



INAYAN: THE TENET FOR PEACE AMONG IGOROTS

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Abstract: *This research study was conducted to determine the meaning of Inayan and how this principle is used by the Igorots as a peaceful means of solving issues that involves untoward killings, accidents, theft and land grabbing.*

The descriptive method was used in this study. Key informants were interviewed using a prepared questionnaire.

Foremost, the meaning of Inayan among Igorots is, it is the summary of the Ten Commandments. For more peaceful means, they'd rather do the rituals like the "Daw-es" to appease their pain and anger. This is letting the Supreme Being which they call Kabunyan take the course of action in "punishing" those who have committed wrong towards them.

It is recommended that the principles of Inayan be disseminated to the younger generation through the curriculum; that the practices and rituals will be fully documented to be used as references; and to develop instructional materials that will advocate the principle of Inayan;

Keywords: *Inayan, Peace, Igorots, Rituals, Kankanaey*

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I. INTRODUCTION

In a society where tribal conflicts are very evident, a group of individuals has a very distinguishable practice in maintaining the culture of peace among themselves. They are the Igorots.

The Cordillera region of Northern Philippines is the ancestral domain of the Igorots. It is comprised of the six provinces of Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain Province plus the lone city of Baguio. The Igorots are grouped into six ethno-linguistic groups, the Bontoc, Ibaloi, Ifugao, Isneg (or Apayao), Kalinga, and the Kankana-ey. They are referred to by a generic term, Igorot, a word coined from the root word, "golot" meaning mountain (sagada-igorot.com).

For some time, the Igorot term has been a controversy because some Cordilleran's do not accept to be identified as such. This is due to the negative connotation of the word that means backwardness or inferiority. In the long run, the groups of individuals who mostly live in the Western part of Cordillera particularly Mountain Province maintained to identify themselves as Igorots after it gained its independence in 1962. At present, since Igorot was also derived from the root word *golot* which means mountain, people and some Cordilleran's themselves refer to the natives from the Mountain Province as Igorots.

In this study, Igorots refer to the people from the Mountain Province as identified by the people from the locale of the study.

Mountain Province is composed of ten municipalities namely Barlig, Bauko, Besao, Bontoc, Natonin, Paracelis, Sabangan, Sadanga, Sagada, and Tadian. The source of living of the people is agriculture. Because of the mountainous terrains, they till the small pieces of land that were handed down to them by their ancestors. As the population increased and education became a very important factor in uplifting their way of life, the small lands they are tilling was no longer enough to send their children to school. Their being agriculturally skilled resulted to most of the Igorots migrating to other nearby provinces with wide agricultural lands. One of these places is Kalinga, the rice granary of the Cordilleras.

The Igorots are hard working and peace loving people. A cultural identity they carry wherever they are destined to live and work in any part of this world. It is therefore in this aspect that the Igorots who migrated in Kalinga are recognized by their industriousness, but most especially they are most appreciated and awed because of their views on how to



remain peaceful despite those times when they are victims of crimes in a place where revenge is the end solution to a situation.

If the next generation are expected to continue practicing the culture of values and principles our ancestors have held to survive and respect the God given gifts in this world, there is a need to continuously educate the youth on these. As Fiar-od (<http://www.bibak.ch/documents>) said, if culture is dynamic as affected by migration, education, religion, etc., one day the Igorot Culture shall have lost its identity unless this generation makes effort to pass some aspects of the Igorot culture to the next generation.

As a whole, the second generation before making the necessary innovation/adjustment, should understand first what it means to be an Igorot defined by culture, what it means to be a Christian Igorot defined by one's spiritual beliefs and unique traditions, and what it means to be a successful social being defined by one's ideology acceptable in a global society anywhere around the world.

It is in this aspect that the researcher desires to uncover the principles in life that the Igorots practice to enjoy peaceful and harmonious relationships with others. A principle that is worth emulating and preserved to help the people of this world whose values and principles are deteriorating.

II. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Culture is defined as the shared patterns of behaviour and interactions, cognitive constructs and affective understanding that are learned through a process of socialization. These shared patterns identify the members of a culture group while also distinguishing those of another group. It is the sum total of the learned behaviour of a group of people that are considered to be the tradition of that people and are transmitted from one generation to generation. Furthermore, it refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, nations of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations.

