

## **Lived experiences of students affected by tribal wars in Kalinga**

Heherson A. Balais, MSCJ, RCrim  
*University of the Cordilleras, Baguio City Philippines*

Leah M. Donato, Ph.DCJ, RCrim  
*University of the Cordilleras, Baguio City Philippines*

---

**ABSTRACT:** *This qualitative study utilized a Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research Design. The main objective of the study is to understand the lived experiences of students who experienced the heat and aftermath of tribal war and its effects to the students as well as the strategies done by the students to cope up with the effect of tribal war.*

*Specifically the study sought to answer the following problems:(1) What are the lived experiences of students affected by tribal wars in Kalinga?; ( 2) What are the coping mechanisms of students in dealing with the challenges brought by tribal wars in Kalinga?*

*Hence, the study reveals that tribal war causes destabilization in school, anxiety, insecurity, trauma and academic distraction to students. Moreover, despite of the various challenges faced by the students they are emotionally resilient because they manage stress in their own capacity and cope up with their academics through tutorial and self study.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Students; Tribal; War.*

---

Date of Submission: 14-05-2024

Date of acceptance: 29-05-2024

---

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

“If we practice an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, soon the whole world will be blind and toothless”, said Mahatma Gandhi. This famous line depicts the indispensability of a non-violent form of resolving disputes. In countries where culture of tribal war subsist, there is no tranquility and stability in the community. Thus, all sectors of its community are affected including the student’s sector.

In Africa, Africans in times past had suffered enormous attacks, injuries, losses, deaths, destruction of properties and human skills and ideas due to the presence of tribalistic views in governance of the Africa state (Okogu, 2016). In Kenya, a country from the East of Africa Children dropped out of schools, some were emotionally unstable that affects their education, while teachers fled from school and learning resources were burnt down as a result of armed ethnic conflict (Wangeci, et al. 2014).

In relation, Nasongo and Muola(2008) discussed the effects of Inter-tribal conflict in Mt. Elgon District, Kenya, wherein, it was disclosed that 83% of their six sampled schools indicates a negative performance index in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination (KCSE) for the year 2008, while 98% of their respondents recorded a negative performance index in their internal examination results. While 70% of the female indicates a negative drop as compared to male that have only 32%. And their findings, further disclosed that 78% of their student respondents sought counseling services as a result of their traumatic experience.

“In consonant, the study of Ihedioha (2009) divulged that children in Africa does not attend schools during war because parents had concerns about children's security. The insecurity of parents in regard to their children seemed related to the vulnerabilities of the children relevant to the war experiences.

While in some part of Middle East, particularly in Yemen, inter-tribal conflict has significantly affected the education infrastructure and educated people left the country (Taher, et al. 2021). This was supported by Taher, et al. (2022) where they disclosed that educational infrastructure in Yemen has changed from a poor to a damaged status because of the inter-tribal conflict; violence being exercised during this conflict has transferred to high school students, teachers and administration staff. This phenomenon is the corollary aftermath of the country’s tribal practice, wherein Mojalli (2009) stated that “Tribal custom of Yemen dictates that every member of a tribe must participate in any war against it or be renounced by it, whatever the reasons of the war. Thus no member hesitates to take part in tribal conflict, even if he does not believe in the reasons of the conflict. Loss of property, infrastructure, houses and farms are among the targets for each of the fighting parties.”

Meanwhile, the temperament and causes of tribal war distinct from one place to another and depends on their tribal perspective. In North America, Wells (2015) stated that “during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century, inter-tribal warfare among the Native American is common, intense and becomes destructive over time, as a result of conflict of land, resources and most importantly to gain prestige and status. Moreover, they also apply the famous practice of counting coup in which a living enemy was touched by hand or by a special wooden stick.

In relation, Encyclopedia of Great Plains (n.d) describes Counting Coup or striking an enemy, as the highest honor earned by warriors participating in the inter tribal wars of the Great Plains. And native peoples recognized precise systems of graduated war honors, and usually the greatest exploit was counting coup.

In the Pacific region, the culture of tribal war varies from one island to another, as discussed by the International Committee of Red Cross (2009); in Samoan tradition the main motivation for tribal warfare was to acquire sovereignty over land. War is also related to a power struggle between rival districts and their leading chiefs, such as when no agreement could be reached on the successor of a royal title. Further, during tribal war when the opponent kneel and removed his necklace, it means he surrenders and the winner has the discretion whether or not to spare his life. In Tuvalu, a prevalent sense of rivalry provided incentive for frequent conflict, as did the desire for vengeance and the need to retaliate in response to a prior defeat. Further, it was strongly believed that a man must only attack another man of equal strength, hence to kill a women and children was considered a shameful thing to do (ICRC, 2009). And in certain provinces of Vanuatu there were two main reasons to start a tribal war: when village pride and prestige was at stake and when women ran away (ICRC, 2009).

While in the highlands of Papua New Guinea, tribal war took the form of raid to enemy country and the goal was to capture or kill one or more enemies in retaliation for a prior killing, and it was of little consequence whether the victims were men, women or children, hence women directly participate in the warfare (ICRC, 2009). Similarly, Srinivasan et al. (2019) Reported that, in Papua New Guinea, the targeting of women and children is also increasingly common in tribal conflicts, where the fighting can be indiscriminate.

In terms of peacemaking initiatives, tribal war practices has been a subject of subjugation all over the world. One of the initiative being applied to end tribal warfare is the concept of Pacification. According to Helbling and Schwoerer (2021), there are two pacification scenarios, the first is the process in which a state seeks to suppress popular uprisings and armed resistance that have been aimed directly and on a large scale against the state. The second pacification scenario describes a state’s attempt at ending wars between tribal groups, neither of which is fighting against the state although, at some point, tribal groups may get involved in armed conflicts with state actors in the process of imposing a monopoly of force. The state’s main aim here is to end wars between villages or village coalitions in a tribal population.

