

Social Work from the South: A Talaingod Manobos Practice Framework

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Abstract

This research was focused on identifying the elements of an Indigenous framework for social work. The study emphasized that helping approaches and interventions must consider Indigenous history, beliefs and practices as imperative in the delivery of culturally appropriate services and programs including research and education. The literature revealed the experiences and models of Indigenous social work across the globe highlighting diverse Indigenous approaches and helping frameworks. It also noted the lack of Indigenous approaches when it comes to Philippine social work practice despite long years of engagement with Indigenous Peoples' communities across the country.

The study employed an exploratory research design as it was seen as the most suitable where the voices of Talaingod Manobos, social workers and Indigenous social work students were valued as they shared their views, knowledge and experiences. Five Talaingod Manobos, two out of six social workers are Indigenous social workers and three Indigenous social work students were interviewed for this enquiry. The study utilised Constructivist Grounded Theory. It engaged in rigorous data collection and analytic processes to understand the nature of the complexity of the issue and to bring to the fore the elements of an Indigenous framework.

The key finding of this study is that *Spirituality, Land, Elders, Collectivity, Rituals and Relational emphasis, Identity and Self-determination (Ancestral Land)* are the Indigenous elements of Talaingod Manobos' helping framework. These Indigenous elements are grounded in the culture and knowledge of the Talaingod Manobos which are important to Philippine social work particularly in developing Indigenous social work. Social workers and Indigenous social work students cited similarities between Indigenous and social work values and principles, while at the same time pointed out limitations in Philippine social work practice involving Indigenous Peoples. All of the Indigenous participants emphasized the impact of discrimination and colonization that relegated Indigenous Peoples to the margins.

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY DECLARATION

Statement of Authorship

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

Signature

Leah Mae L. Jabilles

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Abbreviations

4Ps	Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program
AASW	Australian Association of Social Workers
AACCUP	Accrediting Agency of Chartered Colleges and Universities in the Philippines
ALSONS	Alcantara and Sons
ALAMARA	Indigenous paramilitary group
ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
ANZASW	Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CGT	Constructivist Grounded Theory
CHED	Commission on Higher Education
CREATE	Center of Renewable Energy and Appropriate Technology
CSSDO	City Social Services and Development Office
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
FPIC	Free, Prior and Informed Consent
GT	Grounded Theory
IASSW	International Association of Schools of Social Work
IFMA	Integrated Forest Management Agreement
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
KALAH-CIDSS	Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan- Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services
MISFI	Mindanao Interfaith Services Foundation Inc.,
NASWEI	National Association of Social Work Education Incorporated
NCIP	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
NGO	Non-Government Organization
PAASCU	Philippine Accrediting Association of Schools, Colleges and Universities
PACUCOA	Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities Commission on Accreditation

PASAKA	Confederation of Lumad Organizations in Southern Mindanao
PASWI	Philippine Association of Social Workers Inc.
PRC-PRB	Professional Regulatory Commission- Professional Regulatory Board
PSG-CMO	Professional Standards Guidelines-CHED Memorandum Order
RMP	Rural Missionaries of the Philippines
SLP	Sustainable Livelihood Program
SSWP	Schools of Social Work Association of the Philippines
STTICLCI	<i>Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon Community Learning Center Inc.,</i>
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Part One

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

The negative experiences and harsh realities of Indigenous Peoples around the world are the same as those experienced by “*Lumad*” or Indigenous communities in Mindanao, Philippines. The “Talaingod Manobos”, one of the Indigenous Peoples, suffer the same impact of oppression, inequality and dispossession (Briskman, 2014; Gray et al., 2013). The current circumstance of Indigenous Peoples can be blamed on colonization and oppression (Rodil, 1993; Alamon, 2017). The subjugation of Lumads or Indigenous Peoples of Mindanao and Moro People can be traced to the period of the Spanish Rule during the 1800s (Ulindang, 2015). Under Spanish rule, the Mindanaoan context and ethno-history was relegated to an inferior status, to the point that Mindanao ethno-history became absent in the overall history of the Philippines (Abinales, 2015). Moreover, Lumad and Moro culture, even up to these days, is still rarely taught in Philippine schools. The absence of Mindanao history and culture in history books and the teaching of discourses which present the narratives of colonial invasion, have resulted in misconceptions about the Moro and Lumad and robbed them of their true narrative.

Knowledge of the history and culture of Indigenous Peoples is essential in social work as it gives the context which is important in social work engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. Without this knowledge, the social work profession is not informed to meet its stated mission which is to work for the elimination of marginalization of Indigenous knowledge and epistemes in the profession by working towards decolonisation and de-westernisation (Gray et al., 2013; Veneracion, 2003). This is done so that Indigenous knowledge is developed and utilised instead of social work being dominated by Western theories and paradigms (Veneracion, 2003). This call can be challenging but in the long run this effort will strengthen social work literature and practice. In the case of Philippine social work, this research is relevant and vital knowing that this area has remained under-researched.

Social work’s knowledge foundation now includes recognition of Indigenous knowledge (Biakie, 2009) and acknowledgement of its diversities unlike in the past. It is therefore imperative for social workers to utilise Indigenous knowledges and processes when engaging with Indigenous Peoples’ communities as these Indigenous Peoples knowledge

and processes are rooted in the social, political and economic milieu of these communities (Coates et al., 2012). Moreover, the landmark United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007) is a significant step in recognizing the situation of Indigenous Peoples' communities around the world, in their struggle to claim their rights to self-determination (Gray et al., 2013; Weaver, 2015). This declaration came after the International Federation of Social Workers' statement in 2005 although this IFSW statement "relied heavily on the draft version of UN document back in 1994" (Weave, 2015, p.36). The IFSW (2005) statement affirmed and explicitly recognised the rights of the nation states of the various Indigenous Peoples across the globe including recognition of Indigenous Peoples' rich culture, diversity and knowledge (Hart, 2015). Given this development, social workers are called to acknowledge the existence and value of Indigenous knowledge and epistemes (Hart, 2015). Indigenous systems of thinking, abstraction and ideas are built on a web of connections and relationships which are largely different from those of Western knowledge (Wilson, 2008). As response to this recognition, there are Indigenous models and approaches for Indigenous social work that have been developed and put into practice by countries such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand among others (Gray et al., 2012). This study seeks to explore the importance of developing an Indigenous social work practice framework in the Philippines (Veneracion, 2003).

Locating the Importance of Research

The Government of the Philippines has pursued the Mindanaoan development agenda which focuses on accelerating Mindanao's inclusive growth, sustainable peace and poverty reduction (NEDA, 2010). This has been a central theme of various government programs. In fact, many of these development efforts are focused on Indigenous communities (ADB, 2000). It is also important to note that social workers are employed by and have become the main implementers of the so-called "development programs" introduced by the national Philippine government. One of these development programs is the 4Ps Program (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program- Bridging Program for the Filipino Families modified Conditional Cash Transfer) which commenced in 2008. Other programs include KALAH-I- CIDDS (KALAH-I -Linking Hands Against Poverty) Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services) which commenced in 2002. This "engages community-driven development with local organisations and respective local government units in delivering projects such as school buildings, bridges, day care centres and other community identified needs" (KALAH-I-CIDSS, 2016). Also, there is the Sustainable Livelihood Program (SLP) of the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD)

which commenced in 2011. It aims to provide “access to opportunities that increase the productivity of the livelihood asset of the poor communities” (Sustainable Livelihood Program, n.d., About Section). However, unlike 4Ps, this program promotes the values of “honest work”, “social responsibility” and “development of self”- a behaviour modification to access benefits (Yu, 2013, p. 30). These programs, established to reduce poverty and improve human conditions, are implemented under the Department of Social Welfare and Development in coordination with the City and Municipal Social Welfare and Development Offices across the country.

Despite the engagement of social workers in these poverty reduction programs which are primarily directed to Indigenous communities, narratives focusing on Indigenous Peoples of Mindanao are lacking in Philippine social work literature and education. This may result in ineffective and insensitive engagement by social workers in development programs. When social workers are trained in and highly influenced by western concepts, they are unlikely to have an understanding and awareness of Indigenous history, culture, worldviews and struggles faced by Indigenous People and they may not engage with Indigenous communities respectfully or effectively (Hart, 2010; Briskman, 2014). Social workers may also hold a misconception (Gilbert, 2013; Vinkle, 2012) about Indigenous Peoples’ beliefs and practices and this may manifest as further colonization (Weaver, 1999). This can place social workers in a situation where they assume “absolute difference or absolute sameness” (Gilbert, 2013, p. 119) with the client or communities that they are working with due to lack of understanding on these cultural communities (Connolly & Harms, 2013; Vinkle, 2012). This situation results in privileging government-imposed programs that undermine the value of Indigenous self-determination, diversity and identity.

The purpose of this research is to contribute to social work knowledge for social workers to recognise that Indigenous views and ways of being should be central to the provision of the delivery of programs and services for “development” and empowerment work (Briskman, 2014). There is a need for Filipino social workers to negotiate sensitively, to tread mindfully between misconception and prejudice, and to frame social workers as non-experts (Czyewski & Tester, 2014) on this particular matter.

One of the main tenets when engaging in research with Indigenous Peoples is to know the history of the people and the community that one is interacting with (Brown & Strega, 2005). In the case of this research, the focus is to study Talaingod Manobos’ Indigenous knowledge about “land” and their right to self-determination in order for social workers to

develop knowledge so as to understand their Indigenous worldview on community development. The Indigenous connection of Talaingod Manobos with the land includes their unwavering commitment to protect the Great Pantaron Range, their ancestral domain. This Indigenous knowledge and paradigm can contribute to the development of Indigenous social work practice in Mindanao.

Purpose of the Research

As a response to the current global development of social work across the globe, it is the intention of this study to present a Talaingod Manobo Indigenous social work practice framework that is informed by Talaingod Manobos and grounded in the culture and Indigenous worldviews of Talaingod Manobos, in Mindanao. Through this undertaking, the Indigenous social work practice framework is developed by the Talaingod Manobos with the support of the researcher. The current absence of an Indigenous social work framework in the Philippines impairs the intent to deliver culturally relevant and sensitive services and programs. However, across the globe, realizations about the integral role of culture in the helping and caring professions call for a rethinking of mainstream frameworks and protocols especially those that have been rigidly ritualised and professionalised (Hart, 2010). This Indigenous frame constitutes schemas among Indigenous Peoples by which they make sense of caring and helping as experienced realities. An Indigenous social work framework requires a deeper understanding of Indigenous frames of caring and helping. Consequently, if clearly understood, the Indigenous social work framework can be used as points for reflection and discourse among social workers to generate an Indigenous social work framework that will guide effective engagements with Indigenous Peoples' communities.

Research Questions

Anchored on the Indigenous frames of helping approaches of the Talaingod Manobos of Mindanao, this study seeks to gather diverse standpoints to answer the overarching question:

“What are the elements of an Indigenous social work framework which will inform social workers in Mindanao as they engage with Talaingod Manobo communities?”

The following sub-questions are posited to answer the overarching question:

1. Based on their culture, how do the Talaingod Manobos understand and practice helping approaches?
2. How do the Talaingod Manobos locate this Indigenous knowledge of helping approaches in the context of social work services that they have experienced?
3. What are the perspectives of the Talaingod Manobos on the integration of their Indigenous knowledge in social work practices (e.g., service delivery, implementation of development programs, among others)?
4. What are the experiences of social workers in Mindanao in contextualising social work practice in Talaingod Manobo communities?
5. What factors do Mindanao social workers identify as those which facilitate their efforts to contextualize social work practice in Talaingod Manobo communities and which factors are identified as hindering?
6. Do social workers in Mindanao support the integration of Indigenous knowledge of helping approaches of the Talaingod Manobos in social work practices?

Research Approach

The exploratory research design was framed from the Constructivist Grounded Theory method (Charmaz, 2000) which allows multiple realities among the selected respondents of the study particularly the Talaingod Manobos and social workers. It was expected that the views, responses and experiences of the respondents would involve complexity at historical, political, cultural and personal levels. Constructivist Grounded Theory accommodates related issues and concerns pertaining to diversity, including both the

historical and social context. This study is highly significant as this topic has not yet been given enough attention by social workers in Mindanao. The location of the study is within the confines of local social welfare agencies and communities where the Talaingod Manobos are located (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Creswell (2010) emphasized that

A qualitative approach is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based primarily on constructivist perspectives (i.e., the multiple meanings of individual experiences, meanings socially and historically constructed, with an intent of developing a theory or pattern) or advocacy/participatory perspectives (i.e., political, issue-oriented, collaborative, or change oriented) or both (p. 21).

This process of enquiry recognised that perceptions and observations (Creswell, 1998 in Khan, 2014, p.225-229) are based on the myriad views of people in their natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Guba, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Newman, 1994). Qualitative research operates on the concept that “humans share common experiences and subscribe to shared understanding of reality” (Salkind, 2010, p. 6); however, there is a recognition that researchers must also examine how their experiences, interactions with people and personal histories have influenced their views in research (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The qualitative researcher should also be deeply aware that understanding the importance of Indigenous knowledge and worldviews, particularly the “Ways of Being”, “Ways of Knowing”, “Ways of Doing” (Martin, 2008), can generate effective Indigenous frames of helping and caring. Highlighting this principle throughout the enquiry articulates the worldview, understanding, experiences and context of Indigenous Peoples.

This research is based on the real voices of Talaingod Manobos and the social workers working with Indigenous Peoples’ communities in the locality. It privileges these people, rendering their voices, knowledge and lived experiences since they know exactly the core of the topic being studied (Charmaz, 2001; Mills et al, 2006). Epistemologically, it views reality and constructs of the Indigenous Practice framework in Mindanao as produced or reproduced by Talaingod Manobos and social workers.

My Voice as a Researcher

I highlight my personal journey in this section. Looking back, I can vividly remember when this passion for the study of Indigenous social work commenced-- it was in 2014 when I was invited by the University Research Council of my university (Ateneo de Davao University) to spearhead the social preparation for the project led by the Center of Renewable Energy and Appropriate Technology (CREATE) in a Matigsalug community, an Indigenous community located in the upland areas of Davao City, for the development of micro-scale hydropower energy. At that time, when I accepted the project, I was quite ambivalent. The reality hit me hard when I realised how lacking Philippine social work literature was, in explaining how community development should take place in Indigenous Peoples' communities. Of course, personally I could not just simply leave the matter under the virtues of "common sense" because I knew that the social preparation phase of the project could have implications to the community that we were working with. It was then I realised the importance of putting in place Indigenous concepts and knowledge in Philippine social work practice.

Though resolute in my decision to pursue this enquiry in my thesis, half-way in my data collection phase, I began to feel hesitant about my positionality in pursuing this enquiry. I asked questions pertaining to my positionality and my role as a researcher. Although I had prior experience in advocating and working for the rights of Indigenous Peoples' communities, inside I felt inadequate knowing that I am not Indigenous. Aware of all these tensions inside, I developed mechanisms to guide me in this research journey. I asked help from my peers and colleagues in the University and in meetings with our local PASWI (Philippine Association of Social Workers Inc.,) and NASWEI (National Association of Social Work Education Incorporated) Chapters and they were able to give me the kind of support and enthusiasm that I needed to move forward. The presence of Indigenous reference groups, with their knowledge and wisdom, has guided me to navigate amidst confusion and unfamiliarity. The words of encouragement and hope of the Talaingod Manobo leaders also made me realize how important this undertaking is for them and how they could relate to the goals of this enquiry. Hence it is my hope that this thesis can create space for Indigenous social work to grow in Philippine social work practice.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured in three parts.

Part One. This section focuses on the importance and purpose of undertaking this study and looks into the historical context of Indigenous Peoples particularly the Talaingod Manobos and the importance of Indigenous social work in Philippine social work practice. The first chapter highlights the research questions that steer the direction of this study, the research approach and my voice as a researcher taking into account the constructivist paradigm. Chapter 2 provides the context of Indigenous Peoples in Mindanao by highlighting Talaingod Manobos' experiences and worldviews in the context of Philippine social work.

Part Two. This section focuses on the review of literature. Chapter 3 highlights the importance of social work with Indigenous Peoples. Included in this part is the definition of contested terms. It reviews experiences of countries that developed and utilised Indigenous epistemes and models. It also examines the principles that underpin social work including Critical, Anti-Oppressive and Empowerment theories. Chapter 4 focuses on how the research was undertaken, the epistemology and the methodology. It also highlights how Constructivist Grounded Theory unfolded-- the sampling, coding until the emergent theory was developed, while ensuring that Talaingod Manobos' voices are privileged. The rigorous process of data collection and analysis are also presented here.

Part Three. This section focuses on the presentation of findings and discussion of the elements of an Indigenous framework as the overarching goal of this enquiry including the implications. Chapter 5 commences with presentation of the participants' voices on the elements of the Indigenous framework and chapter 6 presents the answers to the sub-research questions and their analysis. Chapter 7 presents the in-depth analysis of the Talaingod Manobos' elements of Indigenous framework, its location within social work and its implication to Philippine social work practice. The limitations of the study are also being discussed.

In order to understand the background of this enquiry there is a need to understand further the context of the reality being studied. The next chapter provides the essential context of this enquiry.

Chapter 2

Context Chapter

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the importance of engaging with Indigenous knowledge in social work. Indigenous knowledge in the past was seriously overlooked by many social workers and is often referred to as subjugated knowledge (Trevithick, 2005). Current attempts to locate Indigenous Peoples' culture and knowledge, particularly Talaingod Manobos within the history and discourses of Philippine social work, including the call for its indigenization are stressed by Veneracion (2003) as imperative for the development of theory and practice of the profession.

This chapter offers clarity on the history and state of Indigenous Peoples in Mindanao. It highlights the impact of colonisation which uprooted them from their own ancestral lands and it identifies how historical injustice has relegated them to the margins, making them as the most disadvantaged group in Filipino society. This chapter also presents Talaingod Manobos' identity, experience and its concept of defending their ancestral land and the importance of solidarity among Indigenous Peoples through "*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*" ("Unity in Defense of Ancestral Land"), in advancing their struggle. The concept of "pangayaw" (revenge war or tribal war) is also examined as an ultimate act of exercising self-determination.

The Context -- building an Indigenous social work from the south

Rich and diverse Indigenous cultures thrive in Mindanao. There are at least 13 ethnolinguistic groups referred to as "Moro" (Rodil,1993; Alim,1995) found in Mindanao who adopted Islam as a religion and a way of life. In addition, there are also Indigenous Peoples commonly known as "Lumad/s", a Cebuano term which was adopted by the 78 ethnolinguistic Indigenous groups during the Cotabato Congress in June 1986 (ADB, 2000; Rodil,1993; Ulindang, 2015). These groups are the original inhabitants of Mindanao and established their territories and ownership prior to the arrival of Spanish colonisers (ADB, 2000; Campo & Judd, 2005; Muslim & Guia, 1999; Rodil,1993). They are also holders and bearers of their diverse Indigenous knowledge and culture.

According to the narratives from oral tradition, the Manobo tribe was said to have a link on how Islam was introduced in Mindanao. During the 14th century precolonial period, it was said that there were two brothers *Tabunaway* and *Mamalu* who according to CCP Encyclopaedia of the Arts (1994, in Felix, 2004):

... lived by a creek Banobo which flowed into the Mindanao river near the present site of Cotabato City. Tabunaway rejected Islam but advised his younger brother to submit to conversion. Tabunaway and his followers fled up the Pulangi River to the interior, and at a certain stop, they decided to part ways. Tabunaway and his group who went to Livungan became the Livunganen, while others became the Kirinteken, Mulitaan, Kulamanen, and Tenenenen. The Kulamanen split into the Pulangian and Metidsalug/Matigsalug. Branches of the Tenenenen were the Keretanen, Lundugbatneg, and Rangiranen. A group stayed along the river in Lanuan and built an ilian (fort) and so became the Ilianon. Those who went to the Divava (downriver) became the Dibabawon, some of whom branched into the Kidapawanen. But because all these groups retained their Indigenous beliefs and practices, they retained the name of their original site, Banobo, which eventually became Manobo. On the other hand, Mamalu's descendants became the Maguindanaon. (p.126-127).

The Indigenous Peoples in Mindanao are all non-Muslim and they form the largest grouping of Indigenous Peoples in the country; locally they are called “*Lumad*”, a Cebuano/Visayan term that means “born and grown in the place” (Alamon, 2017; Brieninger, 2010; Ulindang, 2015). As of today, they comprise approximately, “2.1 million in population and are concentrated to varying degrees in the provinces of Davao, Bukidnon, Agusan, Surigao, Zamboanga, Misamis, and Cotabato and can be found in almost all provinces of Mindanao” (Molintas, 2004, p.274). The groups are listed as follows: Ata or Ataas, Bagobo and Guiangga, Mamanwa, Mangguangan, Mandaya, Banwa-on, Bilaan, Bukidnon, Dulangon, Kalagan, Manobo, Subanon, Tagabili, Tagakaolo, Talandig, Tiruray or Teduray (Clavel, 1969; Rodil, 1993; Ulindang, 2015).

Aside from the “*Lumads*”, there are the Moro people who hold the three largest and politically dominant groups; the Maguindanaon (referred as “people of the flooded plains”) of the Cotabato provinces (Maguindanao, Sultan Kudarat, North and South Cotabato); the Maranaw (referred to as “people of the lake”) of the two Lanao provinces; and the Tausug (referred as “people of the current”) of the Sulu archipelago. The remaining ten groups are the Yakan, Sama, Badjaw, Kalagan, Sangil, Iranun or Ilanun, Palawani, Melebugnon, Kalibogan and Jama Mapun (Alim, 1995; Campo & Judd, 2005; Clavel, 1969; Muslim & Guia, 1999).

Mindanao is rich in natural endowments and biodiversity but examination of this side of history from the south, reveals that Mindanao has suffered from the impact of colonisation,

control over land and its disposition becoming the sole prerogative of the state and private property over communal ownership (Rodil, 1993; Mendoza, 2015; Muslim & Guia, 1999). The Manobos, in particular, have resisted and fought many wars against both Spanish and American colonisers (Felix, 2004). The 1930s resettlement caused the “*minorisation of Moro and Lumads*” or subjugation in their own land and territories (Abinales, 2016; Campo & Judd, 2005; Breininger, 2010; Mendoza, 2015; Muslim & Guia, 1999).

Aside from dispossession from their lands, Lumad or Indigenous Peoples and Moro people are hard hit by poverty and discrimination, and are marginalised in the community. They are considered the most disadvantaged in Filipino society (ADB, 2000; Campo & Judd, 2005). The 2013 Philippine Human Development Report (UNDP, 2013) revealed that the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) provinces were from Mindanao, where the Western Mindanao Region and the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao registered “extremely low values in access to safe water, toilet facilities, electricity supply, and health care services” (ADB, 2002, p. 33). The 2017 World Bank Report (World Bank, 2017) revealed that two out of five poor people in the Philippines live in Mindanao and the poverty rate in the island remains high at 36% compared to 28% in the Visayas and 16% in Luzon. The report further noted that poverty incidence within conflict areas of Mindanao between 2006 and 2015 ranged between 54% and 56% (Philippines Economic Update Report, World Bank, 2017).

The issue of “national identity and the right to self-determination” has been cited as the core element as to why separatist and resistance movements exist in the first place in Mindanao (Buendia, et al., 2006; Buendia, 2007; Harber, 1998; Salazar, 2009). More often than not, Mindanao is always perceived as being connected with conflict (Buendia, et al., 2006; Buendia, 2007). This century-old conflict stemmed from the resistance of the Lumad or Indigenous Peoples and the Moro against colonisation and subjugation. This resistance can be traced back to the period when the Spaniards attempted to colonise Mindanao (Breininger, 2010; Campo & Judd, 2005; Mendoza, 2015; Muslim & Guia, 1999). This is the overview of the Mindanao context-- a history of injustice coupled with a history of repeated government negligence which has compelled people to resist, to seek independence (Tan 2003) and to assert their identity (Buendia, 2007).

The Talaingod Manobos

Within the boundaries of the Great Pantaron Mountain Range, which is classified by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources and the Institute of Environmental Science for Social Change as an “important biogeographic sub-region of Mindanao, is where the “Talaingod Manobos are situated geographically” (Paluga et al. 2013, p. 8). Talaingod Manobos are under the wide-ranging Manobo groups (Lebar, 1975). This was classified by the anthropological account under the three-volume work of ethnic groups in Southeast Asia by Frank Lebar (1975), though was formerly identified as “Ata Manobo”. However, there were attempts to probe into this, particularly problematizing on naming and classifying “Ata Manobo” done by researchers Gloria and Magpayo (1977), Bajo (2004) and Tiu in 2005 (Ragrario & Paluga 2019, p. 264). Authors like Lacorte (2011), Pacificar & Obenza (2013) also wrote about the Manobo in general while Pacificar (2016) and Ragrario & Paluga (2013; 2016 and 2018) wrote on the Talaingod Manobos in particular. It is important to note that all of these writers are non-Indigenous. It is also important to consider that Indigenous Peoples’ writings should be included to enrich future undertakings. A few articles on the Manobos’ history, belief and practices from Garvan (1931), include the CCP Encyclopaedia of Arts (1994), TRICOM (1998), Felix (2004) and Paredes (2016). Lacorte (2011) mentioned that based on the data of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), in 2000, 44,851 Manobos were estimated to be living in different areas in the Davao Region. However, the number can be problematic given that there are disputes in securing accurate statistics of Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines because of the remoteness of these communities affecting access and availability of registration.

The Manobos are considered the first settlers in Mindanao encompassing Northern Mindanao, Bukidnon, Agusan and Cotabato (Felix, 2004). According to CCP Encyclopaedia of Arts (1994) the word “Manobo” or “Manuvu” is a *“hispanised term (1) “person” or “people”; (2) “Mansuba” from man (person or people) and suba (river); (3) “Banobo,” the name of the creek that presently flows to Pulangi River about two kilometers below (sic) Cotabato City; and (iv) “man” meaning “first, aboriginal” and “tuvu” meaning “grow or growth”* (in Felix, 2004, p.125).

The Talaingod Manobos identify themselves as such because of their reference to the Pantaron Range. Talaingod Manobos have always lived and are continuously living in the upland communities relying on rotational farming for their economy (Paluga et al., 2013).

Talaingod Manobos were previously referred to as “Ata-Manobos”; however, according to Lacorte (2011), they strongly oppose “Ata” referring to them because for them the word has a negative connotation seemingly reducing them to animals. This statement, however, was not explained further.

A field study report conducted by Paluga et al., (2016) stated that there are two important features of “Talaingod Manobo” Indigenous social structure:

*(a) the presence of an expansive kinship-network across space, and
(b) the deep-time genealogical links of diverse yet contiguous communities: these two aspects serving as the material basis for the emergence of the consciousness of a social 'domain' sharing an idealised ancestor figure, like 'Man-oloron' or 'Tolalang' (or 'Tuwaang') as sung in their great epics. (p. 9).*

The Talaingod Manobos, just like any other Indigenous People, have continuously lived as a community with a “defined territory, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits” (RA 8371, 1997).

Defending the Ancestral Land

Certainly, it is not possible to fully grasp the context of Indigenous Peoples in Mindanao, if the impact brought about by colonization and marginalization in its history is not included. The relentless attacks on many Indigenous Peoples’ communities in Mindanao brought about by colonization have resulted in strong resistance to the state from these communities. The state has employed many forms of coercion and co-optation tactics to legitimize the exploitation of their lands and natural resources, while causing disintegration of the Indigenous communities (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Breininger, 2010). Even today, many Indigenous Peoples across Mindanao are still fighting for their right to self-determination and assertion of their identity (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Pacificar, 2016).

Talaingod Manobos have not been spared from the intrusion of multi-national logging companies; in fact, this was one of the main reasons they organised “**Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon**”, a Manobo term which means “Unity of People to Defend the Ancestral Land”. This local organisation was founded in 1994 in their struggle to defend Pantaron Land. This was initiated by Datu Guibang Apoga, when he organised the Datu and Council of Elders across Talaingod, Davao del Norte against the logging company, Alcantara and

Sons. Alcantara and Sons was the sole holder of exclusive logging rights in the Pantaron area, encroaching some areas of Pantaron Range, under an Integrated Forest Management Agreement (IFMA) with the state agency, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) (Lacorte, 2011; Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Ragrario & Paluga, 2018). Out of respect, accountability and special relation of the Talaingod Manobos to Pantaron Range as their “*banwa*” or land, the presence of Alcantara and Sons in their sacred land was deemed disrespectful and outright violation of their right as a steward of this land.

Their unwavering struggle to defend the Pantaron Range led Datu (Chieftain) Guibang alongside many other Datus, to wage a “*pangayaw*” (tribal war) against the logging company. Declaring a “*pangayaw*”, was an ultimate act of sacrifice and justice. It was called an ultimate act because the Datu and the “*igbujag*” including the “*baylan*” (healer/priest/tess) had already exhausted all means of conflict resolution and yet justice was not attained. In the past, however, Talaingod Manobos were noted for this when an intertribal conflict arose due to a vendetta or debt. As time evolved “*pangayaw*” has become a manifestation of collective struggle where the council of datu and elders must agree and approve. In the case of Alcantara and Sons’ logging operation in Pantaron Range, a “*pangayaw*” was declared because the community viewed the presence of this logging company as a threat to Pantaron and their survival as a whole. The declaration of “*pangayaw*” was not due to a vendetta or debt. Instead, they waged a “*pangayaw*” in defence of their “*banwa*” or ancestral land.

The “*pangayaw*” itself requires a ritual to invoke the guidance of “Mandrangan”, a war spirit, and approval of the whole community (Lacorte, 2011; Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Ragrario & Paluga, 2018). Upon the order and decision of the datu, “igbujag”, the Manigaon (council of elders) and the “*baylan*” (healer/priest/tess), the bagani (Warrior) commenced to execute the “*pangayaw*”. This historical “*pangayaw*” was waged by the Talaingod Manobos under the leadership of the “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” (“Unity of People to Defend the Ancestral Land”). This “*pangayaw*” was met with animosity by the state and Datu Guibang was labeled a fugitive. For the Talaingod Manobos and their leaders, the said “*pangayaw*” was successful because Alcantara and Sons (ALSONS) eventually pulled out of Pantaron Range (Ragrario & Paluga, 2018). It should be noted that the resistance against colonisation and subjugation can be traced to the Lumad’s or Indigenous Peoples’ strong identification with the “Land”, because for them, the “Land” is sacred as it is linked with other spirits and deities and their Creator called “Apo Sandawa”

(Bayod, 2018). Therefore, Talaingod Manobos' "*pangayaw*" is borne out of this relational ontology and necessity.

The government exploitation of the so-called anti-insurgency campaigns to legitimize militarization and aerial bombardment to ward off Indigenous Peoples' communities and to neutralize the rebels commenced in 1986, making the entry of these multi-national companies easier and more legitimate (Ragrario & Paluga, 2018). More than a decade later, during the Aquino Administration, "*Oplan Bayanihan*" and in the Duterte Administration, "*Oplan Kapayapaan*", the lives of Talaingod Manobos were once again disrupted by intensification of military operations and varied counter-insurgency operations (IBON, 2018; Paluga & Ragrario, 2016). The government justified these anti-insurgency campaigns against the rebel groups in these ancestral lands as it was more difficult for the multi-national companies to intrude into these lands, when there was a strong rebel presence in the area. Many Talaingod Manobos, including their leaders, believe that to defend their ancestral land is the assertion of their Indigenous identity and rights as a faithful guardian of Pantaron Range. It may have battered and fragmented some areas, but they are unyielding in their conviction to defend their ancestral land at any cost.

Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon: *The Unity to defend Ancestral Land*

The history of dispossession and oppression has driven the Talaingod Manobos to act collectively to assert their identity, to fight for their rights, to preserve their Indigenous knowledge, culture and heritage (Paluga & Ragrario, 2016) and above all to protect the Great Pantaron Range. The organisation has forged a strong resistance against the entry of multi-national corporations in their ancestral lands and has forged unity among Indigenous communities within its boundaries. This organisation has been able to establish farms, deliver medical services and establish schools across Davao Region, without any help or support from the government (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013).

Born as a result of the necessity to defend the Pantaron Range from the intrusion of a logging company, ALCANTARA and Sons, in the 1990s, the "*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*" became symbolical of their struggle for their right to self-determination and assertion of their identity as Indigenous. "*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*" later evolved into an organisation that represented many other Indigenous struggles and aspirations within Davao region. They learnt that in order for Indigenous Peoples to resist anti-Lumad

policies they must also work with broader sectors in the society to reclaim their rights and identity (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Paluga & Ragrario, 2016).

The leaders of “*Salugpungan*” came to realize that they must maximize the limited space provided for them by the State to assert their right to self-determination. They then worked with various non-government organisations (NGOs) and church-based organisations to implement development programs (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Paluga & Ragrario, 2016). Over the years, because of the collective unity of “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” the organisation was able to establish Lumad schools not only in Talaingod but also in Compostela Valley, Bukidnon area and Davao City areas (salupungan, n.d.) as they worked with the other Indigenous Peoples and with the Indigenous Council called “PASAKA”. This is because the leaders realised that many younger generations of Indigenous Peoples aside from Talaingod Manobos are being denied access to schools because of marginalisation and glaring neglect by government (Torres, 2019). The establishment of schools, led by the leaders of the “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*”, is a manifestation of their right to self-determination within their Ancestral Lands. Like anybody else, the Talaingod Manobos and all other Indigenous Peoples also dream of a better life through community development. “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” schools utilise Indigenous knowledge and worldviews in its curriculum while also following the Department of Education curriculum (salupungan, 2016; Torres, 2019).

In fact, aside from the “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” schools, the leaders of “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” also built rice mills, health centres and water system through the assistance of the Rural Missionaries of the Philippines and the MISFI (salupungan, 2016). These vital infrastructures were built out of the aspiration of Talaingod Manobos to create a better life within their Ancestral territories especially for the younger generations who should benefit from such development resulting from the collective effort of “*Salugpungan Ta Tanulgkanugon*” and its leaders (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013).

However, because of systematic red-tagging which is an act of branding or accusing individuals or organisations as left-leaning subversives, communists or terrorists, the leaders of “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” were met with hostility by the government through Armed Forces of the Philippines. Interpreting Indigenous struggles as communist terrorist acts (Imbong, 2019) undermines the basic tenets of human rights and social justice of the Talaingod Manobos and their leaders. From 2014, there has been an intensified militarization in the Pantaron Range that led to the forced evacuation of many

Talaingod Manobos. They were forced to flee to the city in search of refuge and to obtain protection from the Church from the harassment brought about by militarisation (Escio, 2017 in Deeb & Freitas, 2017). The “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” Schools were targeted by the military (Escio, 2017 in Deeb & Freitas, 2017) for closure. Eventually on July 13, 2019, the Department of Education issued a suspension order to all 55 “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*” schools by heeding the false reports from the National Security Adviser and National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (Inquirer, 2019).

Talaingod Manobos, like the other “Lumad” groups across Mindanao who possess diverse cultures, have been victims of ongoing massive militarisation in their communities. Over the years, they have launched various struggles and campaigns as forms of resistance. They have remained unwavering in this commitment and willing to wage “*pangayaw*” when called upon by circumstances (Paredes, 2013; Rodil, 1997). The Talaingod Manobos, like the other “Lumad” groups across Mindanao are holders of their own knowledge. They are experts in resolving issues and finding durable solutions to their problems. Given the significant connection of their knowledge based on collective ways of being and spiritual connections with their land, they were able to successfully organise “*Salugpungan Ta Tanu Igkanugon*”, a manifestation of empowerment achieved through Indigenous collective unity.

Following this discussion, the subsequent section provides context to contemporary social work practice in the Philippines, including a brief history, the impact of colonisation and the evolution of the profession-including the past and present challenges.

Locating Philippine Social Work Practice

Social work in the Philippines in the context of Indigenous Peoples’ communities is still a work in progress. The current status of the profession tells us that it stands alongside “individualist, residual and functionalist” (Yu, 2006, p. 565) approaches, an indication of how Western thinking is deeply entrenched in contemporary social work practice (Yu, 2006; Midgley, 1990; Price, 2014).

Philippine social work history can be traced back to the pre-Spanish period when the concept of social welfare was about the practice of “mutual aid” and “bayanihan” by the early Filipino ancestors (Almanzar, 1966; Lee-Mendoza, 2008). The concept of

“bayanihan” (collective support) and “damayan” (mutual aid) was evident in terms of cooperation and helpfulness among neighbouring Indigenous communities (Almanzar, 1966; Lee-Mendoza, 2008). However, when the Spaniards colonised the country, they brought their concept of social welfare which was deeply entrenched within the context of “religion” or Christianity (Almanzar, 1966). Religious and charitable intuitions influenced the welfare program of that period with the welfare work highly influenced by the doctrines of the Catholic Church. What was striking about this Spanish influence was the welfare system being moulded in a benevolent model framework. The Spaniard colonial legacy has created a notion of welfare based on faith, fate and salvation (Almanzar, 1966; Price, 2014; Yu, 2006; Yu, 2013)

At the turn of the 19th century, when the Spaniards left, the country was taken over by American colonisers who continued the colonisation of the Philippines. The American colonial period witnessed a change in the landscape in terms of social welfare. The American government carried out broad programs for health, education and labour (Lee-Mendoza, 2008) as part of their welfare agenda. They institutionalised social welfare by creating the Public Welfare Board through Legislative Act No. 2510 issued on February 5, 1915 (Lee-Mendoza, 2008). It coordinated the welfare activities of various existing charitable organisations (Lee-Mendoza, 2008). This was also the same period when Frank Murphy became the Governor-General and provided scholarship grants for education and professional training in social work in the United States (Lee-Mendoza, 2008).

According to Yu (2006), the American welfare framework concept focused on “a functionalist and individualist” model (p.563) that further extended their conquest agenda in the Philippines (Yu, 2006). Thus, it moved slowly away from the pre-colonial period concept of mutual aid and cooperation. This framework exploited the feudal arrangement to their advantage that promoted underdevelopment, backwardness and miseducation (Constantino, 1982). On the other hand, many Filipino social workers during that time questioned the applicability of these models and frameworks within the Philippines. In fact, according to Almanzar (1966), some social workers studying the course in the United States were critical of the usefulness and appropriateness particularly of psychiatric knowledge.

Significant changes took place in the social work profession in the country on June 19, 1965 when the discipline received formal recognition as a profession with the enactment of Republic Act No. 4373, commonly called the “Social Work Law” (Professional

Regulations Commission, n.d.). As a profession, the law stipulates its regulation and practice (Lee-Mendoza, 2008). This legislation requires the profession to ensure that there is a national curriculum that sets the standards and requirements of social work degree among social work schools around the country. This mechanism has made a notable contribution in regularising social work degree standards (Lee-Mendoza, 2008).

The educational standards for the social work degree offered by social work schools are administered by NASWEI (National Association of Social Work Education Incorporated), a national organisation that sets and monitors the standards for social work education. NASWEI commenced as the Social Work Education Committee of the Philippine Association of Social Workers (PASW) in 1948. On November 3, 1969, it was first named the Schools of Social Work Association of the Philippines (SSWP), later changed to NASWEI in 1990 (NASWEI, n.d.). NASWEI is responsible for the standardisation of social work curriculum and syllabi working closely with CHED Technical Panel for Social Work and the Philippine Regulation Commission through its Philippine Regulatory Board for Social Workers (NASWEI, 2015). NASWEI syllabi are used by Filipino schools of social work and the social work curriculum shared with the PRC-PRB (Professional Regulatory Commission- Professional Regulatory Board) for Social Work to guide and serve as basis for the licensure exam for social work. School membership to NASWEI may undergo assessment based on Professional Standards Guidelines- PSG/CMO 2010; however, the school's accreditation process is not undertaken by NASWEI but by different accreditation agencies such as the Philippine Accrediting Association of Schools, Colleges and Universities (PAASCU), the Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities Commission on Accreditation (PACUCOA) and Accrediting Agency of Chartered Colleges and Universities in the Philippines (AACCUP). Improving faculty, instruction and laboratories depends on the type of school accreditation but such process is recognised and supported by NASWEI.

The evolution of the social work profession transcended from the ravages brought about by World War II where it operated mainly on an amelioration program. In fact, even the social welfare under this period was largely carried out by the American government. The post-war years including the martial law and post-martial law years, with the rise of social ills, witnessed how social workers were oriented towards helping clients adjust to the system (Veneracion, 2003; Yu, 2006) rather than transform it. Currently, Philippine social work continuously faces the challenges and implications brought about by neoliberalism (Yu, 2006, 2013).

When neoliberal ideas began underpinning economic policy particularly within the Third World (Womack, 2006), Philippine social work became the main purveyor of these so-called “development programs” framed under neoliberal agenda (Yu, 2006). These programs were framed to reduce the incidence of poverty and improve human conditions through foreign loans —World-Bank and Asian Development Bank driven, which can be stifling to genuine development for a developing country (Dadap, 2011). The national government introduced programs such as the 4Ps (Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program-Bridging Program for the Filipino Family, a modified Conditional Cash Transfer), KALAHI-CIDDS (KALAHI -Linking hands against poverty) -Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services) and Sustainable Livelihood Program. These programs are implemented through the Department of Social Welfare and Development (Dadap, 2011; Raquiza, 2010; World Bank CCT, n.d.) and funded mainly by the World Bank (Dadap, 2011; Yu, 2013). These are multilateral, bank-funded, poverty-reduction donor initiatives which do not necessarily offer strategic poverty solutions and are often seen as palliative and less likely to address the problem of inequality (Dadap, 2011; Raquiza, 2010). For example, the 4Ps or the Conditional Cash Transfer first started out as a welfare program intended to be a social protection program, a poverty-reduction program that started in 2007 (Yu, 2013) during President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo’s Administration and has continued through the present Duterte Administration. However, the program has been reduced to cash transfer that has conditions that need to be met by the beneficiaries. The program concept originated in Mexico as their response to poverty way back in the 1990s (Bradshaw, 2008). The program also entails cash transfers to poor households often mothers, with the condition “they send their children to school regularly, ensure medical check-ups and participate in parent development sessions” (Dadap, 2011, p. 9). These sessions discuss topics on family, health, hygiene and education (Pantawid Implementation Status Report, 2016). Because the 4Ps or Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program has gained popularity, the profession has also gained popularity and at the same time. Many social workers were attracted to transferring from NGOs or City or Municipal Social Welfare Office to the DSWD given the relatively higher salary as compared to what was being offered by the local government and local NGOs. According to the 4Ps Program Implementation Status Report, in the 4th Quarter of 2016 alone, the program had a total of 13,732 technical and administrative positions assigned at the national and regional offices, including personnel assigned at the covered provinces and cities/municipalities which had been approved for the program (DSWD 2016).

