THE MIGRANTS OF KALINGA: FOCUS ON THEIR LIFE AND EXPERIENCES

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Abstract: This study is a descriptive-historical research on the life and experiences of migrants in Kalinga. This was conducted to understand the life migrants and the challenges they faced as they transferred residence. The participants of the study are the migrants of Kalinga aged 55 and above. Interview was the primary method used in gathering data for the study. An interview guide was used as a basis for questioning while note-taking was done by the researcher to document the information supplied by the participants. All conversations were also recorded through a tape recorder. Secondary resources such as researches, books and articles were used to further explain the results of the study.

Results of the study revealed that the life of migrants is not just as easy, they faced a lot of challenges after migrating. They experienced financial difficulties, problems in relation to bodong, fear of Kalingas due to political conflicts, land grabbing, health problems, tribal wars, and differences in beliefs and religion.

In view of the aforementioned findings and conclusions, the following topics are hereby recommended that this research will be a basis of the government of Kalinga as they create programs that involve migrants and as they review the implementation of bodong in their locale.

Keywords: Migrants, focus, life, experiences, Kalinga

INTRODUCTION

One of the most difficult decisions a person can make is to leave the place where he used to live and transfer to a new community with more opportunities than the former. However, the concept of migration would be better understood if the real purpose of migrating is asked and heard directly from the person desiring for change – the migrant.

As an independent being, an individual holds the decision of where he would be going and how he would run his life. His capacity to think and act freely gives him the ability to transfer to any place which he thinks can give success to him and to his family as well. Moreover, it cannot be denied that every individual has his own needs, not just in the physical and emotional aspects, but even in the economic and political areas. And since a man cannot live alone, his social needs should also be met in the new society where he chose to live. On
the other hand, there are still other factors that contribute to the decision of the migrant. Some of these are family, culture and environment. Considering the state of migration worldwide, such decision may be brought by the combined factors provoking a person to look for a better living.

According to (Perez 36) that was mention in the study of Tamayao (1999) a number of studies proved that even during the 1960s, 13 percent of the population of the Philippines are living in places different from where they were born. Such data has been increasing and these are significant information used in studies related to migration.

In 1970, it was proven in a study conducted by Flieger, et al. that the number of residents living in municipalities different from their communities in 1960 increased up to five million. Fifty-one percent of the given number even crossed borders of regions while 14 percent transferred to different provinces (Tamayao,12).

It is clear in the data that Filipinos love to take opportunities of greener pasture, though it may lead them to other places.

Being Filipinos, we also try to meet their basic needs in different ways. One of the most effective means they find is through migration. A lot of documents in history would prove that Ilocanos, Tagalogs, Cagayanos, Bagos, are active in terms of migration as they move to different provinces and towns in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR). In a study conducted by Smith, these migrants have been the most represented group in the population of CAR, Cagayan Valley and Central Luzon. It is also remarkable that Cagayan, which was a land for Ibanag, Itawes and Malauegs before, are now being inhabited by the migrants. Based on a census conducted by the National Statistics Office (NSO) in 1995, Cagayan has a total number of 895,050 residents. From such data, 73.3 percent are migrants, 13.5 percent are Ibanag, 13.4 percent are Itawes and the remaining 1.3 percent are Malaweg (Tamayao,80).

However, despite the statistics, the factors contributing to such number has not yet been studied. With this, it is necessary to analyse the flow of migration. This study aims to discuss the migrants along with the challenges that arise from the said action. These stories and more became the focus of this study. It assessed the different faces of migration from the heart and mind of the migrants themselves – in Kalinga.
PLACE OF THE STUDY

Kalinga Province

This study was conducted in Tabuk City, Kalinga province which proved to be a common residence of most Ilocanos. Based on the history, Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) is one of the regions not totally conquered by the Spaniards due to the strong culture of its natives. Spaniards had tried a lot of times to colonize such communities but failed to do so. Conquering the city was a bit more successful during the American period (Cawed 65).

If other regions in the country are rich in water resources, CAR, on the other hand, have a lot of mineral resources like gold, silver, zinc and bronze. Economically, farming is the main source of income of its residents (“Philippine Islands.” Cordillera Administrative Region in Luzon Philippines. N.p., n.d. Web. 15 July 2014).

Moreover, CAR is rich culturally. It is known for a lot of festivals such as Panagbenga Festival of Baguio, Ullalim Festival of Kalinga, Lang-ay Festival ng Mountain Province, Banaue Imbayan Festival and Tabuk Matagoan Festival. Aside from this, the region is also rich in tangible heritage. The beauty of Sumaguing Cave in Sagada and Payew Race Terraces were declared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific Cultural Organization as Worlds Heritage Site located in the areas of Ifugao. Meanwhile, CAR was formed in lieu of Executive Order 220 released on July 15, 1987. It is composed of Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, Mt. Province, Baguio City and Kalinga-Apayao (Scott, 1987). In February 14, 1995, Kalinga and Apayao became two separate provinces as decreed by Executive Order 7878 amending the former order released on June 18, 1966 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalinga-Apayao).

