

Socialization Among the Ifugao: Guidelines for Curriculum Development

How people learn should influence not only how witnessing and teaching are conducted, but also how curricula is designed. This article investigates the socialization processes among the Ifugao in the Philippines and then explores ten guidelines for curriculum development.

by Tom A. Steffen

In this article I will investigate the socialization processes among the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao from 1972-1986, and note ten guidelines for context-specific curricula.

The 3200 Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao live in the Kiangan municipality of Ifugao Province, Central Luzon, Philippines. The Antipolo speak Keley-i Kallahan while the Amduntug speak Yattuka, both related to Kallahan, a subfamily of Ifugao, a branch of the Malayo-polynesian languages (McFarland 1980:76). These people helped create the eighth wonder of the world, the Ifugao rice terraces. These "stairsteps to the sky" span approximately 20,000 miles, and depict the race that developed them: industrious, ingenious, persistent, strong and independent.

The child is the central figure in the Ifugao family. Says Barton (1969:30): "The Ifugao family exists principally for the child members of it." Hoebel (1967:104) concurs: "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 an appropriate period of time.

Prebirth to Birth

The Bible for the traditional Ifugao is the advice (*tugun*) handed down to them through the ancestors ("*Ihuyya inhel ni a-ammed mi*"). Violation of this tested code is certain to draw the wrath of the ancestors, resulting eventually in poverty, the fear of every Ifugao. Closely related to wealth and poverty are chil-

dren. Tradition teaches the Ifugao that the soul/spirit (*linnawa*) of a child floats around in the heavens, awaiting its entry into the human world. During sexual intercourse the soul/spirit enters the female through the male, resulting in pregnancy. If a woman cannot conceive, shamans conduct sacrifices to see if the couple is compatible. If they are, shamans offer other sacrifices to enhance fertility. If there is no compatibility, divorce is legitimized.

During pregnancy the woman follows certain taboos, receiving whatever she desires to ensure nothing will happen to the fetus. (A husband came to our house from a great distance requesting a pancake for his pregnant wife.) When the woman is about to deliver, shamans offer another sacrifice (*hengan meknengan*) to ensure the safe delivery of the baby. On the third night after delivery the family holds a celebration meal with only the elderly present. They offer a second sacrifice (*e-hepen*) when the baby is brought out of the house for the first time (sixth day for males, eighth day for females).

This brief overview of Ifugao conception, pregnancy, and childbirth demonstrates the centrality of children, and its interrelationship with traditional religion. While children are a major cultural theme among the Ifugao, its interesting to note an opposing theme, abortion. Some pregnant women chose to abort the fetus, usually by drinking a brewed mixture of herbs gathered from the jungle. This practice seems to have increased over time.

From Birth to Two Years

The Ifugao consider childbirth a

normal event of life. When delivery is imminent the prospective mother alerts the village midwife, and then proceeds about daily business. It is not unusual for a baby to be born along a trail or in a sweet potato patch in which the mother was working.

From birth to two years, or the birth of the next child, the baby becomes the focal point of family life. Should the baby cry the mother quickly offers a breast or provides whatever is needed. If the mother is absent, another nursing mother will do. The baby soon learns who controls the situation, and exploits this power.

The Ifugao never leave their babies alone. (What a shock for them to learn our babies did not sleep with us.) During the day someone carries the Ifugao baby on their back held in place (most of the time) by a blanket. Willingly or unwillingly, the baby participates in whatever activities the carrier does, from high speed running games to just sitting around. The baby soon learns the importance of group and touch. The baby also learns to dread being alone while at the same time acquiring the need for a constant companion (*kadwa*).

The Ifugao believe a baby is born without the capacity to reason (*endi nemnem*). Because of this belief the parents tend to humor the child, providing whatever is needed no matter what the child's conduct. The child soon learns he's in control, including rolling on the ground while throwing a fit. We have moved from providing the mother whatever she desires (to protect the fetus) to providing the child anything he desires (to protect the innocent, the same is true for the mentally ill who also are

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allowed to do whatever they like).

Records of exact birth dates were not kept until around the early 60s. During that time many mothers began to record the birth dates of their children by writing the date on a wall of the home. Prior to this they determined age by the relationship to important events, such as the arrival of the Japanese, or the time when there were lots of rats, etc.

