

Global Implications of Western Education on the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao

One should resist the temptation to view tribal societies in isolation from the influences of Western culture. This article shows the tremendous influence Western society has had on tribal cultures to the degree that some have become peasant societies. What and how they are affected also influences the way tribal and peasant peoples perceive Christianity.

by Tom Steffen

In this paper I will consider some of the major implications western education had, and continues to have, upon the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao of the Philippines, and identify several avenues the Ifugao have taken to preserve their cultural identity in the midst of such powerful influences. To accomplish this I will first look at the educational philosophies of the two major international educational players in the history of the Philippines, the Spanish and the American. I will follow this by identifying how the two educational systems influence traditional Ifugao values.

Background

The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao, numbering around 3,200, make their home in the Kiangnan municipality of Ifugao Province, Central Luzon, Philippines. They are located on the south western border of Ifugao. The Antipolo Ifugao speak the Keley-i Kallahan dialect while the Amduntug Ifugao speak Yattuka, both of which are included in Kallahan, a subfamily of Ifugao, a branch of the Malayopolynesian languages (McFarland 1980:76). These people, along with other groups of Ifugao, are known for creating the eighth wonder of the world—the Ifugao rice terraces. If stretched out in a line

these “stairsteps to the sky” would span approximately 20,000 miles. They also depict the race that developed centuries ago and maintains them currently today: industrious, ingenious, persistent, strong, and independent.

National Linkages

One should not view tribal societies in isolation from the influences of urban society (Steffen 1993). While geographical distances may exist between some tribal societies and urban societies, the latter often have plans for, and exert a powerful hold upon the former. For example, urbanites provide public education for tribals (often with teachers from outside the tribal dialect). The urbanites ask for land declarations so they can issue land titles, and in some cases, collect taxes. Tribals institute community councils to interact with the national government. They go to town to purchase necessities and to sell their goods. As for education, tribal families often find themselves sending their children to cities for higher education. In the religious realm, major religions, such as, Catholicism or Islam, etc., continue to have some success with tribals, if not directly in the geographical areas, then through

their children sent to them for education in the cities. Wise Christian workers do not minimize the preexisting linkages between the urban, peasant, and tribal societies.

International Linkages

Wolf (1982), who takes a Marxist diachronic view of history, argues that no society stands totally independent from any other society. He contends that the world is totally integrated with each specific part affected to some extent by the whole. The basic cause for these global linkages, argues Wolf, is economics, that is, the system of how goods are produced, consumed, dispersed, and so forth. As societies are inevitably brought together through economics and modes of production, conflict results, creating continual change to all societies involved. Wolf views the conflict induced changes as positive.

The Philippines has experienced the control of three foreign powers: the Spanish, the American twice, and the Japanese. The Spanish and Americans brought with them their educational systems which has had significant influence on all Filipinos, including the Ifugao highlanders. The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao cannot be

understood adequately apart from an understanding of the educational influences brought to the Philippines from the distant shores of Spain and America. In this system education and economics are closely connected, Wolf's premise of international linkages becomes obvious. Just as there are national linkages that affect tribal peoples, so there are international linkages.

Spanish Influences

In 1565, the Spanish discovered the Philippines. With the sword in one hand and a Bible in the other they began to systematically conquer the islands. Along with the conquest came a great influx of Spanish citizens. As more and more Spanish moved to the conquered Philippines it became necessary for the Spanish government to set up schools to educate their own children, from primary to the university level. In that the Spanish did not separate church and state, education included vigorous instruction in the Catholic religion.

But the Spanish were not only interested in educating their own, so they instituted separate schools to educate the Filipinos. The purpose of the Catechism Schools was not to provide Filipinos an avenue of upward social mobility, but rather disseminate "colonial-Hispanic-Catholic" values.