“In Jordan, tribal dispute settlements is done through the practice of ‘atwa (truce) and sulh (reconciliation) processes (Watkins, 2014). According to Fur and Al-Serhan (2008) the logic of atwa is to have a cease-fire and cooling-off period until the parties can pursue peace negotiations through peace making process known as Ja’ha. If the peace making process succeeds, then the disputing party may arrive to a peace agreement. Further, Haroon (2017) discussed that Sulh in the Shariah means a contract that is concluded by two parties, under which each party waives part of his right for the purpose of reaching a mutual and final resolution of a conflict. Hence, in legal sense, sulh is a settlement grounded upon compromise negotiated by the disputants themselves or with the help of a third party. In Iraq, they have a unique practice of settling serious issue or dispute to prevent tribal conflict known as “Fasliyah .” Under this custom, an inter-tribal conflict is resolved by one tribe giving one or several girls or women for marriage to another tribe. In this type of marriage, the woman has no right to divorce and is likely to be exposed to abuse (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2018).”

Similarly, Rumsey (2000) as cited by Henry (2005) discusses an interesting, and apparently novel, attempt at peacemaking in the Nebilyer Valley in 1982. in which women intervened publicly to stop a tribal fight. The group of women walked into the middle of a battlefield between opposing sides carrying the national flag. They planted the flag on the battlefield and offered the men payments of foodstuff, money, cigarettes and soft drink to lay down their arms. Rumsey further argues that the women were successful in their peacemaking efforts because they were able to harness the cultural construct of women as ‘in-between’ to other powerful constructs.

Moreover, in the same valley as previously mentioned, Henry, (2005) disclosed that in 1994 a peacemaking efforts made by the Melpa Lutheran Church, Pastor Peangain during the Nebilyer war was successful in his personal intervention attempt during a tribal war between Ulka and Kulka tribe. He further disclosed that the people of Nebilyer argued that although state politicians had facilitated the signing of the official peace treaty, they were really only able to do this after the Ulka and Kulka themselves had decided to put down arms, in part due to groundwork laid by the Christian Churches. In the Philippines, tribal communities are legally recognized as the Indigenous People. And it is the first and only country in Asia that has officially used such term (Molintas, 2003). The Philippines is a culturally diverse country with an estimated 17 million Indigenous Peoples (IPs) belonging to 110 ethno-linguistic groups in 2010. They are mainly concentrated in Luzon (33%), especially in the Cordillera Administrative Region; and Mindanao (61%) with some groups in the

Visayas area (IWGIA, 2011) as cited in (Hirai,2015). The country protects each of its tribal community through the enactment of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997, better known as Republic Act number 8371 which is touted to be a landmark legislation in the protection of the rights of the indigenous peoples and is the first comprehensive law to recognize the rights of the indigenous peoples of the Philippines in Asia (Batani, 2003). Because of this law, Indigenous People have been accorded with certain set of rights, one of which includes their rights to their land. This may be individual or collective and the land is considered the most imperative asset of the Indigenous People. This is for the reason that the Indigenous People of the Philippines considers their land as sacred as shown by their rituals that are connected to it (Santiago, n.d). Evidence of which is, Teduray and Lambangian tribes of Mindanao, wherein they revered Mount Firis because they believe that their great ancestor and spiritual leader Lagey Firis ascended to the skies from this mountain (Conflict Alert, 2022).

In relation, the Asian Development Bank (2002) claims that the indigenous people in the Philippines has a strong attachment to their land and resources that led to intermittent conflicts known as tribal wars with the other group that violated their territory. This idea is supported by Molintas (2004) where he claims that "What essentially distinguishes the indigenous peoples from the rest of the population is their concept of land as granted and entrusted by one Creator for everyone to harness, cultivate, sustain, and live on. Hence, land is a central issue to indigenous peoples because it defines their very existence." This was proven from the findings of Conflict Alert (2022) that most of the violence acts committed in Maguindanao are related to land dispute between the tribal people of Teduray and Lambangian. In this report there are five(5) cases of land dispute that causes tribal warfare among the locals that resulted to violent deaths.

Similarly, there is also a practice of conflict in Mindanao which is similar to tribal war and this is known as Rido. According to Silvosa (2016) Rido is a type of conflict most commonly observed in Mindanao and is characterized by sporadic outbursts of retaliatory violence between families and kinship groups, as well as between communities. In line with this, Torres (n.d) posited that land disputes and political rivalries are the most common causes of rido. This was also supported by Moner (2015) as cited in Ragandang (2018) that conflict Between Higaonons and Maranaos of Mindanao rooted on land dispute, petty crimes, wife-grabbing, and politics. In Central Visayas, Rio (2016) reported that Vengeance is encouraged in Panay, Bukidnon culture as a form of justice. From their belief incarceration cannot compensate the loss of a family member, and vengeance is a shared community obligation.

While in the Northern mountains of Luzon, particularly in the Cordillera Region, the tribal people are known as the Igorots (IWGIA, 2020). The Igorots include a number of ethno-linguistic groups, among the major groups of which are the Bontoc, Kankanaey, Ibaloy, Kalinga, Tinggiuan, and Isneg (Molintas, 2004). Like other, Indigenous People of the Philippines, they are also famous for inter-village warfare and "revenge raids" caused by land and boundary disputes and competing economic interests such as sources of water or firewood (Torres, n.d). In fact, the Official Publication of Cordillera Peoples Alliance (1999) reported that since early 1998 tribal wars have erupted in many areas of the Cordillera region, and territorial disputes, is the major cause of tribal conflict, due to the CALT/CADT (Certificate of Ancestral Land Titles/Certificate of Ancestral Domain Titles) program of government."

Related to this is the present Tribal War between Betwagan tribe of Sadanga, Mountain Province and the Butbut tribe of Tinglayan, Kalinga, wherein Hent (2020) reported series of fierce gun fight when the former tribe allegedly attacked the latter and cause the death of one member from the former.

