

Chapter 1

Introduction

Background of the Study

The Ifugao world

“The Egyptians built their massive pyramids through the slave labor enforced by the lash,” said Mariano Dumia, a leading author of the Ifugao culture, “while the Chinese drove untold numbers of coolies to construct their great wall. The Ifugao rice terraces, on the other hand, are monuments to the voluntary and heroic struggle for survival of all the members of a primitive society” (1986, 2-3). The derivation of “Ifugao” or “Ipugo” according to Dumia traces back to two meanings: of location and mythology. “Ipugo” as a location means “from the hill” while in mythology, it means a rice grain given to them from their God *Matungulan* (Dumia, 1986, 3-4). Frank Jenista preferred “mortals” or “people on earth” as its meaning. Among these derivations, Jenista’s term, “mortals” holds the most reliable meaning. The Kankanaey language refers to a person generally as “pugao” which also means “ipugao.” Mary Constancy Barrameda, a scholar from University of the Philippines, College of Law wrote an extensive introduction of the Ifugaos. With regards to writings about the Ifugaos, she is deeply indebted to the works of Roy Barton and Otley Beyer, both American ethnographers who first presented Ifugao to the world (Barrameda 200, 6).

With regards to the origin of the Ifugaos, there had been many debated theories from different perspectives. Henry Otley Beyer, according to Tomas Andres and Mariano Dumia, claimed that the Ifugaos are the descendants of the Malays who migrated to Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao between 300 B.C. and 859 A.D. Beyer held the argument that Ifugaos resemble the Malays, being short and Mongoloid in features. Also, the Malays' common source of living is rice terracing (Andres 2004, 8-10 and Dumia 1979, 6). Another anthropologist, Felix Keesing believed that the Ifugaos came from Cagayan Valley because of the similarity of cropping systems (Dumia 1979, 6). William Henry Scott held that the Ifugaos came from the northern part of Nueva Vizcaya. He explained that during the Spanish colonial rule, they were forced to move up because their lands were plundered from them (Dumia 1979, 7). Roy Barton, another anthropologist who lived in Ifugao for a long time believed that the Ifugaos were there for two thousand years (Dumia 1986, 7-8). As Ifugao writers, Lourdes Dulawan and Dumia respected the Ifugaos' claim that they are descendants of *Wigan*, the god of the Skyworld or *Lagud* (Dulawan 2001, 2 and Dumia 1979, 8). Both Dulawan and Dumia believe Barton's theory that the Ifugaos lived in the Philippines even before the migration period, which is at least two thousand years ago.

The Ifugao as a Filipino

History seems to show that the long time colonization of the Philippines by foreigners, especially the Spaniards, has brought problems in the cultural and national identity of the Filipinos, particularly the upper class and middle classes (Abueva 1998, 541). These classes spoke Spanish or English. "In contrast," says Jose V. Abueva, "most Filipinos in the lower income classes and indigenous Filipinos do not appear to have such

concerns largely because, for one thing, they mostly think and speak in their own languages or in Filipino, the national language which is also the indigenous official language (with English as the other official language) and the national lingua franca” (Abueva 1998, 541). This historical truth about the making of our national identity makes it harder to see a solidified Filipino in a generic view. Frank Jenista (1987, 4-13) summarized the Ifugao experiences with the Spanish. He says, “The Ifugao way of life continued undisturbed by Spanish incursions for almost two centuries after Miguel Lopez de Legaspi began the conquest of the Philippines for Spain” (1987, 4). Consequently, it can be difficult to put Ifugao or other similar ethnic values into the national level of the general Philippine culture. A matter of fact, the Ifugaos do not have many borrowed words from the Spanish language. The Ifugao “kulpi” or town feast proves very traditional in costumes and customs up to this point. Thus, this study is limited only to Ifugao values, most particularly the Keley-i tribe among who the participant missionaries worked with.

The Keley-i of Asipulo

While most of the literature of this study speak of Ifugao as a whole, this research focused on a specific Keley-i tribe of Antipolo, a barangay of Asipulo, the youngest municipality of Ifugao. Before its separation from Kiangan in 1992, Asipulo was generally called Antipolo. Today, Antipolo is one of the barangays of Asipulo. Dugyo, the locale of this study, is one of the sub-barangays of Antipolo. Tom Steffen, a missionary from New Tribes Mission, and his family stayed in Antipolo, Ifugao from 1972-1979 with intermittent visits until 1986, while Dick Hohulin and his family stayed

in the same place from 1962 to 2009, a time predominantly before Asipulo was separated from Kiangan in 1992.

Asipulo, as informed to us orally by our parents, came from the words “asip” and “pulo.” “Asip” means *knife with scabbard or anything around the waist* and “pulo” is a derivation of “hampulo” that means *ten*. This etymology is from Asipulo legend. The story goes that a warrior from an Asipulo village went to avenge their dead who had been killed by a neighboring village. In retaliation, this warrior killed and beheaded ten men and came home with ten heads of men around his waist. Therefore, Asipulo means “ten heads around the waist,” or in Keley-i language, “in asip tu hampulun ulu.” In their journals and other writings, the missionaries, Steffen and Hohulin often wrote about Ifugao in general although Antipolo or Asipulo was their center of activity (see Steffen’s *Passing the Baton* 1997, “Socialization” 1997, “Pedagogical Conversion” 2010 and Hohulin’s “The Book for Anuden” 1987).

The Antipolo Evangelical Church

Antipolo Evangelical Church was the first church put up by the New Tribes Mission and the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church with the aid of Summer Institute of Linguistics. Steffen detailed his church planting strategy in this particular tribe. He called this “phase-out” strategy. The creation of his book, *Passing the Baton* (1997) is the product of his church planting experience with Antipolo Evangelical Church. Steffen shared his experiences regarding the development of the church during his stay in Asipulo.

Interesting in Steffen’s story of training “national leaders,” as he called it, is the fast level-up of indigenous leaders. Steffen began his work by being a “listener” in early

1973 and later trained the people as leaders. From being leaders, these indigenous leaders became trainers of new indigenous leaders. Steffen's goal in church planting was, "to encourage evangelists to not only evangelize, but to develop evangelists" (Steffen 1997, 33).

The Summer Institute of Linguistics

The first missionary family who set their foot on the trails of Asipulo was the Hohulins. Dick and Lou Hohulin of Summer Institute of Linguistics started their work as Bible translators in Antipolo, Ifugao. They were representatives of Summer Institute of Linguistics or commonly called SIL Philippines. From his journal, *The Book for Anuden*, Hohulin is introduced as a graduate of Moody Bible Institute. He took his Master of Arts in Anthropology from the University of Illinois. He and his wife, Lou, joined SIL in 1961. They started working with Antipolo people in 1962. They supervised two language projects in the Philippines. The Antipolo Ifugao New Testament was published in 1980 and the Tawali Ifugao Bible was published in 2004 (Hohulin, "The Book for Anuden," personal email, August 2, 2011). They started their mission in Antipolo in 1962 and remained through 2009. According to Steffen, "the Hohulins helped produce a hymn book of indigenous and western songs (Steffen, July 28, 2011, personal email). Much of Hohulin's and Steffen's journals were utilized for this study especially in Chapter 4.

According to SIL website, SIL started in the Philippines in 1953. It is a volunteer, non-profit organization that works with the Philippines Department of Education in carrying out linguistic research and documentation of Philippine indigenous languages. Furthermore, "SIL also promotes literacy, health, and community development projects

among speakers of those languages, as well as translation of materials of high moral value into the vernacular” (*Serving Language Communities*, 2011).

The New Tribes Mission

Founded in 1942 by Paul Fleming, the primary function of New Tribes Mission is to help local churches train, coordinate and send missionaries to the unreached tribes all over the world. Of the six thousand five hundred tribes, it is reported that two thousand five hundred are still unreached (*About Us*, 2011). Holding on to their mission statement, “To reach new tribes for Christ until we have reached the last tribe,” New Tribes Mission continuously sends out missionaries throughout the world in which Steffen and his family were among them. Together with the Hohulins, the Steffens helped publish books, Bibles and commentaries in the Ifugao (Keley-i) language (personal email, 30 August 2011).

Steffen, a church planter from New Tribes Mission, arrived at Asipulo a decade after the Hohulins came. Together with the Hohulins, Steffen and his family lived with and trained the people from 1972 until 1979, with intermittent visits until 1983. Gauging from Steffen’s journal, their works were specifically on starting the church and helping in the translation and production of literacy materials. Some of their print-outs were Bible study commentaries and four comic books, two on life of Moses and two on life of David. Working with these missionaries were the indigenous people from Antipolo Evangelical Church (Steffen, unpublished journal, personal e-mail on July 28, 2011). Added to that, Steffen also wrote several published and unpublished books and journals including *Passing the Baton*, *Pedagogical Conversion*, and *Socialization Among the Ifugao*, to which this research owes gratitude for their great usefulness.

Steffen served 20 years with New Tribes Mission, 15 of those in the Philippines. He is professor of Intercultural Studies in the School of Intercultural Studies at Biola University in La Mirada, California where he directs the Doctor of Missiology program (personal email headings).

The Researcher

Being an intercultural communication student from the locale of Asipulo, Ifugao and a third generation member of the Evangelical Church, it is the researcher's wish to review the works of missionaries who built the foundation of the body of Christ. This relationship between the researcher and this study establishes grounds for this case study.

Reading from different authors on Ifugao, values are explicitly and implicitly named by different authors, but not specified in their writings. This research delved more narrowly on these issues with direct contact with the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church. The researcher gathered all the possible literatures and studies of this research including that of Caligue's study on Ifugao's *dah-nga*. Caligue happens to be a cousin to the researcher. The purpose of including his work was plainly for educational intentions.

Being a full blooded Ifugao, the researcher does not promise an absolute objectivity of this research. Despite such subjective input, the researcher maintained professional administration of interviews and non-formal interactions to uncover the data desired for this study. Subjectivity would arise especially on the very basic experiences of the community that is commonly done in everyday settings. In the end, it is the researcher's desire to learn more about her own culture and attempt changes and transformative progress necessary for the tribe or community, especially in light of the

rapid changes in the society, due to outside influences of Philippine nationalism, and globalization.

Theoretical Framework

Much of the theoretical framework of this study is derived from James Neuliep (2003) with his book *Intercultural Communication: A Contextual Approach*. The theory of value orientations was started by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck in the early 1960s. Later, John Condon and Fathi Yousef developed it (Neuliep 2003, 62). In one part, Neuliep presents the Condon-Yousef Value orientation with the purpose of informing us on the interesting differences between individualistic low-context cultures and the collectivistic high-context cultures. Such cultures are being generally observed in relation to self, family, society, human nature, nature, and the supernatural (2003, 52-65). Being a tribal society, the Ifugao's values are assumed to be highly collectivist in nature where the society decides what is good (*kayyagud*) or bad (*lewah*). Such value orientations are then contextualized on the six dominant themes of self, family, society, human nature, nature and the supernatural.

To support Neuliep's cultural values, Carley Dodd's *Dynamics of Intercultural Communication* is helpful. Dodd's work puts forward the idea that "value differences affect intercultural communication" (1995, 116). Like Neuliep, Dodd enumerates five mainstreams of relationships with their accompanying aspects. For Dodd, one can understand others by examining their relationship with their family, others, society, the self, and natural resources. One thing omitted by Dodd relative to Neuliep's work is the supernatural relationship between human and super-natural being or beings.

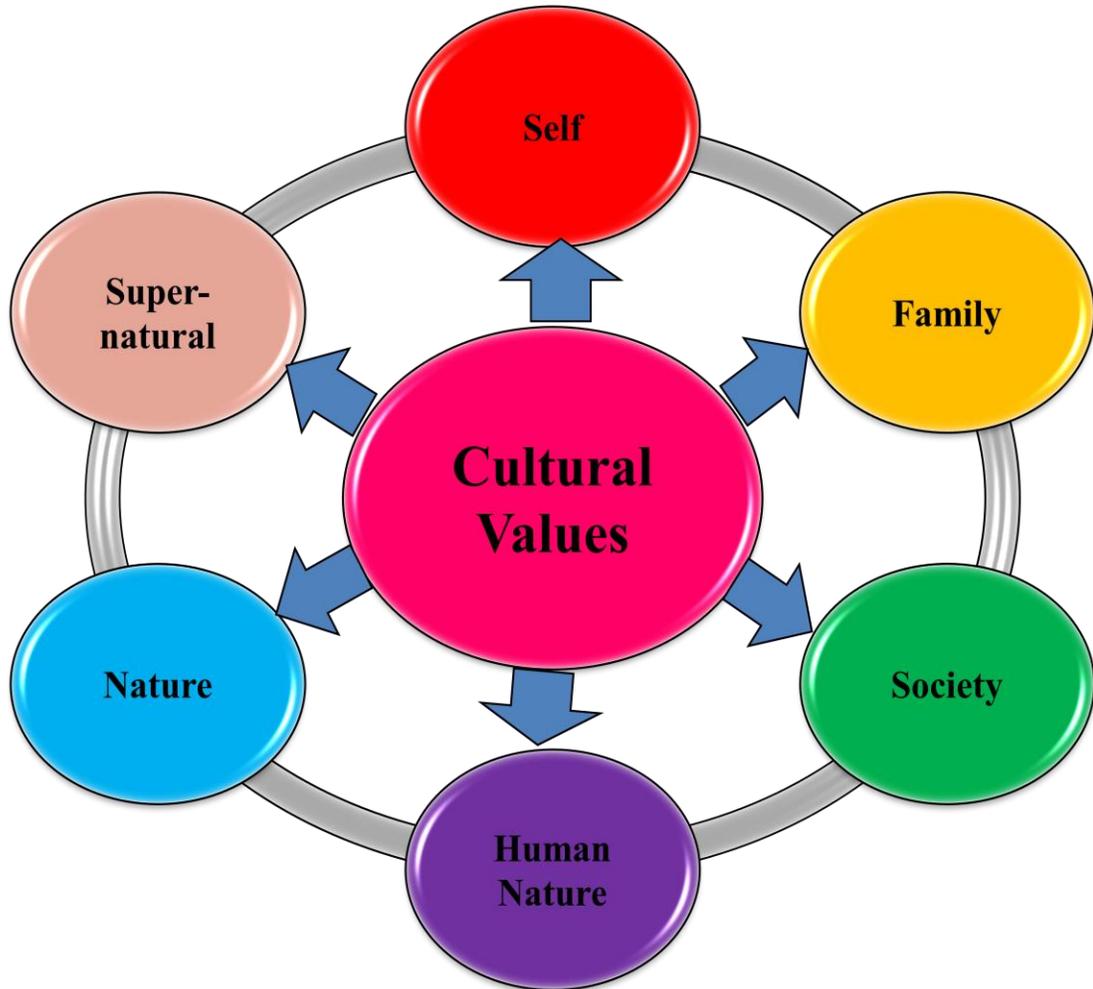


Figure 1. In this figure, Neuliep shows the value orientation in relation to the six themes, adapted from Condon and Yousef's Value Orientation.