The government must ensure that there are enough schools and health centres (the supply side of the program) around the country knowing that they obligated the 4Ps beneficiaries to meet the conditions of the program; otherwise, the beneficiaries would be eliminated from the program and could no longer avail of the cash grants. The program has been met with both praise and criticism (Yu, 2013) as it only offers a pragmatic option of distributing money to the poor. It does not address structural reforms, employment creation and asset reform and above all, it increases the country's debts knowing that the program was funded through a loan granted by World Bank. This would further entangle the country into debt crisis (Dadap, 2011; Yu, 2013).

Arguably, Philippine social work has adopted a system maintenance orientation given that its poverty reduction programs took a softer stance on addressing poverty (Yu, 2013; Price, 2014). It failed to grasp the inequality and structural oppression as dimensions of chronic poverty in the Philippines (Midgley, 1990; Price, 2014; Raquiza, 2010; Yu, 2013). This maintenance orientation can also be observed, as it is reflected on many social work texts that are utilised by majority of the social work schools in the country (Price, 2014; Yu, 2013). Further, prevailing realities also point out that majority of the Filipino social workers have been trained, less critically, manifesting reverence to western theories and concepts (Midgley, 1990; Price, 2014). The evolution of Philippine social work has noted significant changes in the profession; however, the strong legacy of its colonial past is still manifest, and western ideology is deeply embedded where it influences programs and services and its intended outcome (Midgley, 1990; Price, 2014; Yu, 2013).

The same system maintenance orientation offering generic poverty-reduction programs has failed to grasp the diverse aspects of Indigenous Peoples' communities who are the recipients of these poverty-reduction programs.

The membership of PASWI (Philippine Association of Social Workers Inc.), the professional organisation, to the International Federation of Social Workers, made an impact on social work practice in the country. It brought about influence on emerging social work trends and approaches particularly on the introduction of the critical and emancipating theories and approaches (Price, 2014). When the IFSW drafted the new definition of social work in 2014 (IFSW, 2014), it set forth a new wave of challenges for Philippine social work practice, as it dared the profession to take on a critical stance on vital underpinnings of social justice and human rights. At the same time, the new definition explicitly challenged Philippine social workers to place a strong emphasis on the

recognition of Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous worldviews and knowledge, alongside dominant western paradigms in social work (Gray et al., 2013; Hart, 2015; Wilson, 2008). This legitimises the Indigenous Peoples' claim and struggle for right to self-determination and identity (Gray et al., 2013). The statement of the IFSW for the Indigenous Peoples alongside the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (IFSW, 2005) paved the way for social work to appropriate and to utilise Indigenous knowledge and processes in the helping process (Briskman, 2014; Gray et al., 2013; Hart, 2010).

Contemporary Philippine social work practice, however, speaks about difficulty in applying these western theories and concepts and making them relevant to the actual condition of Indigenous communities. The practice of utilising western theories and concepts in the profession is still predominant today in spite of the presence of considerable books and journals on Philippine social work practice such as the *Journal of Social Work and Social Welfare*, *PASWI Journal* and *Social Work with Groups*. Books by famous authors like Thelma Lee-Mendoza (2008), Leonora de Guzman (1992 and 2002) and Corazon Veneracion (2003) are widely used by all social work schools across the Philippines, but it is sad to note that an emphasis on understanding and recognizing Indigenous social work is still lacking, or at least, there remains a great debate given the interplay of Western paradigm and religious models factors (Midgley, 1990; Price, 2014; Yu, 2006; Yu, 2013). In fact, Veneracion (2003) emphasised the need to work towards decolonisation/ de-westernisation (Gray et al., 2013) in Philippine social work to eliminate colonial biases against Indigenous knowledge and epistemes by ensuring that Indigenous theory and paradigms are integrated in Philippine social work (Veneracion, 2003) in its practice and in its curriculum. Yet this remains a challenge knowing that Indigenous knowledge and worldviews remain marginalised, if not subjugated, in Philippine society.

Summary

The concept of "Ancestral Domain" or the land is the central figure in the Talaingod Manobos' struggle and resistance. This is evident in their assertion of their right to self-determination, as in the past when they confronted historical oppression and discrimination brought about by colonial interest over their lands. The chapter has noted that land is the basis of Lumad cultural identity (Bandara, 2007 in Erasga, 2008; Lacorte, 2011) like the Great Pantaron Range for the Talaingod Manobos. Talaingod Manobos' Indigenous knowledge and epistemes are deeply entrenched in the notion of Ancestral Domain as

shared by all other “Lumads” and Indigenous Peoples across the globe (Bandara, 2007 in Erasga, 2008; Prill-Brett, 1994).

This knowledge and epistemes must be recognised as imperative to Philippine social work practice and body of knowledge. Social workers’ helping approaches and interventions must consider the experiences and perspectives of Indigenous Peoples appropriate and relevant to their local culture. Otherwise, social work will remain insensitive or ineffective in its engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities.

There is a need to reconstruct Philippine social work practice—requiring a paradigm shift from a “system maintenance” oriented one to a critical and empowering orientation; from Western-only-paradigms- to further developing Indigenous social work practice and critical social work. The next chapter discusses the knowledge currently available regarding Indigenous social work including models, experiences of countries and their contribution to social work practice. It also examines studies pertaining to key social work underpinnings and concludes with critical social work theories such as anti-oppressive theory (2002) and empowerment theory (Lee, 2001).

Part Two

Chapter 3

Review of Literature

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this literature review is to explore research pertaining to Indigenous social work, an emerging area of social work practice. The importance of Indigenous knowledge and epistemes is highlighted and includes their potential contribution to the growing social work body of knowledge and practice. Literature that values Indigenous paradigms and worldviews is also examined. The literature on the practice experience on how Indigenous social work model or practice framework was developed by Canada, the United States of America, the Pacific region, New Zealand and Australia is also included. These locations are known to have comparable colonial backgrounds although different influences based on their respective context and practice experience. Part of the review of related studies is on the principles of social justice and human rights as a framework that underpin the profession. It also explores selected critical theories such as anti-oppressive theory and empowerment theory that offer theoretical explanations on the phenomenon or the reality being studied.

The search strategy undertaken in this scoping literature review involved searching databases AgeLine (EBSCO), CINAHL (EBSCO), ProQuest Central, Informit (Complete), Social Work Toolkit and Web of Science (ISI), utilizing the key words: “Indigenous social work”, “Aboriginal social work” and “Indigenous knowledge”. The selection of articles was based on the centrality of Indigenous social work, including Indigenous knowledge and pedagogies, social work theoretical and conceptual discussions, and experiences of working with Indigenous people, approaches and experiences of practice from a predominantly Western perspective.

The literature review includes the growing number of studies on Indigenous social work especially the experiences and practices of many Indigenous social workers across the globe. It is important to note that such study is ever growing and broadening in terms of developing relevant models of practice. However, it should be noted that this area is seen as a gap in terms of research undertakings and remains as a challenge to Philippine social work though there is already an ongoing call by professional organisations to look into this. Recognition of the vital contribution of Indigenous knowledge and worldviews is important

in the integration of Indigenous social work in Philippine social work practice and literatures.

Social Work with Indigenous Peoples: An Overview

Global recognition of Indigenous Peoples and their struggles occurred during the 62nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly when it adopted the landmark United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in New York City on September 13, 2007 (United Nations, 2007). The Declaration finally affirmed and explicitly recognised the rights of all Indigenous Peoples across the globe and their nation states. This historical event signified that nations have suffered from the legacies of colonization, that claimed not only their lands and resources but also their identity and heritage as a people and as a nation. This also recognised that throughout the world, Indigenous peoples have been “consistently and repeatedly and brutally marginalised and denied human, political, social, economic, cultural and territorial rights by occupying settler nation state governments” (Gray et al., 2013, p. xix). More so, this declaration was an empowering step for Indigenous Peoples to claim and promote their rights to be respected, acknowledging that they have suffered historical injustice as a result of colonization and dispossession (United Nations, 2007). The adoption of the declaration was borne out of the long and relentless struggles of Indigenous Peoples and their organisations across the globe. It also put development workers and human rights activists in an optimistic stance as it recognised the sovereignty of Indigenous People (Yellowbird, 2013 in Gray et. al., 2013, p. xx). Yellowbird (2013) however stressed that the Declaration is a “mere recognition of the history of dispossession and trauma for the Indigenous People” (in Gray et al., 2013, p. xx) as throughout history, they have been subjected to various forms of oppression and exploitation.

Social work with Indigenous Peoples represents a new paradigm in social work theory, research, education and practice (Gray et.al., 2013). There is a growing imperative for social work to explore the place of Indigenous practice in the profession as it continually confronts and responds to criticism that social work has devalued Indigenous cultures and imposed Western paradigms. Internationally, there have been various efforts to ensure that social work practice is rooted in the “relational, social and interpersonal realities of diverse client groups” (Munford & Sanders, 2011, p. 66) and of the importance of the “grounding of practice in local knowledge and experience” as pointed out by Gray et al. (2008) emphasizing knowledge that derives from Indigenous practices, traditions and worldviews (Gray et.al., 2013; Yellowbird, 2013). This approach moved away from the

“deficit-model” towards an Indigenous approach that focuses on its strengths (Bainbridge et al., 2012; Munford & Sanders, 2011), on collectivity, reciprocity and relatedness (Martin, 2008; Wilson, 2001; Hart, 2015). The deficit approach looks at the misconceptions and biases against Indigenous Peoples as helpless, lazy and ignorant.

There are few examples in the literature of concepts or framework and themes that have made significant contributions to practice and policy with Indigenous Peoples and are seen as an important part of the development process (Munford & Sanders, 2011). One is *Cultural Competency*, considered primarily theoretical and conceptual, is largely based on practice experience (Weaver, 1999). Weaver (1999) in her article, pointed out that several articles cover culturally competent services with various ethnic populations, such as those by Green (1999) and Iglehart and Becerra (1995). African American writers include Gray and Nybell (1990), Jagers and Mock (1993), Randolph and Banks (1993), Schiele (1996), Stevenson and Renard (1993), and Williams (1992). Castex (1994), Gutierrez and Ortega (1991), Simoni and Perez (1995), Mason, Marks, Simoni, Ruiz, and Richardson (1995), and Zuniga (1992) discuss culturally competent practice of Latinos. Additional articles also include those of Allen-Mearas (2007), Harrison and Turner (2011), Vinkle (2012), Sousa and Almeida (2016), Barn and Das (2016).

Cultural Competency has been so popular in the USA (Barn & Das, 2016) that even the American National Association of Social Workers' Code of Ethics includes reference “to the process by which individuals and systems respond respectfully and effectively to people of all cultures, languages, classes, races, ethnic backgrounds, religions, and other diversity factors in a manner that recognises, affirms, and values the worth of individuals, families, and communities and protects and preserves the dignity of each” (NASW, 2000). This practice centres on the ability of social workers to master “cultural knowledge and skills” for ethical practice (Allen-Mearas, 2007). In addition, Weaver (1999) includes “values”, and she argues that although it may seem impossible for social workers to know all aspects about culture, it is important for them to know the “diversity that exists between them and the Indigenous People and they possess a general sense of history, culture, and contemporary realities of clients” (Weaver, 1999, p.223). Barn and Das (2016) articulated the significance of ensuring that Family Group Conferences (FGC) as a model was implemented while working with culturally diverse families in London. Accordingly, the FGC requires “intersectional and nuanced approach over crude simplistic approach” and stressed the importance of working in partnerships.

In contrast, the *Cultural Competency* practice model has also met challenges; as Furlong and Wight (2011) warned, cultural competency can be “used as a Trojan horse as it is associated with assumptions that non-Indigenous culture has expertise and knowledge to be understood as neutral and impersonal commodities” (Furlong & Wight, 2011, p. 52) – it is beyond just a checklist of competencies. Harrison and Turner (2011), on the other hand, argued that it promotes “othering” (p.336) by highlighting the term “competence” which requires competence in something that “one acquires” (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014, p.221) and “claims proficiency with” (Barn & Das, 2016, p. 945). With this background, such can be simply reduced as “do’s and don’ts” in practice settings (Kleinman & Benson, 2006 in Barn & Das, 2016, p.946).

In spite of the downsides of “cultural competence”, there are still many social workers who have been utilizing this as part of their practice setting. In fact, the National Association of Social Workers articulated the Standards and Indicators for Cultural Competence (NASW, 2015; NASW, 2018).

Prior to *Cultural Competency*, there were other important concepts and themes that emerged in social work discourses and practice that need to be discussed such as “culture”, “cultural sensitivity”, “diversity and inclusion”, as these are significant in social work engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. The literature presented various definitions of culture, for example, Clifford Geertz (1973) referred to culture as the “means by which people communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about attitudes towards life” (p.89). Culture is the “fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action” (Furlong & Wight, 2011 p.40), while Morissette et al. (1993) pointed out that culture is comprised of both objective characteristics including language, religion, and folkways, as well as subjective attributes (such as feelings shared by a group of people and self-ascription of identity). Other authors such as Lum (1999) also shared an existentialist definition of culture as the “prescribed ways of conduct, beliefs, values, traditions, and customs, and related to life patterns of a people or group” (in Chau et al., 2011, p.21). Lastly, Gray and Allegretti (2003) define culture as “commonalities around which a group of people have developed (or are developing) values, norms, family styles, social roles, and behaviours” (p.315).

Basically, the purpose of the various definitions of culture as presented above is to help social workers know the importance of the concept of culture in order to understand the context and location of Indigenous People. It must be noted that culture also connotes

“politics” as it adheres to trying to implement and maintain a set of power relationships (Swartz, 1998 in Gray & Allegretti, 2003, p.6). This is manifested in the various Indigenous social movements around the world calling for “cultural preservation” (Gray & Allegretti, 2003, p.6) amidst dispossession and oppression (Briskman, 2014). Gray and Coates (2012) pointed out that “culture is central to social work practice”, (in Yellowbird, Coates et al., 2012, p. 21) particularly in Indigenous social work practice (Gray & Allegretti, 2003). Social workers must be responsive to the existing reality in their local context; accordingly, it runs counter to the idea of “universal professional values and global standards of education and practice”, knowing fully well that there are differences of cultures across the globe, across diverse contexts (Gray & Coates, 2012, p.21). On the other hand, authors Park (2005), Gray and Coates (2012, in Yellowbird et al. 2012, p. 21) argue that “culture” can serve as a “marker of difference” that may create “stereotyping” and further divide when it is used interchangeably with “race and ethnic”. Hence, this research found helpful to view “culture” as “always hybrid, always plural and always heterogeneous” (How Kee, 2012 in Yellowbird & Coates, 2012, p. 100) and that social work practice, which recognises such diversity helps shape the contribution of local practices.

On the other hand, there emerged concepts of “diversity and inclusion” which are presented in the literature as working together to achieve positive outcomes (Ferdman et al., 2013). As diversity is the recognition of varied identities, cultures, understanding, knowledge and ways of meanings (Thomas & Ely, 1996 in Ferdman et al. 2013, p. 6; Chau et al., 2011); it is also about respecting the ‘others’ difference as a kind of gift. It gives a chance to identify and understand the differences (Furlong & Wight, 2011), capturing the tension between increasing interconnectedness while maintaining the need to remain distinctive (Mafle’o, 2004). Thus, the concept of “inclusion” is essential in supporting diversity, as this allows and encourages simultaneously including the varied dimensions of diversity. It recognises that people and cultures come from various locations and honour these differences – language, knowledge, meanings etc. – by treating them as unique yet equally represented (Ferdman, 2013, p. 11) and proactively participative. It should also be noted that the concepts of “diversity and inclusion” should not be framed in a specific definition, as diversity and particularly inclusion, operate in a multi-level perspective. They are dynamic and on-going (Ferdman, 2013) involving individuals, groups, organisations and even society. The literature on diversity and inclusion requires rethinking in the social work profession on how social workers conceptualize culture.

Overall, the concept of “cultural sensitivity” is demonstrated when social workers understand the concept of Indigenous culture and recognise the multiple diversities in which they are located and find ways to establish connectedness that encourages inclusion of Indigenous Peoples’ voices in programs and policies. It arises when social workers are aware of the specific cultural group (Gray et al., 2008); thus, the concept of cultural sensitivity is ushered into the foreground. It is about creating a “collective culture that promotes harmony” and at the same time requires “mutual understanding on the existence of cultural “others”, which includes tolerance, respect and dignity for the other’s culture” (Gray & Allegretti, 2003, p. 322). The literature revealed many efforts by social workers who have worked relentlessly to embrace diversity and inclusion (Weaver, 2009; Munford & Sanders, 2011; Hart, 2009, 2015; Briskman, 2014; Bennett et al, 2013). In practice, these manifest undertakings aim to counter dominant paradigms and western voices (Gray et al., 2008) that relegate various indigenous Peoples in a disadvantaged and oppressive situation.

There are authors who acknowledge that the notions of culture (Park, 2005), even “cultural sensitivity” (Gray & Coates, 2012, in Yellowbird et al., 2012, p. 21) and “cultural competency” have not been sufficiently examined in social work literatures (Park, 2005; Gray & Coates, 2012). Hence, further study is needed to explore these concepts.

Debated Terms

The discourse on the basic terms utilised in social work with Indigenous Peoples has generated tensions between local and global scholars, as these issues are mainly rooted in varied local contexts, processes and practices (Gray, 2005). There is a need to clarify the definition of Indigenous and how it is being contextualised in the study. Hughes (2003) stated that there is no unambiguous definition of Indigenous Peoples. Weaver (2001) also mentioned that the topic of Indigenous identity opens a “pandora’s box of possibilities and to try to address them all would mean doing justice to none” (p.240). In the context of the Indigenous Peoples themselves, they are aware that regardless of the definitions given by “outsiders”, they have the right to identify themselves (Weaver, 2001, p. 245; Yellowbird, 1999).

In many articles, Indigenous Peoples are referred to by various terms such as but not limited to Indigenous, ethnic minority, tribal groups, and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples, First Nations or First Peoples. All these terms refer to Indigenous Peoples (Bennet et al., 2013; Hart, 2010; Smith, 1999; Weaver, 1999; Yellowbird et.al.,

2012; Yellowbird,1999;) who identify themselves as belonging to a group of people, community or collective. They retain their identity as a collective cultural group, unique, diverse, yet they are one especially when faced with threats, exploitation and oppression at all fronts (Gray et.al., 2013). In fact, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII, 2006), a high-level advisory body established in July 2002, reiterated that no official definition of the term “Indigenous” has been adopted yet by any UN-system body. It considers the recognition of its diversity and has developed modern understanding of the term instead (UNPFII, 2006). The United Nations outlined its understanding of the term as the following:

- Self- identification as Indigenous Peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities (UNPFII, 2006, p.1)

Currently, there is no consensus yet as to what terms are to be used, so “Aboriginal” or “Indigenous” are often used interchangeably (Sinclair & Hart, 2009, p. 13.). Meanwhile, the term “indigenization” has also created varied views among scholars. When the term was first coined by Shawky (1972), he referred to it as the term utilised by social work in Africa and later adopted by the United Nations, as a term which refers to the process of ‘adapting imported ideas to fit local needs’ (Gray & Coates, 2012, p. 2). The term was utilised in social work discourse in Africa because it denotes the effects of colonisation, as it reduces the importance of local and Indigenous cultures while promoting Western cultures and way of life (Gray et.al, 2013). On the other hand, Yang (2005) in China also coined the term ‘indigenisation’ to mean the integration of one’s reflections on the local culture including society and history into individual approaches. He further stressed that since Indigenous studies are not absolutely utilizing all Indigenous terms, nor are conducted exclusively by Indigenous researchers, then “indigenisation” must be defined from a methodological standpoint (Geertz, 1984). Studies show that the term “indigenisation” refers to the attempts of social workers in Africa, Southeast Asia and China (Osei-Hwedie, 1993; Yang, 2005; Yan & Cheung, 2006; Yellowbird et.al., 2012) in their attempts to develop social work in their local context.

Gray and Coates (2012), described “indigenisation” as an “outmoded concept”, as many Indigenous Peoples express unease with the term “indigenization” because it tends to

promote a “blanket or generic approach in working with Indigenous people” (in Yellowbird et.al., 2012; Gray et al, 2013). The term “indigenisation” has existed for 30 years (Gray & Coates, 2014). An article by Gray and Coates (2014) presented a table depicting the various definitions of the term “indigenisation” from different scholars across the globe. With the varied definitions, it leads one to understand that these terms are created in a manner that is contextualised under the influences surrounding the locality, be it social, political and most importantly “cultural” (Gray & Allegritti, 2003; Osei-Hwedie, 2000). This suggests that “indigenisation” and “Indigenous social work or social work with Indigenous” approach are two separate discourses. However, due to the misappropriation of terms by various authors, there are instances of parallel discourse in the social work literature, as Gray et al. (2008) noted:

We became aware that we use similar terminology to mean different things. Sometimes we misuse or misappropriate terms, unaware of the implications of perpetuating certain themes in social work discourse... there are other related but parallel discourses; though they discuss similar issues, each seems totally ‘unaware’ of the others’ or have failed to see the relationship between them. (p.8)

Studying the various scholarly definitions of the terms “Indigenous” and “indigenisation”, manifests the relentless efforts of many social workers to develop Indigenous social work practice that would contribute to the evolving social work body of knowledge and practice. It also shows that there are other countries still developing such knowledge including the Philippines. In the Philippines, even though there are about 110 ethnic communities across the country (UNDP, 2013), little has been written or published particularly about social work practice with the country’s Indigenous Peoples compared with other neighbouring Asian countries particularly Vietnam whose social work practice came a little later due to reinstitution (Hugman, et.al., 2007).

Principle of Human Rights and Social Justice: Key Underpinnings

Human rights and social justice are important principles in the social work profession, as these principles provide a practice framework in our engagement and guide the quality, availability and appropriateness of our services to the vulnerable and disadvantaged. Fraser and Simpson (2014) stressed further that inclusive, empowering and liberating approaches are essential as we work in solidarity with disadvantaged people, give voices to the marginalised and empower the oppressed people and communities across the globe.

Given the realities that social workers negotiate situations that require ethical competence; issues that involve confidentiality, reporting abuses, assertion on the right of self-determination and many other situations pose dilemmas for social workers. It is essential that social workers undertake a painstaking analysis and discuss the importance of applying the principles of human rights and social justice into practice (Reichert, 2016; Reisch, 2016).

Weinberg (2008) stressed that social work is not a politically neutral activity (Allan et al., 2009). Social workers must be greatly involved in the process of attaining social justice and must bear in mind that the process is democratic, emancipatory, participatory, inclusive and firm in its resolve to affect change (Addams et al., 2007). Social workers, on one hand, need to acknowledge that inequalities exist resulting in oppression, injustices, violence and exploitation (Chenoweth & McAuliffe, 2008; Dominelli, 2002)

Despite the fact that the meaning of the concept social justice is contested given its complexities, there are several scholars that articulate social justice and how it is being applied and/or translated in our profession (Allan et al., 2009; Bell & Letchfield, 2015; Chenoweth & McAuliffe, 2008; Gray et al., 2013; Dominelli, 2002; Higgs, 2015; Morgaine & Desyllas, 2015). As defined by Calma and Priday (2011), "Social Justice encompasses the satisfaction of basic needs, fair access to services and benefits to achieve human potential, and recognition of individual and community rights" (in Gray et al., 2013, p. 74). Chenoweth & McAuliffe, (2008) discussed Rawls' (1971) three main concepts of Social Justice:

The first is the concept of legal justice or libertarianism, which is concerned with what a person owes to society. Second is the

commutative justice or utilitarianism that weighs up distribution of resources according to what will deliver the greatest good for the greatest number. Lastly, is the idea of distributive justice or egalitarianism, arguing that we cannot justify common good if some people are forced into hardship or denied basic liberties. It is based on the notion that a just society requires all citizens to have the same basic rights, equality of opportunity and no inequality in power, income and other resources, unless for the benefit of the worst-off members of society. (p.39).

Chenoweth & McAuliffe (2008) pointed out that among these main concepts of social justice, egalitarianism is most sympathetic to social and human service work; knowing that social work must ensure that those who have less in life should be able to optimize the resources and opportunities. Therefore, social workers must be critical enough to know that in order to combat the perpetuation of systemic injustice, one must recognise the changing social conditions from time to time, bring to the surface new contradictions, emergence of new forms of oppression and ways to create a new space for social change (Morgaine & Desyllas, 2015).

In a study conducted by O'Brien (2011), the members of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers (ANZASW) were asked to set out their definition of social justice and to describe the application of the idea of social justice in their practice. In the study that received 191 returned questionnaires out of the original 701 questionnaires distributed, the definition of social justice was formed from "their own" definition and not something borrowed from external definitions. The study of O'Brien (2011) has demonstrated strong emphasis on the term "*equality*" (with 77 participants). Results of the study revealed opposing views. On one end, some participants defined equality as "treating everybody the same way" while other participants referred to equality as "diversity enhances equality by ensuring that unequal are treated differently and unequally" (O'Brien, 2011, p.147). "*Fairness*" (with 24 participants) was defined as the ways in which users were treated by agencies and by the wider society. Second, fairness involved the outcomes and activities of social institutions and social practices" (O'Brien, 2011). These terms are cited as a link to social justice; while the remaining 66 participants used the terms "*advocacy*", "*access*", "*discrimination*", "*right*", "*well-being*" and "*respect*". The findings of the study demonstrated that social workers in the study held various meanings of social justice and at the same time raised significant questions particularly on the

sameness/difference debate. The study's author highlighted that "social work practice, social work education and social service provision need to engage with both sameness and difference and the relationship between these is fundamental to exploring the values inherent in social work and in its ethical base" (O'Brien, 2011, p.155).; and at the same time stresses the continuing task of "acknowledging the specifics of the local setting; exploration of these similarities and differences would make a useful contribution to the task of identifying the global dimensions of social work practice and contribute to the current debate on the definition of social work" (O'Brien, 2011, p.156). Without attention to this consideration, one may fail to understand context and history on how social work, both as theory and practice, evolved in one country, for example the Philippines. In relation to this study, there is a need to recognise how social work developed and evolved in the Philippines particularly in Mindanao given that social workers engage with Indigenous Peoples' communities. The recognition of this engagement with Indigenous Peoples can contribute to the developing Philippine social work discourses.

Meanwhile, the principle of human rights has been recognised by IFSW (International Federation of Social Workers) and IASSW (International Association of Schools of Social Work), such that human rights underpin social work practice and contemporary global discourse (IFSW, 2014). Nipperess and Briskman (2009) noted that there is comparatively little social work literature on human rights despite the importance of the concept though the topic has increased significantly in the last ten years (Allan et al., 2009, p. 61). Human Rights, as a principle, directs social workers to embrace the fundamental entitlements of our clients and through this principle, the recognition of the concept of inherent dignity and worth can be fully achieved and implemented (IFSW, 2012; Payne, 2006). Ife (2001) argued that Human Rights is the "moral basis for social work" (as cited in Payne, 2006, p. 90). He also discussed the three generations of rights, which highlight the need to maintain a just social order, substantive equality and to focus on underlying assumptions in societies that prevent equality (Payne, 2006). Human rights as a principle remain as a powerful framework for practice (Allan et al., 2009; Payne, 2006).

One study conducted by Lombard and Twikirize (2014) focused on the case studies of two agencies operating in South Africa and Uganda. It showed that social work can assume a significant role in promoting social and economic equality through its commitment to social justice and human rights. The study looked into the commitment of two welfare agencies, namely Future Families, South Africa and Anaka Foundation in Uganda. These agencies established links with vulnerable populations in the areas mentioned. Future Families in

South Africa offers care and support to orphans and vulnerable children and families infected or affected by the HIV/AIDS through various programmes. Anaka Foundation in Uganda has expanded its intervention from basic education and medical assistance to livelihood support to the households in the region considered most vulnerable to poverty. These agencies have articulated their commitment to human rights conceptual framework by articulating it in their programmes and activities. In fact, the case studies reveal that “relevant activities and achievements, including access to health care, education, safe water, sanitation, food, employment/ income and social security” (Lombard & Twikirize, 2014, p. 321) are implemented in order to meet the goal towards poverty eradication. Programmes assist families to access basic social services and their needs, thus reducing inequalities. Social workers in these agencies also argue that they can embrace “peoples’ rights to development” at the same time, stressing the importance of “participation” of the people in the programmes and activities of the agencies, which could lead to empowerment and resilience. The case studies revealed, however, that the outstanding challenge remains to obtain “external funding”. On the other hand, it clarifies the role of the social workers in taking the lead in changing lives by “lifting people out of poverty and addressing social and economic inequalities” (Lombard & Twikirize, 2014, p. 322).

Essentially, as prescribed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (United Nations, n.d.), human rights are those entitlements that people possess simply by virtue of their humanity and are universal—that is, these entitlements belong to everyone regardless of age, gender, ethnicity, religion or sexual orientation. These are indivisible as they are equally important and are considered inalienable, because another person, government, organisation or any other entity cannot take them away. As noted, there are as many practice approaches that are founded on human rights frameworks, as there are groups of people who are struggling to attain these rights, as a consequence of neo-liberalism, capitalism and globalization which further worsen the marginalization of people with disabilities, Indigenous Peoples and refugees (Briskman & Fiske, 2009). Human rights frameworks can be utilised by social workers to develop innovative strategies to change oppressive conditions. An example cited by Allan et al., (2009) on social work with Indigenous Peoples, shows human rights as an important discourse to understand the context of their rights and their struggles. They mentioned that the “violations of rights are apparent in a range of policy advocacy within Australia, where they are subject to policies and practices that are not expected of others” (Nipperess & Briskman, 2009, p. 66).

Globally, social workers are being challenged to be more critical in terms of putting into practice the tenets of human rights (Ife & Tascón, 2016); how human rights can be maximised in order to put forward the legitimate demands of the marginalised and disadvantaged and to continue to challenge the paradigms that promote oppression which widens the disparities between the rich and the poor. It is fitting to note that social workers must be reflective and must be able to identify how and why the rights of the marginalised and disadvantaged people are in dire situation (UNDP, 2010) to better understand the root cause of poverty and oppression. At the same time, social work needs to devise innovations and strategies to curb oppression and exploitation particularly among Indigenous Peoples' communities (Ife & Tascón, 2016) so that social work intervention becomes effective, empowering and transformative. Many scholars have asserted that the human rights framework is a suitable complement to social justice as both "emphasize the centrality of trust, social cooperation and mutuality" (Reicht, 2011 in Hugman & Carter, 2016: p. 39). In this light, the principles of human rights and social justice serve as a grounding for social workers in adhering to the principles that recognise the essence of humanity (Reisch, 2011 in Hugman & Carter, 2016). As stressed by Alston and McKinnon (2003), social workers need a vision and a framework that inspire practitioners to work for social change in societies, to act in solidarity with the struggles of Indigenous Peoples' communities, to address inequities and to become vocal advocates of the disadvantaged.

In summary, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2007) was a crucial and an empowering step, without which, the recognition of Indigenous rights and demands would be next to impossible. In fact, it was the Declaration that paved the way for social work to challenge existing models and worldviews that devalue Indigenous culture and knowledge. Despite the fact that the social work profession is anchored on the principles of human rights, social justice and empowerment, many social workers still possess condescending views towards Indigenous Peoples as a legacy of colonization and marginalization (Briskman, 2007; Green & Baldry, 2008; Hart, 2009; Harms et al., 2011; Tamburro, 2013). This section also recognises painstaking efforts of the profession to recognise the contributions of Indigenous knowledge, practice and worldviews to further develop social work practice, education and research.

Indigenous Epistemology

Indigenous knowledge is a knowledge system that is built on an understanding of the relationship (Wilson, 2001) with everything that surrounds the human world, the spirit and inanimate entities of the ecosystem (Battiste & Henderson, 2000), embedded in context or environments (Martin, 2008) as derived from collective experience and action (Sefa Dei, 2008). It encompasses the spirit of collectivism, reciprocity and respect (Wilson, 2001), as opposed to western knowledge that emanates from larger institutions and dominating economies (Martin, 2008). Indigenous knowledge emphasises the importance of relationships, growth, healing and the interdependence of these values as the key concepts (Hart, 2009; Hart, 2010).

Erasga (2008) emphasised that the “epistemological features of Ancestral Domain as invoked by “Lumads” and Talaingod Manobos are embedded in the notions of identity, property, continuity and politics implicated in the concept” (p. 35). Talaingod Manobos’ ways of knowing and learning are constructed and shaped based on their lived experiences within Pantaron Range and its territories (Paluga et al., 2013). Their Indigenous knowledge is generated through their daily interaction and relationship with all of its creatures and all of nature in its rich territory-- a relational worldview that assists the Talaingod Manobos in their knowledge production and knowledge construction (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; TRICOM, 1998). The notion of Ancestral Domain for the “Lumads” and Talaingod Manobos connotes continuity and relationships, through the concept of ancestry in depicting the framework of time from past, present and future. By relationship, they mean the people’s connection to their Ancestral Domain, to their lands, water, forest and mountains (Gaspar, 2000; Pacificar & Obenza, 2013; Tauli-Corpuz, 2005; TRICOM, 1998). This is from their lived experiences and knowledge derived from their ancestors who once lived within ranges of Pantaron and this has been passed down to generations through stories, songs, dances and rituals. This knowledge system is built within their culture and their culture is built around this knowledge system, articulating a web of relationship. In fact, this knowledge system has the ability to ward off misfortunes, prevent wars and conflicts deeply rooted in Talaingod Manobo tradition and history (Lacorte, 2011; Pacificar & Obenza, 2013); hence, the Talaingod Manobos have thrived and survived for many generations. The Indigenous epistemology has guided the research process utilised in this research by privileging the voices of Talaingod Manobos and by placing high regard

for personal and lived experiences of Talaingod Manobo leaders as a legitimate way of knowing.

The researcher, though non-Indigenous, remained conscious of and sought to work within the prevailing worldview possessed by the Indigenous Peoples as proposed by Martin (2003), an Aboriginal researcher: *Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing*. This framework has assisted the researcher to honour Indigenous constructs and processes in the enquiry: The Talaingod Manobos' "Ways of Knowing" (Epistemology) highlight that the "Entities (Land, Animal, Plants, Skies, Waterways, climate and Spiritual systems) can be learned and reproduced through sharing, sensing, listening, watching, waiting, sharing and other processes, as these allow expansion and contraction according to social, historical, political, spatial dimensions of individual, groups, community and outsider" (Martin, 2003, p. 209). So, it is not just simply information or facts. The "Ways of Being" focuses on the reality that Indigenous Peoples are "part of the world and its existing network of relationships among Entities, therefore it determines and defines their rights to be earned and bestowed as they carry out rites or ceremonies to country, self and others". This serves as guide for "establishing relations to Entities vis-à-vis context change". This is where the "determination and passion to defend and protect the Entities" emanates from. Lastly, the "Ways of Doing" are the articulation of "Ways of Knowing" and "Ways of Being"—these are seen or manifest in the language, art, imagery, technology, traditions and ceremonies, land management practices, social organisation and social control. "Ways of Doing" expresses their identities (group or individual) and roles (group or individuals); these can be in their rituals and communal lifestyle and collective farming. By highlighting this framework of Ways of Knowing, Ways of Being and Ways of Doing throughout the enquiry; the worldview, understanding, experiences and context of Indigenous Peoples are articulated.

Experiences from Selected Countries: Social Work with Indigenous People

In social work practice, there is no such thing as a 'one size fits all' model, (Baikie, 2009). The social work profession acknowledges diversity and contexts, but the fact still remains that social work is predominantly a product of western theories and practice (Gray & Fook, 2004). Over the years of practice and study, the profession has evolved and adapted to changes brought about by social, cultural, economic and political changes that have swept the profession for the last decades. Social work practice with Indigenous communities was developed and framed within the principles of social justice, human rights and critical theories and approaches as its laying ground (Briskman, 2013; Dominelli, 2002; Gray

et.al., 2007; Gray et.al., 2013; Green & Baldry, 2008; Hart, 2015; Munford & Sanders, 2011; Weaver, 1999; Yellowbird, et.al., 2012). There is an emerging openness that recognises that Indigenous knowledge and epistemes must be integrated in our body of knowledge and theory (Gray et al., 2013; Hart, 2015).

Social work with Indigenous Peoples is about building frameworks stemming from the diversity of Indigenous nations; Indigenous knowledge grounded from the distinct experiences of these nations, and critical perspectives that address colonial oppression and historical injustice (Hart 2015; Munford & Sanders, 2011). The narratives of Indigenous knowledge and epistemes speak so much about social justice and human rights as does the social work profession and therefore invites social workers to combine critical and reflective practice in working with the Indigenous Peoples' communities (Briskman, 2014).

The researcher has chosen to present the literature on the experiences of Canada, The Pacific Islands, New Zealand, United States of America and Australia, because of shared experiences brought about by colonisation compared to its Asian and African neighbours whose colonisers withdrew their occupation. However, the Indigenous nations in Canada, Pacific Islands, New Zealand, United States of America and Australia continuously live with their colonisers within their Ancestral boundaries (Howitt, 2001). Throughout the course of history these nations have experienced removal, expulsion, or forced assimilation (Weaver, 2015), and social workers have historically contributed to the colonisation process (Walsh-Tapiata, 2004) knowing that the colonisers co-exist with the Indigenous people or Aboriginal communities at the same time. Because of this prevailing reality, they have constantly struggled against the backlash of colonialism, often manifested in various struggles as they prefer not to be integrated within the coloniser society (Weaver, 2015) but to ceaselessly protect their own, distinct and diverse identity and culture (Hart, 2015). Hence, this context has led social workers, particularly Indigenous social workers in these nations to work for the recognition of Indigenous people but more so to strengthen further Indigenous social work practice by advancing Indigenous models in education, practice and research (Baikie, 2009). Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers from these countries have varied ways in responding to the call of developing and utilising Indigenous knowledge and worldviews in the profession. These are some of the countries around the globe that have developed and utilised social work with Indigenous Peoples' communities as model or as practice framework.

The Canadian Experience

Literature reveals that social workers have played a significant role in the lives of First Peoples in Canada (Morrisette et al., 1993). However, it should be noted that historically the Eurocentric approach and principles of the profession, as well as the Anglo Tradition and Judeo-Christian worldview and traditions that informed the profession, have impacted on First Nations' communities particularly in terms of welfare and policies (Weaver, 2008; Vedan, 2009) and this has led many Indigenous communities to have a negative perception towards social workers (Sinclair, 2004). Nonetheless, it is important to highlight the significant developments within Canadian social work as argued by Morrisette et al., (1993), acknowledging that these are the initiatives that reshape social work theory and practice by advancing Indigenous knowledge and helping approaches. These are: (a) "the initiatives in adapting professional education and practice content to the needs of Aboriginal people, though this remains largely to be fully developed; and (b) the development of practice models emerging directly from the experiences and traditions of Aboriginal people as they develop new approaches to healing" (pp. 93-94). Hence, based on various articles (Hart, 2002, 2010; Morrisette et al., 1993; Sinclair et al., 2009), Canada has already taken a step in advancing Indigenous social work.

Prior to colonisation, according to the Canadian Constitution, in Canada there were three major groups of Indigenous Peoples: Indians or First Peoples, Metis and Inuit (Baskin & Sinclair, 2015). Similar to the experiences of other Indigenous Peoples who have been colonised, they too have been oppressed and dispossessed from their own territories, including by government-imposed racialised identities (Baskin & Sinclair, 2015; Poonwasie & Charter, 2001;). Many Indigenous leaders have struggled against the doctrine of "terra nullius" to gain government recognition and to acknowledge their existence as the First Peoples of the land. In fact, treaty after treaty has been signed over the years, but still the terms of accord have not always been respected or honoured (Baskin & Sinclair, 2015).

Through the years, social workers in Canada have unfortunately earned a negative reputation among Indigenous Peoples' communities (Baskin & Sinclair, 2015; Sinclair, 2004). Sadly, many social workers were part of the systemic oppression especially the period called "the 60s Scoop" (Sinclair, 2004). Social workers were part of the systematic removal of Indigenous children from their families and communities and the children never returned to their families (Baskin & Sinclair, 2015; Sinclair, 2004). Social workers also participated in transracial adoption and foster care (Sinclair, 2004). This manifests the

“Western theoretical hegemony” (Sinclair, 2004, p. 51) on the concept of child welfare and child-rearing, which more often than not, failed to recognise that Aboriginal or Indigenous Peoples’ communities have their own concept of child welfare that is opposite to the dominant platform (Blackstock, 2009 & 2011; Gray, et al., 2010; Poonwasie & Charter, 2001; Sinclair, 2004). It was not until Indigenous activists criticised the profession (Sinclair, 2004) that social workers recognised they had not been responsive to the Indigenous Peoples. It was in 1975 when the First Nations University of Canada (formerly the “Saskatchewan Indian Federated College”) School of Indian Social Work was founded, hence establishing the first Aboriginal social work programme (Sinclair, 2004). The school mainstreamed Aboriginal context and history, Aboriginal epistemes and culturally- relevant practice (Poonwasie & Charter, 2001; Sinclair, 2004). The school presented how critical consciousness provided a structural framework for understanding contemporary social conditions of Indigenous Peoples (Sinclair, 2004) in the context of delivering services to Aboriginal communities and Aboriginal social services agencies. It also ensured that Aboriginal traditional knowledge was integrated into the curricula and synthesised in the daily activities of various institutions (Sinclair, 2004). However, literature revealed that there was a period in social work practice in Canada that the Indigenous social workers and social work educators “resisted attempts by mainstream social work to either assimilate Indigenous social work within euro-western paradigms or marginalised it as ‘cultural’” (Baikie, 2009, p. 42).

Indigenous Contribution to Social Work

The following are some of the examples of contributions of Indigenous knowledge and processes to social work in Canada. This has greatly contributed to social work practice with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. These are the following: The **Medicine Wheel** and ***Melq'ilwiye***.

The Medicine Wheel

A contribution to Canadian social work is the recognition of the Aboriginal worldview of helping (Poonwasie & Charter, 2001; Sinclair, 2004). This presents the Aboriginal philosophy and belief system that includes the Medicine Wheel which is linked with ceremonies (Poonwasie & Charter, 2001). This model emphasises the fact there are no fixed Aboriginal approaches (Malloch, 1989 in Poonwasie & Charter, 2001), although each nation has defined or has identified its own healing and helping approaches.