In this Region, it is the Kalinga tribe who is commonly describes negatively in connection with their culture of tribal war. As a matter of fact, Evangelista (2004) describes Kalinga Province as a land of tribal wars and fragile peace, he further discuss that unlike the normal process of handling crimes through the Criminal Justice System, in Kalinga, the victim's family must find peace and solace in vengeance. Moreover, Maestro (2019) claims that the most popular explanation for the etymology behind the word Kalinga is that it is derived from the Gaddang word 'kalinga' and the Ibanag word 'Kali-nga', both terms used to describe headhunters, denoting the fearsome reputation of Kalinga tribes as warriors. Furthermore, Yodisphere (n.d) disclosed that, even though the name is considered a misnomer, since it has no geographic or ethnic basis. Yet the term has become the official ethnic name accepted even by the natives themselves. In connection, Layugan (2016) explained that in Kalinga, every member of the tribe embodies the whole community, thus, any untoward incident involving one of the members of the community may affect the rest of the tribe. In such case, any member of the tribe who commits a crime puts the other members at risk of being subject to reprisal by the aggrieved tribe.

In status quo, it is undeniably true that tribal war is prevalent in the Province of Kalinga, as per reports such as in Zigzag Weekly (2017) disclosed that on November 29, 2017 border dispute and between Dacalan and Gaang Tribe of Tanudan, almost came to an open war after guns were fired on November 29, 2017.

In the same report, and also due to a boundary dispute, the tribes of Tulgao and Tinglayan in Tinglayan, Kalinga figured in a firefight on August 29, 2017 resulting in the wounding of two members of the latter tribe. In more recent reports, Amianan Balita Ngayon (2023) reported that an exchange of heavy gunfire

between Bugnay Tribe of Tinglayan, Kalinga and Betwagan tribe of Sadanga, Mt. Province resulted to the death of a farmer and one who is wounded. Two months following this incident, another shooting incident that kills a 65 years old farmer from Lubuagan cause the isolation of Mabongtot Sub-tribe due to the possibility of retaliation from the Lubuagan sub-tribe (Quitazol, 2023).

Meanwhile, students from Kalinga is of no exception during tribal war. Dumlao (2003) reported that Kalinga residents are worried about the possible break out of tribal war in the Cordillera region after a member from the Lubo tribe murder a college student from Basao Tribe. Another effect of tribal war to students is reported by Allad-iw (2012) wherein due to tribal war between the Lubo tribe and Mangali tribe of Tanudan, their members sought places for their safety, while those employed already left their workplace, students went to their homes, and hospital patients were forced to be discharged.

In connection, Maguiya (2018)quoted Kalinga Vice Governor James Edduba's explanation that as an unwritten rule in the province, amid tribal conflicts, students who belong to the conflicting tribes automatically stop going to school and the workers do not report for work.

The aforementioned cases are just some of the unrecorded grievous effect of tribal war to the students in Kalinga. This was despite the fact that aside from the Criminal Justice System of the country, there is an existing customary conflict resolution process known as Bodong (Peace Pact) in the province. According to Vecaldo et al. (2015)Bodong, a peace pact, evolves from the customs and traditions of the Kalinga. While Maestro (2019)defined Bodong as an Indigenous sociopolitical system; also the name for the agreement emerging from that system, which governs territorial boundaries,right conduct, and sanctions in the relationship between two Kalinga tribes (bilateral peace pact),or between several tribes who have unified over a specific issue (multilateral peace pact).In relation, Barrameda (2009) discussed that the Bodong holders from the eight(8)sub-tribes of Kalinga were organized and form Matagoan Bodong Council (MBC) as the advisory board to the Executive Branch of the municipal government of Tabuk City Kalinga, and another group organized by the ethnolinguistic residents of said city known as Matagoan Consultative Body (MCB)was also organized. Hence, these two bodies were jointly charge of settling disputes in the province. And also the implementing arm of the Municipal Government of Tabuk City, Kalinga,in pursuing the programs and activities concerning peace and order and in promulgating provisions to be implemented in the City.

Correspondingly, numerous scholastic studies finds Bodong system of Kalinga effective in its purpose. According to Mario (2019)the Indigenous justice processes of Kalinga known as the Bodong performs more than enough in settling disputes since it covers all crimes provided the parties thereto decided to settle it through the intervention of the tribal leaders and its resolution is recognized by the regular court. While, Guadamor and Martinez (2017)concluded that Bodong is an effective way of settling disputes and delivering justice among the people in Kalinga. Whereas,Vecaldo,et al. (2015) confirm bodong as an effective system of enforcing peace because it does not in a way oppose to the realms of existing laws. Hence, the bodong system has sustainably advance social security and economic stability of culturally diverse tribes.

In relation, it may be true that Bodong as a form of dispute resolution in Kalinga is effective, however it lacks of empirical data available showing Bodong as an effective deterrence measure to prevent hostilities among the tribal people of Kalinga and no studies conducted to address the ramifications of tribal war to the people of Kalinga particularly the affected students in the province. Hence, this study will rummage the experiences of students amidst tribal war and their coping mechanism. The result of this study will be proposed before the Matagoan Bodong Council and Matagoan Consultative Body (MBC-MCB) as a reference for the establishment of guidelines for the protection of students during tribal conflict.

## **II. DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

This qualitative study utilized a Hermeneutic Phenomenological Research Design. According to Creswell (2007), a phenomenological study describes the meaning for several individuals of the lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon. While, Husserl (1946) as cited in Ihedioha (2009) stated that the hallmark of phenomenological research philosophy is to understand those experiences of the participants." Meanwhile,Ramsook (2018) claims that Hermeneutic phenomenology focuses on the lived experiences of participants.It emphasizes the personalized interpretations of individuals in a particular context. Thus, this research design is deemed appropriate to the study considering that the main objective of the study is to understand the lived experiences of students who experienced the heat and aftermath of tribal war.

## **III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS**

This chapter contains the findings of the study that was derived through hermeneutic-phenomenological method and was analyzed using Braun and Clarke's Thematic Analysis.



