

Outgroup Marriage, the Demise of Native Language and Cultural Differentiation: The Case of Ifugao Migrants in Northern Philippines

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Abstract Many of us aim for the preservation of cultures but noticeably one's native language and cultural orientation are constantly changing. These changes manifest the dynamism of culture. As language is the source of meaning and defines our consciousness – language demise leads to cultural differentiation. Indigenous people's migration leads to outgroup/mixed marriages that result to cultural differentiation. The Ifugao (*Tuwali*) migrants' outgroup/mixed marriages affects the use of their language, including their belief systems, dominant customs, and traditions. This study showed that across all areas, outgroup/mixed marriages led indigenous children to adapt the culture of the place of migration which resulted in a failing preference for their indigenous practices including the use of their native language. Aside from outgroup/mixed marriages that nurture language and cultural differentiation, the perceived impracticality of their tradition, lack of generational transmission of cultural beliefs, illogical and not based on Christian belief, and the non-practice of the indigenous traditions were seen as causes of cultural differentiation and even to the extent of losing their native language.

Keywords: *demise of language, outgroup marriages, mixed marriages, cultural differentiation*

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1. Introduction

Globalization has not only affected first world countries but even third world countries. It has not only affected people in the economic centers but even the people at the outskirts. It has not only affected the culture of the general population but also the indigenous communities. European societies' appreciation of arts, a very significant part of a culture, has been affected by globalization. They claimed that globalization "contributes to the expansion of cultural ties between the peoples and human migration. Young people no longer take an interest in their own culture. In connection with this, it becomes important to study the interaction processes of globalization and culture [1]."

In a similar way, migration has become one of the main causes for outgroup marriages that results in children of mixed cultural groups. This is one issue in the west like the United States of America where marriage is now accepted between and among different races, when blacks and whites are married to each other they are shut out of social life in black circles being forced to seek friends and social intercourse in all white or other interracial environments [2].

Such a situation could have some implications for the children. When "all else being equal, childhood in a multiracial household is altogether more complicated than childhood in a same-race household [3]." This is a scenario of a macro level where outgroup or mixed marriages take place among different races. In some cases, "members of interracial families often experience disapproval. Some kids are called *mulattoes*, *half-breeds*, *mixed bloods* and even new people. The disapproval even comes from within their family members [4]." Many of these children felt that they were scrutinized and some were even being teased by other children.

In another study about children in Asia and Hispanic households, "it is more likely to have a parent that speaks a foreign language in the household. This may also indicate that children in these households are exposed to the cultural practices of either one or both of the parent's ethnicity [5]." What would be the effect of an outgroup or mixed marriages on culture? Would such instances of interracial or intercultural marriages affect either or both cultures?

According to James Eder, outgroup marriage is one of the causes for Filipinos losing their indigenous character or even cultural orientation. Referring to the future of Indigenous peoples in the Philippines, James Eder claimed

that there are factors that may make indigenous people *unindigenated*. While there are cohesive factors that may strengthen one's indigenous identity, there are also what he calls "causes of cultural differentiation [6]." He concluded that geographic mobility, socio-economic mobility, *outgroup marriages*, and religious conversions as processes of "change that would create new economic, social and cultural differences between the individual members of indigenous ethnolinguistic groups that once were more homogenous, geographically and socially bounded than they are today.

The Philippines' current socio-economic and political condition has resulted in not only emigration but also immigration that contributes to outgroup marriages among indigenous Filipinos. The case of Mindanao for instance had been a long story that has forced several indigenous people to move farther north of the Philippines. Many indigenous people had immigrated to Manila or other parts of the Philippines due to economic reasons or even due to displacement from their community in Mindanao because of armed conflicts. In the study of Marquez [7], they found out that among the Muslim communities, they are also forced to marry someone from the locality for security reasons. Thus, even immigration would be a source of outgroup marriages producing children belonging to two different cultural orientations.

In the case of Ifugaos, several studies showed that rapid changes are taking place in the mainland Ifugao province like the problem in the shift in economic activities and outmigration. "The lack of opportunities for income generation also led to the outmigration of many Ifugao's to other places in search for better economic opportunities [8]. In terms of indigenous knowledge and education, the study of Enkiwe-Abayao [9], revealed that more and more indigenous youths are embracing western education to the extent that they could hardly trace back their ethnic identity. While tourism has improved in Ifugao, it was observed that the economic benefits are unevenly spread in the province, especially among the farmers [10], thus indigenous people from their heritage cites has to find ways and means to make ends meet for the family even to the extent of considering migration which ultimately makes them acquiesce to outgroup marriages.

In a preliminary visit conducted by the researchers among Ifugao migrants of Pinya, Diadi, Nueva Vizcaya, they were worried about the effect of outgroup marriage among their children. They observed that their grandchildren usually do not speak their language especially if they do not stay close in their community. And this young generation would have difficulties understanding their cultural practices and they even fear that this young generation, the result of outgroup marriages, might even deny their cultural lineage. It is for these reasons that this study was conducted.

What happens now with persons belonging to two or mixed cultural groups? Which cultural orientation is more dominant? Or is there a dominant cultural orientation or are they equally influential? If there is a more dominant cultural orientation, what factors account for such? These sets of questions convey the significance of this study to basic and higher education and to national as well as international agencies interested in understanding the interactions between globalization, migration, and culture.

An educational institution as the transmitters of knowledge and information must equip itself with data coming from the actual and the real world of current cultural practices.

It is very important that basic and higher educational institutions, including advocates of cultural preservation at the local and international level, has to understand what is happening in the local context. It is when the people involved speak out their lived experiences that educators, legislators, and advocates can teach prudently, legislate with equity, and perform acts of beneficence based on truth respectively.

2. Research Methodology, Data Collection and Interpretation

This research was guided theoretically by interpretivism introduced by Michael Crotty. Interpretivism, according to Crotty [11], is the theoretical paradigm that was a reaction to positivism, a research paradigm that imposes the methodology of the natural science to the social sciences. The positivism paradigm claims objectivity where a claim of "value-free and detached observation" would result in an objective and universal understanding of what human beings and society but interpretivism "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretation of the social life-world." Dudovskiy [12] explains that Crotty's theoretical paradigm strongly believes in the idea that researchers are involved in the interpretation of the elements of the study. It also advanced the idea that "researchers assume that access to reality is only through social constructions such as language, consciousness shared meanings and instruments." This paradigm trusts in the idea that truth and meanings are social constructs and must be understood by considering different disciplines.

The researchers spent at least five months finishing the research. Three months for the preparation of the research proposal and an informal survey of the research locale. At least two months were spent in the data gathering and interpretation of data. The participants were 17 children of Ifugao migrants of Pinya, Diadi, Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines. Their parents had migrated into the research locale in the year 1960 to 1975 and that many of their descendants have spouses belonging to a different cultural group. The ages of the participants range from 15 to 41 years old. In gathering the data, ethical considerations were observed by first explaining to the parents of minor participants and getting their permission to interview their minor children. For the adult participants, the aim of the study was explained to them and their agreement to be interviewed was taken. Their identities, however, are considered confidential. The researchers had to go into the homes of these participants during weekends amidst the challenges of the weather and transportation in the area.