Conceptual Framework

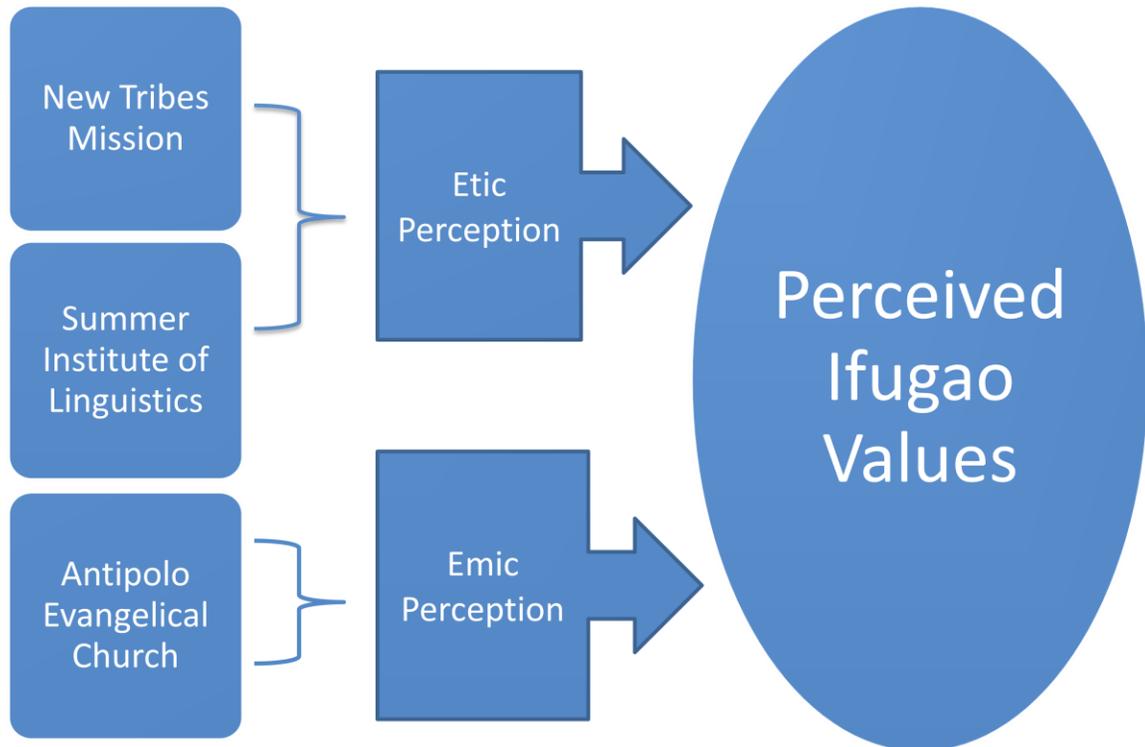


Figure 2. This figure shows the Ifugao values as perceived by the indigenous people themselves and the outsider missionaries from Summer Institute of Linguistics and New Tribes Mission.

All perceptions are based on the ongoing social interactions within the setting itself. As the indigenous and the foreigner missionaries intermingle with one another, certain awareness arises with regards to the Ifugao values from an etic perspective of the missionaries. At the same time, some issues of self-concept are being discovered by the indigenous people themselves as they mingle with the foreigner missionaries, and among other Keley-i people.

Statement of the Problem

The research problem of this study was to uncover how the peoples of Ifugao, particularly that of Asipulo, see their distinct values and how the foreign missionaries see them. These indigenous peoples may have some values that they hold significant to

themselves. On the other hand, the missionaries come in as outsiders trying to observe, interact, and bring the gospel with cultural relevance to the Asipulo people. With their years of missionary service to the Asipulo people, certain attributes regarding the values of the indigenous people were highly possibly formed in these missionaries. This research will therefore ask: What are the perceptions of the values of Keley-i people of Antipolo Evangelical Church, Asipulo, Ifugao from both the missionaries and the church members themselves?

This research focused on the perceived values of the Keley-i of Antipolo, Asipulo, Ifugao as seen by the members themselves, the New Tribes Mission and Summer Institute of Linguistics. Possibilities may arise that the Keley-i of Antipolo Evangelical Church would see their own collective values in a different light compared to how the foreigners see them.

Following the main problem, this study aimed to answer the subsidiary problems:

1. Which of the six value areas are given importance most by the following generations?
 - a. first generation (ages seventy-one and above)
 - b. second generation (ages forty-five to seventy)
 - c. third generation (ages thirty to forty-four)
 - d. fourth generation (ages fifteen to twenty-nine)
2. How does New Tribes Mission perceive as the values of the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church they interacted with?
3. How does Summer Institute of Linguistics perceive as the values of the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church they interacted with?

Significance of the Study

This study sought to discover the values of the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church, Asipulo, Ifugao. It will be helpful for intercultural missionaries especially in the contextualization of the gospel message. Contextualizing the gospel message to recipients require thorough investigation of their inner needs and other things that hold value to them. Frank Jenista, an expert in the Philippine history, admits that, “The problem for the Ifugaos lay in trying to decide which elements of their culture were ‘good’ using the missionary’s scale of value” (Jenista 1987, 165). In other words, there had been a big problem on contextualization of a message which the Ifugaos did not perceive as relevant in their culture and being. In this case, when the gospel messenger understands who these people are and what they hold significant to themselves, the gospel will have a significant impact to these people. Without such proper understanding, the mission field will not be as relevant as it should be.

This study also holds significance with the Keley-i of Antipolo Evangelical Church of Asipulo, Ifugao. It is the hope of this study to look at the values they have as a society. These people of the church are desired to show their shared community values that had been handed down to them from their fore parents in true worship as a church transformed by the Holy Spirit.

More importantly, since this is a case study of values, it is important that the current and younger generation readers have a grasp of what values they had in the past that they will let go and what they would want to retain. The researcher envisions the readers to understand themselves better and appreciate their values handed down from their fore parents.

The missionaries of New Tribes Mission, and Summer Institute of Linguistics play a large role in discovering the values of these people group. The result of this study will therefore highlight their direct observations on the Ifugao values. In return, such discoveries will be supportive to new missionaries who wish to go across their borders and plant missions beyond their cultural bounds.

Assumptions

The following are the assumptions of this current study:

1. Every community has its own unique values distinct from any other communities.
2. The values of a community are product of a wide spectrum of causative factors.
3. Individual values are greatly instrumental in the formation of communal values, and vice-versa.
4. Community values are subject to change through constant interaction from within and without.

Definition of Terms

Anap- *Anap* refers to the process done by the shaman (*mabeki*) to find out what is the cause of one's sickness.

Animism- Animism is the belief that spirits have power over everything in life.

Baki- *baki* is the general sacrificial system of the Ifugaos to appease the spirits and their ancestors. On his personal e-mail to the researcher on 28 July 2011, Hohulin writes his observation this way:

The fact is, 100% of the people there were animist. Their religion centered around placating the spirits of the forests, rivers, and trees where the inhabitants of Antipolo Ifugao people lived. Also prominent in their religion was a form of ancestor worship in which animal sacrifices were made to their ancestors through elaborate rituals led by their shamans. Their ritual-sacrificial system is known as *baki*.

Bimebley- bimebley refers to the people belonging to a certain barangay.

Bogwa- *bogwa* is done by bringing out the bones and invoking the soul of the dead kinfolk when a relative is sick. Sacrifices are performed to appease the soul of the dead ancestor.

Dah-nga- In Rene Caligue's study, "*Dah-nga* means the creative and systematic practice of the Ifugaos in giving free services to those who are in need in their community" (Caligue 2011, 14).

Dundun- *Dundun* is the act of sacrificing animals for the sick to invoke the spirit of the dead ancestor.

Folk Tales- folk tales are stories written or told orally from one generation to another. These stories have contextual relevance and provide moral values to the listeners. In the Ifugao context, parents tell their stories at night when it is time to sleep. In Keley-i language, folk tale means *a-abbig*.

High-context cultures- "A high-context culture understand each other and their appropriate role; words are not necessary to convey meaning. One acts according to one's role" (Neuliep 2009, 53). In this study, it is understood that the Keley-i are communal in nature and they belong to a high-context culture.

In-abbung- it refers to the meat share given by the host family to households that contributed for wedding or death.

Keley-i- Keley-i is a sub-tribe of the Kalanguya or Kallahan who are predominant in Antipolo, Asipulo, Ifugao. Asipulo is located at the southwestern part of the province of Ifugao. Keley-i also refers to the language of the Keley-i tribe. The researcher herself is from the Keley-i tribe and speaks the language as her mother tongue.

Ligat- *Ligat* arises when there is an extreme or deep suffering such as death or illness in the family.

Low-context cultures- Unlike high-context culture, low-context uses direct explicit verbal code to convey meaning...verbal communication is highly used (Neuliep 2009, 53).

Mabeki- *Mabeki* refers to either the person who performs the *baki* or those who practice the *baki* system in general.

Man-ili- Literally, *man-ili* means inhabitants of a certain place. In this study, it refers to an organization in the community where contributions in finances, in kind, and labor are collected for the family who holds either an occasion of wedding or death.

Social Dysphoria- It is the result of abandoning traditional beliefs without being integrated into a new way of life.

Tawid- *Tawid* is an inheritance handed down by parents to their children either material, land possessions, moral values, or communal customs and beliefs.

Temyaw- People in the old *baki* system believed that when a person gets sick, it is being caused by the spirit of the dead ancestor. The dead one might need something or is offended and the spirit communicates it through the living. This is called *temyaw*.

Tenten- *Tenten* is being done by the *mabeki* to see who among the dead ancestors caused the sickness or any bad dream to the family member.

Ubbu- *Ubbu* is the daily or seasonal teamwork by a group of people where they take turn cleaning their farms. Each person pays and repays another's work with fair number of days of work. This is different from *tekla* where the person who works gets paid by wage.

Values- Some of the words that are used in Keley-i to convey the concept of values among the Ifugaos are *kayyaggud* or good, *lawah* or bad, *balol* or worth, *importante* or important or not important, *mahapul* or must or must not, and *bilang* or that which counts or doesn't count, as in "he/she does not count for anything" (Hohulin, personal email, August 19, 2011).

Scope and Delimitations

This study employed a case study approach in exploring the Ifugao values and how both the outsider missionaries and the insider Keley-i people of the locale perceive them. The time frame accounts from 1962 when the Hohulins arrived through the present. Participants included the converts of the Keley-i tribe, who may have attended the Antipolo Evangelical Church regularly for a minimum of three years. To gauge the perspectives of the mission groups, interviews with Hohulin and Steffen and their spouses were necessary. All questions were sent electronically. The missionaries said that Skype interviews were not possible for them.

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

The literature and studies review of this research categorized the values according to the theoretical framework provided in this study. The literature of the locale itself depended largely on the journals sent to the researcher by the missionary respondents, Hohulin and Steffen. All these writings were quoted with permission from the missionaries themselves.

To date, there have been no studies conducted by any Ifugao or foreign researchers particularly among the Keley-i of Antipolo, Ifugao especially on the values of the people of Keley-i tribes of Ifugao, except for the journals compiled by Steffen and Hohulin. All of the literature was therefore dependent on the journals of the aforementioned frontline missionaries. Most of their journals recounted their empirical encounters with the Keley-i tribe. From there, the values of the Keley-i people of Antipolo Evangelical Church were elicited.

Local Literature

Writing from his *Understanding Ifugao Values Book 11*(2004), Tomas D. Andres, a well known Filipino scholar, accumulated the holistic view on Ifugao values based on the socio-religio-political anatomy of the indigenous Ifugaos. Further, Andres enumerated a chronology of foreign influences that must have greatly affected the Ifugaos in one way or another.

Andres' contribution to this study was his inquiry to the behavior of Ifugao as individuals, group, their leadership, and organization, with colonial history as its background. Having a strong behaviorist background, Andres' work is obviously focused on the "doing" with less attention to the "being" of the Ifugaos. The weakness of his work is that he accumulated other authors' works without having in-depth cultural exposure with the Ifugaos.

Evelyn Miranda-Feliciano, an award-winning Philippine studies writer, displayed a host of evident Filipino values. In her *Filipino Values and Christian Faith*, Feliciano enumerated the major Filipino values that affect the whole system of Philippine culture.

According to Feliciano, one such value is *Machismo*. It is found in the typical Filipino home where the father becomes the boss of the family. In a male dominated society, women are usually taken marginally when it comes to decision making and other matters of strong consideration. Another societal credo is the concept of *utang na loob*. "Utang na loob," according to Feliciano, "specifically means debt of volition. It is an interior law which dictates that the recipient of a good act or deed behave generously towards his benefactor as long as he lives" (Feliciano 1990, 70).

Feliciano thought that perhaps the most observable social orientation is the family. Family relation is one of the most tightly held in the Philippine context. Parents and children tend to have an unwritten law about their roles in the family. Parents are to be respected and children are supposed to obey. This kinship structure is what makes the Filipino family a strong unit of society.

Along with all these, Feliciano put the Christian faith face to face with the values mentioned. These Filipino values can have strong positive or negative implications that

may result to either upholding or distortion of the Biblical principles. In the field of missions, it is important to know how to deal with people and their culture and how to bring the gospel that can agree or challenge their culture.

A pastor and researcher, Leonardo Salvador in his *Pakikipagtalastasan* suggested that a careful study of the Filipino communication system can be a good way of educating them. *Pakikipagtalastasan* is how he defined communication as a tool in Christian education in the Philippines. Salvador argued that a communicator needs to look at the intricacies of the Filipino value system before effective teaching can be accomplished (1995, 169). The Filipino communication is governed by relationship issues that dictate the sometimes misunderstood complications within its structure. The weakness of his study is that it presented the communicative value of the Filipino in a very general approach, putting aside the differences of each regional ethnolinguistic groups.

Elizabeth Mamanglo, an Ifugao and award winning folktale writer, compiled indigenous stories in her *Long Time Ago in Ifugaoland* (2006). In her book, she wrote about themes on humans interacting with animals, personal “good” and “bad” characters, heroism, horror, and stories with religious influence. All the characters portray different personalities, often carrying native Ifugao names.

Mythical though these stories may be, they nevertheless do portray events and characters that bring out the moral values that every Ifugao child should learn. Part of child education in the Ifugao context is story telling by parents or grandparents to their children at night to lull the child or children to sleep and at the same time teach moral values. It seems likely that Mamanglo’s folktales was worth visiting as a support for

Keley-i of Ifugao people's top values. Stories do speak what is in the mind of the story teller and the accompanying values that are carried along with the story.

Similar to Mamanglo's folktales is Carlos Medina's *Toward Understanding Bagan Ya Wigan ad Chu-ligan* (2002). Medina compiled and annotated from Francis Lambrecht's collection and documentation of 106 *Abuwab* tales of the Ifugaos from 1932-1957.¹ These are stories whose main characters are Bagan and Wigan. These tales are being told for the purpose of teaching the Ifugao how to do things related to rice, marriage, death, poverty, illness, and hunting (2002,5). Again, the purpose of these tales is not just for entertainment but to teach moral values and proper social and spiritual decorum.