### **A. The lived experiences of students affected by tribal wars in kalinga**

Based from the interviews conducted the themes generated are (1) Incipience of tribal war;(2)Combatant strategy; (3) The effects of tribal war to students and; (4) Destabilization in school.

#### 1. Incipience of tribal war

This theme discuss the root cause of tribal war in the province of Kalinga and the various tribes that involves in tribal war. It also includes the practices of the different tribes in Kalinga during their tribal war. Hence, the following are some of the statements shared by the participants in relative to the cause of tribal war and their practice during such war:

P1: “Jay tribal war mi idi ti Tulgao ket kwa, adda ti duwwa nga agkabsat nga kailiyan mi nagkamalian ti taga tulgaw nga kaapa da ket pinaltugan da(Regarding our tribal war with the Tulgao Tribe, two of our tribesmen were mistakenly shot to death by the Tulgao Tribe).”

P2:“Idi senior high school nak ijay Kalinga National High School,tinambang dakami ti Taga Lubuagan(When I was a senior high school student at Kalinga National High school, we were ambushed by Lubuagan Tribe).”

In the Province of Kalinga, the fault of one member of a tribe is the fault of all tribe, thus any unlawful act committed by one against another leads to the commencement of tribal war. In this study,the data disclosed that feuds between tribes may happen due to various reasons and some of these reasons are not serious in nature that can be resolved peacefully but still causes bloodshed in the province. These are unlawful killing,boundary disputes and accidents, while the data further reveal that the most prevalent cause of tribal in Kalinga is the unlawful killing of another.

In support, the study of Kum (2021) on tribal war of Mimika Regency, in Papua Province,found out that the problem of murder, unnatural death, and a deep sense of revenge is one of the causes of tribal wars in the Papua region. While in Kok (2011) Some tribal conflicts happen because of a dispute over a land while others are caused by revenge killing,and abduction can also be a trigger. In connection,the study identify some of the tribes in Kalinga who engaged in tribal war these are: Lubo tribe against the Tulgao tribe, Mabungtot tribe against Lubuagan tribe, Pangol tribe against Guilayon tribe, Balbalan tribe against Lubuagan tribe, and the tribe of Butbut against the Betwagan tribe from Mt. Province. Thus, it was found out that tribal war is not only practiced within Kalinga province only but by other neighboring province like Mountain Province. This was supported by the primordialism theory which states that ethnic conflict fundamentally springs from differences in ethnic identities because in Kalinga and its neighbouring provinces tribal war occurs only between two or more distinct tribe because each tribesmen valued his or her own ethnic identity.

The data was further corroborated by Maguiya (2018)when he reported in Philippine News Agency that on June 30, two members of the Tulgao tribe allegedly shot to death a farmer and seriously wounded his brother in front of a store in Purok 4, Bulanao, Tabuk City, Kalinga. Both victims belonged to the Lubo tribe, triggering the tribal conflict. In See (2023) it was revealed that the Provincial Peace and Order Council (PPOC) recently crafted short, medium and long-term strategies to prevent the escalation of the Mabungtot-Lubuagan conflict into a full-blown tribal war that might result to the isolation of some communities and negatively impact on the economic activities of members of both tribes.”

While, Cimatú (2020) disclosed that “a person died after the tribal war between Betwagan in Sadanga, Mountain Province, and Butbut in Tinglayan, Kalinga, escalated last Monday, July 20. The two tribes share a boundary, which makes a bodong or the Cordilleran peace pact necessary, but this was broken last February.” These reports proves the existence of tribal war among the aforementioned tribes from Kalinga.

In addition, during their tribal war the participants shared that they practice the so called tribal vendetta wherein if a member of one tribe was injured by the other tribe,the tribesmen of the injured tribe are allowed to take revenge for the victim from any of the tribesmen of the perpetrator.This practice further aggravates the conflict to the extreme and leads to the involvement of innocent victims. Thus, revenge during tribal war is swift and planned against the tribe of the offender and can be done at anytime and place.In consonance, it was cited in Zigzag weekly (2017) that it was alright for Kalinga people to revenge if justified by circumstances specifically when an unjustified killing could not be settled through the bodong. It was reported in Sunstar (2014) that the eye-for-an-eye practice in Kalinga allows killing and the fault of one is the fault of all exposes innocent member-tribes as targets of vengeance. Hence,in this kind of practice students are not safe to go to school during tribal war because at anytime they can be victimized. Furthermore, Layugan (n.d) claims that in Kalinga, taking one life is a means to even the score and because of blood relationships, revenge as a form of retribution is tolerated and even justified.

## 2. Combatant Strategy

In Merriam Webster dictionary combatant is defined as one that is engaged in or ready to engage in combat while strategy refers to a careful plan or method. Thus, this theme discuss the various methods employed by the warring tribe during their tribal war as generated from the following statements of the participants:

P2: “tinambang dakami ti Taga Lubuagan (we were ambushed by Lubuagan Tribe).”

P4: “ag ab-abang da gamin ti ambush (They are waiting for ambush).”

P5: “Ag tin tinnambang ti tribu mi ken dagijy Taga Betwagan gapu jy boundary dispute mi (Our tribe and the Betwagan tribe ambushed each other alternately).”

Based from the above statements of the participants it was disclosed that the most common method employed during tribal war in Kalinga is through the means of surprise attack. This means that during tribal war, anyone who will be caught can be killed, thus innocent people with or without knowledge of the circumstances are of no exceptions. This result was inconsistent with the study of Layugan (n.d) that Kalinga were known in the past in the raids they conducted and waging for wars (kayaw) with other tribe (sin-ilians) to exact revenge. This skirmishes were face to face confrontation with another tribes using spears and shield and head axes.”

It appears that the old combat strategy during tribal war in Kalinga which is an actual face to face battle and through the use of ax, spears, shield and bolo were transmogrified through ambush war method and with the use of modern weapons like firearm. This kind of strategy exposes the students to become victims and also a valid excuse for students not to attend classes for no one knows who are potential targets.