Our culture must not be forgotten, advocates the elders. It is therefore, the role of the next generation to transfer this culture to the youth to preserve its meaningfulness in life since the uniqueness of one's culture identifies the way how each member of a community looks at life. One of which is the practice in the attainment and maintenance of peace in the



society. For it is through peaceful means that we shall have a harmonious relationship with others and a progressive society in this world.

Peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violence, conflict behaviours and the freedom from fear of violence. Commonly understood as the absence of hostility, peace also suggests the existence of healthy or newly healed interpersonal or international relationships, prosperity in matters of social or economic welfare, the establishment of equality, and a working political order that serves the true interests of all. Peace is defined as the normal, non-warring conditions of a nation, group of nations, of the world; an agreement or treaty between warring or antagonistic nations, groups, etc., to end hostilities and abstain from further fighting or antagonism; a state of mutual harmony between people or groups, especially in personal relations; the normal freedom from civil connotation and violence of a community, public order and security; and cessation of or freedom from any strife or dissension.

The peace loving Igorot people are influenced by their belief that they are answerable to Kabunyan in whatever actions they do towards others. The strong bond of the Igorots to Kabunyan inspired them to love what they are doing towards others and their work for prosperity. They strongly believe that it is only when everyone is in harmony with man and nature that Kabunyan will bring blessings to their life. For these reasons, the Igorots practice the principle of *Inayan* to enjoy a peaceful life.

For some they would say, "So lucky that I was doctined with the *Inayan* concept of the Igorot culture" (Lagmay, 2012).;"*Inayan* is my favorite because it is a kind of discipline from your parents that goes on from generation to generation" (Marjorie Lev).

Inayan is a lexicon in the Kankanaey language, which is spoken mainly by the Kankanaey ethnologies group inhabiting the western part of the Mountain Province covering the municipalities of Bauko, Besao, Sagada, and Tadian. It means to hold back or to prevent an individual from doing something unpleasant towards others. A deeper investigation of the word in the Kankanaey language culture is the fear of a Supreme Deity called Kabunian (God) who forewarns or dissuades one from doing anything harmful to others. This concept is deeply rooted in the culture specifically of the Sagada and Besao Kankanaey tribes.. To them, *inayan* embodies all virtues and morals of tribal members – humility, truthfulness, fidelity, honesty, and commitment, among others (Lagmay,2012).



He further said that *Inayan* has a religious overtone as it cites a moral from the Ten Commandments, illustrates the popular significance of *inayan* as a warning or caution in the conduct of things and uses *inayan* as an exclamation to express disappointment or annoyance. Because of *inayan* (be careful attitude and fear of the unknown) one tends to avoid taking risks, but on the other hand it also keeps one from engaging in some bad or unwanted deeds.

Lagmay further identifies Solang's idea of the Inayan. According to Solang Inayan is a community value similar to the popularly known karma or the concept of "you reap what you sow". This value he said cautions as individual against violating cultural norms or taboos. It is a cultural value that instils discipline, order and harmony among individuals within families and clans, within the village or tribe, and with the environment.

Similarly, Todcor (2007) defines *Inayan*, as an Igorot term which means taboo, bad or a violation. It is also an expression uttered to warn someone not to execute an evil plan, break an existing custom and beliefs. It is a general term uttered when faced with danger too *Inayan!* [shock!]. *Inayan di man-akewya men-patey* [It is bad to steal and kill] *Inayan di switiken di gobyerno* [Don't corrupt the Government] *Inayan di mangbakassiugali* [It is a taboo to violate a belief].

Fiar-od (2012) in her paper entitled, *IK Manifested in the sense of Inayan*, stated her own definition and findings in the proper use of the word. According to her, *Inayan* is a factor in attaining development. It is viewed as a value, belief, strategy, customary law governed in the *dap-ay*, natural law or principle, strategy for discipline, biblical commandment and a process towards reconciling culture, religion and education for transformation. Her findings are: a) The protection of the communal forest system referred as *botangan or saguday* of *besao* and *Sagada* is rooted on the concept, "The higher level of adherence to the sense of *Inayan*, the higher the degree of protection of the communal forest." As a result, less forest burns, less illegal logging. b) In the cultural aspect, adherence to *Inayan* is sometimes for the purpose of shaking – off curse or counter curse in times of ordeals like *sapata* of which a consequence (*sakem*) is expected. *Sakem* to the highest degree may result in death or any misfortune. This is commonly observed in immoral acts among couples.) *Inayan* is a word of *Kabunyan* in ordeals to determine guilt or innocence. If truth cannot be proven by ordinary



means, the indigenous ordeals are performed like *sapata* is done either through self-cursing or through a ritualized process.