Alzona (1932) divides the educational history of the Philippines under Spanish rule into three periods: 1) founding the schools (1565-1768), 2) progress of education (1768-1863), and 3) the educational decree and after (1863-1898). Schwartz (1971) believes this breakdown correctly emphasizes the educational policies and practices of Spanish colonialism but fails to take into consideration how the Filipinos used education for their own purposes.

Focusing on the Filipinos' response to Spanish education Schwartz also divides the educational history of the Philippines into three phases, but with different time frames: 1) Filipinos take teaching roles in mission schools and start their own private schools following the Spanish pattern (1590-1640), 2) education extended throughout the islands but Filipino mission schools and attendance remained virtually the same (1640-1840), and 3) Filipinos attended their own private and secondary school along with a number attending the University of Santa Thomas. Still others sought degrees in Europe (1841-1896).

Schwartz's insightful observation raises two contrasting characteristics of the Filipino: the ability to imitate and the love for independence. In Schwartz's first phase Filipinos began their own private schools patterned after the Spanish counterparts. Filipino priests who were not allowed to establish their own parishes because of the type of blood that flowed in their veins often pioneered these schools. Some may have joined the movement just to make a living. Whether their motives were religious or economic, the Spanish school served as a model for the Filipino schools.

By the time of Schwartz's third phase, the independence characteristic became evident. The Filipinos had their own primary and secondary schools called *Latinities* (still patterned after the Spanish model) which qualified their graduates for entry into the Spanish controlled universities. But the Filipino tired of Spanish racism. Alzona (1932:168) was convinced the objective of Spanish education was to make Filipinos "the passive, servile and blind servants of the friars." So was Jose Rizal, a renowned national hero, who authored two key books calling for the overthrow of the

Spanish—these would eventually cost him his life.

Other factors helped bring about a change of climate to Philippine education. One was the opening of the Suez Canal which brought many more visitors and trade to the Philippines. A middle-class eventually developed, seeking indigenous education. Another factor was the influence of European Liberalism on Spain which resulted in the legal foundation for primary education for every Filipino. Even so, schooling for Filipinos after the Educational Decree of 1863 remained rooted in the propagation of Spanish values. This is evident in one way through the teaching style that consisted basically of the memorization of religious materials in contrast to the development of analytical or language skills (Hunt and McHale 1965:64).

The first American census (1903) revealed that only around 20 percent of the adult population claimed any exposure to formal education or fluency in the Spanish language (Smith and Cheung 1981:29-30). Nevertheless, Spanish education helped a small but influential group of Filipinos, formerly controlled by fatalism, to see that the physical world could be changed. They learned that nature was not capricious; that people and God were all a part of a rational system; that answers to people's problems could be found in the West (Hunt and McHale 1965:65). This set the stage for the Filipinos' next colonial master.

American Influences

While the Spanish used the sword and the Bible to colonize their new subjects the Americans used Krag rifles and American textbooks. After the Americans defeated the Spanish and took control of the Philippines a call went out for American teachers.

According to the Philippine Islands Board this was "because of the absence of an educational system in the Islands from which teachers could be procured" (1925:17) to set up a nation-wide public school system in the Philippines patterned after that of the United States. By 1901, American teachers began arriving in the Philippines armed with western values. One of these teachers, Roy Barton (1969a; 1969b), taught and conducted significant anthropological fieldwork among the Kiangnan Ifugao. Before the teachers arrived, however, the American military staffed and organized the first elementary schools in 1898 (Gates 1973).

The Americans set out to pacify the Filipino by providing every Filipino child a free elementary education. The imported curriculum promised every Filipino child the opportunity to learn to read, prefer democracy, work hard (long fingernails had to go as factories needed workers), seek self-improvement, have a common language, grasp scientific thought, move up the social ladder, and, be prepared to eventually govern themselves.

The Philippine Island Board argued: "That every child should have an elementary schooling is the ideal of all modern public education" (1925:33). So vigorous were the American's activities that by 1918 "virtually all of the colony's 800 municipalities had at least an elementary school and, even more remarkably, one in four of the more than 16,000 barrios had some kind of school in operation" (Smith and Cheung 1981:30). Even the Catholic Church was influenced by the Protestant work ethic inherent within the American school system.