In this study, indigenous Ifugao stories and folktales are highly appreciated because they reveal what is inside of the Ifugao mind and heart. They are not created by outsiders but instead, they emanate from the very core of the indigenous culture.

Anthropologist-researcher Fernando Zialcita, in his essay, "Land Tenure among Non-Hispanized Filipinos," explored the sense of ownership of land among the areas that are non-Hispanized. In the twentieth century setting in the Cordilleras, including Ifugao and Kalinga, it is noticed that lands, like rice paddies, forests hill farms, including unowned lands are managed by families rather than the community. This essay brings inquiry to the communal essence in Ifugao. This writing is unique because it displays the relationship between the ownership of lands with the social structure of the place. Apparently, the value of family is again the main issue even in the aspect of land ownership.

¹ Medina compiled and annotated Francis Lambrecht's works from 1932-1957. Medina discovered 106 *Abuwab* tales from Lambrecht's documentation and streamlined them for readability. See Lambrecht's works listed on the reference list.

Foreign Literature

The religion and culture of the Keley-i people of Ifugao before the Hohulins and the Steffens came was tribal animism. From a general point of view about animism, David Sitton, a long time church planter and trainer of leaders in tribal areas of Papua New Guinea, displays the Biblical truth about the presence of evil spirits on earth. His journal “The Basics of Animism” tells that tribal animists believe that non-living objects have souls (1998, 69). However, the Ifugao believes that there are spiritual beings, namely *bibiyaw* in the Keley-i language, who guard or own the nature. Although the Papua New Guinea tribes and the Keley-i are animistic in traditional belief, their definition of animism differs. Though having such a difference in the operating definition of animism, both the Papua New Guinea tribes where Sitton ministered and the people of Antipolo, Ifugao have something in common. That is, “All of life is spiritual. The spirit world controls everything in life” (Sitton 1998, 70).

Coming down to the locale of this study, Steffen’s journal entitled *Pedagogical Conversions: From Propositions to Story and Symbol* defines a clear difference between the learning styles of the west with that of the east, particularly the Keley-i tribe of Ifugao. One can easily inquire about the reason why these Keley-i people learn differently from that of their American mentors. This journal reminds the readers that values are the driving factors for a people’s way of learning.

From their personal email to this researcher on August 19, 2011, the Hohulins summarize the Ifugao value into four, namely: children, rice fields, heirloom, and religion. These identified values correspond to some of the values presented in the

Condon-Yousef framework. Value on children falls under family; rice fields and heirlooms are under natural and religion under supernatural.

The length of stay of Dick and Lou Hohulin in Ifugao qualifies them for such observation. However, I leave space for more explored values as the research investigations continue.

Local Studies

Mary Constancy Barrameda (2000), a member of University of the Philippines research team, wrote about “The Ifugao Living Law.” Within the period of two years, she worked with five ethnolinguistic groups, including the Keley-i of Asipulo (formerly Kiangan). She looked at the historical, religious, familial, and socio-political structure of the Ifugaos. More specifically, Barrameda detailed some real legal cases among Ifugaos and the procedures of handling disputes among themselves with the facilitation of government officials.

The strength of Barrameda’s study is her exposition of the status of the Ifugao living law regarding territory, economy, political system, religion, kinship and social organization. Furthermore, she cited some real life cases of disputes and how they are being solved within the premise of the community. Such laws are the product of the strong values held by the people of Ifugao.

Barrameda’s study informs us of the cultural values imbedded in the Ifugao customs especially in the propagation of justice. That means that Ifugao laws are highly dependent on the culture of the Ifugaos.

From a more modern study, Linda Bubod, in her dissertation *Beyond Rituals: Finding Psychological Concepts Beneath Ifugao Caring Patterns*, discovered some

differences between the elders and the youth on how they define and exhibit *caring* as embedded in the indigenous culture. She observed that “anthropologists have written about Ifugao customs such as the religious rites and rituals, but they have not talked about the ultimate goal of such Ifugao’s charitable patterns toward each other, such as caring patterns. Rites and rituals are themselves, expressions of care” (2007, 84). From her highly contextual conceptual framework, she presented a most complex connectivity between the Ifugao customs, rites, and rituals and their patterns towards the practice of caring.

This in-depth study by Bubod also supports both Neuliep and Dodd’s value orientation. Strikingly, all of those six categories such as caring (or putting value) to self, family, others, properties, nature, the society and the supernatural are all explicitly exhibited.

Frank Lawrence Jenista, an American who grew up in Mountain Province and a scholar in Philippine History, wrote *The White Apos*. This book gives probably the most detailed account on the American encounters with the Ifugaos. From the Ifugaos’ continuous struggle with the Spaniards as his background, Jenista is able to account how the Americans were able to learn from the Spanish failure to conquer the natives and were able to develop an approach to befriend them and slowly but surely creep into their mental faculties with the “colonial” purpose behind their actions. The book shows the relationships between the Ifugaos and the Americans deepened on every aspect, thus fostering deep friendship yet deferring the political and economic power and independence among the Ifugaos. Despite such friendship and deep trust, everything was still under the management of the “White Apos.” However, the Ifugaos were relieved

with the Americans' respect for their *baki*, a custom they hold dearly. Jenista's work conveys that the Americans were able to catch the hearts of the Ifugaos through their religious tolerance to the Ifugao *baki*. Later, they utilized the *bulol* to make changes in the Ifugao behavioral patterns.

The short overlapping biographies of the white *apos* of the Ifugaos give an increasing awareness of the issues of cultural dilemma among Ifugao women, especially those who were married to Americans. Their situations defined whether to stick to their marriage and leave their homeland or let go of their husbands who were assigned to other places and stay behind for their families. As expected, most of the Ifugao women stayed with their families instead of leaving along with their foreign husbands. In spite the lure of better living condition when married to the American *Apos*, these Ifugao women exhibit the value of family and where they prefer to stay rather than to follow their spouses abroad. This time, this value is no longer held tightly in today's Ifugao context.

These accounts tell vividly how the Ifugaos decide when confronted by life's inevitable dilemmas. Values on kinship and religion apparently stand out as among the Ifugao's treasured inheritance.

Contemporary with Jenista is Henry William Scott, a historian and missionary who wrote the book, *The Discovery of the Igorots*. In this extensive historical research, he plotted the dramatic encounters between the Spanish colonizers with that of the Igorots of the Cordilleras. Igorots here includes the Ifugaos, as the term was used by the Spaniards in the demographic sense (Scott 1974, 220), as in those who live in the mountains.

While Jenista writes more at length about Ifugaos, Scott takes on a more general study about the Cordillera. Both authors ended up seeing the Ifugaos as independent and unchallenged by the Spanish rulers. It is apparent in this study that the Ifugaos defended their culture and their identity. In the level of communal values, Scott's research lead us to understand how Ifugaos value their integrity and identity as one people.

One of the most distinctive values of the Ifugaos is *dah-nga*. Rene Caligue, an ordained Roman Catholic priest from Ifugao living in Nueva Vizcaya, writes about the practice of *dah-nga* of the Ifugaos in his own place of Kasibu, Nueva Vizcaya, a neighboring province of Ifugao. *Dah-nga* is an act of extending help to neighbors for free. Caligue brings out an interesting analogy that inculturating *dah-nga* is one of Ifugaos' way of building the Kingdom of God.

It is recalled that Bubod writes about Ifugao caring patterns. However, she missed *dah-nga* as one of the caring practices of the Ifugaos. Could it be true also that Lagawe, her place of study lacks this kind of practice?

Caligue's contribution to this study is the introduction of the practice of *dah-nga* that is unique and prominent in the Ifugao culture. Caligue claims that *dah-nga* is later transformed into *man-ili*, an organized form of helping among the Ifugaos. His study also sparks the interest of the researcher whenever anyone ever saw this cultural value as a contextual opportunity to introduce the Gospel of God to the Keley-i people of Antipolo Evangelical Church before.

Another unique practice of the Ifugaos is the *bogwa* as studied by Cecilia Picache (2010), where the bones of the dead ancestor or family member are dug out from the grave and cleaned, while an expensive sacrifice is offered and *baki* is being said

simultaneously to invoke the soul of the dead. *Bogwa* is occasionally practiced even today when a member of the family is sick. For an Ifugao, this concept of calling upon the dead ancestor has a strong family orientation, something that proves deep family ties. Also, it is a practice of asking blessings of good health for the family as they believe that the dead ancestors have the power to bless or to curse the living family members.

It is observed that the outsider researchers like Jenista and Scott dwell more on the general historical background of the Ifugao cultures and values. On the other hand, insider researchers like Caligue, Picache, and Bubod specifically address some issues and practices of the Ifugaos that cater to the discovery of explicit values underlying in the Ifugao customs and traditions.

Foreign Studies

One of Tom Steffen's most elaborate journals is *The Socialization Among the Ifugaos* which he uses as a backdrop for curriculum development (1997). Although he uses Ifugao throughout his article, all the terms he used are the Keley-i dialect because his focus group is the people of Antipolo, also the locale of the present study. In this journal, Steffen articulates the social upbringing of the Ifugao child until he or she grows up. Alongside each social stage are the common patterns of behavior a child carries, together with the values integrated with each stage. Steffen bracketed the ages in six categories: pre-birth to birth, birth to two years old, two to six years old, six to ten, ten to fifteen, and fifteen and older.

From birth to adulthood, the child develops a social orientation that is highly communal, being naturally dependent upon parents or older people. Later as the child grows, he or she develops a sense of team work rather than individual achievement. It is

interesting that the grade school children are to recognize the authority of the teacher in school. Yet, later from age fifteen and above, the once submissive grade school child learns to be a great debater (Steffen 1997, 196). Above all these, Steffen carefully notes that education, especially outside the community, creates changes to the Ifugao (1997, 195).

Common to writings of Steffen and Hohulin about Ifugao is the value of children, elders, properties, religion, and the community as a whole. Yet as time passed by, as Steffen notes, Ifugao values changed (Steffen 1996, 194). Before, power comes from having a lot of animals to sacrifice. Later on, education is thought by the people as the most effective way of gaining power and wealth. This article recounts such obvious development in the value formation of the Ifugao from the traditional to the more contemporary.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology and Procedures

Method of the Study

This study employed the case study approach, inquiring deeply into the Keley-i values. It required an intensive investigation on the values of Keley-i as perceived by the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church themselves, as well as by the missionaries from Summer Institute of Linguistics and New Tribes Missions. As a case study, interviews were conducted with the people who were converted during the initial time of the missionaries' stay up to the present even after the missionaries' leaving. Each of the indigenous interviewees are grouped into four generations namely, first, second, third, and fourth generation. Interviews were conducted also with the missionary couples themselves, namely Tom and Darla Steffen and Dick and Lou Hohulin.

Sources of Data

The data of this research were taken from four generations during the time the foreign missionaries were living in Antipolo, Asipulo, Ifugao. Three representatives were chosen from each of the four generations. From these participants, this research extracted their perceptions about their own values as indigenous people. Together with the native Keley-i were the four missionaries, Dick and Lou Hohulin and Tom and Darla Steffen. From them was brought about the missionaries' perspectives on the values of Keley-i peoples of Antipolo, Ifugao.

The first generation people are those ages seventy-one and older. They are First Generation A, 91; First Generation B, maybe in her late 70's, and First Generation C, 72. These first group of people belong to the remaining first converts of the foreign missionaries. They became the first evangelists of the church of Antipolo, Ifugao. They became the founding pillars of the first Evangelical Church planted in Antipolo, Ifugao. In their background, they shared a deep-seated animistic subconscious.

The second generation consists of ages forty-five to seventy. Listed here are Second Generation A, 70; Second Generation B, 60; and Second Generation C, 45. These were the young ones during the first years of the Hohulins, except for Second Generation A, who was married then.

The third generation ranges from age thirty to forty-four. Falling into this category are Third Generation A, 44; Third Generation B, 44; and Third Generation C, 39. Third Generation A and Third Generation C are both married with children while Third Generation B remains single. Third Generation A and Third Generation C came into the community with their families after year 2000 while Third Generation B was born and grew up there. All of the third generation witnessed some remaining *baki* practices during their childhood but did not have much contact with the *mabeki* since their families became Christians in their earlier years. If any, their experiences with the *baki* was outside their families.

The fourth generation in this study are the ones between fifteen and twenty-nine years of age. Chosen for this age bracket are Fourth Generation A, 29; Fourth Generation B, 27; and Fourth Generation C, 20. Fourth Generation A teaches Baguio Camp Seven. She is hired as a permanent grade one teacher. Fourth Generation B is a registered nurse

and was hired casual in the barangay level and was receiving minimum wage from the government. Fourth Generation C does not have a job and is planning to work to support his studies at the time of this research. He went to a Bible Training School as recommended by his mother. The three young people are all unmarried yet. All of them came from homes whose parents are leaders of the church. Fourth Generation B's father is Second Generation B and one of the respondents of this research.

Table 1. Short profile of indigenous respondents

Name Code	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Short Background
First Generation A	91	Male	Widowed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With strong <i>baki</i> background • Started learning to be <i>mabeki</i> (high priest) • Joined evangelism team/church planting
First Generation B	Late 70's	Female	Widowed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With strong <i>baki</i> background • Joined evangelism team/church planting
First Generation C	72	Male	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With strong <i>baki</i> background • Started learning to be <i>mabeki</i> • Joined evangelism team/church planting
Second Generation A	70	Female	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With <i>baki</i> background but not strong • Joined evangelism team/church planting
Second Generation B	60	Male	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With <i>baki</i> background but not strong • With wide experience on politics and church leadership/evangelism/ church planting
Second Generation C	45	Female	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grew up as a Christian • Witnessed few <i>baki</i> practices during childhood • With wide experience in church ministry abroad
Third Generation A	44	Male	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Witnessed few <i>baki</i> practices during childhood • Serves in a public office and church leadership

Table 1. Short profile of indigenous respondents (continued)

Third Generation B	44	Male	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Witnessed few <i>baki</i> practices during childhood • Farmer • Community ministry frontliner
Third Generation C	39	Female	Married	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Witnessed few <i>baki</i> practices during childhood • Farmer • With church ministry involvement
Fourth Generation A	29	Female	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grew up in a Christian home • Teacher
Fourth Generation B	27	Female	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grew up in a Christian home • Registered nurse
Fourth Generation C	20	Male	Single	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grew up in a Christian home • With background on theological studies • Currently thinking of working to support studies

The table above gives a general profile of the indigenous respondents.

Table 2. Short profile of foreign missionary families

Family	Mission Organization	Length of Stay in Ifugao	Major Tasks
Dick and Lou Hohulin	Summer Institute of Linguistics	1962-2009 with constant visits thereafter	<p>Translated the Bible together with selected indigenous people</p> <p>Produced language projects and hymnbooks</p> <p>Evangelism/community discipleship</p>
Tom and Darla Steffen	New Tribes Mission	1972-1979 with intermittent visits until 1983	<p>Trained and taught indigenous people for evangelization and church planting</p> <p>Helped in the production of literacy materials</p>

This table shows the length of stay and major tasks of the foreign missionaries from Summer Institute of Linguistics and New Tribes Mission.