The researchers used phenomenological and hermeneutic methods to interpret data. This research employed a qualitative method of gathering data. Arm-chair and visual anthropology were utilized in sourcing out the issues being studied from libraries, the internet, and other literature sources. It used the hermeneutic phenomenological method of doing research which utilized observations and unstructured interviews with indigenous children of

outgroup marriages to determine the challenges that they have encountered or are still encountering. The phenomenological method was used in illuminating the phenomena through how they were perceived and experienced by the participants. The hermeneutic approach was also employed to be able to interpret and understand the life narratives of the participants.

3. Results and Discussions

Cultural differentiation may happen through many factors. This study focused on certain dimensions of culture like language, beliefs, and practices. In general, it aimed to determine how outgroup marriage enhances cultural differentiation among the children of such outgroup or mixed marriage. The following are the analyses and interpretations of the data.

3.1. Language

Respondents of the study are children of at least one migrant Ifugao (Tuwali) parent, mostly coming from Ifugao province. There were two major dialects learned and used by the respondents in their households during their childhood. These are Ifugao and Ilocano, with the latter being the more dominant. Out of 17, eight of the participants indicated this was their childhood dialect, five specified it was both Ilocano and Ifugao, two stated that Ifugao was their childhood dialect and 2 said Tagalog.

3.1.1. Causes of Language Differentiation

Ilocano is the prominent dialect in the locality. Most of the participants indicated that their neighbors and the general community spoke the vernacular Ilocano. In school, Ilocano was the second medium of instruction and was used by the students inside and outside the classroom. It was not surprising therefore that most of the respondents regardless of their childhood dialect acquired the dialect of the locality.

One participant mentioned that his mother whose primary dialect was Ifugao (Tuwali) conversed with them using Ilocano and did not teach the children her native dialect. About the language they use at home, she said “*Mostly ket Ilocano ta uray ni Mamang ket ag-Ilocano met isuna. Nu adda kami met iti ruwar ti balay ket nu narabaw nga Ifugao ket agsao ak met iti Ifugao ngem kaadwan ket Ilocano ta dagiti Ifugao ket ag Ilocano da met nu adda kami eskwelaan. Ita ket saanak pay nga fluent iti Ifugao ngem maawatak. Saan met gamin nga insuro ni mama. Kaadwan na nga nakaamwak iti sau ti Ifugao ket kadagiti classmate wenna barkadad nga Ifugao. Dagiti narabaw lang talaga ti maawatak* (We mostly used Ilocano at home due to my mother who speaks also Ilocano (even if she is Ifugao or Tuwali). When I am out of the house, I could speak Ifugao a little even if my mother did not teach me. But usually, I use Ilocano since even my Ifugao friends converse with me in Ilocano at school. I am not yet fluent but I could understand the dialect. I learn mostly from my Ifugao friends and classmates but I could only understand the simple ones).”

Other participants who were taught both Ilocano and Ifugao had to converse in Ilocano because their other

parent (non-Ifugao) could not understand the Ifugao dialect. The same adjustment was observed when the children were in school where those who learned Ifugao had to converse in Ilocano since most of the pupils did not understand the Ifugao dialect.

The primary factor in learning the Ifugao dialect was through family members and relatives who conversed with them using Ifugao. The parent who knew of the dialect used it when conversing with the children regardless of whether his/her spouse understood or have learned the dialect. One participant shared that his *Iloco* mother cannot understand Ifugao, but his father made sure that he still communicated with them using the Ifugao dialect. Other participants shared that it was their cousins and relatives who enabled them to learn the Ifugao dialect. One said that while she learned Ilocano in school and from her mother, she was able to learn Ifugao because when they visit her grandmother’s house Ifugao was the dialect in the household and every one assimilated the practice of conversing using that dialect.

While Ilocano remained to be the primary dialect, there were some *purok* or districts in the research locale where Ifugao was the vernacular. Accordingly, in these areas, children naturally learned Ifugao from neighbors, playmates, schoolmates, and friends. Some indicated that they learned it from their parents. Others said while they had difficulty speaking the dialect, they could understand it. One participant shared that “*Insuru ni father ko ken nasursuruk idia school kadagiti klasmeyts ko. Halos amin nga kadwami nga mapan school ken agawid ket Ifugao isu nga nasursurwan nak metten. Kabarkada mi ket halos Ifugao amin. Siguro nu ka-Ilokanuan ti nagyanan mi ket baka Ilocano ti usaren mi ken baka san ko nasursuro ti agsao iti Ifugao. Ngem idi ubbing kami ket nu ni father ko ti kadwa mi ket agsao isuna iti Ifugao isu nga mapilitan kami met nga agsao* (My father taught me and I also learned from my classmates. Almost all of our companions in going to and from school are Ifugaos so I learned informally from them. If we are in an Ilocano neighborhood, I might not have learned to speak the Ifugao dialect. But when we were kids my father talked to us in Ifugao so we were forced to learn the dialect).”

From the above stories from different participants of this study, one can deduce that children of outgroup or mixed marriages were not formally taught their indigenous language. These children did not learn the language directly from their Ifugao parents. Most of them learn the indigenous language in their neighborhood or through their friends and relatives.

It was apparent that for the dialect to survive, it must be used as much as possible by the parents. One participant said “*Iloco ti sarita mi idi. Isu nga siak ket saanak unay makasao iti pagsasao da mother ko lalo ta ditoy banda ti purok mi ket kailocanuan. Uray adda ak iti ruwar ti balay mi ket Ilocano latta ngem naadal ko iti agsao ti Ifugao gapu kadagiti classmates ko. Ta ni mother ko ket nu agsasao kami diay balay ket Ilocano met ti usaren na* (We use Ilocano at home so I could not speak the dialect of my Ifugao mother especially since we are in an Ilocano neighborhood. Even if I am outside, Ilocano was the conversation language but I learned the Ifugao dialect from my classmates since my mother use Ilocano at home).” It is clear here that when there is a dominant

culture within the family, the language of the other culture is usually learned outside the family, particularly in the neighborhood or at school. In terms of language in a mixed marriage, it seems that the family has become now an inefficient transmitter of culture and tradition.

The quotation below describes the importance of language in a culture. That is why the preservation of language is of utmost importance to culture.

“A language becomes extinct when its last native speaker dies, and it’s usually the result of its speakers shifting to a lingua franca like English, Arabic, or Spanish. This implies choice, but it’s often a history of marginalization that leads to the change. It’s also a loss of accumulated knowledge. Humans know a lot about the world, but it’s not all written down. It’s encoded in the world’s languages and most have never been recorded. Each one contains a world of local knowledge, neatly packaged and effortlessly transmitted through a speech from one generation to the next. When a language dies, we lose that culture’s playbook for how to thrive in the world – everything from local plant knowledge to unique ontologies and ways of being [13].

3.2. Belief Systems and Traditions

Two factors emerged with regards to the nature of cultural differentiation of belief systems: one is focused on why beliefs and their corresponding traditions are dying, and the other on how and why it is surviving among children of outgroup marriages.

3.2.1. Dying Beliefs, Dying Traditions

Beliefs and traditions are forgotten when not taught, practiced, and understood. This was affirmed by one participant who said, “*Malipatakun nu awan agpaaramid lalo ta nakaasawaek met iti saan nga Ifugao isu nga kasla mapukaw dagiti nakaugalian nga maar-aramid kas koma ti Bogwa, Baki ken dadduma pay. Dagiti kabagiang lang nga Ifugao ti makaaramid kadagidiay nga banbanag* (I married a non-Ifugao, so I have forgotten about Ifugao practices like *bogwa*, *baki*, and others. My relatives are the only ones who can do such practices).”