Map of Kalinga Province

(Source: http://www.mapsofworld.com/philippines/provinces/kalinga.html)
Kalinga province is composed of eight (8) municipalities. These are Tabuk, Rizal, Tanudad, Pinukpuk, Balbalan, Pasil, Lubuagan and Tinglayan. Based on the latest census in 2010, the total population of the province reached 201,613 living in a 704,760 land area/hectares. People in the province are also called Kalinga. Moreover, 64.4% of the population is composed of Kalinga and the 24 percent are Ilocanos. The remaining percent are composed of ethnic groups such as Botoc, Bago, Tagalog, etniko, Ytawis/Ibanag and Muslim.

**METHODOLOGY**

This paper was based on the experiences of the migrants which are the primary source of information for the research. The profile of the participants were also studied including the history and experiences of their migration. The information gleaned from the experience migrant people was supplemented with a thorough library research talked about the same phenomena from more or less the same time frame.

**The migration of migrants in Kalinga**

It has been observed that most of the migrants in Kalinga are staying in the city of Tabuk, because according to the respondents Tabuk was their first destination. The city of Tabuk was once called the “Valley of Gamonangs,” the Kalinga tribe who had dominated Northern Kalinga centuries ago. This tribe was hostile and antagonistic which provoked anger from the Southern Kalingas and resulted to tribal wars. Soon, an epidemic followed which almost wiped out the Gamonang tribe. The survivors fled to the hills bordering the provinces of Isabela and the old Mt. Province. Since then, the valley became a “No Man’s Land” and was left to deers, wild hogs, wild horses, wild dogs and wild carabaos. Repopulation began shortly before the First World War. The American government sent six volunteer pioneers from sitio Tobog and Lubuagan to re-inhabit the place. The Lubuagan natives died of malaria, which left only the settlers from Tobog to continue to till the soil at Laya. They were later joined by their relatives from Tobog. Between 1922 and 1923, the second group of settlers came from Bontoc and decided to settle then formed a colony at barangay Bantay. Another group from Bontoc and Cervantes, Ilocos Sur was brought to Tuga and was supplied with necessary farm tools including mosquito nets and kitchen utensils. Their success inspired the settlers to cross the Chico River and moved eastward right into the heart of the valley. They were then followed by migrants from La Union. Malaria casualties continuously depleted the number of these pioneers but they held on. In the early 1930s, the dawn of the
new era for the town began with the coming of the Bureau of Lands Survey Party. Four groups of municipal executives held reign before Tabuk became a regular municipality on June 16, 1950 pursuant to Republic Act 533, an Act of Congress. The road networks connecting Tabuk to the Cagayan Valley and to Baguio via Bontoc brought in more settlers and investments which fast tracked the economic development of the town. The economy was purely agro-based and was doubly hastened by the completion of the Chico River Irrigation System. The establishment of banks gave credit opportunities and business started to bloom. Cooperatives were organized, schools were put up and bus terminals were established. The name of the valley came from the word “Tobog,” the name of a living stream with cool and fresh water flowing from sitio Paligatto in barangay Balawag down to the Chico River. The areas traversed by this stream were also called Tobog. The name later on evolved to the term Tabuk.

Tabuk is now a fifth class city with an income of P110, 414,133.00 in 2007. It is prominently considered as the rice granary of the Cordillera due mainly of agriculture getting the largest area from the pie of which the bulk of production is on rice where it even supplies other places. The city has also produced outstanding farmers at the national level for the last two decades. The city is also the site of the proposed Regional Agro-Industrial Center which aims to further develop the city and make it the agro-industrial center of the region (http://www.tabuk.gov.ph/).