Fiar-od further found out that *inayan* is reflected in different ways as follows: a) As a value, there was justice, harmony and sharing of resources as manifested in weddings, baptism, and wakes/funerals, and other events; b) As a cultural belief, *Inayan* was invoked along attainment of spirituality, peace, prosperity and abundance, either personally, morally, socially, religiously, purposely; c) As a customary law, *Inayan* was invoked towards environmental protection, land use and management through community rituals/rites or ceremonies like *begnas*; d) As a natural law/principle, *Inayan* was invoked in the optimistic assurance implied in the utterance "*kasiyana, wadaskabunyan*" meaning "have faith in the Almighty." Nature will take its course.; e) As a control measure, it is a wake up call to act as a social being rather than just a human being. A social being observes ethical and moral standards for fear that consequences may happen in one's life.; f) As a Biblical commandment, *Inayan*, is the local version of "thou shall not..." or "thou shall..."

These concepts stated above guided the researcher in the conduct of her study.

III. OBJECTIVES

1. What is the profile of the respondents.
2. To determine the meaning of *Inayan* as perceived by the respondents.
3. To determine how often they practice *Inayan* to maintain peace.
4. To find out how the Igorots handle cases through the principle of *Inayan*.

IV. METHODOLOGY

A. Framework of the Study

This study revolves around the framework of the principle of *Inayan* as practiced by the Igorots living in Kalinga for the preservation and maintenance of peace in the province. The respondents are the migrant Igorots and those who were born in the province of Kalinga.

B. Methods and procedures

The descriptive method was used in this study. Key informants were interviewed using a prepared questionnaire which includes community members of different walks of life.

The researcher personally interviewed the respondents in their residences as to their opinions in the principle of *Inayan* for the preservation and maintenance of peace as practiced by the Igorots who are living in Kalinga.



Figure 1

The statistical tools used are the frequency count and percentage to quantify the responses of the respondents.

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The Profile of the Respondents

Table 1 presents the profile of the respondents according to age.

Age	Frequency	Percentage
40 - 59	15	48.39%
60 and above	16	51.61%
TOTAL	31	100%

As gleaned from the table most of the respondents ranges from ages 60 and above. They are followed by those ages 40 – 59 or those who are in their middle ages. The results reflect that the principle of Inayan is practiced across ages. Foremost, the respondents are those who inculcate the principle among the younger generation.

Table 2 presents the profile of the respondents according to birthplace.

Birthplace	Frequency	Percentage
Mt. Province	19	61.29%
Kalinga	11	35.48%
Others	1	3.22%
TOTAL	31	100%

The table reflects that most of the respondents are migrants from the Mountain Provinces with 19 or 61.29% of the total respondents. Particularly, the respondents came from and were born in the Municipalities of Sagada and Sabangan. There were 11 or 35.48% who were born in the province of Kalinga and only 1 or 3.22% of the respondents was born outside the Cordilleras.



Table 3 presents the profile of the respondents according to Gender.

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	16	51.61
Female	15	48.39
TOTAL	31	100%

The table presents that there are more male respondents with 16 or 51.61% than the females with 15 or 48.39%. However, the result implies that all the respondents practice the principle of Inayan without prejudice to gender.

Table 4 presents the educational attainment of the respondents.

Educational Attainment	Frequency	Percentage
Did not attend formal education	2	6.45
Elementary level	12	38.71
High School level	8	25.81
Two Year Course	2	6.45
Bachelor's Degree	7	22.58
TOTAL	31	100%

As reflected on the table, most of the respondents reached elementary level with 12 or 38.71% while one of the two groups with two respondents or 6.45% did not attend school while the other two finished a two year course. On the other hand, 8 or 25.81% of the respondents reached high school level while 7 or 22.58% are with a Bachelor's degree.

The respondents who reached elementary level and those who did not have any formal education are the oldest generation of the group. They are the ones who are called upon to perform Igorot rituals. Accordingly, the difficulties of life during their time and their strong belief in Kabunyan and the teachings of Inayan made them survive and be successful in life.