Formerly, parents named the child around two years of age. Until then, everyone called the child “baby” or “*akki*” (younger sibling). The parents hesitated to name the child too early in that the spirits may hear the child’s name and use it to steal the soul/spirit. The child’s death would result in a wasted name in that it could not be used for future children in the family.

The child receives two names: a pagan (*pagano*) given by the parents, and a Christian (*Cristiano*) name (formerly Spanish) given by a priest upon reception of the baptismal certificate. Today, the parents often give the child a Western name soon after birth. They will use the name of a missionary or the expatriate’s associates, if they can pronounce it. Or, the parents may ask the missionary to name the baby. This honor is no doubt a carry over of the role of the Catholic priest. The child will not become cognizant of the implications of his name till much later in life.

One would seldom, if ever, hear a mother asking her baby or two-year old questions. Rather than asking, “Are you hungry?” she simply states, “You are hungry.” The child begins early life untutored in the skill of question construction or response.

Two to Six Years

Life for the Ifugao child becomes somewhat traumatic between two to six years of age. The security coming from Mom and Dad slowly withdraws as daily work takes precedence. Older children and grandparents, the new

guardians, begin to establish for the child socially acceptable boundaries through scoldings, stories, tauntings and teasings.

Ifugao consider the elimination of body wastes a normal function of life. Urination takes place around the village perimeter (formally women stood while men squatted) while defecation is done in the jungle. The child soon learns society expects control of bodily functions. If the child decides it is easier to handle nature’s call inside the house those present will make sure this is understood as a mistake. The next time the need arises the child will consider the climb down the ladder and trip behind the house much easier than enduring the onslaught of verbal ridicule and scary stories of previous offenders. The child soon learns it is more advantageous to work with the norms of society than against them.

Another major form of social control involves the spirit world. To keep the child from wondering off into the jungle guardians tell stories about fairies (*bibiyaw*) who live by streams and big ferocious birds (*banggeyak*) that fly overhead, both in search of young children to devour. If the child resists these threats there are always others: the presence of an ancestor (*banig*) looking for one of the living to snatch, the presence of biting spirits who cause sores that will not heal (*killat ni bengaw*) and so forth. This time period teaches the child that the spirit world is very much alive, dangerous, yet controllable. Not only must harmony be maintained between people, the same holds true of the “unseeables” (*ag meang-ang*) of the spirit world.

Language socialization makes a tremendous unconscious impact on the Ifugao child during these impressionable years. I noted above the little use of questions by parents with their younger children. For the most part this remains constant during this time period: parents do not consider children

information givers. Nevertheless, those (adults and youth) trained formally in school will often fire questions at children. Many children just listen while some venture responses. They hear, however, few “why” questions. The child’s ability to respond and formulate questions usually increases during this time frame.

The child has now learned to read intonations, silence and gestures. He knows when the parents are mad or happy; that a high falsetto voice means excitement while silence (*kaumene-neng*) after a debate denotes disagreement or defeat. The child has also learned the appropriate gestures that accompany the various intonations.

New vocabulary teaches the child to focus on concrete matters rather than abstractions. Imperatives in the language influence the young Ifugao to see life as a system of commands. And all the language socialization takes place without any parental pressure for they believe the child learns when ready to do so. The Ifugao parent does not believe in pushing a child beyond his abilities.

During this time, the child is free to join any group of adults at almost any time. Should a child interrupt a sacrifice in progress adults will not likely scold him, although they may attempt to detour him. Such intergenerational experiences teach the child that acceptance among adults is the norm. They also promote worldview transfer as the child observes adult behavior.

Clothing for children in this age bracket usually consists of a shirt or dress. As the child reaches five or six, adults and other siblings use shame tactics to get the child to cover their genitals. While some children hold out as long as possible, all eventually succumb to group pressure.

Unlike many Western adults, Ifugao parents set no bedtime for their children. The Ifugao are an independent people and their children learn this value early in life. Another value that is deeply

ingrained during this time is that of sharing. No matter what a child has he must share it with those around him. The worst thing an Ifugao can be called is stingy (*makinit*).

Six to Ten Years

Parents believe their children are now capable of reasoning as humans. Parents therefore place expectations on the child, yet remain patient during the maturation process. Parental influence begins giving way to peer influence.

The child separates from parents to sleep with other children somewhere in the village. The girls have their own sleeping quarters as do the boys. In the past, there were separate buildings for this purpose, but now, any home, empty or under construction, serves the purpose. The child continues to eat the evening meal in the family home, discuss the day's activities, before joining his peers. From now on peers become a dominant socializing force in the child's life.