## 3. The effects of tribal war to students

This theme discuss the aftermath of tribal war to the students particularly trauma and its impact to the academic performance of the students. This theme was derived from the following narrations of the participants:

P1: “Wen ta kanayon nak nga ag an annad nu lumwar nak ken haanko ipadpadlaw nga taga Lubo nak (Yes, because I always exercise carefulness whenever I go outside and hide my identity that I

P2: “ken kanayun nak naka helmet nu agmotor nak gapu ta amm on ti taga lubuagan daytoy rupak (I always wear my helmet when I ride my motorcycle because the Lubuagan tribe know my face).

Based from the narrations of the participants it was disclosed that their initial reaction upon the discovery of the occurrence of tribal war is to immediately rush to their homes (even during class hours) or Barangay where their tribesmen are situated or hide to the safest place, and getting absent from school. Thus, tribal war diminishes the value of education in Kalinga because of the fact that respect to future of the students is not considered and it can be sacrificed for the sake of their safety.

In addition, the data reveals that tribal war in Kalinga resulted in various forms such as concealment of tribal identity, insecurity, and trauma. The participants disclosed that during and after the tribal war they prefer to hide their tribal identity not because they are ashamed but it is a form of protection from their rival tribe. The other participants also claims that they prevent public places because they feel unsafe, and they are restless when outside their home due to anxiety caused by fear of reprisal. While the other participants reveals that they experience trauma as a result of tribal war because they are so afraid of hearing gunshot and it caused them extreme nervousness.”

Moreover, another participant shares that they experience fatigue and sleepless night while they are evacuating from their barrio to the mountains away from their rival tribe but as times passed by he already feel immune with the effect of tribal war and it helps him move on from anxiety. In relation, the the students are both mentally and emotionally resilient in handling the stressful situation, due to their ability to manage stress on their own capacity and without leading to severe depression. In several studies it was indicated that the spread of long-term psychological disorders among young people coming from areas that have witnessed wars and conflicts, the most important of which are depression and anxiety that may persist with young people even in a safe environment. Thus, students who are directly exposed to tribal war will possibly develop anxiety as compared to those who are not directly exposed (Thabet et al., 2004; Montgomery, 2011; Pfeiffer & Elbert, 2011; Dimitry, 2012; Freh, 2016; Snoubar & Musah, 2017 in Alotaibi, 2021).

In relation, it was disclosed that there is a significant distinctions in academic challenges faced between those participants studying in town and those who are in their own Barrio. Participants who are in town experienced deficiency in academic requirements and declination of grades while others shares that they have missed a lot of class activities and quizzes due to their absences.”

In the contrary, those participants studying in their own Barrio shares that their academics are not severely affected by tribal war because they feel safer in their own place and they can attend classes. Hence, during tribal war the neutral places like in the city and other municipalities becomes a battlefield, while students

in these places are prone to be victims. This shows that during tribal war the feuding tribes primarily hunts their enemies not within their territory but in another place where they are residing, working or studying thus those students outside their place may experience the extreme effect of tribal war than those in place.

In relation, Alotaibi (2021) in his study on the effect of war among young people in Yemen, found out that there is a significant differences in terms of effect towards those who has direct exposure or living in the place where the war exist and those who are outside the place where war exist because they do not have direct exposure.

Lastly, another significant distinction that was revealed in the study is that the only female participant stated that from their tribe the female are allowed to attend their class.”

This indicates that during tribal war in Kalinga the female are less potential target because it is a shameful to kill a woman by man. In Tuvalu, it was strongly believed that a man must only attack another man of equal strength, hence to kill a women and children was considered a shameful thing to do (ICRC, 2009).

#### 4. Destabilization in School

During tribal war the school conditions also suffers destabilization. In Merriam Webster dictionary, destabilization is defined as causing something to be incapable of functioning or surviving. In relation, the researcher discuss under this theme the unstable conditions of students during tribal war as well as the relationship among students in school. This theme was extracted from the following narrations of the participants:

P2: “nagtaray kami ti um-uma, nagna kami ijay Tanudan. Naglim immeng kami ti almost 1 year nga nanagyan ti uma Tanudan and hide in the mountain for almost 1 year and some of our tribal members in Tabuk City).”

P4: “Iti malagip ko nga nangyari ket awan ti agbyahe mapan ijay sentro ta mabuteng kami ti taga Lubuagan baka nu patayen da kitdi dakami ta ag ab-abang da gamin ti ambush isunga dakami nga studante ti Dao-angan ket haankami makagatang ti dadduma nga usaren mi nu adda project mi ta awn agbyahe nga lugan (What I remember is travels to town are discouraged because we are afraid of getting ambushed by the tribe of Lubuagan. As a consequence of this travel restriction, school materials are very limited in our place that we cannot buy our school needs for our projects due to absence of public utility vehicle going to town).”

6: “Amin nga studante nga taga Tulgaw ket nag absent awn sinumrek ti skwelaan, ken naglimmeng da ti bal-balay da (All students who belong from Tulgao tribe got absent in their classes and members of the said tribe stayed in their houses).”

During the interview the students describe their experiences in their respective school during the tribal war. One from the participants disclosed that he abandoned his school and ran away into the mountains with his tribesmen and choose modular type of class because they are afraid of being murdered by their rival tribe. On the other hand, majority of the participants reveals that getting absent is the only option during tribal war to protect their self. While those who are staying in their own barrio shared that there is a travel restriction imposed by their local leaders to protect them from getting ambushed along the way, and this restriction limits their access to school materials. Hence, the education sector in Kalinga is gravely injured during tribal war because the students cannot concentrate in their academics and they prioritize their safety over their studies.