The results also imply that educational attainment does not have any bearing in the respondents' belief on the principle of Inayan. This means that the higher education one has gained did not diminish the ideals of Inayan he gained from his elders.

Table 5 presents the work of the respondents.

Work	Frequency	Percentage
Farmers	15	48.39
Housewife	8	25.81
Employees	3	9.68
Retired employees	3	9.68
Others	2	6.45
TOTAL	31	100%



The table presents that 15 or 48.39% of the respondents are farmers while 8 or 25.81% are housewives. 2 or 6.45% of the respondents includes an Anglican priest and a businessman while both those who are employed in private and government institutions and the retired employees have three respondents each with 9.68%. This would reflect that the main work of most Igorots in Kalinga is farming.

Table 6 presents the religion of the respondents.

Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Anglican	25	80.65
Roman Catholics	4	12.90
Others	2	6.45
TOTAL	31	100%

The table shows that 25 or most of the respondents are Anglicans with a percentage of 80.65% while only 4 or 12.90% are Roman Catholics. There are only 2 or 6.45% of the respondents are members of other religions. This reflects that most of the respondents came from the western part of the Mountain Provinces with Anglican as the foremost religion.

Table 7 presents the community involvement of the respondents.

Community Involvement	Frequency	Percentage
Member in Igorot Organizations	15	38.46%
Church Organization	11	28.21%
Elder/Lupon	8	20.51%
Others	5	12.82%
TOTAL	39	100%

The table reflects that 15 or most of the respondents are members of any Igorot organization with 38.46% % while 5 or 20.51% of them are involved in other community activities depending upon their kind of work. 11 or 28.21% of them are members of any church organization and 8 or 20.51% of them are involved in the community as elders or lupon. The results further mean that all of the respondents are members of one or several organizations which reflect their conviction of being united.

Meaning of Inayan as perceived by the respondents



Table 8 presents the meaning of Inayan as perceived by the respondents.

Definitions	Frequency	Percentage
Inayan is the only command given by Kabunyan to man	1	3.23
Inayan breeds all the values like respect, love and peace.	1	3.23
Inayan is not doing bad acts towards others.	29	93.55

The table reveals that two of the respondents gave the best definition of Inayan. The oldest of the Igorot elders here in Kalinga, Manuel Na-oy, defined it as: if God gave the Christians the Ten Commandments to followed by man to obtain a peaceful and God fearing society, Inayan is the one and only command that Kabunyan or the Supreme Being has directed Lumawig to bring here on earth. However, the Igorots were the only ones who followed the command wholeheartedly. Inayan is the summary of the Ten Commandments that God has given to the Christians. Similarly, Lagmay (2012) also mentions that Inayan has a religious overtone as it cites a moral from the Ten Commandments, illustrates the popular significance if Inayan as a warning or caution.

One of the respondents also defined Inayan, an Anglican priest, as the principle that breeds other values like respect, peace and love to the creations of God. Not only towards human beings, but also to all creations of God which includes the protection of the environment. Respect towards the environment is reflected in one of the practices of the Igorots where in before they cut old trees, they offer a prayer to the “adikaila” believed to be a Supreme Being that can’t be seen who owns the tree. This is most especially if you cut the tree for family use. The respondent further explained this by citing an example. According to him, it is practiced by the Igorots that when trees are used to build a house, Igorots always dress a chicken or butcher a pig to be offered to the Supreme Being as a form of thanksgiving because he provided the materials in making an abode for himself. Of which in the Old Testament, our ancestors has been doing similar activities of giving thanksgiving offering in the form of animals to the unseen God. This reflects the sign of respect that we give to the gifts we receive from God that enable us to survive.

This was corroborated by Fiar-od (2013) in her paper where she said, the protection of the communal forest system referred as *botangan or saguday* of Besao and Sagada is rooted on the concept, “The higher level of adherence to the sense of Inayan, the higher the degree of protection of the communal forest.” As a result, less forest burns, less illegal logging.



Inayan is showing respect towards man and nature, and man towards man. As perceived by one of the respondents, this is a principle that the Igorots practiced even when Christianity did not yet reach the Cordillera. They believe that there is someone who is guiding them and leading them to do something good.