Unlike the Spanish, the Americans separated church and state (excluding the Protestant work ethic), focusing on the secular. The reason given for the de-emphasis of religious instruction in the schools by the Philippine Island Board (1925:99) was

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that around a hundred years of experimentation with this issue in the American public school system resulted only in "religious dissensions and antagonisms," therefore, religious instruction should fall under the function of the Church and family. Nevertheless, the Americans did allow religious instruction to be taught in the schools to meet the needs of a deeply religious society.

In that the Americans only knew English, and the textbooks were in English, English soon became the language medium in a nation of over a hundred languages. It was not uncommon for teachers to penalize students for using their own language at school. Filipinos found themselves again required to learn the language of their colonial masters if they wished to be involved in commerce or with the government. While the Americans included Spanish in the curriculum it was seldom taught.

As for language ability, the Philippine Islands Board (1925:45) felt the children were not learning English

sufficiently to carry over into their adult lives. They blamed this not on the teachers, but lack of time spent by the children in school. They also called for textbooks that would reflect Filipino culture rather than American culture.

One of the goals of the American administration was to develop a core of Filipino teachers to replace the American teachers. The training of these Filipinos, however, was all too often not that thorough. The Philippine Islands Board provided some statistics on the American/Filipino teacher ratio after twenty years of effort and the influence:

...the crux of the whole spoken English problem lies in the oral speech of the Filipino teachers. Of the 27,305 teachers in the teaching personnel 26,980 are Filipinos. The influence on the spoken English of the Islands of the 325 American teachers who are now in the schools is practically nil (1925:154).

Funding for the massive project of free elementary education for all Filipino children could not be raised entirely from the Insular Government. While the Philippine government favored the education plan, levying some education tax, the majority of the funds came from the United States.

The Americans took schooling farther down several roads the Spanish did not traverse. Believing that the "wealth of the Archipelago is agriculture," they instituted agricultural schools, e.g., the Central Luzon Agricultural School at Munoz. These schools took the emphasis on gardening in the elementary schools another step—farming. The agricultural schools were to be independent of other schools in the area, located in farming areas, and accept only stu-

dents who planned this type of occupation (which did not always happen).

Not only was the Philippines in need of agricultural schools, they were also in need of industrial schools that could train Filipinos to produce commercial goods from local products. Through these "hands-on" types of schools the Americans strived to make manual labor look attractive, an attitude they believed the Spanish had destroyed among the Filipino.

The Spanish emphasized education for males. The Americans included females in education, where today, male and female students are about equal in number (Smith and Cheung 1981). The Spanish pointed Filipinos toward the west for scientific answers. The Americans continued this thinking. Both colonial powers created the feeling of dissatisfaction within the Filipino and a lust for moving up the social ladder, which often meant a move to the big city.

Contemporary Filipino Education

The Filipinos have retained many of the values and institutes brought to their shores by past colonial powers. Positive features include: 1) a nationwide literacy program that provides a means of social mobility for a number of youth, 2) a nation-wide education system that provided the ground work for the Philippines to become one the world's highest student ratio for college education (Hunt and McHale 1965:70), 3) female students that balance the number of male students, 4) agricultural schools remain highly esteemed, 5) age-grading for classes remains in that it corresponds with the Filipino's own age-grouping (*barkada*), and 6) independence and individualism fostered through the school system has helped erase the "little brown brother" image. A negative feature includes the search for education

abroad, especially in the U.S.A. This desire creates a "brain drain" as many youth leave the Philippines in search of lucrative jobs.

Elementary education continued with six grades while secondary education was reduced to four years, resulting in a ten-year, pre-college schooling. School uniforms stressed solidarity. Occupation is often unrelated to college training, however, in that who one knows is often more important than what one knows (Hunt and McHale 1965:71). American pragmatism, Hunt and McHale also note, did not "lead to a stress on science laboratories nor has the lecture and memorization approach been displaced by discussion and experimentation" (1965:67).