More than forgetting about the practice, respondents also do not understand the belief connected with the practices. One participant explained, “*Para kanyak ket awan gamin ti makitakit unay ken nu adda man ket haan nga maipaliwanag kanyak nu apay nga maaramid adiy nga kaugalian isu nga kasla awan lang. Ag attend nak ngem nu nalpasen ket nalpasen. Saan met nga ibaga ni Mommy nu apay kasdiay lalo nu saan mo nga damagen nga apay kailangan nga agbaki wenno apay nga kalyen diay tulang ti natay*” (For me, I no longer see these practices, and when I do see them, it is not fully explained to me how and why we have these beliefs. When I attend a ritual, when it ends, it ends. My mom does not explain these things especially if I do not ask about the need for *baki*, or why the need to “take out” the bones of the dead).

This is similar to another participant who said that he attends to the rituals but does not fully understand the occasion. Typical of a Filipino to respect the elderly, he said that “*nu anya ti kuna da Mommy ken dagiti angel ko ket isu ti surutek. Ngem itan ta adda pamilyak ket Ilocana pay naasawak ket Ilocano a ti maaramid. Ngem nu adda*

mangisuro iti pammati iti Ifugao ket mabalin ko met nga suruten (I follow what my mother and uncle tell me. But now that I have a family and an Ilocano wife, I follow Ilocano beliefs. But if someone can teach me about Ifugao beliefs, I can follow those too).” This respondent highlights an important aspect of cultural preservation, the teaching of practices and beliefs by the elderly.

When grandparents die, cultural beliefs die with them. From the participants’ interviews, it was clear that the primary transmitter of cultural beliefs and practices were the grandparents, but mostly the grandfather. Sadly, when this person dies, so do the beliefs, the traditions, and the knowledge that go with it. One participant revealed that “*idi ket napigsa paylang ni Lolok nga lakay. Isuna ti mangaramid amin nga ugali ti Ifugao kasla koma agbaki*” (When my grandfather was still healthy and alive, he was the one who did all the Ifugao rituals including “*baki*” but such was not passed on to us). Several other participants confirmed this situation where the tradition was not passed on to them.

Cultural beliefs are forgotten if not passed on to the next generation shows the need for a conscious effort to promote its preservation. Practices may be easily observed and re-created, but without knowledge and proper understanding of the beliefs associated with them, the true essence of the tradition will be lost. It is critical therefore that the elders appropriately pass on their knowledge about cultural practices to the next generation, as without this conscious effort, the younger ones may lose appreciation of their cultural practices. This was confirmed by a participant who said that, “*dagiti lallakay ken babbaket nga makaammo kadagiti nakaugalian ket maawan da nga saan da insuro kadagiti ubbing. Dagiti met ubbing ket awan unay ti pangkayat da nga adalen dagiti tradisyon nga inauna* (The elderly who knows about the tradition did not teach it to us younger ones. Moreover, children have no interest and they do not like to learn about these ancestral practices). Indeed, for cultural practices to endure, there has to be a conscious effort to preserve them. This preservation can prove to be difficult, particularly when in a household of outgroup marriage, where spouses differ in their cultural beliefs and practices, as observed in this participant’s comment “*ita ta nag-asawa nak ket nu adda agsakit nga anak ko ket nu kuna da nga ag-atang ket ag-atang kami. Ngem saan unayen iti side ti Ifugao lalo ta ti asawak ket saan nga Ifugao*” (Now that I am married, when my children get sick and they say I should do *atang* (ritual offerings to the spirits) because my child is sick, I will do it. But not so much with the Ifugao practices since my spouse is not an Ifugao).

3.2.2. Illogical and Non-Christian Beliefs no Longer Practiced

Superstition and irrationality characterize Filipino cultural beliefs. However, the once tenacious beliefs about spirits and the dead are slowly disappearing among the children of Ifugao migrants. A participant explained how religion and education ushered this shift in his beliefs stating that:

“*Nu adda agsakit nga anak ko, nu ipan mo ipatalado ket kuna da atang. Ipaospital ko laengen diay anak ko a. Diay manok nga iatang imbes nga ipasidak iti pamilyak ket baka maipasidak pay iti bad spirit. Kasta met laeng*

iti Ifugao. Kaspangarigan ti “baki” wenna “bogwa.” Saanak met nga panig iti dayta nga pammati da Mamang. Aglalo idi nag adalak met iti pammati ti Biblia ket awan met ti kuna da nga kasdiay nga aramiden. Ta nu natayen ti tao ket awanen ti aramiden nga sabalin. Isu nga saan nga dapat nga kararagan diay tulang ti natay (bogwa) ken agparti pay iti baboy” (When I have a sick child and brought to a faith healer, he would always say do *Atang* (ritual offerings to spirits). But I would rather take my child to the hospital. The chicken that would be offered instead of serving it to my family it might even be offered to bad spirits. It is the same with Ifugao practices like *baki* or *bogwa*. I am not in favor of those practices especially that I studied the Bible. There are no such practices in the Bible and so we should not practice them. We should not exhume the bones (*bogwa*) and pray for the bones and even prepare feast for the bones for nothing should be done after the death of man).

3.2.3. Impractical and Expensive Traditions no Longer Practiced

Another notable finding on how beliefs and traditions are dying is because of their impracticality. Participants mentioned that the top three customs once practiced were *atang*, *bogwa* and *baki*. *Atang* is an Ilocano practice of offering something to the spirits to get their favor on a certain instance like getting well from illness. This is done through a ritual. But again, even among the Ilocanos, this traditional practice seems to be slowly disappearing especially among young generations of Ilocanos most especially from children of outgroup or mixed marriages. Among the children of Ifugao migrants, the cultural practice of *baki* and *bogwa* were the two most mentioned practiced by the participants may be because, among the Ifugao traditional practices, they are the most expensive ones. And as discussed above, one of the main reasons why they do not practice them anymore is the financial burden attached to these cultural practices.

Baki, on the one hand, is the Ifugao practice of calling on all the names of the Ifugao gods and goddesses including dead ancestors of the Ifugaos and the ancestors of the specific family in which the ritual is purposively conducted in favor of the said family. It is usually performed by the elders of the community (the *mumbaki*) where live stocks are butchered like chicken, pigs, or carabaos. But again, the Ifugao migrants are in a distinct context where the performance of this traditional practice is not passed on to the next generation such that when the elders die, the tradition dies with them. And this is the case among children of Ifugao migrants. One participant even said that “if one is serious about performing the *baki* ritual then one has to shoulder the meals, the travel expenses, the honorarium of the *mumbaki* from the mainland province of Ifugao”. But even in the mainland, the practice is also waning not only due to the death of elders but also with the influence of religion. Those who knew the ritual do not perform because of religious conversion.

Bogwa, on the other hand, is the Ifugao practice of bringing out from the grave the bones of a dead member of the family. The reasons may be due to regular apparition (appearance in dreams) of the spirit of the dead

to any member of the family or maybe a recurring or unexplained sickness of any member of the immediate family. It is most often the parents or grandparents whose bones are exhumed from the grave for the ritual where pigs are butchered daily (in three or five days) while the bones are out. It is there that *hudhud* and *alim* are sung and also *baki* is performed. But again, today, they perform Christian prayer service instead (very few also knows how to sing the *hudhud* and *alim*).