Like the First Peoples of the United States of America, Aboriginal Nations in Canada developed their own Medicine Wheel in their quest for balance, harmony and restoration. The Medicine Wheel reflects key concepts that are common to Aboriginal approaches to helping which include “wholeness, balance, connectedness, harmony, growth and healing” (Hart, 1999, p. 91; Nabigon & Mawhiney, 2011), even issues and challenges. The emphasis of this approach is the “life of fullest sense” or the “Pimatisiwin” and the key values of this approach are the values of “sharing and respect” (Hart, 1999, p. 97). It also presents that the concept of Sharing which relates to “equality and democracy”, in contrast to greed, envy and arrogance”. Respect is defined as that which “shows honour, esteem, or to treat someone with courtesy” (Hart, 1999, p. 98). The Medicine Wheel also indicates that the healing process allows the integration of mind, body and spirit through a ceremony where the elder acts as guide or helper (Nabigon & Mawhiney, 2011). This healing practice allows the individual to journey inward and deal with inner conflicts, before looking at the outside environment (Nabigon & Mawhiney, 2011). This model also emphasises a person is not separated from his or her context or environment. Therefore, this may help to reshape all the aspects of life in a person, as this model seeks to reconnect the innermost self to its wider environment (Nabigon & Mawhiney, 2011). This path of healing can contribute to social work as it recognises that the process of change or the journey towards change is ceaseless and that the helping relationship is a shared journey and experience between the person who renders help and the one being helped. The Medicine Wheel focuses on that “shared experience” because that is how the helping process should be. It must not automatically equate social workers as “experts” since the one who renders help does not consider the one being helped as “helpless”. Rather, the relationship must focus on “speaking from the heart, which suggests speaking with personal emotional experience, intuition and honesty” Hart (2009, p. 37). It should be noted, however, that the Medicine Wheel as an Indigenous helping approach has some limitations too which Hart (2009) pointed out:

Firstly, it does not clearly identify the connections to Indigenous people globally; secondly, it has difficulty translating into at least one Indigenous language (in this case, he cited Cree language) and lastly, because of the term itself, there is an on-going debate arising on identity issue as a result of colonialism process. (p. 39).

Social Work Field Education: “Melq’ilwiye”

Another issue is the effort to work towards Indigenous Field Education, given the limited literature within social work particularly on the context of “Cultural Safety”. Clark and Drolet (2014) conducted an exploratory study among social work and Human Services Field Education Coordinators in British Columbia, Canada on their learning and reflections on integrating Indigenous knowledge in field education. The findings were drawn from in-depth interviews using an Indigenous intersectional storytelling approach to be able to understand the context and experiences of Indigenous and non-Indigenous field coordinators.

Clark and Drolet (2014) emphasised the need to deliver Field education within a culturally safe practice context which requires adequate human, financial, and technological support in order for the transformation of Field education to take place. The authors note that Field education must also centre on Indigenous epistemologies within frameworks of cultural safety and intersectionality, ensuring that the Field Education is also responsive to the context and needs of Indigenous students (Clark & Drolet, 2014). However, the issue on the impact of intersecting policies is still being identified for further study, in particular, Indigenous intersectional policy analysis to ascertain where and for whom the enabling and constricting opportunities for Indigenous students are (Clark & Drolet, 2014).

Accepting and understanding the realities of Aboriginal people (Vinkle, 2012) has paved the way for social workers in Canada to transform the profession to work together with Aboriginal Peoples to bridge the gap and to help non-Indigenous social workers gain insights into the needs of Aboriginal People (Vinkle, 2012) and halt colonial relations and reemphasise the importance of self-determination for the Aboriginal communities, knowing that it is already at the centre of social work practice (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014).

New Zealand

Social work in New Zealand centres on embracing diversity and plurality in practice. For some time, there has been an increasing revitalisation of Maori culture, as their context, history and stories are being “retold, rewritten and recognised in social work practice” (Walsh-Tapiata, 2004 p. 4), knowing that colonisation has erased many Indigenous stories in social welfare. With a breakthrough in the development of social services created by Iwi (tribal) and Maori organisations in the 1990s as effective Indigenous models, Maori

communities have actively utilised their own development model of practice (Hollis-English, 2012). This highlights the commitment of social workers and community workers to respond to new ways of working, utilising alternative frameworks, especially that social work in New Zealand is located in “multicultural imperatives within the bicultural framework” background as pointed out by Munford and Sanders (2011).

In New Zealand, the development of culturally responsive practice in the social work profession has its beginnings in understanding the concept of Maori self-determination (*tino rangatiratanga*) (Munford & Sanders, 2011). The foundation of social work partnership for both Maori and non-Maori social workers has been refined on a document called “*Te Tiriti o Waitangi*” (Ruwhiu, 2009).

The “*Te Tiriti o Waitangi*” is the foundational document for the nation of Aotearoa New Zealand (Dow & Garden, 1998; Ruwhiu, 2009). William Hobson acting as translator and advocate, facilitated the famous initial signing of the Maori version of “*Te Tiriti o Waitangi*” (Orange, 1987 in Connolly & Harms, 2012, p.110-111) at Waitangi in February 1840. The “*Te Tiriti o Waitangi*” highlighted the notions of self-determination, partnership, and Indigenous rights; the same essence that underpin contemporary culturally responsive social work practice in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ruwhiu, 2009).

Munford and Sanders (2011) discussed the set of Indigenous practice constructs developed by Maori social workers in New Zealand. These constructs have provided a framework for mainstream social work practice and the ideas have strongly influenced the work of social workers in New Zealand who have tried to transform mainstream social work practice by adopting Indigenous practice approaches. They aimed to generate ‘*knowledge and practice models from the ground up, drawing on the values, beliefs, customs and cultural norms of local and Indigenous helping practices*’ (Gray et al., 2008, p.5). The constructs, derived from traditional Maori practices and worldview, have contributed significantly to the growth of integrated and holistic practice frameworks that focus on positive development for communities (Eketone, 2006). The authors Munford and Sanders (2011) stress that in social work settings, the constructs on process and protocol as integrated into mainstream settings guide social workers in wide ranging ways

The following constructs were developed by Maori social workers: ***Kaupapa and tikanga/kawa***. “*Kaupapa* is a process of thinking about what we value and what influences the way we do things (Munford & Sanders, 2011, p. 68). As presented, kaupapa-based understanding allows new ways of enacting strengths-practices that are based on

centuries-old traditions that draw on local knowledge and provide long-term solutions for troubles faced by families and communities (Munford & Sanders, 2011). These concepts are often used in varying combinations to help articulate a “kaupapa mana” — learning respect, valuing others’ views, not trampling on others’ positions. In social and community work practice, mana-enhancing practice is characterized by processes that embrace historical understandings and respectfully acknowledge a person’s place in their whanau (family), iwi (tribe) and community (Ruwhiu, 2009).

Next is **Ako**, which means “to learn as well as to teach” (Royal-Tanaere, 1997 as cited in Munford & Sanders, 2011, p 70). For the Maori, it is an “acceptable practice for the learner to shift roles and become the teacher, and for the teacher to become the learner” (Royal-Tanaere, 1997 in Munford & Sanders, 2011, p 70). “The concept of tuakana [older sibling], teina [younger sibling] operates through the dual nature of ‘Ako’. The ‘Ako’ also reminds practitioners to look for and engage with the expertise and knowledge of children and young people as well as that of adults” (Royal-Tanaere, 1997 in Munford & Sanders, 2011, p 70). **Homai ki te tangata, te kanohi ki te kanohi**, when literally translated, means ‘give it to a person ‘face-to-face’ which requires parties to honestly face each other” (Ruwhiu, 2009, p. 71). The process requires that any criticism is directly presented to the person, and that this is not whispered to others. This underlines a commitment by the parties involved to work together in partnership to find solutions guided by the principle of self-determination (Ruwhiu, 2009).

These constructs have provided a platform for social workers in the Pacific and New Zealand, as they engage and work with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. While it ensures relevant mainstream theories for working with Pacific people, such constructs must be ethnic-sensitive (Schlesinger & Devore, 1995) and culturally competent (Fong & Furuto, 2001; Mafile’o & Ofahengaue-Vakalahi, 2016).

The Pacific Islands

Pacific social work reflects the diaspora of the Pacific people. There is a rich and diverse Pacific culture and history. Within this diversity is a strong affinity towards “group affiliation” (Ewalt & Mukuau, 1995) that shapes their concept of self-determination, as it is strongly linked with land, water, spirit and social activities as noted by Linnekin and Poyer (1990) and Ewalt and Mukuau, (1995). Literature reveals that the process of colonisation coupled with globalisation has created tensions in creating its identity in the midst of rapid changes. Highlighting this context has ushered the call and efforts for decolonisation, one that is centred on the development of social work within localised development, cultural preservation and which originated in Pacific Islander practices (Mafile’o, 2008; Mafile’o & Ofahengaue-Vakalahi 2016). Such breakthrough is referred by Mafile’o (2018) as the “next wave” that aims to strengthen and revitalise new approaches in Pacific social work.

Mafile’o and Ofahengaue-Vakalahi (2016) discussed that in the Pacific, there are more than 22 countries and territories (including American Samoa, Cook Islands, Fiji, Tahiti/French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Papua New Guinea, Pitcairn Islands, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, Wallis and Futuna) and 1200 Indigenous languages (more than 800 of these languages being Indigenous within one country). The authors also stressed that Pacific social work developments, including theory, practice and education, have primarily emanated within the Pacific diaspora in countries such as the United States or New Zealand, where a large proportion of Pacific peoples live as ethnic minorities. There is no legislation for the regulation of social work as yet (Mafile’o & Ofahengaue-Vakalahi, 2016); while in terms of social work professionalisation, only Papua New Guinea and Fiji Island have established social work professional organisations and the main agenda of the social workers is professionalisation (Bedoe & Fraser, 2012).

The following were identified as key Pacific Island values for social work: “culture, community, extended family, oral traditions and processes of sharing” (Mafile’o & Ofahengaue-Vakalahi, 2016, p. 541). The Pacific Islands’ values for social work further highlighted the emergence of new knowledge for working with Pacific Island peoples which can be likened to ‘new waves’ (Mafile’o, 2001, 2006), meaning it is constantly in a state of movement and change” (Mafile’o & Ofahengaue-Vakalahi, 2016, p. 541).

One example of the Pacific Islands' Framework for social work is the Pacific Conceptual Framework (Family and Community Services, 2014). This framework was developed utilising Pacific Epistemology, where the produced knowledge is validated through "fono" or community gatherings, where it involves community elders, scholars and others (Family and Community Services, 2014,). The Framework promotes family well-being and culturally relevant solutions to issues. It follows the principle of 'by Pacific, for Pacific', emphasizing a strengths-based approach to protect the well-being of families and communities transcending geographical boundaries (Mafile'o & Ofahengaue-Vakalahi, 2016). Lastly, it acknowledges individual and family "*mana and tapu*" for preserving family well-being (Family and Community Services, 2014).

Australia's Indigenous Epistemology in Social Work

The literature review revealed that there are on-going debates and discussions in relation to Indigenous social work in Australia, to further develop the practice given its slow progress (Green & Baldry, 2008; Coates et al, .2006). It should be noted that such progress positively ushered in a recognition on the part of the Australian Association of Social Workers, the role of the profession in "unjust practices" against the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Green & Baldry, 2008). Various Indigenous rights movements in the international arena have resonated and have been incorporated into the profession (Green & Baldry, 2008; Gray & Fook, 2004). Australian Social Work, nevertheless, has shown its commitment in enhancing the lives of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders and individuals and communities. These values are resolved when they establish positive relationships with Indigenous people by recognizing and embracing the diversity of the practice.

The policy of forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their families permanently, known as the "Stolen Generation" has inflicted deep wounds among the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples (Healey, 2009). The practice involved non-Indigenous social workers who acted as government agents (AASW,2004) in the implementation of the government policy (Briskman, 2014; Gilbert,1993; Gray et al., 2012; Gray et.al, 2013; Smith,1999; Yellowbird et al, 2012). The "Stolen Generation" was an Australian policy which mandated the forcible removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children who were not "full-blood" from their families (Duthie et al., 2013; Young, 2009) under the "White Australia and assimilation policy" (Young, 2009). This process involved taking babies away from their mothers and families, placing them in institutions and later with white families to be brought up "white" (Young, 2009). At the time, this action was seen by many as

promoting the “best interests of children”; thus, the removal process was formalised and institutionalised (Duthie et al., 2013). However, the impact of this policy resulted in the fragmentation of families, loss of cultural identity and cultural knowledge, loss of connection to their heritage and community (Young, 2009; AASW, 2004).

The effects of the Stolen Generation era enormously impacted negatively on Aboriginal families' health and well-being. Inter-generational trauma resulting from loss of sense of belonging and secure attachments (Young, 2009) was experienced and it is argued that this continues to be so today (Healey, 2009; Briskman, 2014; Gray et al., 2008). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders still have this distrust towards social work and the social welfare profession (Briskman, 2014, Gollan & O'Leary, 2009; Green & Baldry, 2008 in Duthie et al., 2013). The Australian Association of Social Workers (AASW) has formally apologised to the Aboriginal people (AASW, 2004; Duthie et al., 2013). On the other hand, the AASW also recognised that any non-Indigenous social worker tends to have this “feeling of discord” when working with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders especially when he or she has limited knowledge or understanding on the history and culture of the Aboriginal communities. This has been identified as one of the challenges of the profession (Bennett et al, 2013; AASW, 2004). Hence, the social work profession is challenged to develop an Indigenous social work approach that recognises the history and culture of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander, as well as privileging its Indigenous knowledge, worldviews and paradigms in the profession. It also deepens its relationships with Aboriginal peoples and communities to further indigenise social work practice (Bennett et al., 2011 in Duthie et al., 2013).

New Zealand and the United States of America have signed a treaty between the Indigenous Peoples and government. In Australia however, there is no constitutional recognition and there is no dedicated seat in Parliament. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) was established in 1990 through the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act in 1989. It served as advocates on the recognition of Indigenous rights, delivered and monitored some of the Commonwealth Government programs and services for the Indigenous (Pratt, 2002-03). However, this was disbanded (Dow & Garden, 1998; Green & Baldry, 2008) as ATSIC was labeled as “failed experiment” and “people don't support it” (Berhrendt, 2005, p. 4) as argued by the federal government. While this poses a challenge, it also demonstrates feelings of distrust or resistance towards many authorities which are still manifested by many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders (Menzies & Gilbert, 2013).

Indigenous Worldviews

There are specific Indigenous concepts that allow social workers to recognise the Indigenous knowledge and worldviews of Aboriginal and Strait Islander people, even though Indigenous Australia is comprised of many different peoples (nations, tribes, and clans), including varied cultures, beliefs, ways of living, and social practices (Bennett et al., 2013; Briskman, 2014; Sue & Baldry, 2008). These are: *Collective Self-Determination, Interdependence, Reciprocity, Obligation, Land and Family* (Sue & Baldry, 2008, p.397-400).

Collective Self-Determination, Interdependence, Reciprocity, and Obligation

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders share with other Indigenous Peoples around the world the same worldview of understanding of relational well-being (Matsuoka et al., 2013). Relational well-being refers to the interconnection and interdependence of Indigenous Peoples and nature, the collective sharing and gathering—so, when this relationship is either enhanced or disrupted, the well-being of the Indigenous person is directly impacted (Matsuoka, et al., 2013). The social work concept of self-determination focuses on the individual; Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders focus on collective self-determination (Briskman, 2014). Collective self-determination involves people making decisions about policies and welfare programmes that have bearing on their lives, and such decisions must be treated with support, respect and must be recognised (Dodson, 2006 in Briskman, 2014). From this perspective, Indigenous communities hold the value of community well-being shared by many; it nurtures and cultivates economic development, cultural and spiritual practices and through this, the sense of security and meaning of life has been preserved. Therefore, as pointed out by Matsuoka et al. (2013), the deep sense of relatedness is at the core of Indigenous beliefs, processes and interactions that form the foundation of Indigenous traditions and harmonious way of life (p. 280). Watson (1988) also reiterated that there is no aspect of Indigenous life that can be separated from responsibility to the group (in Green & Baldry, 2008) and the land that is fundamental to an Indigenous worldview is the expression of obligations and reciprocity of relationships among humans and between humans and nature (Malezar & Sim, 2002 in Green & Baldry, 2008).

Land

For Indigenous Peoples, particularly Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, the concept of land is at the core of Indigenous belief. The land is not just a mere physical presentation of the resources that abound within the territories, that have and will continue, to provide for the next generations (Matsuoka et al., 2013), but land for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders is also a story place (Atkinson, 2002 in Briskman, 2014, p. 234), a living entity, where the spirits of family ancestors live, where it holds stories of human survival across many generations. Aboriginal academic Judy Atkinson (2002) stressed that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders hold a deep connection with the land because of the connection and communications between people for generations. For them, it is the “whole of who they are as a people” (in Briskman, 2014, p. 234). Thus, as also emphasised by Matsuoka et al., (2013), stewardship of the land is centrale to the creation of Indigenous well-being which is rooted in spirituality, a process where the past and present generations pass it on so that future generations will also gain knowledge of the life of the land, including resource management and land use (in Gray et al., 2013).

Family

As mentioned previously, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders have a deep sense of relatedness. It is on this concept of relatedness that the concept of family is anchored, as family systems have relation to the Indigenous beliefs, traditions and processes, including its identity (McCubbin & McCubbin, 2005 in Gray et al., 2013). However, Australia’s white history over the past 220 years has seen Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families torn apart by “white policies” including the removal of children from families, removing families from country and having them massacred (Green & Baldry, 2008). For Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, family is also synonymous with country, spirituality, and obligations and is much more important than material goods (Green & Baldry, 2008). As discussed by various authors, Aboriginal People were also removed from their spiritual roots and ancestors (Briskman, 2014; Green & Baldry, 2008). Therefore, social work as a practice must value this framework because for the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, family is a key to Indigenous identity (Matsuoka, 2013). Alongside these concepts, social work as a profession in Australia has developed various approaches and practice framework, to work with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders. Although much work still needs to be done, it is now embedded in the profession and assists social workers, students and non-

Aboriginal workers in understanding the importance of indigenous worldviews and knowledge (Bennett et al., 2013; Briskman, 2014).

Reflection on experiences from other countries

The Indigenous models discussed above are now acknowledged and practiced by many social workers in these countries (Canada, New Zealand, The Pacific Islands and Australia) and have shown some signs of transforming social work practice. The Indigenous models and approaches being utilised respectively, are built around the concepts of land, connection, collectivity and self-determination and at the same time, these must be emphasized in practice to be effective in working with Indigenous communities (Gray et al., 2008; Hart, 2010; Sue & Baldry, 2008). The experiences of these countries have challenged and inspired this enquiry to contribute to the development of an Indigenous social work model for the Philippines. It may be painstaking, but it is necessary. Even though the colonisers have long left the Philippines, the vestiges and legacy of this colonial past have remained prominent in Philippine social work practice. Hence, there is a need to recognise the critical importance of Indigenous knowledge in shaping social work as it is appropriate to the realities and experiences of the Indigenous Peoples across the country. Responding fully to this area of practice requires an understanding of the relationship between context (of the Indigenous Peoples) and social work practice. The emerging Indigenous models and approaches in Philippine social work can be deemed as an opportunity to be in solidarity with disadvantaged people and to give voices to the marginalised and to empower the Indigenous Peoples' communities across the country.

Throughout the world, Indigenous social workers have relentlessly struggled to achieve Indigenous recognition in social work which has impacted policy and practice frameworks by integrating Indigenous knowledge in education, various practice settings and theories. Interventions and helping relationships established between social workers and Indigenous Peoples will most likely be successful and meaningful if social workers utilise approaches and theories such as Anti-Oppressive, Empowerment and Critical theories that give attention to understanding Indigenous Peoples' position, context, history including social and political context (Munford & Sanders, 2011).

Critical Social Work Theories

Social work is informed by both traditional theories and critical theories (Morgaine & Capuos-Desyllas, 2015); utilising these results in understand that individuals are part and integrated within bigger systems (such as socio-economic structure and historical conditions) and these bigger systems may also influence individual experience (Dominelli, 1999; Fook, 2003, 2012). Moreover, Mullaly (2007) postulates that critical theories when utilised can change the discourse to highlight those who are at the peripheries and can assist social workers in working towards emancipation and empowerment (Allan et al., 2009, p. 9). Critical theories, alongside empowerment and anti-oppressive theory, are used in this enquiry as they assist social workers to address oppression and inequities (Mullay, 2007; Payne, 2005) that impact Indigenous Peoples and at the same time, provide an “appreciation of how cultural frameworks and meaning systems influence the construction of knowledge and identities” (Munford & Sanders, 2011, p. 64).

For a social worker assigned to a welfare agency, navigating the daily task of responding to the needs of the clients, by providing them with services they need and helping them to understand and analyse the situation is not an easy feat. This activity requires the social worker to be equipped with practice theories that would help him/her explain and connect the realities of the world to the client; thus. the application of social work theory/theories in daily practice is very important (Morgaine & Capuos-Desyllas, 2015; Payne, 2005).

Morgaine and Capuos-Desyllas (2015) stated that social work theories allow social workers to understand the context of the people, their behaviour, community and the wider society. They provide the lens or lenses to view the social, cultural, political and economic landscape from where the clients/clientele and communities are situated. Mullaly (2007) expounded that theories seek to describe what is going on; they seek to explain certain behaviour or phenomena; they seek to control and manage events or changes (Morgaine & Capuos-Desyllas, 2015). Hence, theories also help social workers navigate for responses as they engage with clients and analyse their situation or the phenomena that beset them. Alongside the practice, the theories being utilised are grounded on the concrete conditions the clients are situated in (Chenoweth & McAuliffe, 2008). As a profession, social work is informed by both traditional theories and critical theories (Morgaine & Capuos-Desyllas, 2015), including their appropriateness when these theories are applied in practice. Traditional theories allow social workers to effect change at the

individual level and social workers are keen to utilise these (Allan et al., 2009), and this is true in the Philippine context (Apit, 2013 in Veneracion, 2003). Critical theories alongside Empowerment theory, particularly the Anti-discriminatory/Anti-Oppressive theory, however, allow social workers to focus on both the individual and the imperatives of social change (Payne, 2005; Mullay, 2007). Mullaly (2007) postulated that critical theories can assist social workers in working towards emancipation and liberation. Critical Theories also change the discourse, as they highlight the conditions of those who are at the “peripheries”, and more importantly recognise one of the key roles of the social workers which is to assist disadvantaged groups to find their own voice in current debates about policy and structural changes (Alston & McKinnon, 2003).

Utilising Critical Theory in social work helps social workers understand that individuals are also integrated or interconnected with bigger systems. Critical theories explain how these socio-economic structures, larger issues such as globalisation (Dominelli, 1996) and historical conditions impact on individual experience (Fook, 2003, 2012). Contemporary social work has encountered a myriad of social problems such as relating to refugees (Fook, 2012), social exclusion (Powell, 2000), breakdown of community structures (Dominelli, 2009). How social work as a profession has responded to these issues shows how it has greatly evolved throughout the years. As such, social workers must be aware and be critical enough to know how these structures can have a direct impact on the disadvantaged and vulnerable sectors of society, much more, if these are situated in the least developing countries or post-colonies (Fook, 2012).

This study of Indigenous social work leans towards empowerment of Indigenous people, as it privileges Indigenous voices, knowledge and history which often are subjugated. Thus, it is relevant to discuss the following critical theories as these are appropriate to the social positioning and the context of the Indigenous people’s communities across the globe.

Anti-Oppressive Theory

The social construction of oppression has required social workers to understand the relationship of domination with people being defined as superior and inferior, powerful and powerless, ascribed further by values and social positioning (Dominelli, 2002). However, throughout history this social arrangement has been subjected to questioning resulting to various struggles and social movements that challenge authorities or status quo, on the

established labels and divisions, rejected norms and conventions that perpetuate oppression (Dominelli 2002).

According to Dominelli (1996), anti-oppressive practice:

...embodies a person-centred philosophy; an egalitarian value system concerned with reducing the deleterious effects of structural inequalities upon people's lives; and a way of structuring relationships between individuals that aim to empower users by reducing the negative effects of social hierarchies on their interaction and the work they do together. (p.170)

For social work, this perspective has also taken shape into practice approach. The history of this approach can be traced back in the 1980s and 1990s when concerns on ethnic and cultural conflict arose in various cities and countries around the world, as brought about by long history of oppression, colonisation and conflict (Payne, 2005). For Dalrymple and Burke (1995), the Anti-oppressive paradigm is an empowering approach, a methodology focusing on both process and outcome as it works with minimal intervention in partnership with clients.

Dominelli (2002) also stated that oppression involves relations of domination that divide people into dominant or superior groups and subordinate or inferior ones. She stressed that these "relations of domination consist of the systematic devaluing of the attributes and contribution of those deemed inferior, and their exclusion from the social resources available to those in the dominant group" (p. 8). It is in this context that people are placed in the marginalised position and relationship.

Anti-oppressive approaches highlight the use of power (Smith, 2008, p.113) and status quo in order to subjugate further those who are considered inferior. They are perpetuated in a structure that also operates and normalises exploitation and inequalities. It is helpful to remember that oppression takes place in daily encounters and can be both at the personal level (Dominelli, 2002; Smith, 2008) and structural level (Dominelli, 2002); it is a comprehensive experience that touches all aspects of a person's life and affects both public and private spheres (Balbo, 1987, p.9). Acknowledging the fact that these realities are practiced and reproduced every day, there is therefore a need to resist oppression and its forms. This framework requires social workers not only to define the issue of oppression but also to understand that oppression is socially constructed through people's actions

with and behaviour towards others (Dominelli, 2002). Therefore, there is a need to respond strategically to the issue and by doing so, it must start with deconstructing how social workers conceived and theorized oppression based on daily interactions with the disadvantaged groups, who are oppressed on the basis of their class, race, gender, age, disability and sexual orientation (Dominelli, 1996). Social workers do so by resisting oppression in both personal and structural levels (Dominelli, 2002; Moosa-Mitha, 2005, p.112), by “refusing to accept and participate in any programmes or activities deemed disempowering, by questioning the dominance of oppressive and dominant thinking and basically arguing on the prevailing perspectives that further oppression” (Fook, 1993 in Fook, 2012, p.5). Bearing in mind that social workers occupy power and position (Morgaine & Copus-Desyllas, 2015), they are bound to do something to eradicate oppression.

As an approach, it allows individuals to empower themselves in the process (Castles et al., 1996; Dominelli, 2002; Thompson, 1993), by recognising their capacities, strengths and abilities to decide for themselves. Utilising Anti-oppressive theory to examine the large-scale and systemic effect of colonisation and dispossession (Briskman, 2014) that affects Indigenous Peoples’ communities around the globe, social workers can deeply understand the impact of colonisation, the wide gap of inequality that separates Indigenous Peoples’ communities from mainstream society (Weaver, 2016 in Hugman & Carter, 2016: p.132). Engaging in Anti-oppressive theory can challenge social workers to resist and oppose oppressive policies and discriminating practices that have been inflicted on Indigenous Peoples’ communities.

A study done by Strier & Binyamin (2014) highlighted how an Anti-oppressive practice underpinned the establishment of a service called the Family Aid Centre. This centre is a public service centre in Jerusalem that caters to 40,000 households, by far the largest welfare agency in Jerusalem. The organisation has painstakingly taken a 10-year process as it evolved to embrace an anti-oppressive practice framework. Through this study, it was found that new services that utilise Anti-oppressive practice framework were prompt in adopting a more contextualised, structural view of the clients’ problems and in distancing themselves from pathological, therapeutically oriented perspectives of poverty that blame the poor for their situation. Findings of the study also showed that across all evaluations, clients felt respected and understood, free from the judgmental regulation of public services. It also noted improvement in client –worker relations which reflected a deep change in the public and bureaucratic services’ usual top-down attitude towards clients. It also presented that the new services seemed ready to embrace a more egalitarian, less

hierarchical approach to worker –client relations and to service delivery. The quality of services, of client –worker relationships and the level of client satisfaction in wide areas like accessibility and availability of services were raised by the new approach. The traditional focus on individual casework was altered as the new service introduced multi-method interventions by bringing in group work and community practice methodologies. Thus, the services strengthened clients' involvement in the community. Data also showed positive changes in the devalued self-image and diminished professional status of front-line workers with impoverished clients.

A study utilising Grounded Theory was conducted by McAuliffe et al. (2016) in two rural areas in Queensland, Australia with large Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander populations, that examined child protection service delivery. The study found that although the government department held an anti-oppressive framework in its practice, there were factors that limited the staff capacity in establishing effective relationship with the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families and communities. These factors were the procedural and legalistic approaches to child protection including limited cultural competence. The data also suggested that in order to see positive change, there was a need to create better support through culturally respectful relationships among its partner families (McAuliffe et al., 2016, p.365).

In a comprehensive literature analysis conducted by Ramsundarsingh and Shier (2017) on the empirical and conceptual literature related to organisational practice and anti-oppression; 6,459 abstracts were reviewed and 361 which met the inclusion criteria, were included in this study. The findings from the analysis revealed that there were abstracts that identified tools to identify oppression and the commonly cited strategy was “cultural competency”, which was defined broadly among various groups such as Aboriginal, LGBTQ, gender and income and ability-based groups. Another recommendation which was highlighted among the abstracts, was the incorporation of advocacy and the need for increased awareness of different forms of oppression among social workers (Harman, 2010). Analysis also revealed that “service users feel oppressed when accessing the services” (Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2017, p. 14). It also presented that organisational factors impact oppression such as organisational culture, values, and human resource (Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2017); of which “human resource” was cited as one of the limitations in another research on anti-oppressive practices among feminist agencies in Canada, as it impacts the organisation on “survival mode” (Barnoff et al., 2006, p.52). Both studies also argued that there was limited research on the integration of anti-oppression

approaches within social service agencies for effective implementation (Barnoff et al., 2006; Ramsundarsingh & Shier, 2017). It should be noted that the study of Barnoff et al. (2006) focused on the findings from focus group discussions consisting of 26 women working in 38 different feminist agencies in Toronto, Canada, whose experience in the field was with a median of 10-year period.

Meanwhile, the studies cited above by Barnoff et al. (2006) and McAuliffe et al. (2016), found that there is a failure of managerialism, if the organisations place too much emphasis on managerialism despite operating in an anti-oppressive framework in social services (Trevithick, 2003). It is important, then, for an organisation to recognise the interconnected relationships among family, community and societal level within the context of working with vulnerable sectors such as children, women and Indigenous Peoples' communities. Managerialist approaches according to Trevithick (2014) failed to recognise the importance of these relationships; thus, hindering effective and quality social work.

Anti-oppressive theory invites social workers to look into a more inclusive understanding of the links between various forms and expressions of oppression. With the recognition of an unjust social order that results in oppression and inequalities, anti-oppressive theory seeks to transform social attitudes and sensitivity to practice, by emphasising the recognition of the rights of the disadvantaged and marginalised groups such as Indigenous people (Macey & Moxon, 1996). Macey and Moxon (1996) also stated in their study that anti-oppressive theories are theoretical and philosophical and are also practical as there are contemporary issues or concerns involved. The intersection or divisions as class, race and gender, the casualisation of labour, poverty and access to humane housing are just few examples (Macey & Moxon, 1996).

The relevance of this theory to this study is that it provides a framework to recognise the prevailing inequalities and oppression in varying degrees; yet at the same time, it also highlights the capacities and strengths of Indigenous People to affirm their cultural diversity and Indigenous identity to resist existing oppression and inequalities (Sanders, 1978 in Payne, 2005). Anti-oppressive theory provides an impetus for change for social workers (McAuliffe et al., 2016) to challenge the existing arrangements that are quite limiting (Trevithick, 2014) and incongruent to social justice principles, instead to build a collaborative, respectful and empowering partnerships with the Indigenous Peoples' communities (McAuliffe et al., 2016).

Empowerment Theory

Another theory that is also relevant in this study is the utilisation of empowerment theory (Lee, 2001,) which allows examination of the impact of domination and subjugation of Indigenous Peoples as brought about by colonisation. It also highlights the importance of resistance and emancipation of Indigenous Peoples, in its collective effort to resist and oppose the channels of oppression that come in various shapes and forms, and most of the time under the guise of so-called “development”.

The term ‘empowerment’ has various meanings, but it always goes hand in hand with change, resistance, strategies, power and social transformation (Hyung Hur, 2006; Gutierrez & Ortega,1991; Lee, 2001; Turner & Maschi, 2015; Rappaport,1987). It also puts an emphasis on strengths and increases personal and community power (Gutierrez & Lewis,1999; Morell, 2004) in order to eradicate social problems (Gutierrez, 1990). Empowerment theory supports client’s participation in all aspects of the decision-making process (AlMaseb & Julia, 2007; Morgaine & Capous-Desyllas, 2015). It also highlights the ownership of the people, groups and communities, as they seek to change the course of their lives towards redistribution of power (Evans, 1992). It also aims for egalitarian working relationship between the social worker and the participant (Morgaine & Capous-Desyllas, 2015).

An exploratory qualitative study was conducted by Auger et al. (2016) among the Aboriginal community in British Columbia, Canada, with the aim of examining the relationship between access to participation in traditional health care practices and ownership over health care choices and access. There were 35 Indigenous participants across the two cohorts, mixed ages (18 years old and above), genders and roles in the Aboriginal community. Findings revealed the following: that learning about traditional health care practices does not only increase self-determination for Urban Aboriginal people but also increases their ownership over health care decisions, both traditional and western health care practices; that Aboriginal people’s participation in story circles helps increase their knowledge on health care needs, options and ownership and choices; and that empowerment and participation are “centrale to health promotion and revitalization of traditional healing practice” (Goudreau et al., 2008, p.72). The findings clearly indicated that the participants strongly expressed their desire to access traditional health care

practices yet at the same time also acknowledged that there are barriers such as “mistreatment of healers in mainstream medicine” (Auger et al., 2016, p. 397; Robbins & Dewar, 2011). It also revealed that the impact of colonialism has “hierarchical placement of western knowledge over Indigenous epistemologies” (Auger et al., 2016, p.367). The participants actively called for policies to ensure the recognition of traditional health care practice, and to increase funding for culturally appropriate interventions and continued research. Hence, an increased knowledge of traditional health care practices contributes to increased self-determination, empowered choices and ownership over health care decisions.

In another study conducted by Whiteside et al. (2011), an empowerment theoretical model provided a valuable conceptual framework for social workers engaging with Indigenous groups, communities, and organisations whether through policy, planning, research, or practice. It highlighted the importance of strengths-based approaches (McCashen, 2005) and identified specific elements and attributes which social workers should foster when working with Indigenous Australians. The study emphasized the elements and attributes which include autonomy, optimism, responsibility, self-esteem, pride, personal values, spiritual beliefs, emotional control, communication skills, analytic skills, and helping skills. The model, most importantly, presented the relevance of social work to Indigenous empowerment. This position was confirmed by Indigenous social worker Christine Fejo-King (2003), when she contended that “social work has the skills, knowledge, and networks which are so badly needed within our communities to assist in the regaining of our humanity” (as cited in Whiteside et al., 2011, p.126).

Evans (1992) highlighted how social workers utilised empowerment theory and liberation theology with the oppressed in Latin America. Evans (1992) proposed that an interdisciplinary model from both social work and liberation theology can contribute to the struggle of oppressed people to attain justice. Turner and Maschi (2015) suggested that social workers must recognise that the clients know the best approach to the problem or issue that besets them, and they possess strengths and capacity which can be built on (Turner & Maschi, 2015) during the helping process.

Those working from an empowerment perspective assume that racism, sexism, heterosexism and classism are responsible for many of the ills in our society and in our clients' lives (Lee, 2001). Thus, empowerment must take place in all levels (Morgaine & Capous-Desyllas, 2015). Despite the credibility and the recognition of empowerment

theory in the social work profession, literature also revealed that it also gained criticism such as empowerment may give an illusion of equality while maintaining the authoritarian relationship between the social workers and the participants (Morgaine & Capous-Desyllas, 2015) and at the same time, the act of defining someone as “disempowered” can also be disempowering (Fook, 2012). Therefore, when using empowerment theory or model, Fook (2002) emphasised the need to ask important questions as “empowerment for what?” and “empowerment for whom?” (as cited in Morgaine & Capous-Desyllas, 2015, p.106).

Social work with Indigenous communities incorporates these critical theories where it invites social workers to utilise critical reflexive lens especially in practice and education and to carefully analyse oppression and locations of power (Skeggs, 2002). Thus, it is fitting to use these theories in order for the social workers to recognise their positioning, challenge one’s worldviews and work towards human rights and social justice; as what Heron (2005) stated, the “importance of workers recognising their social location in challenging racial, class, gender, heterosexual, and ableist structures of domination. Reflection on the privileges associated with social location is considered the cornerstone of such an anti-oppressive practice” (p. 341).

Conclusion

Working with Indigenous Peoples’ communities is challenging for social workers coming from a mainstream western perspective especially for non-Indigenous social workers. Engagement with Indigenous Peoples poses a challenge for social workers to develop a deeper understanding of their context and history as a people. Understanding the emphasis placed by Indigenous Peoples on land, family, community, identity and history serves as an important consideration for social workers in every engagement. As social workers engage with Indigenous Peoples’ communities, they should bear in mind that centrale to the identity of Indigenous people around the world is their strong connection to the land and the earth—this connection shapes their identity, their culture, their well-being and their worldview. Hence, the impact of colonisation and forced assimilation has resulted not only in the loss of lives, land, identity, culture and breakdown of communities but also in the marginalization and subjugation of Indigenous worldviews and knowledge.

Indigenous knowledge and epistemes in social work’s growing body of knowledge are necessary in order to draw helping approaches, grounded on their diverse experiences

and perspectives, drawn out of the lessons and experiences of countries like Canada, New Zealand, Pacific Islands and Australia, whose Indigenous social workers have taken a bold step to advance their indigenous worldviews and knowledge on social work theory and practice. These have resulted in the development of various Indigenous Peoples' social work models such as "*Mino-pimatiwisin Approach*" in Canada and United States and the "*Kaupapa and tikanga/kawa*" in New Zealand, while "Cultural Competency", "diversity and inclusion" and "culture sensitivity" have emerged as concepts and framework that guide social workers in their engagements with Indigenous people. What is highlighted across the literature is that Indigenous Peoples have shared worldviews and have placed strong emphasis on land, self-determination and spirituality that serve as an important theoretical framework.

Overall, the literature in this enquiry revealed that social work theory and knowledge base are predominantly influenced by the West (Gray & Allegritti, 2003). However, it also presented situations where social work, is informed not only by specific practice environments and Western theories, but also by Indigenous knowledge. The experiences of countries in developing Indigenous models and approaches as written mainly by Indigenous social workers demonstrate effort to redress historic Western scientific colonialism and hegemony, by acknowledging that Indigenous Peoples in these countries or areas, carry their own values, ways of knowing, ways of transmitting their knowledge, and have made invaluable contributions to social work. The literature review emphasised that while social workers in the Philippines have been working in many of these communities, prevailing realities indicate that there is still a wide gap in knowledge on Indigenous social work which could not be found in many databases. Basically, the experience shows that in the Philippines, Indigenous knowledge and worldviews in social work practice, education and research have not been recognised. Second, there are no existing Indigenous models and approaches being developed as yet and so have remained a challenge to Philippine social work to move forward. The critical theories discussed here highlight the strength, privileging of voices and positioning of Indigenous Peoples and placing emphasis on the importance of Indigenous worldviews, knowledge and histories. These critical theories also cited the historical, social, economic and political context that shape the Indigenous communities across the globe as they are located within their respective ancestral territories.

In summary, the literature reviewed indicates that it is time for the profession to pave the way towards liberation struggles and to support the agenda of Indigenous Peoples,

knowing fully well that social justice and human rights are underpinning principles of the profession. These must be reflected and translated into perspective, approach and practice (Briskman, 2013; Gray et al., 2013; Yellowbird, 2013). Social workers will become effective advocates as they engage with Indigenous people confronting politics and issues that beset them (Yellowbird, 2013) especially that Indigenous models in social work practice are still uncommon in many countries around the world and so to be fully recognised in the practice, social workers need to do immense work.

Part Three

Chapter Four

Research Design and Methodology

INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws from Constructivist Grounded Theory to bring to the fore the Talaingod Manobos' Indigenous Practice framework. This chapter is divided into three sections to present how this enquiry was done. The chapter commences with a discussion of the research design, followed by epistemology and then the method and methodology utilised in this enquiry. The next is a presentation of how the narratives were collected, coded and analysed. Towards the end of this chapter, the approach to rigour and trustworthiness observed in the process are explained. Finally, there is a discussion of the limitations of the study as well as the positionality of the researcher throughout this process.

The engagement of the researcher with the Talaingod Manobos in undertaking this enquiry emanated from the appreciation of sharing Indigenous knowledge, by showing respect to their ideas and lived experiences.

Research Design

This study aims to encourage within the discipline of social work attention, appreciation and understanding of the diverse and unique Indigenous history and worldviews of Indigenous Peoples who, more often than not, are being pushed to the margins by Western paradigms as brought about by colonialism (Bennet et al., 2013; Briskman, 2014; Gray et al., 2013; Hart, 2009). The study seeks to critically examine the social workers' engagement with Indigenous Peoples' communities in the Philippines, knowing that an Indigenous practice framework has been considered as a gap in social work theory and practice in the country.

This research is grounded on the recognition of the importance of Indigenous knowledge in the process of the development of Indigenous practice framework in social work which will ensure social justice and well-being for Indigenous people. This practice framework will inform the growing body of social work theory and practice, particularly in the Philippines. It emanates from the intention to share and celebrate the diversity of Indigenous knowledge, worldviews and realities.

Privileging Indigenous voices is at the core of this study engaging with the voices and experiences of Talaingod Manobos. This enquiry presents the experiences and voices of the Talaingod Manobos as they navigate the complexity of colonisation and oppression that impact their survival and struggles. The research process also highlights the voices of social workers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, who are/or have been working with Indigenous communities in Mindanao. This study gathered diverse standpoints to answer the overarching question:

“What are the elements of an Indigenous social work framework which will inform social workers in Mindanao as they engage with “Talaingod Manobo” communities?”

An exploratory design was employed to present emergent core categories that would generate new understanding and knowledge to the enquiry (Charmaz, 2003). The research was framed from the Constructivist Grounded Theory method, which allowed multiple realities among the selected respondents of the study particularly the Talaingod Manobos and social workers. There is privileging of voices, experiences and knowledge of the Indigenous Peoples (Battiste & Henderson, 2002 in Brown & Stega, 2005; Castellano, 2004; Gray et al., 2007), particularly the Talaingod Manobos in Mindanao. This research further emphasized the social positioning of Indigenous Peoples’ history, practices, political context and traditions despite the deliberate effort of colonisation and domination of western hegemony of which Indigenous knowledge has resisted and stood strongly to counter any form of dominance (Gray et al., 2013; Hart, 2010; Munford & Sanders, 2011; Smith, 1999).

The overarching goal of this enquiry is to build a practice framework of Talaingod Manobos Indigenous social work in Mindanao as an emerging trend of practice (Gray et al., 2008; Hart, 2015). The purpose of this framework is to guide social workers’ engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. The use of Constructivist Grounded Theory in the study is based on the premise that it could work alongside ethical and “decolonising” practices

(Bainbridge et al., 2012), challenging western paradigms in social work practice in advancing Indigenous agenda within the profession.

