. 60). The impact of the missionaries' education system was eventually so great that the Igorots started to become professional workers (Medina, 2004, p. 63). Over the years, the education system in the Philippines was consolidated by the missionaries into both formal and informal education. Most of the mission schools that were left by the missionaries have now become private diocesan high schools, colleges and universities serving as the foundation of higher education in the region north of Manila. In this light, it is considered that a formal system of education is one of the greatest legacies of America to the Philippines (Dean, 2003; Zaide, 1979).

Annavic Bagamaspad and Zenaida Hamada-Pawid (1985) in *The Benguet History Project* argue that the Spanish and American colonisation 'project' created the term 'Igorots' that signified the distinction between lowland and highland Filipinos (Afable, 1998; Scott, 2006).[4] The Spaniards who encountered resistance from these upland peoples created an image of the Igorots as 'pagans', 'barbaric', 'savage', primitive and backward. This stigma of savagery led to the discrimination against Igorots in the mainstream Filipino society (Scott, 2006, p. 7). Scott (2006) further argues that lowland religious conversion and affiliation with the colonial administrators made the Christianised Filipinos see themselves as superior to the Igorots and other ethnic groups in the country (Finin, 2005, p. 29). Discrimination is perpetuated through the educational system and structure primarily because everyone is required to adapt to the mainstream colonial education system (Mendoza, 2001).

Within the last one hundred years, research done on the Igorots has been conducted primarily by foreigners (Brainard & Litton, 1999; Fong, 2007, particularly colonial officials,

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[4] Uplanders/highlanders/highland refer to members of ethnic groups of the Cordillera and those who are from outside the Cordillera but have been raised in the region. Lowlanders/lowland refer to those who came from provinces outside the Cordillera and those belonging to the mainstream Filipino group.

foreign anthropologists, and Catholic and Anglican missionaries (Medina, 2004). From their perspective, they had brought 'civilisation' to this mountain's first people (Finin, 2005, pp. 19-20; Scott, 2006). Igorot scholars resist this, arguing that colonisation made them 'misinformed, miseducated, misrepresented, marginalised, left confused and forlorn' (Fiar-od, 2002; Dacog, 2003, p. 6; Fong, 2007). The effects of the colonial education system were compounded by the different theories and strategies of development where the 'western ways of knowing' were viewed and adopted as the model for developing the poorer nations of the world (Sillitoe, 2000). International development was designed and implemented in the framework of Western societies (Campbell, Pratt Guterl & Lee 2008; Escobar, 1995; Said, 1989). From the colonial paradigm, literacy, numeracy, schooling, trades, socialisation and Christian morals were requisites of better living conditions (Nabben, 2010, p.1).

Methodology

The participants of this study are 36 Igorots from Benguet Province of varying age (from young people to elderly people) and from different economic and work backgrounds. The data used in this paper are specifically those that referred to stories, conversations and sharing about attaining higher education, from participants who come from interior Igorot villages, and who attained their education on their own or with less help from their family. The groups are classified into two. The first group comprised young people with ages ranging from 18 to mid-20s and the second group was composed of parents with ages ranging between 40s-60s; representing a mixture of the Ibaloys, Kankanaeys and the Kalanguyas.[5] Both groups revealed that education for them is an important tool to have a better life in the future.

Inspired by the growing number of Indigenous scholars utilising Indigenous frameworks for research, I chose to employ an Indigenous research methodology for this study. This is a growing methodology area, aimed at 'mainstreaming' Indigenous Peoples' voices and knowledge systems (Batiste, 2000; Rigney, 1989). The utilisation of Indigenous frameworks, paradigms and methods is a result of adaption and creative additions to existing qualitative research methodologies, and the emergence of indigenous theorising (Anderson, 2009; Sillitoe, 2001) from postmodern, postcolonial and critical theories that work on theorising the nature of the colonised (Getty, 2010) and privileging the voice of the 'other' (Riley, 2009, p. 228). Despite debates about its rigour and credibility (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), Indigenous research methodology affirms the importance, not only of involving Indigenous communities as research participants but more importantly, recognising, understanding and utilising their knowledge systems, ways of life and cultural values to increase their participation in both research and community development programs and projects (Enriquez, 1992; McCubbin, 2009).