Research-Gathering Procedure

This research selected participants from Antipolo Evangelical Church, the first church established by the missionaries. These participants were sought by the researcher herself. The minimum requirement for each participant was that the person should be a member of Antipolo Evangelical Church for at least three continuous years. Individual interviews with each generational group were then administered. The researcher lived with these indigenous participants for a minimum of two weeks to have close acquaintance with them. Since there was no internet access in the locale of this study, interviews with the missionaries came after staying with and interviewing the Ifugao participants.

Data-Gathering Instruments

Interview served as the primary data-gathering instrument for this research. Interviews with missionaries were documented through e-mail discourses. For the indigenous participants, all interviews were administered personally and recorded by audio.

- a. Interview questions for indigenous participants from Keley-i of Antipolo Evangelical Church, Asipulo, Ifugao

The same interview questions were administered to all representatives of each generation. The questions are the following:

1. What are important to you as a resident of Asipulo, Ifugao?
2. What else do you think are important to you?
3. How do you feel about these important to you?
4. What kind of changes did you see in what is important to you?

b. Interview guide questions for the foreign missionaries

For the foreign missionary couples, Dick and Lou Hohulin and Tom and Darla Steffen, the same question were given to determine their perceptions of Keley-i values.

Guide Questions for the Steffens of New Tribes Missions and the Hohulins of Summer Institute of Linguistics:

1. What do you think were important to the Keley-i believers of Antipolo Evangelical Church?
2. What else do you think were really important to these people?
3. How do you personally feel about what is important to these people?
4. What kind of changes did you see in what is important to them?

Chapter 4

Data and Analysis

From the responses of both the indigenous people of Antipolo, Ifugao and that of the foreign missionaries, are expressed differently, but remained interconnected. From the framework provided in this study, each different response is aligned to its closest domain such as self, family, society, human nature, nature, and super-natural. The self brings out the interests of the respondents geared toward the self. The family values include kinship and blood relationships among the people in the community. Society incorporates everything that the people do together especially when a member of the society is in need. It describes the dynamics of the relationships in a community as a whole. Human nature looks at the character and temperament of the people in the community (Neuliep 2009, 66). Nature discovers how the society gives importance to their natural resources. The super-natural includes the spiritual values and experiences of the Antipolo people from their pre-Christian encounter to this Christian era. As the different aspects of value orientations are being presented, the different generations who discussed about the same topics are put side by side and compared to see whether there had been any changes through the time. Vital to this study, however, is the inter-connectivity of the responses of the different respondents.

Although the ascending arrangement of values from the self to supernatural, these different values are discussed below according to what the researcher collected as the strongest value common to respondents to the weaker ones.

A. Society

A.1. *Man-ili* as the expression of communal unity

Asipulo, particularly the Keley-i community is a highly communal society. This is evident by the fact that they practice the *man-ili*, a community organization where everybody's participation is required. *Man-ili* literally means "inhabitants of a certain place" (Caligue, 2011). Throughout Asipulo, *man-ili* membership is grouped per sub-barangay. To be a part of *man-ili*, the family must register formally as a member and must participate in the labor for the host family for the particular occasion such as a death or a wedding. Deaths and weddings are the occasions when required participation is given by at least one adult representative per family.

Individual family financial contributions vary between weddings and deaths. Contribution for weddings in Dugyo, the locale of this study, is twenty pesos plus one ganta (six large cups) of milled rice. Or, if the family cannot afford to give rice, one hundred and fifty pesos can be an alternative. For deaths, fifty pesos is required plus a ganta of rice. When a family does not participate in the preparations for any occasion of their neighbor, a penalty of one hundred and fifty pesos per day will be incurred on both occasions. Second Generation C explained that contributions for weddings are smaller than that of deaths because deaths demand more help for the bereaved since it is a *ligat*, a deeper sense of hardship or extreme suffering. Also, deaths are usually longer than weddings (Second Generation C, 28). Weddings are happy celebrations and they last for a shorter period of time than deaths do.

Aside from financial contributions, labor contributions are also required. Labor is given by the community from day one to the last day. The chairman of the *man-ili* is

there to overlook the works. Each major work is headed by a person appointed by the chairman. Everyone, professional or not, is expected to do the labor, according to their skills and capacities. According to an active *man-ili* member, the older people, who are too weak to work on hard labor, are the ones to entertain visitors and sit on the pews. Women normally do the washing of *tebwak*, a banana stem cut into logs to be used as plates. If it is a wake, some of the women will sit by the bereaved family and give encouragement or just be there for moral support. After every occasion, every family who engaged in such labor will receive a meat share from the host family. They call this meat share *in-abbung*.

On two occasions, the researcher witnessed, though not completely, the practice of *man-ili* for both wedding and death. The wedding happened in the neighboring sub-barangay. The researcher arrived past nine in the morning. After several rounds of native dances on the dance floor, at eleven forty eight in the morning, the announcer was calling on everyone for lunch. He asked the visitors to eat first, followed by the *bimebley* or the people of that place. Visitors were the family members of the groom who travelled from afar to attend the wedding. It can also mean those friends from other places not related to the bride or groom but invited for the wedding. The readiness of the food itself tells that some people had been working hand in hand for the preparation of the occasion.

The next day after the wedding, a man brought in about two kilos of meat for a married lady and told her that she needed to pay a hundred pesos for the contribution before she could get her family meat share. When the lady handed the right payment, the man handed her the meat share or *in-abbung*.

On another occasion on 6 January 2012, a young man about 24 years old died of too much drinking. Hearing about the incident, the researcher went and extended her condolence to the bereaved family. It was the first day of the wake. Upon arriving, the researcher saw men scattered around the house. Every one of them was busy for the occasion. At least five men were chopping logs for fuel. Two others were trying to make the lumber plain for the coffin. Several others were rushing here and there, trying to do something together. A man, believed by the researcher to be the chairman, was delegating the work to others and trying to check if things were going well. About ten women were inside the house, sitting with the mother of the dead. Soon they asked the researcher to roast the coffee in a neighbor's house. After roasting the coffee, the researcher went back to the house and found things still very busy. Everyone was quietly working. No laughter, no jokes. Silence filled the place except the sounding of chainsaw and other electrical tools. Night and day the people of that place would stay up most of the time for the demised. Although this death happened in a place not at the locale of the study, the practice of helping is the same throughout Asipulo.

According to Third Generation B, this practice of the *man-ili*, although it became a formal organization only in the year 1980, was created in time immemorial and was just handed down to this current generation. This means that this practice of helping could have been running through the bloodline of every Ifugao, if Dulawan's story of the origin of Ifugaos is true that Ifugaos started from one family (Dulawan 2001). Though the ways of expressing this value of community may have differed as time unfolds, it is evident that it is still being given great importance. Dodd (1995, 116) tells that "While attitudes tend to change, values are long lasting." Bubod's study (2007) centers around the

practice of caring in the Ifugao context among the Tuwali. Her study tells that helping is one of the many expressions of caring and it gears toward the well being of the recipient physically, mentally, socially, and emotionally.

Moreover, the practice of *dah-nga* (Caligue 2011), is also one of the profound outward faces of help among the Ifugaos that is free of charge from the laborers. The only difference between *dah-nga* and *man-ili* is that the former is a voluntary labor without expecting help in return, while the latter is a formalized give-and-take relationship among the people of a sub-barangay, explains one of the respondents of this study (Third Generation A). Both practices of *man-ili* and *dah-nga* are entrenched in the Ifugao history, but it is rarely seen in the writings of anthropologists of the Cordillera region. In Caligue's study, the Ifugaos who migrated in Nueva Vizcaya, the place of his research, practiced not only the *dah-nga* but also the *man-ili*.

A.2. The concept of community

Asked why they need to preserve their communal identity, the respondents reasoned in a very practical way. They see the value of being together because they can see the outcome of it. When anyone is in need, everybody pitches in and does the works in behalf of the family on occasion. Naturally, reciprocity of labor is required and expected from everyone in the society (Neuliep 2009, 65). "They have to cooperate because if that person does not give, they will not give him when he is in need," warns a female respondent (Second Generation C, 28).² If the person does not give back, consequences definitely await. Third Generation B tells, "If you can do [the work] by

²Original: *Mahapul ni meki-cooperate ida tep hedin eg um-idwat etan tuu, eg da dama iddawti hedin mankasapulan.*

yourself, then get out of the [*man-ili*] organization" (Third Generation B, 37).³ Another third generation person also tells about the penalty of one hundred and fifty pesos per day for not doing the labor or contributing for the *man-ili* (Third Generation A, 33).

All these reasons are true. But they seem to be confined only on what is seen today on the utilitarian basis. At least four of the respondents tell that helping neighbors is a tradition of the remote past. That can be true by virtue of ancestral inheritance. This research is more exciting by exploring the old stories. They may help us understand better why the people operate this way in this particular society. Lourdes Dulawan (2001, 2-4), narrates the myth of the Ifugao world. The story tells that the first Ifugao family descended from the Skyworld god, Wigan. Wigan, seeing the world unpopulated, blew a house with his two children, Kabbigat and Bugan. He blew his two children together with livestock in it and let them live in Kay-ang (now Kiangan). He blew them altogether like a person blowing a feather on a hand. Kabbigat and Bugan then became the first descendants of Ifugao people. Later, when Wigan of the Skyworld saw that the earth was over populated, he sent flood. All the inhabitants of Ifugao world were dead. Only two cousins, Ballituk and Bugan became survivors. They got married and had five children. Indungdung, the last of them, went towards Antipolo, the locale of this study.

Although it is not stated whether Indungdung married any kin of hers, the pattern of marrying relatives was accepted by the ancestors since they were the first people inhabiting the earth, according to the narrative. Parallel to this story is the flood story in the Bible (Genesis 6-8). After the flood, Noah and his family were the only survivors and they were the ones who intermarried and kept the lineage for the Promise. The positive

³Original: *Hedin kayang-kayah mu, pan aalaw ka ew [di organization]*.

outcome of retaining kinship within the society is the security that each one gives and receives from one another. In Ifugao context, it is believed that this practice had been there from the very beginning and is believed and kept by the Ifugaos. If they felt secure within the premises of their clan, that would have meant keeping themselves together and taking care of one another not only for security but also for tradition's sake.

More evidences for security in keeping kinship intact is the long time fight for their identity and community during the Spanish invasion of the Philippines (see Jenista 1987). What enabled these people to survive the cruel invasions of the foreigners? When their communities were formed per clan, it is understood that these Ifugaos had to struggle to their death just to save the community. Everyone they see is their own blood. Beginning from the story of Kabbigat and Bugan from the Skyworld, the belief that each one of them is related to one another has become the reason for unconditional care of each other.

Even Fourth Generation A appreciates marriage among clans. She contends, "We prefer to marry someone from our kin because we know the person very well. Look at the Bible, even close relatives are being married together" (Fourth Generation A, 48).⁴ If the Bible people preserved their kinship as chosen people, the Asipulo people want to preserve their kinship for communal reasons. In the Ifugao setting where regional belonging is strong, marital compatibility is easier when a person marries one's own kin. Marriage in Asipulo, Ifugao is accepted only on the fourth cousin level at present. Now, with the influx of the younger generation to the neighboring province for schooling and the coming in of other languages into Asipulo, marrying one's own kin has become less a

⁴Original: *Ya pinhedey ya kebebleyan ahwaenet inamta ugali. Angmu kedi numan di Bible, han-aagiy man ahwa.*

practice. Inter-kin marriages were done only because of the close system of community of the past.

From an interview with Second Generation C, she confessed that her name was given of her in remembrance to her relative living in a place apart from them (Second Generation C, 27). Her parents reasoned that they handed down the relative's name so they will not forget any of their relatives. From this point, the parents create a community away from the community. That means that other relatives may be living away from them but the passing down of names communicates an inheritance of keeping not only the kinship but the value of togetherness.

Most of the respondents of this research feel that unity, cooperation, and voluntary help for others are the good expressions of communal identity. A female respondent describes unity as the expression of love (Second Generation C, 27). She speculates that, "When there is unity, it shows that you love each other."⁵ On the other hand, she worries, "I am guessing that as people get more educated, they get more individualistic because they can and are able to do things on their own."⁶ In this line, it is observed that the importance of unity arises due to fear that unity is wasting away. This particular respondent explains it this way: "When there were occasions in the community, everybody works [voluntarily]. There was no selfishness. Now, because there is penalty for not helping, people need to go."⁷ Out of such fear, then comes a command of

⁵Original: *Tep ya unity, humman kapan impipinhedan. Hedin wada law unity, humman keangangan tun wda impeminhed mun hakey ni tuu.*

⁶Original: *Siguro, gapu tep di adal law emin tuu, ah..kayangkaya da. Wada hakkeyey kayah da law. Sunga nakka ob-obsbaran nunya ey kaman keendi law la tan unity.*

⁷Original: *Kaspangarigan wada ida etan hu...occasion, ket halos emin italan nunmaney ita kaman ngunu endi etan innukuh...yan nunya, gapuh tep me-penalty ka or gapuh tep me-punish ka hedin eg ka umlaw.*

formalizing it to preserve such practice. For this respondent, it is best to extend oneself out of love rather than out of fear of penalty. As a long time Christian, she could understand what Paul is saying in Romans 12:9a (ESV), “Let love be genuine,” meaning, people in the community should do things because they love each other more than the fear of being penalized. It is only through this kind of genuine love that a Christian community will exist. It is apparent that unity is not being held tightly in this community like before and the people expect Christianity as a tool for maintaining such unity.

Unity, cooperation and volunteerism are also ways of handing down the inheritance of good values to the next generations. Fourth Generation A, though she belongs to the younger generation, has the same quest for communal heirloom on unity. But she strongly believes that unity will be achieved ultimately if everyone becomes a Christian. She said, “I think if we are Christians, we should have one spirit and like-mindedness.”⁸ Writing to the Christian exiles in different places, Apostle Peter urged all of them to “have unity of mind, sympathy, brotherly love, a tender heart, and a humble mind” (1 Pet. 3:8, ESV). It can be understood by us today that the exiles did not have so much choice but to support each other, having to live only by themselves and being away from their own land. In the same way, there is an urge for Asipulo people to have unity in mind and spirit because they survive by being interdependent with each other in their daily work. In practice, unity and volunteerism are seen especially in *ubbu* (working together daily from one field to another).

Ubbu is a way of life and is being seen daily in the Ifugao context. It is being done by moving from one person’s work to another on a daily basis. For example, when

⁸Original: *Nu Christians kuma emin hu tuudya munisipyu ni Asipulo et wada hu, manhahakkey-unity.*

a person calls five people to work on his or her field today, every one of the five persons may or may not come, depending on the availability of those five people. Then on other days, another person may call for work on his or her own field. The group will again work for such person until everyone takes turn in working on their fields. This pattern of work imbedded in the lives of these Ifugaos is a sturdy proof of strong cooperation and unity among them. It is interesting that *ubbu* is one of the missed practices in the writings of the anthropologists.