The separate sleeping quarters emphasizes to the young Ifugao the cultural belief that sexes should be separated. This belief is reinforced when the child sees women congregating with women and men with men during any social gathering, or when a man never touches a woman during traditional dances (which could result in a stiff fine).

As the child's associations increase, family lines become distinguished from those of non-relatives. The child's security base increases as he finds himself surrounded by some 200 relatives (bilateral descent). Kinship terms (language socialization) take on new meaning in relation to status and role. Should the child fail to demonstrate proper behavior towards those around him others will shame him publicly by pointing out correct behavior.

Games continue to be a high priority in the child's life, reinforcing Ifugao

values: group participation requiring a team effort, control of anger (*bunget*), settling disputes without unduly shaming (*baing*) someone, group competition. In other types of play, children mimic adult activities. When we first arrived among the Ifugao it was common to hear children mimicking the prayers of shamans while playing sacrifices. In time, the latter changed to playing church.

By this time the child has attended numerous sacrifices that surround

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three major themes: health (*endi degeh*), wealth (*kedangyan*) and long life (*ketu-tuan*). These rituals have taught the child the spirit world, although fearful, can be controlled through human effort. Through animal sacrifices and taboos he has seen numerous sicknesses removed, lost objects found and increased fertility among animals and humans, resulting in more wealth.

By now the child has no doubt attended a funeral and heard stories about the dead trying to take one of the living with them to the spiritual abode of the ancestors. The child has witnessed numerous animals and objects (money, blankets, betel nut, bolos) sacrificed to assure the living this will not happen. The sacrifices reinforce the fear/control attitude towards the spirit world. No matter which attitude predominates, the child never thinks of any aspect of life apart from religion. From prebirth to postdeath, religion reigns in Ifugao society (see: Barton 1969b).

The child will now come into contact more regularly with four outside socializing agents: government

schools, Catholicism, Protestantism and government instituted councilmen.

After World War II, the Americans instituted the government school system all over the Philippines. One of the grade schools (grades 1-6) resides in Antipolo where Americans taught classes, using English and American textbooks. Filipinos later replaced the American teachers but English continued as the language medium, as did the textbooks.

Another traumatic event now takes place for the Ifugao child as freedom in the great outdoors is exchanged for six hours of daily incarceration, separated according to age group and gender. It is also the first time for many children to respond to instructions through a different language. In the 1970s, the government declared Tagalog (Filipino) the

national language so English textbooks were translated into Tagalog for the lower grade levels. Adding to the confusion, were teachers who were imported from the lowlands, speaking their own dialects and using English as the medium of instruction. It is not difficult to grasp the linguistic frustrations for the first-time student.

Teachers bombard the students with questions, some of which the students are not sure how to respond. They soon learn, however, never to question the teacher's authority. During school hours a new authority figure replaces village role models. The teachers now emphasize "time" in unaccustomed ways to the child. Bells ring at certain times and the student is expected to react accordingly. Time orientation is now added to the already understood event orientation of life.

As time passes, the child learns to read, something his parents may not be capable of doing. Unconsciously, abstract thinking, linear logic and individualism reprogram the student's

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mind, adding to the traditional emphasis on the concrete and narrative. McLuhan (1973) correctly points out: "literacy...takes him out of his collective tribal world and beaches him in individual isolation (p.25)." But non-literate parents accept this new reality in that they recognize the need for literate children to help them in the ever increasing world of unfamiliar paper work. Giddens (1983) astutely observes: "it is easily forgotten that children 'create parents' as well as parents creating children (p.130)."

During class programs it is not unusual to hear students recite long poems or stories in English or Tagalog. In most cases, however, the student is unaware of the meaning of what is recited. Unlike home training, school training tends to separate knowing from doing.

While there are definite discontinuities between school and home training, most parents desire formal education for their children. Pictures of family graduates decorate the home for all visitors to admire. Many parents see education as a new way to climb the social ladder to wealth, the goal of every Ifugao family. A growing number of Ifugao see education as a replacement for the sacrificial system (*baki*) as a means of obtaining wealth. Besides, the sacrificial system does not prepare their children for jobs outside the community.

Another reason parents want their children to attend public schools is because the schools reinforce many traditional values: peer groups, family and kinship ties, separation of sexes, discipline and modesty for females.