I specifically drew my methodology from Indigenous research frameworks that resemble the Igorot experiences and understanding. Martin's (2003) 'Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing', based on research in Indigenous Australia, is a key framework drawn upon here. Martin argues that there are three main constructs of *Quandamooka* ontology.[6] The first one is establishing through law what is known about the

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[5] Ibaloy refers to the language and the ethnic group located at the Southern part of Benguet Province, Philippines. Kankanaey refers to the language and ethnic group located at the Northern part of Benguet, Province, Philippines. Kalanguya refers to the ethnic group and the language of the people occupying the North Western part of Benguet Province, Philippines.

[6] The Quandamooka are the Indigenous peoples of Minjeripah, North Stradbroke Island, Queensland, Australia

entities, which she calls 'ways of knowing' (Martin, 2003, p. 9). The co-existence of the Aboriginal people with the entities is where they learn, relearn and pass on their knowledge system and wisdom (ibid). The processes of knowledge acquisition and reproduction involves listening, viewing, reviewing, reading, watching, waiting, observing and applying (Martin, 2003, p. 7). The second construct is the 'ways of being', which refers to establishing a relation with the entities. The third construct is the 'ways of doing', which is enacting the knowledge system and maintaining the relationship with the entities and with all other beings as seen in the way of life, arts, songs, rituals and ceremonies performed in Indigenous communities (Martin, 2003, p. 11).

The data for this study was gathered by employing the Igorot way of learning called *pansuka-el*. *Pansuka-el* is an *Ibaloy* word, which means 'deep search for wisdom'. *Pansuka-el* entails the processes of seeking wisdom to attain full development as a person, as a family and as a community. The search for wisdom in the process of *pansuka-el* takes different forms in the experiential and oral traditions and culture of the Igorots.

I was able to utilise the Igorot ways of inquiry by asking the guidance of the elders and leaders in the community. I asked questions *(panbekha)* about the meaning of rituals and practices; I listened *(pantetneng)* to stories and daily life conversations in the community; I participated *(peki-da/peki-man)* in community activities like farming, meetings, seminars; and I observed *(panbisna)* how the people do things, and then reflected *(pannemnem)* on each experience to be able to connect and make sense of the information gathered. During my community immersion,[7] I initiated informal conversations and story sharing called *pan-iistorya/ pannaki-istorya* and *tabtabtaval* (Afable, 1998) about the participants' perspectives on 'what is community' and 'what could bring development to the community?'[8] Central to this was their idea of education as a very important element in bringing them development. I initially wrote my field notes using the village language then later translated it into English. The Barangay and community leaders were also consulted throughout the research process, consistent with Bouma and Ling's (2004) stress on the importance of consulting an authority as a way of knowing in research.

Getting through the rugged trails of attaining higher education

1. The 'barriers' and 'trials'

The participants in the study identified at least five major difficulties that in one way or the other they have to overcome when entering a higher learning institution. These are the highlander-lowlander divide, 'village ways against western ways' of learning, financial difficulties, language and lifestyle and adjusting to the mainstream values system (*pannaki-*

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as described by Martin (2003) in her article. Aboriginal worldview according to Martin (2003, p. 9) is supported by a relational ontology characterised by interrelatedness and interdependence among human beings and all entities. Entities include the Waterways, Animals, Plants, Climate, Skies and Spirits. In according these entities full respect, they are treated as proper nouns.

[7] Community immersion is a common practice among community workers in the Philippines where they stay and live with the families in the communities where they work as part of building relationships, trust and understanding the culture and community dynamics to be able to design and implement appropriate projects and programs.

