

The Ilocanos in Tabuk City, Kalinga: A Study on their Migration

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Received: 13 Nov 2020; Received in revised form: 11 Dec 2020; Accepted: 23 Dec 2020; Available online: 31 Dec 2020
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Abstract— *This study was conducted to understand the circumstances that led to the Ilocanos migrating to Tabuk, Kalinga and the challenges they faced as they transferred residence. It also aimed to explain the different processes of integration that the Ilocanos have undergone to be in good relationship with the Kalingas.*

Participants of the study included 20 Ilocano migrants aged 50 and above and are permanent residents of Tabuk who know how to speak in Ilocano and Filipino. Interview was the primary method used in gathering data for the study. An interview guide was used as a basis for questioning while note-taking was done by the researcher to document the information supplied by the participants. All conversations were also recorded through a tape recorder. Secondary resources such as researches, books and articles were used to further explain the results of the study.

Results of the study revealed that Ilocanos migrated to Tabuk because they are looking for a piece of land which they can convert into a farm, a venue for trade and a job or an employment. Also, some of them went to Kalinga to fulfill their profession, to move out of their old residence which seemed dangerous, and to share the Word of God to the residents of Tabuk.

However, Ilocanos faced a lot of challenges after migrating. They experienced financial difficulties, problems in relation to bodong, fear of Kalingas due to political conflicts, land grabbing, health problems, tribal wars, and differences in beliefs and religion.

Considering the results of the study, it is recommended that this research will be a basis of the government of Tabuk as they create programs that involve Ilocano migrants and as they review the implementation of bodong in their locale. A broader study may be conducted to evaluate the contribution of the Ilocanos to the different groups and societies in the Philippines. This could also serve as an additional reference in studies related to migration and Philippine societies.

Keywords— *Ilocano, Migrants, Tabuk, Life and Experiences.*

I. INTRODUCTION

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

As an independent being, an individual holds the decision of where he would be going and how he would run his life. His capacity to think and act freely gives him the ability to transfer to any place which he thinks can give success to him and to his family as well. Moreover, it cannot be denied that every individual has his own needs, not just in the physical and emotional aspects, but even in the economic and political areas. And since a man cannot live alone, his

social needs should also be met in the new society where he chose to live. On the other hand, there are still other factors that contribute to the decision of the migrant. Some of these are family, culture and environment. Considering the state of migration worldwide, such decision may be brought by the combined factors provoking a person to look for a better living.

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

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

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

Being Filipinos, Ilocanos also try to meet their basic needs in different ways. One of the most effective means they find is through migration. A lot of documents in history would prove that Ilocanos are active in terms of migration as they move to different provinces and towns in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR). In a study conducted by Smith, Ilocanos have been the most represented group in the population of CAR, Cagayan Valley and Central Luzon. Aside from the nearby regions, Ilocanos' migration in Mindanao and some parts of United States (Hawaii at California) are also observed. It was supported by Concepcion (1985;31) in a study stating that from 1960 to 1970, data in Ilocos region reached up to 32 thousand migrants and 85 percent came from Ilocos Norte, one of the largest in the Philippines. Though there was a sudden decrease of such number on the latter part of 1970, only a small difference was observed. Until 1975, Ilocos remained to hold the highest rate of migration in the country. It is also remarkable that Cagayan, which was a land for Ibanag, Itawes and Malauegs before, are now being inhabited by Ilocanos. Based on a census conducted by the National Statistics Office (NSO) in 1995, Cagayan has a total number of 895,050 residents. From such data, 73.3 percent are Ilocanos, 13.5 percent are Ibanag, 13.4

percent are Itawes and the remaining 1.3 percent are Malaweg (Tamayao,80).

However, despite the statistics, the factors contributing to such number has not yet been studied. With this, it is necessary to analyse the flow of migration especially of Ilocanos who is a leading race in the said topic. This study aims to discuss migration of Ilocanos in Tabuk, along with the reasons of their transfer and the challenges that arise from the said action.

These stories and more became the focus of this study. It assessed the different faces of migration from the heart and mind of the migrants themselves – Ilocanos in Tabuk.