In connection, the classroom relations of students such as their socialization was jeopardized because data reveals that even after tribal war cooled down affected students prefer to isolate themselves from the rest of their classmates because they are afraid. These young innocent students who had nothing to do with their tribesmen fault are forced by tribal war to hate their classmates and to sacrifice their education for the sake of their tribe. Thus, in tribal war both tribes are looser and no one wins, the young students suffers for the actions of their elders and their tribesmen who do not think of the consequences of their actions to the students. According to Smith et al. (2003) The inter-tribal conflict targets educational institutions and destroys the school buildings while the study of Taher et al. (2021) concluded that the ratio of education has been decreased during different inter-tribal conflicts.

### **B. Coping mechanisms of students affected by tribal war**

The themes that was generated during the interviews are: (1) Strategies of students affected by tribal war and; (2) Government Interventions for the end of tribal war.

#### 1. Strategies of Students affected by tribal war

This theme discuss the strategies of students in coping up with the effects of tribal war, both academically and emotionally, and it also covers the discussion on the students ability to handle the stressful effect of tribal war. This theme was attained from the following statements shared by the participants:

P1: "Kanayon kami aagyan ijay balay mi ta mabuteng kami ken isu pagka safety an mi (We always stayed in our houses because we are afraid and it is the only lace we feel safe)."

P3: "Tapnu haan kami mairaman nu adda mangyare, umiw iwas kami nga mapan ijay sentro ken tapno haanak mabuteng agyan kami lang ijay ili mi (In order for us not to be involved when something happen, we avoid going to town and for me not to feel afraid we only stayed at home)."

P7: "Basta nu malpas skwela mi ket diretso kami ti bal balay mi ken haan kamin nga lum lumwar kadagijy barkadak ijay nakon balay ta mas safety jay balay mi (After our class we go directly in our home and no longer going out with my friends because it is safer at home)."

From the statements shared by the participants, other reason why students from Kalinga is resilient in handling the stressful effect of tribal war is due to their self stress management technique. Primarily, the participants treats their own residential place or their own Barangay where their tribesmen lives as their safe zone; whenever they are inside this safe zone they do not feel afraid and they feel comfort with their own tribes and they do not think that something will happen to them because they have their elders who protects them. Another reason is Immunity to tribal war, since this phenomena is already a part of the culture in Kalinga and exist for long period of time it is presumed that all the students from generation to generation are aware of this practice thus it is accepted by the students that they can be a target during tribal war and it is normal that there is need for them to ran away and seek shelter in their place together with their tribesmen without incurring emotional trauma.

In relation, Buslig (2019) concluded that the students of Kalinga are academically resilient since they are able to successfully adjust and cope with stressful circumstances in their lives despite diversity.

In addition, to cope up with their academic struggles the participants adopts various study method such as Tutorial and Self study method. Based from the narrations of the participants they seek tutorial assistance from their top performing classmates when the tribal war cooled down and this is helpful for them to cope up with their lessons while others prefers to learn from their own self since they are in modular type of class."

In consonance, It was concluded by Ullah, Tabassum and Kaleem (2018) that peer tutoring enhanced the academic achievement of students in the experimental group significantly as compared to the control group; hence, it was an effective method of instruction for teaching, this was corroborated by Sutresna and Wijayanti (2021) that the use of the peer tutor method in the classroom is very useful in the effectiveness and efficiency of the teacher's time as a medium of information and students can be more open to friends to ask questions about the material being taught at that time.

Furthermore, Roul (2020) founded that the developed Self Study Materials were significantly better than those taught through the traditional method. The developed Self Study Method was significantly better than the traditional method in terms of development of reasoning ability of students.

## 2. Government Interventions for the end of Tribal War

In this theme, the government's initiative to pacify the war is discussed particularly the intervention of the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the traditional justice system of Kalinga as a method of promoting peace is also discussed under this theme. The theme was obtained from the following statements of the respondents pertaining to the findings:

P1: "Nag sardeng laeng ti gulo idi nagtutungtong dagitoy lallakay nga naka iggem ti Podon ken dagijy lallakay ti Tulgao ket nagdesisyon da nga ayusen jay kasu ken pagbayadin da dagijay pinmatay para kadagijay nabatin dagijay natay (It only ends when the elders from Tulgao and our elders holding the Bodong (Peace Pact) and decided to came up with a peace agreement, that includes payment for the family of the victim)."

P2: "Nagsardeng met ti tambangan nanipod di in deploy da dagitoy pulis ijay boundary mi ti taga Betwagan ken ti ammok ket madama paylang ti negosasyon ti Kalinga ken Betwagan (It stop when the Police are assigned in the boundary between our place and Betwagan, and I think the peace negotiation between Kalinga and Betwagan is still ongoing)."

Initially, it is an unwritten rule by the local government in Kalinga that all members from different sectors such as students, professionals, business owners and others who belongs to the feuding tribes are required to suspend their activities and immediately rush to their residences or their safe zone while peace



negotiation is in attempt. Then the local government of Kalinga send the Philippine National Police (PNP) as the first responder to pacify armed men from both tribes and prevent shedding of blood among the feuding tribes and establish checkpoints within the city and its nearby municipalities. Upon the arrival of the police there will be a ceasefire among the armed members from each feuding tribe, thus despite of atrocities it can be observed that the government is still in control and is respected by the people in Kalinga. In connection, Maguiya (2018) quoted Kalinga Vice Governor James Edduba's explanation that as an unwritten rule in the province, amid tribal conflicts, students who belong to the conflicting tribes automatically stop going to school and the workers do not report for work.

Furthermore, the local government of Kalinga recognizes and respect the existence of their traditional justice system known as Bodong system or peace pact to come up with a settlement and pacify their disputes. Bodong is a unique judicial system with a peace pact holder appointed by the pangat (tribal leaders) of tribes holding a peace agreement and who agree to ally with each other.