One participant no longer follows Ifugao customs and beliefs by expressing that “Adda met ten pamilyak ket dagiti babassit nga kaugalian ket awan problema ngem no dagiti medyo nagastos kas kuma baki ken bogwa ket baka saanen” (I have a family now. I have no problem with the simple beliefs and traditions but with the ones that are expensive to do like *baki* and *bogwa*, I do not think I will perform them).

4. Enduring Beliefs and Traditions

Traditions continue if one experienced it and believes it. Some respondents based their beliefs on an empiricist perspective that one has to experience it before he or she believes it. However, they would still base their decisions on modern practices like modern medicine when it comes to treating illness. But when the illness is not treated by modern medicine, they would still want to try the traditional way of curing the illness despite understanding the tradition’s illogicality. One participant said, “*Nakitak nga nag-atang da papak idi natay daydi mamak. Isu nga patiek met. Idiay side met ni Mamak kasla diay Bogwa wenna Baki. Ngem kasla maisurutak met kadagidiay nga kaugalian ti parents ko uray atang*” (I saw how my father’s family practiced *atang* when my grandmother died, so I also practice the same. The same goes for my mother’s side – with *bogwa* and *baki*. And so, I also follow these traditions of my parents).

Despite beliefs and practices perceived illogicality, some beliefs persist particularly when modern-day medicine cannot explain or resolve a sickness, as explained below:

“*Mamatiak met lattta a ta adiy met ti kaugalian. Ngem awan met dagiti mabalin nga agaramiden. Kas pangarigan nu adda agsakit ket saan nga atang wenna baki ti maaramid nu diket ipa hospital ko diay masakit nga anak ko. Adda lang dagiti medyo mabayag wenna saan nga maagasan ti ospital nga ag-atang wenna agbaki ngem ayan da lolak nga aramiden da. Uray iapan ko ti albularyo nu maagasan la ketdi aglalo nu impan ko iti ospital ket saan da maagasan ngem san ko pay inar-aramid dayta mapan albularyo*” (I still believe in our cultural practices. When someone gets sick, we do not offer *atang* or do *baki*, rather we bring the child to the hospital. But if they cannot heal him and he’s been sick for a long time, that’s when I bring him to my grandmother’s and they may do *atang*. I may even bring my child to a faith healer if that is what it takes, although I have not been to one).

Beliefs and traditions continue even if not fully understood due to the influence of the elders, especially grandparents. One participant shared that “*Idi sibibbiag pay diay Lolok ket adda ti panagbuni wenna baki ngem idi*

natayen ket awanen. Awan met ti naipamana nga Ifugao practices kanyami. Diay "bogwa" nga kalyen da diay tulang ti natay ken agparti da iti baboy ket awan metten kadakami. Dagiti kasinsin mi ti mabalin ngem nu sikami ket awanen (When my grandfather was still alive, he practiced *baki* but it stopped when he died since it was not passed on to us. Even the *bogwa* where they have to exhume the bodies of the dead and butcher pigs are no longer practiced by us. It is our relatives that may do it but with us no more).

Even on the Ilocano side, their practices are not spared by the effect of outgroup or mixed marriage. This was explained by one participant who said "*Ni Lolak gamin ti mother side ti kasla napigsa nga mang advise kanyami nu anya ti maaramid. Isu nga ad-adu ti maaramid nga Ilocano practices ta ni lolak nga Ilocana ti agaramid lalo nu adda agsakit kanyami. Idi met nagbiyag daydi Lolok iti father side ket kanayun idi iti baki ngem idi natayen ket awan metten* (When my maternal grandmother was still alive, she was a great influence on what should be done. That is why there are more Ilocano practices performed at home because of her especially when someone is sick. My Ifugao grandfather does the same but when they passed away the practices disappeared too)."

If tradition is not taught and passed on to the next generation there is a big tendency that tradition will be lost. Cultural preservation is much wanting but the young generation seems not to be interested to learn old beliefs and practices. That is why even if there are cultural occasions and opportunities, young people just go with the flow. This conclusion was supported by one participant who confided that "*Sumursurutak lattan nu anya ti okasyon. Nu anya ti kuna da Mommy ken dagiti angkel ko ket isu ti surutek. Ngem itan ta adda pamilyak ket Ilocana pay naasawak ket Ilocano a ti maaramid. Ngem nu adda mangisuro iti pammati iti Ifugao ket mabalin ko met nga suruten* (I just attend the occasions. I also follow what my mother and my uncles say but now that I have a family and my husband is an Ilocano, we follow Ilocano practices. But if there is someone who will show me Ifugao beliefs and practices then I could also do it)." Children of outgroup or mixed marriages are in a similar situation. They may have witnessed the old Ifugao cultural practices but they do not understand the meaning of these practices since no one really taught them about it.

5. Dominant Cultural Practice

From the previous testimonies of the participants, it was shown that in the past, whether they like it or not, whether they understood the tradition or not, when it is their grandparents that has spoken and commanded that such ritual is to be done, either Ilocano or Ifugao, they have to follow. But now that their grandparents are gone, the playing fields became porous. The children of outgroup or mixed marriages have more freedom to choose. And that their parents who belong to two different cultural traditions seem to be also open to one another. One participant explained that "*Kasla pantay met. Ta nu anya ti kayat ni Mamang maipanggep iti kultura da ket sumurut kami met. Nu ni Papang met ket suruten mi tanu awan ti agsakit nakem na kanyada. Ti panagkitak ket pantay lang*

met. Ok lang nu Ifugao wenno Ilocano. Sumuporta nak latta met uray adda dagiti pammati nga pagsasabalian mi (It seems like they have equal influence. This is so since my parents are open to one another, they support each other when it comes to cultural practices. It is fine whether I follow Ifugao or Ilocano practices. I always support them even if I have some disagreements with them)."

Other participants say that it is the Ilocano culture that is more dominant for them since that was the culture that they grew up within their locality. It is the culture dominant in the family and neighborhood. One participant said "*Nu siak ket Ilocano. Dito gamin balay ket Ilocano ti ar-aramiden mi. Ni Lolak nga inang ni Mamak gamin ti kanayun dito balay lalo nu adda agsakit* (I go for Ilocano since it is the Ilocano practices that are being done at home. It is my Ilocano grandmother that comes to our home when somebody gets sick and perform Ilocano rituals)." However, the same reason was also given by those who said that it is the Ifugao culture that is more dominant for them. In fact, one respondent said "*Nu kanyak ket Ifugao ta mas asidegak kadagiti pamilya ni Mamak ngem ni Papak. Kanya da nak nga dimmakkel. Mas mayat talaga iti side ni Mamak. Uray ita nga dakkalakun* (I would go for Ifugao culture since I am closer to my mother's relatives than my father. I grew up with them and I like my mother's relatives even now that I am a grown up)." Indeed, the community where one grew up may also play a very important role in the transmission and even preference of culture. One of the participants said

Nasapa kami nga naulila iti ama isu nga ti nakitak unay ket practices ti Ifugao. Ngem idi ubbing kami ket Ilokano kasla koma iti atang, pammati iti an-annung, ken daduma pay. Ngem idi dadakkel kami nga naawan ni Daddy mi ket Ifugao ti kaadwan nga nakita kon. Adda Baki, Bogwa, Hudhud, Honga ken dadduma pay. Isu nga mas close nak iti ifugao nga ugali (We were orphaned by our father early so what I have seen most are Ifugao practices. But when we were young, when my father was still alive, we were taught about Ilocano practices and beliefs like *atang* and *an-annung*. But when my father died most that I have seen are Ifugao practices. There is *baki*, *bogwa*, *hudhud*, *honga* and others that is why I am closer to Ifugao traditions).