Parallel to unity in the community is cooperation. Cooperation is an action that results in unity. If the whole community cooperates altogether, they will be able to achieve communal unity. The practice of *man-ili* is an excellent translation of cooperation. Whether or not it is done for the sake of avoiding penalty, it is an excellent way of seeing the whole community come together for one purpose. Respondents above forty years of age like Third Generations A and B express their joy in such an opportunity for cooperation. Third Generation B boasts, “[*Man-ili*] has a very good outcome. At least, if we have visitors, we feed them on time. Our fore parents started well; that’s why we need to continue.”⁹ Third Generation A also tells that all kinds of help are provided from the very beginning to the very end of the labor.

Coming from an older bracket of age, Second Generation A and B, 70 and 60, respectively, perceive service to the community as their end goal in life. The former prefers helping everyone in the community, first her family, then others. She confessed, “What is important is that I will be able to help others, especially in spiritual things. When it comes to helping others in need, I help everyone... neighbor or not, as long as in

⁹Original: *Kayyagud hu outcome tu. Atleast hedin wadada bisita, midda kapengan ni sapa. Mayat met numan gamin impahpahding idan aamed nunman sunga masapul itultuluy.*

need, I still help. Whether or not the person will pay it, I do not care; I will still extend my help.”¹⁰ Second Generation A was one of the first converts of the foreign missionaries. She also underwent training, joined evangelism, and became one of the translators of the current Keley-i Bible. She shared that the Scripture made a tremendous change in her life. For Second Generation A, she used to help in the community but with a boastful attitude, unlike today when she encountered Christianity (Second Generation A, 20). It can be concluded that her principle of helping with a positive attitude in the community is a matter of transformed life in Christ Jesus. From a boastful life to humility, Second Generation A is able to live life fully in the community, having the Scripture as her foundation. “When I understood God's word, I also understood that [boastfulness and heavy drinking] were not desirable... I used to scorn others but now I am changed. Now, love for others is all I have,”¹¹ is her testimony.

From a wide experience in government and church leadership, Second Generation B understands community service as a way to express his faith. He became a barangay captain for eleven years. Because of his wide experience in the government, he humbly admits that people come to him for political advice even when he is already out of service. Now, his heart's desire is to go full time in the ministry to the community. He still longs for the old days of evangelism, church planting, and other leadership ministries that he used to do. “I do not understand but that is always what is haunting me,” he

¹⁰Original: *Ya ngu law importante hi-gak ey umbaddangak di edum ni tuu karkaru di spiritual. Hedin panggep ni baddang ni kasapulan, sapsap nga baddangak hedin wada. Beyyadan tu man winnu eleg, basta umbaddangak ngu.*

¹¹Original: *Ya law nengawatak hapit apu Dios ey tam lawah numan ida humman[pahhiya et buteng]... nak la kaum pihul nem yan nunya ey endida ngulaw ida humman. Ya law impeminhed kud kadwak ni tuu wada.*

confessed.¹² Asked why does he have such a deep desire, he said, “so that I will be able to do something more for the Lord, hoping more people will get to know Christ, that everyone who comes to church will understand what they have believed in as Christians, that everyone will know Christ so that everyone will fear him.”¹³ Such spiritual fervor describes an attitude of inclusivity. From his confession, Second Generation B’s deep understanding of the Cross is his driving force in evangelism. He is not content that people come to church and shine the pews and go home. He envisions a community church that everyone, with no exception, will know Christ personally. That is when a perfect community is achieved.

Community needs are of greater importance than individual interests for those of a collectivist society (Neuliep 2009, 41). For an individualistic culture, it may be challenging to give up one’s need just to attend to others’ immediate need. Yet for both the Antipolo Christians and non-Christians, putting away their personal needs for the sake of their neighbor seems to be a natural part of their being. From the researcher’s own experience, there were instances on her stay in Singapore when she would join other Ifugaos on Sundays and have picnics on beaches, garden parks, and sidewalks. Someone would bring music that can go with the Ifugao dance and the group would dance in rounds exactly like how it is done at weddings here in the Philippines. The Overseas Filipino Workers (OFW) in Hong Kong have one formal Ifugao Day where they have native dance contests, traditional games and other events to highlight their celebration. They do this even from far beyond their homes.

¹² Original: *Neligat ni meewatan nem wada latta huyyad nemnem ku.*

¹³ Original: *Pinhed kun mansilbi pay nan Apu Dios. Sapay kumat mengulug ida edum nan Jesu Kristo ey mansimbadda ey amtaen da kinulug da ma-lat maweda takut dan Apu Dios.*

This practice of strong community can stir questions from an outsider as to why Ifugaos are doing it. It is interesting that the respondents claim these as inheritance or *tawid* from the ancestral teachings and are also interested to hand such practices down to the next generations. Third Generation A asserts, “This practice [*man-ili*] is good to be inherited by every family” (Third Generation A, 34).¹⁴ Another community leader adds, “Cooperation for me was important and is still important until now because it was planted by our fore parents and is being carried on until now” (Third Generation B, 39).¹⁵

B. Supernatural

B.1. The *baki* of the old Antipolo people

Baki was one of the attractions for foreigners who came to the Philippines. It served as an attraction and entertainment for those who wanted to witness something new. Yet for foreign missionaries like the Hohulins and the Steffens, *baki* was a bondage that gripped the people of Ifugao and something had to be done in order to free them from such fear in everything to a Godly fear that brings hope to their spiritual freedom. In his personal e-mail on 28 July 2011, Hohulin made a short introduction to the first setting he saw in Antipolo. He recalls that literally all of the Keley-i people of Antipolo were animist. “Their religion centered around placating the spirits of the forests, rivers, and trees... Also prominent in their religion was a form of ancestor worship in which animal sacrifices were made to their ancestors through elaborate rituals led by their shamans.”

¹⁴ Original: *Huyya ngu kayyagud ni beltanen ni sangkapamilya.*

¹⁵ Original: *Sigurado ni importante pay ingganah nunya [cooperation] tep humman la intanem idan aamed inganah nunya. Mayat met numan gamin impahpahding idan aamed nunman sunga masapul itultuluy.*

Some of the respondents of this study relate their experiences with *baki* when they were still in the old ways, or *elaw ni nebayag* as some of them call it. From all kinds of sacrifices and offerings for all occasions, *baki* was always the highlight of everything. Asked why they had to perform *baki*, the respondents answered unanimously declaring that fear overwhelmed them. All the first generation respondents of this study were among those who experienced the sacrificial system or *baki*. Since *baki* was the only thing that revolved around them and was practiced even from long ago, it had become part of their daily encounter and was considered *tawid* or inheritance. From the myth of the origin of the Ifugaos, it is narrated that Liddum, the Great Teacher of the Skyworld, taught Ballituk and Bugar (first parents after the flood) how to tend their pigs and chickens and how to cultivate rice. Later, according to the story, *baki* became an established sacrificial practice that came down to this generation of the first generation of the present study (Dulawan 2001).

While the Ifugaos may take pride with such tradition of the past, it is very important to note that the traditional practices were very costly and time consuming. First Generation A remembers the days when he and his family had to work in order to perform the *keleng* or thanksgiving. He recalls, “We raised pigs so that we will offer them for *keleng*” (First Generation A, 4).¹⁶ *Keleng* is the basic ritual of sacrifice for attaining wealth status or healing of the sick among the Ifugaos. It would require pig and carabao offerings to the dead ancestors so that they could bring down more wealth. For First Generation A, it felt good because after they perform *keleng*, people would say, “Kayang numan!” This is an expression of praise from the people. It also brings pride

¹⁶ Original: *Eyakaw nunmane, hin appil. Mampekkam kamin killum et wada kekkellengen.*

for the performer of *keleng*. First Generation A recalled that when Hohulin asked about the hanging bones of animals on his house, he reasoned that pig's bones and carabao's horn are a symbol of wealth (First Generation A, 3).¹⁷ First Generation A laughs at such a practice as he recalls them now. According to him, those beliefs were futile as they were a waste of time, money, and livestock.

Similar to *keleng* is the *henga* where the family performs *baki* as an act of thanksgiving for good health and wellness. Second Generation A explains that it was advised or *intugun* to them by their parents. She recalls her parents saying, "Work hard so that if your pigs become bigger, you perform *henga* and *baki*."¹⁸ Their parents understood that doing such would elevate them in a higher rank in the society and would bring well being to the family.

Aside from *keleng* and *henga*, sickness was also one of the struggles among the Ifugaos that required great sacrifices. First Generation A and B are two of the oldest respondents who both lost children. They were sure advocates of *keleng* in the past. First Generation A lost four sons while First Generation B lost three. Sadly, after performing the *keleng*, First Generation A lost his first four sons out of ten children anyway. One night, he dreamed about children being buried outside their house. Anxious, he called for Hummakey, his *mabeki* friend, and performed the *keleng*, hoping that the dream will not happen. "My nightmare came true. My two boys died, one in the beginning of the month while the other one at its end," he said calmly (First Generation A, 4).¹⁹

¹⁷ Original: *Kankuy, "Huyya nisi binaknang. Tu-ngal ni killum et ha-duk ni newang."*

¹⁸ Original: "*Pampakan kayun killum et hedin immetteng, nengekkelleng kayu.*"

¹⁹ Original: *Ey i..makulug ni immamnu etan inugip ku e nambinengwah [di hambulan] hu dewwan uunga.*

B.2. From fear to freedom: spiritual liberation among the Keley-i Christians of Antipolo, Ifugao

The concern of this research is to find out what is important to the Keley-i people of Antipolo, Ifugao. For older folks, their shifting from the old ways to Christianity marked a total turn around in their spiritual lives. “My faith is important because I have joy. I do not fear anything now,” First Generation C realizes (First Generation C, 14).²⁰ The same expression was brought out by First Generation A and B, and Second Generation A and B. Fear in the animistic world is characterized by feeling of extreme suspicion that everything that happens, especially in the family, is being caused by the offended spirits of the ancestors who passed away. Thus, in every blessing (or wealth) received, offerings must be given back to the dead ancestors. That is why the *tenten* is a must in the process of the ritual. *Tenten* enables the *mabeki* to trace back those dead ones who have been performing rites and rituals for wealth. It is believed that they will shower more wealth if such offerings are directed to them. Therefore, if they do not direct any offering to them, these dead ancestors will be offended and will come back with punishment of either sickness or unhealthy family condition.

In the same way, when someone sick in the family, the members will suspect *temyaw* from the dead ones. *Temyaw* happens when a dead ancestor inflicts sickness to a family member. This happens for two reasons: one is when the dead ancestor is in need of material things and he wants the family to provide. The second reasons is when the family of the dead is not pleased with what the family is doing such as not giving signal while passing the tomb. Thus, whenever they pass a tomb of the dead relative, they have

²⁰ Original: *Importante ngu pengulug ku tep wada law linggep ku. Endi law naka tekusi.*

to tell the dead body inside that they are passing and that the spirit of the dead should not go after the passerby. In case a person goes home and gets sick, the old folks believed that there must be a spirit along the way that saw the person and placed some curse upon that person. As a result, the family has to accomplish *dundun* to appease the spirit that caused sickness in order that the sick might get well. *Dundun* starts with a pig offering and later, the bile will tell if the spirit is satisfied or dissatisfied. If the person gets well, that means that the spirit is satisfied. If not, then there needs to be more pigs or cows or carabaos to be offered, upon the request of the spirit of the dead ancestor. First Generation B testifies, “I abandoned the old ways because when we go for *anap*, the [*mabeki*] tells us that the dead ancestors are involved and they are asking for carabao” (Second Generation B, 10).²¹

The older generation respondent Second Generation A acknowledged her fear in the past that has turned into joy in the Lord. “Before, I terribly fear the old ways. But with the help of God, all my fears are gone,” she admits (Second Generation A, 19).²² Likewise, First Generation B expresses her tearful past for the loss of her own son who was chopped by other unmerciful people. Now, having God in her life means for her, giving genuine forgiveness for others. Also, she does not fear death and suffering because she looks up at God and he is there for real. Another amazing thing in the stories of these older folks is the eschatological value of their Christian faith. They recognize the second life in Christ that is awaiting when they die. When asked why her faith stands as important for her, First Generation A argued that there is eternal life with Jesus unlike

²¹ Original: *Insiked ku law tep ya elaw ni nebayagey hedin wada peennap kanday immen ammed e mambeggan newang.*

²² Original: *Nunman, matekutak lan elaw ni nebayag, nem gapuh baddang Apu Dios, eggak law umtakut.*

the *baki*. Lou Hohulin's statement goes along with these testimonies. She notes, "I think the believers were greatly relieved to learn that God loved them, and that they no longer needed to fear the gods and spirits, and the spirits of their own ancestors" (Hohulin, e-mail interview, 3 February 2012.)

Being highly animistic, the people of Antipolo did not easily accept the new teaching easily. History reminds us that the Spaniards had attempted to Christianize the Ifugaos for centuries but the Ifugaos strongly resisted. How could they just give in to such a teaching so foreign to them? The *baki* was the practice they had known from old days, and it was an inheritance to them from the oldest of times. Lou Hohulin relates, "In some ways, we understood how important it was for them to follow the traditional ways because they truly believed it was the way to handle all the problems of life" (Hohulin, e-mail interview, 3 February 2012). First Generation A recalls that it took her and her family ten years before they could fully accept the gospel. Dick Hohulin makes a general observation that people who hear the gospel for the first time need to test its truth before they believe. "Truth is always tested," observes Dick, "And if a teaching lives up to its claims, then it is proven to be true. If it does not live up to its claims, then that teaching is false" (Hohulin, e-mail interview, 3 February 2012).

B.3. Perceived communal relevance of Christianity

It is evident that the Christians in Antipolo, Ifugao envision their community as a Christian community. Their statements prove that their faith is inclusive not only within their families but of everyone in the society. Whether it is in the government, families, or neighborhood, they see the relevance of Christianity in their midst. This is the result of their strong conviction that the Christian faith will always bestow credence to the

transformation of their society as a whole. That is why individual moral discipline should be maintained as expressed by Third Generation A. He believes that the church or society leader's testimony is either positive or negative for the whole community. Third Generation B also had the same feeling. Asked why he goes to church but not regularly, he reasoned that he gets discouraged when he sees other Christians, especially leaders, behaving on a non-Christian standard. Later, he realized that he needs to look at God only and not to other people, otherwise, he will just become discouraged and will gain nothing.

Fourth Generation A honestly expresses that, "Everybody in the community should be a Christian. Because if not all are Christians, there is division" (45).²³ She argues that all the tumultuous political condition of Asipulo at the current time (the mayor is currently facing charges) is a result of the fact that not all in the politics are Christians. Second Generation C puts it in another way, "My wish is that all people in the community will be converted to God" (28).²⁴ For her, love should be the basis of volunteerism among the people in the community and it can only be achieved when everybody becomes a believer. Second Generation B, as a long time leader of the church and the community, envisions a community where everyone knows Christ and that everyone will fear him. This can only be achieved, according to him, if people fully understand the truth that they believe. It is also on this basis that he wants to go full time in the ministry even though he currently has eight children to support.