Meanwhile, for a long years of staying in the province of Kalinga, the migrants was able to build their identity. The province of Kalinga specifically barangay Casigayan of Tabuk City was duly acknowledged as an independent barangay unit on July 10, 1995 by virtue of Provincial Ordinance No.85-05. The Local government officials coined the term “Casigayan” in order to give due recognition to the pioneer inhabitants who were known to be migrants from Sigay, a town identified as predominant community of the Bagos in Ilocos Sur. This became possible because in 1939, the Bureau of Lands opened Tabuk for homestead partitioning. Migrant settlers, especially the Bagos, heard about the fertility of the land and opportunities for survival. As a result, they came in large numbers and they brought with them traditions and practices that helped them cope with the challenges of the new environment (Clemente; 2011 p38-56).
Based on the NSO Census IN 2010, Tabuk is one of the favorite destinations of migrants. Of 103, 912 residents of Tabuk, 7.52 percent are migrants. Migrants first set foot in Kalinga during the administration of Governor Walter Hale. The said official sent six groups of volunteer settlers in Tabuk. Three groups were sent in Lubuagan while the other three went to Tobog. Those in Lubuagan were affected by malaria. There were also some groups from Cervantes, Ilocos Sur who went to Tabuk. Allo Caparas of Constabulary Academy of Baguio was assigned as the primary officer to attend to the needs of the Ilocano migrants. Considering the malaria outbreak, Vicente Buslig, a nurse, was sent to check the health of the migrants. These Ilocano groups were headed by Turcuat Gallema and Fulgencio Candelario. They are composed of 20 to 30 families. Because of this, Tuga, Tabuk was considered as one of the Ilocano colonies in the area. Their territory expanded even up to Gobgob and Cabaritan. Some of the families included in the group were that of Bernardo Baruzo, Agustin Reyes, Fernandez siblings, Gregorio Gallema, Abongan siblings, Binoloc, Pedro Agliam, Pedro Tovera, Sixto Daguio and Aurelio Macabio. In 1930, land areas in Tabuk were divided with the help of a survey conducted by the Bureau of Lands. These areas were distributed to the first residents of Tabuk not just as residential areas but also as agricultural lands. There were also some Ilocano groups called the Bago from Sigay, Ilocos Sur. The group was led by Pedro Balacang and Leon Bangisan. They lived in Ubbog, the former capital of Tabuk. They transferred later on to the east of Baligatan and west of Dilag. This area is presently called Casigayan due to the residents from Sigay, Ilocos Sur. Those in Casigayan were not just Ilocanos, but also have roots from the Igorot. A lot of other groups that were formed also transferred to Tabuk and lived in the valleys called Dagupan (Pagdadagupan ti tatiao). At present, it is called Poblacion as the center of economic, political and societal activities. Some Ilocanos from Tagudin, Ilocos Sur resided in Lubuagan. Though there were a lot of Ilocanos in the area, they still avoid some places because of rumors about headhunting. Due to the fact that most Ilocanos in Kalinga are poor, their main source of income were the agricultural land areas. Some of them were farmers of their own properties while some were just tenants of real land owners. The Chico River Project helped a lot in their farming. After meeting their basic needs like food, they were selling the remaining harvest as agricultural products. They also feed pigs and hens for a living. A portion of their income was allotted for the education of their children. While some
ventured into trade, some became employed in some agencies. After their work in the office, they would still check their farms. It has been a must for them to protect their lands since most Kalingas grab their areas. For the Kalingas, their ancestors were the first land owners, thus giving them the right to such land areas which they think must be returned to them (Tovera,116).

The life and challenges after migration

A person who migrates to another place, no matter how positive and strong his ideals are, still experiences problems in life that can serve as a foundation to be stronger and braver to continue his life and succeed in his situation.

In an article of UN World Youth report, a lot of people are excited to transfer to a new place. However, he still encounters a lot of challenges brought about by such migration. Hesperian Health Guides even added that more challenges await the migrants because aside from adjustments that they have to make, they also have to fix relationship with their family and the management of the resources that they have. In line with this, Radou even mentioned that if a person knows what he has to do in a certain place, this will help him solve the problems posed by migration.

In a book written by Castles and Davidson, it was discussed that migrant can experience problems in their new homes like language, religion and clothing. If a migrant wants to be part of the community, he has to have a commonality with the old residents of the place (80).

In this study, the researcher found out that the Ilocano migrants experienced problems in the following aspects:

Financial Problem(kinarigat ti kwarta).

According to the participants, since Kalinga specifically in Tabuk City is a place of wild animals, there could be no other source of livelihood but farming of agricultural products. That was why when they came to Kalinga, they started cultivating the land and using their carabao and plow. They eventually planted vegetables, corn, rice and other crops.

“inagawaan mi ti agmula ti kumpurmi a natnateng nga mabalin agbiag ta awan met ti mulmula idi ditoy nu diket puro ruot lang, tinartarimaan mi ti dagdaga tapnu mabalin nga pagmulaan mi gamin nu haan mi nga aramiden a ket mabisinan kami ditoy”
(I immediately planted anything that may grow because there were no crops here before, just tall grass. So we cultivated the land because if we do not do that, we will get hungry). (Cag-way, pers.comm).

In a report of Camille Diol, 52 percent of the Filipinos work hard to be able to rise up from poverty while 30 percent are experiencing very poor conditions. Also, 34 percent the Filipinos who have jobs still find it difficult to manage their finances. Also, other residents find it difficult to migrate, hence, they just sacrifice living their poor lives. Because of this, like Ilocano migrants, people use different strategies to fight poverty. However, it did not become easy for them to plant rice since the growth of their crops depend on the rain. There were times that they would just harvest once a year. They have to store such rice so they will have food until the next harvest.

“idi nari gat ti pagay ta maminsan lang kami nga agani ti makatawen gapu ta umasasa kami lang ti tudio ket nu awan tudo haenan nga agbiag ti mula mi, isu nga ti ikaskasta mi idulin mi a ti bagas mi tapnu adda abasto nga kanen mi”

(Before, it was really difficult to plant rice, we seldom harvest every year because we depend on the rain. We just store the harvest so we can have something to eat) (Ramos, pers.comm).