In support to the above claims, one participant said that "*Nu siak ket ifugao. Ngem siyempre ta ni tatang ko ket Ilokano, Ilocano ti masurut ngem ita ta nagpamilyaak met ket Ifugao ti surutek. Nu panggep iti malasakit gamin ket agkikinnamang ti Ifugao. Adda met ti Ilocano ti tulung ngem duma nu Ifugao. Sabali talaga ta nu Ilocano nu kuna ket awan ket awan talaga ngem nu Ifugao ket talaga nga tradisyon nga iremedyo uray awan tanu makatulong ka wenno tapnu maited mo ti obligasyon mo* (I would go for Ifugao culture. But since my father is an Ilocano, Ilocano tradition is being practice at home but now that I have my own family, I will follow Ifugao tradition. This is because when it comes to helping one another, Ifugaos really would work in solidarity with one another even making remedies in order for them to help others and fulfill their obligation unlike among Ilocanos)."

However, some participants claimed that there are no dominant cultural practices for them since in the first place they do not believe and they do not practice them

anymore because of their education and new faith. One participant said “*Ti practisec ita ket awan gamin makitak nga kasla mas mayat dita nga duwa nga ugali. Ta ita nga naakadal tayo met bassit ket bibilical ti suruten tayu ita. Uray anya ti kulturam ket biblia ti dapat nga patien tayu itan. Gamin ti Biblia ti mangpakita iti kinapudno* (I will not practice any from the Ilocano or Ifugao cultural traditions. I do not see any of them as better than the other. Since I learned something about the Bible then I have to follow the Bible. Whatever culture you belong it should be the Bible that must be followed. It is because nowadays, it is the Bible that reveals the truth).” Other participants who got married personally said that they either go with their spouse’s cultural tradition. Thus, if one got married to an Ilocano or Ifugao, there is a great tendency that they would follow their spouses’ cultural tradition. These phenomena bring us to the factors that lead to cultural differentiation.

But one thing good is that their very situation allowed them to be more open culturally. They became more respectful and sensitive of other cultural groups. One participant said “*Nu kitaen tayu ket kasla “dual sim” datoy sitwasyon mi ita. Ibig sabihin advantage talaga ta uray anya ket mabalin. Iloco man wenno Ifugao. Mas malawak ti panagkitak iti sabali nga tao* (If we look at our situation, we are like a dual sim cellphone. It is an advantage since we can have both Ifugao or Ilocano traditions. My situation widened my perception about other people’s practices and beliefs).” Participants see their situation as an advantage for them for they can appreciate other cultures here and even abroad. A participant explained that “*Lalo nu adda ka ti sabali ng lugar ket nadumaduma met ti kultura da. Medyo nakatulung ti cultural background ko siguro tanu maappreciate ko dagiti dadduma nga tao lalo dagiti sabali met ti kultura na. Mas maawatak ken marespeto ti pammati ti sabali nga tao kasla diay Canada ket sabali ti ugali dagiti tao idia* (Being a child born from a mixed marriage is really an advantage especially if you are in a place of diverse culture. One’s cultural background is a big help in appreciating other people of different cultures. One will understand and respect other people’s beliefs like people of Canada who have diverse beliefs).”

6. Factors Affecting Cultural Orientation

Cultural orientations may be affected by the dying or declining cultural beliefs and traditions. Outgroup or mixed marriages had triggered further the factors of cultural differentiation like religion, education, no teaching or encouragement from parents or grandparents, the dominant cultural belief of the locality, choice of children themselves, practicality/impracticality of the beliefs, expensiveness of the cultural practice and the next generation is not interested to learn old tradition are the main factors that influenced the generation of children from mixed marriages to forget their cultural traditions.

6.1. Religion

Participants themselves admitted that the Christian faith has played and is continuously playing a role in the declining or even dying Ifugao cultural beliefs and

traditions. But one thing good is that respondents are aware that only those that are considered paganistic or against Christian beliefs are practices that they do not perform anymore. One participant stated that

Adu gamin dagiti saan nga importante nga ugali tayu nu mainaig iti Biblia. Ken dagiti nagannak tayu ket saan da met nga isuru wenno ipaliwanag kadagiti annak da dagiti ugali wenno practices. Kasla ken mother ko ket awan nangngeg ko kanya na about Ifugao beliefs ken practices. Nakitak ken naawatak laeng idi makitak mismo ken babaen ti panagbasa. Ngem saan met ketdi nga amin nga kaugalian ket lipaten. Adda met dagiti kaugalian nga mayat kaspangarigan ti kasar ti Ilocano ket sabit sabit nu Ifugao met ket ipalista da nga adda kadwana nga tapuy. Mayat met dagidiay ta makatulung iti dadduma nga tao. Dagiti pammati nga superstitious lang ti adda problema nan gem nu dagiti social gathering ket awan problema idia (We have beliefs that are not important because of the Bible. And that our parents have not taught or explained these beliefs and practices. Like my mother, I did not hear anything from her about Ifugao beliefs. I only learned and understood about them through my studies. But we should not forget all of them. There are beliefs and practices like some wedding traditions in both Ilocano and Ifugao cultures. They are good since they intended to help. Only the superstitious ones should not be practiced anymore).

This is supported by another participant who added that “*Gapu kadigiti nangnanggegan mi nga kasla saan nga agpayso dagiti pammati idi ti Ifugao. Kasla dagiti Bogwa ta mamati kamin nga nu natay ti maysa nga tao ket mapan langit ti kararwana. Awan ti agbati ditoyen isu nga apay nga kalyem paylaeng ti tulang ti maysa nga natay. Nu kuna da nga nagsakit ti maysa nga tao gapu iti karurwa ti natay ket saan kami mamati ta ni Apo Diyos lang ti adda ditoy* (We have heard that there are false Ifugao beliefs. In the case of *bogwa* we now believe that when a person dies, his soul goes to heaven. It will not stay here on earth anymore so why would we exhume the bones of one who is already dead. We do not also believe anymore that when a person is sick that it is due to the spirit of a dead person since it is only God who is with us).” When these children of outgroup or mixed marriage and more so their parents are converted to the Christian faith, particularly to what Catholics call fundamentalist religions, they tend to forget and leave behind most of their cultural traditions. One participant said “*Ken dagiti nagsabali ti relihiyon da kasla koma Evangelical. Gapu ta napan da idia nga relihiyon ket ipa maysa da metten ket lipaten da ti kaugalian dan* (For those who were converted to the Evangelical Church, they embraced their church’s teachings and turn their backs on their cultural beliefs and practices).”

6.2. Education

The other major factor which resurfaced from the interviews of the participants was education. They explained that because of the education that they have they tended to be more critical about the traditional practices that they observed. It is especially on those traditional practices which were not explained to them by

their parents or grandparents. They just go with the flow of events. This is the explanation of one of the participants who is now a professional teacher. He said “*ti makitak nga number one dita ket edukasyon. Ta nu nakaadal ti maysa nga tao ket kwestionaran na dagiti ugali nga inauna* (I see education as the primary factor in our waning cultural beliefs and practices for when one is educated one tends to question the traditional beliefs and practices).” This was seconded by another participant who said “*Pati ti adal wenno edukasyon ket makaimpluwensya nga makalipat iti tao iti tradisyon wenno kultura na. Gapu ta nag iskwela ket ammmu tayu ti explanation dagiti sakit. Isu nga doctor saan nga albularyo wenno baki ti mang-agas iti sakit* (it is with the knowledge and education that result in the forgetfulness of our culture and tradition. This is so since one would understand the causes of illnesses through education and not anymore to traditional beliefs. It would be the medical doctor that is preferred than the faith healer).