²³ Original: *Emin kuma hu tuudya bebley ey maging Christian. Tep hedín beken emin ey Christian, wada ngay division.*

²⁴ Original: *Emin kuma hu tuudya bimebley ey me-convert.*

From another evangelist's perspective, First Generation C places importance on communal faith. It is important to him that "everyone in our society should believe in God. They should believe because God said that everyone should believe. That is why they tell us to go into all places and teach everyone that they might also believe [Matt.28:19-20]" (First Generation C, 15).²⁵ His wife relates how they worked hard together to live a holy life for others to follow, especially that they were among the first believers in that community. She affirms, "Being a Christian, I wish everybody will be my brothers and sisters in faith. I remember my family first, then others" (Second Generation A, 19).²⁶ With this in her mind, she tells that once they understood the Word of God, they turned their back on everything that would destroy their testimony no matter how unbelievers criticized them. Especially, they left behind the influence of drinking and spirit of boasting and pride and replaced it with love from God. Until today, her husband continues to encourage the younger generations to believe in God because *baki* is no longer the operating system of belief.

In his e-mail on February 3, 2012, Hohulin attests that the new believers during his time not only had a personal relationship with God, Jesus, and the Holy Spirit; they had a new relationship with their fellow Ifugaos and it resulted in peace among them. As the Apostle Paul was filled with joy with the believers in Philippi (Phil. 1:4), the missionaries felt the same, seeing the fruit of righteousness (Phil.1:11) among the Ifugaos.

²⁵ Original: *Ya importante kma et umkulug et kma emin kebleyan. Umkulug ida kma tep kanan apu dios ey mahapul umkulug emin tuu. Sunga kanday lakayuy di kebeleley et yu tutuduan emin ni tuu mat kumulug ida dma.*

²⁶ Original: *Yan nengulugak ey emin ida kuma hu tuu ey agik di pammatih. Nakka nemnema hu agik ni umuna, deh ninemnem ku dama edum.*

Looking at such communal attitude among the Keley-i people of Antipolo, the researcher believes that the gospel, although it was taken to them by foreign missionaries, did not break their communal glue. Instead, it made the people love each other even more. Coming from a tribal animistic background, the acknowledgment of kinship and the practice of *tenten* make the sociological relationships remain strong. Even the current generation seeks to maintain such identity (Fourth Generation A, 47).

C. Family

In ages past, the Ifugao family has been the strongest social structure. Since kinship is so strong an affiliation in Ifugao families, the family therefore functions in a unique way. Each member of the family has an expected role and responsibility. The eldest child looks after the younger ones and gives advice when needed. In cases where parents are not there, the eldest takes the final decision for the other siblings. In times of family affairs or sufferings, the eldest becomes the consultant for decision-making among the siblings. When decision making is beyond the capacity of the eldest, then that is the time they call on older relatives who are capable of helping the family decide. It can be from the family of the mother or the father.

Alongside this responsibility of the eldest is the birthright. This means that the eldest will have the biggest portion of the family's inheritance (CSGI 2003, 87). The family structure tells of Ifugaos making sure their homes are fenced with security. This practice, when passed on from one generation to another, fosters interdependence. The eldest, though having most of the inheritance, will have the responsibility of surveillance of the other siblings' needs especially when they are in deep hardship. This practice is designed for a balance between power and responsibility within the Ifugao family.

From two opposite generational poles, Fourth Generation A and Second Generation A, both the eldest in their respective families, share common experience of responsibility. The former recalls when she was young, she and her brother had to take alternate schedules for home chores. She and her younger brother were trained to be responsible *Manang* and *Manong* (addresses for older sister and brother, respectively). “Today,” she regrets, “the younger ones do not know how to work at home. They always depend on our parents” (Fourth Generation A, 49).²⁷ The same thing happened with Second Generation A. She shared that she prioritized helping her parents rather than finishing her studies.

From the two experiences given, it is not known whether both of them received a larger inheritance than their younger siblings. Yet, the fact remains that the responsibility of every eldest in the family is still highly expected.

C.1. Education, a modern culture of inheritance in the family

Education in Ifugao, as to when it was introduced, differs from one ethnic group to another. Other ethnic groups in Ifugao are Tuwali, Yattuka, Kalanguya, and the Ayangan. The Tuwali of Kiangang Ifugao were the first ones to meet education in the late 1800s when Father Juan Villaverde, in his pretense of Christianizing the Ifugaos, established his educational mission in Kiangang (see Tejon 1991). Later in the 1970’s, children from Asipulo who wanted to go to school would travel to attend grade school in Kiangang, about twelve kilometers away from Asipulo. Today, almost all families in Asipulo have professionals among them. Teachers keep reminding their students the credo, “Education is an inheritance that no one can steal,” as reminded by Fourth

²⁷ Original: *Ya law nunya, yadda eya uunga, egda amtan mangunud unig ni baley. Yadda aamed latta manganu paran hi-gada.*

Generation C. Fourth Generation C is an above average and very talented student who finished high school and did not pursue college so his mother encouraged him to go to Bible school but he later dropped again. Now, he realizes, through his parents' advice and his inability to do some things, that education is indeed important. Later, he said that "education is very crucial in the life of a person because it is the foundation to reach your dreams" (Fourth Generation C, 57). Wanting to help others, he feels regretful because he cannot give his optimum because he lacks the basic qualifications.

From a father's perspective, the son of First Generation A believes that parents should work for their children's education. It is the most important intellectual inheritance. Yet properties are seen as a separate inheritance that should be given to each child in the family. Just like his father, First Generation A, this parent was and still is a businessman and a farmer. The only difference is that his father traded livestock while he is a successful agricultural products dealer and a farmer. For him, education is not enough an inheritance for children. Being a businessman, financial security is also important in case the children do not benefit from their education.

Third Generation C is a mother of four who puts education as important for her children. She is one of the parents who work hard in the farm to support their children's education. Indeed, she and her husband chose to have only four children so they will be able to attend to their children's needs, especially education. Seeing life's difficulty as a farmer, she reasons that their children need to be educated "so that they do not, if possible (*ahan*) get scorched under the sun before they can eat anything" (Third Generation C, 42.)²⁸ For her and her husband, it is very normal for parents to sweat for their children

²⁸ Original: *Et eg ida ahan mampepettang ni han ida nengan.*

but it is okay as long as the children will succeed in their studies. They see education a must for a better future.

While it is true that education helps greatly in promoting people's abilities and qualifications, it also means power for those who have reached a higher status of learning. Before, political officials are of no education but they are elected with the basis of their wisdom and service and their ability to lead others. Today, education counts as a status symbol of leadership and job seeking. The more education a person attains, the more opportunities of getting hired. In this time of steep competition, parents need to be assured of their children's education. Having the phenomenal status of job as an employee in the Philippine job market, parents' conscience dictates that their children need to go to school because they need to become employees in the future. Their contentment is to see their children secured of good positions in the government or private institutions. Asked who will tend their rice fields if all children will go to work someday, Third Generation C argues that there are plenty of other people who can work in the fields (42).

The dilemma that the society may face now and in the near future is the proper care of their natural resources. Having most of the younger generation go out of the province for industrial jobs, the resources have to be tilled by another person who may not have the desire to improve because the person is just a hired one. Such a person may just be interested with what can be generated from the produce. Once, a mother in the community informed the researcher that a number of young people went out of the province to work in a small mining company for a salary of five hundred eighteen pesos per day. While mining puts life in danger more than farming, it is seen as a faster and

easier mode of acquiring money. It is a big wonder why the community does not think of better ways to heap up production in the rice fields while not hurting its natural appearance.

Fourth Generation A reminds that nature is reaching a state of degradation. Having been away for years with intermittent visits, she complains that there had been great changes in nature in Asipulo. She notices that *ugnah* (Ifugao native rice), *ani* (harvesting by hand with the use of *gamlang*), *ginga* and *bassikul* (snails), mountains, rivers, *udingan* (small river fish), and others are some of the things of nature she enjoyed while young but now have deteriorated and been changed into fast style of production. It is therefore inevitable to observe that schooling and other high paying jobs for the young have sadly stolen some of the important things like nature.

Aside from deterioration of natural resources, it is also possible for education to break the strong communal attitude of the society. In order for someone from Asipulo to finish studies, that person has to stay in another place and go to a boarding house for four to five years. Also, a multi-cultural setting is expected in schools as different cultures and languages are merged together in one place. It is therefore inevitable for an Ifugao to learn different things from their outside friends and neighbors. As their experiences become wider, their mindset is shaped differently also. Consequently, when they get back home, their attitudes will have been altered by the outside world. Moreover, as they level up on their financial status in life, these younger generations are able to stand on their own. They can also pay penalties in case they do not labor for *man-ili*. Such financial readiness can move a person away from communal interdependence. Second Generation C is quick to understand such situations. She guesses, “Maybe because as

people get educated, they get more individualistic because they can and are able to do things on their own” (Second Generation C, 27).²⁹ Education has brought financial stability among the people, but slowly it becomes a threat to the community’s interdependence especially on manual labor during occasions like weddings and deaths.

Within the family, the subtle deterioration of interdependence among families may not seem important for parents or children. But as time runs by, it is feared that education will give a generational shock among the families. The practice of doing things together for survival turns to personal achievement. As a consequence of personal achievement, the educated and financially stable person will not work hard together with the rest of the people in the community. Instead, he or she will just pay people in cases of field labor. This results to employer-employee relationship, not a co-worker.

Consequently, the older people may have difficulty dealing with the work patterns and relationship changes of the younger generation. Their togetherness at work and at home will have changed to a new level of relationship where one works for another but not together. The value of interdependence has become employer-employee relationship.

D. The Self

D.1. Personal interests versus familial and communal culture

A person’s relationship with the self according to Dodd, is linked to success, achievement and material well-being of an individual (1995, 122). If it is related to one’s personal accomplishment, it can also be related to something being looked forward to and how such person is working out to achieve reach it. The society’s physical structure

²⁹ Original: *Siguro, gapu tep di adal law emin tuu, uh..kayangkaya da. Wada hakkeyey kayah da law.*

helps us understand what is important to the individuals living there. It can be seen in the size of their houses, the properties they accumulate, and house furnishings.

In Dugyo and Nepayew where this study is conducted, there are mixed types of houses. Most of the houses are made up of galvanized iron sheets with a mixture of cement and wooden walls. Some of the old nipa huts are still there except that the galvanized iron roofs are being used instead of the indigenous *gulun*. Most of the families with regular salaries have their houses improved, making them big enough for the whole family when they all come home for vacation during summer or Christmas. The unmarried professional children normally do not erect their own personal houses because they are responsible for the education of their younger siblings or their nephews and nieces. They only build their houses when they get married and have children.

Having such defined roles as older siblings (*pengulwan*) in the family and society, it is difficult for anyone from such a culture to pursue their own personal interests and overlooking his or her responsibilities. It is very normal for the eldest married child to entertain many people from time to time, especially during vacation time when the younger siblings come home from school. It was mentioned before that the first child especially has the birthright so he or she has the largest portion of properties. Thus, the younger ones' needs are also accounted on the eldest. In return, the children of the eldest can also go to the younger siblings' homes any time they want and vice-versa. Even when they grow up and go to school, it is very normal for the elder sibling to give allowances to their siblings' children whenever needed.

In this case, though someone may want to pursue personal wealth, conflicts arise when the person comes in the light of communal culture where familial norms count

more than personal interest. Most of the respondents of this research look forward not only to their personal well being but to the well being of the society as well. In ages past, people were looking forward for personal wealth because it becomes an emblem of accomplishment in the society, yet everything revolved around the societal norms. Steffen, in his article *Socialization among the Ifugaos* (1997), recommends curriculum developers to give teamwork activities to learners instead of individual works. The Ifugaos, though looking forward to having personal achievement, always involved working with others and doing things for others.

Fourth Generation B honestly tells that money is important to her. She reasons that she wants to help her younger siblings in their studies the moment she becomes successful in going abroad for work. Fourth Generation B is a registered nurse and was on a contractual job basis during this study. She strongly believes that working in any Western country will bring her and her family great financial relief. Having a family of her own is far from her dreams right now. This is another example of threat to the value of family.

A permanent job holder and a church leader, Third Generation A, said that money and other material wealth will follow if we just do our part as Christians, such as pursuing personal integrity and morality. To him, the self or self interest neither exists alone nor does it operate on itself. Everybody is a part of others in the society and thus self-interest should be seen as secondary to others. He argues, “[Material needs] are easy to find. They are also important but they are just secondary” (Third Generation A, 32).³⁰

³⁰ Original: *Humman ket nelakah ida laing ni hemmaken. Importante ida kitdi nem secondary lang.*

In view of the self and the community, the practice of *man-ili* or *dah-nga* in the setting of this study tells that it is very challenging for someone to pursue personal material achievement because of the required help demanded from time to time. Though not a big barrier, it is surely one of the contributing factors of slowing down personal achievement of an individual. Collectivism, as in the case of the people of Asipulo, values society's achievement more than individual achievement. However, if more people from the younger generation like Fourth Generation B will migrate for a better economic status, there will surely be a problem on the maintenance of all the values that the society holds like family and nature in exchange for economic stability.

E. Natural Resources

Ifugao folktales and *Abuwab* tales (see Mamanglo 2006 and Medina 2002) tell about the interaction between the deities of the skyworld and animals with nature and human beings. Like other animist cultures (see Sitton 1998), the Ifugaos believed that nature is controlled by spirits. Therefore, some lines of *baki* should be mentioned even before cutting any tree or killing any animal. Asking permission of dead ancestors before passing through their graves is not uncommon in the animist culture. Therefore, nature had to be taken care of with fear that the spirits might retaliate if they see nature being exploited without reasonable cause.

Now that Christianity, industrialization and education have come to animistic Asipulo, people slowly turn from protection of nature to maximizing the use of nature for personal gain. Since the people do not recognize the sovereignty of the spirits in all forms of nature, some people just cut trees legally or illegally for lumber. Spiritualism is slowly being replaced with utilitarianism at the expense of nature. Christianity and

education cannot be blamed entirely for the degradation of nature. The current phenomenon is massive migration of the younger generation to other places to look for faster income generating jobs, according to one church minister. This may lead to making the land less appreciated by the younger generations to come.

Fourth Generation A, who went out to Baguio to work for quite a long time, noticed the great change in nature in Asipulo. She laments over the loss of interest in the natural environment among the younger generations. She sees education and technology as the frontline rivals of nature. Students are now armed and pre-occupied with gadgets like hand phones, televisions and other technological devices that snatch their time for work. Added to that, children today are more home-oriented than before, except for some who voluntarily work on the fields to help their parents. Moreover, the financial improvement of parents these days enables them to buy daily food for their children. When these children have all what they need for the day, they do not need to go out looking for food. As a result, without having much contact with nature, they will appreciate nature less than those who have constant contact with it.