While the Filipinos' bent for imitation remains, they have not lost their love for independence. English remained the national language until Filipino (Tagalog) replaced it in the early 1970's under a new rise of nationalism. Because of the Filipino's love for imitation and independence, a love-hate relationship remains with their former colonial powers.

Traditional Ifugao Themes

Every society has a shared set of values that serve as a guide to life for its members. Bock defines cultural values as: "shared conceptions of what is desirable, they are ideals which the members of some social group accept....and which therefore influence the behavior of group members" (1969:407). Lynch believes that values should be distinguished from themes when he states:

The extremely basic values, or themes, are....buried below two levels of less fundamental values; namely instrumental values, which are important only for what they can achieve or get, and intermediate values, which people appreciate both for what they are

and for what they accomplish (1970:55).

Following Lynch, I see themes encompassing the more important values of a society. Opler (1945:198) defines a theme as: "a postulate or position declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society." I will now investigate eight major themes found in traditional Ifugao society: family, children, reciprocity, land, rice, rice wine, animals, unity, sacrificial system, and education. (For a discussion on the opposing themes, see Chapter 13 of my book *Passing the Baton: Church Planting That Empowers*.)

The Ifugao family is based on the bilateral system, common in all of the Philippines, which includes relatives back to the third cousin on both sides of the mother and father. The ancestors and unborn comprise the invisible extended family. Within the nuclear family, says Barton (1969a:18), a husband and wife, "...are never united into one family. They are merely allies." Should a dispute arise between a husband and wife the families on either side will back their own.

According to Barton (p. 85): "An Ifugao's family is his nation." He states elsewhere: "The family is the only thing of the nature of an organization that the Ifugao has, and he cherishes it accordingly (p. 8). Anything that would attempt to break up the Ifugao family (*pamilyah*) will be met with resistance. For example, should the reputation of a family member be challenged by an outsider, the accused can most always count on his family to back him. Again Barton says, "A member of an Ifugao family assists in the punishment of offenders against any other member of his family, and resists the punishment of members of his family by

other families (p. 7). On the other hand, should two brothers, or any children of a family, fight for any reason the family is deeply shamed. The family should always stand together for therein, and only therein, is found true security. The bigger the family, the more security.

The child (*u-ungnga*) is the central figure in the Ifugao family. Says Barton: "The Ifugao family exists principally for the child members of it" (p. 30). Agreeing and adding the reason why, Hoebel (1967:104) contents: "Because children provide the continuity essential to the perpetuation of the kinship group, the small family exists primarily for its child members." Children are so important to an Ifugao couple that divorce is almost assured should they not be able to produce offspring after a period of time.

From the time of birth an Ifugao child is never left alone. Should the baby cry, he/she will receive immediate attention. If the parents are not able to quiet the baby they become extremely upset.

As the children grow, they are never forced to do anything they do not want to do. For example, even if the child is extremely sick but does not wish to take the prescribed medicine, no medicine will be given. Parents give the children whatever they desire. Should the child desire an education the family will go into extreme debt to see the child's will fulfilled. The child is central to the Ifugao family.

Another major theme is that of reciprocity (*man-indawdawat*). From early childhood community members teach the young the importance of sharing. No matter what the child has he is to share it with those around him for no one wants to be called

stingy (*makinit*), one of the worst thing any Ifugao can be called. Just as an Ifugao is expected to share what they have, they can expect to receive from others those things they need.

The theme of reciprocity can be seen in the parent/child relationship.

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Ifugao law demands that parents take care of their children while they are young. But when the parents grow old, Ifugao law expects the children to reciprocate that care.