The influence of religion and education is summed up by the participant who expressed that *Nu siak lang ti maysa ket dagiti kadaanan nga tradisyon ket kasla awan met dagidiay. Kaspangarigan iti “atang” idi ket mamatiak la unay ngem itan ket saan. Saan ko pay nga aramiden iti pamilyak. Ibase ko idi ar-aramiden mi didiay ket awan met ti makitak nga pagsayaatan na iti pamilya. Kasta met laeng iti Ifugao. Kaspangarigan ti “baki” wenno “bogwa.” Saanak met nga panig iti dayta nga pammati da Mamang. Aglalo idi nag adalak met iti pammati ti Biblia ket awan met ti kuna da nga kasdiay nga aramiden. Ta nu natayen ti tao ket awanen ti aramiden nga sabalin. Isu nga saan nga dapat nga kararagan diay tulang ti natay (bogwa) ken agpartay pay iti baboy* (If I am to decide, we should forget all ancient traditions. Like *atang*, I believe so much in it in the past but not anymore. I do not practice it now with my family since I did not see any good effect to my family when we were doing that practice. The same is through with Ifugao cultural practices like *baki* or *bogwa*. I learned from the Bible that it does not promote any practices like those. This is because when a man dies his soul goes to heaven so we should not pray over the exhumed bones of a dead person nor spend a feast for it.)

6.3. Non-Teaching or Non-Encouragement from Parents or Grandparents

Participants are in unison when it comes to this point. Many of them stated that their parents nor their grandparents had not explained to them what those practices are all about. As explained earlier, when they do not understand the beliefs or practices, the participants tend not to practice these traditional beliefs and practices such that their attendance to cultural occasions are only due to their obligations as children, member of the family or their clan. One participant said “*Mabalin siguro ta nu ti maysa nga inang wenno tatang nga saan na nga isuro ti kaugalian da ket mabalin nga mapukaw lalo nu awan makitkita dagiti annak da kasla kadagiti kakabsat ko. Ngem siak ket isuruk kadagiti annak ko. Ngem itan ni inang ko ket simmurut iti methodista ket baka lipaten na metten ti kaugalian nga Ifugao* (Culture can be lost when parents do not explain to their children their beliefs and

traditions especially if they do not see any performed rituals. But for me, I will teach and explain it to my children. But now that my mother joined the Methodist church, she might forget Ifugao beliefs and practices).”

Others would say that since their parents too were not taught by their grandparents and so they will have the same fate for their parents also did not explain what the cultural practice is all about. One participant said “*Mabalin met nga kasdiay nga mapukaw ti kultura ta awan agisuro. Kasla kanyami nga diay dialect wenno sao lang ti ammu mi ngem nu dagiti dadduma pay nga kaugalian ti Ifugao ket awan makitkita mi laeng ngem saan mi maawatan* (Culture could be lost if no one would explain or teach about it. Like with us, it is only the language that we know. We only see these rituals but we do not understand them).” This can be true to the cultural practices of other cultures. One participant said

Siguro nu awan ti mangisuru ket awan. Nalaklaka gamin pay nga aramiden diay Ilocano nga ugali ngem diay Ifugao. At saka awan gamin dagiti lallakay kasla daydi tatang ni papak nga mangidaulo iti baki. Baka uray atang ket maawan to met nu awan ti mangisuro nu kasanu nga aramiden ta adda met latta kararag na. Ta nu awan da Lolak ket saan mi met ammo nga aramiden. Baka nu awan danto keta wan metten ti atang (Maybe when nobody teaches the cultural practices or tradition, it will be lost. It is easier to perform Ilocano practices than the Ifugao and considering that the elders have died like my grandfather who usually leads in *baki* rituals. Maybe even the *atang* would be lost if no one would teach how is it done. In my case, it is my grandmother that performs the *atang* but when she will be gone, *atang* will also be gone).

6.4. Dominant Cultural Beliefs of the Locality

Respondents also gave credit to the environment they are in. With outgroup or mixed marriages, children have no choice but to follow the decided domicile of their parents whether they would stay in a locality where a majority of the residents are Ifugaos or Ilocanos or other cultural groups. The study showed that the environment can also lead to cultural differentiation. When one becomes used to the more dominant tradition of the community where they are domiciled then one tends to forget the other. One respondent said

Ni tatang ko ket naisuru na nga uray anya ti kultura ti maysa nga tao ket respeto lang. Ngem gamin ket dimmakkel kami nga asideg kami iti kaadwan nga Ifugao isu nga awan unay ti epekto na kanyami ngem siguro nu dimmakkel kami iti adayo ket talaga nga awan siguro ti ammmu min iti tradisyon ti Ifugao. Diay environment ket makitak nga importante nga rason nu apay nga malipatan ti tradisyon wenno nakaugalian (My father taught me to respect any person despite his culture. And since we grew up in an Ifugao community, there is not much effect upon us but maybe if we grew up away from this community, we might not know much about Ifugao culture. The environment is really important why cultural practices and tradition are practiced or forgotten).

The above claim is supported by another participant who said that “*Ti maysa pay ket nagyan kami ditoy nga*

halos amin nga asideg ket Ifugao isunga Ifugao dagiti nakita ken naar-aramid ditoy balay. Ngem nu idia kami Jones nga dimmakel ket kasdiay met siguro, Ilocano ti nakita mi nga kaugalian (We have stayed in an Ifugao neighborhood that is why we have seen more Ifugao cultural practices. Some of it was performed at home. But if we stayed and grew in Jones, Isabela then it might be the Ilocano tradition that we would be accustomed to)." This was also affirmed by those who were also influenced by the Ilocano environment as explained previously. One participant explained that *"Ilocano gamin ti naka irwaman mi. Siguro nu adda kami idia lugar nga kakadwami ket Ifugao baka kasdiay met ti suruten mi. Nu anya gamin ti makikititam iti karrubam ket isu met ti mabalin mo nga suruten. At saka ka-Ilokanuan talaga ditoy ayan mi (We were used to Ilocano. But if we have stayed with an Ifugao community we might be doing what they are doing. This is because when one sees what is happening at the neighborhood, there is the tendency to also follow them. And our neighborhood is Ilocano)."*

6.5. Choice of the Children/Spouse Belong to the Another Cultural Group

As mentioned above, the passing away of the grandparents and the seeming indifference of parents of outgroup or mixed marriages to teach their children on matters of cultural tradition, children are given more freedom to choose what is to be believed in and what is to be done within their homes. This makes the entry or exit of certain beliefs and practices into their lives. One participant confided that *"Nu ditoy balay mi ket Ilocano lang met ti masursurut ditoy. Ngem nu idia ruwar kas pangarigan kada Mommy ket makita mi ti Ifugao nga nakaugalian. Diay Lolo mi gamin iti side ni mommy ket mumbaki. Ngem nu ditoy balay ket Ilocano ti nakasanayan mi gamin ket Ilocano met ti karruba mi (At home it is the Ilocano tradition that is followed. But outside, especially with our mother's place, who is an Ifugao, we witness Ifugao traditions since my grandfather is a mumbaki. But here at home, we practice the Ilocano tradition since we are also in an Ilocano community)."*