In an article, Antonio La Viña of Ateneo School of Government, since the climate is changing, farmers also need to adjust the time of planting and harvest. Aside from the need for irrigation through the rain, excessive rain can also destroy the crops. The farmers also lack equipment needed after harvest to fully keep and preserve the harvest. Though they have a harvest, the income is still not enough. Hence, they still experience financial problems. Their harvest is their only source of income.

On the other hand, the farmers also find it hard to look for buyers or stores to where they can sell or trade their products. They even need to go to a nearby town like Tuguegarao and Isabela to sell or trade agricultural products with their basic needs like sugar, salt, etc.

In an article entitled Getting through Tough Times, trade, even before, is done especially when money is not sufficient. A person can use a product or service and engage it in barter in exchange for a basic need. It was also mentioned in an article entitled Having Goods for Bartering that a person trades a product which he has the most in exchange of something that he lacks, particularly if he does not have the resources to buy such. This was what
Ilocanos did during those times that they had financial difficulties and their crops were the only products they have.

“parikut mi nga unay ah ti kwarta ta awan met ti aglako ken aggatang ditoy idi ti anani mi nga natnateng ken prutas isu nga ti ikasta mi iyapan mi pay idiay sabali nga ili isukat mi ti kumpurmi nga mausar mi ti kusina”

(Finances became a problem because we do not have a place to sell our products. That was why we traded our fruits and vegetables in exchange of the kitchen utensils and other things that we need). (Compas, pers.comm).

However, amidst financial difficulties, it was still evident that the life in Kalinga is much easier compared to the place where they came from. Before, they cannot eat if they do not have any money. Meanwhile, in Kalinga, they can steel eat three times a day even with financial difficulty because there are products they can eat for free such as fish, vegetables and fruits.

“haan ka nga mabisinan ditoy Tabuk ta adu idi ti masida nga lamlames ti karayan ken natnateng ti paraangan, basta nagaget ka lang nga agbiruk”

(Here in Tabuk, we can always get fish in the river and vegetables in the surroundings, as long as the person is diligent and is willing to work hard). (Fontanilya, pers.comm).

That was why the participants were very happy that they have migrated to Kalinga. They also believe that time will come that their way of living can also change and they were correct.

Based on Romeo Cleto’s study, the life of the farmers changed when irrigation started in Kalinga. Among the recorded 345 020 hectares of land in Northwestern Luzon in 1980-1981, 57.1 percent or 1199 060 hectares have irrigation. In the provincial level, Pangasinan has the highest potential, followed by Ilocos Norte and the third is Kalinga-Apayao (29).

In an article entitled Agriculture and Farming, a successful agriculture is based on an appropriate water system since the climate is constantly changing. Irrigation is very important so that the food supply will not be affected. Irrigation helps farmers to continue the planting and harvesting cycle even without rain.

Problem with the implementation of Bodong (parikut mi ti panangusar dagiti kalinga iti bodong kadakami)
An individual needs to socialize and befriend other people for him to achieve total freedom, peace, justice and prosperity. For his socialization to make sense, an individual actively participates in the exchange of knowledge, livelihood, culture and politics. He also considers the rights, honor and interest as an individual while adhering to the rules of the society he is dealing with.

In the book of Caroline Hodges Persell entitled *Understanding Society: Introduction to Sociology*, socialization prepares the new members of the society to act, think and feel in accordance to how the residents live. It is compared to child rearing, teaching the kids a new game, introducing new members to an organization, or how a migrant socializes with the lives and culture of the new society he is in.

This is the same thing that happened with the Ilocano migrants in Kalinga. They continue adapting to the society of the residents of Kalinga to achieve a peaceful life. They participate in the different activities of the society, attend essential occasions of the Kalinga, help uplift the economic status of the place, share their own knowledge especially with farming, and most especially respect other’s culture. That was why the participants did not find it difficult to mingle with the residents of Kalinga.

According to the participants, their efforts to be in good terms with the residents of Kalinga paid off as they were able to build a good relationship with them as most of them became their friends. Some of them even became part of their family.

According to a book entitled *Effective Discipline through Filipino Values*, Filipinos came from the Malay race who loves to socialize and are friendly people. Win or lose, Malays learned to accept the situation and go with the flow of the society.

In a study conducted by the *Political and Economic Risk Constituency* in Hong Kong, it was revealed that the Filipinos, of all people in Asia, are the most friendly.

However, despite the positive characteristic of the Filipinos and the positive experiences of the Ilocanos, there is a Kalinga culture that became a problem between the two groups. It is called bodong (Kalinga law). According to a study of Mrs. Marilou D. Alngag entitled *The Bodong as an Indigenous Political Institution for Good Governance among the Kalingas: A case study*, bodong is implemented to protect the lives, freedom and territory for the Kalinga’s development. The implementation of bodong is centered on the protection of the
lives of Kalingas wherein a punishment will be given after a sin is committed. This punishment is in a form of material or sometimes, death (138).