The theme of reciprocity is also evident in the work force. Groups (*ubbu*) work together in the fields. When a field owner calls a workday, other workers, usually the same participants, will join him. On another day, someone else will call a workday. He can expect to receive help from those he has helped. Should those summoned not be able to make it, they will send another representative from the family.

The sacrificial system demonstrates reciprocity. One example is found in a major sacrifice where many animals are killed. In that it is often impossible for the participants to consume all the meat, and there are no refrigerators, meat is sent home with the attendees and given out to the neighbors. The provider of this meat will not go unrewarded. On another occasion his family will receive meat from someone else's sacrifice.

Reciprocity also carries over in the spirit world where the ancestors

and spirits ask the spirits of certain things (animals, money, bolos, betel nut, skirts, loin clothes, blankets, rice wine, and so forth) in exchange for protection from sickness and misfortune, or to gain material wealth. Receiving gifts (tangible and intangible) is a two-way street.

Land (*puyek*) is another important theme among the Ifugao. Land provides the Ifugao access to many food sources, cash crops, materials, and therefore the opportunity to expand wealth. Parents have their children inherit the land early in life, with the oldest child usually receiving the largest and best share—if not all of it.

The Ifugao distinguish numerous types of land. In the village (*bebley*), families usually have a small piece of land for their home. Outside the village, most have ponds (*payew*) where they grow wet rice, the main food staple. Those families who own land with water sources are envied because their fields will receive ample water. Those having fields down the line will have to settle with whatever water is left over. Some will own grasslands (*patulan*) where animals can be pastured. Most will have forest land (*muyung*) where firewood, wood for the construction of a home and granary, vines for basket weaving, herbs, and so forth, can be found. Coffee trees will also be planted under the cool shade of taller trees providing the Ifugao the biggest cash crop. All will have land for swidden farming (*habal*) to grow crops for consumption and/or sale. The numerous civil cases dealing with land disputes argues the importance of this important commodity.

Rice (*pagey*) is the Ifugao's basic food staple. Without rice as a meal, the Ifugao will not feel full. Much of an Ifugao's life is spent in the rice ter-

racers securing the food he loves so dearly. Until the late 1970's, they planted and harvested only once a year because "that is what our ancestors told us to do" ("*tep humman inhel ni a-ammed mī*"). Some new believers decided to try for two crops in one year. In that the ancestors did not kill them, two crops per year are now common in the wider, easier to work, terraces.

After harvest, the Ifugao count the bundles of rice before storing them in the granary. That does not mean the rice cannot increase. Shamans (*mabeki*) conduct special sacrifices to increase the rice so that it will extend till the next harvest.

Not only do Ifugao store rice in the granary, in some cases they store it in the home. This provides those who own numerous rice fields the opportunity to display their wealth to visitors. The larger the pile of bundles of rice in a corner of the house, the wealthier the family (*baknang*).

The Ifugao plant a number of types of rice, one of which is *dayyak- ket*. From this rice wine (*bubud*) is made. While wine fermented for three days is quite mild, by the time ten or more days pass, it takes only a small amount to make someone drunk.

The Ifugao serve rice wine at all important occasions. Any sacrifice of any significance will include rice wine. The ritual priests sip wine for each set of ancestors and spirits they call to attend the sacrifice. They also use wine as a libation. Workers expect to receive rice wine at any work function, such as planting, harvesting, building a house, sawing lumber in the forest, and so forth. The Ifugao believe rice wine and work should always go together for wine strengthens the worker.

Another interesting use of rice wine is after the settlement of a civil case. When both parties reach an

agreement, the litigants drink rice wine, signifying a settlement. The Ifugao consider it unethical for people in disagreement to drink together.

After land, Ifugao rank animals as the second most important commodity. Of the animal world, they consider water buffaloes (*newang*) the most significant. They use water buffaloes to work the gently sloped terraces, saving hours of manual labor. Should logs from the forest be needed for firewood or construction, the water buffalo drag them in. But water buffalo not only meet the needs of the living, they also meet the needs of the ancestors and/or spirits through sacrifices called for in major rituals, such as weddings or death.