The elements of the Indigenous Practice Framework of Talaingod Manobos and its contribution to social work are presented in the next chapter. The previous chapter presented related studies and literatures on the importance and relevance of Indigenous social work, the struggles and undertakings for its recognition and significant body of knowledge aside from the dominant Western theories and paradigms. This chapter aims to discuss how the data collection and analysis unfolded as a significant process in this enquiry. The significance of theoretical sampling is to ensure “sampling quality” (Bowen, 2008; Morse, 2012) by purposely identifying respondents who could produce rich narratives in relation to the phenomenon being studied and not just to simply maximize numbers.

Methodology

Grounded theory (GT) offers helpful strategies in collecting data (Charmaz, 2012). In doing Grounded Theory studies, there is a need to combine various data collection methods; coding and analysing serve as data collection (Backman & Kyngas, 1999). Elliot and Lazenbatt (2005) also stressed that it is a “package of research methods that includes the use of concurrent data collection and constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and memoing” (p. 48).

For this Grounded Theory researcher, navigating this research was challenging yet an interesting undertaking. The researcher drew upon the literature which discussed how to undertake Grounded Theory research with Indigenous Peoples and communities providing a basis to pursue this enquiry. Doing research in this field requires an approach that is flexible, open and respectful to Indigenous experience and history and never treating participants as “mere objects” or as a commodity (Denzin, 2013; Smith, 1999; Smith 2005). This was achieved in this study by building the study primarily on the narratives based on the lived experiences of Talaingod Manobos, whose history, identity and beliefs lie at the heart of Pantaron Range. Along the process there was a need for the researcher to be conscious in ensuring that this undertaking will advance further the agenda of Indigenous people and the community which can benefit positively from it (Datta, 2017; Wilson, 2008). Keeping in mind issues relating to their security and safety, doing research in the physical

location of their community may have been ideal but security issues proved to be a greater challenge for the Talaingod Manobo leaders and to the researcher at the same time.

The study highlighted the multiple constructs coming from various participants and from the researcher; hence, exploratory research approach was utilised in this enquiry. Constructivist Grounded Theory enables multiple social realities and perspectives to contribute meaning to this research (Mills et al., 2006). The Constructivist Grounded Theory analytic process captures the depth of knowledge generated from the narratives and reflexive thought of the researcher (Tie et al., 2019). The researcher sought a sufficiently rigorous research methodology to explore the research question yet remained critically reflective of the persisting conditions of Indigenous people. Though considered a non-Indigenous methodology of research, Constructivist Grounded theory embraces the nature of this research enquiry, which is political as it leans towards resistance (Denzin, 2010), empowerment and self-determination (Charmaz, 2005; Smith, 1999). Constructivist Grounded Theory by design seeks to “explore and understand the nature of complex phenomena being studied” (Bainbridge et al., 2013, p. 278) and most importantly it “recognises the importance of people as active research participants in shaping and managing their lives” (Bainbridge et al., 2013, p.276).

Qualitative Research

A researcher is required to present a logical and congruous presentation of the study which includes identifying the gaps in knowledge which need to be addressed, constructing the research problems, deciding the method of enquiry to be undertaken, and carefully choosing the theoretical frame (Creswell, 2010; Gringeri et al., 2013; Padgett, 2009). All of these should reveal how the research will be carried out, in the hope of contributing to the field of knowledge particularly in social work (Gringeri et al., 2013). Doing research reflects how the researcher positions her/himself in the study, reflecting how he/she is situated in the whole course of research work, including his/her assumptions, values, socio-political context and the depth of his/ her epistemological engagement in the phenomenon being studied (Anastas, 2004; Padgett, 2009; Gringeri et al., 2013).

In qualitative research, the researcher is expected to deeply understand the epistemologies that influence the enquiry, one of which is the recognition of Indigenous epistemology. This recognition emphasises that the production of knowledge does not stem solely from the dominant Western thinking (Battiste, 2002, in Brown and Strega,

2005; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2001) but also from an Indigenous view of reality (ontology), ethics and morals (axiology) (Wilson, 2008). Indigenous epistemology (how you know the reality) (Wilson, 2001) has its foundation on the belief that “Knowledge is relational; that knowledge is shared by many” (Wilson, 2001, p. 146); it is all about “culture, worldview, times, histories, languages, spiritualities, places in the cosmos” as defined by Wilson (2008, p. 74). This knowledge has been transmitted from Indigenous generation to generation through oral tradition by storytelling (Kovach, 2005 in Brown and Stega, 2005). The use of language is also accentuated, since Indigenous epistemology emphasizes verbs rather than nouns (Wilson, 2008). The challenge to Indigenous epistemology is to highlight the fact that it stands distinct or even at the opposite end of Western ideas that dominate research. Indigenous epistemology highlights relationship, collective life and reciprocity, and the interconnection of human relationship and the natural world. Moreover, the Indigenous method of knowing centres on the culled daily, practical experiences and stories of survival which has been passed from generation to generation (Kovach, 2005 in Brown & Stega, 2005, Martin, 2006; Smith, 1999; Wilson, 2008).

The researcher also kept in mind what Kovach (2005) highlighted on utilising Indigenous Epistemology in enquiry namely: (a) “*Indigenous methods, such as storytelling, as a legitimate way of sharing knowledge*” (in Brown & Stega, 2005, p.28). In this enquiry Talaingod Manobos’ beliefs and stories were shared through open and respectful conversation. (b) “*Receptivity and relationship between researcher and participants as a natural part of the research “methodology”*” (in Brown & Stega, 2005, p.28) . While following the interview guide, the researcher always engaged the participants in interviews where trust was established first and conversations were flexible; and (c) “*Collectivity as a way of knowing assumes reciprocity with the community*” (in Brown & Stega, 2005, p.28).

This practice recognises their contribution and manifestation of their ownership of the knowledge being produced and co-produced in this enquiry.

Constructivist Grounded Theory

Aiming to develop a practice framework that highlights Indigenous knowledge requires a qualitative methodology that can embrace the complexities of their cultural, social, political and historical context (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007; Guba & Lincoln, 1982). By employing a constructivist paradigm in this study, the researcher was able to explore how the participants construct meanings and responses in certain situations and how these are related to other bigger conditions and relationships (Charmaz, 2006; Crotty, 1998).

As defined by sociologists Glaser and Strauss (1967), Grounded Theory is a theory that is developed inductively from a corpus of data and the discovery of theory from data is systematically obtained from social research. Articulating these strategies and advocating theories from research grounded in data are preferred rather than deducing a testable hypothesis from existing theories (Charmaz, 2006). Denzin (2010) further stressed that Grounded Theory's commitment to "critical, open-ended enquiry, can be a decolonizing tool for Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars alike" (p.456). It is decolonising in the sense that research with Indigenous Peoples offers an alternative paradigm (Smith, 2005) and it does not conform to the dominant knowledge, regulated by "positivist epistemologies" (Denzin, 2010, p. 457). It accentuates the manner of privileging the voices of the Indigenous Peoples in asserting their identity and reclaiming their voices (Denzin, 2013; Smith, 1999; Smith 2005). Hence, Grounded Theory as research approach for this study is an articulation (Denzin, 2010) of their diverse worldview, as it also maximises space for these voices to be heard (Allen, 2011).

Considered as context-dependent knowledge, the constructivist paradigm explores the nature and phenomenon of Indigenous knowledge which lies within the cultural and historical context of Talaingod Manobos (Charmaz, 2006; Flyvbjerg, 2011), the knowledge and experiences of social workers' engagement with the Indigenous People and lastly, the voice of the researcher that is also embedded in the research (Charmaz, 2006, 2007; Crotty, 1998).

Constructivist Grounded Theory embraces the flexibility of the method and resists mechanical applications. It recognises that social reality is multiple, processual and constructed (Charmaz, 2014, 2006, 2011). This reflexivity and flexibility of the method is evident such that the researcher is not a value-free expert but rather, there is a recognition of the researcher's reflexivity about the actions and decisions throughout the research understanding (Charmaz, 2014, 2006; Mills et al., 2006). In the words of Charmaz (2014),

Grounded Theory Method is a:

...Constellation of Methods; while they may differ in terms of assumptions, standpoints and conceptual agenda but the common aim is to develop theoretical analysis for informing policy and practice. At the same time, Grounded Theory Method also offers helpful strategies for collecting, managing and analysing qualitative data. (p.14-15)

More so, embracing Constructivist Grounded Theory Method means it views knowledge as located in time, space and situation, including that of the researcher's construction of emergent concept (Charmaz, 2005 in Denzin and Lincoln, 2011).

Doing research with Indigenous Peoples can be considered a social justice enquiry (Bainbridge, et al., 2013; Charmaz, 2005 in Denzin, 2010; Denzin, 2013) because it locates critically Indigenous Peoples' voices in the growing body of knowledge, literature and practice particularly in social work (Smith,1999; Weaver, 2009). It offers a perspective that will look deeply at the daily life of Indigenous People who resist subjugation and fight for social justice (Charmaz, 2005 in Denzin, 2010; Denzin, 2013; Smith,1999). Lastly, since this undertaking is within the bounds of the rising call against oppression and colonisation (Battiste, 2002; Smith,1999), the researcher intended to develop a research that may be a "catalyst for change" (Charmaz, in Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 359).

Locating the Respondents

The Constructivist Approach of GT has a particular method of data collection done through theoretical sampling as suggested by Charmaz (2006). The method of carrying out data collection and analysis, enables the researcher to capture all relevant aspects as soon as data are collected. Theoretical sampling is "used to generate further data to confirm and refute original categories" (Shiau & George, 2014, p. 1381). To achieve robust active codes and categories, theoretical sampling must be employed (Charmaz, 2006). However, in this enquiry, purposive sampling was initially utilised to ensure the participation of the key stakeholders due to time constraints and security issues, particularly, the Talaingod Manobos whose experiences and Indigenous worldviews hold rich information that serve the study. But as the study progressed, theoretical sampling was utilised within the group of these participants such as Indigenous social workers, Indigenous social work students and non-Indigenous social workers. Aside from the Talaingod Manobos, the voices of the

social workers who have been working in non-government organisations and local government units from city/municipal, or NGOs, and those who have been working with the indigenous Peoples' communities in the span of 3-5 years, were included in this research. Social workers who are Indigenous Peoples were also included in the study, as their voices would help shape how Indigenous Peoples locate themselves in the profession, how they appropriate "westernised" paradigms of social work vis-à-vis their Indigenous paradigm as Indigenous People and how they were able to navigate the challenges given that an indigenous social work programme has been identified as a limitation. Other participants of this research were the Indigenous social work students (3rd year students of social work programme in various universities and colleges in Mindanao).

Sampling

In Grounded Theory studies such as this, the premise is to gather "excellent participants" who can generate rich and excellent data (Morse, 2007, in Charmaz & Bryant, 2013, p. 229). The selection and identification of the number of research participants were carried out through purposive sampling, when the participants were selected based on their experiences with the nature of enquiry. Aware that theoretical sampling in Constructivist Grounded Theory is pertinent to develop emerging theory (Charmaz, 2006 & 2014), the researcher made sure that the sample was composed of participants possessing the best knowledge and representation of the studied phenomenon (Bowen, 2008; Morse, 2009; Morse, 2012).

The basis of conducting purposive sampling for this study was for the purposive identification of research participants who could produce extensive narratives relative to the Indigenous social work practice framework. The narratives of research participants were integrated into the theoretical categories with the aim of presenting the actual processes and actions to produce results relative to the research question. The researcher's emphasis was on "depth as well as breadth" (Bowen, 2008, p.187). Since Grounded Theory is an iterative process, it then allowed the researcher to go back to field work, identify new sets of participants and observe if there were new emerging codes and categories until it reached saturation. However, the issue of availability came into play, since it was quite challenging to find participants who could meet the criteria particularly among social workers and Indigenous social workers. Hence, the sampling became purposive given the situation cited above.

Due to security issues such as martial law and localised lockdown in the city, only one interview session was conducted for each Indigenous Leader. Out of nine possible participants identified for the Talaingod Manobos, there were only five participants covered, based on availability and accessibility of participants. On the other hand, due to availability issue, only two interview sessions were conducted with one Indigenous social worker and two interview sessions with one Indigenous social work student, for a total of 16 interview sessions.

The Importance of Gatekeepers

In order to proceed with data collection, the researcher was well aware that possible research participants lived in a number of different communities and the process to gather them together was quite complex. The presence of gatekeepers was indeed necessary to meet ethical obligations in doing research with target research participants (Singh & Wassenaar, 2016). The gatekeepers assisted in locating participants that could help generate narratives during interviews and ensure that agreements prior to conducting interviews were transparent, conscientious and respected by the researcher, organisations/institutions and by the research participants (Crowhurst & Kennedy-Macfoy, 2013; Singh & Wassenaar, 2016). For this undertaking, the scoping exercise was implemented to guide the researcher in the possible broad contour of research field exercise. The scoping exercise was done to enable the researcher to identify gatekeepers and possible research participants aside from assessing possible risks that could be encountered prior to actual field work and data collection.

Recruitment of Participants

The researcher, being a social worker and being active in engagements with PASWI and with NASWEI had access to the study population and to identify participants. Her network includes various people's organisations, among women's sector, children and youth, organisations under the Council for the Welfare of Children and Indigenous Peoples in the region. Her previous work engagements with them helped build her credibility and trustworthiness, while at the same time allowed her to link with multi-sectoral and grassroots organisations. Through this linkage, the people behind these organisations served as gatekeepers during the actual data gathering. A scoping exercise was done in order to identify respondents and assess the possible risk in doing field work. Through this exercise the researcher was able to meet members of the professional organisations cited

above and to present to them initially the research background. It was through the scoping exercises that linkage for the purpose of this research was built and strengthened. The scoping exercise among the Talaingod Manobo leaders facilitated the formation of Indigenous Reference group whose membership was identified by the leaders themselves. They also helped identify possible participants for the research. NASWEI and PASWI were important gatekeepers for the study since these organisations assisted in identifying and in locating social workers and social work students who could meet the criteria for participants. When the ethics application was approved by the Human Ethics Research Committee (HERC) at La Trobe University, participants were recruited from this group. All prospective participants received a participant information statement, consent forms, withdrawal forms and the project summary.

In the course of doing the scoping exercise prior to conducting the actual field work, it was found that the local PASWI chapter, did not have data bank containing the profiles and whereabouts of non-Indigenous and Indigenous social work members; thus, locating Indigenous social workers was challenging. Meanwhile tracing the non-Indigenous social workers working with non-government organisations, whose work assignment for the last three years was with Indigenous People's communities was also a challenge, given the trend that many social workers in this sector generally do not stay for three years in the program knowing the risks and safety factors involved. Typically, they request reassignment to areas within the proximity of urban centres and prefer to work with marginalised sectors within this centre where majority are non-Indigenous communities. Issues pertaining to remoteness, language and communication and adjustment relating to cultural context are impediments to practice. The geographic remoteness can be very daunting as Indigenous communities are naturally situated in the hinterland areas which takes hours or even days to reach.

Recruitment of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Social Workers

Formal letters were sent to PASWI Mindanao, NASWEI Mindanao, DSWD and CSSDO. These agencies and organisations were helpful in identifying possible social worker participants, through their vast network. Attendance in meetings organised by PASWI and NASWEI was done in order to present formally the project background of the study and for them to appreciate the significance of the study to social work practice especially in Mindanao. This was also part of the scoping exercise.

During the scoping exercise, DSWD-Region 11 generated a list of possible social workers assigned across Indigenous Peoples' communities in the Region who could be interviewed. When the Human Research Ethics approval from La Trobe University was granted, the researcher immediately contacted DSWD-Region 11. CSSDO-Davao gave an approval letter to proceed with the interview but did not identify who among its social workers would fit the criteria for participation in the study. The officers of PASWI-Davao and Mindanao helped in identifying the Indigenous social workers.

Recruitment of Indigenous social work students

With regard to the identification of Indigenous social work student-participants, it was NASWEI who provided help by connecting with various Programme Coordinators/Department Heads among social work schools across the Region. At the same time, formal letters were sent to the following universities and colleges: Ateneo de Davao University, Assumption College of Davao, Holy Cross of Davao College and University of Mindanao, as these are the main social work schools in Davao region and are active member-schools of NASWEI. These schools have provided scholarships to Indigenous students since 2000.

The recruitment of Indigenous social work students was done with the help of the Chairpersons and/or Program Heads of various social work programmes who were also individual members of NASWEI. The research was formally introduced during the local chapter meeting of NASWEI and it was in this meeting when the Chairpersons or Programme Heads requested for a formal letter to their department and university following their respective research protocols. The Chairpersons and/or Programme Heads of these social work programmes provided contact details of the target participants. The students were personally contacted, presented with the research project including the consent and withdrawal forms and later made an arrangement for a possible interview schedule. However, during the data gathering period there were many instances when the interview schedules were not followed because most of these students were busy with their academic works or other tasks or activities resulting in constant postponement. There were instances when the identified participant, especially among the Indigenous social work students, could not make it to the scheduled interviews which resulted to either postponing or canceling the interview; hence, help from the gatekeepers (both NASWEI and Programme Heads) was sought to look for another qualified participant or participants. Only three students were interviewed due to lack of time.

Ethics

No research can be conducted with participants unless ethics is approved and no interviews can be conducted unless informed consent and forms including withdrawal process are read, understood, clarified and signed.

To follow proper protocol, a formal letter was sent to NCIP Region XI (National Commission on Indigenous Peoples) to inform them about the study. FPIC (free prior informed consent) was also obtained directly from the leaders and officers of *Salugpungan Ta'tanu Igkanugon* as they were the identified respondents of the study. Based on the conviction and principles of the *Salugpungan Ta'tanu Igkanugon* Leaders, they strongly denounced the NCIP's mechanism in seeking the FPIC. They were apprehensive about it, given their previous experience with FPIC. Instead, the *Salugpungan Ta'tanu Igkanugon* Leaders helped the researcher in forming the Indigenous reference group who assisted in identifying the participants among the Indigenous Leaders. Ethics approval was granted by the La Trobe University Human Research Ethics committee on January 8, 2018 with approval number: HEC17-082.

The Research Participants

A total of 14 people participated in this research, five Talaingod Manobo Leaders (four male considered as Datu or male leaders, one female considered a Bai or a female leader and healer). They were the ones identified by the Indigenous reference group while the remaining four suggested, were in the remote communities of Talaingod to which access to the communities was difficult at that time, due to intense military operations in the area. As a result, the planned interviews with the additional four Indigenous Peoples from the community did not take place. Four non-Indigenous social workers identified by DSWD and PASWI were already working with the Indigenous communities in Davao del Norte particularly in Talaingod, while only one social worker coming from an NGO was identified by PASWI and her work assignment was with and among Indigenous communities of MISFI. The two Indigenous social workers were working, one within academe and other one in a hospital. Lastly, the remaining three participants are Indigenous social work students. The participants of this research were given pseudonyms. The following is the breakdown of actual participants of the study:

Target Research Participants	Target Number	Actual Number of Participants
Talaingod Manobo Leaders	5-10	5
Social Workers	5-8	4
Indigenous Social Workers (Key Informants)	5-8	2
Indigenous Social Work Students (Key Informants)	5-8	3
Overall Total		14

Table 1. Number of Research Participants

Talaingod Manobos

Talaingod Manobos are the Indigenous Peoples whose communities or villages are found within the abundant territories of Pantaron Range. They identify themselves as Talaingod-Manobos and not Ata-Manobo because they were borne within Pantaron Range and their culture, including their practices and beliefs, are derived and influenced by their unique connection with Pantaron Range. For this study, these are leaders identified by the reference group who are looked up to, by their members since they hold key positions in Salugpungan and in their respective communities.

By leading the Talaingod Manobo struggle, these leaders have earned the high respect and recognition from community members because of their long history of unwavering commitment to protect and defend their Ancestral land at all cost. They were never corrupted by money instead they have remained steadfast in advancing their right to self-determination and defence of the Pantaron range from outsiders who seek to destroy it. The Indigenous reference group was composed of four young Lumad leaders. They were the leaders identified by the Council of Salugpungan who assisted the researcher in this undertaking. During, the first meeting, the project background was presented to give the context of the study, prior to seeking the Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) approval. The FPIC was granted only after the Indigenous reference group presented the project summary to the Council Leaders of Salugpungan and from then, at their level they were able to identify the possible participants for the study. Part of the approval of the FPIC, was for the Council Leaders to identify the possible participants of the research and at the same time the researcher was also given due FPIC approval to commence the interviews. However, the researcher was not able to commence the interviews as ethics

approval had not yet been specified and because of security issues prevailing at that time, the leaders were not around either. Not all the participants who were identified previously by the Council Leaders of Salugpungan and Indigenous reference group for this undertaking were interviewed. Out of the nine identified possible participants, only five were interviewed. The Indigenous reference group assisted in the following: identification of possible participants, seeking the FPIC from the Council Leaders of Salugpungan, reaching out to the Talaingod Manobo participants and providing knowledge and context especially during the validation meeting. They were there prior to the conduct of actual interviews until the finalisation of the validation meeting.

Non-Indigenous Social Workers

These participants are registered social workers, who for the past three years or more, have been assigned to work in Indigenous People communities in Southern Mindanao. In particular, all of them have been assigned in various Indigenous villages in Talaingod, Davao del Norte. Out of the four (4) participants, three (3) of them were connected with DSWD-Region XI, while the other one was connected with an NGO. These social workers had varied experiences while working in the different field settings and had already exhibited rich experience.

Indigenous Social Workers

These participants are registered social workers and are from different tribes; one is a Matigsalug and the other one is Mandaya. The Matigsalug communities are found in the hinterland of Davao City sharing a boundary with Bukidnon, while the Mandaya communities are generally found along Davao Oriental. The Matigsalug communities are found near the Salug River (Davao River), while those of the Mandaya are found along the uplands of Davao Oriental towards Caraga. These participants were able to complete their degree in social work and passed the licensure examination. Being Indigenous social workers, these participants are considered holders of knowledge, both Indigenous and social work knowledge.

Indigenous Social Work Students

These participants were social work students in the third year of their social work degree at different universities. The participants are members of varied Indigenous groups; one is Manobo, another one Matigsalug and the other one is Bla'an. The researcher chose this year level as the most appropriate for this research, as these students had already taken many social work major subjects as compared to those still at first year and second year. These students would have a clear understanding of social work as a profession. The inclusion of the Indigenous social work students in the study is based on the presumption that they are knowledgeable of the phenomenon since they have the opportunity to actively reflect on their Indigenous identity while studying and exploring the relevance of social work theories and concepts to their Indigenous beliefs and values.

Implementation of the Research

Research with Indigenous Peoples particularly with Talaingod Manobos is not a new endeavour. A number of studies pertaining to Talaingod Manobos have been undertaken in the field of Anthropology (Paluga et al., 2013; Ragrario & Paluga, 2016) but not in the field of social work. If this area in the social work profession is under-studied in terms of manner of engagement with and among the Indigenous Peoples' communities, how much more in tackling their Indigenous knowledge in social work practice in the Philippines. Hence, the researcher grappled throughout the whole study especially during field work as security and risks factors had to be considered. Going into their communities for the field work was originally planned even during the research proposal stage. However, the volatile situation that occurred during the actual field work, did not permit such idea to push through. Intensified military operations and displacement took place when President Duterte threatened to bomb Lumad communities particularly Salugpungan schools during his the State of the Nation Address on July 24, 2017 (Lingao, 2017).

This pronouncement led to an increased military presence and atrocities in these communities particularly in Talaingod since July 2017. Given this situation, the interviews were conducted within the city proper so as to ensure the safety and security of the Talaingod Manobo Leaders and the social workers who were also assigned in Talaingod. The presence of the Salugpungan Leaders in the city during the scoping exercise gave the researcher an opportunity to discuss the potential project. These meetings resulted in the Indigenous Leaders giving their consent, in establishing expectations and setting forth

the terms of engagement assuring them that their voices would be given the privilege to be heard.

The presence of the translator during the interview with Indigenous Leaders was necessary, as three out of the five leaders could not speak the “Visaya” language. The utilisation of a voice recorder during the interviews was also helpful especially during the transcription, to revisit the interviews and to pay attention to the messages they wanted to convey. The first interview was with an Indigenous social work student. This was followed by interviews with the Talaingod Manobo leaders with an interval of 2-3 weeks per interview for purposes of transcription, translation and initial coding. After the interviews among the Talaingod Manobos, interview with another Indigenous social work student happened. While waiting for confirmation from the social workers, translation and transcription of previous interviews were conducted. Figure 1 shows the steps in gaining access to the research participants while Figure 2 presents in graphic form how data collection and analysis were undertaken.

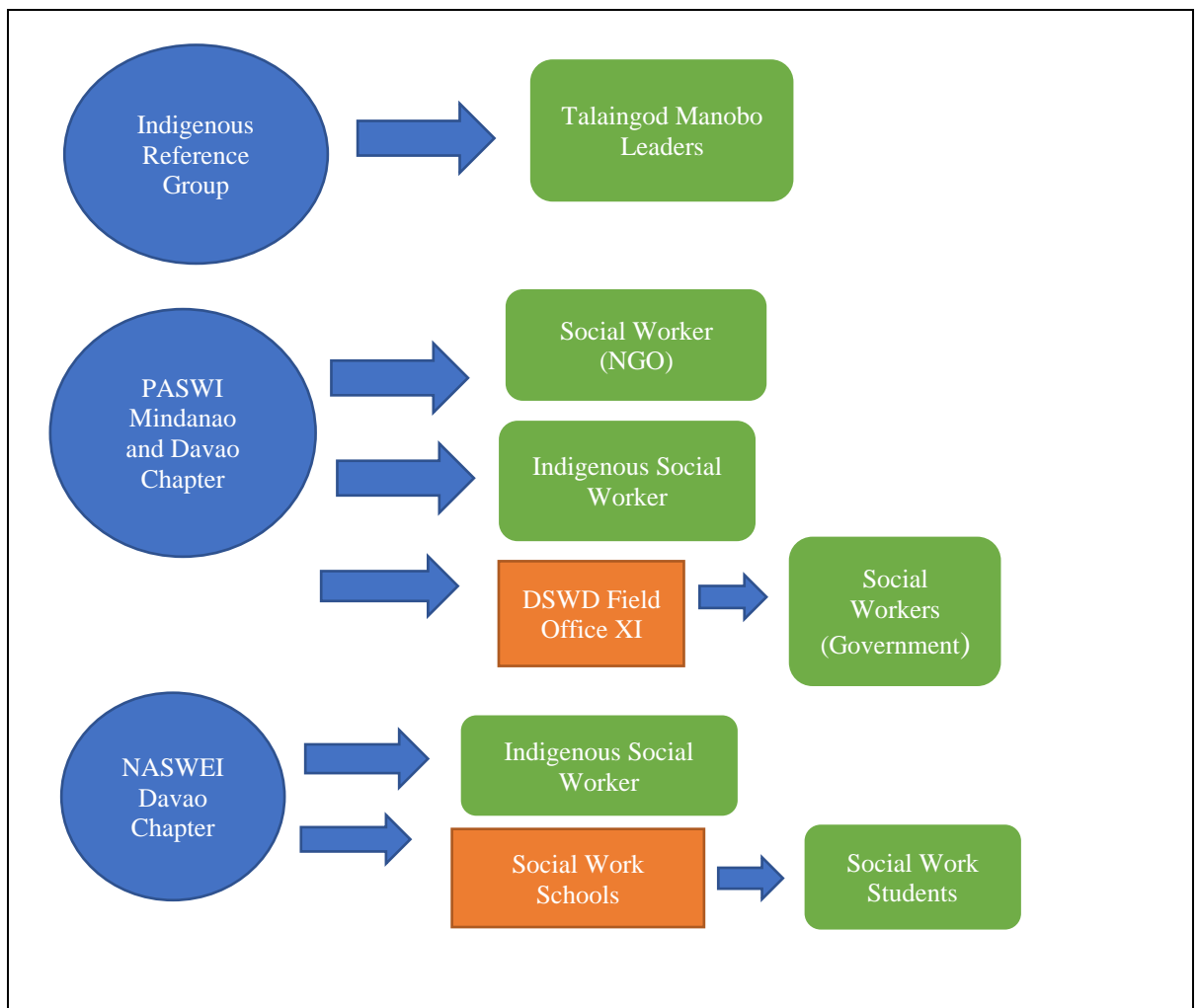


Figure 1. Steps in gaining access to multi-tiered Research Participants

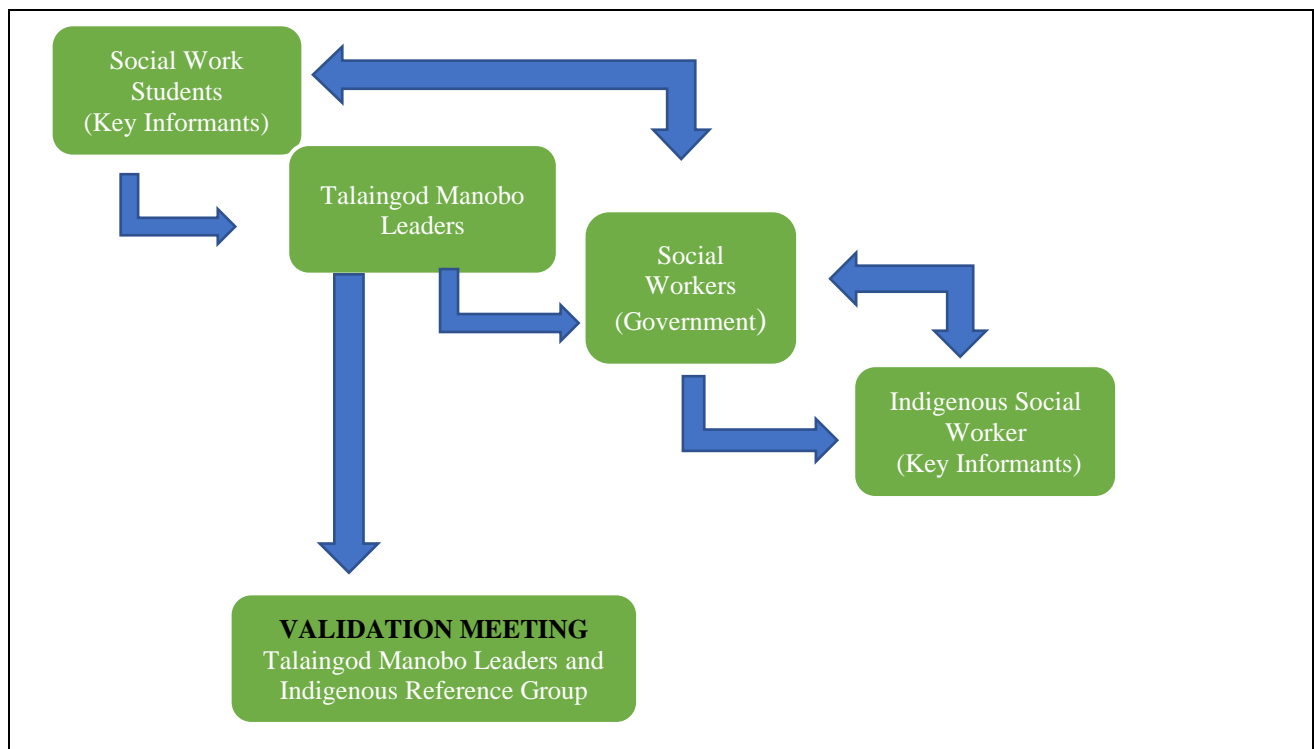


Figure 2. Data Collection and Analysis Process

The last step in the process was a validation meeting with the Indigenous Leaders and the Indigenous reference group, which was an opportunity to present the draft outcome of the findings, make some clarifications especially on the Indigenous terms and their meaning, including nuances. This meeting also allowed the participants to give comments and gain insights that would best help improve the data especially during analysis.

Table 2 below presents the list of participants using their pseudonyms:

Talaingod Manobo Leaders	Indigenous Social Work Student	Social Workers	Indigenous Social Workers
DB	Aina	Rowie	Rolls
DG	Aliyah	Lin	Jay
DM	Chai	Kan	
BaiB		Mel	
DK			

Table 2. Pseudonyms of Participants

Intensive Interview

To gather a “detailed, vivid and nuanced answer with rich thematic material” (Rubin & Rubin, 2004 in Walter, 2006, p. 98), intensive interviews were conducted. This type of interviewing includes listen and generating information on how research participants frame their thoughts and views generating adequate data needed for the enquiry. Intensive interview was utilised through a flexible semi-structured questionnaire giving the researcher a chance to gently guide the interviewee to the direction of enquiry and at the same time to focus on what was happening on the narratives being gathered. The semi-structured questionnaire was based on the literature being studied. During the interviews participants’ experiences and situations were explored allowing the researcher to understand the participants’ perspectives, meanings and experiences (Charmaz, 2014; Suddaby, 2006). In the case of Indigenous Leaders, unfortunately due to time and security issues, each interview was done for almost an hour only though important topics were surely covered knowing that follow up interview was not possible. Since most concepts were new to the researcher, probing questions were asked and notes of topic/concepts were taken since the other participants were also asked similar questions for deepening and follow up. Intensive interviewing as a method opens space for new ideas and even issues to arise and may allow the participants to reflect upon their experiences (Mills et al., 2006). Except for the Indigenous social work student and social worker, other participants such as Indigenous Leaders and non-Indigenous social workers participated in only one interview. The series of meetings with Indigenous reference group and professional organisations (PASWI and NASWEI) conducted during the scoping exercise provided the researcher the context and background of the research participants.

This type of interview can be called a “site for the construction of knowledge, and clearly the researcher, and the participant produce this knowledge together” (O’Connor, 2001 in Mills et al., 2006, p.9). This is where reflexivity takes place when the interaction of the researcher and the participants can later generate information that leads to construction of knowledge (Mills et al., 2006).

Semi-structured interviews and questions explored the lived experiences, knowledge, beliefs and values of the participants. For example, the interview guide question for the Talaingod Manobos was divided into three parts which were related to: personal background; questions relating to the community including its history, traditions, values and Indigenous beliefs; and experiences drawn from their engagement with social

workers. These questions were crafted with an aim of knowing more deeply the participant's knowledge and experience pertaining to Indigenous practices, customs and traditions and to purposely answer the research questions. In the same manner, questions in the interviews were drawn primarily from the research questions. The researcher was conscious in applying the cultural dimension in the context when developing this interview guide.

The interview with each participant usually ran for almost an hour. The experience with Talaingod Manobos usually lasted 45 minutes to 1 hour especially for Talaingod Manobo Leaders who could not speak the Visaya language; thus, translation took up so much time, though ensuring that questions were understood by the participants. In fact, the interviews were more like a casual conversation where the participants could comfortably roll their native cigars or do their beadworks while they answered the questions. Such interview style made them feel comfortable and the researcher's presence was not intrusive even when they were asked series of questions. They were encouraged to just freely express their views, while every now and then, the interview guide was used to steer the direction and not to get lost in the interview.

Key Informant Interview

Indigenous social workers were considered key informants for this enquiry since they occupied a position and had a professional role having studied and applied social work into practice. They also shared their knowledge and lived experiences as Indigenous. Given their crucial positioning, they were considered both "insider-outsider". This gave the researcher the perspective and knowledge on what and how it is to be Indigenous and a social worker at the same time. Their experiences on navigating the social work profession offered them opposite worldviews and paradigm including the challenges and their aspirations. By utilising intensive interviews, rich data were gathered which were helpful in understanding varied concepts the researcher was not quite familiar with, particularly the historical context, coming from their experiences and perspectives.

Data Analysis Process

The Constructivist Grounded Theory requires phases in order to generate codes and categories and coding and analysis should be done simultaneously (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

First, related literature on topics that covered Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies, Indigenous research, works of indigenous social workers were read to give context and historical background of Indigenous Peoples across the globe vis-à-vis the context and struggles of Talaingod Manobo towards self-determination.

Then, sampling of data commenced with an Indigenous social work student, who was available at that time. Transcription and translation followed since the interview was done using Visaya, a local language. There was a need to transcribe and translate the data into English, at the same time stay close to the data gathered. Activities such as finalising the interview schedule, ensuring the availability of the participants and conducting the actual interviews were conducted concurrently throughout this phase.

After the transcription and translation, the process of reading and re-reading the transcript followed, before proceeding with the line-by-line coding. In the process of doing line-by-line coding, another round of editing the initial codes that were created and the transcript was read all over again to ensure fidelity to the data. The same process was observed with Indigenous Leaders, Indigenous social workers and social workers. The study involved a fairly large amount of data; thus, initial coding per interview set was done.

Phase One:

Stage 1: Initial coding began the moment the transcription and translation work of the individual interview was finished. It commenced with what was understood from the data, from what the participant was trying to convey, the actions and even the standpoint (Charmaz, 2014). Data interviews started with Indigenous social work student and interviews with two Indigenous Leaders.

For easy understanding, the codes were divided into two parts – one on the experiences relating to social work and the other part relating to experiences of being Indigenous. Because initial coding process was done from the start, it was easier for the researcher to

use it for future reference although along the way the codes were later expanded and transformed; line-by-line coding was very overwhelming, that was why the interview transcripts had to be re-read throughout the whole coding process in order not to lose the messages and actions being communicated. In fact, the initial codes were not short lines but actual phrases, so these codes were refined later during the process.

As part of the research process, supervisors were constantly consulted for advice on revision in terms of insight and reflection. This provided an opportunity for reflection on the journey while trying to wrestle with confusion. Questions related to process were asked while looking into these codes. Coding was done manually at first, but as soon as line-by-line coding with the first Indigenous Leader participant was done, there was a realisation that the large amount of codes could not be managed manually, so NVivo software was resorted to help manage and organise initial codes generated. For example, codes such as “*helping*”, “*fighting*” and “*self-determination*” were already manifested and reiterated many times both coming from Indigenous social work student and Indigenous Leaders. During this phase also, coding categories was done early on and managed to separate data which led to asking additional probing questions for the next interviewees.

Stages 2 &3: This part of the coding stage was far more developed than the first stage, as it had more depth and connections with the other codes that had been developed based on the responses of the other participants were noted. Focused coding per participant using the same process with the other participant categories was done (Charmaz, 2014). Constant-comparison of these codes was observed. What was prominent during this stage among Indigenous Leaders, Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work student participants was the emphasis on the importance of Ancestral Land (*Yutang Kabilin*) when they discussed their identity and assertion of their *Right to self-determination*. Hence, the code focusing on “*Ancestral Land*” emerged as one of the main themes of this enquiry. Here is the excerpt of the memo written in May 2019 that served as initial analysis of this code:

Ancestral Land (Yutang Kabilin): This code emerged from the narratives of Indigenous participants; an important code, or concept borne out of their high regard for their Ancestral land. Talaingod Manobos place great respect for their land and such respect requires recognition of their right to govern within their territory based on the fact that they have been here for a long time. Now, I understand based on their explanation, that Ancestral Land is the expression of who they are and where they come from. It also means that they

have been the loyal steward of this great resource knowing that it is given by their Creators. Protecting their Ancestral land also speaks about their intimate relationship with the Creators and Spirits that guard the mountains and their rivers and every living creature in it.

Another excerpt on the Right to Self-determination: *This can be manifested in how Talaingod Manobos were able to initiate and establish their own schools despite no funding support from the government. The tribe was able to unite themselves to mobilize local resources out of their own just to address problems pertaining to accessibility and availability of Education. The Salugpungan Schools stress the importance of Indigenous knowledge in their curriculum aside from basic literacy and numeracy courses. This is indeed a manifestation of the Talaingod Manobos' capacity in exercising their right to self-determination.*

Stage 4: After completing the focused-coding process for each individual participant interviewed, another round of focused-coding was done, this time through constant comparison of all the participant interviews under certain participant-category. The participant-categories were the following: Indigenous Leaders, social workers, Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work students. For example, constant-comparison of the focused-codes of the interview set of five Indigenous Leaders – Datu DK, DG, DM, D B and BaiB. The same process was observed across other participant-categories. During this stage, recoding and reading transcript interviews were done to extract new codes and categories and later, themes, as Charmaz (2014) argued that “focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize data incisively and completely” (p.138). Once all the participants in each category were completed with focused-coding, what followed was another round of constant-comparison among the data of Indigenous social work students, Indigenous Leaders and Indigenous social workers and another round of constant-comparison with and among social workers, Indigenous social work students and Indigenous social workers. For example, there were many codes pertaining to the importance of “Ritual/Ceremonies” (or *Panubad-tubad*); these codes included: *Ritual before planting, Ritual for the healing, Ritual in seeking guidance from Magbabaya/Mandarangan*. With the emergence of these codes, they were placed under “*Panubad-tubad*” as an important and emerging theme of this enquiry. As noted, this theme also emerged and appeared true to other Indigenous participants social workers and social work students but the construction of the key theme pertaining to “*Ritual*” was taken mainly from the experiences and narratives of Talaingod Manobos. The

same process of consolidation was also employed among themes such as “*Self-determination*”, “*Ancestral Land*” and “*Indigenous Identity*” as examples.

Admittedly, this stage was very challenging given the fact that participants came from varied participant-categories with various social and cultural contexts. Constant-comparison among the Indigenous social work students, Indigenous Leaders and Indigenous social workers on the basis that they are part of Indigenous Peoples’ community, and so with social workers, Indigenous social work students and Indigenous social workers, on the basis that they have studied social work and therefore, have understood and applied social work theories and approaches. Doing this exercise, patterns that developed relationships among categories and themes were discovered at this stage (Glaser, 2011). Memoing was also applied across stages, as it helped explore and reflect on the process (Charmaz, 2014). Doing memos helped in a way that they served as reminders of ideas and directions that arose previously, while doing coding and reading of the transcripts.

Coding Process

This table presents how the coding process unfolded from Stage 1 to Stage 4. This coding process allowed “analytical scaffolding”, as researcher generated and continuously examined codes to ensure saturation and theory building (Charmaz, 2005 in Allen 2011, p. 34).

Participant-category	1 st Stage (per individual transcript)	2 nd Stage (per individual transcript)		
Indigenous Social Work Students then Indigenous Leaders	Initial Coding (Refining and re-coding)	Focused Coding (Refining, Revisiting Transcripts)		
Social Workers then Indigenous Social Workers	Initial Coding (Refining and re-coding)	Focused Coding (Refining, Revisiting Transcripts)		
			To include review of Researcher's memo	
Participant-category	3 rd Stage (per participant category)	4 th Stage	key themes	stand-alone themes
Indigenous Social Work Students (1)	Focused Coding (Compare & Contrast) Coding Themes	Combined 1,2, 4 (Compare & Contrast) Coded Themes	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
Indigenous Leaders (2)	Focused Coding (Compare & Contrast) Coding Themes	Combined 1,3,4 (Compare & Contrast) Coded Themes	Combine 3,4	
Social Workers (3)	Focused Coding (Compare & Contrast) Coding Categories		Combined 1,2,4	
Indigenous Social Workers (4)	Focused Coding (Compare & Contrast) Coding Themes		Combined 1,3,4	

Table 3. Coding Process

Phase Two:

This phase emphasised the sorting and consolidation of codes and themes that arose from the previous coding exercise. This phase recognised varied voices and multiple realities within the study but privileged the voices of the Indigenous leaders of Talaingod Manobos. As codes and themes emerged and were refined, as a researcher, there was a need to be conscious of the construction of the analysis, ensuring that such analysis was grounded on social reality (Denzin, 2013; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Sudabby, 2006) while honoring the experiences and worldviews of the Indigenous Peoples. This phase captured the codes and themes that explicated the elements and their relationships that emerged directly from the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Phase 1 detailed the process of doing initial coding, recoding, constant comparison until focused coding was developed.