Bodong is a powerful law followed by Kalingas. It serves as their protection against rival tribes and those who hurt them. Through bodong, justice becomes easier for them. The panglakayen (eldest leader of the tribe) strictly implements the rules and regulations under bodong.

According to a study of Ayang-ang of Baguio Colleges Foundation, bodong was designed to maintain peace and camaraderie among tribes. In a book entitled The Kalinga Hilltribe of the Philippines, Sugguiyao explained that bodong united the two tribes to maintain peace and order in the community. This will help them develop their livelihood and achieve their successful state not only in their finances but in their total personality as well (41).

Prill-Brett added in a study about political institutions in Cordillera, there are important steps in the implementation of Bodong. First is sipat which pertains to the exchange of two things that are of equal importance so that an agreement between the two parties will take place. The second one is simsim, a ritual conducted in the place of the party who wants to have the agreement. Third is lonok which pertains to a celebration where delegates from each tribe are invited. The fourth is doinat wherein gift giving also takes place.

In every crime or sin committed against Kalingas, an equivalent punishment is given as a payment. According to Prof. Manolo Ballug, a panglakayen (eldest leader of the tribe), there is a specific payment for every crime committed as stated in bodong. Such payment includes carabaos, land, money, bungor or beads (Kalinga’s necklaces).

However, this beneficial law for Kalingas became a problem for the participants because some Kalingas abused the power of bodong. Such law is implemented even with very small mistakes. Ilocano migrants are immediately asked for money or animal as payment. They were even threatened if they cannot give what is being asked. Even though it is stated that bodong cannot be implemented for those who are not part of the tribe like Ilocanos, Tagalog and people from Cagayan, it is still not followed due to some Kalingas who prioritize their own interests. However, when Kalingas commit mistakes to Ilocanos, bodong is not implemented.

“parikut mi unay dayta bodong ti kalinga ta pati kanyami ipakat da ket haan kami met nga kalinga, dakami lang met ti kaykayat da nga pakatan ti bodong ta
“pamulultaen da kami, ket gapu ta haan mi ammu ti ugali da a ket agbubuteng kami kapilitan nga ited mi”

(Bodong was really a problem for us because they constantly use it against us. The more difficult part is, they use it only against us and we really pay fines. Since we don’t really know much about their attitude, we are afraid, hence, we just give what they want).

(Eugenio, pers. Comm).

In an article entitled The Pagta: Kalinga’s No. 1 Contribution to the RP’s National Culture Treasure, some groups are not in favor of bodong. For them, bodong is not a productive law amidst other laws in the country. Bodong, for them, is old school, and it is time to implement new laws in the country. They even added that some politicians use bodong for their own interests. This type of abuse is considered prostitution of the real idea of bodong. Moreover, for the participants and other Ilocano migrants, bodong creates a negative implication since they always became victims of the said law. They cannot even approach pangat (tribal leaders) because they are not Kalingas and that they do not belong to any tribe.

An example of this is Mr. Madarang’s experience, his brother died as a victim of ‘mistaken identity’. According to him, his younger brother died because he was mistaken to be part of the tribal war of Kalingas. In this situation, Madarang’s family tried to file a case in court to acquire justice for his brother’s death. However, nobody wanted to testify because of fear. His brother’s life was put to waste due to that incident.

In an article written by James-Johnson, it was mentioned that witnesses would normally choose to be silent that families sometimes even beg just for them to testify in court. They have to understand that keeping the information to themselves will create a negative impact to the society.

To ease the pain and to be able to move on from the tragic death of his brother, Madarang and his family just tried forgetting and laying down everything to the Lord. Because of their faith, they were able to endure the situation and decided not to leave the place.

“makaammun tun ti Apo Dios sen ta kuna na met ni Apo Dios nga dakes ti agibales siak ti agibales kunana met.Suta haan kamin nga pumanpanaw ditoy” (Madarang, pers. comm).
(We did not leave this place because the Lord says, vengeance is His. He will give justice to what happened).

In an article entitled Filipino’s Transcendent Faith, in a country whose people face a lot of problems like the Philippines, to pray and have faith in God is their greatest option. For most Filipinos, the concept of God revolves around the belief that God is a great being whom they can share their thoughts with especially during times of trials and pain.

This cases of abuse of bodong is the reason why some Kalingas are not afraid to commit crimes. They become arrogant and proud because they have a tribe and bodong as a law which can protect them.