II. PLACE OF THE STUDY

Kalinga Province

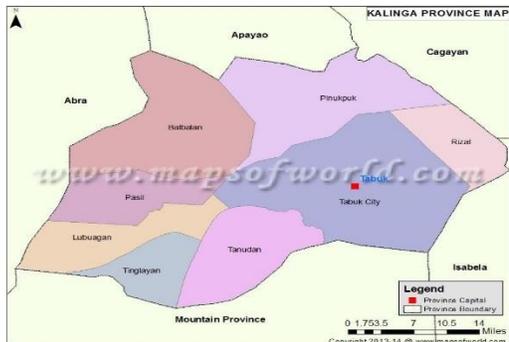
This study was conducted in Tabuk City, Kalinga province which proved to be a common residence of most Ilocanos. Based on the history, Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) is one of the regions not totally conquered by the Spaniards due to the strong culture of its natives. Spaniards had tried a lot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

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

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

former order released on June 18, 1966
 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalinga-Apayao>).

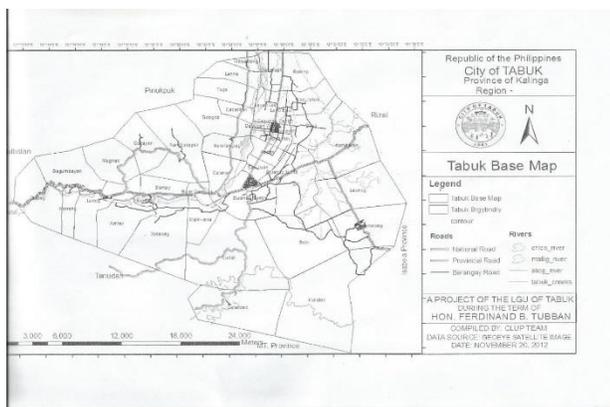
Map of Kalinga Province



(Source: <http://www.mapsofworld.com/philippines/provinces/kalinga.html>)

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

The City of Tabuk



The city of Tabuk is composed of 42 barangays and based on the latest census in 2010, the total population. (Source: <http://e-kalinga.com/index.php/citiesandmunicipalities>)

The City of Tabuk is known before as the “Valley of Gamonangs“, a tribe in Kalinga who reigned in Northern Kalinga in the past centuries. This tribe is known for their courage which resulted to a tribal war with Southern Kalinga. Later on, a disease killed most of the tribe members. Those who survived fled to Isabela and the old Mountain Province. From then on, the valley was called “No Man’s Land” since nobody owns it. It was left to deers, wild boars, horses, dogs and carabaos.

People started living in the area before World War I. The American government sent six men from sitio Tobog and Lubuagan to reside in the place. The natives of Lubuagan died of malaria and the only ones left are those from Tobog who continued cultivating the land. Soon, their relatives eventually joined them. Between 1922 and 1923, the second group from Bontoc came and decided to live in the place as they formed a colony in Barnagay Bantay. Aside from that, some groups from Bontoc, Cervantes and Ilocos Sur went to Tuga and brought farm materials including kitchen utensils and those used to kill mosquitoes. Their victory motivated others to cross over Chico River and went East into the heart of the valley. They were eventually followed by people from La Union. However, malaria is still an epidemic that lessened the number of the first settlers.

A new government rose in 1930 when the Bureau of Lands Survey Party was formed. Four executive groups manage the place before it became a single regular municipality on June 16, 1950 in accordance with Republic Act 533 which was passed by the Congress. The reconstruction of road from Tabuk to Valley and Baguio thru Bontoc led to an increased migration and economic growth. The economy of the town is anchored on farming which was even improved by the establishment of the Chico River Irrigation System. The emergence of banks also helped the residents to invest on capitals and eventually led to the progress of businesses. Moreover, cooperatives, schools, and bus terminals were established. The name of the valley came from the word “Tobog” which pertains to a pond of cold and clean water that flows from Sitio Paligatto in Barangay Balawag down the Chico River. Later on, Tobog became Tabuk.

At present, Tabuk is a fifth class municipality which earned P110,414,133 in 2007. It is considered as a source of rice in the Cordillera since it produces the biggest amount of rice that is even supplied to other towns. Also, from Tabuk came the most outstanding farmer in the national level for two decades. It is also in Tabuk that the Regional Agro-Industrial

Center will be established. It aims to contribute to the progress of the province and make it the center of agriculture in the whole region (<http://www.tabuk.gov.ph/>).