[8] *Pannaki-istorya / pan-iistorya* is the local term for story sharing among the Igorots in Benguet; this is their usual way of sharing information with one another. Tabtabal is a deeper way of sharing information in the Igorot community which involves deeper analysis, critique and evaluation of a situation.

istorya sin strawberry farmers, 16 December 2008).[9] Igorots are considered 'uplanders [highlanders]' and this term would usually be associated with 'natives', 'primitive' and 'barbaric' images (Scott, 2006) while 'lowlanders' would usually be associated with 'civilisation', being familiar with the modern, being more 'advanced' (Victor, 2008). Often, Igorot students are received negatively by classmates when they admit that they are Igorots, in some instances being called derogative names like 'nefot' or 'Igoy' (J. Sabelo, Pannaki-istorya, 12 March 2009[10]). The worst forms of discrimination happen when an Igorot goes to the country's lowland cities. Many participants related stories where they were asked questions like 'if you are Igorot, why are you wearing clothes?'; 'why are you not dark, with thick lips and kinky hair?'; 'is it true that you have tails?'; 'do you ever get to see modern things where you live?' (I. Picpican, pannaki-istorya, 10 April 2009[11]; D. Likigan, pannaki-istorya, 10 May 2009[12]). Despite such state of 'otherness', the Igorot has to thrive in the higher learning environment.

At primary and high school levels, although young people are attending schools and churches in the villages and town centres, there is still a large influence from the experiential way of learning in the culture with parents and elders as the facilitators. On moving to higher education in the cities, the Igorot learner has to move to a higher education learning facilitated by teachers and professors who learned from the university, earned a degree, have read many books and have generally taken on the worldview of western societies (Victor, 2008). Local knowledge and ways of learning are hardly recognised and talked about in universities. Community unity, collective work, mutual cooperation and assistance, selflessness and upholding the common good are the underlying values of villagers and tribes for peaceful co-existence (Asia Society, 2001), and this can be said to be true in many respects of Igorot communities. Wisdom is gained from experience, observation, listening and participation in community activities and rituals (Benham, 2004; Martin, 2003). Within the university system, students have to learn about individual accomplishment, competition, material accumulation and self-promotion to be able to perform well and get better job opportunities after graduation. The contradicting value systems create tensions and crisis for the Igorot students – whether to assimilate to belong to the system or resist it and be marginalised (Benham, 2004).

Language is another thing that young Igorots from the village have to adjust to when they go to the city. Aside from their village languages, they have to speak in Ilocano, the regional language which is rarely spoken in the village, to interact with others at the town centres and in the city. They are required to speak either in Tagalog or English at the university as this is used as the medium of instruction in most subjects. Speaking different languages and switching from one to the other is not difficult for most Igorots, but it is for their accents that they are most criticised. For example, jokes and stories have been formulated about how the Ibaloys and other Igorot groups poorly pronounce Filipino and English words which at times could be a source of further discrimination (J. Sabelo, Pannaki-istorya, 12 March 2009).

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[9] The strawberry farmers moved to La Trinidad (town capital of Benguet) from the interior villages to look for cash income so they could send their children to school. They are renting the piece of land that they are cultivating from a government-owned university.

[10] J. Sabelo is a high school teacher working in the city but originally comes from a vegetable farming community.

[11] I. Picpican is a university Museum curator, researcher and one of the coordinators of Igorot festivities in Baguio City.

[12] D. Likigan is an Igorot young person sent by her parents to study nursing degree in one of the universities in Manila.

Aside from overcoming the impacts of the construction and representation as 'the other' (Batiste 2000, Martin 2003), one other significant barrier to Igorots' finishing college education is a lack of access to services and resources. The economy of the Igorot villages is largely based on a subsistence level. The farm and its biodiversity is the source of living for the people. The little cash they get from selling their farm products is what they use to buy the family's needs. With the children going to university and living in the city, the foremost concern of parents is where to get the money to pay all the fees needed. One of the remedies that families use is to go into cash crop gardening which means going into higher volume of upland vegetable production with the use of chemical farming (B. Willie, pannaki-istorya, 4 March 2009[13]; P. Cosalan, tabtabal, 10 March 2009[14]).