This is the same as the experience of Felecisimo P. Salvador, 78 years old, from Abra. He came to Kalinga in 1955 because of the invitation of his relatives. During his stay in Kalinga, he persevered to obtain a land. Eventually, that dream was brought to life. Blessings overflow in his life. He even had a furniture business. However, he experienced a trial in his life which led to bankruptcy. A Kalinga died due to a car accident that involves them. They had to pay P300,000 as payment for the said crime. A pig and a carabao was even asked from them to be used for the ritual to be conducted by Kalingas. It was difficult for Mr. Salvador to rise up from that incident. He even added:

“kasta la unay ti rigat na nu migrante ka lang iti maysa nga lugar, karkaru ditoy Kalinga ta haan ka nga makaingar ti anya man nga kaugalyan nga ipakat da uray nu ibaga tayo ng aksidente lang iti nangyari. Ananusan mi lattan a ti sumurot iti ibaga da tapnu awan lang it gulo”

(It is really difficult to be a foreign in another land since you cannot contradict the tradition and culture of the residents. Even though it was just an accident, we can do nothing but just follow to avoid further troubles).

In an article of Rudiger and Spencer, it was explained that all migrants undergo a process of integration. They have to adapt to the current beliefs and practices of the new society they are living in. Such integration happens in a migrant because it is his responsibility to change his actions to adapt well to the practices acceptable to the community (4).

On the other hand, it is still not an option to leave the place since he is used to being in Kalinga and hit is where he get his source of living. He promised to stay and die in the place.
These experiences of the participant led him to lose trust in *bodong*. of Kalingas. They believe that they will not have a peaceful life if Kalingas will continue implementing bodong which can have a negative implication to them.

According to the writer and journalist in Kalinga, Mr. Estanislao Albano, Jr., it was thought the *bodong* is the root of barbarism in Kalinga, because there is a part in *bodong* wherein they celebrate the bravery of their warriors. Thus, their warriors become even braver.

“*bodong* is the root cause of the barbarism of kalinga, ta adda ngay dagijay part na ti selebrasyon ti bodong, adda diay parte na nga patakderen da dagiti known killers ipasindayag da dagidiy naaramidan da ti gubatan. Isu diay ti manmenvementain ti old mentality ti war likens gapu ta idaydayaw mu diay killers.Isu pay ti gapu na nu apay nga haan nga mawin o mapussot diyay violent nga nature da”. (Albano, pers. comm)

(*Bodong* is the source of barbarism in Kalinga because in one of their celebrations, they will give honor to the bravery of their warriors. This tradition makes it difficult to forget the aggressive character of the Kalingas).

Albano even added that many got angry because of his writings which says negative things about Kalinga’s tradition like that of *bodong*. He mentioned that they belittle his credibility to write because he is not even a Kalinga to know much about their culture. On the other hand, some participants mentioned that though they do not have a negative experience with some Ilocanos, they still have a grudge over them because they can witness what they are doing to their fellow llocano migrants.

This is the same with Mr. Artemio Buen’s experience. For him, he has no problem with Kalingas but he lost interest with them whenever he sees injustice being done against Ilocanos. He even added that no matter how beautiful the character of the Kalingas are, such is tainted due to the wrongdoings of some abusive Kalingas.

In an article entitled How HPI is helping end hunger and tribal wars in Kalinga, it was discussed how strong the Kalinga ties are. The victory of one is considered the victory of all. However, a sin of one is considered a sin of all. Though there are good Kalinga people, the participants of the study are affected by the actions of some Kalingas who have abused them.
Threats of Kalinga due to poverty (panangpabpabuteng dagiti Kalinga kadakami)

One of the most difficult situations experienced by the participants was whenever they are threatened by Kalingas due to politics. According to some participants, some Kalingas even pointed guns at them because they honestly fulfill their duties.

This was experienced by Mr. Samuel Tolentino from Ilocos. A Kalinga, who happened to be his opponent in politics, pointed a gun at him because he won as a barangay captain that time.

“I was given a death threat before because during that time that I was a barangay captain, we arrest thieves and those who steal motorcycles. Because of this, the family of the arrested suspects got angry and threatened our lives. But thanks to prayers and grace of God, they are still alive).

According to Mr. Tolentino, it was really difficult during that time because his family lived in fear. He admitted that he found it hard to move forward from that incident. He even decided to leave the place for fear of being killed. However, a lot stopped him especially his fellow Ilocanos. When he saw that he is not alone in his journey, he took the courage to stay.

In an article of Kelly Cherwin, being associated with a group brings peace and assurance to the residents that the place where they live in is safe. Moreover, association helps them support one another. In an article entitled Start a Support Group, though time is needed to start a support group, a group is a big help in solving problems. Andres discussed in his book (Ilocano Values) that Ilocanos have strong kinship ties. They do not want their fellow Ilocano to suffer, hence they make ways to help (39).

Meanwhile, a lot persuaded Mr. Tolentino to ask payment from those gave him death threats. However, goodness still prevailed in his heart, so instead of asking something from those who threatened him, he showed a good example.
“haan nak nga agpamulta nga kasla ti araramiden da nga isuda ti agpamulta nu adda mangyari kanyada ta ti importante haan nga maululiten tapnu agsubli sigud ti relasyon ti maysa ken maysa kadakami ket dayta ti kayat ko nga maisuro kanya da”.

(Tolentino, pers. comm.)