This last phase required that the codes formulated and developed across various stages of analysis could capture what was being asked for in this enquiry. Along the way, the pattern formed from the data was carefully assessed (Charmaz, 2007) and above all the “significance” considering the subjectivity involved with both participants and the researcher vis-a-vis the enormous data was dealt with. Charmaz (2014) asserted that “focused coding requires decisions about which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorise data incisively and completely” (p.138). With this in mind, it was ensured that emerging codes and themes were not solely borne out of “frequency” but also consistent and sensitive to the context of this enquiry; hence, privileging the voices of the Talaingod Manobo leaders. Aside from identifying emerging themes from the Indigenous leaders, it also identified stand-alone codes and themes coming from other participants of this research. For example, the themes “*Reiterating Self-determination*”, “*Facing Aggressions from the Outside*” and “*Being a Tribal Leader means carrying immense responsibility*” emerged as **stand-alone themes** as these elucidate further the meaning and contexts of these themes in relation to Talaingod Manobos’ culture, belief and knowledge which answer some of the research questions in this enquiry. These codes evolved and remained unchanged in the sense of being “stand -alone themes” ensuring that the voices and experiences of the participants were retained in the analytic process during coding and data interpretation.

Meanwhile the key themes that emerged under the section “**Shared Voices of Social Workers**” presented in Chapter 5 such as “*Varied Work Experiences*”, “*Navigating the Contours of Helping Process*” and “*Working Beyond the Expectations*” are the key themes.

These key themes emerged when the categories and themes were shared, collapsed and integrated from the themes shared by social workers both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The same process of scrutiny was followed for the social workers and Indigenous social work students respectively. The exploration of the themes that emerged from these participants were coded, assessed and recoded on their significance and how they resonated with those of other participants in this study especially during this phase, as emphasised in the phrase “consistency of a theme across and within study participants (Longhofer et al., 2013).

Charmaz (2006) explained that saturation occurs if “categories are saturated, when gathering fresh data no longer spark new theoretical insights, nor reveal new properties of these core theoretical categories” (p.119). Glaser and Strauss (1967) explained further that “when one category is saturated, nothing remains but to go on to new groups for data on other categories” (p.61). The theoretical saturation in this study was achieved through the process of purposive sampling by bringing stakeholders to be part of the study “until the data set is complete” (Bowen, 2008, p.140; Charmaz, 2003) and at the same time making sure that the categories had undergone “coherent and rigorous process of interpretation” (Hyde, 2003) of the phenomenon being studied.

It should be noted that the whole process involved the recognition of the voice of the researcher, where reflexivity played an important part of a constructivist approach. Personal reflection was also involved right from the start of the data collection and analysis. Memos and field notes were written to capture thoughts and perspectives. Being a Grounded Theory researcher, there was always this fear of missing out on an important detail pertaining to the study, more particularly on Grounded Theory process. That is why as much as possible, notes were written whenever there were interesting articles that had relevance to the study. Hence for this study, the researcher observed this process to achieve theoretical completeness and always remembered that “saturation of all categories signifies the point at which to end the research” (Morse,1995 in Bowen 2008). Decisions were also made to acknowledge which themes had emerged and linked them to the data and research questions. Lastly, when no new concepts, no additional insights emerged, data categories were then considered well validated, well established and complete (Bowen, 2008).

Table 4 below presents themes generated from the narratives that “emerged from the data” (Shank, 2006). The analytical procedure to produce these codes consisted of several

stages of coding, recoding, constant comparison and collapsing or integration of codes and themes. The utilisation of supervisory consultations served the purpose of checking which codes, coding process and themes were appropriate and in the end a model was developed which could provide visual representation of the findings and interpretations from the narratives. Note that key themes emerged as these themes were being collapsed or integrated from the themes coming across participants. The process included constant comparison.

	Talaingod Manobos	Indigenous social workers	Non-Indigenous social workers	Indigenous social work students
Stand-alone Themes	<p>1. Being a Tribal Leader means carrying immense responsibility</p> <p>2. Leader respond to Aggressions from the Outside</p> <p>3. Indigenous connection to Pantaron Range (<i>Ancestral Land or Yutang Kabilin</i>)</p> <p>4. Reiterating Self-determination</p> <p>5. Concretising Indigenous Way of Helping and Welfare</p> <p>6. Manifesting Relations through Rituals</p> <p>Answers to RQ1, RQ2 and RQ3</p> <p>Helping is the essence of Communal living...</p> <p>Lusong: Helping is innate</p> <p>Helping (in the realm of economics)</p> <p>Self-determination too, is an Indigenous Concept</p> <p>An Emphasis on Sharing or Collectivity Practicing</p> <p>Ceremonies/Rituals for Healing and Helping</p>	<p>1. Noting Intersectionality of Discrimination</p> <p>2. Tasks of being a (Indigenous) social worker</p> <p>3. Drawing out Personal Reflections</p>	<p>1. Noting varying Observations on Indigenous Peoples</p> <p>2. Realising the Importance of Diversity and Self-determination</p> <p>3. Identifying Gaps in Welfare Programs</p> <p>4. Suggesting Ways Forward for social worker</p>	<p>1. Pursuing a Social Work Degree</p> <p>2. Struggling to continue in a Social Work Degree program</p> <p>3. Varied Realizations while Pursuing the Degree</p> <p>4. Observing Poor Treatment of Indigenous Peoples</p> <p>5. Noting Gaps in social work Education and Practice</p> <p>6. Emphasizing Importance of Indigenous Practice in social work</p>
	Indigenous social workers and Non-Indigenous social workers	Answers to RQ 4	Answers to RQ 5	Answers to RQ6
Key-themes (shared and collapsed)	<p>1. Influences and Motivations in Pursuing Social Work</p> <p>2. Varied Work Experiences</p> <p>3. Working Beyond the Expectations</p> <p>4. Navigating the Contours of Helping Process</p>	<p>1. Lumad work is challenging</p> <p>2. Efforts to learn about IP Culture</p>	<p>1. Skills of being a Social Worker</p> <p>2. Importance of Respect</p> <p>3. Identifying Gaps in SW Education</p> <p>4. Conveying limited knowledge on IP Culture</p> <p>5. Expressing Frustrations towards the welfare system</p>	<p>Applying Indigenous ways to Social Work practice</p>

Table 4. Key Themes and Stand-alone Themes

Diagramming: During the coding process, there were codes encountered which were later developed into themes, whether stand-alone code/s or forms of pattern/s across varied participant-categories. Overtime, out of these exercises, a diagram (see Diagram 1, p.189) was prepared that highlighted relationships, a visual image that represented connections that were most evident in constant-comparison and focused coding process. Clarke (2003, 2005) showed the advantage of using diagrams in grounded theories, as they present visual images of the emerging theories (Charmaz, 2014). This diagram is a product of co-construction from the voices of the research participants especially among the Indigenous Peoples and the researcher as an analysis of the topic studied in this research.

The basic tradition of Grounded Theory method where the researcher utilises the strategies of coding, memo-writing and theory sampling for theory development, has shaped the ontological and epistemological stances (Charmaz, 2014; Denzin, 2010; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The commitment of developing theoretical concepts as grounded in data shows its closeness to the world and the to social reality (Denzin, 2010; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Sudabby, 2006).

Rigour and Trustworthiness

The research underpins a constructivist paradigm hence, emergence of codes and categories is shaped by the narratives of the participants who possess multiple realities, meanings and experiences of the phenomenon being studied. So as a researcher who wanted to ensure high standards of rigour and trustworthiness, peer validation was done on a regular basis to continuously check the emerging categories in the process and to clarify issues that emerged during the coding process and ease out tensions and confusions brought about by various narratives. Given that this is a Grounded Theory, its method of enquiry, data collection and analysis were done simultaneously (Charmaz, 2006, 2012; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It followed the iterative process towards theory building allowing the researcher to continuously check the emerging categories in the process. Utilising constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and memoing (Charmaz, 2006) as methods which are integral part of Grounded Theory, ensured the rigorous research process (Elliot & Lazenbatt, 2005). This process allowed the researcher to conduct analysis as soon as data were collected, and following iterative process, progress was checked, while codes and categories were being developed.

Talking about the notion of transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1982), it is best to note that the findings of this study relied on the experiences and ideas of the participants which helped shape the narratives. The findings of the study can eventually be replicated in similar studies and undertakings with Indigenous people in the Philippines.

The Indigenous reference group provided help when there were questions with the meanings and nuances because of the vastness of this enquiry. Their presence and sharing during the validation meeting were very helpful. Peer validation and more importantly, validation from supervisors, provided “perspective” on the reality being studied, knowing that at some degree, they shared the same outlook with the research participants; hence, their presence provided a guide while pursuing this research work. In fact, a validation exercise was held among the Talaingod Manobo participants which they were aware of since this was discussed with them during the interview.

Summary

This chapter presented the process of how the voices of the participants, most especially the Talaingod Manobo Leaders, were honoured along with the voices of social workers, Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work student participants of this enquiry. This chapter explained how voices and perspectives are presented through structuring and analysis of the data. Grounded Theory as a method of enquiry is a continuous activity of data collection and analysis which can be done simultaneously (Charmaz, 2006, 2012; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The researcher saw the appropriateness of Constructivist Grounded Theory in this enquiry. Constructivist Grounded Theory allowed the researcher to explore how the social process emerged, how the participants experienced realities, how the participants exerted effort over these processes and in what conditions such realities were constructed. In terms of analysis, process of constantly comparing newly gathered data with previously gathered narratives and relevance was ensured in order to create central concepts or categories (Bowen, 2008). This process is an integral part of the systematic and rigorous research approach of grounded theory that places emphasis on the iterative interaction of data and analysis (Morse et al., 2002). In ensuring rigour and trustworthiness, peer review mechanism such as guidance of reference group and supervisory consultation was deemed helpful during the data collection and analysis stage. The following Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and 7 present the key findings that emerged from their voices. There are dissonance, agreements and reflections by the social workers,

Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work student participants as they pursue social work. All of these constitute their experiences and perspectives. Above all, the voices of Talaingod Manobos are highly privileged in exploring and identifying the Indigenous elements of the framework.

Chapter 5

Listening to Different Voices

INTRODUCTION

The chapter commences with discussion of the key findings of the overarching question of the study. Highlighting the participants' voices, the responses were analysed within each group of participants: Indigenous social workers, Indigenous social work students and non-Indigenous social workers. The findings reflect their specific experiences and the context of Philippine social work within Indigenous communities. The overarching question and the sub-questions of the study are outlined below:

“What are the elements of an Indigenous social work framework which will inform social workers in Mindanao as they engage with “Talaingod Manobo” communities?”

1. Based on their culture, how do the “Talaingod Manobos” understand and practice helping approaches?
2. How do the “Talaingod Manobos” locate their Indigenous knowledge of helping approaches in the context of social work services that they have experienced?
3. What are the perspectives of the “Talaingod Manobos” on the integration of their Indigenous knowledge in social work practices (e.g. service delivery, implementation of development programs, among others)?
4. What are the experiences of social workers in Mindanao in contextualising social work practice in “Talaingod Manobo” communities?
5. What factors do Mindanao SWs identify which facilitate their efforts to contextualize social work practice in “Talaingod Manobo” communities and which factors are identified as hindering?
6. Do social workers in Mindanao support the integration of Indigenous knowledge of helping approaches of the “Talaingod Manobos” in social work practices?

This chapter presents how the interpretative process took place, and how the codes and themes emerged from the data. The results of coding, recoding, constant comparison and active reflection are presented. This is an iterative process that shaped the enquiry and helped build rigour. To avoid confusion, italics were utilised for the codes as well as

excerpts from interviews, using bold, black fonts for the emerging themes in between sections.

Chapter 4 presented Phase 1 of the analysis. Phase 1 commenced with initial coding, recoding and focused coding of the narratives from the interviews. The themes were derived from the analysis of the narratives articulated by Talaingod Manobos and all the participants of this research. The co-construction of the themes was developed from active reflection of the researcher and understanding of the meaning of the data based on contexts and meanings shared and articulated by the participants to the researcher (Charmaz, 2006; 2014). The identified themes were presented in the findings. It also presented how these concepts were well-connected and related to one another.

The Voices of Talaingod Manobo Leaders

This section presents the voices of the Talaingod Manobo leaders who lead their respective communities, performing duties and carrying out the varied roles expected of Indigenous Leaders. Indigenous Leaders and Elders also known as “*Datu*” and “*Igbujag*” hold a notable presence in their respective communities. The interviews with them enabled the researcher to listen and understand their struggles, appreciate their victories in carrying out important tasks in safeguarding the welfare of the community, and above all in ceaselessly defending their Ancestral land. Their voices and experiences give context to the research questions particularly on Indigenous ways of helping and healing.

The questions asked of the participants pertained to their personal backgrounds and their duties and the immense responsibilities of Indigenous leadership. They were asked about their Indigenous ways, beliefs and practices that reflect their Indigenous worldview and knowledge which include how they choose leaders, how they respond to the challenges encountered which are key tasks of Indigenous leaders in their respective communities. The narratives shared demonstrated the diversity and identity of Talaingod Manobos. Their experiences and views towards social workers were explored and presented. The themes that emerged are as follows:

1. Being a Tribal Leader means carrying immense responsibility

- Leadership is inherent, not inherited

- Honouring shared leadership

- Leaders’ role in conflict settlements

2. Leaders Respond to Aggressions from the Outside
 - Attitude towards Education
 - Conflict with Government
 - Expressing concerns with arming Indigenous Peoples
 - Internal displacement of communities
3. Indigenous connection to Pantaron Range (*Ancestral Land or Yutang Kabilin*)
4. Reiterating Self-determination
5. Concretising Indigenous Way of Helping and Welfare
6. Manifesting Relations through Rituals
7. Recalling experiences with Social Workers

Being a Tribal Leader means carrying immense responsibility

When the Talaingod Manobo leaders were asked about their leadership roles and duties in their respective communities, the participants shared the nuances and context of Indigenous leadership. The themes presented identify how they became a leader, the circumstances that brought them to leadership and how they perform such an important function.

According to two Indigenous Leader participants, DK and DG, Indigenous Leaders are different from leaders found in mainstream society. Leaders in the mainstream are usually required to operate in bureaucratic and hierarchical cultures, while Indigenous Leaders are appointed because of demonstrating inherent leadership qualities. For the Indigenous Leader, leadership is being “*paved by land, ancestors, Elders and story*”. Indigenous leadership is shaped through the interconnections and relationships of all of these concepts built within the Ancestral land and cannot be separated from what they embody and treasure between living and non-living entities.

For DG, an Indigenous leader’s responsibilities include ‘*managing community affairs as if they were family*’. He said that as a leader he wants to know the concerns of every member of the community. Being a leader means you are responsible to engage with every problem in the community. The process involves ensuring that hardship is being lessened by assisting one another through collectivity or practicing “*Lusong*”.

"to remind every member of the tribe about farming in order for them to have food supply (magpahinumdom nga ang atong pag-uma dili nato kalimtan paningkamot ta para dili ta mawad-an og pagkaon)". –DK

DM (Indigenous Leader) said that the responsibility of being a leader requires '*managing the needs of the people*' (Interview Transcript). This entails identifying the needs and issues affecting the community on a day-to-day basis, including the economic, social and spiritual needs of the community on a greater scale, because "...*the people also expect you to be strong and not to falter in times of crisis*" (as commented by DM as found in the Interview Transcript). Indigenous leadership is a position that reflects the aspiration of the people and the community as a whole because the leader acknowledges and recognises the interests and needs of the people, as expected.

Being an Indigenous Leader is a role that requires finding durable solutions to conflicts arising among community members and even for people living in another community. Being a leader means "*finding solutions to difficult situations*" (DK, Interview Transcript). During the interviews, the Talaingod Manobo leaders shared the nature of settling tensions or conflict resolutions, as this responsibility requires them to manifest the role of being a "judge" during "*husay*" (conflict resolution). This role requires them to go through the arduous task of conflict resolution, even requiring the presence of other Indigenous Leaders of other communities or the "*lgbujag*" (Council of Elders) in order to achieve a fair and durable resolution.

BaiB (female Indigenous Leader), on her part said that the responsibility of being a leader means uniting all other leaders and Elders for the sole reason that problems in the community can be easily resolved if leaders are united in finding solution. It also means forging ties with other leaders in neighbouring communities. For BaiB, a leader also honours her words and is not a liar.

"Being a tribal leader means that all of us leaders must be united and one of the reasons is to find solutions to every problem that might occur in our community (...tanang mga leader na naa sa komunidad magkahiusa ta, ug usa na sa paghiusa nato ang kung unsaon pagsulbad ang mga problema na mahitabo diha sa komunidad)."—BaiB

Another aspect of leadership responsibility pointed out by DB (an Indigenous Leader) was the impact of education in fighting against discrimination and prejudices against Indigenous Peoples. He stressed that a leader is responsible for educating the community,

to be serious in setting good examples by role modelling in order to gain respect from the people of the wider community.

All of the Indigenous participants expressed their belief that being a leader carries immense responsibility and obligations in carrying out the tasks and meeting the expectations of the whole community. Their leadership also emphasises the importance of collectivity in undertaking the role by listening to the voices of the Elders who were previous leaders and being open to collaborating with other leaders because this has been their Indigenous practice, in as far as culture and history are concerned.

Leadership is inherent, not inherited

Based on the narratives shared by the participants, the process of choosing the next leader requires long periods of observation, whereby Elders carefully observe the younger generation of Talaingod Manobos to identify those who possess leadership qualities and good character from a very young age. As one noted, *“the Elders observe the attitude of young generation”* (DK, Interview Transcript) and this process is also carefully observed by the whole community. Leadership is not something inherited; rather leadership is based on the observation that a person has leadership skills and character to be an Indigenous leader, as reiterated by DK. Leadership must be decided by the whole community. This was also affirmed by the Talaingod Manobo leaders and it was DM during his interview who clearly mentioned this aspect:

“...it is not only the will of your father who is leader that will grant you the leadership but it is also the will of the whole community who will dictate in terms of choosing who will be their next leader (Dili pud imo rang papa ang mutugway nimo nga mahimo kang leader kundili ang tibuok tribu u gang tibuok ginsakpan nimo maoy mutuboy sa imuha, mupalingkod sa imuha nga angayan ka mulingkod sa posisyon).”

In terms of choosing the next *“Datu”*, the community participates democratically along with the Elders in the selection of their next leader who is expected to possess strong principles. As mentioned by DK during the interview, even young Talaingod Manobos could contribute something to the community. Thus, the potential leader demonstrates his/her leadership skills early on. In many instances the Talaingod Manobos’ political hierarchy is often occupied by male leaders. However, there are also situations when women can occupy such prominent positions. While undertaking this study, the researcher met a respondent who was referred to as *“Bai”* (*a female counterpart of “Datu”*). According to other stories from other Talaingod Leaders and Indigenous reference group, she earned that title when she took part and led the successful *“pangayaw”* (tribal war/ revenge war) against

ALSONS Company, a logging company, in the Bukidnon side, which sparked in 1994. When asked about the importance of her role in the community, BaiB mentioned:

What is important to us is to fight for our land and forest, the rain forest of Pantaron. No mining activities should ever encroach and destroy it. If Pantaron will be destroyed, the negative outcome will befall not only on us but the whole of Mindanao. Mining companies should not be allowed to operate in Pantaron. (Ang importante sa amoa nga among gipakigbisugan ang yuta ug kabukiran, bukid sa Pantaron nga dili mamining ug dili maguba tungod kay kung panahon nga maguba ang Pantaron dili lang sa amoa kung dili sa tibuok Mindanao ang apektado sa pagkaguba sa mining o sa Pantaron panahon na imining na ang sa Pantaron).--BaiB

Just as Talaingod Manobo Leaders consider themselves responsible for the welfare of their people, they also consider themselves stewards and defenders of their lands and that the fate of their Indigenous communities and culture relies largely on their leadership and on the collective community itself.

Honouring Shared Leadership

Listening to the stories of the Talaingod Manobo leaders, there was a realisation of the importance they place on the communities' Elders (*"Igbujag"*). According to the Talaingod Manobo leaders, the Talaingod Manobos have diverse social structures whose key functions in the community are particularly in governance and decision-making. The *"Datu"* (Chieftain) or *"Bai"* (female counterpart) serves as leader governing the community and the Baylan (healer/shaman) ensures the spiritual aspect, wellness and healing of the community.

"if a woman gives birth, then the Baylan prepares some herbal plants and assists the woman to have a safe delivery (Kanang manganak naa gyud na siya, mag-uban ang herbal ug ang Babaylan na mutambal sa unsayon pagpasayon ang pagpanganak sa usa ka babae nga dili siya maglisod. Mao na siya).--DM

The community also expresses their high regard for the *"Igbujag"* (Elder). The *"Igbujag"* used to be the *Datus* in their respective communities; people consider them to possess wisdom, immense knowledge and rich experiences. The community considers them great storytellers of the tribe's history. This was highlighted by DK during the interview:

"Because all of this knowledge emanates from our ancestors, we learn from them. We know that the next generation looks up to us and we should also teach them. Yes, the oral tradition (kay gikan mana sa katigulangan nagatudlo gyud me mao ng dapat nato tumanon. Kay ang sumusunod pud

naga pangutana-pangutana sad gikan pana sa una. Oo. Kanang pasa nga storya).” -- DK

Because of the prominent role and wisdom of the Elders, the Talaingod Manobo community pays high respect to their Elders. For them, the “*igbujag*” is the wisest and the most respected figure in the community. This finding was also observed by Lacorte (2011). Aside from the “*igbujag*” from their respective communities, the peoples’ organisation called *Salugpungan Ta’Tanu Igkanugon* is also considered in the Pantaron Range, a “Council of Elders” similar to the “*igbujag*” in the communities. The *Datus* are positioned in key committees (such as Education and Health) and these committees respond directly to the needs of their members and communities.

As shared during the interviews, the “*Datu*” or “*Bai*” manages the daily affairs of the community by demonstrating leadership skills, knowledge and ability to settle disputes. The “*Datu*” or “*Bai*”, seeks guidance and wisdom from the Elders or “*igbujag*”, in addressing problems relating to dispute settlement or even issues affecting the community. These problems are discussed collectively among themselves to resolve disputes, to look for durable solutions or to establish community initiatives. This practice manifests how “collective leadership” is exercised. The role of the Elders, however, has limitations. The “*igbujag*” can only share their wisdom as they are not allowed to mediate disputes as the authority to undertake mediations among aggrieved parties lies in the hands of the “*Datu*”. The responsibility to identify the tribe’s next “*Datu*” from among the potential younger generation lies in the hands of the “*igbujag*” (Elders); that is why, they play an essential role in the communities.

“Yes, a leader helps in solving problems in the community including uniting with other tribal leaders to solve problems in the community (Oo, ug mutabang og sulbad sa mga problema ug sila ug apil na diha ang pakighiusa sa ubang datu para mahiusa nila sulbarun kung adunay problema muabot).”--BaiB

Aside from the roles and responsibilities mentioned above, this shared leadership among Talaingod Manobos also demonstrates how Talaingod Manobos facilitate “*Husay*”, the process of conflict resolution. In order to resolve conflict, participation by the key figures in the community and the presence of both the concerned and/or aggrieved parties are required. For the Talaingod Manobo leaders, DG and BaiB, Talaingod Manobos’ concept of conflict resolution requires collective leadership because Talaingod Manobos value “peace” which is a concern for all.

“One should not give too much value on things but to value relationship and peaceful living (Dili bitaw mas palabi ang butang kaysa ang butang mas ginatan-aw niya ang paghusay, masulbad ang problema).”—BaiB

“...he manages all the affairs and makes sure that people residing in the community will not experience difficulty especially in terms of promoting peace and resolution of conflict (....siya ang naga atiman unya dili magproblema nag tanang katwhan unya sa ilang kumunidad labi na sa pagpaluyo sa kalinaw sa paghusay sa mga problema).”—DG

Leaders' role in conflict settlements

It is always the Leader who walks an extra mile in settlements. There are even instances when the *Datu* or Leader offers his own livestock or even a horse (depending on the case being resolved) as part of negotiation to attain peace in the family and in the community as a whole:

*One of the many ways of resolving a conflict is when the aggrieved party expresses that he/she doesn't want any mediation but only wants to resolve the matter personally by running after that erring party to the point of killing; then there are circumstances that a leader would give him/her time, his/her right let's say one week to run after that erring person. However, if he/she cannot kill that person within that given period then that will be the time that the *Datu* will come in, in order to mediate and resolve the conflict (Usa sa pamaagi sa paghusay, kung ang nasuko dili gyud magpahusay ug gihatagag lugar na hatagan niya ug panahon na pagtugot na gihatag ang katungod nga “cge kung nasuko ka ihatag nako ang panahon nga isa ka semana nga imong gukdon ang imong gikasuko. Kung dili nimo mapatay sa is aka semana so ang leader na ang magtindog.).--BaiB*

I can give them my horse as a peace offering just to restore peace and harmony in our village and to prevent further conflict (nako nga gamiton nako ang kabayo na magvolunteer ko na maghusay didto sa problema para mubalik ang kalinaw para mahusay ang dili magka kuanay sila). – DG

The collective leadership as described by the Talaingod Manobo leaders is demonstrated when the present “*Datu*” or “*Bai*” works with Elders in their community to discuss and resolve important matters in their village or community. This collective leadership can also be demonstrated when a certain *Datu* of one village, also works with other *Datus* coming from their neighbouring communities when there are concerns/ issues that affect them all that need intervention. The establishment of *SalugpunganTa'Tanu Igkanugon*, manifests this kind of leadership as mentioned by DG:

“All the Datus and the other 44 villages were called to gather including Datu Guibang and we discussed ways to protect our Ancestral land. The frequent meetings whose agenda was all about defending our Ancestral land, resulted in the growing number of participants from other villages until it reached a total of 82 villages at that time (Nagtawag me sila si datu guibang nagtapok me, nagtapok me nga kumunidad. Sa una pa na permero pa 44 ka kumunidad naay usa nga kabahin sa pagpanalipud namu sugod sa yutang kabilin. Hantod nga naglambo-lambo na. hantod nga nag abot nag 82).”

This process can also be likened to the Maori notion of collective leadership (Spiller et al., 2020) which places greater recognition to the wisdom and knowledge of past generations. The presence of previous leaders and their Elders whose knowledge and great experience on conflict resolution serves as cultural teachings and practice (Kenny & Fraser, 2012).

Leaders' Response to Aggression from the Outside

The participants were asked about the challenges encountered by the Talaingod Manobos pertaining to aggression from the outside. The Talaingod Manobos talked about how state intrusion using the pretext of an anti-insurgency campaign sowed terror and fear in their communities. The participants, particularly DB and DM, spoke about the impact of closing down their schools, displacements and arming their fellow “Lumads” that resulted in many “Lumad killings” in their communities.

The 1994 Pangayao (tribal war) was waged by Talaingod Manobo leaders against Alcantara and Sons (ALSONS), a logging company. The memories were still vivid for all participants. They proudly testified to their presence and participation in that Indigenous-led campaign, except for DK who was still an adolescent at that time, and his participation was not in the frontline. This was the war they lodged against the big logging company whose Integrated Forest Management Agreement (IFMA) encroached into their Ancestral lands. This was also highlighted in the studies conducted by Lacorte (2011), Pacificar and Obenza (2013). According to DG, it was Datu Guibang who organised Salugpungan that cultivated unity amongst various “*Igbujag*” in their localities and this was supported by DK, when he shared that:

“It all started with Datu Guibang. This was the idea of Datu Guibang. At first, Datu Guibang called for a consultative meeting (gikan na siya sa isa ka leader namu na si Datu Gibang gikan na sa iyaha, kami gikan jud me sa bukid. Kani kay datu gibang permero nagka-meeting).”

The threat coming from the logging company was facilitated by state actors, meaning the programme was introduced by a government programme called Integrated Forest Management Agreement (IFMA) and the entry was facilitated by the presence of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. Talaingod Manobo leaders were able to demonstrate the critical and historical role of being an Indigenous Leader, as their leadership was tested by tension and crisis in defending their Ancestral territories. They demonstrated that despite their disadvantage in terms of weapons, as they were using only arrows and “bolos” (single-edged knife) and their mastery of the terrain, they were able to claim victory and send their message across the state that they would die defending their lands.

The campaign united many Indigenous Leaders bringing about a consensus leading to “pangayao” (tribal war) against the Alcantara and Sons. Knowing that the government had colluded with the logging company, left the Talaingod Manobo leaders with no other option but to wage a “pangayao” as their last resort to defend their land. DG said that they had to do it because *“For us lumads, if you take away our land from us, it also means that you also take our lives.”* A very straightforward statement yet one that is deeply profound as it does not only speak about their identity, but it ultimately speaks about their sense of belonging and relational existence to their land, being Indigenous Peoples.

“Of course, our fight for the land is always relentless. We want to retain our lumad identity and heritage, so we do our best to preserve our tribe. The tribes will never be eliminated from the mountains. What we want is for us to survive. (syempre naa na. gusto namu nga dili mawala ang pagka lumad ang pakigbisog ana nga hugot jud nga pagpatuman nga dili pana mawala ang tribu namu. Dili mawala ang mga tribu diha sa kabukiran. Gusto jud namu ipadayon).”--DK

The participants mentioned that the war or “pangayao” was very difficult for them. However, they were left with no choice but to persist in their struggle to defend their land otherwise they might lose it especially for the future generation. Their Indigenous concept about land is something that they *“cannot exchange for any amount of money”* (DG, Interview Transcript) knowing that they value it more than its economic value, knowing that they belong with Pantaron Range.

After the destruction brought about by the “pangayao”, Talaingod Manobos exerted much effort to rebuild their communities. Part of this rebuilding effort was the peace building initiative, known as “Dyand”, a ritual for peace pact among many leaders of Talaingod through their organisation, Salugpungan, along with many “Igbujag” and “Datu”. This

initiative sought to prevent “*pangayao*” to occur between and among Indigenous communities, according to DG:

“So, there are times, when Datu Sulpor and me, including the other 10 Datus have to unite to settle any problems in every community. Yes, we are the same, but we have different ways to perform Dyandi (a peace pact)(Pananglitan kami ni Datu Sulpor og Datu guinom mag ihusa naming duha. Og napulo name ka Datu kami magtinabangay pud na maglingkod didto sa problema. Oo pareha lang gihapon pero managlaing pama agi Dyandi).”

Dyandi (peace pact) is forged between and among the leaders across Talaingod Manobo communities and other neighbouring Manobo communities, to ensure that peace reigns in their lands, to eliminate hostilities between parties and to negotiate differences in order to attain peace. This peace pact is initiated by the “*Datu*” because as leader, he has the responsibility and the obligation to do so, knowing that peace is a concern for all of them as said in the line, “*the Datu has also equipped himself in order not to resort to killings, by valuing life preservation and ensuring harmony that benefits the community*” (DG, Interview transcript).

Despite the efforts of the leaders, the peace of Talaingod Manobos has been tested over time, because of threats and aggressions coming from outsiders with interest in their Ancestral land for business. These aggressions are even state sponsored led by the Armed Forces of the Philippines under the guise and pretext of nationwide anti-insurgency campaigns against the guerrillas. (These military operations were dubbed as OPLAN or OPERATION PLAN Bayanihan and Kalayaan under Pres. Ninoy Aquino and Pres. Rodrigo Duterte respectively). These guerrilla zones are situated in Ancestral domains across Mindanao (Alamon, 2017). In an interview with DM, he described hamletting which is clearing the area for tighter control conducted by the military as if the Talaingod Manobos are living in a mouse trap:

“Yes, there is an ongoing intensive operation by the military and the village is fully blocked. No one can enter our area...Until now (Oo. Grabe gyud ang operation diha gifull blocked gyud diha dapit sa amoa. Walay pasudlon na basta daghan...Hangtud karun).”

Attitude towards education

DB believes that education is very valuable for Talaingod Manobos and the future generations. He articulated in the previous theme that “*Datu’s leadership*” means being responsible for the education of the community. DB is a key member of the Salugpungan’s Education Committee. This committee is part of Salugpungan responsible to deliver education and information program to its members. DB expressed his apprehension at the systematic closing down of all the Salugpungan schools across the Davao-Bukidnon Region. This was part of Indigenous communities being red-tagged or an “act of branding or labelling them left-leaning, subversives which may cause harassment and persecution” (Simbulan, 2015) and vilifications from the military accusing the Salugpungan Schools of teaching communist ideology. DB noted that Salugpungan Schools have secured and regularly renewed their accreditation with the Department of Education and in fact the Salugpungan Schools have been operating for almost a decade. For DB, the recent closure of Salugpungan Schools foisted on them by the military together with the Department of Education is a direct attack on their right to education, depriving many Talaingod Manobos access to education. For him the military does not want the Indigenous Peoples to be educated (DB Interview Transcript).

The fruitful collaboration with NGO and church-based organisations has resulted in the establishment of the *Salugpungan Ta’tanu Igkanugon Learning Center Inc.* Such experience was narrated by DB on how they conceptualised and successfully put up these Indigenous schools in their communities:

I am part of the education committee in the Salugpungan specifically at Salugpungan Ta’tanu Community Learning Center. We always discuss our situation through meetings and we stand firmly for our Ancestral land including educating our young ones because lumads are always being discriminated by the people in the city. Through our ranks in the community level we initiated the call for education intended for our lumads but none from the government answered our call especially the DepEd. The people who answered our call were the priests, nuns most especially those who really helped us out since we told them that the lumads really need education. Here we were taught literacy and numeracy and then we had another coordination meeting with the coordinator of RMP... After that we could already apply for an accreditation of our school... When we had our grade 1 we worked out to meet the requirements, identified who would be the board of trustees since we could not be part of it since we are not professionals and the group should be composed of people who have a high degree and an experience of being a member of board of trustees. After a year, our children started schooling, so it took us 1 year before we were recognised by them.... We have a pre-school up to grade 6. We have 2 high schools in Talaingod particularly in sitio Tipukag and sitio Silaban, Barangay Palma Gil and Barangay Daguhoy. It is part of

Talaingod but it is under Barangay Palma Gil. And yes, the high school is located in barangay Tibukag (Bahin sa akoang background sa amoang komunidad usa ako ka committee sa edukasyon diha sa amoang organisasyon sa Salugpungan labi na sa eskwelahan sa mga Salugpungan Ta'tanu Kanugon Community Learning Center. Ang kahimtang namo pinaagi sa pagpadayun namo sa panaghisgot pinaagi sa amoang pagbarug sa amoang yutang kabilin kabahin napud ang kining edukasyon kay kami man gud ang mga lumad kanunay kami ginadiscriminate sa mga naa sa kapatagan na wala sila nagasumikad/interview kanamo kung unsa gyud amoang kahimtang unsa gyud amoang kultura. Kana pinaagi sa amoang han-ay diha sa amoang komunidad nakadisiyun mi nga kanang pagpanawagan sa edukasyon para sa kabataang lumad unya ang nitubag sa amoang pagpanawagan sauna wala gyud nitubag kining ahensya sa gobyerno labi na ni particular ang DepEd. Ang nitubag sa amoang panawagan kini niang mga madre, pare labi na tong RMP maoy nagtan-aw sa amoa. Niingon mi didto na kini amoang gikinahanglan sa katawhang lumad ang edukasyon. Ang ginahimo namo sa amoang katilingban unang-una ang literacy/numeracy nya tungod sa naay mga tigulang, naay mga bata unya paggraduate sa literacy numeracy ang mga bata murag kutob ra gyud diha. Pinaagi napud sa amoang panaghiusa mianha diha ang coordinator sa RMP... Paggrade 1 kanang amoang kasinatian nga bisag gifollow-up namo ang mga requirement kinsay mahimong board of trustees dili man gyud pwede na kami ang mukuan kay dili man mi professional so kadtong naa sa taas-taas ug kasinatian ang pwede mahimong board of trustees. hangtud isa ka tuig nakastart namig pagpaeskwela sa mga bata. wala pa, dugay pa gyud gipahuman ba, isa ka tuig bago siya natugtan na narecognise... Pre-school to grade 6 nya high school napud. Sa Talaingod adunay duha ka high school, Sitio Tipukag ug sitio Silaban, Barangay Palma Gil ug Barangay Daguhoy. Part sa Talaingod na siya. Sakop na siya sa Barangay Palma Gil. Oo. Didto sa Tibukag ang high school).

Conflict with Government

Added to this suffering, DB recalled the death of his young nephew who was killed in the hands of the paramilitary while tending the cornfield. For DB, his nephew's death was intended to sow terror in the community should they continue to fight back. It was with deep sadness when he mentioned this during the interview.

The anti-insurgency campaigns initiated by the state, consisted of intensified attacks on many Indigenous Peoples' communities particularly the Talaingod Manobos. When analysing the interview codes which identify such experience, the following emerged: *"military setting up of food blockades", "military building camps (in our community) or hamletting",* as an act of clearing the area by installing military presence within the community. In fact, even during the interview, this was happening in the community, hence it was advised not to visit the communities. *"Bombs dropping from the sky", "harassed by military" or "being assaulted", "being tagged as rebels" or "falsely tagged as rebel returnee", "killing of lumad leaders", "destroying our lumad school",* were articulated by the

Talaingod Manobo leader participants. They described these appalling forms of aggression that they experienced from the state forces that caused fear, distress and trauma among the population.

The tenacity of the Talaingod Manobos' struggle to fight for their land was evident when they waged a "*pangayaw*" or "*pangayao*" (tribal war) in 1994 in defence of their Ancestral land, sending dissenting message to the logging company and to the military that they would fight without hesitation and were determined to win the war, despite their inferiority in terms of weapons. The "*pangayaw*" forged unity among many villages, as mentioned by DK:

"It was then that the 14 villages decided that we would fight against this and we would not give up our lands just like that. So, the villages were united and fought against the enemy (mao na naay nagkahi-usa na mga sitio 14 ka sitio nga nag ingon sige suklan nato ni dili nato ihatag ang yuta. Nagkahi-usa ang ubang sitio gisuklan jud nila sige na sila na sila og warning na dili na ipadayon ang plantasyon kay musukol me)."

In fact, it is very heart breaking to note that the latest casualty of the escalating military attacks in their community was DK, a young but experienced and well-respected Talaingod Manobo leader, who was killed in aerial bombardments last April 2019 (Cagula, 2019). DK was a participant in this research.

Expressing Concerns with Arming Indigenous Peoples

A war tactic of these anti-insurgency campaigns was to organise an Indigenous paramilitary group called "ALAMARA". The Talaingod Manobo leaders during interviews expressed their alarm on arming Indigenous Peoples to fight against fellow Indigenous People. For the Talaingod Manobo leaders, this war tactic caused division among Indigenous Peoples' communities, as they were being pitted against each other. Talaingod Manobo leaders during interviews could not help but express worry and concern with the presence of ALAMARA in their communities, threatening school children. For them, this paramilitary group sowed fear in their communities. In an interview with one of the leaders, he stressed:

"They threatened us that they would get us killed. We were threatened by the Alamara, that's why some of us couldn't go back to Talaingod because of that threat. (Kaduha ginahulga sila na pampatyon, ginahulga me na mismo ang mga Alamara dili name maka uli sa talaingod ako patyon gyud)." --DK

This paramilitary group is comprised of members of the Indigenous Peoples who were provided with military guns (The Indigenous World, 2003) to terrorise Talaingod Manobo communities to prevent further Indigenous resistance.

“The ALAMARA was organised by the military...Yes. they were armed by the military (ang ALAMARA ang gitukod sa Military... Oo, ang ALAMARA gi-armasan sa Militar).” --DK

“The military and the para-military, the ALAMARA. The military is not there, but of course we know that the mandate came from the Armed forces of the Philippines (Ang military ug para-militar, ang Alamara. Syempre wala ang military pero ang mandato gikan sa armed forces of the Philippines).”—DM

Internal displacement of communities

The UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights of Internally Displaced Persons, Chaloka Beyani on July 31, 2015 expressed his strong concern about the displacement of Indigenous Peoples caused by the presence of military and paramilitary groups including “ALAMARA” in their communities. This included the alleged forced recruitment into the paramilitary group, where schools and communities were occupied by military or paramilitary and whose presence built tension and anxiety in the community (OCHR, 2015). Arming some Indigenous people, in a desperate bid to pursue the government’s anti-insurgency campaign in Mindanao, led to a blanket authority that gave impunity to those who had inflicted violence in these already conflict-torn Indigenous communities.

Indigenous Connection to Pantaron Range (Ancestral Land or Yutang Kabilin)

The Pantaron Range stretches 1.8 million hectares or 12.4% of Mindanao. It straddles the Provinces of Bukidnon, Davao del Norte, Misamis Oriental, Agusan del Sur and Agusan del Norte. The Pantaron Range is considered Mindanao’s last frontier due to high biodiversity and supplies major river systems and tributaries across Mindanao. “The Pantaron Range is the island’s largest contiguous forest which helps regulate the supply of 82 rivers; critical to the 42% water needs of Mindanao” (ESSC, 2018). This largely speaks of the abundance of Pantaron Range which has also sustained Talaingod Manobo communities for generations who consider it not just their home but also a source of life.

During interviews, the participants stated that they pay the highest regard to the Pantaron Range, demonstrated by their relentless struggles to defend it from encroachment and other oppressive conditions imposed by the State itself. As provoked by the threats of encroachment, the need to protect Pantaron Range, has united the Indigenous Leaders and organised *Salugpungan Ta'tanu Igkanugon*, to defend their Ancestral land and their Indigenous communities.

"That is the reason we remain in our struggle to fight and defend our land and our forest (ug mao nang hinungdan sa among pakigbisog na dili namo mabiyaan ang pakigbisog ug ang yuta ug ang kalasangan)."-BaiB

Talaingod Manobo leaders and other Indigenous participants in this study agreed that land should not be trivialised by its "market value" because it has its spiritual, cultural and social connections. Traditionally, the land holds their stories as a people, their ancestors, their Creator and Spirits that dwell in the mountains and rivers of Pantaron Range. Their ancestors have weaved their dreams and carved their aspirations, as they prepare the land so that future generations shall also enjoy the abundance of Pantaron Ranges. With this in mind, they aim to protect it from being plundered.