It could be said that the residents of Tabuk have a very simple life. It is totally different from Manila. However, one cannot say that it is left behind because Tabuk can be described as a progressive place since it became a center of trade. Even the field of education is improving since it does not only have a primary and secondary school but it also has a school for tertiary education. The progressive lives of the residents are evident. Moreover, the place also became a center of tourism because of the natural resources and beautiful sceneries like guilom falls, sleeping beauty, white water rafting and the like.

III. METHODOLOGY

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

The migration of Ilocanos in Tabuk

Based on the NSO Census IN 2010, Tabuk is one of the favourite destinations of Ilocano migrants. Of 103, 912 residents of Tabuk, 7.52 percent are Ilocanos. Ilocanos first set foot in Kalinga during the administration of Governor Walter Hale. The said official sent six groups of volunteer settlers in Tabuk. Three groups were sent in Lubuagan while the other three went to Tobog. Those in Lubuagan were affected by malaria. There were also some groups from Cervantes, Ilocos Sur who went to Tabuk. Allo Caparas of Constabulary Academy of Baguio was assigned as the primary officer to attend to the needs of the Ilocano migrants. Considering the malaria outbreak, Vicente Buslig, a nurse, was sent to check the health of the migrants. These Ilocano groups were headed by Turcuat Gallema and Fulgencio Candelario. They are composed of 20 to 30 families. Because of this, Tuga, Tabuk was considered as one of the Ilocano colonies in the area. Their territory expanded even up to Gobgob and Cabaritan. Some of the families included in the group were that of Bernardo Baruzo, Agustin Reyes, Fernandez siblings, Gregorio Gallema, Abongan siblings, Binoloc, Pedro Agliam, Pedro Tovera, Sixto Daguio and

Aurelio Macabio. In 1930, land areas in Tabuk were divided with the help of a survey conducted by the Bureau of Lands. These areas were distributed to the first residents of Tabuk not just as residential areas but also as agricultural lands. There were also some Ilocano groups called the *Bago* from Sigay, Ilocos Sur. The group was led by Pedro Balacang and Leon Bangisan. They lived in Ubbog, the former capital of Tabuk. They transferred later on to the east of Baligatan and west of Dilag. This area is presently called Casigayan due to the residents from Sigay, Ilocos Sur. Those in Casigayan were not just Ilocanos, but also have roots from the Igorot. A lot of other groups that were formed also transferred to Tabuk and lived in the valleys called Dagupan (Pagdadagupan ti tattao). At present, it is called Poblacion as the center of economic, political and societal activities. Some Ilocanos from Tagudin, Ilocos Sur resided in Lubuagan. Though there were a lot of Ilocanos in the area, they still avoid some places because of rumors about headhunting. Due to the fact that most Ilocanos in Kalinga are poor, their main source of income were the agricultural land areas. Some of them were farmers of their own properties while some were just tenants of real land owners. The Chico River Project helped a lot in their farming. After meeting their basic needs like food, they were selling the remaining harvest as agricultural products. They also feed pigs and hens for a living. A portion of their income was allotted for the education of their children. While some ventured into trade, some became employed in some agencies. After their work in the office, they would still check their farms. It has been a must for them to protect their lands since most Kalingas grab their areas. For the Kalingas, their ancestors were the first land owners, thus giving them the right to such land areas which they think must be returned to them (Tovera,116).

Reasons for migration to Tabuk

Life is a constant search. This includes searching for the answers about the personality of each individual. Answers are expected to enlighten the mission and desires of humans. With the rapid progress and fast changes in the world, people also expect to see their lives improve. In this reality of life, migration to other places to look for such answers. Some look for a good life. Some migrate due to some other personal reasons.

This proves that the relation of an individual to the society is reciprocal. The society needs the people for it to progress and humans also need the society to have a strong and good life. In an article entitled Man and Society, it was

mentioned that the treasure of each individual is based on the range of connections he has in the society.