Weighing between which tradition is more dominant, some respondents said that they are not opposites they are only different. But one participant said that he is more comfortable with Ilocano practices this is because he is married to an Ilocano and so whatever happens in their house, he might follow that of his spouse. It may also depend on who is more assertive between the spouses of an outgroup or mixed marriage. One participant confided that when a spouse belongs to a different cultural group and he or she is more assertive the other might not assert his or her cultural beliefs. He said that

Mabalin lalo nu medyo mas naturay diay maysa. Kasla idi ken Mama nga nu nag sau ni Daddy ket adia ti masurut. Nu agayab ka kunana iti albularyo ket adia ti masurut. Awan ti Baki maliban nu ag sao ni Lolok nga lakay nga dapat uray adda albularyo ket adda met agbaki. Para kanyak ket saan met nga mapukaw adda latta met kanyak. Ngem nu awan talaga ti agaramid wenno mangidaulo tapno mapasamak ti maysa nga kaugalian ket aka talaga nga mapukaw ti tradisyon wenno kultura. Ta no siak ket saan ko met

ammo nga aramid dagidiayen (It can happen that one culture is dominant especially if one spouse is more assertive than the other. It is like with my parents, when my father decides it has to be followed. If he looks for a faith healer, a faith healer must be called. There are no baki unless my grandfather would say that in spite of the faith healer, baki must also be performed. I will not forget this tradition but if no one can perform or lead the ritual then such would be lost especially that I do not know how to do it by myself).

6.6. Expensive and Impracticality of the Cultural Beliefs

The perceived impracticality of the cultural beliefs is an influence of education. Since people now understood the causes and effects in this world through education, the traditional healing beliefs are set aside and serve only as a last resort when sickness in the family is not cured by medicine. The same is through with religion. Some beliefs and practices that were considered unnecessary or impractical and not to mention expensive. One participant explained that *"nangnangnegan mi nga kasla saan nga agpayso dagiti pammati idi ti Ifugao. Kasla dagiti Bogwa ta mamati kamin nga nu natay ti maysa nga tao ket mapan langit ti kararwana. Awan ti agbati ditoyen isu nga apay nga kalyem paylaeng ti tulang ti maysa nga natay. Nu kuna da nga nagsakit ti maysa nga tao gapu iti karurwa ti natay ket saan kami mamati ta ni Apo Diyos lang ti adda ditoy (We heard that there are false Ifugao traditional beliefs. Just like in bogwa, we believe now that when a man dies his soul goes into heaven. So why would one still dig the bones of the dead? If they say that an illness was caused by the soul or spirit of the dead, we do not believe in it since only God's spirit is here)."*

Another consideration is the expensiveness of the Ifugao cultural practices. In the Ifugao tradition, such practices as *baki* or *bogwa* or any cultural event is sometimes done concerning social status of the family. And knowing the economic standing of the participant's families, some participants must have to think twice before engaging in the practice of these traditional cultural beliefs. One participant said *"Ti maysa nga naibagakun ket ti kaugalian ti Ifugao ket nangina. Kasar man, minatay wenno anya man nga tradisyon da ket nangina (As I have said Ifugao traditional practices are expensive. Whether it is a wedding, a wake and others are expensive)."* This is supported by another participant who said that *"Nu siak ket mas comfortable nak iti Ilocano. Mas simple gamin ti tradisyon da. Nangina ti tradisyon ti ifugao. Uray ni father ko ket kasla ibbatan na met ta narigat ngarud ti biag (I am more comfortable with Ilocano practices since their tradition is simpler. Ifugao tradition is expensive. Even my Ifugao father is not into it due to the difficulties of life)."*

6.7. Next Generation not Interested to Learn Tradition

One observation that respondents observe among the young and even among themselves is the kind of interests that our young generation that we have today. One participant said *"Ita gamin ket adu ti technology. Gapu iti*

sabali ti panunut lalo na dagiti medyo ubbing ket kasla awan unay ti interest da kadagiti kaugalian wenno kultura. Kasla nu adda man wenno awan ket ok kanya da (Today there are many technologies. Since the young ones have a different interest, they do not have attention to cultural traditions. It does not matter or concern them whether there is tradition or none).” This is compounded by parents in an outgroup or mixed marriage who seem not to believe in their cultural tradition. One participant confided that *“Iti side ni mother ko nga Ilocano ket makitak nga adda latta met dagiti nakaugalian da ngem ti side ni father ko ket kasla mapukpukawen. Lalo ta awan daydi lolok ta ni father mi ket kasla saan unay nga mamati kadagiti nakaugalian ti Ifugao. Adda pagka pilosopo na. Uray to pay dagiti adda nagadalan na ket saan da met nga malipatan ti tradisyon da ngem isu na ket sabali* (I experienced that there are Ilocano traditions that are performed in my mother’s family than with my Ifugao father’s family. The cultural tradition is fading especially that my paternal grandfather passed away and my father seem not to believe in the Ifugao tradition anymore. He is a sophist. The educated ones still respect their tradition but my father does not).” Children of outgroup or mixed marriages are cold in embracing or learning how to do certain cultural practices. So much so that when the elders had passed away, there were a few or even none who can perform certain rituals. And now with the next generation of children produced under outgroup or mixed marriages, the concern could have been compounded more.

7. Problems Encountered by Children of Outgroup Marriage

Several of the participants have experienced bullying when they were young or kids in grade school. In grade school, the bullying was usually associated with their cultural lineage. Since they are a product of two cultural lineages, they have sometimes to choose to join between two groups, the Ilocano group or the Ifugao group. But today there is no bullying anymore to them and the younger generations. It seems that the young ones have already accepted the fact they are now part of their community. The cultural barrier seemed to have collapsed. One participant said *“Idi lang elementary kami ket adda ti apa ti purok ti Ilocano ken Purok ti Ifugao. Nakiramramanak a ta addaak ti Purok ti Ifugao ket kaguradak dagiti Ilocano ta kuna da ket adda kanu met darak nga Ilocano ngem apay nga ag side nak iti ifugao. Ngem idi ubbing kami adiy. Awan metten itan* (It was only when we were in the elementary school that there was a conflict between the groups Ilocanos and Ifugaos. I became part of it since I live in the Ifugao community so I joined them. The Ilocanos are angry at me and they said I should not go with the Ifugao since I have Ilocano blood. But that was when we were young. There is no such thing now).”

Another participant recounted that the experience of being bullied was only when they were young in grade school. She said *“Medyo dilladillawen da met lalo idi ubbing kami nga ag-iskwela. Ngem itan ta dadakkel kami ket awanen. Nu ita kadagiti ubbing ko ket awan met istorya da nga dillawen da isuda. Idi panawen mi ket kuna da nga puglit. Kuna mi met ket sikayu nay narawit kayo*

bagoong. Ngem ita ket awan metten (There was teasing that I have an Ifugao blood when we were young in elementary school but it stopped as we grew up. The children today do not have the same story of teasing or bullying due to their cultural background. In our time, they say we are sons and daughters of Ifugaos but we also say that they are good only for *bagoong* (fish sauce). But those days are gone now).” Other participants say that they experienced bullying in high school since they have now to study in the main town. They were bullied not only because of their cultural lineage but also because they are from the upland barangays. Those who are in the center of the town generally think that they are better than those who are from the upland. But they all say that it was all in the past now. At present, there seems to be a general acceptance of one another.