"We exercise our right to self-determination and establish our spiritual practice (Adunay kaugalingong paghukom naa poy kaugalingon sa pagsimba)."—DK

Talaingod Manobos revere the Pantaron Range because for them it is "*where the spirits that "own" the mountain live*" (DK, Interview Transcript). For them, the Pantaron Range is more than just a physical space, but it also holds their identity, knowledge of the place, connection to the Creator and Spirits; hence, is a sacred place. Such claim was also recorded by Wilson (2008).

*"Yes, if our Ancestral land will be gone, then we will disappear too that is why the Indigenous People have a strong determination to defend our land (Oo., kung mawala ang yutang kabilin mawala pud ang tao mao nang grabe gyud ang pakigbisog sa katawhang lumad sa yutang kabiin)."-
- DM*

This quote reveals how important it is for the Talaingod Manobos to defend their "*Yutang Kabilin*", as this is essential to their identity. For them the Pantaron Range which is their "*Yutang Kabilin*", is paramount to who they are and their existence as a whole. Their sense of identity is strongly grounded in the Pantaron Range.

"Yes, if our ancestral land will be gone, then we will disappear too that is why the Indigenous People have a strong determination to defend our

land.... Yes, it is. It is somehow acceptable for human society to disappear rather than our land to disappear. It shows how the lumad love its land. How can human society thrive without a land? It's useless (...kung mawala ang yutang kabilin mawala pud ang tao mao nang grabe gyud ang pakigbisog sa katawhang lumad sa yutang kabiin.... Oo, ana gyud siya. Mas maayo pag mawala ang tao kaysa sa yutang kabilin. Nin ana ka mahal sa lumad ang yuta. Mag-unsang man ang tao kung walay yuta? Wala gihapoy mahimo)". --DM

DM's explanation above sheds light on Talaingod Manobos' relations with the Ancestral Land and their strong connection to the environment that surrounds them. This connection is significant in knowledge construction, as the relationship is the sacred connection of Talaingod Manobos and the Pantaron Range; relationships built and shared with one another and strengthened by time and events. As presented by DM, their existence is always linked and constantly related to the Pantaron Range, for without the Pantaron Range their survival will be threatened.

In the lush rainforest and sprawling ranges, of the Pantaron Range, the Talaingod Manobos have cultivated a deep connection with their Creator, Spirits and Ancestral spirits and they express reverence through rituals. More so, the Pantaron Range being the "*Yutang Kabilin*" or "*Ancestral Land*", marks their identity as stewards of this important mountain range in Mindanao. In this context, it is imperative for every Talaingod Manobo to carry arms to defend their land, because more than just a piece of land, the Pantaron Range holds their culture and marks their identity as Talaingod Manobos.

Reiterating Self-Determination

All Indigenous participants in this study continually emphasised how important it is for Indigenous Peoples' communities to exercise their right to self-determination, a manifestation of their collective capacity as a community for their well-being, autonomy and freedom to chart their own destiny. For the Talaingod Manobos, the important component in exercising self-determination is their "Ancestral land", as they see themselves belonging to their land. Their life, their whole-being and identity are shared and related to everything that can be found within these Ancestral territories. Hence it is not surprising how and why across Indigenous participants "self-determination" has been reiterated during interviews.

While the emphasis on self-determination is paramount to that of collective affiliation rather than individual, the Talaingod Manobo leaders also acknowledge the concept of self-

determination at the individual level. This was emphasised by BaiB in one of the interviews where she said that the *Datu* recognises the right of an individual to resolve his/her own problem especially if that person is not resolved with the mediation set forth by the Leaders and Elders of the community. However, there are agreements being set in mediation that a certain individual must abide and must heed the ultimatum set by the community.

This speaks about the concept of self-determination among Talaingod Manobos, who view individuals as part of the communal life, where one's identity is largely shaped by the community to which a person belongs. Being a community member requires submitting oneself, as a member of the community, to the Indigenous process of mediation or "husay" to arbitrate or resolve issues. However, during the process, the community also acknowledges and respects a person's "agency" to decide and determine his actions; therefore, he/she is granted leeway to exercise self-determination. Self-determination at the individual level among Talaingod Manobos means showing honour to one's capacity and at the same time help that person find meaning and belongingness with the community. In fact, BaiB shared a story of how a person was granted permission by the community to settle his grudges for one week. However, he was advised that should the case remain unsettled after the given period, he then must submit to the "husay" (mediation) process and follow collective decision of the Elders and *Datu*.

The manifestation of self-determination among Talaingod Manobos is seen in how the community decides and governs itself and in how they resolve issues that concern them, following Indigenous ways and values. After many years of facing constant threats from many outsiders, self-determination for Talaingod Manobos is defending the Pantaron Range. BaiB's statement below depicts Talaingod Manobos' assertion as evidence of the autonomy of one's material environment, an expression of collective capability.

"What is important to us is to fight for our land and forest, the rain forest of Pantaron. That no mining activities will ever encroach and destroy it. Because if there comes a time when Pantaron will be destroyed, the negative outcome will befall not just on us, but it affects Mindanao as a whole (Ang importante sa amoa nga among gipakigbisugan ang yuta ug kabukiran, bukid sa Pantaron nga dili maminig ug dili maguba tungod kay kung panahon nga maguba ang Pantaron dili lang sa amoa kung dili sa tibuok Mindanao)." -- BaiB

Moreover, the narrative of BaiB above depicts Talaingod Manobos' identity of being the "steward of the Pantaron Range", which reflects their strong connection and relationship with Pantaron Range. The Pantaron Range and its boundaries offer a space for Talaingod Manobos to exercise their Right of Self-determination and their identity as "stewards of

Pantaron Range”. Therefore, it is safe to conclude that their Indigenous identity is directly related to their Ancestral land (Pantaron Range) which writers Ragrario and Paluga (2019) and Alamon (2017) wrote about. Moreover, self-determination of Talaingod Manobos was demonstrated when out of their own commitment and initiative to provide accessible education to their communities, they built their schools. The Talaingod Manobo leaders collaborated with NGO and church-based organisations.

The assertion of Indigenous identity plays against the backdrop of the systemic displacement of Indigenous communities from their Ancestral lands, forcible closure of many Indigenous schools and killings of many Indigenous leaders across Mindanao. It is in this context that Alamon (2017) argued that “Indigenous identity” should not be misappropriated as a purely cultural construct but rather a “class position” (p. 207) highlighting Indigenous narratives of oppression and historical dispossession of what has been invisible or worst, omitted in national discourses.

To reiterate, the Pantaron Range can be viewed as political, economic and relational. This land does not support only their survival and livelihood but also their territories, history and identity as an Indigenous People. If this is systematically taken away from them, such act might decimate their history and identity as Indigenous; it also means that the society discredits their humanity.

Concretising Indigenous Way of Helping and Welfare

During the interviews, the participants kept on repeating the word “*Lusong*”. As explained during interviews, it is a practice during planting and harvesting season which is naturally built into the production system of Talaingod Manobo communities. Based on the Indigenous practice, “*Lusong*” is a system by which they allocate a certain number of days to attend to a collective farm lot of selected family or kin, before they move to another area to render help whether in planting or harvesting and “*Lusong*” is done collectively. This activity is supervised by the *Datu* himself with the help of the *Baylan* (Shaman/priest/priestess) who performs a ritual/ceremony or “*panubadtubad*” to seek for the approval from the Spirits to guide them in their endeavour during planting or to give thanks to the Creator for the bountiful harvest and abundance. This process was also noted by Lacorte (2011); Pacificar and Obenza (2013) in their studies.

“But in our language, we call it “lusong”. Our livelihood is improving, because of that, this is our initiative. But this is not being taught by the government, rather we inherited it from our culture. We inherited it, as it has been passed from one generation to another (Ang sa amoa lang na kultura lusungay, mao na nga naglambo na ang ekonomiya namu diha gumikan ana. Pero wala na gikan sa gobyerno na tudlo sa amoa kung dili gikan lang sa amoa sa kultura. pasa-pasa hantod naabot na sa amoa).” – DG

Talaingod Manobo leaders participate in “Lusong” in order to help improve livelihood and production since harvesting or planting activity is done collectively and shared by many – a practice that has been passed down by their ancestors (DG, Interview transcript). Prior to commencing “Lusong”, a ritual/ceremony or “*panubadtubad*” must occur. DK emphasised that “*in fact we even perform a ritual before farming*” (Interview transcript). For DB, “Lusong” means, *collective action to help each other in times of crisis*” (Interview transcript). It means helping one another especially in times of adversities, where any burden becomes lighter when they collectively contribute in whatever capacity they can.

“Lusong” represents the way of life of the Talaingod Manobo, characterised by communal living, where social, cultural and economic activities are done collectively by the whole community. Moreover, it is an Indigenous practice which seeks to strengthen the bonds and solidarity in the community, an evidence of Indigenous ways of “helping”, and how communal living must be lived through helping one another. “Lusong”, based on participants’ descriptions, ensures that nobody is left behind and that the harvest as well as productive activity is fairly distributed to each and every member. “Lusong” is easily implemented since Talaingod Manobos have already established a strong kinship system. This concept of family among them, bridges and holds relationships not only within the family but also with the greater community.

“Yes, that’s considered communal. Yes, helping each other even during farming. Every family must contribute to help.....It emanates from our old tradition and it has been practiced through generations (Oo mahulog na siyag communal.Oo. Tabang-tabang pud na siya. Sa matag pamilya motabang gyud....Gikan gihapon na sa sinugdanan tradisyon napasa-pasa sa neherasyon)”-DM

“This progress is a result of our sense of community; we help each other, like in communal farming we can count on each other in terms of that...Bayanihan. We call that “Lusong”. Yes, it’s Tumba-Tumba in Bisaya. But in our language we call it “lusong”. Our livelihood is improving, because of that, this is our initiative. But this is not taught by the government, rather we inherit it from our culture (kini mangu ang paglambo kay kami mangu matinabangon atong mga katawhan diha, kung pananglitan pina agi lang sa galas magtinabangay lang me....Bayanihan. Ang tawag sa amoa kay “Lusong”. oo. Kanang tawag

gihapon sa bisaya kanang tumba-tumba. Ang sa amoa lang na kultura “lusongay”, mao na nga naglambo na ang ekonomiya namu diha gumikan ana. Pero wala na gikan sa gobyerno na tudlo sa amoa kung dili gikan lang sa amoa sa kultura).”-- DG

The collective nature of “*lusong*” depicts how the Talaingod Manobo welfare system operates even if the concepts emanate from economic aspects. “*Lusong*” as a social practice is characterised by how sharing and the welfare of others are of primary importance among Talaingod Manobos. This is the essence of their communal living, of being an Indigenous community. According to DB, this Indigenous practice reveals their sense of accountability for one another, ensuring survival of the community, demonstrating that welfare fosters strong community base and harmony. The same process is described in the studies of Kenny and Fraser (2012) and Gray et al. (2018) where their concept of welfare is an empowering manifestation where rendering help comes out naturally and in fact, innate; a world of difference to the “individualist approach” in welfare in western or colonised mainstream society.

Manifesting healing through Rituals

When the Talaingod Manobo leaders were asked about the Indigenous ways and beliefs they always practice, they emphasised rituals and ceremonies. These cultural behaviours demonstrate their being Indigenous; and cultural practices promote their well-being. It is usual practice to perform rituals to cure illnesses or sickness. According to DM, “*A ritual is performed by a Baylan in order to help cure the illness*”. The “*Baylan*” is regarded as a healer in their communities. Talaingod Manobo rituals are solemnised by the “*Baylan*” which usually start with a “*panubad*” (prayer).

“The Baylan will speak about what is needed in order to find cure for certain illness. For example, if the Baylan asks for a pig as a ritual for healing, and if the family cannot produce what is being asked, then that’s the time that the family of the patient seeks the help of the Datu and the Datu finds a way to look for resources to give to the family that needs help (kung muuigon ang Bylan na mao ni ang panginahanglanon sa ani nga sakit syempre muadto na sa Datu, soa dto sa Datu. Kung baboy na ang ginatugan so ang Datu na mangita og baboy muistorya kung kinsa ang naay baboy na mao ning gamit para aning nangasakit, kung ang ginikanan wala na siya kakayahan muadto na siya sa Datu mangita og tabang, mangayo og tabang kung unsa man ang matabang sa nasakit. So Datu na ang mangita kung asa ang naa naa adtoon sa Datu hulamon og ihatag sa ginikanan og ihatag sa nasakit).” – DK

The participants like DM, DK, BaiB and DG mentioned that these rituals or “*panubad-tubad*” are healing practices usually performed when one member of the community is ill. The family and even the whole community perform the ritual. For the Talaingod Manobos, everyone is invited to participate. Through this practice, everyone in the community, especially the *Datu*, demonstrates responsibility for the well-being of others. There is a collective approach to healing and responsibility, where everybody is invited to care and to share for the well-being of the community. This collective approach to healing strengthens their bond and solidarity as a community. For the younger generation, who is caught up with urbanisation and modernisation, participating in rituals reminds them of indigenous values and beliefs, practiced by the generations that lived before them.

“Yes, they should start with the tradition, culture and beliefs of the lumad. They must ensure that they do no harm to the tradition and beliefs of the lumad. For example, they should observe the ritual and culture, and what is being practiced in the community (Oo, kung unsa ang kultura ug tradisyon sa lumad o kinaiya so diha sila manukad nga dili malugsan ang tradisyon ug pagtuo sa lumad. Kung unsa naa sa komunidad mao na gyud. Halimbawa kultura o kanang mga ritual nin ana so nagasunod sila ung unsa ang naa sa komunidad ug kinaiya).” --DM

According to the participants, Talaingod Manobos practice rituals/ceremonies or “*panubad-tubad*” which influences almost every aspect of their community life. For them, ritual is an essential component of their lives as no harvesting, hunting or planting including waging a “*pangayao*” (tribal war) commences without a ritual. The Talaingod Manobo “*Bagani*” (Manobo warrior) together with *Datu* and *Baylan* must perform ritual before proceeding to wage war. They said that they call on the God of War “*Mandarangan*” to guide and protect their “*Bagani*”.

“Yes, we have a ritual. We have so many rituals before we start farming. When harvest comes, after 5 to 6 months after farming, we also have another ritual as our way of saying Thank you to our “Mambabaya” (God). (Oo naay ritual. Daghan pa gani ang ritual mahitabo bago maggalas. Pagting-abot nasad sa humay nga imong gitanum mga 5 to 6 ka bulan dunay mahitabo nga ritual isip pagpasalamat sa mambabaya).” – DM

All participants stated that rituals are performed by Talaingod Manobos as their way to connect with the spirits, to “*Magbabaya*” and to “*Inayon*” to guide them. Rituals allow them to reconnect with their ancestors. Stories and oral traditions are intimately shared by their Elders during ceremonies. DB stated that Talaingod Manobos also rely on the symbols and signs or omens from their surroundings or dreams, for they believe that the spirits are there to guide them—for example, the spirit guarding the mountains, the fields and the rivers. For example, DB mentioned about the sounds from the bird, which they call

“alimukon” (white-eared dove). The sound of this bird serves as an omen for them, on whether or not, they should proceed with harvesting or planting or run the risk of meeting accidents should they ignore it. These signs from the animals or heavenly bodies such as the stars, have been regarded as a source of knowledge that guides them as they interact and thrive in the natural world.

DG also mentioned that in their Indigenous schools, they work so hard to include rituals in their curriculum. Talaingod Manobos’ *“panubad-tubad”* or rituals shape their Indigenous values of sharing, connection, collective responsibility and acceptance, important values that characterise their Indigenous healing and helping and also their identities.

On the other hand, Talaingod Manobo leaders affirmed that amid tensions brought about by escalating militarisation and massive displacement in their Ancestral land, the *“panubad-tubad”* or rituals, provide space for the Talaingod Manobos to articulate their yearnings for peace in their Ancestral land through the songs, dances, prayers and stories. It was through dances, prayers and songs shared during *“panubad-tubad”* that they are reminded that they are the stewards of Pantaron Range. During the interview, participants expressed that *“panubad-tubad”* strengthens their resolve to continue defending their Ancestral land. Pantaron Range for them is more than just a physical space because in its trees, mountains and rivers dwell the blood of their ancestors and it carries their Indigenous history. In summary, this section speaks about the “ritual” or *“panubad-tubad”* as a practice of Indigenous healing; how it connects the Talaingod Manobos vertically to their Ancestral Spirits and Creator and at the same time, horizontally, it builds solidarity as this practice largely manifests the values of sharing, connection and responsibility.

Recalling Experiences with Social Workers

The Indigenous participants expressed their perceptions of social workers they had encountered in their community from observations. Their experiences might be varied but it left lasting impressions on how they view social workers. As observed, Talaingod Manobos are keen that their attitudes and values are demonstrated during these encounters. The following codes emerged when they were asked about their encounter and experiences with social workers *“Either from DSWD or NGO”, “Comparing social workers”, “Expressing preference”*.

When the Talaingod Manobos were asked if they knew who the social workers were, it was observed that they tended to associate social workers with the office or agency they represent; hence, the code “*Either from DSWD or NGO*” emerged. They could easily provide specific names of those social workers who work with NGOs apart from specifically identifying the name of the NGOs. For the participants, they associated these social workers with the programmes they introduced into their locality; for example, 4Ps Programme for DSWD, while schools and health programs were for the NGOs. As described by DB:

“I heard about social worker because I am a leader in our community. Social workers came from 2 organisations, from the government and from the NGO (Kadongog ko ana social worker kay sauna sa kalahi usa pod ko sa gikuha isip kanang ako ang leader sa kumonidad. kaingon pod ko sa barangay basta kay kana sa kabahin sa akua kabahin anang social workers duha mana siya sa gobyerno ug sa NGO kung naggikan ang social worker sa DSWD).”

The code “*Comparing social workers*” discusses how Talaingod Manobos gauge the level of engagement with the social workers who are working in their community. The narratives of the participants demonstrate that the engagement often varies based on how social workers manage to deliver the programmes and services of the agencies that they represent. This comparison emerged when Talaingod Manobos also gauged the kind of attitude that these social workers displayed in their respective communities. The comparison may be quite subjective but for the Talaingod Manobos, the kind of engagement that social workers have carried out leaves some lasting impressions.

“I’ll start with the NGO. When the NGO visited us in our village, they were consulting and asking what our problems were, or if there were any problems. Before they entered our village, they would pay some form of respect to communities, by asking our real concerns.... First is the attitude, so whatever food you may offer to them, then they should eat it and whatever they have they will also share it. But with DSWD I felt uncomfortable because they never made you feel that you were welcome, they did not even look at you. Their approach was different. Those from the NGO shared their meals with us. (didto ko una sa NGO, ang NGO’s naga adto sa amoa naga pangutana kung unsay mga problema, naa bay mga problema. Bago sila muadto didto murag una murespeto sa kumonidad, mangutana kung unsay problema diha sa kumonidad... una sa mga kina-iya kung unsa ang pagkaon nimu sa balay mao pud na ilang kaanon. Og unsa ang ilaha ginahatagan ka pero DSWD jud diha sa kuan maulaw ka muadto kay usahay kay mag adto ka dili gyud naga tan-aw ang mga tao didto. Kung sa NGO’s kung unsa ang ilang pagkaon ginahatagan gyud me.)”—DK

DK commented on how social workers from the NGO were able to reach out to them on a personal level by simply asking them about problems, listening and consulting. These actions coming from the social workers demonstrate openness, sensitivity and humility as they did not arrive in the community, flashing their expertise, rather they provided a space for the Talaingod Manobos to use their voices and speak up. He also emphasised the attitudes particularly of sharing and respect. His experience with the social workers from DSWD connotes hierarchy when he said *“they did not even look at you”* which made him feel so inferior. Almost the same comment was given by BaiB who emphasised the importance of listening and working in solidarity with the community:

“Yes like “L” can connect with us, she listens to our voice and listens to what we believe in. If we stand for something, they understand that we follow the stand/decision of our tribe. Unlike the ones from DSWD, they didn’t have a word of honor, they made us believe by telling us promises but in the end, they didn’t fulfill it. They simply made false promises (Oo, pareha anang “L” nagakoneksyon sa amoa, nagapaminaw unsay barog namo. Kung naa mi barog nagasubay lang sila sa amoang mga barog sa among komunidad. Ang DSWD walay klaro kung nay estorya, nay mga pasalig pero dili madayon gina bawi-bawi nila murag igo lang mi pasaligon ingon ana).”

There is a risk that the absence of understanding Indigenous culture and worldviews might result in condescending views towards Indigenous ways, beliefs and traditions. The remnants of colonisation are one of the main factors Indigenous voices and position in the society are considered the most disadvantaged. Sadly, participants observed how some social workers treated Indigenous Peoples in their engagements which aggravated discrimination and marginalization of Indigenous Peoples during the helping process.

“Their attitude is reflected on how they behave when they are in the village. Community. people feel uncomfortable to approach them. Even me, I feel very awkward to approach them because of their attitude towards the community. But with the NGOs we feel their good attitude and we are really comfortable with them. Sometimes they can’t entertain those coming from the DSWD because they are reluctant to approach them (kung unsa tong ilang batasan sa kumunidad mao pud na ang ilang ginadala nga kumunidad. Sa panglawas palang sa mga tao maulaw na sila modool sa DSWD. bisag sa akua sa DSWD sa kina-iyang palang sa batasan sa ilang panglawas palang daan maulaw name modool. Pero ang naa sa NGO’s sila gyud ang modool sa mga tao. Sila jud ang modool bisag unsa pa ang panglawas sa mga tao ginadoolan gyud nila. usahay dili pud nila maatiman kay walay modool pero ang kaning NGO’s nga muadto sa bukid daghan nag nagatagbo daghan ang nagapakaon)”—DK

With the people, I can see that they have a better relationship with the NGO. We can observe that because the people are active in the project (Sa mga tao syempre maayo gyud ang dagan sa kanang NGO ug sa mga tao diha nato na makita kay aktibo man ang mga tao)—DM

“L” and “D” always inform us, consult us that we will be building this and that like projects in our community but from the government they do not do anything good to us, no consultation. They discriminate our culture (Gawas sa kanang “L” ug sila “D” kana ilang ginabuhay magpahibalo ginakunsulta mi na mao ni magtukod ta ug kana ba nagpahibalo pero kanang naa sa gobyerno wala jud sila nangonsulta idiscriminate lage among kultura). --DB

Based on the narratives, the Talaingod Manobos consider social workers as partners in their efforts in creating change in their communities and as purveyors of welfare programmes and services whether these social workers belong to DSWD or with NGOs. The code *“Expressing preference”* signifies which social workers, either from the DSWD or NGOs, are more effective in their engagements. Such preference came about from an experience where Talaingod Manobos felt that they were being listened to and consulted with and where they did not feel that they were being discriminated against during the process.

The lived experiences of the Talaingod Manobos as they engage with social workers in their community is presented above. The participants spoke about their impressions, lessons and preference as brought about by this engagement including the challenges that they have encountered.

Summary

This section presented the voices and experiences of a Talaingod Manobo Indigenous leader and the importance of *Lusong* and *Panubadtubad* as Indigenous ways and practice. *Lusong* speaks largely on the importance of fellowship within the community, not just to fulfill a task but to practice solidarity, to strengthen the bond with one another. The *Panubadtubad* also speaks about healing but the healing practice also requires fellowship with the community to perform the ritual—it demonstrates how Talaingod Manobos are responsible for the well-being of the members of the community and the community itself. *Panubadtubad* is also manifested during *Lusong* along with other cultural practices in the community.

The theme, *Being a Tribal leader, means carrying immense responsibility*. Leadership is not handed down like an inheritance, but it is based on strength of character, leadership skills and potentials observed. It is the duty of the members of the community as well as the *Datu* and the Elders (Igbujag) to choose a leader whose solidarity and caring for others

have been manifested even at a young age. They shared that Indigenous leadership is shaped from the stories of their ancestors and grounded in the present circumstances. The leader works to defend their Ancestral land for the future generation to enjoy and sustain. The state forces and the multi-national corporations legitimise their agenda in encroaching into their Ancestral land by launching an anti-insurgency campaign. This anti-insurgency campaign is done through escalation of military operations in their communities, killings and organising Indigenous paramilitary group like ALAMARA to sow terror in their communities. However, Talaingod Manobos have shown that they can respond to the many forms of aggression that threaten their community, successfully defending their Ancestral land, despite limited weaponry. Through collective leadership and self-determination, they were able to unite the affected communities and the Datus launched a “*pangayaw*” against Alcantara and Sons. Talaingod Manobos’ culture and practices such as *Lusong*, *Panubad-tubad*, *Igbujag*, and self-determination provide understanding of Indigenous elements of healing and helping, that can help social workers work in respectful relationships with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. Talaingod Manobos’ practice of *Lusong* and *Panubad-tubad* speaks of the well-being and welfare of individuals and how their community stands at the centre of this relationship. Lastly, the section presented the Talaingod Manobos’ experience with social workers who delivered and provided services in their communities. It poses a challenge for social workers to avoid condescending views towards Indigenous Peoples as a result of lack of understanding and knowledge about Indigenous culture and ways.

Voices of Social Workers: Contextualising Engagement

This section presents the voices of the social work participants in the study, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous. The participants have social work degrees, have worked among Indigenous Peoples’ communities in the region, and have extensive experience in engaging with Indigenous Peoples particularly with the Talaingod Manobo. Further, the social workers located themselves at the centre of their engagement while they navigated the seemingly complex Philippine social welfare system with limited funding marred by bureaucratic issues; they too were at the forefront in delivering services. They also consider this community development work as diverse and challenging given the cultural uniqueness and distinctiveness of practice. This is true especially among the experiences and perspectives of non-Indigenous social workers.

This section is divided into three parts: the first part presents the narratives shared by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers particularly on the influences, motivations and challenges encountered while pursuing social work degree. The second section presents the distinct voices and experiences of Indigenous social workers and students and the third section presents the voices of non-Indigenous social workers practicing the profession.

Key themes and sub-themes emerged which were shared by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers. These themes came from similar codes; for example, under the theme varied work experience, the following codes shared were: *highlights variations of field setting experiences or different field settings and transferring from one field setting to another*. These highlight the unique experiences of each participant category which mirrors their identity, values and their perspectives as Indigenous or non-Indigenous social workers situated across various field settings and organisational practice contexts. The narratives reflect their responses pertaining to their influences and motivations in undertaking a social work degree, their challenges, significant experiences and motivations when working with Indigenous Peoples. It also reflects how they utilise social work theories, principles and work according to social work ethics. Lastly, they responded to questions pertaining to the imperatives of integrating Indigenous concepts and knowledge to social work particularly on the importance of developing an Indigenous practice framework.

A. Shared voices of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Social Workers

A.1. Influences and Motivations in Pursuing Social Work

Sharing Expectations about the (Social Work) Degree

A.2. Varied Work Experiences

A.3. Working Beyond the Expectations

A.4. Navigating the Contours of Helping Process

B. Distinct Voices of Indigenous Social Workers:

B.1 Noting Intersectionality of Discrimination

B.2 Tasks of being a (Indigenous) Social Worker

Needing more Lumad Social Workers (Indigenous Social Workers)

B.3. Drawing out Personal Reflections

C. Voices of Indigenous Social Work Students

C.1 Pursuing a Social Work Degree

- C.2 Struggling to Continue in a Social Work Degree Program
- C.3 Varied Realizations while Pursuing the Degree
- C.4 Observing Poor Treatment towards Indigenous Peoples
 - Citing Impact of Assimilation
- C.5 Noting Gaps in Social Work Education and Practice
- C.6 Emphasising Importance of Indigenous Practice in Social Work

D. Distinct Voices of non-Indigenous Social Workers

- D.1 Noting Varying Observations of Indigenous Peoples
- D.2 Realising the Importance of Diversity and Self-determination
- D.3 Identifying Gaps in Welfare Programs
- D.4 References
- D.5 Suggesting Ways Forward for Social Work

Shared Voices of Indigenous and non-Indigenous Social Workers

This part presents the themes shared by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers. The participants did not know each other during the process of data gathering. However, during the analytical process of coding their respective codes, they began to connect following the rigorous process of constant comparison.

Influences and Motivations in Pursuing Social Work

Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers expressed that it was through other people that they had heard of or learnt about the existence of the social work profession. Many of them heard about it through their relatives or family members who were also social workers. Two participants said during their interviews that social work was not their first choice of degree but due to limited economic resources, they were unable to pursue engineering or nursing and they ended up in the profession. The rest were influenced by either siblings, relatives or close acquaintances who are already social workers.

“My parents pushed me to become a social worker; it’s more because of them since they could not support my needs due to poverty. They could not support my needs if I’d take up Civil Engineering because it is an expensive course.”—Mel

For Jay, an Indigenous social worker, it was through his exposure to social work while working with the church and an NGO and in organising poor and peasant communities.

He subsequently left the political science degree he was enrolled in and transferred to the social work degree and stayed in the programme. He said that he decided to stay in the programme because he realised that social work was a calling to “*serve the people*” and can be translated into action.

It was the social workers’ humanistic views that gave the participants clarity in their motivation to stay in the social work programme, especially when they got to know and understand the profession more deeply. It was their desire to help others that inspired them to move forward.

“SERVICE. It’s really my desire to serve. To serve and help other people is not something new to me. The SW course has always appealed to me.”
--Lin

On the other hand, gender-marked jobs as a result of the deep-seated patriarchy of Philippine society can be gleaned from the narratives of Jay and Mel. Although they were born decades apart, both of them share the same perception that social work is a profession designed to cater only to females. In fact, Mel shared that at first, he thought that the social work profession would not be suited for men but as soon as he found out that there were males in the profession, he decided to stay in the programme. For Jay, he likened the degree to being the same as nursing where females outnumber males. The view towards the profession is misconstrued because of how social work is projected on mass media often portrayed by a woman.

“I had this idea before that this (social work) was only for female students. And I had doubts if I would get a good job after or if this course is fitted for men.”—Mel

“I said, this looks like a nursing college because most of them are females, the males were a handful.”—Jay

Majority of the participants, however, confided that because of economic conditions, their siblings or relatives helped them in sustaining their education. For Roll, an Indigenous social worker, he was sustained by working part-time and by acquiring educational assistance from the local government and National Commission on Indigenous Peoples.

Sharing of Expectation about the (Social Work) degree

The following codes “*entailing more fieldwork*” and “*loaded with paperwork*” and “*social work is tiring*” were the codes that emerged when participants were asked about their expectations when they were still students pursuing their degrees. They were enthusiastic when they recalled this phase, and they were eager to share their expectations. Some said that they set these expectations when they first started out as students, when they were still trying to fully understand the degree and even while they were advancing or moving further towards the higher level of the bachelor’s degree. For the code “*entailing more fieldwork*”, the participants understood that the profession would require them to go outside the four walls of their office, to be with the people. This expectation is also clarified as stipulated in the Social Work Law or the Republic Act 4373 that requires 1000 hours of supervised field work experience whether under NGO or government auspices, in order to complete the degree. The 1000 field hours consist of 400 hours doing supervised casework and groupwork and 600 hours doing community organizing work. The degree standards developed by the National Association of Social Work Education (NASWEI) and Philippine Social Workers Inc. (PASWI), were approved and regulated by the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) where every social work graduate is required to have completed 1000 hours of field work placement before taking a government licensure examination, supervised by the Professional Regulation Commission (PRC). Therefore, fieldwork is an important measure of the bachelor’s degree as evidence of appropriate qualifications and raising the skills of every social work student in utilising social work methods and theories (Lee-Mendoza, 2008). The field work expectation was not hard for Lin, a non-Indigenous social worker, to accept and learn while she was still studying, because according to her, as she didn’t come from a well-to-do family, it was very easy for her to relate to the people, to be present among them once immersed in fieldwork.

“I know the course entails more field work. It is mostly community-based so when I had SW as a course, it was not that hard for me”. --Lin

The following codes which came from the data “*loaded with paperwork*” and “*social work is tiring*” emerged when they began to understand social work methods during their internship programme. During the internship programme, they were expected to complete assessment documentations as part of their field work practice and this would serve as evidence of how they actually applied their skills and put into practice the theories and concepts of the profession. Many of these expectations were met once they were already working as registered social workers. They soon realised that it was harder than what

they had expected, knowing that they had to negotiate and navigate the realities and contours of Philippine social welfare. For Kan, a non-Indigenous social worker, he clearly expressed that “*not everything can be applied*” (Interview Transcript). He manifested a realisation that one cannot absolutely do everything written in the book and expressed a certain level of frustration, stressing:

“But maybe in my present line of work, sometimes I could say that not all you have studied can be applied. They can be applied but it’s difficult due to the existing system—while there is difference in the workings of an NGO from that of government—so there are things that you cannot change or are already given in the system or have become a systemic problem. Regarding Pantawid, it deals more on monitoring about system and conditionalities. That is why in my 5 years in DSWD, it has been hard to achieve the goals that the programme had sought—that is because we have been focusing more on the immediate problem needing only immediate results. So, target goals are missed.”

This frustration is probably shared by many social workers across the country when they personally encounter impediments such as resource limitations, funding constraints, funding agency influence on the programme, presence of political influence and accommodation (Yu, 2014) that has impacted the autonomy of the profession (Price & Artaraz, 2013).

Varied Work Experiences

Social work in the Philippines is implemented in a wide range of practice contexts. Many social workers are employed either in national or local government organisations, and in local or international NGOs, industries, hospital settings, charities or faith-based organisations, corporate social foundations in addition to academic settings. Many social workers have transferred to DSWD Regional offices to work under the 4Ps programme. The programme attracted many social workers whether from NGOs or City or Municipal Social Welfare to transfer. The 4Ps offers a relatively higher salary as compared to what is being offered by the local government and local NGOs. According to the 4Ps programme Implementation Status Report, fourth quarter of 2016 alone, the programme, had a total of 13,732 technical and administrative positions assigned at the national and regional offices (including personnel assigned at the covered provinces and cities/municipalities had been approved for the program) (DSWD 2016).

The participants, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers shared that they were employed in various field settings before they were employed and assigned to their

present positions (when these interviews were undertaken). Codes generated under this theme were *“transferring from one field to another”*, *“working in different field setting”*, *“differing NGO work”*. The code *“transferring from one field to another”* tells how social workers in the region work from one field setting to another. Their assigned field settings according to them are working with disability, community-based agencies in rural areas, City/Municipal welfare agencies, hospital and academe. Rowie, a non-Indigenous social worker, for example, mentioned that for 10 years and 11 months she undertook the education resource coordination role that focused on educating persons with visual impairment, before transferring to the Regional Social Welfare Office. Another participant named Mel, used to work at the City Social Welfare Office, doing direct work practice prior to moving to the Regional Social Welfare Office doing work for 4Ps in the community. He mentioned that he found his previous work assignment too stressful and he could not relax even when he was at home.

For another participant Roll, an Indigenous social worker, it was the other way around. His first job was with the Regional Social Welfare Office, working as a Community Empowerment Facilitator with the Indigenous community. Two years later, he transferred to the City Social Welfare Office before he finally transferred to the hospital setting where he became a regular employee. The experience of *“working in different field setting”* helped him gain more clarity and experience on how social work as a profession operates in these varied organisational and practice settings. These settings have varied roles and tasks as expected, so a social worker is required to undertake direct practice in administration and project development work, even training and programme management.

“After graduating in 2014, I joined DSWD around July or actually August. This is a good point because it is related to being IP. When I joined DSWD Caraga, I got assigned as community empowerment facilitator.”—Roll

Jay and Lin, Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers respectively, both expressed that they had different experiences from the rest of the participants as both started out in people’s organisations, a setting widely different from government organisations. They undertook direct practice and were also involved in advocacy work and project development and their orientation was not conventional as it was geared towards empowering, not palliative or residual approaches. The organisations had lower levels of hierarchy thus lessening bureaucratic process. Jay and Lin are directly connected to the grassroots communities where these peoples’ organisations are located and given their

autonomy; they can openly criticise the government. Jay worked previously with a church-based organisation focusing on organising the Indigenous Peoples'; now he is working in the academe. Lin, first worked with a peoples' organisation before transferring to a Mindanao-based NGO, working with Indigenous Peoples' communities.

Working beyond the expectations

Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers expressed that they go the extra mile in fulfilling their tasks and duties as social workers and that they work beyond what is written in their job descriptions in fulfilling the mandates of their respective organisations and out of personal commitment.

One participant named Rowie, who works in the government for the 4Ps programme said that this is *"not an 8-5 job"*. She explained that there are many instances when clients go to the staffhouse seeking help even as late as 9 in the evening and they cannot simply turn their backs, so they assist them.

Another participant Roll, an Indigenous social worker, stressed that everytime he encounters an Indigenous patient/s inside the hospital (his workplace) seeking help, he does everything to support the client. He makes it a point to explain the whole process and helps them walk through it--from finding resources, to enabling the client to access the much-needed medical services. Since most Indigenous patients live in remote areas, navigating the urban centre can be very confusing for them and this includes navigating public hospitals. According to Roll, if people living in the city are having a hard time understanding the bureaucratic process, how much more for an Indigenous patient who cannot read nor write. They find themselves easily confused with the instructions or directions within the hospitals and in many cases, because of the above cited limitations, are stigmatized for being illiterate and are often scolded in front of other people. Roll has witnessed many of these instances, that is why for him he made it a point to walk an extra mile to help Indigenous patients; he ensures that the patients do not leave the premises dissatisfied with the services or have not had their medical needs met.

"Personally, once I know that you are an IP, I will stick it out with you until you are fully satisfied. So, I make calls for outsourcing. I call Lingap to serve you." – Roll

Social workers in this kind of environment can sometimes struggle personally when faced with so many constraints, like fund constraints and bureaucratic hurdles. Such circumstance can be limiting too in the way they provide the kind of services that the clients must receive.

Contemporary social work practice challenges every social worker to demonstrate anti-oppressive values (Dominelli, 2002). “Going an extra mile” for clients means, social workers are compelled to perform an act of resistance in order to negotiate and cross institutional boundaries and limitations (Lefebvre, 2014) just to provide services which are deemed necessary for their clients. It is in this situation where social workers are confronted with ramifications whether social workers would challenge the structures or status quo by “*working beyond*” or choosing to stay silent or by not doing anything to change it. A challenge to social workers’ commitment to practice equity and diversity among this politicized landscape (Cocker & Hafford-Letchfield, 2014) is tackled everyday by every Filipino social worker.

Navigating the Contours of Helping Process

During the interviews, the participants elucidated how helping processes are undertaken in their respective field settings. They were able to share the seemingly tedious contours of the helping process, delivery of services while dealing with organisational constraints and resource limitations, at the same time. Despite this, they were still able to fulfil their functions, mobilise resources, deliver programmes and services in their area of practice.

The interview participants discussed how their respective organisations undertake the helping process. Many of them are involved with community organising work, while others provide casework and groupwork services and only one was employed with the academe. Most of the participants, were employed to deliver government programmes like the 4Ps and during interviews they provided the information on the services, programme criteria and retention guidelines. For example, in the interview with Mel, he explained how the 4Ps programmes had helped Indigenous communities to obtain legal documentation such as birth certificates and marriage certificates, as many of these Indigenous People’s do not possess this legal documentation. They do not possess these documents not because that they do not want to but because they have issues with access and availability of this basic service; thus, the code “*explicating the programme and services*”.

In Roll's experience, he stressed that due to limited resources, social workers like him find it challenging to properly assess the condition of his clientele, thus the code "*giving proper assessment*". He wants to ensure that the beneficiary is indeed deserving of the services provided, hence this is where "client assessment" is an essential skill that must take place during the helping process. Given the fact that Indigenous people are relegated to the margins, they need to meet eligibility requirements to receive these kinds of services in the first place. However, because of the 4Ps criteria, client assessment now becomes necessary to ensure that they are included in the list. For Roll when he mentioned "*I still would prioritize them because I know that they are the most marginalised*", it indicates that he understands the clients, where they come from and utilises empathy to tune in to client's needs and feelings during the assessment as emphasised by Shulman (2015).

When social workers do not have the commitment and capacity to face these tough situations, clients can be oppressed and discriminated against in the process of accessing these essential services. Sadly, it is happening on the ground, as pointed out clearly by Talaingod Leader, DK:

"They said that 4Ps is really for the poor but if we look at the situation in our community, the beneficiaries of the program comprised barely half of the total population and they told us that we were not qualified. How come we were not qualified when we were as poor, as those who were qualified. This is not fair, as there were others who never received anything."

With this arrangement, clients are then caught up in double jeopardy knowing that their poverty situation is brought about by structural inequalities. While trying to access welfare services, they are once again left out because of some "programme guidelines" and disputes about the anti-poverty goals. In the case of the Talaingod Manobos, according to DK, it caused further conflict and deliberately created division within the community resulting in the breakdown of Indigenous values and practice that refute collectivity, albeit slowly espousing individualist concepts.

With preference for generalist practice, Filipino social workers (Lee- Mendoza, 2008) are trained to analyse the micro-mezzo and macro levels of impact or the Person-in-Environment which provides a frame to examine the connection of the individual and their environment (Birkenmaier et al., 2014). However, the purpose of "*giving proper assessment*" can be defeated when political accommodation gets in the picture whereby certain local politicians may interfere, to accommodate requests from political supporters to favorably access services (Yu, 2014). A question which arises is what would it take for

social workers like Roll to decide who among his clients (especially among Indigenous Peoples) should be prioritised to access welfare, when confronted with these impediments? These are everyday predicaments confronting social workers knowing full well that the number of poor yet deserving Filipinos deserving these services is not decreasing. Many social workers like Roll have encountered various instances when political accommodation impedes the provision of services and erodes social worker's professional autonomy. This practice only works to accommodate individuals who happen to have close ties with local or even national politicians; thus, service provision and welfare assistance can be flawed with corrupt practices. This is very frustrating on the part of many social workers; hence in practice, it nullifies proper client assessment.

Social workers covered in the study undertake the helping process as many of them are direct service workers assigned in various field settings. Some undertake casework while others are engaged in community organising work and one is currently working in the academe. For the majority, they explained what is entailed in the delivery of 4Ps services to the remote areas, including the challenges and limitations they had encountered.

Summary

These social workers come from different backgrounds, histories and identities yet they interconnect in social work. They shared views, perspectives towards the profession, including the impediments and motivations to stay and finish the bachelor's degree. Their search for security and personal fulfilment led them to transfer from one field setting to another and at the same time, "put their best foot forward" to fulfil their duties and render the helping process. Their discussion informs us about the predicaments faced by many social workers as they perform their duties and functions including bureaucratic constraints, the absence of Indigenous social work and other forms of limitations which make delivery of welfare programmes extra challenging. The section discussed how social workers navigate the current welfare situation and arrangements, with an end goal to uplift the people from poverty situation. Unfortunately, however, these programmes and services are funded by the same institutions that hinder genuine development in the country.