School provides peer-groups of both sexes the opportunity to spend time together. It also allows for more peers to join the group in that students come from other villages. When possible, the peer-groups do everything together, including homework.

School provides a time when the

extended family can deepen its ties. Since arguments are sure to occur during school hours it is always good to know who is family so one can call for help should the need arise. The student gains a new appreciation of protection and security found in the extended family.

School continues to promote the traditional value of separation of the sexes. The sitting arrangement in the classroom separates males from females. During recess the sexes tend to separate into peer-groups. Some collective games also promote this value.

Ifugao parents recognize that children tend towards mischief and therefore need discipline. The school provides this in their absence. Teachers maintain control through gossip, corporal punishment and withheld recesses. Teachers would never strike a student for this could result in a fine. (This type of discipline is not common among parents for should blood be shed the family of the offended spouse could demand a settlement.) However, unlike many of the parents, the teachers rarely use fear of the spirit world to control the children's behavior, yet feel free to use the fear of the priests to do the same. Even so, parents appreciate the fact that at school there are older, mature individuals to look after their children.

The schools reinforce modesty for the girls. Female teachers teach the young girls through example and reprimand how to sit, move and behave in the presence of the opposite sex.

While most parents support the school system, family survival will always take precedence over school attendance. School attendance automatically drops when fieldwork demands attention. The same is true when special events take place. For some children this means formal education is delayed and/or irregular as they must care for the younger siblings while dad and mom work in the fields. The Ifugao parent does not perceive school as a baby-sitting institution.

A second outside change agent the young student comes into contact with at school is that of Catholicism. Twice a year the student meets a priest who comes to receive confessions and offer Mass. Until recently teachers required the child to attend a religion class taught by Catholic catechists. Add to this the fact that the school teachers are Catholics who promote their religion it is not difficult to see why most students add superficial Catholic teachings to traditional animistic beliefs. Most parents do not fight Catholicism outwardly in that it does not challenge the sacrificial system, and may provide avenues of employment for their children.

During the early 60s Protestantism became a third major outside change agent among the Antipolo/Amduntug Ifugao. This new influence challenged both traditional religion and Catholicism, nevertheless, a significant number of the tribe turned from former beliefs to follow Christ. This resulted in the children of the Christian parents no longer attending the religion class taught by Catholics at the school. Instead, they attended a religion class offered periodically by Protestants. Published materials in the dialect, such as the New Testament, a songbook, comics on the lives of Moses and David and Bible study materials challenged and reinforced Christian beliefs and behaviors.

The fourth major outside change agent is that of government instituted councilmen. The populous elects the Ifugao officials, one of whom will serve as the barrio captain. These officials represent the national government to the people. They also help arbitrate local cases. Students have no doubt observed an arbitration case. This experience demonstrated the neutral role played by the councilmen in arbitration, the administration of fines for wrong doings, the drinking of rice wine to seal a settlement and most importantly, the upholding of traditional Ifugao values (see: Barton 1969a).

Teachers now require the student to listen periodically to long speeches given by the barrio captain on subjects that often seem quite boring. In spite of this, the role of the barrio captain and councilmen expands the child's perception of the world while reinforcing traditional values. For example, Ifugao value industriousness highly. The officials tell stories of industrious (*mahluh*) people to provide concrete models to imitate. "Be like Thomas. He was industrious and now he is rich." Parents desire industrious children for they become contributing family members. The elected officials play a major role in seeing that this is accomplished. They also take over the arbitrator role of the shaman. While the four change agents exert tremendous power over the mind of the students, the peer-group remains the predominate socialization agent.

Ten to Fifteen Years

If all goes well, the family's work force now has a contributing member. In that there are few specialists among the Ifugao, the child learns how to function in the work force by watching, copying, and developing his own style, usually within culturally acceptable ranges. Those who offer advice tend to do so during the activity. Little drilling or recounting of facts exists. For sure, there are no lectures. Learning for the most part is unsystematic and unconscious, taking place in various learning environments (females, males, peers, elders, intergenerational). This "laissez faire" approach towards becoming a contributing member of the family's work force pays great dividends for the young Ifugao in that "cooperative work thus acquires value as a means to attainment of adult privileges" (Middleton 1970:170).

The family now includes the adolescent in the decision-making processes no matter what the sex. They now expect

and value the adolescent's opinions. Should the ideas stand in need of adult experience, they will receive such without shaming the adolescent unnecessarily. (The parent continues to exercise patience towards the maturing adolescent). In Ifugao society the adolescent takes on an adult role much sooner than in most Western societies.