It usually works out in large gatherings between two villages that belong to the same geographic area and shares kinship ties (Martinez & Guadamor, 2017). This system will serve as the modes for peace talk between the feuding tribe and if successful tribal war will end but if not, their will be a continued shedding of blood between the tribes. However, there are numerous numbers of scholastic studies that founds the Bodong system of Kalinga an effective means for settling disputes. According to Mario (2019) the Indigenous justice processes of Kalinga known as the "Bodong" performs more than enough in settling disputes since it covers all crimes provided the parties thereto decided to settle it through the intervention of the tribal leaders and its resolution is recognized by the regular court. While, Guadamor and Martinez (2017) concluded that Bodong is an effective way of settling disputes and delivering justice among the people in Kalinga. Whereas, Vecaldo et al. (2015) confirm bodong as an effective system of enforcing peace because it does not in a way oppose to the realms of existing laws. Hence, tribal war ends only when there is a successful peace talk between the two tribes through the utilization of their Bodong system which is also known as peace pact.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

This study was based from actual and personal experiences of the students in Kalinga during the existence of tribal war thereon. Hence, the following are the conclusions derived from the narratives of the students based from their personal experiences:

1. In Kalinga the fault of one is the fault of his innocent tribesmen so anyone who belongs from the offending tribes is a potential target thus it is a normal behavior for the students to immediately evacuate from school upon notice of the existence of tribal war. Moreover, aside from destabilization in school as a cause of tribal war the students are affected directly and indirectly that it caused them suffer anxiety, insecurity and trauma, while their academics are severely affected by tribal war.
2. The affected students are emotionally resilient that they can handle stress in their own capacity and without the intervention of a psychologists while they cope up with their academic challenges thru tutorials and self study.

#### REFERENCES

- [1] Alotaibi, N. (2021) Future Anxiety Among Young People Affected by War and Armed Conflict: Indicators for Social Work Practice. *Frontier in Sociology*, 6(2). Retrieved February 20, 2024 from: <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.729811>
- [2] Amianan Balita Ngayon (2023) One Dead, Another Hurt as Tribal War Erupts in Cordillera. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from: Amianan Balita Ngayon database.
- [3] Barrameda, M. C. (2009) Mainstreaming Bodong Through Matagoan. Retrieved August 9, 2023 from: <https://www.pssc.org.ph>
- [4] Batani, R. S. (2003) Implementation of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) in the Philippines: Challenges and Opportunities. Retrieved August 6, 2023 from: <https://view.officeapps.live.com>
- [5] Burton, W., Gilpin, E. & Moret, D. (2020) Structural violence: A concept analysis to inform nursing science and practice. Retrieved August 11, 2023 from research gate database.
- [6] ]Conflict Alert (2022) Conflict's Long Game: A Decade of Violence in the Bangsamoro. Retrieved: August 7, 2023 from Conflict Alert database.
- [7] Cordillera Peoples Alliance (1999) Indigenous Justice System-Bodong and Tribal War. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from Official Publication of Cordillera Peoples Alliance 6(1) database.
- [8] Encyclopedia of Great Plains (n.d) Counting Coup. Retrieved August 3, 2023 from Encyclopedia of Great Plains database.
- [9] Evangelista, S. (2004) Kalinga, a land of tribal wars and fragile peace. Retrieved March 22, 2023 from: <https://www.asianews.it/news-en>.
- [10] Guadamor, L. & Martinez, V. (2017) Bodong in Lower Kalinga: A Strategy of Peace and Justice System. Retrieved August 8, 2023 from International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences database 6(12)85-92 database.
- [11] Haroon, A. (2017) The Use of Alternative Dispute Resolution (Sulh) in Sharia Cases. Retrieved August 6, 2023 from: [https://nji.gov.ng/images/Workshop\\_Papers/2017/Area\\_Sharia\\_Customary\\_Judges/s4.pdf](https://nji.gov.ng/images/Workshop_Papers/2017/Area_Sharia_Customary_Judges/s4.pdf)
- [12] Helbling, J. & Schwoerer, T. (2021), Introduction: The Ending of Tribal Wars. Researchgate. Retrieved August 6, 2023 from: <https://www.researchgate.net>