If the value of Inayan is embedded in you, then you are always blessed by Kabunyan. Therefore, do not ever do anything against the law of Kabunyan even the simplest mistake of uttering bad words against others.

As revealed 29 or 93.55% of the respondents or most of them defined Inayan as not doing bad acts towards others. The following are some examples the respondents mentioned to better explain the principle:

It is bad to hurt others feelings through words and actions. If they do you wrong it would be better to lift it to God so as not to make the problem big that would create a bigger problem.

One should always think of the future consequences of his/her actions before doing something bad towards others. According to the respondents, it's Inayan to do bad acts towards others because fate might make them "men kaising" or be related because of their children or grandchildren getting married. However, if for instance the parents or relatives of a couple had misunderstandings, a ritual called Palanga will be done during the wedding so that all the misunderstandings and misgivings will be cleansed and both families will start a new life with better relationships for the sake of their children. This ritual is done during the traditional wedding ceremony where in prayers will be offered to the "adikaila" or Kabunyan asking Him to guide the family for a better life.

It is Inayan to commit adultery because whatever actions you have done, might also happen to the children or the grandchildren might be the ones who will suffer the consequences of the act.

It is Inayan not to help other people because we always need others. Most especially, you must know how to help your neighbour because they will be the first people to help you in times of need.

It is Inayan if we don't listen to the advices of parents and elders because they know what is best for their children.

It is Inayan to curse because your curse might happen to the family instead.



It is Inayan to say bad words against your parents most especially when they are already old and they have unpredictable behaviours because you might be worse than them when you will be of their age in the future. Another thing, according to one of the respondents, we are just counting the minutes, hours and days before they will be taken by our maker.

It is Inayan to look down on others. You should always think of what might happen in the future. Like what if the children of both sides will get married.

It is Inayan for couples to fight in front of their children. The children might not show respect towards the parents.

Based from the examples above, old and young alike, the Igorots believe that Inayan is a principle that prohibits an individual to do something wrong or bad most especially towards other people. It is a practiced principle of not going against the law of Kabunyan because the wrath of Kabunyan might be worst.

Because of the influence of technology and the yearning for material things, the value of respect and love towards all of the creations of God is diminished. For this reason, one of the respondents said, if only all men has put in their hearts and mind the principle of Inayan then we will all be enjoying life peacefully.

The above mentioned definitions of Inayan corroborates with Solang when he said that Inayan is a community value similarly known as karma or the concept of “ you reap what you sow.” In like manner, Todcor also defines Inayan as taboo, bad or a vilation while Fiarod summarizes all views by saying Inayan is a value, belief, strategy, customary law governed in the dap-ay, natural law or principle, strategy for discipline, biblical commandment and a process towards reconciling culture, religion and education for transformation.

Frequency of practicing Inayan by the respondents			
Situations when Inayan is practiced	Percentage frequency		
	All of the time	Most of the Time	Sometimes
Unmindful Killings	100	0	0
Accidents	100	0	0
Theft	100	0	0
Squatting	100	0	0
Multa	100	0	0



As gleaned from the table, all of the respondents agree that in the chosen situations, they practice Inayan all the time. This implies that no matter what differences the respondents have as to age, work, religion and community involvement, they all believe that Inayan has much to do in the observance of peace among themselves and the community.

It is Inayan to retaliate when one is mistakenly killed because we do not own the person's life. It is God's responsibility to punish those who do wrong. In situations like this, men will do a ritual called "Daw-es" where a dog is butchered then three elders will sit and face each other and pray and lift their pains and anger to Kabunyan. They will pray to Him that he will be responsible to the person who committed the crime so that he will not victimize other people. Then through their chants and rituals as if they will instruct the dead to be the one to look for the person who caused his death.

Inayan is also used all the time in situations of accidents, particularly vehicular accidents. It is Inayan to ask for payment from those who committed the accident. To put it in the words of the respondents "ay wadaymanglalayadsimaaksidente" in translation, no one wants to cause accidents. Because of this idea, those who caused the accident will only be asked to help in the expenses like having the vehicle of the victim be repaired. If the victim was just hurt, they will only help in the hospitalization. But if the victim died, they are asked to help during the wake by providing the things needed like, rice or pig to be butchered. They do not accept money as a sort of help because according to them this can't be used in any way. It can't even be inherited. And, if they intend to help, these should be given during the wake because whatever help that is given after will no longer be needed. It is Inayan to ask too much from those who caused the accident because unavoidable accidents happen all the time. What if the same will be experienced by your family?