The Ifugao's second most sought after animal is the pig (*killum*) followed by the chickens (*manuk*). Like the water buffalo, they use pigs only in sacrifices of significance. Ifugao will go into great debt to secure these animals if the sacrifice demands them. Shamans use chickens in virtually every sacrifice. Before the late 1970's, the Ifugao killed water buffaloes, pigs and chickens for the express purpose of sacrifice. When Christianity took hold the new believers asked what they should do with the animals now that they no longer sacrificed. Other animals, such as goats (*gelding*), cattle (*baka*), ducks (*gawgawwa*) and dogs (*aso*) were introduced from the lowlands and not normally used in sacrifices.

Most Ifugao seek to preserve unity (*ulunus*). Few village meetings or civil cases go by without someone calling for unity between the two opposing parties. The Ifugao know that disunity will destroy their closely knit society. They believe they survive because they eat, drink, work, play and sacrifice together. Community members attack any form of independence through verbal confrontation, or in more serious cases, sorcery. The

believers manifest the concept of unity when they refer to unbelievers as those who have not yet believed (*eleg ni pay mangullug*).

Schools have long been a part of the Ifugao world. Those who remember the Japanese invasion often talk about the U.S. aircraft that went down in the school yard. The Americans set up and administered the Ifugao schools from grade one through six. Teachers instructed in English, used American textbooks and levied small fines on students caught using their own dialect. (Some Ifugao can still recite the capitols of all the states in the U.S.) Those who attended school initially tend to speak English without accent. Today, English often serves as the medium for Ifugao interacting with outsiders.

Today, Filipinos staff the grade schools in Antipolo and Amduntug, some of whom are Ifugao. Teachers from outside Ifugao will most likely speak Ilocano although will be quite fluent in English. In the late 1970's, under the rise of nationalism, English textbooks were translated into Tagalog at the primary level. The young Ifugao student became a victim of this policy in that teachers often spoke languages unknown to the student and used textbooks printed in English.

While studying a western curriculum the young Ifugao is exposed to values that sometimes contradicts traditional values (hidden curriculum). Teachers teach the students the beauty of flowers through raising them and learn to tend gardens. They learn to appreciate the delicate balance of nature in relation to farming, value cleanliness and personal hygiene (regarding brushing one's teeth and using the outhouse). Teachers also allow qualified religious advocates (Protestant or Catholic) to provide religious instruction.

Formerly, a student who wished to enter high school had two options. The first, go to Kiangan (a three hour hike away), board five days a week and attend St. Joseph's school, pioneered by Jerome Moerman in 1910. The second, the Ifugao Academy established by Miss Myrtle Metzger in 1925, presently under the United Christian Church of the Philippines (Dumia 1979:39,53). Students who attend either secondary schools will receive instruction in the respective religions. Today, a third option exists, a government school located in Amduntug.

Most Ifugao parents encourage their children to get as much formal education as possible. They proudly display pictures of graduates for all visitors to admire. Their children's homework decorates the walls. They willingly sacrifice to buy the necessary school uniforms and shoes. The parents know that should their children receive a salaried job someday in the city some of that salary will flow back to the family.

While the educational system challenges the Ifugao's values in some areas (time, individualism, understanding separated from activity, and so forth), it reinforces them in others: peer-groups, family and kinship ties, separation of sexes, discipline, and modesty for females (Steffen 1997b). Schooling also enables children to help their parents (some illiterate) in the ever increasing amount of unfamiliar government paper.

The last major theme, the sacrificial system (*baki*), is the central theme around which all other themes revolve. The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao have two basic types of sacrifices that fall under the term, *henga*. The Ifugao use the first set of sacrifices, *keleng*, to acquire wealth. These sacri-

fices tend to follow the calendric agricultural cycle, peaking in October and November with weddings and other wealth-oriented sacrifices. The second class of sacrifices occur whenever needed, such as sickness or death. Whether the Ifugao sacrifices for wealth or hardship, Barton astutely observes:

The Ifugao worldview cannot be understood apart from understanding the global historical, socio-economic and political influences on the Philippines. The values promoted in the past by Spain and the United States continue to play a major role in influencing Ifugao society.