Distinct Voices of Indigenous Social Workers

This section presents the voices of two Indigenous social workers and explores their distinct experiences as Indigenous practicing social workers. It highlights how they navigate the benefits and limitations of the Philippine welfare system and its continuing evolution; and lastly, as Indigenous how they are able to negotiate their Indigenous worldviews and values to a profession whose worldviews and approaches are deeply embedded with colonial influences.

Noting intersectionality of Discrimination

During the interview with Indigenous social worker participants, it was Roll who talked about having a personal experience of discrimination but for Jay he could not relate to it as he had not experienced it first-hand. However, he observed how discrimination occurred towards Indigenous People as it was always present- inside the schools, even inside government offices and within the society as a whole. In fact, Jay mentioned that his relatives and other family members had experienced it. Roll's experiences of discrimination are situated at the intersection of, being Indigenous, a member of the Matigsalug Tribe and being gay. According to Roll being gay in their community is not common:

"I also have to admit that I am gay which to the IPs is something rare. But I really have to say that I belong to the Third Sex. There is also discrimination in this aspect. And it dovetails into my being an IP. It gets integrated. --Roll

Roll is Matigsalug and there is much to know about the social construct and meanings, as well as historical reflection of how their community relates to gender and sexual variants in their communities. However, in the case of Aboriginal communities in Canada for example, it has been noted by Ristock et al., (2019) that the Christian dogma taught in residential schools systematically erased the proud "Two Spirit" (p.770) Aboriginal tradition of most Indigenous nations resulting in homophobia in contemporary settings. Roll's experience when he navigates the mainstream society tells us how challenging it is to be placed in his situation, as levels of discrimination unfold not once but twice for him, for being Indigenous and gay. The word challenging is an understatement to describe Roll's experience of living in a society where discrimination and homophobia exist; it is indeed difficult to imagine how he navigates these challenges. In addition, Roll said that whenever *"other students find out that you are Indigenous and you live in the far-flung areas, they*

cast aspersions about you, seeking to make you feel inferior". He recounted being teased and bullied (Interview transcript), thus he chose to isolate himself as a way of coping.

The code *"Like a third-class citizen"* aptly describes Jay's observations on how Indigenous Peoples are treated in our society like third class citizens. He mentioned that whenever Indigenous persons or "Lumad", go to a government agency, they are not easily accommodated or are made to feel inferior so they just have to patiently wait for the services which can be long before they are given attention or even left out because they cannot assert themselves due to feeling inferior. The code *"feeling inferior"* emerged when Roll revealed that he felt inferior when he was still studying, as Indigenous students are always at the receiving end because of bullying or teasing, as non-Indigenous have this connotation that being a "Lumad" or Indigenous connotes backwardness. In many instances such bullying has resulted to many Indigenous People concealing their identity (Breininger, 2010).

Tasks of being a (Indigenous) Social Worker

The code *"mobilising resources (for the IPs)"* emerged in the narratives as it became one of the tasks of Indigenous social workers. Upon witnessing discrimination against Indigenous Peoples and being aware of the availability and accessibility issues of basic services for the Indigenous communities, Indigenous social workers become innovative to make services accessible and available to Indigenous People communities. This is the same issue tackled by Jay when he worked with the NGO, where he organised Indigenous women in the community through the creation of *"Indigenous Health Workers"* as a counterpart to the government's *"Barangay Health Workers or BHWs"*. It has similar functions with BHWs, however, the main target is to gather documentation and intake sheets particularly on the health status of Indigenous community. The Indigenous Health Worker according to Jay can easily relate with the Indigenous communities for,

"she knows the culture and the language of their community and by doing so, she can easily document the health history. In that way it would be easy for a Medical Doctor to understand the Indigenous patient's health status since the documentation is already being provided and well-documented".

Meanwhile, Roll's experience tells us how he mobilised resources for an Indigenous patient inside the hospital, *"So, I make calls for outsourcing. I call Lingap (government centre) just to serve you..."*.

Another code that emerged under this theme was *“fulfilling facilitator’s role (IPs)”*. According to the participants, this role may not be difficult to undertake especially when they work with the Indigenous Peoples’ communities, as they themselves are also Indigenous. As mentioned by Jay, *“If I am placed among the IPs, I am more effective because I know their traits.”* They can facilitate services down to the community level knowing that they could easily relate to the circumstance of an Indigenous community, even though they do not exactly speak the same language; this is because they are familiar with their nuances, culture and their struggles. Thus, they could manage the task, unlike non-Indigenous social workers. It shows that Jay in his practice acknowledged the diversity, identity and culture of the Indigenous Peoples, (Weaver, 2016) something that every social worker must be reminded of in their engagement with and when designing and implementing services for the Indigenous Peoples’ communities.

Roll’s statement *“I am 100% indigenous by the way; they saw in me that I can facilitate the basic needs of people; IPs need representation”* is relevant because Indigenous Peoples really need representation within the welfare system, in order for them to be ensured that services and programs are allocated or distributed to their communities. This narrative elucidates that Indigenous voices are left in the margins and there is a gap in terms of practice in the Philippine welfare system.

The narratives shared by Jay and Roll challenge Philippine social work to recognise the importance of acknowledging Indigenous Peoples’ history and culture in the helping relationship. Otherwise, non-Indigenous social workers’ engagement with Indigenous Peoples can be reduced to an understanding that is “overly simplistic with either and/ or thinking” (Weaver, 2016, p. 61) or it may further existing biases that Indigenous Peoples are too dependent on the outsiders, when in fact, they are victims of decades of neglect and discrimination.

Another important task emerging under this term is for the Indigenous social worker to work for *“preserving the culture”*. The Indigenous social workers in this study observed that the culture being practiced by the mainstream society can erode their Indigenous traditions, indigenous ways and values once introduced into their respective Indigenous communities. This implies greater responsibility on Indigenous social workers to ensure that Indigenous cultures are being preserved. Jay asked significant questions for his fellow Indigenous social workers: *“Where are we now? What have we done for our tribe?”*,

because he has observed that once an Indigenous person is exposed to the city, he/she no longer wants to go back to his Ancestral land or to go back to his/her roots.

For Roll, the task of “*preserving the culture*” is very helpful in a way that social workers could mobilize the community knowing that the programs being introduced can contribute greatly to their community. He shared his personal experience when he consulted the Elders and Baylan, before the project was implemented in the community and a ritual was performed. Such gesture proved that he acknowledged the Indigenous traditions and helped preserve their Indigenous traditions. Through this, Indigenous Peoples will be motivated to participate when they know that their culture and values are acknowledged, upheld and protected.

Needing more Lumad Social Workers (Indigenous Social Workers)

Jay and Roll recognise the presence of non-Indigenous Peoples who are considered allies or advocates for Indigenous Peoples’ rights and they really want to see a significant increase in Indigenous Peoples pursuing social work as a profession. To them being Indigenous is a great advantage when working with Indigenous Peoples’ communities.

“For instance, if you conduct social preparation in the community for one program, in fairness to others, it would be easier if an IP social worker moves around there, connects with people, lives with them compared to a non-IP. That is what I see as a plus factor for me.”—Jay

For Jay, it would be easier for him to relate and integrate into an Indigenous community knowing that he himself is Indigenous. He has knowledge of Indigenous values and beliefs. He added that Indigenous social workers are also effective advocates for Indigenous rights. Furthermore, the same aspiration was also expressed by Indigenous social work student participants, who want to see an increase in Indigenous youth studying social work as their degree. They said that the initiatives from universities such as scholarships to study social work need to be widely disseminated among Indigenous communities across Mindanao, so that they too would be informed about this significant development. Roll, for example, was able to pursue social work because he was granted an educational assistance from the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples and from the local government of Davao. Unlike other scholarships, it does not cover 100% of the tuition and fees nor living allowances, he said.

Drawing out Personal Reflections

Roll and Jay said they had recognised how personal reflections in the course of practicing social work, prompted paradigm shifts in them and a change of attitudes as regards their personal biases. Critical reflective practice has impacted these changes where they reveal that their position and role as social workers in the course of practice, cultivate self-awareness—a manifestation of reflective engagement (Gray et al., 2016). The acknowledgment of personal values and biases is essential if social workers want their engagement to be empowering and transformational (Gray et al., 2016). For Jay, sharing his “anti-gay” bias had damaged certain relationships, for which he deeply criticised himself. For him, such bias contradicts social work values and philosophy, although he admitted that it took a while for him to overcome it:

“I have a little realisation about myself. That I am a little bit anti-gay. I trace it from a very strong macho image sometime ago. So I hold the same towards our friends and comrades who are gay, but they are actually victims also of the system. But there was really a time when I was like that.”

Roll’s experience was validated when he started working in the medical setting (hospitals) where he had this reflection witnessing how discrimination disadvantaged Indigenous Peoples when it came to accessing medical services inside the hospital. He admitted that many social workers assigned to this setting are biased in the sense of not favouring Indigenous Peoples, knowing that they have to travel far just to reach hospitals in the urban centres. Aside from that, many of these Indigenous Peoples cannot afford the cost of healthcare and have difficulty reading and writing. All these and their limited financial capacity expose them to feel inferior (Interview transcript) or “*feeling of inferiority exists*”. The code “*experiencing dilemma*” was also assigned to this narrative. At first, Roll said that he didn’t know if such bias against the Indigenous Peoples can be attributed to ethical dilemmas. Lastly, the code “*aspiring for empowering engagement*” emerged when both Roll and Jay realised how they aspired to see social work practice that is truly empowering. For them they have seen some practices or approaches that are not helpful for the Indigenous Peoples as they inculcate a sense of dependency like rationing of rice, sardines and noodles. This kind of practice is seen as a gap, as Roll said:

“The approaches, the ways should be able to make them realise that I should not imbibe dependency. That I can go beyond it. That once I am taught something, then I will teach the same to others. That is what we call empowerment.”

This kind of practice counters Indigenous values of sharing and communal life. If this kind of approach is highly prevalent, it teaches the marginalised populations to depend, to submit themselves to the authorities, to be at the receiving end of this temporary relief.

Summary

The section presented the distinct experiences of what it is like to be both Indigenous and a social worker, caught in a profession whose worldviews, theories and concepts are embedded in the West in contrast to one's own worldviews, values and beliefs. Despite such stark contrasts, the participants identified common grounds for pursuing the practice of social work and ensuring that their roles and positions put forward the voices and legitimate demands of Indigenous Peoples in the profession. The deprivation of access to services as experienced by Indigenous communities, speaks largely about the impact of discrimination and marginalisation. Indigenous social workers face immense task of ensuring that services and programmes are being facilitated to many Indigenous Peoples' communities; however, this remains problematic. The findings of this section call for an empowering engagement and critical reflective practice to change the attitudes and perspectives of social workers. Indigenous knowledge in social work particularly on the integration of their indigenous knowledge in social work practices (e.g. service delivery, implementation of development programmes) must be observed and implemented.

Distinct Voices of Indigenous Social Work Students

This section presents the voices of Indigenous students studying social work and Indigenous social workers who reflected on their experiences as students, examining their perspectives, motivations and aspirations for becoming Indigenous social workers one day. The responses of social work students that were similar to Indigenous social workers were included above. This section identifies the distinct nature of Indigenous voices. They also talked about the challenges and limitations of being Indigenous persons pursuing social work at the time of this study. The Indigenous social work students were in the third year of their four-year degree.

Pursuing a Social Work Degree

One of the many limitations of being Indigenous in colonised societies is being borne with limited opportunities particularly when it comes to education in mainstream society. Often these limitations in terms of education are in relation to accessibility, quality and availability (Tomasevski, 2001). This was emphasised during the interviews with Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work students who reported that they had encountered prejudice with regard to career aspirations, having been given limited information on possible professions and university programmes they could study. They noted that what befall many Indigenous students are choices or options within the context of availability and practicality. Professions considered by the family to be affordable and ones that could offer them good job prospects immediately are the careers considered so as not to cause more financial burden to their families. These options are frequently in relation to public-school teaching or the military, Aina commented:

“People living in upland areas have limited knowledge about different courses offered in schools. People know only teaching or joining the army but SW is not known to us (pag naa kas bukid, limited lang na imung huna huna. Ang mahibal an kay maestra, sundalo, pero kini SW dili kaayo well known).”

This observation holds true for Aina, who is an Indigenous social work student. She also observed that remote communities have been neglected in terms of providing services; their options and opportunities are limited.

The motivation of the participants in relation to their decision to undertake social work as a profession emanated from significant others who had made an impact on their lives or who financed their education. In the case of Aliyah, it was her father who worked as community organiser with an NGO who influenced her to take up social work. She mentioned that the degree was introduced to her when she was still in high school, although she expressed that when she was in grade school her first choice was to become a nurse. She experienced organising the Indigenous Peoples’ communities when she volunteered to work with her father’s organisation one summer. She mentioned:

“When I was on my 4th year level, it was the most in demand course at that time but then I realised that I wanted to take up social work course since I was also a volunteer in my father’s organisation (pagabot nako sa high school 4th year saka pa nako narealize na magsocial work kay gavolunteer man pod ko sa trabahoan ni papa).”

For Aina, her experience was different because she took up social work a little later when she was already married. She went back to college because her husband did not want her to go back to work overseas. Aina used to work as an overseas Filipino worker prior to returning to university. She said that her exposure to their local organisations had led her to develop her passion to help other people. She also shared that she learned about social work from her husband's cousin who was a social worker in the city at that time. It was through him that she learned about the profession. Another Indigenous social work student, Chai, mentioned that she heard about it through her cousin, who is a social worker and from a family acquaintance-neighbour who headed the district office of the Local Social Welfare Office at that time, who influenced her to take up social work.

It was easy for them to like the course because of the helping and caring aspect, as they are things they could relate to. The code *"helping is a norm"* also emerged among these participants, aside from Talaingod Manobo leaders and Indigenous social worker participants. It is the helping aspect of the profession that also resonates with their Indigenous values and beliefs. Chai and Aina emphasised:

"I realised SW is really a great course. Aside from the fact that I get to help others, I am also able to help other people of my own tribe. My father told me that whatever happens, we will go back to our roots and that I should take up a course that will enable me to help our brethren regardless of the money (na realize nako na nindot diay ang SW. Kay, aside sa okay sya, naka tabang pud ko sa akong mga tribu. Kay ingon diay sa akong papa sa una na "magkinaunsa, mubalik jud ta sa atong tribu". Mao na akong papa pud isa sa nakamotivate na among kurso is kanang dili lang pang pa datu)." -- Chai

"I believe getting a degree is one way for me to help others and show them that life is different if you are educated. They do not realise the value of education and I want to be a role model for them (Usa na ni ka pamaagi nga makatabang ko sa akong kaubanan at least kung makatabang ko. Usa ni ka tabang na mapakita nako sa kaubanan kung unsa tong kalahian sa naay nahuman or naka skwela og katong wala naka skwela. Bisan pag dili nako isulti nga mao ni ang kalahian, at sila mismo, makita nila na example or maging model ko sa ila)." --Aina

The narratives shared above show why many Indigenous participants in this study could fully relate to the values of the profession because helping and looking after the welfare of others come naturally for them being Indigenous. It demonstrated how their lives and identity were shaped and moulded as helping is an act which they value the most and this is something where they have found in social work.

Struggling to Continue in a Social Work Degree Program

Among the social worker respondents, the Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work students were the ones who placed a strong emphasis on their struggles to continue in the social work degree programs. They said that they were struggling to continue the degree due to financial challenges aside from passing the essential course requirements of the degree and overcoming discrimination while at school.

“That was why I tried hardest. My financial struggles were how to pay tuition, the boarding house. I needed to work in order to sustain my board. I had to do my best because I wanted it in the first place. Out of 6 siblings, I am the only one who has a degree.”—Roll

Roll as an Indigenous social worker, shared how he struggled to address the difficulties to fulfill his studies as a student. His parents could not support his studies, so he had to support himself. He did not want to end up like his siblings or many young Indigenous in their community who had not obtained a college/university degree. So, during classes he tried as much as possible to participate in the discussion because he really wanted to excel. Just like Roll’s circumstance, Chai expressed the need to finish the degree knowing that among her other seven siblings, she was the only one who pursued social work, while the rest married at an early age. She confided that they struggled financially in order to stay in school. In fact, her older sister used to go to school but had to stop because of financial struggles.

For Aliyah, her difficulty stemmed from dealing with English, as it is her fourth language, being fluent in Visaya and Tagalog and the “Manobo” language. She also mentioned that she had a hard time dealing with social work jargon particularly with the subject “Social Work and Social Environment”.

“Before I had difficulties in terms of my subjects and in dealing with social work jargons and the English language so what I did was to ask my classmates just to cope with the lessons and understand the subjects in the class (maglisod jud ko adjust tapos, sa kurso usahay maglisod magsabot ug mga lalom na mga English na mga jargons so mao to mangutana nalang para makasabot).”--Aliyah

Aliyah mentioned that she relied on her classmates to help her cope with the subjects and they were extremely helpful; otherwise, it would have been especially difficult for her to stay in the degree.

Varied Realisations while Pursuing the Degree

During the interviews, Indigenous students shared their realisations that while pursuing the degree, they encountered challenges, but they looked forward to becoming a registered social worker one day. The codes *“having a lot of learnings”*, *“sharing similarities with Indigenous Peoples”*, *“allowing to engage with fellow IPs”* were the codes that emerged from the narratives of the participants. The code *“having a lot of learnings”* emanated from their realisation of learning that social work as a profession goes beyond what they usually see many times on television or what is observed from the ground of doing the traditional “relief and goods distribution”. This realisation led them to know that it takes ethics, values, theories and science when helping and rendering service aside from one’s humanistic point of view.

For the code *“chance to engage with fellow IPs”*, the participants cited that the course allowed them to engage with their fellow Lumads or IPs regardless of money. For Chai, as long as he was able to help others, it was all right because this is what the degree or the profession is all about. Chai stressed that it was her father who reminded her to go back to her roots, hence she pursued social work. She said:

“I should take up a course that will enable me to help our brethren regardless of the money. That it’s not just for the money or for our self but for the people of the same tribe (among kurso is kanang dili lang pang pa datu, pangkaugalingon namo, kundi para sa among mga katribo).”

The code *“sharing similarities with Indigenous Peoples”*, emerged as the participants shared the same realisations when they got to know deeply the values, ethics and methods of social work. Aliyah for one, likened their Indigenous practice of *“husay”* as the same as social work counselling, where the members of the community approach their *Datu* or Tribal Council to give advice on how to resolve personal matters or issues affecting one another. Both social work and Indigenous values care for the welfare of others. Aliyah also mentioned that social work emphasizes the importance of every individual as part of the greater system which is similar to their Indigenous outlook:

“I would like to relate it to social work. When there is calamity, all people will be affected since we are part of the greater environment (gusto pud nako nga erelate nako siya sa social work. Diba pag naay mahitabo sa nature maapektuhan majud ang tao apil man siya sa environment mao to).”

Observing Poor Treatment of Indigenous Peoples

During interviews, Indigenous student participants such as Chai and Aliyah shared that while pursuing their education in the urban area, they never personally experienced discrimination. They observed and witnessed many of their non-Indigenous classmates berate Indigenous Peoples as ignorant or label them second-class citizens of this country. The code “*being the object of derision*” emerged when the participants noticed how non-Indigenous People made fun of the Indigenous People. In fact even the word “*Lumad*” was used as a source of joke or laughter among their classmates while the phrase “*mura man kag Lumad!*” (*you’re just like an Indigenous*) is an expression used by many non-Indigenous which connotes someone who has poor comprehension, or too ignorant or too naïve. This offended Chai and Aliyah, though it was not directed at them. The phrase attacked their Indigenous identity. Hearing these phrases according to them would impact on their sense of confidence and esteem, as it questions their capacity and right to live in the society. At the outset, such phrases would appear like a “joke” or seemingly harmless form of fun. However, for the recipients, such treatment displays how some non-Indigenous Peoples’ manifest their prejudice against the Indigenous People. This manifestation of structural discrimination impacts the Indigenous Peoples, and it shows how these prejudices are still prevalent even to this day. The same observation was also stressed by Alamon (2017).

“I did not personally experience being discriminated as a lumad but they would joke around about someone who’d look like an “ata”. Since I am around with the group, though it’s not directly on me but I would tell them not to joke about it because I am also a lumad (Ang ako lang is kanang wala man, pero naa gud ko sa, halimbawa, naa ko sulod sa grupo, nagstorya tapos magsinungogay og “mura man kag ata”. Dili man ako ang punterya, pero murag ako na pud gud kay natural, lumad gud ko. Ginabadlong nako “ayaw mo pag ana, huna hunaa ba lumad gud pud ko).” --Chai

However, as observed by Aina, another side of this derision can be “red-tagging” i.e. identifying someone as leftist. She noted “*But in school, yes, there is discrimination. Some of them would generalize lumad as ignorant or leftist (Kasagaran kanang muingon sila nga basta lumad, taga bukid ang uban nag ingon sila nga mga leftist. Para sa mga ingana, kaluluoy na sila, mga ignorante)*”. This is indeed true, particularly to those Indigenous Peoples like the Talaingod Manobo leaders who have learned to defend their Ancestral lands and asserted their right to self-determination. Indigenous leaders then are being tagged as “rebels” or their right to self-determination is downplayed as merely

“brainwashed by the left”. This statement implies that these Indigenous leaders are considered incapable of deciding on their own and asserting their rights. This dichotomy downplays their Indigenous agency; at the same time, is taken advantage by the military to pursue their militarist agenda that aims to discredit Indigenous Peoples’ claims over their land. This manner of treatment towards the Indigenous Peoples relegates them to a lower position as if they do not have the capacity to decide and fight for their rights. This manner of treatment was also noted by Imbong (2019). However, all of the participants said they felt bad whenever Indigenous people were treated this way:

“At first, I really got emotional. There was one time when we had a debate about Bagobo being so untidy and everyone in the class saw how I reacted. My professor gave me a chance to speak for my side. I told them not to generalize all lumad because some are already civilised. “Before we were living in upland areas but now, we are in the cities. There are also lumad who are now professionals and we are not different from other culture, we also have a heart and I am hurt (At first maam, murag kanang madala gyud ka sa imong emosyon, masuko jud ka. Naa one-time naka encounter jud ko, naka tubag jud ko. Asta ang teacher namo nakakita sa Philosophy na klase. Classmate nako, naka witness jud sya sa pagsaka sa akong emosyon. Naa mi mga debate ba na, ana sya ah, kanang mga Bagobo, mga damak mana, so nikaun ko ato akong huna huna, ingon ko ayaw og ingon ana kay dili tanan. Kung sauna ang mga bagobo dili kabalo magtsinelas, karon kabalo na mi. Kung sauna naa mis lasang, karon naa mis patag. Murag ana, nitaas ako tingog. Mao to gisulti nako sa ilaha nga dili tanan, kung sauna, ignorante pa mi, karon ingon ko, dili na ingana kay nasayud mo daghan pud baya IPS na naging professional na. Tapos wala man tay kalahian, kung kamo naa kasing kasing masakitan, kami naa pud ana).”--Aina

Citing Impact of Assimilation

The participants mentioned that prior to pursuing their social work degree, all of them lived far from the heart of the city where there were no local colleges or universities. They were required to leave their communities to pursue their education. Aliyah for example, noted how different life is when you are in the city. She commented that she often experienced what we call “culture shock” as for her everything seemed new during the first months of living the urban life. In fact, according to her, even those non-Indigenous people who are not used to the city life would also feel the same way like her. However, she was also quick to observe that in their village, traces of urban lifestyle had slowly influenced young generations of Indigenous Peoples and she is quite afraid that embracing the culture of modern society would largely impact their Indigenous communities. Aliyah mentioned that such observation was also shared by their local leaders:

“Our leaders talked about the issues pertaining to our culture and commented that our youth are slowly embracing the culture of modern society (gatapok man gud sila nga lumad na leaders ginastoryahan nila ang mga issue didto. Nagkadugay ang mga batan-on na lumad kay nagkamodern na daw).”

Chai noted that their Elders used to forbid community members from going to the city because once they tried living in the city their attitude would also change. She cited for example that young women get pregnant and they would elope eventually. She said:

“The culture of lumad is slowly diminished or forgotten once they step foot on the city; their attitudes also change (Nawala na ang kultura sa lumad. Kay kuan gani, pag abot sa syudad, malahi na ang kuan ang batasan)”

Chai also noted witnessing the number of Indigenous People going to the city to beg for food, especially during Christmas season. For her, the act of begging subjects many Indigenous People to further discrimination. However, according to her such actions are a result of being exposed to city life resulting in their culture that is slowly diminished. She still wonders what could have happened to her fellow Indigenous that they have made such decisions.

“Then all of a sudden, I saw a relative begging in the city during Christmas season; that’s why I rebuked and reminded them that it is not our culture to beg but help/give instead. Why are we asking for something? I sometimes get hurt whenever I get to see lumad asking for something because I know that we are rich, we have our Ancestral domain. We even have wild animals living in our areas...If we show that we are like that, as if we are miserable, then more people will discriminate us. We are rich because we own the entire Marilog (Nya makaingon ko sa mga, mga mismo iyaan nako ba mamasko na sa ila. Muana ko, te dili ta mag kuan kay ang atong kultura ba, manghinatagun. Dili kita ang gapangayo. Kay kana laging mangayo sa kuan, mga tao ana, mas masakitan ko kay kita man, datu man ta. Ngano man ta mangayo? Naa man tay Ancestral domain. Kuan man, abunda, maka kita pa gani kag wild boar diha, mga usa, mga unggoy dha unsay makita nimu. Pero ipakita namo, the more ta I discriminate kung ipakita nato nga luoy ta, kung ipakita nato nga mangayo lang ta, nga ang tinuod nga kitay lumad. Kitay tag iya anang Marilog nga bugnaw kayo).” --Chai

Noting Gaps in Social Work Education and Practice

As social work students, they have observed how social work is taught inside the classroom; they are taught about various groups and sectors. However, class discussions seldom focus on the plight of Indigenous Peoples. Chai’s experience was that discussion of Indigenous society only happened whenever she initiated the discussion. But for Aina, the experience was quite an emotional moment for her. They were having a debate inside

the classroom when a classmate made a sweeping generalisation that the Bagobo or Manobo are untidy and viewed their culture negatively. It was only then that the whole class discussed Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Peoples' rights. Aliyah mentioned that she did not participate in any discussion about Indigenous people in class because the focus of the discussion highlighted the urban poor communities. At this juncture, she pointed out the gaps of social work education. Among them was that many of the practice-based examples, theories and exposures missed out on Indigenous Peoples' engagement. She claimed.

"As of now I did not encounter SW among the IPs because usually it is about the urban poor areas.... It is very broad; saying that we have to be culturally sensitive but never saw any evidence in terms of how to deal with lumad (So far ma'am wala paman jud ko naka encounter diri sa SW sa lumad usually kay sa urban poor.... Broad lang na dapat cultural sensitive ka pero kung lalom na ingon ana ka dapat sa lumad wala)."

Aliyah commented on this gap and that many of her classmates had not had any encounters with Indigenous Peoples nor knew how to respond to them appropriately. She was afraid that they might do harm in engaging with Indigenous Peoples because of this knowledge gap. Chai recommended that there should be a special subject intended for the Indigenous Peoples, so that social work students will have a knowledge of Indigenous culture, correct handling or engagement with the Indigenous communities should they be assigned to such areas in the future.

"I would suggest that they should have a special team or special course or subject for IP. Unlike PWD, lumad is composed of children and elders with different needs. This should be done so that the students who are ignorant, even student Social workers, who do not know anything about lumad would have an idea about its culture. They'd know how to deal with the lumad if ever they are assigned to such areas (Naa pud syay mga special team or special course or subject ba kay kaning dili lang man gud pareha sa PWD nga ingana ra ang uban need nila. Lumad is composed of mga bata, tanan mga igulang. Naa pud sila'y kung unsa tong mga needs nila ba. Kanang unsa man ilang mga needs, unsa to ilang mga kultura. Para pud katong mga daghan estudyante na ignorante, even mga SW, ignorante sa Lumad. At least, ining abot nila sa community, dili na sila ignorante. Kabalo sila unsa tong mga pamaagi sa paglambigit sa mga lumad)."-- Chai

Another code that emerged during the participants' interviews was "*Observations of non-Indigenous social workers' attitude*". This code is in relation to how non-Indigenous social workers presented themselves working with Indigenous Peoples. Aina, noted the feedback that she had gathered from the members of her community that the social workers assigned in their area were strict and would even shout at them. Further, she also

observed that what is being done in actual practice is in contrast to what is written in the social work texts. In fact, many of the practitioners are not aware or lack the knowledge about Indigenous Peoples and their diverse culture. She said:

“Example in one of our experiences especially with 4ps. Common feedback is SW are strict and would even shout at them. I usually just let it pass when I heard the same feedback before. But when I learned about the Orange book, (Thelma Lee-Mendoza, Social Work and Social Welfare book) I began to question the way they handle lumads. Some of the social workers are insensitive. They should be more sensitive (to their feelings) and should be true to their words. Based on our example, usually those who have been assigned here speak vulgar language like they keep on saying that we are dirty, that we don’t have proper hygiene. We don’t know why they said it. (Halimbawa usa sa among experience didto labi na karon sa 4ps. Kanang ginatwag nilag ML, mga SW mana, kasagaran feedback ana kay stikta daw kaayo, nya singka singkahan daw sila. Sauna makadungog ko ana, murag wala na sa ako, since naka skwela kog SW, naka basa ko sa Orange book bahin sa mga ethics sa SW, nakaingon kog ingana ba ang SW. Mao to siguro, more on, naa na man sa libro ang atong dapat buhaton pero kasagaran sa atong mga SW karon, labi na sa bukid, murag dili sila sensitive para ana)” -- Aina

The same observation was also made by Chai and she expressed hope that non-Indigenous social workers will be more culturally sensitive in their practice. Please note that students tend to refer to locally authored social work texts by its cover colour, in this case the Orange book here refers to Thelma Lee-Mendoza’s “Social Welfare and Social Work” book.

Emphasising Importance of Indigenous Practice in Social Work

All of the Indigenous social work student participants expressed that an Indigenous practice in social work can be truly empowering for the “Lumad” or Indigenous Peoples communities as it breaks biases and prejudices from structural discrimination and places Indigenous issues and agenda at the heart of social work practice. For these Indigenous social work student participants, they have seen the importance of guiding both Indigenous social workers and non-Indigenous social workers to engage with Indigenous Peoples appropriately as they are taught about diversity and cultural respect, as emphasised by Aliyah in one of our interviews:

“Not only lip-service. When we say IP, we should respect their culture. We should understand deeply their customs and tradition (Dili lang tapsing. Kung muingon ka lumad respeto ka sa ilang culture. Dapat palaluman ang pag-ila-ila sa lumad kanang murag makihalobilo).”

Aliyah also stated that respecting Indigenous culture is one of the important values that every social worker should hold and must consciously utilise during practice. Aina,

expressed the importance of cultural sensitivity because engagement with Indigenous communities will be easier if social workers have a better understanding of Indigenous culture. This kind of social work practice can be an empowering practice for Indigenous Peoples as they will benefit from social work practice that recognises Indigenous beliefs and practice such as seeking the wisdom of the elders. This contributes to a better understanding of their diverse needs and circumstance.

Summary

The above section presented the voices of Indigenous social work students and their distinct struggles and experiences while pursuing the degree like having some difficulty in adjusting to the lifestyle and culture of city life. The participants noted how the influences of modern society threaten Indigenous culture and values among younger generation. They also mentioned that they have witnessed first-hand the discrimination against the Indigenous Peoples. Despite their struggles and challenges, they saw how social work can be relevant and respectful to Indigenous Peoples. These Indigenous social work students offered a suggestion to develop a special subject intended for the Indigenous People. They talked about the absence of Indigenous social work and such absence speaks largely on where Indigenous Peoples should be located in social work and social welfare discourses. As such, they recommended to incorporate Indigenous knowledge in practice to allow social workers not just to learn about the history and context but to walk alongside with the people they serve.

Distinct Voices of non-Indigenous Social Workers

This section presents the voices of non-Indigenous social workers as they pursue the profession and engage with Indigenous Peoples communities and how they navigate the welfare system in order to deliver services despite many impediments. Their challenges, lessons learned and aspirations for social work are also discussed.

Noting Varying Observations of Indigenous Peoples

The non-Indigenous social work participants spoke of how they experienced their first encounter with Indigenous people when they were assigned as social workers in Indigenous Peoples' communities. They said they had expectations about the community and the people aside from the nature of their work. They knew that the physical location

would be challenging as many of these communities are found in remote areas. Aside from access, issues pertaining to security remain inevitable.

“My experience with the Lumad was challenging since I was taken out of my comfort zone. There were no comfort rooms; I had to dig holes to relieve myself. (Experience nako sa Lumad, challenging sya kay mawala jud ka sa imong comfort zone. CR kinahanglan ka magkalot).”—Lin

“The first time we went there, we took a dump truck. It was very tiring because the road was rough, muddy and it was not easy (sakay mig dump truck sa dump truck. Perti jud kapoya.. perti jud kapoya sa dump truck kay kanang bato, ana, lisod jud kayo ang dalan).”—Mel

For Lin, a non-Indigenous social worker working in NGO, her observations were Indigenous Peoples are always helpful, always ready to assist you and always make you feel welcome and accepted:

“When we are in the area, the community is aware that we come from the city, so they really assist us in carrying our things. They are always there watching our backs, ready to assist us. When you are already known to the community, they will embrace you each time they see you. They will really approach you. That is something I would never forget in my integration with the Lumad (Kanang muadto mi sa area, kabalo man sila nga gikan mi sa syudad, dili gyud mi nila pasagdan in terms sa paghakot sa mga gamit. Naa gyud sila pirmi sa imong likod aron mu-alalay. Unya kung mailhan na ka sa community, muhangop jud sila. Muduol jud sila, kana ang dili nako malimtan sa pakiglambigit nako sa Lumad).”—Lin

Kan, a non-Indigenous social worker working in the government, observed how the Indigenous People live a simple lifestyle. He said that they are self-sustaining though “primitive” and always contented. He further commented that they save sacks of rice for consumption of the community instead of selling it.

“I have also witnessed the simplicity in the way they live—their contentment. (Akong nakita pud is sa simplicity sa ilang kinabuhi, kanang contented pud sila).”— Kan

But for Mel, another non-Indigenous social worker working in the government, he noted how Indigenous People consider themselves second-class citizens. They possess this “*I am just a Lumad mentality*”, a form of oppression so internalised, an impact of marginalisation and neglect, as pointed out by Dominelli (2002).

“In terms of working with the lumad, I make them feel that being Indigenous is not a hindrance because they consider themselves second-class citizens and they have this “I am just a lumad or ata” mentality. So we always tell them not to look at themselves as lower- citizens of the society but to take pride in

themselves and who they are (In terms sa akoang pag panarbaho kauban sa ilang, kanang ipafeel nako sa ila ba nga kanang dili, dili babag ang ilang...kay gamay man gud kayo tanaw nila sa ilng kaugalingon, na "lumad raman ko sir...ata ra man ko",ana gud. So gina ingon jud namo sa ila na "dili nato tanawon kun unsa ta". Dili nato tanawon ang atong kaugalingon og ubos kayo. Dili tanawon ang kaugalingon nga ubos ta. Kung unsa naa sa atoa, dawaton kay mao mana)." --Mel

For Rowie, her observations were that Indigenous Peoples are illiterate and could be easily convinced, and as such they *"are used by the activists in joining protest rallies"*. She further said that Indigenous Peoples join these rallies because they receive food and money from the left organisations.

"I pity them for having no options... There are a lot of activists from Davao there. I pity the lumad, aside from their being illiterate, they are easily convinced. That's one of the reasons that would dishearten a worker (daghan jud baya nagasaka didto ba, usually mga aktibista, taga Davao. Naa man gani taga diri sa inyo. So luoy jud kayo ang mga lumad, gawas lage sa katong tungod kay illiterate sila ,dali ra sila mahaylo pud. So mao na isa pud na sya sa hinungdan na makasakit pud sa kasing kasing as a worker)." --Rowie

Realising the Importance of Diversity and Self-determination

During the interviews, the participants recalled many lessons learned during their early period of engagement with the Indigenous Peoples' communities. This experience was fulfilling, and they continue to learn and evolve in the profession. They recalled that they had no prior knowledge, background nor exposure to Indigenous culture when they were still in the university and identified this as a gap in the curriculum. Their direct practice experience was with different sectors but not with the Indigenous Peoples' communities.

"I did not have any knowledge or idea about their culture when I first arrived in the area. I eventually learned and understood their culture and practices like there are things that are forbidden, and there are things that are allowed. I just learned it everytime I visited their place. I learned all these from my co-workers but not from the agency. Before we would go to the place, the previous workers would give us orientation about their culture, about the dos and don'ts like you are not allowed to stare at them and you cannot ask them questions (lumad) directly (First, pag abot namo sa kanang tawag ana, pag abot sa lugar is, wala jud ko kahibalo kung unsa diay na ilang....kanang naa diay silay ingani na kuan ba, naa diay ingani na Kultura nila, naa diay dapat ingani, di pede ingani. So didto rapud ko nakabalo nadugay nga niabot ko ana nga lugar nga ing ani diay ni sila. Dili gkan sa agency, didto ra jud ko nakatuon og sa akong sa mga kauban. Kay usahay, pag bago ko, bago mi musaka didto, I orient mi daan sa mga tong una pud naka kuan pud didto, na bawal ani, ing ana, bawal tutukan. Tapos kanang dili sila, kanang tawag ana...kay ila man gud, pag manguatana ka sa ila, manguatana ka sa ilang kauaban. Dili sa ila, kay mao jud ang ilang kultura, kay kung sya ang imung pangutan on,dili

sya ang mutabg kun dili ang naa sa iyang kauban sa likod, kauban sa likod).”—Mel

“In Talaingod, their houses are built on top of the hills. If you take a bath, you have to go down the hill to get to the water source. It was very challenging; you could slide down the hill because of the difficult terrain. But I was also very happy because it was my first time to integrate with the Lumad. It was really different from our work here in the city. Before we go to the Lumad area, we are given an orientation like when I was still an intern of SAGIP. We were told that if we are invited to eat, we should not refuse because they will take it as an insult if you refuse to eat. You should also be aware that they are not particular with hygiene, so you should prepare yourself for this and not be fussy about it. (Sa Talaingod, sa buntod jud ilang mga balay. Kung maligo ka, adto jud ka sa pinakalugot. Challenging jud sya, maka ligid2x jud ka ba. Pero nalipay pud ko kay first time nako mag Lumad work. Lahi ra jud sya sa nasa syudad na trabaho. Before mi mag adto sa area, like tong intern pa ko sa SAGIP, naa juy orientation unsaon ng.. kung agnihon ka mukaon, dapat mukaon jud ka ky insulto na sa ilaha kung dili ka mukaon. Tapos dapat aware ka nga.. sa hisgutanang hygiene naa man silay problema ana so dapat dili ka mag inarte).”—Lin

“In my work, I was not able to study or read on IP culture. I found a book about IPs, but it was so expensive. I was first looking for a dictionary or book on their dialect/language because I could not understand it... Unfortunately, I wasn't able to learn it despite the years I worked there (Sa work, wala ko naka study o nakabasa. Naay libro on IP pero mahal man kaayo. Akong una gipangita kay dictionary sa inistoryahan nila kay dili kaayo nako makuha... Unfortunately, wala jud ko nakatuon bisan sa kadugay nako).”—Kan

It should be noted that it took the social workers time to adjust to this particular setting. Though they had been in this field assignment for a minimum of three years, many of them said that they were still learning to understand the Indigenous culture, belief and history. In fact, during this period (three years at the minimum) of working with Indigenous communities, the participants said they were still trying to fully understand the sensitivities and to be more conscious in showing respect and solidarity with the community. The codes that emerged were “*observing self-determination*”, “*recognising diversity*” and “*recognising cultural sensitivity*”.

The code, “*observing self-determination*”, holds true to Lin and Kan when they recognised that even though the “*Lumad*” may not have gone to school, it does not mean that the social workers should impose their own will and decisions on the community. Lin and Kan recognised Indigenous Peoples’ sense of worth and acknowledged their capacity to choose and to decide for themselves and for the community. They also acknowledged that whatever decisions the community has made, should be respected by the social worker, just as working together with the Indigenous People has guided and assisted their practice. This kind of practice gives emphasis to community participation.

“So, I made it interactive. I told them it doesn’t mean that since I am the municipal link, I am already the expert. I absolutely consider their experiences. They are the first teachers especially to their children. It is where they are building their sense of accomplishment (Ako lang pud gi kuan nga interactive pud. Akong giingon sa ila nga dili pasabot ako ang municipal link, ako na ang hawd. So ang mga experience nila, iconsider gyud nako na sila. Sila ang first teacher labi na sa ilang mga anak. Didto sila naga build og sense of... kanang naa gyud silay nahimo gyud).” --Kan

“Until now, the IPs continue to make efforts to develop their community (Hantud karon nagapaningkamot man jud ang IP na mulambo sila).” -- Lin

The code, *“recognising diversity”*, was when participants recognised the diversity of Indigenous community and non-Indigenous communities—diversity, in terms of beliefs, practices and way of life. For Mel, his experience allowed him to recognise and respect Indigenous Peoples’ beliefs on deities and spirits, and he said that this belief is different from “religion”. He noted that this belief can be traced back to their ancestors. Even though Mel has different practices and belief from those of the Indigenous, he stressed that this engagement, requires respect and sensitivity for social workers. Kan shared a different conflict resolution process in Indigenous communities and its central role to maintain peace in the community, wherein it involves a shared sense of leadership to come up with a collective resolution to ensure that tensions and conflict at the community level are resolved reasonably.

“If you ask them why they believe in “diwata” (dieties), you must respect it. We recognise and respect their beliefs. (Kung muuingon ka nga kanang nagtuo og diwata, na pay mga diwata, diwata didto, nya ginaingnan nimu..nganon imu manang giingon ana? ato jud ng...gina respeto jud na namo).”—Mel

Aside from what has been mentioned above pertaining to diversity and self-determination, the participants also emphasised how important it is for social workers to recognise and observe cultural beliefs and practices of the Talaingod Manobos. Thus, the code, *“recognising cultural sensitivity”*, emerged. According to Lin, whenever she organises social work students for field practice experience, she ensures that a proper orientation takes place so that the students know what to expect, how to behave and how to interact with Indigenous Peoples given the difference in language and cultural practice. In short, the students must be respectful and practice cultural sensitivity. Lin also emphasised:

“You should be careful with your language when you are in the community. Swearing and actions that ridicule are not acceptable (Kato

lang mga istorya nga di maayo, magmatngon jud. Kanang mamalikas sulod sa community. Pagbiay-biay nila, bawal jud na)."