While the Ifugao consider equality among the sexes in the areas of deci-

The Ifugao are intrinsically storytellers. Through stories they transfer a picture in the mind of one person to the minds of others through a full-bodied experience that embraces the mind, the imagination, the emotions and volition.

sion-making, ownership of land and inheritance, most consider males dominant in several areas: physical strength, mobility and religion. It is not unusual to hear females comment on the superiority of the physical strength of males. As for mobility, males often head for the lowlands after harvest to pick up odd jobs for cash. These ventures expose them to lowland values and languages of which they often gain a working knowledge. Lastly, spirits only bite males (signifying a spiritual call) who can then begin training for the shaman role.

While the superior physical strength of the male remains unchallenged, the changing role of females challenges tradition. In that many young females now take advanced education (high school and college) in the lowlands, they too have become fluent in lowland languages. And with the sacrificial system dying out, a good number of females now take an active role in Protestantism (women have always held leadership roles

in Catholicism, a major reason for its earlier rejection by the male population).

Should the adolescent go to the lowlands to attend high school a Christian name will prove beneficial. To have to go by one's pagan name is embarrassing to the young Ifugao trying to make it in a new world that holds a low opinion of highlanders.

Youth play a major role in harvesting rice. During harvest they participate in the "*hudhud*" a folk song that expresses the exploits of their ancestral heroes. Female specialists usually lead these non-poetic narratives with other harvesters joining in on the chorus. The "*hudhud*" serves multiple purposes, it makes mundane work enjoyable, encourages group participation, reinforces traditional tunes, allows the specialist to be creative in the presentation of tri-

bal lore and teaches tradition informally to all.

During this time period, peer-groups continue to spend much time together. Any decision made by one member of the group is influenced heavily by the other members. Whether in work or play, peer-groups continue to be the major socialization agent.

Fifteen Years and Older

By this time the adult population ascribes adult status (informally) to the young Ifugao. In most cases, the youth's formal education and travels have exceeded those of his parents. For this reason the maturing Ifugao tends to hold a humor-respect attitude towards the senior members of society. Formal education, especially outside the community, creates a new Ifugao. This includes the older generation as well as the younger.

Most young adults attempt to attend village meetings. The Ifugao hold these meetings out in the open or

under a house to discuss village business. Due to the Ifugao work ethic the meetings are held almost exclusively at night with the aid of homemade kerosene lamps or Coleman lanterns. Participants sit in a circle while a spokesman guides the discussion in which all are free to express themselves.

During these discussions a battle of minds takes place in which participants with opposing views try to defeat the challenger through argument. By listening to others win and lose arguments, and winning and losing some through trial and error, the young adult gains proficiency in debating techniques, something highly valued in Ifugao society. Once again, proficiency is the outworking of practice. I now will consider guidelines to context-specific curricula in relation to the above discussion.

Guidelines for Curriculum Development

The socialization procedures of the Ifugao provide those developing written curricula with at least ten instructive guidelines. Should curriculum developers (CDs) follow these guidelines comprehension should be high. Should they ignore them the curricula may end up sounding more like “a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal.”

Guideline 1: Concrete characters rather than abstract concepts should dominate the curricula landscape. For maximum comprehension, CDs should conceptualize ideas such as love, hate, fear, salvation, works, faith through concrete forms that incarnate real life (Loewan 1964; McIlwain 1987; Weber 1957). CDs can select from among the approximate 2930 Bible characters for positive and negative models to teach these concepts, such as Cain, Abel, Moses, Rahab, Melchizedec, Barnabas, Ananias, Sapphira and Simon the magician. CDs should write picturesquely, making the contextualized curricula reflect the concrete teaching of our Lord. In short, abstract concepts

should invite concrete character studies (human and fictional).

Guideline 2: Challenging curricula makes good use of stories. In that much of Ifugao socialization takes place through stories, CDs should rely heavily on this natural, effective and easily reproducible mode of communication. The Ifugao are intrinsically storytellers. Through stories they transfer a picture in the mind of one person to the minds of others through a full-bodied experience that embraces the mind, the imagination, the emotions and volition. In that the primarily genre of Scripture is narrative, CDs will find ample story resources (including many stories of children, wealth and poverty, and people who received name changes) for the lessons (Steffen 1996a; 1996b; 1997a; 1997b).