Migration is one of the ways for Ilocanos to widen their connection to the society. This is a decision that was made in their minds due to a lot of events in their lives. Leaving their native towns together with their neighbors is a decision that is carefully thought of before being made. The following accounts are composed of discussion regarding the reasons for the migration of Ilocanos to Tabuk which became a foundation for them to live in a new society that served as their home.

Apan agsapul ti daga nga matalon (Search for a land to farm).

Humans do what is demanded of them by the society. Hence, people accept the requests set by the society (Inkeles 50). Robert Morey even added in his article entitled *Basic Needs of Man in Society* that people find contentment when their needs are met. However, no one has fully studied the limitation of the needs of man. With this, people always look for something that will satisfy his needs and of what is expected from him.

Because men desire to see their lives in the future, they are forced to leave even though they have to leave their families. Due to the fact that a big percentage of the land in Ilocos are dry during that time, Ilocanos are forced to look for a place to farm which will serve as a source of living.

One example is the group of Ilocanos who came from different places such as Ilocos Sur, Ilocos Norte, Pangasinan, La Union and Abra. Most of them went to the City of Tabuk to look for a better and a more comfortable life because according to a friend who invited them, Tabuk is a wide land which can be converted into a farm and a dwelling place. That was why they took that chance to have a personal piece of land that they have dreamt of for a long time.

Andres, in his book entitled *Understanding Filipino Values*, explained a lot of Ilocanos traits that contributed to their migration. Every Ilocano aims for an established life that is why they dream to have their own farmland. If he cannot do it in his own town, this desire will push him to move to another place to fulfill their dream. Because Ilocanos, in nature, have much perseverance, a difficult situation in life is not a hindrance toward reaching their dreams. It was not in their nature to lose hope (83). Ilocanos are increasing rapidly in different provinces because of their desire to look for a farm land and a good place to live in (91).

Despite the invitation to migrate, they still did not accept the offer at first due to a lot of hesitations. They still worked hard to earn a living. However, they find the fruit of their labor still not enough because there could be no other source of living in their place but farming. If they don't have any harvest, they don't have anything to eat. They even experienced not eating three times a day.

“Nagrigat ti panagbiag idia yayanmi ta awan sabali nga pagalan mi ti kanen mi nu diket panagtalon lang ket nu awan ti talunnen a ket awanen ti kanen mi, karkaro ta ti daga idia y Iocos ket saan nga fertile haan nga alisto nga agbunga iti imulmula mi”
(Ramos, pers.comm.)

(Life was difficult for us because our only source of food and everyday needs is farming, if nothing is planted and harvested, nothing can be eaten especially that the land in Ilocos is not fertile which makes it more difficult to grow plants.)

A lot of documents prove that the the land in Ilocos is not sufficient for the needs of the Ilocanos. Based on the study of Marcelino A. Foronda, Jr., the region of Ilocos is a narrow land near China Sea. Though it can be an agricultural land, it is not enough to meet the needs of the people, even during the times of the Spanish occupation (13).

Linda Newson mentioned in her book entitled *Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines* that rain during those times were very seldom in Ilocos and erosion and deforestation even affected the potential of the land (185).

On the other hand, the lack of own farmland became a big motivation for Ilocanos to go to Tabuk. They are just tending the farm of rich Ilocano landlords which usually results to not enough income since they are still going to pay for the land.

In an article written by Karen Liao in 2013, she stated in an account of the Food and Agriculture Office that 20% of the families experiencing hunger is only hoping on a land that is not even their own.

Their owners are also greedy that they are enslaving their farmers. They do not even care because they just wanted to be served.

In a book entitled *Ilocano Irrigation: The Corporate Resolution* (1991), it came to a point that Ilocanos lived a very hard life and served as a worker of the rich (3). Only few of them have their own farmland, materials and animals. Only a

few percentage was left for them. Even the support from landowners are not evident (22).

Andress even added that only few of the Ilocano farmer's movements succeed. There were even attempts from the union of farmers against landlords but did not succeed (9).

Since most of the land are rocky, the value of the farmlands are very expensive and are passed on to relatives. Because of this, a big percentage of the population still remains as poor farmers (17-18). Because of this, participants feel that they were still living during the Spanish times in which only the wealthy landlords survive.