- [13] Henry, R. (2005) Smoke in the Hills, Gunfire in the Valley': War and Peace in Western Highlands, Papua New Guinea. Academic Research Library 75(4),431.
- [14] Hirai, H. (2015) Indigenous Communities in the Philippines:A Situation Analysis. Researchgate. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from: <https://www.researchgate.net/>
- [15] Ihedioha, C. (2009)The Impact of war on the education of children in war-torn African Regions: Parents' Perceptions.Retrieved May 4, 2023 from :<https://twuir.tdl.org/bitstream/handle/11274/10846/2009IhediohaAO CR.pdf?sequence=>
- [16] Jolly, R., & Ray, B. (2006) The Human Security Framework and National Human Development Reports: A Review of Experiences and Current Debates. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from United Nations Development Program database.
- [17] Kariuki, S., Limboro, C. & Farah, A. (2021)Effects of Inter-Clan Conflicts on Schools and Students' Academic Performance in Secondary Schools in Mandera County, Kenya. Himalayan Journal of Education and Literature,2(4).
- [18] Kum, K. (2021) Tribal War in Mimika Regency, Papua Province.International Journal of Scientific Engineering and Science,5(7),54-57. Retrieved February 14, 2024 from: <http://ijses.com>
- [19] Layugan, G. (2016)The Kalinga Peace Pact Institution, Bodong:Forging,Relationships,Resolving Conflicts,and Fostering Peaceful, Co-existence. Retrieved August 9, 2023 from: <https://mstreview.com>
- [20] Larsen, G. & Adu, P. (2022)The Theoretical Framework in Phenomenological Research: Development and Application. Retrieved August 10, 2023 from: Taylor and Francis Group database.
- [21] Machalek, R. & Martin, M. (2015)Sociobiology and Sociology: A New Synthesis. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from: Science Direct database.
- [22] Maguire, M. & Delahunt, B. (2017)Doing a Thematic Analysis: A Practical, Step-by-Step Guide for Learning and Teaching Scholars. All Ireland Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education 8(3) database.
- [23] Maguiya, J. (2018) Cordillera, Kalinga officials, elders ask for sobriety amid tribal row. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from: Philippine News Agency database.
- [24] Mario, G. (2019)The Three-Dimensional Case Disposition in the Philippine Justice System: An Interface. Retrieved August 8, 2023 from: International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 9(6) database.
- [25] Mojalli, A. (2009) Tribal conflicts cause political, social and economic loss. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from: [https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/ye\\_2009Feb\\_Tri bal ConflictsArticle.pdf](https://www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/ye_2009Feb_Tri bal ConflictsArticle.pdf)
- [26] Nasongo, M. & Muola, M. (2011)The Effect of Inter-tribal Post Election Violence Conflict Trauma on Academic Performance among Secondary School Students in Mt. Elgon District, Kenya. African Journals Online. 5(6), Issue no. 2070-0083. Retrieved May 4,2023 from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4314/afrev.v5i6.21>.
- [27] Ngufur, R. (n.d) Women Conflict and Peace: A case study of Tribal War in Cameroon. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from: <http://www.graduatewomen.org>
- [28] Oca, A. (2022) Cognatic Portrait of Indigenous Languages in Tabuk City, Kalinga, Philippines.Social Science Research Network Database.
- [29] Okogu, J. & Umudjere, S. (2016)Tribalism as a Foiled Factor of Africa Nation Building. Retrieved May 12, 2023 from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1095249.pdf>
- [30] Quitasol, A. (2023)Kalinga eyes resolve to looming sub-tribes war. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from: Daily Tribune database.
- [31] ]Ramsook, L. (2018)A Methodological Approach to Hermeneutic Phenomenology. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from: International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences 10(1) database.
- [32] Rio, D. (2016)Indigenous Dispute Settlement: Learning from the Panay Bukidnon Tribe. International Journal of Humanities and Social Science 6(11). Retrieved August 7, 2023 from:<https://www.ijhssnet.com/>
- [33] Roul, R. (2020)Effect of Self Study Material on Learning among Senior Secondary school students. International Education and Research Journal 6(1). Retrieved March 10, 2024 from: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/>
- [34] Santiago, A. (n.d)The Cordillera Indigenous People's Rights to Land. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from: <https://www.ohchr.org>
- [35] Silvosa, V. (2016) How RIDO is transforming rido. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from Mindanao Peace Building Institute Foundation Inc.
- [36] Srinivasan, P., Harriman, & Roe, I. (2019) Papua New Guinea massacre of women and children highlights poor policing, gun influx. Retrieve July 16, 2023 from: ABC News database.
- [37] Sutresna,W. & Wijayanti, W. (2021) The Effectiveness of Peer Tutor Learning on the Improvement of Student's Academic and Non-Academic Achievement. Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research 541. Retrieved March 10,2024 from: <https://www.researchgate.net>
- [38] Taher, A., Khan, Z., Alduais, A. & Muthanna, A. (2022) The Interaction of War Impacts on Education: Experiences of School Teachers and Leaders. Retrieved May 9, 2023 from: <https://doi.org/10.1002/rev3.3376>
- [39] Taher, A., Khan,Z.,& Khan, S. (2021)Inter-tribal Conflict effects on Educational Development in Yemen: A Qualitative Analyses. CSRC Publishing Volume no.3,Issue no. 4. Retrieved May 4, 2023 from: [www.publishing.globalcsrc.org/sbsee](http://www.publishing.globalcsrc.org/sbsee).
- [40] Thabet, A. & Sultan, S. (2016) War Trauma, Anxiety, and Resilience among University Students in the Gaza Strip. Clinical Psychiatry, 2(4). Retrieved February 15,2024.
- [41] Torres, W. M., (n.d)Clan Feuding and Conflict Management in Mindanao. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from Asian foundation database.
- [42] Ullah, I., Tabassum, R. & Kaleem, M. (2018)Effects of Peer Tutoring on the Academic Achievement of Students in the Subject of Biology at Secondary Level. Education Sciences 8(112). Retrieved March 10,2024 from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1200787.pdf>
- [43] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2018)Tribal Conflict Resolution in Iraq. Retrieved August 6, 2023 from: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/5a66f84f4.pdf>
- [44] United Nations News,(2009)UN brings Sudanese tribes together for historic peace talks. Retrieved May 5,2023 from UN News database.
- [45] Vecaldo, R., Clemente, R. & Tamangan, Y. (2015)Effectiveness of Bodong as an Alternative Dispute Resolution: A Glimpse of Kalingas' Peace Framework.Retrieved August 8, 2023 from: Horizon Research Publishing 3(3)145-152.

- [46] Wangechi, L. & Njoroge, M. (2021) Effects of Armed Ethnic Conflict on Education of Children: A case of Nakuru County, Kenya. Retrieved May 4, 2023, from Afribary database.
- [47] atkins, J. (2014) Seeking Justice: Tribal Dispute Resolution and Societal Transformation in Jordan. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46(1). Retrieved August 6, 2023 from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43303106>
- [49] Wells, K. (2015) Tribal Warfare The Society of Modern Airmen. *Airspace Power Journal*. Retrieved August 3, 2023 from: <https://apps.dtic.mil/sti/pdfs/ADA618918.pdf>.
- [50] Yeghiazaryan, L. (2018) Which of the three main ethnic conflict theories best explains the Ethnic violence in the post-soviet states of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova?. Retrieved August 10, 2023 from: Political Science Department, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona database.
- [51] Yodisphere (n.d) The Kalinga Tribe of the Philippines: History, Culture, Customs and Tradition [Indigenous People Cordillera Ethnic Tribes]. Retrieved August 8, 2023 from Yodisphere database.
- [52] Young, M. (2004) Exploring the Meaning of Trauma in South African Police Service. Retrieved August 12, 2023 from: <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/27855/Complete.pdf?sequence=9>
- [53] Zigzag Weekly (2017) Tribal Conflict in Kalinga Patched Up. Retrieved August 7, 2023 from: Zigzag Weekly Database. University Science, 1989.