Other participants have different experiences since they maximized the use of their cultural situatedness. They made use of them being a product of an outgroup or mixed marriage to make friends with anybody, Ifugao or Ilocano. For them, they had not experienced any bullying since they accustomed themselves to anybody, especially to Ilocanos. However, they had experienced that in some cases there are misunderstandings within their families, especially with their parents. Despite their situation, they are very happy to be a product of outgroup or mixed marriage. One participant said *“Mayat nu dadduma ta ammom ti kaugalian ti agsasabali nga tao ngem nu dadduma nakitak nga narigat kada Daddy ken Mama ta nu dadduma adiy pammati ti maminsan nga pagririan da. Ngem mayat ta mas ad-adu ti maamwan nga kaugalian ken tattao nga mabalin nga gagayem* (It is good to be in this situation since you will come to know different cultures but I see that it is sometimes difficult for my parents for it is also a source of differences. But it is generally good since you will appreciate more people and befriend more people of different cultural orientation).”

8. Reduction of Cultural Differentiation in Out-group Marriage

Reduction of cultural differentiation must not be taken too academically. Eder [14] spoke of it as something inevitable due to so many factors like economic mobility, migration, religious conversion, and now outgroup or mixed marriages. Looking at the condition of children of outgroup or mixed marriages, one can say that it would be very difficult to reduce the effect of outgroup marriage from a macro-level. One has to start from where the cultural practices or traditions begin ... the family. When parents of outgroup or mixed marriages themselves have no interest in the transmission of culture, the task might be more difficult. However, one participant said that *“Siguro kasla kanya mi, kailangan nga nu adda okasyon ket makitabuno dagiti annak da tapno makita ken maranasan da diay nakugalian nga kasdiy. Nu sika mi ket sumurot kami met latta kanya da ngem baka nu siak to ket saan konto maibaga kadagiti annak ko* (For us, our children must attend to certain occasions so they can observe and experience firsthand the traditional practice. For me, I follow and attend but I do not know later on with my children if I could help them understand our tradition).”

Indeed, looking at the reasons for the waning practice of the Ifugao cultural traditions, parents themselves have to explain to their children and convince them to attend cultural rituals for their exposure. Moreover, other institutions like schools and other government agencies are much encouraged to participate in these attempts to reduce cultural differentiation in the context of an outgroup or mixed marriages. Such attempts of cultural preservation could be done by ensuring their transmission to the young generation through the establishment of schools of a living tradition (SLT) whereby cultural practices are transferred to the young by those who knew the cultural practices [15].

9. Summary

Migration's effect in today's globalized world has been felt even at the level of cultural practices. Many people, individually or by group, voluntarily or by necessity, have to migrate to avoid conflicts and problems and be able to find a better place where life could be more accommodating. People are displaced due to armed conflicts, economic difficulties, and other pressing problems in the family and society. Outgroup or mixed marriages are also caused by migration. This migration phenomenon does not exempt our indigenous peoples. It has also affected their beliefs, their social, cultural, and economic activities, and their lives as a whole. This study had shown that outgroup or mixed marriages may lead to indigenous people's forgetfulness of their native language and even lead to cultural differentiation. It is in this line that this project was conducted, that is, to determine whether or not outgroup or mixed marriages may have a differentiating effect among the children.

In terms of language, children of an outgroup or mixed marriages adapt the language or dialect of the research locale. Since the Ifugao parents were children of migrants in the locality, it is the Ilocano language that is adopted by the respondents. It must also be noted that learning the Ifugao language most often does not take place inside the family but is learned outside the home particularly at school and among peers.

Moreover, the geographical location or the environment affects the acquisition and use of language. For children of an outgroup or mixed marriages who were raised in an Ilocano neighborhood, there is a strong possibility that they adapt the Ilocano language and it would be the Ifugao language if they were raised otherwise.

The more dominant culture in an outgroup marriage also dictates what tradition is to be followed and in particular on what language to be used. Among children of an outgroup or mixed marriages, Ilocano is a dominant culture that dictates the acquisition of conversational language. However, it does not mean that the other cultural language is left behind for the participants are saying that they understand Ifugao language the only concern is that others have difficulty speaking with it.

In terms of beliefs and tradition, children of outgroup or mixed marriages have a dying belief system and tradition. There is an intricate relationship in terms of their belief

system and the practice of their tradition including the language attached to it. Non-belief or non-understanding the reasons behind the cultural tradition or practice leads to non-practice of such tradition or cultural belief.

Among the children of Indigenous Ifugao migrants' outgroup or mixed marriages, the more dominant culture is Ilocano. Why is the Ilocano culture more dominant with these children of outgroup marriages? The answer could be culled from the reasons why the Ifugao beliefs and traditions are declining or even dying. Some would say out of simplicity, Ilocano tradition is simpler than the Ifugaos, besides the latter are more expensive to do. Other reasons were education and religious conversions. These two played an important role in the re-evaluation of Ifugao traditions which for some are illogical and not based on Christian beliefs.

But whether it is the Ilocano culture that is more dominant, the participants are one in saying that their very situation is an advantage if not a blessing since it provided them opportunities to be able to appreciate other people of different cultures.

The factors that affect or enhance cultural differentiation among the children of outgroup marriages were the following:

1. Education – they said that the more educated one is the more critical one would become of the different beliefs and traditions.
2. Religion – they said that the Bible, believed to be the source of truth, does not provide any of the major traditional practices of the Ifugaos and even the Ilocanos. Some of them contradict certain Christian beliefs like after death souls go to heaven. They do not reside among us.
3. And more importantly, the language when one does not know how to speak or understand it, has a strong impact on one's beliefs and traditions.

The children of outgroup or mixed marriages had experienced bullying when they were young particularly when they were in grade school. Just like their parents or grandparents, there was also discrimination against them when they first migrated in the locality but ultimately everything went well. The good thing is that when they grew up there was no more bullying. And from the participants' accounts, the young generations today have not yet narrated any similar bullying against them because of their cultural background. This only proves the fact that the porous character of culture. People can adapt. And in that adaptation, a new culture is embraced, a new culture is created, or a particular culture ceases to exist. In all cases, cultural differentiation takes place.

How could cultural differentiation be reduced among children of outgroup marriages? From the previous discussion, it could be done through the family and exposure of these children of an outgroup or mixed marriages to actual cultural practices for them to experience firsthand the traditional practices. However, this could be difficult since the participants' migrant parents seem to be also cold in learning and practicing their cultural traditions. The help of other institutions is then much needed, institutions like schools, churches, and other agencies, governmental or non-governmental agencies.

10. Conclusions

From the findings of the study, the following were concluded:

1. The special situation of the children of an outgroup or mixed marriages might lead them not to be able to speak or worst to forget to speak their native language;
2. The traditional beliefs and practices of the Ifugaos are also on the verge of oblivion among children of outgroup marriages;
3. The more dominant culture among children of outgroup or mixed marriages has a greater influence upon them; and
4. Cultural Differentiation is more imminent among children of outgroup marriages through the influence of
 - a. Education;
 - b. Religion;
 - c. Issues with indigenous belief systems, i.e., death of elders, non-transmission of the belief system;
 - d. Problems associated with indigenous traditional practices, i.e., economic impracticality of the cultural practices; and
 - e. Language barriers among children of outgroup or mixed marriages.

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