(I did not ask them to pay like what they dow hen someone commits sin against them. What is important is that it would not happen again so that good relationship will be restored. This is what I want to teach them).

On the other hand, Mr. Francisco Gamatero, Provincial Director of Department of Interior and Local Government – Tabuk experienced threats from Kalinga which almost killed him. This is due to the fact that they thought he immediately announced the winner for the election of the Philippine Councilor League. He lived for montas and years in fear not just for his life but even for his family. It brought him much trauma.

“subra ti troma kanyak diyay nga napasamak permi haan nak makaturog,makapangan uray kayat mo maturog haan ta diay buteng ko idi ti panpanunutek ken ti famiyak”. (Gamatero, pers. comm)

(I was in real trauma. I cannot eat or sleep. Though I wanted to sleep, I cannot because I was afraid for my family).

For three years that Mr. Gamatero’s life was in danger, he also thought of leaving the place for peace and security. However, his family and other relatives did not allow him to do so because he will be leaving his family if he will do such. That was why he stayed in the place and continued living in Tabuk.

In an article of Outsource to the Philippines, it was stated that the needs and security of the family is part of the Filipino values. This value of Filipinos affects their actions and work. It was also discussed in Maglaya’s book entitled The Complete Success Guide for the Immigrant Life that migrants’ priority is the safety of their family and children. This includes how they will meet their families (105).

Another important value of the Filipinos is their faith in God. In an article written by Jose Sison, he mentioned that Filipinos are known in the world for being people of deep faith. This value helped Mr. Gamatero.
When the time comes that the two parties who had a conflict was finally led into an agreement, Kalingas make a ritual and will eventually go back to their normal lives. He finally experienced peace in his life.

**Land Grabbing (pannangagaw ti dagdaga)**

During the first years of their stay in Kalinga, their life is at peace. There are no stealing or killing. That was why they had no problem with anyone they talked to. With this, a lot were encouraged to migrate in Tabuk. In an article of Baltic Legal Immigration Services, it was discussed that most people transfer residence to escape from conflicts, poverty and hunger. Migrants look for a place which is more stable in terms of political, social and economical state.

From 1950s to 1970s, a dam was constructed in upper Kalinga: Tinglayan, Lubuagan and Tanudan. That was why many tribes lost homes and transferred to Kalinga. They found land areas that do not have fences and so they thought nobody owns them. They also built nipa huts and own such places.

“bummaba dagitoy kakalinga ti Kalinga ti aramiden da ag-squat da ti daga, isu ti maysa nga problema mi ditoy ta ti ammu da gamin ti daga ditoy awan akinbagi ta open awan ti nakamula awan alad na ket bagyen da metten.Ngem adda ti akinkukwa nga talaga.”

(What Kalingas did when they went down the mountains was they grabbed lands because they thought no one owns the lands with no plants and fences. So they grabbed such opportunity though such land areas were already owned. That was one of the problems before). (Tolentino,pers.comm).

Because of that, according to the participants, many of their fellow Ilocanos lost their houses because of land grabbing. Most of them left because of fear of Kalingas.

That was why the participants thought of ways to not totally allow Kalingas to grab their land areas. They registered their land areas and got land titled. In this way, they have a stronger claim over the land since they have legal documents.

Based on article in FindLaw, titles are used to know who legally owns a land area. This also determines who has the right over the land.

However, there were still Kalingas who do not follow the law. They still do not leave the land of Ilocanos because according to them, they have the right over the land because it is where
they leave. Ilocanos are migrants only. This mentality of Kalingas according to Mrs. Carmelita Tovera is connected to their old tradition. They believe that the land areas are theirs since their ancestors originally own them.

In a meeting on May 14, 1986, leaders of Kalinga believed that it is their property since their ancestors are the original owners. They believed that the land is only for Kalingas like them (116). According to Solinger, civil and social rights like education, housing and health are often not given to migrants. It was also discussed in Arlyn Romulado’s article in UP Diliman that land areas and ancestral domains are owned by indigenous people. This might be the basis of Kalinga while land titles are the basis of Ilocanos. Hence, the participants decided to form a group to show their protest. They helped one another and built fences around their land areas. Day and night, they guard their properties.

However, there are still some Kalingas who threaten them so they eventually asked assistance from the local government of Kalinga. They were given protection from the soldiers who guarded them for months to ensure their security. With this, Kalingas eventually stopped land grabbing.

This is a proof that once life is on the line, people will eventually learn to fight considering their future. If they will let fear rule, they will always live with it. According to the participants:

“If you will be afraid, you will always live in fear anywhere you go. It takes strength of character. You will really fight for your life and source of living. Many Ilocanos left before because they were afraid. So I told them that as long as they do not do anything bad against other people, they have nothing to fear.” (Ramos, pers. comm).
Health problems (parikot ti kinasaluna).

According to the participants who arrived in Kalinga from 1943 to 1945, they experienced a health problem because malaria is rampant during those days. This is the reason why not much people want to live in Kalinga because it is a deadly disease and there are no doctors nor hospitals in the area. Even the Kalingas who originally live in the place went to the mountains to avoid having malaria. Only few got the strength to continue residing in the place.