The constant demand for sacrifices has greatly stimulated economic activity, especially that of the male, and has led to a great deal of borrowing, which in some ways strengthens kinship solidarity. The demands of prestige feasts are particularly noteworthy in the extent to which they foster industry and accumulation (1969b:210).

The Ifugao sacrifice for three basic reasons: 1) health (*endi degeh*), 2) long life (*ketu-tuan*), and 3) wealth (*kedangyang*), which seems to include the first two. The Ifugao believe that long life and health are evidence of blessing from the ancestors and spirits. This is important because longevity and health provide more opportunity to acquire wealth.

Here is how the sacrificial system works. The Ifugao provide the ancestors and/or spirits whatever they desire, i.e., the spirits of animals, blankets, rice wine, and so forth. In

return, the ancestors and/or spirits will cause the offerer's animals to have numerous offspring, thus making them wealthy. The increase in fertility can also extend to the wife.

The words that surfaced most frequently in approximately 300 pages of random Ifugao text material were those pertaining to wealth (*pihhuh*, *baknang*, *kedangyang*). The traditional Ifugao spends his entire life advancing through the five major sacrifices pertaining to wealth (*balihung*, *leteb*, *balihung*, *baleg*, *hagebi*). Should an Ifugao be able to complete a *hagebi* (a large carved log that is placed under the home for all to admire) he will most likely have exhausted all wealth because of the numerous animals required for all the sacrifices. But while his animals may be depleted he has placed those who participated in his sacrifices in his debt. Reciprocity reigns.

Wealth is displayed in numerous ways among the traditional Ifugao. I previously noted two, rice bundles in the home and the *hagebi*. A third is the adorning of homes with water buffalo horns and pig skulls. These objects symbolize that the family who offered them was wealthy, they could afford the sacrifices, and will become wealthier because of continued sacrifice. Another display of wealth is the various types of loincloths and skirts woven by the women. As the Ifugao complete the various wealth related sacrifices, the husband and wife indicated their new rank by the type of loincloth or skirt worn.

Even in natural death the Ifugao emphasize wealth. Numerous sacrifices (*penanglian*, *panhengngaan*, *penengbuan*, *penengbuan*, *penglengan*, *dawdawat*) that may take a month to complete all relate to wealth.

They place dirt in the home of the dead but do not sweep it out until all the sacrifices are completed. To sweep the dirt out early would be to sweep out the possibility of gaining wealth. Should a husband die, the wife is not to bathe for a month. When she does bathe she is to do it in the family rice pond so that the wealth will remain there.

Until the late 1970's, the dead were transferred to the houses of his/her children. The wealthier the dead, the longer he/she remained unburied (twenty-one days is the longest I have heard). The person (usually someone of that village) who carries the body on his naked back (*pengbaan ni netey*) from one village to another hopes that some of the body fluids of the deceased will drip on him. Should this happen, upon returning home he will perform a sacrifice to gain the wealth of the deceased. Life for the traditional Ifugao revolved around the acquisition of wealth through the sacrificial system (*emin umlaw di baknangan*).

Contemporary Ifugao Themes

Life is changing fast for the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao. Desires from within the tribe and pressures from without are helping create a new Ifugao capable of coping with a fast changing world. Some of these outside factors that affect the major Ifugao themes include the following.

The family remains the Ifugao's nation that provides security. The centrality of the children still remains, but with a few distinctions. While the Ifugao still desire children, self-administered abortion is on the rise, as is sterilization after three children. Why this change of attitude towards children? One reason is often heard—it's expensive to raise children. For children to make it in today's world, reasons the Ifugao, they must have

education. That means shoes and uniforms for at least ten years. Should the children go on to college the price tag increases dramatically. Tuition, boarding, and books, soon deplete the family's resources. Should a number of siblings desire a college education at the same time the family finds itself strapped for cash.