"idiay Ilocos narigat la ngarud ti biag ken kasla panawen ti Kastila nu sino ti adda daga na isu lang ti agbiag, nu makitalun ka lang kuma ay ket nagrigat ta karkaro ket nauyong dagiti amo"
(Madarang, pers.comm.)

(In Ilocos, life is difficult like that of the Spanish times, only those who have their own lands survive, if you will farm someone else like us, it is really difficult especially that the landlords are strict).

Because of this, they went to the City of Tabuk to look for a good life. Tabuk before, according to some participants, was a vacant place open to the public who wanted to reside in accordance with the Law of the Colonial State which is a Regalian Doctrine, Organic Act or Philippine Bill (1902), Public Land Act (1903,1918) (Boquiren 147). Based on the history, the City of Tabuk is a forest-like place with wild animals. Moreover, malaria is very widespread disease which caused death to many. According to Estanislao Albano, Jr. in his article entitled The Coming of the First Settlers of Tabuk found in the journal Tabuk Life:

"The plain part of Tabuk before was covered by tall grasses called ledda. Wild game and fishes were abundant. Even during the day time, the deer came near the village. Because there were still no guns at the time, the men used nets to catch deer. The wild pigs also destroyed kamote (sweet potato) even when these were planted near the huts. The hills were forested so the monkeys came near. There were also birds as large as turkeys which we called kalong. With the arrival of more people, the kalong just vanished" (6).

Despite everything, the participants took the courage to reside in the place to have their own farmlands. The participants did not waver amidst challenges because their focus is to have their own farms and palces of residence. They immediately cultivated the land of Kalinga. Based on the survey conducted by the Bureau of Lands in 1930, the land of Tabuk was divided to the first settlers. Aside from land to where they can plant, they also owned lands to where they can build their houses.

On the other hand, Ilocano's migration to Tabuk helped them changed their lives. They had their own pieces of agricultural lands and have built their own residential houses. Moreover, they were able to provide education for their children.

"gapu ti iyuumay mi ditoy Tabuk naiyangat ti panagbiag mi nakaadal ti annak ko, nu haan kami nga ummay ditoy ah ket haan nga nakaiskwela diay annak ku ken haan kami siguro nga naaddaan met ti daga ken talun mi nu haan kami nga ummay ditoy"
(Dumagay, pers.comm.)

(Our lives improved because of our migration to Tabuk. My children were able to study. If we did not transferred residence, they would not have studied, we would not have agricultural land.)

In an article written by Giovanni Peri, it was discussed that migration has a good effect to the migrants and to the country or locality especially in terms of economical and financial reasons. This is what Ilocanos experienced when they migrated to Tabuk.

Apan kami aglaku (Trade). Trade refers to the direct exchange of products and services wherein a businessman agrees that the medium of exchange would be in terms of money. The product of this is the separation of buying from selling and saving.

Trade is also used as a response to primary needs. Often, it also becomes a way to rapidly progress in life of those who enters in trade. Hence, many people wanted to involve in trade.

Like the participants, trade is one of the reasons why they went to Tabuk.

It was also mentioned in history that in Tabuk, it was the Ilocanos who introduced the system of trade and barter even before the time of the war under the regime of Japanese in the country. Because of excelling in the creation of products especially in weaving, Ilocanos started making

baskets, handkerchief, blankets and processed sugarcanes. Ilocanos also introduced the use of bull-carts to trade products. They sell sugarcanes in nearby provinces like Isabela, Central Luzon, and Cagayan. It was exchanged for cooking oil (Bais 27).

One of the first traders in Tabuk were the parents of Eduardo Balbin, one of the participants. Their family started the selling of products like clothes, mats, jars and handkerchief. Sometimes, they trade it for some primary needs like rice.

“My parents came here for trade. It’s not the search for land but trade. They came in merchants. They had their kariton. Doon nila nilalagay yung mga goods nila at nagiging sleeping area nila. When they travel, hinihila nila ito ng kanilang cows. Their goods are used to exchange it here or what we call barter” (Batin, pers.comm.)

This type of livelihood continued for the Balbin family until their business eventually grew which gave them a better living. They were also able to buy their own land in Bulanao, Tabuk. Aside from this, Mr. Balbin is proud to say that because of business and trade, he and other 13 siblings were all able to finish their studies.