In an article written by Kristian Sjogren, 650 thousand people die in the whole world due to malaria while another 200 million are affected with such disease. According to the participants, they found strength to continue residing in the place because they have no other place to go to and they can no longer go back to where they came from. To get rid of such danger, they burned grass as an alternative for mosquitoes to leave them until migrants helped them fight malaria. Among these migrants is Mr. Artemio Buen from Pangasinan. She arrived in Kalinga in 1954 at the age of 28. He is an employee of the government who was assigned in Kalinga as malaria technician.

According to them:

“ittoy Kalinga idi ket rampant ti malaria ti inaramid mi nagtesting kami ti lamok nu apay nga nagadu ken kasanu nga agadu. Sa ti tattao ditoy idi haan da ammu ti lamok haan da nga conscious, kadakwada nu patay patay nu buhay buhay, nu awan kami nga nangtulong awan a adu ti natay ditoy

Tabuk idi”. (Buen, pers. comm.)

(Here in Kalinga, malaria is a rampant disease. What we did is a test on why there are many mosquitoes. People in Kalinga before do not know a lot about mosquitoes. They just go with the flow. If they will die or live, so it be. With no assistance, a lot might die in Tabuk).

Problems due to tribal war (parikot mi la unay iti pannagaapa dagiti tunggal tribu)

Tribal war, which is a part of Kalinga tradition, also became a problem for Ilocano migrants. According to Mr. Compas, they were caught at the middle of a tribal war between Butbut and Bagu. They cannot sleep for almost three months because they fear about the security of their families.
This is the same belief of Mr. Gamatero. For him, tribal war has negative effects because even innocent residents are affected. Such experience is one of the most unforgettable memories of Mr. Gamatero.

This worry is also experienced by Mr. Rodrigo Ramos. Since Ilocanos are known for strong kinship ties and good relationship skill, they feel challenged with the culture of Kalinga where there are tribal wars and such conflicts brought them fear. Aside from these, it is considered honor and bravery whenever a tribal soldier brings home the head of his opponent.

This is also the reason why until now, the negative image of the Kalingas are still not lost because they are considered aggressive, brave and head hunters. It cannot be denied that there are still killings because of justice put in their own hands.

In an article of Manny Bigornia of the University of the Philippines-Diliman, it was mentioned that Kalingas are known to be respected leaders because of headhunting and their excellence in other skills. However, fear is also associated with their tribe because of the idea of headhunting. The word Kalinga is believed to have come from the word Gaddang and Ibanag which means headhunter.

**Difference in belief and religion (panagsabayti pammati ken relihiyon)**

There is a big difference between the cultural orientation of Ilocanos and Kalingas in terms of religion and beliefs. Ilocanos are known to be devoted in Christianity while Kalinga are known to have beliefs when it comes to spirits and rituals which they even got from their ancestors.

Mr. Albano of Kalinga migrated to Tabuk Kalinga to share the Word of God. Since Tabuk is a mountainous area, it was not reached by Spaniards when they shared Christianity. Moreover, the migrants found it difficult to have them embrace such beliefs because even in religion, Kalingas can fight for their own identity.

The said difference in belief has a big effect to the Ilocano migrants. This became part of the things they need to adjust because they have to respect the Kalinga culture. They need to adapt so that their fear of Kalingas will be removed looking at the more positive characteristics of Kalingas.

Amidst problems faced by Ilocano migrants in Kalinga, they remained strong and firm with their principles as the value their families and their lives. In a book of Maglaya, he discussed...
that amidst challenges in a new place of residence, the values and attitude of the migrants are great factors that can lead them to success(260).

CONCLUSION

Ilocano migrants faced a lot when they transferred to Kalinga. First is financial problem. Though Kalinga is called a promised land for Ilocanos, they still find it difficult to adjust at first since they are new in Kalinga. It was followed by health issues since malaria is widespread during those days.

They also had problems in terms of land grabbing since some Kalingas are claiming some land areas to be their own properties though Ilocanos have land titles. They also experienced threats due to politics. The peace and security they found in Kalinga is not absolute because they are caught amidst conflicts, especially when a candidate loses in an election.

Implementation of bodong was also a big problem for Ilocanos. It was expected that peace pacts can maintain the peace and order in the area, but they had problems because some Kalinga abuse their own laws. There were some instances when punishments or conditions are given to them whenever they are involved in a conflict with Kalingas. But such law does not apply whenever Ilocanos are the victims. A problem with the law even became a cultural problem since bodong is part of Kalinga tradition.

Tribal Wars also became a problem since Ilocanos are caught in the middle of such conflicts. It was not easy for Ilocanos to live even in terms of cultural aspect since they live with Kalingas who have different beliefs compared to them. Ilocanos are known to be Christians while Kalingas are known for believing spirits and rituals.

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