E.1. The gospel and natural resources

One big issue towards the values of the people of Antipolo Evangelical Church is the diminishing care of natural resources. The older generations took good care of their rice fields and other land and water resources. Natural resources were the only source of their physical survival. Now, the emergence of formal offices, institutions and schools has attracted almost all the younger generations to pursue jobs that require little effort, with cash at hand. Only Fourth Generation A expressed concern about natural resources such as the loss of fruits that her grandfather has planted (47). This is an alarming state

especially that industrial development is fast approaching. In this case, it is worth examining whether the Gospel has done a big deal in relation to the preservation of nature. A very good source for Christian education, the curriculum sent to the researcher by Steffen outlines themes that are excellent for spiritual growth of a Christian. One important theme, though, that is not thoroughly thought over is the care for creation or natural resources.

Ken Gnanakan, an environmentalist theologian, in his book, *Responsible Stewardship*, poses that the Christian doctrine of creation has been accused of being the root cause of the environmental wreckage. He refers to the wrong interpretation of Genesis 1:28 (2004, 19). In the same book, Gnanakan also attacks the Christian's lopsided doctrine of giving more importance to redemption (of the human soul) far more than proper care of creation (2004, 26).

In Asipulo when the Gospel was still new and the natural resources were still intact, it was important for the missionaries to teach and train the people of the place (*bimmebley*) how to think and behave like Christ in a social setting. Now that the place where Gospel rooted deeply is facing a huge problem on environmental concern, this study then, speaks to the current leaders and generation. As Christians with strong communal values, they have to act together to face this problem, amid all the fast changes taking place. Fred Van Dyke and his colleagues, educators from a strong background on ecological studies, strongly believe that Christian response to the redemption and restoration of creation begins from individuals, family, community, church, and globally (1996, 142-151).

E.1.1.1. The Shift of Worldview on Nature from *Baki* to Present

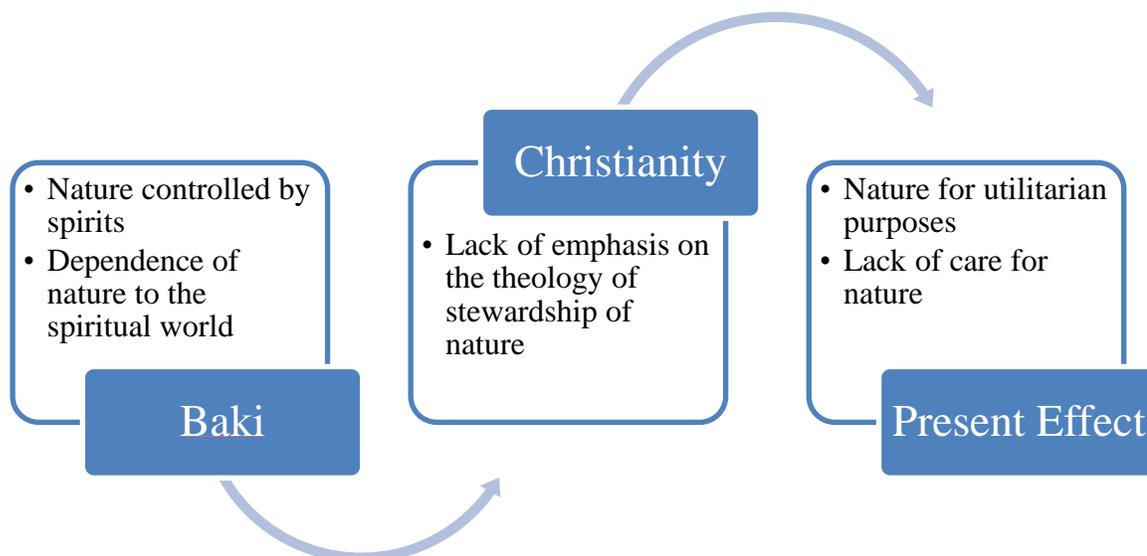


Figure 3. This figure shows the shift of worldview from the old *baki* system to present time and its effect at present.

F. Human Nature

Human nature refers to the perception of character and temperament of a certain culture (Neuliep 2009, 66). For example, Western cultures are generally seen as rational and the Eastern cultures relational. The Philippines, though one nation, happens to have a variety of people with different languages and cultures. As a result, the Philippines has many different character formations among its diversified population. Surely, every language group has a pattern of thinking and acting that is so unique from the other regional counterparts.

Generally, the Filipinos are relational in nature. Ifugaos are known for their unique communal identity and strong animistic background compared to other language groups. Steffen adds that Ifugaos are concrete thinkers. They prefer team work to individual work. Such difference in human nature between the ethnolinguistic groups is a

product of the deep-seated sub-conscious view of the world around them. This is referred to as world view. Different world view produces different thinking patterns across the cultures (see Miller 2001).

A neophyte foreign missionary may find it difficult to adjust to a different place, especially in communicating the gospel. Steffen (1997 and 2010) discovered that his American training used the systematic part-to-whole system of thinking while the Ifugaos thought the other way, whole-to-part. This means that Ifugaos have a different approach to learning from that of the western people like him. Steffen admitted his difficulties in his church planting in Antipolo, Ifugao.

Firstly, Steffen had difficulty with the learning styles of the people. Coming in as a Westerner, he found out that his teaching strategy proved unfamiliar to his Keley-i learners. "Ifugao narrative logic, to my great surprise, did not perceive it that way. In fact, they found it extremely boring, difficult to follow, and hard to communicate to others," he admitted (Steffen 2010, 141). He was oriented with systematic way of teaching while the indigenous people learned from whole to part. He taught per words or phrase of the Bible while the indigenous people understood per person or event. Consequently, he had to keep revising his curriculum to fit the learning style of his protégés as they would be the ones to carry on the church work when he would go back home.

The usual and normal struggle for communicators is the conflict between the teaching styles of the message sender versus the learning style of the listeners. When there is not enough shared understanding of the message, it becomes a frustration for both the sender (communicator) and the receiver (listener). The question remains whether the

rational task-oriented teacher should conform to the relational style of the learners or vice-versa. Either way, the outcome will have an enduring impact on the church, for at least many years unless the next leaders change. David Hesselgrave agrees that cross-cultural communication is both simple and complex (Hesselgrave 1991, 92). In a wider sense, communicating the Scripture is possible as long as there is understanding between the missionary and the people. The challenge comes with the intricacies of the communication. It involves the complexities of both verbal and non-verbal. Along the way, communication affects both the teacher and the learner. This is where the effectiveness of the communicator is tested.

Barrameda's study (2000) affirms that the Ifugaos have "collective responsibility" that describes the all-for-one-one-for-all tenet inherent in all families. Any violation committed, therefore, of a single member of the family will be shouldered by the whole family or even the extended kin. Whether in joy or in shame, the Ifugao family has the strong family and societal accountability culture where the success of one is the success of all or the failure of one is the failure of all.

This innate culture of sharing together the joy and shame in a family and society drives the members to be careful in deciding major things. Therefore, each of the members has to be a part of the decision making process. This way, they learn from one another. When things are already done, every one shares the success. This value of whole to part learning is open for further studies. It has been more than twenty-five years since the Steffens left Antipolo, Ifugao and more than ten years for the Hohulins. Do the younger generations of the Keley-i people of Antipolo, Ifugao still learn the same way as the older generations of this study did?

The Different Generations and their Value Orientations

A. The first generation

In response to the question on what they value in life, all of the first generation stressed that faith should come first before anything else. When asked the second time what else do they value, First Generation C found it important for everyone to be a Christian. First Generation B expressed it with a reminder: “Never forget about God” (First Generation B, 10).³¹ First Generation A took delight with his faith, yet giving importance to his business because he always considered what to hand down to his children. Even his son testified that his parents were so workaholic that they lost four sons to sickness. This happened before they became Christians.

As a manifestation of their faith, both First Generation A and First Generation C became part of the evangelism movement of the Church. First Generation B was then physically weak so she was not able to join those who went outdoors to plant churches. Coming from a very strong animistic background and having undergone a series of leadership trainings under the foreign missionaries, this first generation is assumed to hold fast to their personal faith so devotedly because they saw the power of the gospel that radically changed their worldview. They saw the vivid contrast of the *baki* and the Christian faith. Their fear of death and sickness was translated to love to God.

B. The second generation

This group witnessed the *baki* system of Ifugao but had a relatively short time practicing it. Even Second Generation A tells that she does not know very well the intricacies of *baki* because she did not have in-depth experience with it. Her father, First

³¹ Original: *Antan tu lilliwan hi Apu Dios.*

Generation A mentioned during the interview that his children were converted ahead of him. Similar to the first generation, this age group puts their faith as priority. For Second Generation A, it seems that her personal faith is very important, yet putting stress on helping others as her expression of faith. “What is important is I will be able to help especially in spiritual needs,” she contends (Second Generation A, 19).³² For Second Generation B, having an experience of being a barangay captain for eleven years opened his eyes to the need of the community. Now, he wants to go full time in the community service. But this time, he wants it evangelistic type. He strongly believes it is God’s calling on him and he is waiting for the perfect timing. It is very interesting that while having eight children, he still wants to go full time in the ministry. In the Ifugao context, being a minister means a great sacrifice of family, time and effort because incentives are very low if any. For Second Generation C, single and having years of working experience outside the country, wishes for unity in the community. Later, she added that, “Unity is the expression of love. Unity shows that you love one other” (Second Generation C, 27).³³ Added to that, Second Generation C also sees the importance of her own faith and the faith of the whole community. Being single, her priority is to take care of her family. Yet, faith comes ahead of everything.

C. The third generation

Both Third Generation A and Second Generation B discussed about the *man-ili* organization of their community. Second Generation A, a church leader and a father of two girls, argued that personal discipline and moral integrity are very important value to

³² Original: *Ya et kuma importante ey umbaddangak. Nema-ma hu kasapulan nipammati.*

³³ Original: *Tep ya unity humman kapan pipinhedan. Hedin wada law unity, humman keangangan tun wda impeminhed mun hakey ni tuu.*

be formed in a Christian. He contends that personal discipline and moral integrity equates to being the salt and light in the community. He advocates that everyone should protect his or her integrity. He also argues that as a community, cooperation should be built within every member because everyone benefits from it. This is supported by Second Generation B, who is apparently satisfied by the unity in the community where they belong. For Second Generation C, faith in God comes first above everything. Secondly, she finds their children's education as one of the important things in life. Modeling, according to her, is a best way of teaching their children the necessary values especially the spirit of prayer.

D. The fourth generation

There are varieties of responses in this age group. Fourth Generation A, the eldest in her family and nurtured in the Christian faith, finds communal faith as important. Looking at the unstable political situation of the municipality, she finds security in being a Christian. She strongly believes that when everybody is a Christian, there will be peace and order in the community because there will be unity therein. Added to inclusivity of the Christian faith, Fourth Generation A also wishes that nature, culture, and *tenten* will still remain even with the onset of technology. One interesting thing she posed is the importance of faith in the community, a matter that her fourth generation counterparts are able to fully express as their value.

From a former Bible student's perspective, Fourth Generation C finds family, basic needs, friends and education as important for him. He is the youngest of the respondents. As a growing young man, family and friends are the first ones he looks up

to. Challenged by fact that education is needed in order to have a better future, Fourth Generation C becomes more aware of its relevance.

Fourth Generation B claims faith is the most important for her, followed by money. Being the second child, she finds having a job as the first thing to secure. That is why she wants to go to Western countries to find a job. For her, everything will be all right if one gets settled into a good job. She admits, too, that having a family is her lowest priority of this time. She will not settle down until she gets a good job. Ultimately, she wants to have a little convenience in life before anything else.

Gauging from all the responses of the participants, the Antipolo Evangelical Church Christians express their values governed by both norm and need. Norms arise by the communal written and unwritten laws. These values are given importance because they are set forth by the fore parents and therefore should be carried out by the succeeding generations. The *man-ili* is one of these practices. Established by the ancestors of ages past, it has settled into a communal value as their means of survival as a clan. Today, though there have been intermarriages, the community still holds on strongly to it. Nature is also one of the handed down properties that is highly held by the Ifugaos. That is why rice fields are very important to be taken care of by every family. Parents sent their children to school, but still they have to buy rice fields at the same time so that they will also hand them down to their children. The problem being seen here is the continuity of the maintenance of their land resources. It is foreseen that in the near future when more professionals are being raised, fewer people will want to work the soil. Consequently, more and more lands will be turned out into settlements and business establishments. As the transportation improves, more will turn into gardening as it yields

its produce faster than that of organic farming. As raised earlier, more and more younger people are going out to look for fast earning jobs like mining. It is therefore feared that lands are going to turn to other purposes rather than rice fields due to lack of people to tend.

At the peak of industrial development, spiritual fervor of the people is observed to be waning too. First Generation C expresses his deep concern that unlike before, Bible studies are being given lesser importance. Steffen testifies that men and women gathered from evening until dawn to discuss about the Word. Evangelists were raised and they raised church leaders in turn. In short, the church flourished under the hands of these first believers. Apparently, fellowship among believers seems weakening today. A matter of fact, the researcher's stay in one of the neighboring daughter churches of Antipolo Evangelical Church proved First Generation C's grievance over Bible study attendance. Out of over fifty members in the church, there are about seven average attendees. The researcher attended six Bible studies in this church for a period of six weeks. Aside from poor attendance, time is also another top concern of the Evangelical churches in Asipulo, Ifugao. Church members come very late for any church activities. People come for church one and a half hours late. With these, the church is then in an alarming condition. At the time of this research, two churches including Antipolo Evangelical Church, have no pastors. The church leadership is shared by elected or appointed leaders, who are predominantly men. In Antipolo Evangelical Church, women are allowed to do some teaching ministry like Children Sunday School and ushering but not Sunday School teaching and especially preaching.

From the perspective of a member, Third Generation B confessed that he does not go to church regularly due to some disheartening performance of other members, especially the leaders. He admitted that he gets stumbled if he sees other Christians behaving below their Christian norms. Also, he gets so uninterested with the preaching of some leaders because they keep discussing about the same topic again and again Sunday after Sunday. Later, he realized that everyone should look not on the person but to God only. This helps him understand that everyone has failures and it is only God who is perfect.

Table 3. Generational chart of Christian values.

Generation	Christian Faith Values
First Generation (71 years old and above)	Personal faith Devotion to God
Second Generation (45 to 70 years old)	Communal faith Personal integrity
Third Generation (30 to 44 years old)	Faith by modeling in the family and the community
Fourth Generation (15-29 years old)	Faith (general sense) Preservation of nature and culture Economic stability Career

This table presents the general value orientations of each generation of this study.

Chapter 5

Summary, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Summary

This study sought to discover the perceived values of the Keley-i Christians of Antipolo Evangelical Church, Asipulo, Ifugao. It answers the problem, “What are the perceptions of the values of Keley-i people of Antipolo Evangelical Church, Asipulo, Ifugao from both the missionaries and the church members themselves?” Along with this primary problem, it compared the progression and changes among the perceptions of values of the four generations of the indigenous people of Antipolo, Ifugao.