The success experienced by the Balbin family in Tabuk is the same story of those who travelled to Tabuk though from a different place. Based on the researcher’s observation as a permanent resident of Tabuk, it was very evident how the lives of Tabuk residents improved especially those are involved in business and trade. Generally, the owners of big establishments in Tabuk are Ilocanos. These include Thelma Vilorio Bayle of Davidson Hotel, sister of one of the participants, Pepe Vilorio from Narvacan, Ilocos Sur, Aurora Vilorio of Grand Zion Hotel, Agtina family of Golden Berries Hotel and Rodolfo Espita and Manuel Estranero who own Palay Trading.

In his article entitled *Globalization transforms Trade-Migration Equation*, Charles Keely discussed that in need of a global trade, migration became part of the solution. A company can get employees from other places or send employees to other places. Migration aims to widen trade and the society to where products and services are being traded.

In Zimmerman and Bauer’s book, migration was discussed as not just a transfer of factors of production from one place to a new location. The migrant also becomes a part of the new society that gives him the right to public property

(56). Because of this, the migrant’s role in production and trade can also be considered as his contribution to the society.

Nijkamp, Poot and Sahin in their book entitled *Migration Assessment Impact* stated that the ability of migrants particularly in trade helps in innovation and progress which becomes their contribution to the community (261).

The Ilocanos transfer to Tabuk did not just help their personal lives but has also helped Tabuk which is a developing city that time.

Gapu ti ayat mi nga umay agtrabaho ditoy Tabuk (Desire to work in Tabuk). Another reason why Ilocanos migrated to Tabuk is due to their desire to work in the said place. According to Julio A. Barcelliano, it was a widespread news before that Tabuk is a promised land that was why they took the chance to look for a job and earn a better living.. Francisco R. Gamatero and Manuel Sarol that it is in search for a job that led them to migrating to Tabuk. Samuel Tolentio and Rodrigo Ramos explained that their search for a better life is enough reason to leave Ilocos. Though there are some means of livelihood in their province, it is still not enough to suffice their needs.

Due to the difficulty of life in Ilocos, it is not just farming that can help them meet their needs. They also looked for other jobs even though the fallback id ==s to be away from the native province.

In the present times, it can be noticed that travelling inside or outside the country is evident due to hopes of gaining stability for their families and eventually will bring their loved ones to permanently reside in different locations.

It has been a common option of many to go other countries to earn a living and give a better future for their families. This situation in the lives of many Filipinos is an ordinary scene.

Ella Rose Angsinco in her article *Behind the Success*, mentioned that a lot of sacrifices are being made by Filipinos who work in other countries. They cannot celebrate Christmas or birthdays with their families. Most of them cannot even monitor the growth of their children left in the Philippines.

Based on the accounts of Unlad Kabayan Migrant Services Foundation, Inc., it is estimated that 10% of the population of the Philippines in 2014 works abroad. Also, 42% of them eventually migrated to the countries where they are working.

Despite the promise for a greener pasture, some Ilocanos still hesitated at first to migrate due to the following

reasons (1) They are afraid that since Kalingas are a brave and strong tribe, they might hurt them; (2) They are hesitant because Tabuk is not their own place; at (3) They are worried that they may not be able to adapt to the culture of Kalinga.

In Nancy Foner at Patrick Simon's book, it was stated that one of the most difficult issues faced by migrants are socialization and the feeling of belongingness (1). However, due to a great need for a good job, they still worked hard to socialize and to not miss any opportunity in Tabuk.

Panangtungpal iti naiketdeng a propesyon (Heeding the call of profession). Not every migrant transfers due to personal reasons. The need of the place for experts in certain matters is also a big factor. There were some instances that Ilocanos migrated to commit to their professions and help the people in Tabuk.

This is the story of Pepe Viloría's family, one of the participants of this study. His parents migrated to Tabuk because not because they are in search of a job but because they were teachers and in 1930s, Tabuk has no schools and no teachers.

According to Mr. Viloría, the only school during that time was in Lubuagan, Kalinga. That was why it was really difficult for the residents of Tabuk to study because the school was far from their place.