The ritual of "Daw-es" will also be done in times of accidents. This is to stop the bad luck and to pray that there will be no accidents to happen in the future.

There was an incident that happened where an old woman died due to a vehicular accident. The family of those who caused the accident immediately brought sacks of rice and a pig to the victim's house. From there, the family did not ask for anything else but to hold on to their belief that everything happens with a reason and no one ever wanted the accident to happen.



It is also Inayan to steal because it's bad to feed your family with what you have stolen. In case one of the members of the family stole something, a ritual called "Tingiting" will be done so that his bad attitude of stealing will be stopped. This ritual will be done outside the house. A chicken will be dressed and prayers will be offered to Kabunyan for guidance. After the ritual, everything that was worn by the members of the family and all that was used in the ritual will be left outside the house and be brought to a place where they will not be touched by anyone. The members of the family will not eat the food that was cooked to avoid being "mabutot" or they will be inflicted by an unexplainable sickness where in the stomach will become bigger. Only those who did the ritual will eat the cooked food. The family will also stay inside the house for twenty four hours and they should keep the fire in the "dalikan" or hearth to keep burning. On the third day after the "Tingiting", "Daw-es" is done to cleanse the family of bad luck. According to the respondents, this worked effectively and the stealer always stopped stealing.

If they are victims of stealing, they will just ask the stealer to return what was stolen. If he can no longer return it, then give him advices and if requested by the family, the ritual of "Tingiting" will also be done for him. But if the stealer is not known, once again the elders will do "Daw-es" to make the stealer return what was stolen. According to the respondents, many evidences occurred that whatever was stolen was returned by the unknown stealer.

Inayan is also practiced in Land grabbing or squatting by letting the person who did the squatting pay what he has taken. It is Inayan to have them be "masapo" a ritual that will inflict them harm because once again, you have to think of the future. If you have let them be harmed, it would be shameful if in the future one of the children or grandchildren of both families will get married. And for some, the "Daw-es" will also be done hoping that the land grabber will realize his mistake and stop what he is doing.

Asking for "Multa" or blood money is taboo. It is Inayan to ask for this because you should not feed your family with it. Think of the future too. If you ask for "multa" you might incur a bigger one.

In these situations, all the respondents believe that Inayan helps a lot in the preservation of peace among the people in the society because they fear of misfortune as a consequence of bad acts towards others. As Fiar-od said (2012) as a customary law, Inayan was invoked



along attainment of spirituality, peace, prosperity and abundance, either personally, morally, socially, religiously and purposely.

Solution of cases using different modes of settlement

Cases	Inayan	Other Means	
		Amicable Settlement	Legal Settlement
Killings	31	0	24
Accidents	31	1	4
Theft	31	0	1
Land Disputes	31	0	4

The table reflects that in all of the indicated cases, the Igorots do not practice retaliation or revenge because of their belief that God has given us life therefore it is only Him who can determine what will happen to our life. This reflects how much the Igorots are really peaceful people because of their fear of the worst if they do the same bad actions to others. They do not also practice amicable settlements to solve some problems or situations because according to the respondents again, this will not solve the problem. It may be the easiest possible way of solving cases so that there will no longer be much argument but according to the respondents "Inayantay nan kumasin" which means, it's bad to accept money in solving cases because it might happen to you in the future. The elders advice the younger generation to always think of the future of their children before doing something that might make them be ashamed to face people including those whom they have had disagreements with.

It is also revealed in the table that 100% of the respondents let Kabunyan be responsible of those who do wrong towards them. In the case of killing, if the killer is not identified and the family would accept the incident as something that is inevitable, they would always resort to doing the "Daw-es". But once the killer is identified, 24 of the respondents said that the case should be solved through legal settlement so that the one who committed the crime will be the only one to suffer the consequences of his actions.