Stories tend to emphasize the whole over the parts, a cognitive style the Ifugao appreciate. Like chop suey, stories tend to stir topics together rather than isolate them topically. The Chronological Teaching model (McIlwain 1987), when contextualized, can help CDs accomplish this. Rather than begin evangelism with topical studies about the Word, God, Satan, humanity, sin and Jesus Christ, this model integrates the themes through Old and New Testament stories of real people and animals.

The Chronological Teaching model covers the entire Bible (evangelism and follow-up) in a relatively short time, thereby providing listeners a holistic picture of the Bible from which teachers can hang future teaching. Relevant curricula for the Ifugao calls for series of lessons as well as lessons that move from the whole to the part.

Guideline 3: Challenging curricula will incorporate key Ifugao themes. Numerous themes stand out in the above discussion that the curricula should address to promote relevancy and avoid syncretism. These include: the centrality of the child (conception, pregnancy, abortion, birth, divorce), the fam-

ily, the peer-group, shame, rituals that surround wealth (poverty), health and long life, fear/control of the spirit world. Holistic curricula that integrates such themes will receive a good hearing by most Ifugao—transformed lives will result for some.

Guideline 4: In that the Ifugao prefer group participation over individual activities so should the curricula. The Ifugao appreciate work groups; they fear isolation. Because of this preference for companionship, CDs should develop lessons that encourage group participation in both study and application. Bible studies should call predominately for group studies rather than individual studies; they should call predominately for group devotions rather than individual devotions. In like manner, application of the study should challenge families and peer-groups. “How does this passage challenge the Tayaban family [your peer-group]?”

Nor should curricula focus exclusively on multiple generations. Intergenerational teaching remains a strong value in Ifugao society. Curricula designed to highlight the multi-natured groupness of Ifugao will stand a good chance of receiving not only wider exposure but also long lasting acceptance than curricula that does not.

Guideline 5: In that Ifugao learn best through participation in an activity the curricula should call for immediate application. The Ifugao language centers on the verb; it is an action-oriented language calling for an action-oriented lifestyle. Understanding for the Ifugao comes most naturally through doing, therefore, the curricula should challenge families and groups to action. Questions such as the following should permeate the curricula: “What does this passage call for us to do?” “What can we do to demonstrate love to that village?” Because proficiency results from practice, challenging curricula will reflect a bias for immediate action.

Guideline 6: Provide curricula that incorporates preferred languages. Because the Ifugao have a great desire to learn English, curricula published in diaglot form, i.e. both an English and Keley-i version of the text on each page will be well received. Should the English text become too deep (which it will for many) the text in the dialect is there for them to consult. This type of format would assure acceptance of the publication without sacrificing understanding.

Guideline 7: Challenging curricula will incorporate singing. The singing of the “*hudhud*” during harvest and at other times points out the Ifugao’s deep appreciation for singing. Singing plays a major role in conveying and reinforcing Ifugao values. The same should be true of the written curricula. For example, the review section of the lesson should request someone to sing back the lesson while others join in on the chorus. This promotes individual creativity, group participation and offers immediate feedback on the grasp of content.

Guideline 8: Challenging curricula uses questions geared to educational levels. The type of questions an Ifugao uses depends on educational background. For this reason the type of questions used in the curricula should reflect the educational background of the target audience. For those having little formal schooling, description and discussion questions are more comprehensible. For those having more formal education, questions calling for deeper levels of thinking, e.g., “why” questions, are appropriate.

Guideline 9: Expect the Ifugao to challenge the curricula. The Ifugao live for debate where there are winners and losers. Teachers will have to be well prepared for the questions that will inevitably come during and after the lesson. Each lesson could end with a frequently stated saying among the Ifugao: “If its good, accept it. If its bad,

don’t accept it.” By stating this phrase the teacher honors the challenger without backing down on the lesson content.

Guideline 10: Challenging curricula maintains the same format. Much routine surrounds the daily life of the Ifugao. Work, food, bedtime, eating times, for the most part, remain constant. Most Ifugao prefer such routine in that it provides a sense of security. Likewise, the format used in the curricula should provide security by remaining as constant as possible. To expose the average Ifugao to numerous types of study formats could easily confuse them, thereby minimizing learning. Repetition of the format is just as important for the Ifugao as the repetition of the key ideas and characters presented.

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