In an article written by Michael Kamo entitled How to Keep Your Employees Motivated and Excited About their Job, it was stated that it was not just salary that keeps a person working. A part of his profession is the society he is working for. Happiness is a big factor to keep them staying in a certain job.

According to Pepe Viloría, his father discovered a lot about the culture of Kalingas as he teaches them. His father also saw how Kalingas value education that no matter how poor they are, they do not give up on the studies of their children. He also saw how Kalingas helped one another in times of need.

His parents being teachers is something Mr. Viloría is proud of because his parents are two of the first teachers who have taught in Kalinga. It was even his father that taught Kalingas to give good names to their children. One of the names that were changed was that of the deceased Camilo Lammawin, Sr., the father of the former mayor of Tabuk, Camilo Lammawin, Jr. According to Pepe Viloría, from a tribal name, his father changed Mr. Lammawin's name into Camilo, from a name of a senator, Camilo Osias. He compared the personality of Mr. Lammawin, Sr. to that of Osias who is

a good speaker. Because of this, Kalingas find it amazing to give new names to their children. Before, they just based such names from the names of their ancestors or from the names that they always use.

Based on the study of Analyn S. Amores entitled 'Tapping Ink, Tattooing Identities Tradition and Modernity in Contemporary Kalinga Society, North Luzon, Philippines, she explained that the giving of names is part of building the personality of Kalingas but since they do not have much information about it, their knowledge about it became limited. That was why, they just based the names on things that they see around them like those they have read from newspapers or on things they normally use like the word 'bona'. Bona is the most common commercial milk that they buy for their children. For boys, they usually get the names of the liquor that they buy. An example is San Miguel. Some would even get names from the name of their visitors, as a living memory of those visitors (8).

On the other hand, it is indeed true that the first teachers in Tabuk in 1927 are Ilocano migrants from Cervantes, Ilocos Sur. According to Estanislao Albano, Jr. in his article entitled The Coming of the First Settlers in Tabuk cited in journal Tabuk Life, a new group went to Kalinga after the group from Bontoc. This is the group of Ilocanos from Cervantes, Ilocos Sur. After this came two teachers named Sergio Babate of Benguet and Dalmacio Aglubat of Ilocos. They are two of the first teachers of the newly established schools in the colony (6).

Moreover, based on the study of Nestor Castro, entitled *Isang Antropolohikal na pag-aaral sa pampulitikang batayan ng etnikong identidad: Ang kaso ng mga kalinga ng Dananao (An Anthropological Study on the Political Basis of Ethnic Identity: A Case of Kalingas in Dananao)*, the province of Kalinga is one of the places influenced by Ilocanos. The Americans intended to go to Cordillera and see the Ilocanos migrating to fulfil bureaucratic roles in the newly formed Mountain Province. Moreover, it is expected that Ilocanos can help in the fast integration of those in Cordillera to the Filipino society. Such Ilocanisation in the region became instrumental in the process of acculturation of Cordillera. Iloco became the primary language of the region. Kalingas are even more comfortable to use such language since they are more difficult to understand when they use Kalinga. The Iloco language reached the vocabulary of the Kalingas. A lot of words used in Kalinga are borrowed from Iloco like *sapata* (curse), *ragasa* (from the Ilocano word *ragasak* which means happiness), *chisso* (from the Ilocano word *disso* which means place), etc.

Some native terms are also converted into Iloco, hence *bodong* is used instead of *pochon* or *vochong*.

In addition, not only neutral terms are borrowed from Iloco but even the meaning and values that come with them. These include concepts that are connected with identity and ethnicity, and other notions of being a Filipino. It cannot be denied that the Ilocano teachers replaced the American teachers in Cordillera (210-212).

On the other hand, Vilorio family became known not just as teachers but even as politicians. Mr. Pepe's father became a military mayor of Tabuk in 1940. During his reign, it was his primary concern to uplift the quality of education through the hiring of more teachers. It was also during his time that more professional groups from Balaona, La Union came. From such group were Dionisio Falgui, Sr. who became Education Supervisor in Kalinga, Obar, G. Hortelano, Dela Penas. And Lauro Arizala from San Antonio, Zambales who taught in Kalinga Academy, Lubuagan. He also focused on the construction of classrooms from native materials.