In cases of accidents, most especially vehicular accidents, the Igorots believe that vehicular accidents are not intentionally done. The victims will therefore only ask for help in the medical expenses that will be incurred. One of the respondents even said, " et ay nu umali da men pakawan et ay ngan di ikakana" in translation, if they will come and ask for



forgiveness what else should still be done. However, two of the respondents also said that the case can also be coursed through the court if those who committed the crime will not ask for forgiveness and will not cooperate in the solution of the problem. Only one of them said that amicable settlements can also be done but not to ask for too much. This implies that since no one wanted the accident to happen, the respondents all agree that the incident was not intentional therefore, to continuously have peaceful relationship with each other, those who caused the accident just need to be humble enough to accept the responsibility and do what is right and just.

Theft is another case where Inayan is used. All of the respondents once again chose to uplift their problems to Kabunyan. There was only one among them who said to let the law deal with those that steal while at the same time saying to let Kabunyan punish those who did wrong. This reflects the attitude of the Igorots that if simple things will be stolen, most often they would just say “anyangayngarud” or well we can’t do anything. For instance their animals were stolen, they would just say maybe the person does not have something to eat. As was mentioned earlier, most of the time they resort to prayers though the “Daw-es” in finding their stolen properties.

Citing an example, according to one respondent, a store owned by an Igorot was robbed. The owner requested the elders to perform the Daw-es hoping that the stealers will return the amount of money they have stolen. Three days after the conduct of the Daw-es, the owner found the stolen money in the trash can placed near the door of his store.

Another situation cited by one of the respondents was an experience by an Igorot lawyer. The newly bought bicycle of his grandson was stolen so again, the attorney asked some elders to perform the Daw-es hoping that the bicycle will be returned. A week after, the bicycle was found parked in the gasoline station near their house.

This implies that all of the respondents agree that stealing is an act that can be corrected and these can be stopped by giving advices and by doing some rituals. Some of them even said, “awnit da isublitybasta da binulod” which means, they only borrowed what they have taken so they will return it.

Even in land disputes or land grabbing, the Igorots won’t resort to hurting people in solving problems like these. According to some of the respondents, it’s better to talk it over and let them pay whatever is required of them. If they don’t want to do things through



communication, they will resort to having the problem be resolved in court. But in some cases where violence is a sort of solving the problem, the Igorots would rather get out from the disputed land or they will do the Daw-es" hoping that the land grabber will not hurt the owners of the land.

All of them prefer to let Kabunyan punish those who do wrong towards man. By doing this, they will retain peace among themselves as individuals and also to the society. But there are instances when they also resort to letting the law take its course. This is when the concerned individuals do not cooperate in the solution of the problem.

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Based from the findings and discussions above, it is therefore concluded that:

1. Inayan is defined to be the only command given by Kabunyan to the Igorots to have a peaceful and progressive life; it is a principle that breeds all values like respect, love and peace; and it is a principle of not doing bad acts towards others.
2. Igorots believe that Inayan has much to do in the preservation and maintenance of peace in the society.
3. Igorots resort to traditional practices like the "Daw-es" and legal settlement in the solution of problems if parties involved are unknown and do not cooperate.
4. Igorots believe that retaliation or revenge is not the best option in solving cases. They believe that Kabunyan has the sole responsibility in punishing the people who did wrong. In this manner, problems will be resolved peacefully.

X. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the summary of findings, the following recommendations are given:

1. The principle of Inayan be disseminated to the younger generation through the curriculum;
2. That the practices and rituals will be fully documented to be used as references;
3. To develop instructional materials that will advocate the principle of Inayan;

XI. RESOURCES

1. Fiar-od, C. IK Manifested in the Sense of Inayan, A paper presented during the Seminar on IK, Benguet State University, Dec. 13,2012.
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3. William Todcor, W. InayanyaKasiyana, Taboo and Hopefully.
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5. <http://www.zamboanga.com>. Mountain Province, Philippines. (Downloaded,
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6. <http://en.wikipedia.org>. Peace (Downloaded July 23,2013)
7. (<http://www.carla.umn.edu>)
8. (www.tamu.edu)

XII. RESOURCE PERSONS

1. Manuel Na-oy
2. AmaBisoy
3. Bernard Liwan
4. Henry Esteban Patnaan
5. Bumes-agBiteng
6. Albert Gayumba
7. AmaBumal-o
8. Fr. Pasikan
9. Ester Liwan
10. Dante Likigan
11. Dante Na-oy Jr.
12. Carmen Colangan
13. Norma Bosaing
14. MarcelinaBandoc
15. Marcos Patnaan