2. Cultural values as 'tools 'to get there'

Most participants who are now professionals emphasised that they had to discipline themselves and keep focused to attain a higher education degree. Most of them perceive that keeping the Igorot cultural values such as being grounded on the land and hard work, listening and respecting elders' words of wisdom broadly encapsulated in the words *inayan*, *yamyam and bilin, mayat* and *lawa* served as inspiration for them when they go out of the village (P. Abluyen, pannaki-istorya, 2 March 2009). Asuncion, who is now a nurse supervisor in a government hospital, shared that the greatest thing she can share with the younger generation Igorots is the determination and hard work she has shown, giving value to education as a way of improving her family's economic condition:

> For me, education and finishing a degree is very important in being able to develop my self. My parents did their very best to help me finish my nursing degree because they said they have nothing else to give me as inheritance other than education. As a sign of respect to all their hardships, my life revolved around just two major activities while in college: work and study. I only had few sets of clothing and disciplined myself to live a simple life (A. Anod, pannaki-istorya, 12 December 2008).

The stories of the participants also revealed that the traditional values learned during their childhood in their *ili* (village) helped them thrive in the mainstream environment. Bonsian, who is now a manager of BABUDEMPCO cooperative,[15] said:

> I kept in my heart the *yamyam* (counseling) and bilin (advice) of the elders when I started my work until now. The elders always advise me '*Ay-aywanam nan pilak di Ipugaw, adi kan kankanen!*' ('Take care of the money of the people, do not corrupt it'). As a manager, I personally made a commitment to run the cooperative as taught by the elders. These values made me and the community strong and persevering in facing the problems of the organisation. For about thirty years now, our community cooperative continues to grow serving hundreds of members (B. Willie, pannaki-istorya, 13 March 2009).

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[13] B. Willie is a manager of one of the biggest cooperatives in Benguet, helping its member farmers engaged in cash crop gardening through credit and lending with low interest rates.

[14] P. Cosalan is an Ibaloy university administrator and an advocate of reviving traditional knowledge systems.

[15] BABUDEMPCO is an acronym for Bad-ayan, Buguias Development Multipurpose Cooperative, a farmers' cooperative based in Buguias, Benguet helping its members in their farming and others economic needs since the 1980s.

Another parent participant, Manong Pablo, the executive director of Upland Development Institute (UDI), a community-based Non Government Organisation (NGO), considers traditional values of his *ili* (community) as the source of his strength and perseverance for all what he is now:

> For me, the values of inayan (taboo), mayat (good), lawa (bad) and other cultural values served as tools in pursuing my dream of gaining higher education and serving back my community. Our organisation now is working to raise awareness and solidify people's actions on alternative health and mining issues in Igorot communities in the Cordillera Region…Despite the discrimination that I have experienced from our lowland brothers while I was studying, I was not discouraged to learn the rituals and the cultural activities in my community – I learned how to play gongs and other musical instruments and now that I am older, I have learned to preside over simple and basic cultural rituals (P. Abluyen, pannaki-istorya, 2 March 2009).

Cultivating the soil and planting crops is a basic life skill that traditionally every child in an Igorot community learned and performed as a source of living. There are no other sources of income other than '*mankapayat si luta*', meaning 'dirtying the hands' by working with the soil. Participants who are now working in their professional fields had to work either as a house help, do daily wage labour (por dia), stay with relatives in exchange of doing domestic chores or any manual work while studying (*Dayukong* Officers, pannaki-istorya ed Kapangan, 12 May 2009[16]).

The 'gains' and further 'trials' of attaining higher education

The participants appreciate that modern life was brought to their lives through education (Pannaki-istorya ed Kapangan, 12 May 2009[17]). Most parents consider education as the only legacy that they can leave their children when they are gone, and education is an investment that will not be taken away from their children. For the young people, attaining a higher education degree is a step in fulfilling their dreams in life. For most of them however, education is not only the formal instruction in the classroom, but it also includes participation and taking active roles in community and university organizations. Learning more about the culture is a big part of education (J. Dangiwan, pan-iistorya sin aanak, 13 December 2008[18]). The young people also shared during the story sharing sessions (pannaki-istorya/ pannakitabtaval) that they would like parents and elders to continue teaching them more about their culture so that they will have a deeper understanding and will be able to share it with others and be proud of it (pannaki- istorya sin aanak, 7 December 2008[19]).