Guided by Condon-Yousef value orientations, this study categorized the data under the six aspects namely, society, super-natural, family, self, nature, and human nature. For an outsiders’ point of view, it brought in the perceptions of the foreign missionaries of the Ifugao values from their observations and experiences from the time they came into the locale to the time they left. It is important to note that the two missionary families came and left in different but overlapping time.

A qualitative research, this study used interview as the primary method of collecting data among the indigenous people of Antipolo, Ifugao. On the part of the foreign missionaries, interview through e-mail was the main communication. Apart from the interview data, this research also employed field observation on occasions germane to the study. Informal interactions between the researcher and the people of the locale were also a great help in the collection of relevant data.

Conclusions

1. Generally, all of the first generation put importance to their faith in God yet not forgetting their responsibilities as parents. Especially, First Generation A admitted the importance of commerce to him. He wanted to give something to his children when they grow up. He particularly stated, “One more important was to become a carabao agent...I always consider what I will hand down to my children” (First Generation A, 7).³⁴ Today, these parents still work hard like before, except that the amount of work they accomplish is much lesser now due to their old age. Consequently, it is understood that the introduction of agricultural technology has created a better and easier way of farming for the new generation. They no longer have to work as tediously as before in order to live. Also, they are getting older everyday and so they cannot afford to wake up as early as they used to. Most of them have grown up children and grandchildren who can work for them and earn for them. Added to that, it is believed that Christianity has given them a big break from over work. Upon understanding that they gain wealth in heaven through Christ, they settled their minds and put more importance to other things as well. All of these, therefore, are contributing factors of change in their perspective of work.

2. Common to the second generation is the expression of communal faith which is similar to the first generation, except that community is more stressed in the second generation than the first. Although the first generation generally talked about wanting others to follow Christ, personal faith is more manifest than communal faith. For the second generation, communal manifestation of personal faith is apparent. There is a slow wave of change among them on how they perceive faith.

³⁴ Original: *Ya man hakey, ya man ahinti ni newang.*

This kind of response can be explained in line with their responsibilities. The first generation in this time of research are in their stage of generalization. At this point in time they are into sitting back and recalling what they had been and what they did in the past and waiting for their silent eternal retirement. But for the second generation, they are at the peak of parenting as well as working stage. Also, they are much aware that they will soon grow older and so it is about time to do something worthwhile while they still have the strength. It is about time for the second generation to model the best and let people know about God while they still have the strength. When they are old, they will have little chance to serve God (Ecclesiastes 12:1-8).

3. The third generation stage of life looks at the world with parents' eyes. That is why modeling is very important for them. Being at the peak of their parenting, they are consciously aware of the importance of modeling. Third Generation A makes an intentional example of moral integrity both at home and his workplace. Third Generation C makes modeling at home of big importance. Being single, Third Generation B expresses his modeling in the community especially with *man-ili* activities. Along all these, it is evident that social consciousness is the chief end of their modeling. They are aware that whether in the family perimeter or the community, people are looking at their actions so everyone should make a conscious effort to show the good things taught by their parents. Societal norms are strong that parents have the obligation not only to teach their own children but to train them by doing the right thing within the community's bound. Children in return are expected to do their roles in carrying out what is shown by their parents. This is substantiated by what a male a cousin of the researcher has stressed, when asked by one visitor why we address each other brothers and sisters and not

cousins. He said, “Our parents started this practice of being so close and our older brothers and sisters did as well, that is why we need to carry it out too” (26 December 2011, informal conversation).³⁵ Third Generation B, when asked why does the community have the *man-ili* organization, said that “such culture has been from generations past and so we have to continue because it is for our good” (39).

It is interesting how the practice of Christian faith varies from the first generation to the third. From the first generation, faith has its transition from personal to communal relevance in the second generation to modeling in the family and workplace in the third generation. In their own bracket of ages, the first, second, and third generation have their own spaces of practicing their faith.

4. Collectively, the responses of the fourth generation arise from human needs. Fourth Generation A sees the changing world she used to live in and watches the same place degenerating in its natural beauty. So with the culture and some practices that are obviously fading like the *tenten* and the native costume of the people. She also sees the obvious change in the behavior of the younger ones with regard to work attitude and respect. For Fourth Generation B and Fourth Generation C, getting settled with their studies and jobs are the important concerns for them at this time. Therefore such human needs drive them to put priority to the security of their future.

Aside from weakening spiritual strength of the church members, the value of work is also seen as changing as time passes by. Driven by the passion of education and industrialization, many young people are being tolerated by parents for not working the fields. The massive migration of the younger generation in search for easier jobs and

³⁵Original: *Huyya linapwan idalan aammed et handa pebeltan idan pengulwan isunga masapul daman itultuluy tayu.*

their shift of attention to the new technology can become a threat to the maintenance of their natural resources such as rice fields and other land works. In the years to come, one of the biggest fears of the people is who will tend their lands while they work on other professional jobs.

With regard to community involvement, the younger generation is believed to still hold on to the practice of *man-ili* as they are doing now. Making the *man-ili* as a community organization will encourage the young to participate in the communal togetherness.

5. The arrival and acceptance of Christianity in Asipulo, Ifugao, has brought transformation in the worldview of the people. As evident in the result of this study, Christian faith is still the foremost value that the Asipulo people are holding to, although it is starting to lose its importance. While Christianity has taken its root, however, some areas that have been given importance during the *baki* period, especially on reverence to nature, have not been either valued or given much attention by the Christian faith. As a result, the Asipulo Christians seem to have experienced social dysphoria, a condition that created a vacuum in the social manifestation of their faith.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are given to church leaders, foreign missionaries, church and educational curriculum makers, and researchers.

A. Church leaders

The church leaders of Antipolo Evangelical Church, Asipulo, Ifugao are encouraged to strengthen the church leadership. The church leaders can strengthen the

church leadership by training all interested members of all generations for leadership roles. The model for training is to be done by apprenticeship strategy where the one who disciples will teach the disciple in a very practical way, and not just by lecture. Ministry trainings would include all existing ministries in the church such as children Sunday School, group Bible study, resources management, and outreaches. It is found out that church activities are slowing down and Bible studies are getting lower in attendance. Creating evangelistic team that works together, would then be very helpful. Careful planning and devising strategies of evangelism is helpful to better present the gospel to the hearers. Adopting the community's value of teamwork within the church setting would be effective.

B. Foreign missionaries

The foreign missionaries should be in constant contact with the people in the church they planted, either by letters or intermittent visits. This action provides continuous encouragement to the people. Having earned the respect of the indigenous people, the missionaries are encouraged to write letters or pay visits like what Paul did to the churches he planted in the first century.

If the missionaries are not able to do letters or intermittent visits, connecting them to different organizations outside the church will be a great move. This gives the church an awareness of the bigger body of Christ. A wider dynamics of communication enhances the church leaders' experiences. Having seen changes of values from one generation to another, outsider missionaries are to point every generation to Christ. This would entail continuous encouragement for each generation to put God at the center of what they value most.

C. Church and educational curriculum developers

Church curriculum developers need to make a curriculum based on story method. Secondly, activities should be framed in teamwork. Thirdly, teaching the gospel message should be contextualized in the Ifugao way of learning which is from whole to part.

This Bible story method, proven as effective to the Ifugao people, means that the church curriculum makers need to look at such pattern of learning among the people and develop a curriculum that fits them. Be it a curriculum at church or trainings, a contextualized curriculum greatly benefits the learners. This can lead them to a more effective leadership and better facilitation among pastors and leaders as well as the members in the church.

Aside from Bible stories, teamwork can also be integrated to the curriculum. Since the Ifugaos prefer to work together, activities that enhance teamwork should be included in both educational and spiritual development. The curriculum for education and spiritual formation should be created with relevance to the nature of the people.

Further, part of the curriculum to be developed is the preservation of natural resources. Utilizing the resources will help learners appreciate the gift of nature. Also, using materials that are naturally available would increase the learners' ability to produce materials for a possible means of living without necessarily depending upon imports.

D. Church and government officials

Both the church and government offices are to have serious dialogue on the preservation of natural resources. Lectures and trainings are to be hosted on both church and local government on how to use resources wisely at this time of rapid technological and industrial advancement. Advocacy team can be formed to develop step by step

programs and lectures on every institution like schools and churches. Special projects are to be proposed for the proper maintenance of the fields and forests so that the younger generation need not go out for jobs outside the place.

Table 4. Christian response to natural resources crisis.

Natural Resources in the Past	Natural Resources at Present	Proposed Christian Response
Well taken care of	Abandoned/Given lesser care	Maintain the natural resources
Treated with reverence to the spirits governing them	Belief in the absence of spiritual entities	Belief in God the Creator of all natural resources
With diverse kinds	Lesser diversity/lesser number	Conservation and propagation of plants and animals
Everyone works on the fields	Some school children or professionals shun away from working on the natural resources	Encouraging teaching stewardship practices

The table above compares how natural resources are viewed in the past and the present, with proposed response to the changes.

E. Further research

Further research should be made on the ways of leadership of the people.

Discovering the everyday works and engagement of the people provides a solid ground for contextualization of the gospel and educational curricula for learners.

Another field of further study is the leadership structure of the community. The Ifugao social structure may well provide an excellent structural guide for church organization. The *man-ili* organization, for example, works very well in the community. Both the leaders and the people work together in times of deaths and weddings. Deaths and weddings are two opposite situations where the people in the community show their teamwork at best. The researcher's work is to look how this organization works and how to adopt such style of teamwork in the church and educational settings.

Reference List

Local Literature

Books

- Abueva, Jose V. Ed. 1998. *The Making of the Filipino Nation and Republic: From Barangays, Tribes, Sultanates, and Colony*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.
- Andres, Tomas D. 2004. *Understanding Ifugao Values Book II*. Quezon City: Giraffe Books.
- Cordillera Schools Group, Inc. 2003. *Ethnography of the Major Ethnolinguistic Groups in the Cordillera*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- Dulawan, Lourdes S. 2001. *Ifugao: Culture and History*. Intramuros, Manila: National Commission for Culture and the Arts.
- Dumia, Mariano. 1979. *The Ifugao World*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- Feliciano, Evelyn M. 1990. *Filipino Values and our Christian Faith*. Mandaluyong City: OMF Literature.
- Goode, William J. 1964. *The Family*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Mamanglo, Elizabeth. 2006. *Long Time Ago in Ifugao Land: Timeless Folktales for Children*. Manila: (publisher not indicated).
- Medina, Carlos R. 2002. *Toward Understanding BuganYaWigan ad Chu-ligan*. Baguio City: Saint Louis University Cordillera Research and Development Foundation, Inc.
- Scott, William Henry. 1974. *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers.
- Tejon, Guillermo O.P. *Juan Villaverde, O.P. Missionary and Road Builder (1841-1897): A History of the Dominican Missions in Ifugao*. Manila: University of Santo Tomas.

Local Studies

Books

- Jenista, Frank Lawrence. 1987. *The White Apos: American Governors on the Cordillera Central*. Quezon City, Manila: New Day Publishers.
- Zialcita, Fernando N. 2001. "Land Tenure among Non-Hispanized Filipinos." In *Reflections on Philippine Culture and Society: Festschrift in Honor of William Henry Scott*, ed. Jesus T. Peralta, 107-132. Quezon City, Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Journals

- Barrameda, Mary Constasy. 2000. "The Ifugao Living Law" in *Kasarinlan* 15, No.2.
- Lambrecht, Frans, CICM. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 1. Rice Culture and Rice Ritual." In *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* IV:1(1932): 1-167.
- _____. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 2. Marriage and Marriage Ritual." In *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* IV:2 (1935): 169-325.
- _____. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 3. Death and Death Ritual." In *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* IV:3 (1938): 327-493.
- _____. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 4. Property and Property Ritual." In *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* IV:4 (1939): 495-711.
- _____. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 5. Go-Betweens and Priests." In *Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference* IV:5 (1941): 713-754.
- _____. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 6. Illness and Its Ritual." In *The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies* VI:4 (October 1965): 1-155.
- _____. "The Mayawyaw Ritual. 7. Hunting and Its Ritual." In *The University of Manila Journal of East Asiatic Studies* VI:1 (January 1957): 1-28.
- Picache, Cecilia P. 2010. *Bogwa: Honoring the Dead: Inventory of the Different Variations of the Bogwa Practiced by the Tuwali in the Municipality of Lagawe, Province of Ifugao*. *Ad Veritatem* 9 (March): 517-565.

Dissertation

- Bubod, Linda M. 2007. *Beyond Rituals: Finding Psychological Concepts Beneath Ifugao Caring Patterns*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Asia Graduate School of Theology, Manila, Philippines.

Thesis

Caligue, Rene P. March 2011. Inculturating dah-nga for the building of the kingdom of God among the Ifugaos in Kasibu, Nueva Vizcaya. Thesis, Immaculate Conception School of Theology, Regional Seminary for Northern Luzon.

Working Papers

Prill-Brett, June. 1995. A Survey of Cordillera Indigenous Political Institutions (CSC Working Paper 05). Baguio City: University of the Philippines, Cordillera Studies Center.

Foreign Literature

Books

Dodd, Carley H. 1995. *Dynamics of Intercultural Communication*. Dubuque, Iowa: Brown & Benchmark.

Gnanakan, Ken. 2004. *Responsible Stewardship of God's Creation*. Bangalore, India: Theological Book Trust.

Loewen, Jacob A. 1975. *Culture and Human Values: Christian Intervention in Anthropological Perspective*. Pasadena, California: William Carey Library.

Neuliep, James W. 2009. *Intercultural Communication: A Contextual Approach, 4th ed.* Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE.

Steffen, Tom. 1997. *Passing the Baton: Church Planting that Empowers*. La Habra, California: Center for Organizational and Ministry Development.

Van Dyke, Fred, David Mahan, Joseph Sheldon, and Raymond Brand. 1996. *Redeeming Creation: The Biblical Basis for Environmental Stewardship*. Downers Grove, Illinois: InterVarsity Press.

Journals

Hohulin, Dick. (Undated Journal). "The Gift". Personal e-mail.

_____. 28 July 2011. Personal e-mail.

_____. 19 August 2011. Personal e-mail.

_____. 2 August 2011. "The Book for Anuden." Personal e-mail.

Sitton, David. 1998. The Basics of Animism: Spiritual Warfare in Tribal Contexts. *International Journal of Frontier Missions* 15, no. 2 (April-June): 69-74.

Steffen, Tom. "Pedagogical Conversions: From Propositions to Story and Symbol," *Missiology: An International Review* 38, no. 2 (April 2010): 141-159.

Steffen, Tom. "Socialization Among the Ifugao: Guidelines for Curriculum Development," *International Journal of Frontier Missions* 14 (Oct-Dec 1997). [e-journal]... (accessed 30 August 2011).

_____. 28 July 2011. Personal e-mail.

_____. 30 August 2011. Personal e-mail.

_____. 2 September 2011. Personal e-mail.

Electronic Sources

Serving Language Communities through Linguistics, Literacy and Translation.
<http://www.sil.org/asia/philippines/> (accessed 10 September 2011).

About Us. <http://sil.org/asia/philippines/>(accessed 10 September 2011).