This is similar to the story of Artemio Buen. His service was needed as a malaria technician because during that time, malaria was a widespread disease and a lot are dying due to such disease. Edward Gacuya also had to serve the place because they needed a doctor, not just because of malaria, but also because of other diseases.

In an article entitled Importance of Community Health Centers, it was explained that the health of the people is important for a place to progress. With this, it was not just the economy of Tabuk that is important but indeed the welfare of the Kalingas.

Gapu ti ayat mi nga makapanaw diay ili mi (Desire to leave the original place of residence). The desire to escape from the cruelty of the people from where they came from is one of the reasons why Ilocanos migrated to Tabuk City. This is the story of Mrs. Iloisa B. Caguay, an Ilocano migrant from Sigay, Ilocos Sur. According to her, she was forced to leave their home because of the NEW People's Army (NPA) who also lived in the mountains.

On a book entitled Everyday Politics in the Philippines by Benedict Kerkvilet, it was a common fear to the residents whenever military and NPA would meet because these encounters might lead to death of the innocent (286). Sarah Toms in her article in BBC News in 2006 even added that the government is continuously pursues its fight against NPA after 40 years of combating the group with an estimate of 40 thousand people killed in encounters.

Mrs. Caguay's uncle was one of the victims. When they found out that the government is giving out pieces of land to Tabuk, they immediately migrated to start a peaceful life.

"gapu ta parparigaten da ti adda ti kabanbantayan kasla kadakami adda kami ti kabanbantayan tatta umay dagitan NPA ket isu da metten ti mangparparigat kadakami diay kabanbantayan ta ket papatayen da pay iti dadduma, agpameeting da tanu kwan agpatay da gayam kasdiay, adu pay ti nakitak idi maysa ni uncle ko nga imbitin da santo pinangpangor ti saka na. kasdiay ti araramiden da idi isu nga napanunut dagidiay dadakkel mi nga umay kami ittoy Tabuk"(Caguay, pers. comm).

(The challenges we experienced because of NPA led us to leave the place. Some of our relatives were killed. They will pretend that they will conduct a meeting, but will eventually kill some. I saw a lot of these and my uncle was one of those who were hung and beaten in the feet. That was what they were doing so our parents decided to go to Tabuk).

Living in peace and safety in the place of residence is a great consideration for a person. This became one of the reasons of Ilocano migration.

Pannangiwaragawag ti sao ti Apo (Sharing the word of God). Ilocanos are known for being people who have a deep faith in the Lord and His words. According to one of the participants, Istanislao Albano, his parents desired to transfer to Tabuk to share God's words. Since Kalingas are known to have a lot of rituals and beliefs, this is one place of destination for missionaries who would like to help others build relationship with God.

"ummay dagiti nagannak ko ditoy Tabuk ta kayat da nga mangibingay ti sao ti Apo kadagiti Kalinga, tapnu ti kasta ket maaddaan da met iti adal wennu lawlawag dagiti tattao".

(My parents migrated here in Tabuk because they want to share God's words to the Kalingas so that they will be enlightened about a lot of things).

Though it was not easy for Ilocanos to share their religion to the Kalingas, they were given an open opportunity to be heard. If history will be reviewed, there were a lot of attempts to share Christianity to the people of the Cordillera mountains. However, due to the strong character of the tribes,

the conquerors did not succeed in building a colony in the mountains. However, Kalinga was still not forgotten when missionaries were sent. As these missionaries responded to their calling, even the City of Tabuk became a place of faith which was first embrace by Ilocanos and now by Kalingas.

IV. CONCLUSION

Ilocanos migrated to Tabuk to meet their primary needs. These include the search for a land to farm and other jobs which includes trade. Tabuk before was considered a land of promise for Ilocanos. Since the land in Ilocos are primarily dry and not fertile, Ilocanos migrated to look for a more fertile land and other sources of living. They were given a chance to participate in business and trade, hence they earned not just through farming but even through the exchange of products. Meanwhile, others migrated to respond to the call of their profession like those who served as teachers and medical professionals amidst malaria attack. Some even transferred to respond to the calling of sharing of Christianity through God's words. Another reason for migration is their desire to live a more peaceful life and escape from the dangers in their original place of residence brought by some activities of the New People's Army.

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