With the changing times, most of the participants have expressed fears about the loss of the culture and cultural values among younger generations especially those born in the city and town centres. Teddy, a Barangay Captain,[20] shared his observations on the 'changes of times':

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[16] Dayukong is a village-based organisation of about twenty families in Kapangan, Benguet. The group is running a small multipurpose cooperative with informal education programs for their members.
[17] Casual conversations and story sharing with community members
[18] J. Dangiwan is a student leader in one of the government universities in La Trinidad, Benguet.
[19] Story sharing with a group of college students who come from interior villages in Benguet
[20] The Barangay is the smallest unit of local governance in the Philippines. The Barangay Captain is the elected

> With educated parents and modernisation, the traditional rearing of children has also changed a lot. Kids now are just in front of the television and they even don't help in the chores at home... Now, that we have rights of children, computers, television, and media influences-- it's hard to discipline and teach them. My fear is how will they learn to live on their own in the future? (T. Quintos, pannaki-istorya, 4 April 2009).

Adelina and Peter believe that somehow education has made many Igorots search for an easier life and they no longer want to work on the soil, thus cutting their connection with the land. Adelina recalls elders' claim in the past that '*eskoyla untangla*' which means 'getting education distorts thinking and values' (A. Pater, pannakiistorya, 1 January 2009[21]). Peter, an Ibaloy university administrator, similarly views education as a factor that has alienated most Igorots from their very own culture and communities:

> Today, educated people are removed from active participation in their own communities because of the nature of their jobs. Their education made them different in their values, aspirations and lifestyles from their own kin and neighbors. They have a seemingly easy lifestyle that is away from the traditional occupations attached to the land and its resources, which instilled an ever widening desire for education among the townsfolk (P. Cosalan, tabtabal, 12 February 2009).

With both the positive and negative effects of education on the Igorot culture and community, Igorot professionals are being challenged to reflect on their values – whether to go back to their cultural values or just simply go with the flow of modernity. Dacog (2003), for example, shares her experience of decolonisation after many years of doing domestic work overseas, and about her desire to go back and learn more about her Igorot culture. She migrated to Canada, and then she decided to pursue postgraduate studies.

> This project marks for me a beginning in my personal quest for meaning and direction in my life...to re-member myself with a cultural and personal identity I feel I have been robbed of...it is to come home, to acknowledge to my thirsty spirit, the Kabunyan of my ancestors; to return to the songs and stories, rituals, values and beliefs of a people...to the oral traditions that serve as a rich reservoir of the knowledge and wisdom...the Igorots or 'mountain people' to whom I proudly belong (Dacog, 2003, p. 2).

Adel is one of the program coordinators of Shontoug Foundation – an NGO that developed an alternative early childcare program for villages in Benguet to teach children about their Igorot culture shared what inspire her to develop the program. Adel claims that her job made her realise that culture is the foundation of individual identity and life skills, especially for Igorot children facing and surviving this world: 'Childhood is the best time to teach kids about cultural values while they still can absorb it. Later when they grow as teenagers it will be a bit harder because of the strong influence of their peers, the media and the modern environment' (A. Timoteo, tabtabal, 13 March 2009).

Overall, education has also made it possible for Igorots to move from local to international 'space' (McKay, 2006). McKay argues that the present Igorot professionals have

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leader of the Barangay.

[21] A. Pater is the daughter of a native priest, with basic primary school education but sees herself as someone who is 'educated' when it comes to Igorot culture and rituals.

engaged in a fluid movement from local to the global 'space' (McKay, 2006). The Igorot Global Organization (IGO), for example, for almost twenty years now continues to maintain connection among Igorots, promoting the culture globally and helping young people from the different Igorot villages in the Cordillera Region to attain higher education though their scholarship program.

Conclusion

Education that came with Christianisation was a colonial tool that in many ways alienated the Igorots from their culture and traditions. The Igorots were colonised through education to become part of the mainstream Western lifestyle. The discussion in this paper has shown how Igorots in Benguet were able to attain higher education despite the barriers that confronted them given their situation of coming from interior villages. The discussion has also shown that Igorots used colonial education to their advantage in claiming space in the mainstream Filipino and global society guided by their cultural values. Claiming Indigenous 'space' and identity is part of the decolonisation process which continues to pose a challenge to every Western-educated Igorot. This challenge is to use the advantage of Western education to achieve Igorot goals (Danner, 2004) for the development on their own terms (Longboan, 2009.

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