As the population increases and the water sources decrease as water sheds are destroyed, land has become a premium. This has caused a number of reactions. Many young Ifugao head for the cities looking for work, and remain. Some establish small businesses selling fertilizers for rice, and so forth. Others establish supply lines to the cities to sell goods raised in the mountains. Still others, many of whom are females, use advanced schooling as a means to land salaried jobs. As the Philippines experiences "brain drain" to other nations, so the Ifugao community experiences "youth drain" to the cities. Those who remain in the villages take up gardening (learned at school) to produce cash crops to buy rice (never supplemented before) and other supplies from the cities.

While many Ifugao move out of the tribal area to find a way of making a living, money continues to flow back to the village. Children tend not to forget their debt of gratitude to their parents. The use of rice wine has diminished but the Ifugao's taste for alcoholic beverages has not. The world renown San Miquel beer and White Castle whiskey produced in the cities has replaced much of the home-made rice wine used on social occasions.

While the call for unity (*ulnus*) is still heard it has lost much of its former power. Competing religious systems now vie for converts, dividing villages and families. The western values of independence and individualism

promoted formally and informally through the local school system fires the Ifugao's latent desire for personal independence. As gardens increase, the need for large work groups has decreased. Group unity seems to have moved from cooperation on the larger level of agriculture territories to cooperation on the smaller levels, e.g., churches and business adventures.

The Ifugao still value animals highly, but no longer for the sole purpose of sacrifice. Rather than waiting for the ancestors and spirits to bless the family through the fertility of their animals, they can gain quick cash by selling the animals whenever a need arises. They can use some of the cash for their children's education.

While Christianity played a major role in changing the use of animals in Ifugao society, other influences included the need for cash to purchase rice and other necessities (internal pressures), along with the expense of education that promises future dividends (external pressure). Certificates and diplomas, therefore, begin to replace skulls and horns displayed on homes as status symbols. For many Ifugao, formal education replaced the sacrificial system as a means to obtain wealth. Education moved to the center of the theme chart, replacing the sacrificial system as a means to obtain health, wealth, and long life.

Preserving and Integrating

While the sacrificial system slowly becomes a part of Ifugao history, the desire for health, wealth, and long life continues. The Ifugao search for a substitute for the sacrificial system to acquire these felt needs. For many, education has become that substitute in that it provides the means to tap outside sources to increase the family's wealth. Many Ifugao believe economic development is premised on

educational attainment. The Ifugao's need for a religion that speaks to these same needs is found in Catholicism or Protestantism, with various modifications.

The micro-culture of Ifugao is slowly giving way to the macro-culture of the Philippines, yet retains the tribal identity in those areas of deepest concern to Ifugao society. And this is what most Ifugao prefer, tribal identity within the national system, including its global western influences.

Conclusion

The Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao worldview cannot be understood apart from understanding the global historical, socio-economic and political influences on the Philippines. The values promoted in the past by Spain and the United States continue to play a major role in influencing Ifugao society. The macro-levels influence the micro-levels.

Filipino schools, patterned off of Spanish and American schools, continue to serve as propagation tools for westernization. Hunt and McHale (1965:70) astutely observe: "By its very existence the school serves as a reminder of a world beyond the barrio." Foster would agree. Observing village improvements, such as health facilities and schools, whets the youth's appetite for the good life in the cities while at the same time better preparing villagers for competing in the city's work force (1973:52).

Schools promote values that recreate societies. Ifugao society, while retaining certain Ifugao distinctives considered important, is at the same time being recreated by the Filipino educational system brought to the archipelago by the Spanish and Americans. Wealth formerly sought through the sacrificial system is presently sought through education,

whether one claims to be Catholic or Protestant.

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