While for Mel, he sought the guidance of the local leaders or "*Datu*" to guide his actions and words:

"I became conscious with my choice of words. I always think first before I would say anything to them because it might hurt or intimidate them. Sometimes I would ask their datu or tribal chieftain if we can say this or not. Their datu would also give us some advice on what is appropriate for them (kanang conscious ko sa akong mga ginapangistorya. Murag dili ko, dili diay nako gina istorya. Ako sa huna hunaon daan, basin makuan sila, malain sila kung ingani akong istorya. Usahay, mangutana pud mi sa mga datu. Kanang ilang mga tribal leader kung pede ba ni...pede ba ni nato ingon sa ila or dili...nya storayhan pud mi sa mga datu kung unsay buhaton namo. So naga guide pud sila)."

Identifying Gaps in Welfare Programs

During their engagement with Indigenous Peoples' communities, the participants shared their learning pertaining to gaps in social work education and practice that they had observed while doing their engagement.

"...it seems that it is less discussed in school, because the sectors commonly studied are the elderly, children, women and urban poor. Rural poor is discussed but not so much on IP. That is why I took it as a challenge and I became interested in the outcome of this endeavor (...Murag less sya mahisgutan sa eskwela, kay kasagaran sector na hisgutan sa pagstudy, mas elderly, bata, babae ug urban poor. Mahisgutan ang rural (poor) pero wala kaayo IP. Mao akong gi-take nga challenging sya, unsa kaha ang magiging outcome)." -- Kan

"It not easy because these were not taught in school...for me, it would be hard (to implement) if it (programme) deviates from their culture. We find ways to work with their needs and ask them if this (programme) will help them or if it aligns with their culture (Kay lisod man gud, ana sila, lisod man gud maabot mo diha nya wala baya nato na natun an didto sa skwelahan... kabahin sa ako a kay lisod kayo kung dili nato sila sabayan sa ilahang kanang kultura. Kay ilaha na man gud ng kultura. Gina paningkamutan namo kung unsa ilang gusto, ginapangutana namo na sila "kung mayo ba ni para sa inyo, naga subay ba mi sa inyong kultura or wala?")."—Mel

These observations were pointed out by the participants, who recognised that social work as a helping practice is ever evolving and transforming, meaning there is always that space for growth and room for improvement to the profession's relevance and to connect it particularly to marginalised communities. The interviews with participants have drawn out these gaps in the practice of social work. Many of the gaps that they have mentioned are beyond their capacity to solve on their own. Lin pointed out how the Indigenous Peoples under her assigned areas were having difficulty in complying with the requisites of 4Ps

because the government which introduced the programme failed to ensure that the compliance mechanisms were installed before commencing the welfare programme. For example:

“They receive quarterly subsidy but when you go there to the community, you do not see any substantial impact on their economic life such as in agriculture. If there is healthcare, it only caters to those living near the town centre. Still there are no health centres in the interior areas. There is still a great need to push for basic services to reach Lumad communities. It is certainly lacking especially in Talaingod. (Nagadawat tuod sila quarterly og kwarta pero kung muadto ka sa community, wala jud syay impact na makita nimo kay wala man nilambo ilang agrikultura. Kung naa ma’y health care, naa lang sa sentro. Pero sa sulod, wala. Kinahanglan pa mas hatagan og duso tong paghatag og serbisyo sa mga Lumad kay dili jud na sya mabati sa komunidad, sa Talaingod in particular).” --Lin

Mel pointed out that welfare programmes or services must be appropriate and relevant to the culture and beliefs of Indigenous Peoples. Mel believes that they must be consistent with their beliefs and for social work to also evolve in the sense that it must integrate Indigenous culture, practice and beliefs in social work practice.

Issues related to *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Programme (4Ps)*

The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Programme, commonly known as 4Ps has been one of the most prominent poverty-reduction programmes of the Philippine government aimed to deliver cash assistance to the poorest families enabling them access to education and health (Dadap, 2010; Raquiza, 2010; Yu, 2013). By complying with the basic conditionalities of the program such as school participation, regular check-ups, attendance to family development sessions, vaccinations; these poor families are supported with cash transfers (Dadap, 2010; Yu, 2013). While the programme aims to improve the health and education of these poor families; the program does not address structural inequalities and is considered to be a “myopic approach to poverty” (IBON, 2016; 2019).

Talaingod Manobo leaders have observed that the program only creates division among the Indigenous communities, as it utilises an individualist approach which is opposed to Indigenous sense of communal life. They noticed that only half of the members of their community were included while the rest were not. They think that the programme is not fair and has only caused confusion among them hence the code “*4Ps is divisive*”. The code that emerged, “*expressing frustrations towards 4Ps*”, coming from Aina, an Indigenous social work student. She expressed a feeling that the programme provides only

short-term assistance and creates a sense of dependency among its recipients/beneficiaries, as they become dependent on government monetary assistance. For Aina, what the Indigenous Peoples' communities need are capacity training, livelihood support and education. In fact, the 4Ps programme only teaches some of the recipients some corrupt practices since they would tamper receipts to justify the liquidation reports, a practice which was also observed and affirmed by the Talaingod Manobo leaders as they had similar experience which happened in their communities. This experience of corruption was also experienced by DK, a Talaingod Manobo leader. He narrated how they were told to sign blank documents, DK narrated:

"We were asked to sign blank papers as attendance. I was in KALAHl, then I was told that the paper had three copies attached by a stapler. So I only signed for the attendance which indicated my name, but since there were three copies we were told to affix our signature to the other papers being attached (Naa sad me naagian sa KALAHl na blanko nga papel, blanko ang papel na gina-attendance. Didto ko sa talaingod official ko sa KALAHl, kini nga papel tulo ni, tulo ka copy ni naka stapler diri kini siya attendance ni, naa pud signature ang gina listahan namu og pangalan kanang diri lang. unya kani syempre blanko ni tulo anang imong gipirmahan kini naay pangalan)."

Beneficiaries of the programme may have some difficulty in complying with the programme requirements as the supply mechanism- schools and health stations are not available in the remote areas or are lacking. In fact, they said that the Indigenous beneficiaries of the programme would have to spend their own money in order to claim the cash assistance, given the distance of their communities to the town centre. The same contentions were also raised by the Talaingod Manobo leaders and Indigenous social work students, during their respective interviews, apart from viewing it as dole-out.

"I've also seen that the distribution of cash grants is also one that gives a negative impact. That is what I'm referring to that they are contented—they do not attend to their farms anymore; they just wait for the cash grants (Naay negative pud na part sa IP kanang pagka tapulan nila—naay negative sa pagka contented. Kontento lang sila sa ingon ana lang. Akong nakita pud, kining pagsulod sa cash grants, isa pud sa nakahatag og negative impact. Kana ang pasabot nako nga contented na sila, di na sila manarbaho sa ilang uma, maghulat na lang sa kwarta)."—Kan

For Kan, even though he runs the 4Ps programme, he was able to point out the cash grant can have negative impact, as it enables Indigenous Peoples to be dependent, fragmenting Indigenous Peoples' self-sustaining and self-reliant attitudes.

Suggesting Ways Forward for Social Work

The participants were optimistic that social work practice in the Philippines will grow and transform as a profession. Their optimism stemmed from knowing that there are emerging practices that are relevant to the needs and interests of the Indigenous Peoples' communities. Despite the gaps and challenges the participants have personally encountered, they feel that something positive can happen. Some of the codes that emerged are as follows: *"deepening of knowledge with the Indigenous"*, *"inclusion of Indigenous practice in social work curriculum"*, *"working to integrate Indigenous perspective"*. The participants emphasised the importance of involving Indigenous Peoples in the process. The code, *"deepening of knowledge with the Indigenous"*, stresses the need for the social workers to be immersed among the Indigenous Peoples in the community, because such experience is so different from what are learned from the books according to Jay. This experience would allow the social worker to truly feel and understand the Indigenous way of life and thus, this opportunity will strengthen the concept of respect towards Indigenous culture and history.

"As someone from the academe, I believe that there is a need to undertake a meticulous study of culture because there are social workers who do not have a deep understanding of the IP. For me there is great need for research and study. There is also a need for immersion, living with the tribe. If this is done, they would really feel how it is to be IP (Sa pagkakaran isip naa sa academe, para sa akong kinahanglang gyud tong masinsinan nga pagtuon sa iyang kultura. Kay naa man puy mga pareha nato uban nga mga social worker nga murag dili kaayo lalom ang ilang pagkuan sa ilang pagka IP. Ang usa sa akong nakita nga kinahanglan gyud mag research, magtuon. Mag immerse gyud sila, makigpuyo gyud sila sa tribo. Kay para ma feel gyud nila nga ingon ani gyud ang IP)."— Jay

The same is true for Kan and Jay, when they stressed the need for social workers to deepen the Indigenous context and background through *"inclusion of Indigenous practice in social work curriculum"*. Mel mentioned:

"They have this bayanihan system, where everyone in the community helps any member who is in need. If one family does not have food or rice, the entire community helps so that they have something to eat. Everyone will labor for the community, not just for their own family.... Put this bayanihan into practice because I find it a big help for them, it's like a support system and it will benefit and uplift the life of everyone (naa silay bayanihan didto, tabang jud na sya. Tabang jud na sya sa matag isa sa ilaha. Wlay pagkaon, walay pagkaon, ang pamilya nga walay pagkaon, tabangan na nila, mag tanum na sila, dili lang para sa ilang pamilya, kundi para sa ilang tanan, sa ilang community kay by sitio man gud na sila, by sitio. Lain lain na grupo. So mag tanom na sila, dili lang jud para saila, para jud sa tanan, nay bugas ang isa, tagaan jud na niya tanan og bugas

para makakaon, so ingon ana.... (Ang imung gusto is ibutang sya sa praktis sa SW) Yes, maam isulod sa social work kay dako jud baya syag tabang, dakong tabang ba, kay para mura syag kuan ba, suppot system ba nga dili lang mag iya iya, kundi mag tinabangay for the purpose nga dili lang ikaw mag pabilin nga kanang mahayahay kung dili ang tanan kauban nimu)."

Mel emphasised the "*Lusong*" system as practiced by many Indigenous Peoples communities which needs to be integrated in social work practice. The same observation was also pointed out by Lin. According to her, aside from being able to help each other, the Indigenous Peoples share tasks to achieve "community goals" which can be best utilised as an approach to community organizing.

Summary

This section presented the voices and experiences of non-Indigenous social workers as they fulfilled their duties and roles while assigned to work among Indigenous Peoples communities in the Davao Region. The section noted the experiences of non-Indigenous social workers when they first engaged with Indigenous Peoples' communities. They highlighted their impressions, the learnings and challenges that they encountered while doing the practice. In a field setting, participants need thorough study and discourses to be able to come up with relevant and culturally appropriate engagement. Yet, despite the personal limitations and impediments that are external to them, what is evident is their commitment to render help and work beyond what is expected of them. The Canadian Indigenous social work activist, Dr. Cindy Blackstock, (2011) challenges social worker's "moral courage" to manifest when she stated:

"On a practical level, it is measured by whether social work does the right thing for people beyond close circles of self-interest and relationships when it knows better and can do better. It is one thing to stand up for yourself or for those you love, but it takes an uncommon level of courage to stand up for people you do not know" (page 36).

The theme, "*Identifying gaps in welfare programs*" speaks on the many levels of disconnection experienced by Indigenous Peoples because of the existing gaps within the welfare system. This situation was affirmed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers and by the Indigenous social work students who delivered these welfare programmes and services. The section presented the themes "*Realising the importance of diversity*" and "*self-determination*" that stress the importance of Indigenous right to self-

determination. This speaks about Indigenous capacity and responsibility that could assist social workers. Emphasising self-determination means that options, planning and decision-making are rooted in Indigenous Peoples' sense of collectivity and solidarity which should be ensured during the helping process. The theme, "*suggesting ways forward for social work*", emphasises the importance of integration of Talaingod Manobos' Elements of Indigenous practice such as *Creator and Spirits*, *Lusong*, *Panubad-tubad*, importance of *Igbujag* (Elders) and *Datu*, Ancestral Land, Identity and Relational. Emphasis should be given to these elements since these can inform social work practice in ensuring that engagement is respectful, empowering, relevant and sensitive to the context of the Indigenous Peoples particularly the Talaingod Manobos.

In the following chapter, findings related to the research questions of this enquiry seek to explicate further how Talaingod Manobos' ways, beliefs and practices guide social workers in understanding the many dichotomies between contemporary social work and Indigenous social work. How these can be integrated to assist Philippine social work practice and education should be given attention.

Chapter 6

Answering the Research Sub-Questions

In the beginning of this research, six research sub-questions were developed as guide in the research enquiry which later helped in the discussion of the key findings emerging from this research. These six questions also helped organise the research agenda so as to capture the voices and experiences of Indigenous leaders, Indigenous social workers, Indigenous social work students and non-Indigenous social workers in the context of Philippine social work with the Talaingod Manobo Indigenous community.

Based on their culture, how do the Talaingod Manobos understand and practice helping approaches.

Answer: Helping is the essence of communal living. There is a need for understanding and practicing helping approaches.

The Talaingod-Manobo participants stressed that their practices and beliefs are closely linked to their respect and connection with the environment; thus, these have greatly influenced their helping approach for generations. Such influence is demonstrated in day-to-day interaction. Whenever a member or members of the community need help or seek resolution to problems and conflicts, their respect for the environment influences their helping approach. The communal lifestyle is a practice that they have learned from their ancestors as stressed by the participants. They said that communal living is built around how they value relationships with one another by way of providing support to one another and by relating with each other. In fact, BaiB, DK and DG stressed that each member has this collective responsibility for the betterment of their community. For Indigenous people participants, both social workers and social work students, codes relating to explain Indigenous helping have repeatedly emerged in the following codes: “*helping others*”, “*rendering help*”, “*helping each other*”, “*helping lumad progress*”, “*helping other village*”.

“There are even times when the other village seek our help during farming. We give help immediately; we will be there the next day. That’s the essence of “communal”, people help one another (sa panahon na usahay mangimbita ang pikas na kumunidad patabang sa maoa og uma, pagka ugma tabangan gyud na didto. Mao na ang ginatawag na kumunal nagatinabangay ang mga tao).”—DK

For Talaingod Manobos, helping is the essence of communal living. They exist to help one another whether one is a member of their tribe or not. They always find ways to help others.

Lusong: Helping is innate (social, cultural)

For the Talaingod Manobos, their concept of helping is expressed socially and culturally in the concept of *lusong*. They said that helping is innate to them, that extending a helping hand and making sure that no one is left behind is the norm. The Indigenous practice of helping manifests spiritual commitment of Indigenous Peoples as being “part of the earth”. This evokes responsibility on the part of the Talaingod Manobo participants to care for the people and all other living species living within their Ancestral boundaries.

“Yes. It’s all about “communal”; the said tradition has long been practiced by our ancestors. People help, we help each other (Oo. Ang kumunal naa diha sa kumunal, gikan pana sa una magtinabangay gyud na ang mga tao, magtinabangay sila...). –DK.

As shared during interviews, BaiB, DK and DG said that helping and sharing are deeply embedded in their culture; in fact, this has been their way of life. They emphasised that their system of livelihood and production includes communal farming, hunting and gathering. “*Lusong*” is a site where community members have their share of work whether in planting, harvesting or hunting. At the end, they also share with the community what they have caught, gathered or produced.

“Yes, being selfless. For example, some of our men catch a wild boar. This catch will be shared equally among all the people in the community, there is transparency, as it will be divided right before the community. So nobody could say that he got a bigger share, even those who did the hunting get a fair share (Oo. Walay kaugalingon. Pareaha nang tawo na makakuha siya og baboy ihalas, ang baboy ihalas ginabhin gyud na sa tanan. Sa kumunidad walay taguan, diha sa tunga sa daghang tao diha na bahinon. Wala jud maingon nimu nga naay mas dako kay bisag ang nakakuha pareha lang kadako sa tanan ang bahin)...”- DK

According to DK, doing “*lusong*”, follows their Indigenous farming method, by identifying specific areas for farming in a particular farming season and which land areas should be left to fallow in order to restore its fertility. This is their way of manifesting how they care for the land.

According to the Talaingod Manobo Leaders who participated in this study, their process of settling disputes or conflict within the tribe or with another village is also a form of helping. They said that their “*husay*” or arbitration process is performed with the involvement of the community elders and leaders aside from the bereaved party and the alleged offender. The community leaders’ involvement in the “*husay*” ensures that disputes are being settled appropriately; thus, the whole community, especially the leaders and elders, renders help in whatever way that they can.

“When you become a Datu, it means that you are responsible should problems occur in the community especially in helping even those from other communities. This is because we always dream to live where there is peace and order (Mahimo nakang datu ikaw jud ang masaligan og naay muaabot og mang-abot nga mga problema diha usa ka kumunidad. Labi na katong naa sa laing kumunidad nga tabangan namu sila didto sa kumunidad para masulbad, kay ang pangandoy namu kalinaw og kahusay. Kana).” --DG

One example the participants gave was when the Datu offered a horse as a form of indemnification to the aggrieved party, so as to settle differences and to bring harmony to the community. This circumstance was also mentioned earlier in a quoted interview above. The role of the leader and elders is crucial in overseeing, helping, and healing approaches in the community. They also believe that conflict can be settled peacefully. The Datu is expected to possess the wisdom to understand the patterns of life and nature. As such, they gain respect and recognition from the community.

Helping (in the realm of Economics)

Presently, Talaingod Manobos are economically deprived. Despite such limitations, they are always capable of helping and when they help, they do it without expecting something in return as mentioned in the interviews. For them, their tribal community exists in order to help one another, to help others to thrive and survive. In fact, they said that during harvest season, rice is distributed fairly among every member of the tribe. In one of the interviews with BaiB, an Indigenous leader, she mentioned how this gesture is being practiced:

“Our concept of sharing is helping our fellow lumad especially those who don’t have food by providing them something to eat and we also give them things that they don’t have (Ang konsepto namo sa ingon-ana kay paghinatagay. Ang mga kauban nga walay pagkaon ginapakaon namo ug ginahatagan kung unsay wala sa iya).” --BaiB

The participants highlighted that Talaingod Manobos believe that nobody is too poor not to make an effort to help other people. This belief centres on Talaingod Manobos’ deep connection to their land and their responsibility for their people as being part of the land, a

contrast to mainstream society's concept of "private property and ownership" as emphasised also by Davey (2015). This practice suggests Talaingod-Manobos' concept of helping which demonstrates that they are more than willing to render help outside of their own families. It is also an act of evoking solidarity and a strong bond in the community evident in their culture and practice, which according to Davey (2015) is a sense of inter-generational responsibility for place and people (p.119). In the case of this enquiry as regards Talaingod Manobos of Pantaron Range (people and place), some common codes generated under this category were as follows: "*helping even poor*", "*helping regardless of money*", "*helping without asking in return*".

How do the "Talaingod Manobos" locate this Indigenous knowledge of helping approaches in the context of social work services that they have experienced?

Answer: *Self-determination is also an Indigenous concept*

According to the interview participants, what lies at the heart of the struggle of Talaingod Manobos is their assertion of their right to self-determination. Self-determination has been practiced and exercised by their ancestors in governing their territories. During contemporary times and even historically, colonial settlers or government entities have been encroaching into their Ancestral territories and affecting their self-determination. In the discussion on self-determination, the Elders emphasised the right of the Talaingod Manobos to governance and decision-making within its Ancestral domain be it political, social and economic aspect that may impact their community life. This concept has been reiterated in the interviews of Talaingod Manobo leaders and even among Indigenous social workers and social work students.

"Yes, we are really trying hard to preserve our culture. In defending our land, the call to respect our self-determination is highlighted. The right to self-determination can be manifested in our fight to preserve our Ancestral domain from the intrusion of the government (Oo. paningkamutan namu nga dili mawala. Sa pagdepensa sa yuta apil na diha ang among gipanawagan erespeto ang kaugalingong paghukom parehas anang sa boundary kung naa na sa gobyerno)."—DK

One of the many ways the participants manifested the utilisation of their right to self-determination was when they established the Indigenous School "*Salugpungan Ta'tanu Igkanugon Learning Center Inc.*". They know the value of education. They live in remote areas where no schools are provided by the Department of Education. So, the Talaingod Manobos established schools with the help of NGOs and church-based organisations. The

establishment of Indigenous schools demonstrates how Talaingod Manobos exercise their Indigenous agency and capacity to govern their own territories, to decide what is better for the community as they respond to the legitimate needs of the people. This is how Talaingod Manobos exercise their right to self-determination.

“Yes, if not because of our initiative, the school may never be possible. It’s our own self-determination to build our own schools (Oo. Og wala me naningkamot wala me eskwelahan karon diha sa organisasyon. Unya karon among sariling paghukom nga makatukod me og among sariling eskwelahan).”-- DG

What was evident during our interviews was that welfare programs, 4Ps in particular, are seen as disruptive among the Indigenous Peoples’ communities. Narratives revealed the following codes: *“4Ps not fair”, “confusing 4Ps qualification criteria*. The criteria of the program according to the participants promote “exclusivity” opposite to the Indigenous values of sharing and collectivity, contrary to Talaingod Manobos’ essence of communal living; thus, it impedes the self-determination concept of the Talaingod Manobos.

“...but if we look at the situation in our community, the beneficiaries of the programme comprise barely half of the total population and they told us that we are not qualified, how come we are not qualified when we are as poor, as those who are qualified. This is not fair, as there are others who have never received anything (pero kung tan awon nimu ang isa ka komunidad halos wala na katunga ang nakadawat, unsa ng naa sa uban? Ingon nila nga wala kapasar, nganung mo-inngon man siya na wala kapasaw na halos pareha lang man ka pobre ang nakadawat mali to sila. Dili patas, naay wala kadawat).” – Datu K

Ideally, for the participants, the concept of self-determination must be exercised so that as Talaingod Manobos, they can define how social development should take place in their communities. The 4Ps program should have recognised and placed an important value on understanding Indigenous history, culture, context and values in the delivery of social services among Indigenous Peoples’ communities. However, the program failed to grasp this diversity.

What are the perspectives of the “Talaingod Manobos” on the integration of their Indigenous knowledge in social work practices (e.g., service delivery, implementation of development programs, among others)?

Answer: An Emphasis on Sharing or Collectivity and Practicing Ceremonies/Rituals for healing and helping

Emphasis on Sharing or Collectivity

The concept of sharing for the Talaingod Manobos stems from their worldview of ownership. For them, their Ancestral land and its natural resources belong to the tribe and the future generations and the whole community shares this ownership. This custom conveys that anything produced by the earth and rivers must benefit and must be shared by everybody.

For the participants, based on what was discussed during the interviews, the concept of sharing or collectivity connotes connection and collective responsibility. This act is something that flows naturally for them. This concept should be emphasised when Indigenous knowledge and practice are integrated in social work practice especially when working with Indigenous Peoples' communities, knowing that this has been the traditional practice of the Indigenous Peoples. The participants, for example, stressed that whenever there are important issues or problems that may arise in the community, planning and decision-making are also shared not just being attended to by the Datu alone, instead the “Igbujag” and “baylan” are involved so they can share their wisdom and experience. With this, the intervention and helping are done through participatory and consensus-building process.

“Yes, through helping each other. Like if we are able to hunt a wild boar, we share it with the community (Oo, pagtinabangay pareha anang makababoy bisan dili kabalo ang kauban nimo imong hatagan)”. -- BaiB

“If for instance, I own a horse, I can let them use my horse to be offered as a peace offering just to restore peace and harmony in our village and to prevent further conflict. They also seek me knowing that I am also a Datu. So there are times, when Datu Sulpor and me, including the other 10 Datus have to unite to settle problems in the community (Unya kung pananglitan nga naay magpinatyanay didto sa atbang namu nga kumunidad, naay usa nga tabangan namu na sila sa paghusay, Husayon namu. og pananglitan ako naa koy utang na kabayo naay katungod nako na gamiton nako nga gamiton nako ang kabayo na magvolunteer ko na maghusay didto sa problema para mubalik ang kalinaw para mahusay ang dili magka kuanay sila. Kay ako man sad ang anhion kay usa ka Datu. Pananglitan kami ni Datu Sulpor og Datu guinom mag ihusa naming duha.

Og napulo name ka Datu kami magtinabangay pud na maglingkod didto sa problema).”--DG

Since everyone has a responsibility to take care of others, the process of change is also undertaken by the whole community. The act of giving and sharing is done without any condition. It is important for social workers to recognise that the vital aspect of Indigenous helping is anchored on “sharing”, an Indigenous value held by Talaingod Manobos.

Practicing Ceremonies/Rituals for healing and helping

The participants identified rituals/ceremonies or “*panubad-tubad*” as forms of prayer and offering that symbolise the existence of their Ancestral Core which they consider spiritual higher beings. Aside from that “*panubad-tubad*” is a practice for healing for Talaingod Manobos and no collective activity shall commence without rituals/ceremonies or “*panubad-tubad*”, as cited by one of the Talaingod Manobo leaders during the interviews.

“Yes. We always follow that ritual whenever we cut big old trees in the forest (Oo. Kanang maputol mig dagkong kahoy naa mi subayon).” --DB

“We sustain our culture through “panubad-tubad” (ritual); we always observe it. We know our God through “panubad-tubad”. Yes, it is our prayer. It takes place during rituals. Our old practice has never been forgotten (Padayun pa ang kultura namo, naa pa ang panubad tubad. Ginaila namo na Ginoo namo ang “pagpanubad tubad.” Oo, pag-ampo. Ang pagritual. wala nawala ang kinaraan.).” --Bbai

Based on interviews with the Talaingod Manobos, the “*panubad-tubad*” manifests the solidarity of the community; it is coming together as one to pray, to offer and to celebrate gains or harvests. It promotes closeness or connection with one another and with the greater environment. The act itself, manifests equality and non-discrimination, as everybody in the community is called for to participate; hence, this should be emphasised should Indigenous knowledge be integrated.

What are the experiences of social workers in Mindanao in contextualising social work practice in “Talaingod Manobo communities?”

Answer: Social workers stressed that lumad work is challenging, and they exerted efforts to learn about Indigenous Peoples’ culture

Lumad work is challenging

Social workers especially among non-Indigenous workers who worked in Talaingod, Davao del Norte admitted that working with the Talaingod Manobos took them outside of their comfort zones- its remoteness, accessibility and security issues were just some of the many constant struggles that they had to overcome. For one, Talaingod Manobos live in Talaingod Davao del Norte and the Pantaron Range that straddles the boundaries of Bukidnon, Davao del Norte and Agusan del Norte. The area has lush rainforest, and the presence of the rebel New People’s Army (NPA) is greatly felt since this is one of their strong guerrilla zones in Mindanao.

“I am pretty sure that no one wants to be assigned in the said area, knowing Talaingod is like that (sigurado jud ko nga walay juy staff na magpa assign jud didto, knowing Talaingod ana)”. -- Rowie

The participants also mentioned about the cultural difference that they found very challenging, given that Talaingod Manobos’ ways of life and cultural practices are entirely different from their own. What made it more challenging was the reality that they as social workers, were not aware of the history and traditions of these tribal communities prior to deployment. According to Rowie and Kan, non-Indigenous social workers, the responsibility of learning Talaingod Manobo culture currently lies on the shoulders of every social worker, as s/he immerses in the Indigenous communities. Kan added that social workers like him have to grapple with this difficulty while meeting programme deliverables and heavy caseloads. This could be why, more often than not, they would usually contend themselves to just deliver the programme goals without paying much attention on how the programme impacts the community as a whole, especially when the programme sets criteria and conditions that seem to fragment the tribe, as stressed by one of the social workers:

“...while there is difference in the workings of an NGO from that of government—so there are things that you cannot change or are already given in the system or have become a systemic problem. Regarding Pantawid, it deals more on monitoring about system and

conditionalities. That is why in my 5 years in DSWD, it has been hard to achieve the goals that the programme has sought—that is because we have been focusing more on the immediate problem needing only immediate results. So, target goals are missed (... nuon different man ang NGO sa government – so naay mga dili nimo mausab or naay mga given na daan na sistema, systemic problem na. Regarding Pantawid, more on monitoring about system and conditionalities. Mao sa lima nako ka-tuig, ang gusto kab-oton sa programa na goal, medyo lisud pa. Kana lagi ky mas didto ta magfocus sa immediate problem nga naay immediate results ra pud. Murag mabiyaan nimo ang target goal).” --Kan

During the interview with Rowie, a superficial, yet subtle discriminatory attitude was manifested on how she assesses programme outcomes. It seems that programme outcomes undermine their Indigenous ways and practices, as the programme aims to change behaviour through provision of resources. For example, Rowie shared how the programme (4Ps) has brought changes to their lives especially the Indigenous women. She indicated an outcome on how women are now taking a bath, wearing face powder and some use lipstick during meetings, fearing that they would run the risk of being expelled from the programme if they did not change their appearance. If these changes are being sought by the programme, then it clearly manifests how unknowingly social workers tend to impose forced discriminatory attitudes and assimilation among Indigenous People beneficiaries.

“One can really say that they have very poor hygiene. They don’t take a bath and will take a month before they’d change clothes. For example, the clothes they wear in the field, they will wait for a month before they will change it. They will not feel itchy because they are maybe already used to it... before we’d start releasing cash bonds, I would go around and look for tidy and neat faces and give them reward..... know how to wear slippers. They don’t change clothes, they don’t wear slippers. And most all, I don’t want to see you with kinky, wavy and uncombed hair because you look like a witch (Nya usually, kana sila, by nature jud sa ilaha, kanang makaingon jud ka na damak kaayo. Dili maligo, binuwan mag ilis. Pramis, binuwan jud na siya mag ilis didto. For example kani nga sinina, ugma na na nila, for example, ako human didto, unya na nako na hubuon didto, abot nag buwan kapin, katol na kaayo. Dili nan a nila ma feel ba, kay murag nasanay na guro sila. Wa gyud nay ilis ilis, ingon ana na sila didto.... Og kinsa tong mga gwapa, mga himos kaayo og nawong, na limpyo, naa ko something ginahatag jud sa ilaha.... Og kinsa tong mga gwapa, mga himos kaayo og nawong, na limpyo, naa ko something ginahatag jud sa ilaha Og labaw sa tanana dili ko gusto nga maka kita ko sa inyo nga silhig na lng og lana ang kulang para mulupad. Gawas sa kulot og buhok, kalkag pa jud kaayog buhok uie, makuratan man pud ta, abi nimug aswang).” – Rowie

Efforts to learn about Indigenous Peoples' culture

During the interviews, the non-Indigenous social workers noted efforts in integrating or immersing themselves in the community and learning from the experiences and lessons shared with them by the previous social workers who were assigned in Talaingod. All of these learnings are used by the non-Indigenous social workers as a reference point of their engagement.

"On our part as NGOs, it is not possible if we just take a visit to the area for one day. In order for us to fully see the situation, we need to stay for at least a week (Kung sa part sa NGO, kami, dili jud pwede na mubisita lang didto 1 day. Para makita nimo ang kahimtang, kinahanglan mu-stay ka didto one week). --Lin

"I did not have any knowledge or idea about their culture when I first arrived in the area. I eventually learned and understood their culture and practices: that there are things that are forbidden, and there are things that are allowed. I just learned it everytime I visited their place (First, pag abot namo sa kanang tawag ana, pag abot sa lugar is, wala jud ko kahibalo kung unsa diay na ilang kanang naa diay silay ingani na kuan ba, naa diay ingani na Kultura nila, naa diay dapat ingani, di pede ingani. So didto rapud ko nakabalo nadugay nga niabot ko ana nga lugar nga ing ani diay ni sila)."—Mel

Despite the challenges cited above, there are social workers who really exert efforts in integrating and immersing themselves within the community. In fact, their efforts were also observed by the Indigenous leaders who were participants in this study and they too commended how some social workers went an extra mile to get to know their culture and history, in order to have a mutual, meaningful and respectful engagement. The struggles of social workers can be best understood knowing that this field setting can be considered as understudied.

What factors do Mindanao SWs identify which facilitate their efforts to contextualize social work practice in Talaingod Manobo communities and which factors are identified as hindering?

Answer: Skills of being a social worker –self-awareness and cultural sensitivity

During interviews, social workers were quick to note that social work skills are important in engagement with Indigenous Peoples particularly among Talaingod Manobos because these skills allow them not to transgress Indigenous Peoples' customs and traditions. Aside from self-awareness, they cited that cultural sensitivity is an important skill to be

equipped with especially when working with Indigenous Peoples. This is relatively new to many, though.

Mel, a non-Indigenous social worker interviewed, cited how important cultural sensitivity is when working with Indigenous Peoples. In fact, those who were interviewed disclosed the difficulty in exercising “cultural sensitivity” in the many aspects of their engagement.

“With regard to their culture, if we would visit their place, we first observe them, what they usually do, their lifestyle, ways, etc. Then we would consult with them on whatever programmes we have. It is because there may be part of the programmes that are not fit or not acceptable to them, to their culture (kabahin sa ilang culture is, kung ang ilang kultura kanang inig muadto mi didtdo, gina obserbahan namo unsa dapat ang pamaagi, mga ingon ani, ingon ana, nya pag kahuman, amo silang amuang... nagapangutana pud mi unsa dapat namong buhaton kay kung dili mi mangutana nay mag sige ra mig sotrya, basin naa na diay miy wala na follow ba na ilang kultura na dili diay sya dapat).”—Mel

This engagement with Talaingod Manobos requires social workers to be conscious of their actions and words otherwise they will face backlash from the community (personal experience of Kan, one of the participants). The participants were honest enough to admit that this skill challenged them for failing to acknowledge the diversity of cultures but realising along the way that interventions or helping processes do not necessarily mean that “one size fits all”.

Importance of Respect

During interviews, the participants particularly the non-Indigenous social workers, cited their difficulty in fully understanding Indigenous culture. They were cautious and conscious of their words and actions so as not to offend the community, but one thing that guided them in their engagement was showing and practicing respect. Lin for example, based on her experience, stressed that it is important to show respect to the decisions reached by the community. Showing respect means that you recognise their capacity to decide and their dignity as Indigenous Peoples. The Indigenous social work students, on the other hand, cited that respect as a value, goes hand in hand with cultural sensitivity because it recognises diversity and their self-determination.

“I think the bottomline to introduce as a concept is “respect.” Respect, because even if you carry out so many programmes, if there is no respect, it will not succeed. It is because the IPs have a distinct system, so there is a need for the other sectors to respect it. For the social worker to possess this respect is for him/her to be rooted, immersed among the IPs themselves (Sa akong tan-

aw ang pinakadako gyud nga bottomline sa pag introduce o palig-on sa konsepto nga magpabilin is katong pagrespeto. Pagrespeto pa gyud. Kay bisan pag pila pa ka programa, kung walay pagrespeto. Dili gihapon na musucceed. Ang concept nga naa naman gyud nga existing ning IP ug ingon niana ang iyang sistema, kinahanglan nga ang uban nga mga sektor murespeto gyud siya. Now, unsa may buhaton sa mga social worker ani nga konsepto sa pagrespeto is kanang dapat mag rooted gyud siya sa IP, mag immerse gyud siya).”—Jay

“we should respect their culture. We should understand deeply their customs and tradition (Kung muingon ka lumad respeto ka sa ilang culture. Dapat palaluman ang pag-ila-ila sa lumad kanang murag makihalobilo.).”— Ailyah

Respect as a value seeks to promote sensitivity to cultural diversity and at the same time it ensures that the engagement is mutual, meaningful and participatory. This value must guide social workers in engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities as stressed by Briskman (2014).

Hindering Factors:

Identifying Gaps in Social Work Education

Gaps in social work education were considered by the participants hindering factors when asked about contextualising the profession in the Talaingod Manobo community. They identified gaps in terms of social work theories and practice. They mentioned that the social work education they experienced highlighted western paradigms. There are few existing Filipino social worker authors, and their articles are limited within the confines of mainstream Filipino culture. Indigenous Peoples’ cultures and communities, however, are rarely discussed or are not even included. Jay, an Indigenous social worker cited an example, the book on Community Organizing authored by Manalili (1990), which highlights how community organizing must be done but it fails to cover topics in doing community organizing among Indigenous Peoples given the diversity and varying cultural background of Indigenous Peoples across the country.

“For example, in Manalili’s book concerning the entry to the community, democratisation in decision making is discussed but to us in social work, the democratisation process is not similar to that of the IP. (For example, mag conduct og, katong sa ato man gud nga mga Manalili nga mga libro, katong entry to the community, democratization sa decision making. Sa democratization of decision making, sa atoa lahi, ang sa IP lahi.)”— Jay

“...from what I have experienced and observed ever since, it would seem there is not much social work practice dealing with IPs. It seems that it is less discussed in school because the sectors commonly studied are the elderly, children, women and urban poor. Rural poor is

discussed but not so much the IPs (kay sukad-sukad 182ayo182-experience or akong napansin, murag wala kaayoy social work practice sa IP, 182ayo182a. Murag less sya mahisgutan sa eskwela, kay kasagaran sector na hisgutan sa pagstudy, mas elderly, bata, babae ug urban poor. Mahisgutan ang rural (poor) pero wala 182ayo IP.”)—Kim

As pointed out by participants, when they were still pursuing the degree, their subjects did not cover engagement with Indigenous Peoples including their history and culture. These observations were clearly pointed out during the interviews. In fact, the participants also pointed out that, in some way or another, it failed to capture the uniqueness and diversity of Indigenous Peoples in as far as its history, worldviews and beliefs are concerned.

Conveying limited knowledge on Indigenous Peoples’ culture

Following the gaps as cited above, the non-Indigenous and Indigenous social workers and Indigenous social work student participants also conveyed that Indigenous Peoples’ culture is less discussed in primary and secondary schools and even in social work courses. While they were still studying, they did not have any idea about Indigenous culture at all. This has led many social workers to encounter difficulty and confusion, in terms of their community integration, a problem that could have been easily resolved, if only knowledge and discussion about Indigenous Peoples’ culture and history were made available in social work curriculum. Even when they are already working, social workers’ knowledge about Indigenous culture was provided and shared by their colleagues and not provided by their agency.

The limited knowledge of Indigenous culture and history resulted in subtle assimilation in the implementation and delivery of social services. Despite the intention to help, perhaps social workers may not even be aware- there is that tendency to impose strategies that may enforce on Indigenous People to embrace the culture of modern society. This tendency maintains privileging of dominant hegemony and ideology in social work and this was critically pointed out by Lin. In our interview, she said:

“The Lumad culture of communal action is more effective compared to the individual framework being introduced (by government) which creates division in Lumad communities and detaches them from their culture. We have observed, in 4Ps for example, there is individual benefit for each family. However, not all families can benefit from 4Ps. (Mas effective ang kultura nga communal sa Lumad, mas dali jud sya kumpara sa gina-introduce karon nga indibidwal gani. Naga invite siya sa mga Lumad nga magbahin-bahin ug mahimulag sya sa iyang kultura. Mao na among

observation, pananglitan sa 4Ps nga naa gyuy indibidwal benefit kada pamilya.”)

On the other hand, this limited knowledge may lead to disregarding important aspects of Indigenous peoples’ culture, beliefs and ways when social workers do not know how to work or engage with them. This would make Indigenous Peoples feel disrespected or insulted.

Exhibiting condescending views towards Indigenous Peoples

The interviews with some social worker participants highlighted discriminatory views against Indigenous Peoples. Although Rowie’s view regarding identifying positive outcomes of the program as change in hygiene behaviour of Indigenous Peoples as quoted in the above section, was seen as an exception to that of other participants, it was troubling. The negative experiences by Talaingod Manobo leaders and Indigenous social work students with some social workers were affirmed by this attitude expressed by Rowie. The narrative below demonstrates how this social worker imposed the dominant culture onto the Indigenous community by taking advantage of a government programme as an instrument of assimilation.

“And because of their hygiene, I require them that in every gathering, during FDS, to fix and clean themselves. ‘Yes, I understand that you got yourself dirty because you were out in the field but I ask you that everytime we gather together you clean up and change clothes. Fix yourselves, wear make up, put on lipstick.’ Whenever they hear me approaching, they will hurriedly tidy themselves (Moa na ako na silang gina require na everytime kung magtapok mi every naa Famly Development Session kanang maglimpyo gyud. Ako na silang giingnan, na inyong sinina sa uma, yes I understand na hugaw mo kay naga uma mo, pero inig magtapok ta, kinahanglan, mag ilis pud mo. Mag pagwapa mo, magmake up mo, man lipstick mo. Mao na inng tapok namo, makatawa ka kay usahay mura na pud og clown, kay diri ra ang make up nya magpa gwpa jud na sila. Manglipstick na sila. Makadungog gani ka nga approaching ta mang ingon na sila,managan, hala naa a si Maam, ma gyud na mag pag gwapa jud na sila kanang...)—Rowie

The codes “noting poor hygiene”, “smelling badly”, “uncombed hair like a witch” and “requiring tidying up” are just some of the codes that emerged during this interview. Although she strongly believed that her ways brought about positive changes in the community, however, imposing such ways is poorly understood by the community. Oftentimes, these Indigenous women are now obligated to conduct themselves in a manner deemed pleasing to the social worker, undermining their Indigenous ways and

practice. Such codes manifest how failing to understand the context and history of the Indigenous people may lead to hindering views such as these.

Expressing frustrations towards the welfare system

Social workers both Indigenous and non-Indigenous expressed their frustrations towards the welfare system in the country. Though most of them work within the government, they simply could not turn a 'blind eye' to what they consider as problematic within the government system. They all agreed that all services are bureaucratic in nature making social services inefficient and sluggish, and preventing delivery of services to be on-time and competent.

According to the participants, what makes this arrangement very frustrating to every social worker is the bureaucratic process that in one way or another limits their capacity to help since resources are limited or worse, not available. Hence, meeting the needs of the clients and communities, seems impossible without their personal intervention. Participants in our interviews also admitted that there are instances that they have to use their own money just to provide assistance.

"It felt so tiring because you will be burdened with their problems; sometimes we don't even have enough finances to help them. Worst, in DSWD (Makaluya, kay pati man ikaw ba, pati ikaw mamroblema pud sa ilang prblema, nya wa puy budget...ana jud sya maam, nya labi pa, samot na katong direa sa DSWD). – Mel

"Yes, it seems that the programme goals fall short based on the actual situation. Like problems with grants received, it is bureaucratic (Oo, ingon ana. Like kanang mu-entertain ka og problem sa grants nga na-receive. Bureaucratic sya)."—Kan

Adding up to the frustration is the fact that social workers tend to carry multiple tasks and are burdened with large caseloads. They do casework, group work and are expected to perform community organizing work at the same time. Because of this workload, they feel that they could no longer perform effectively their duties and functions. Apart from that, Jay emphasized the need for the government to start changing its treatment towards Indigenous Peoples' communities. The government should stop violating Indigenous right to self-determination and for the government to stop sponsoring decrees that allow big businesses to control Ancestral lands because this is in contrast to Indigenous principle of protecting their land (Interview transcript).

Do social workers in Mindanao support the integration of Indigenous knowledge and helping approaches of the “Talaingod Manobos” in social work practice?

Applying Indigenous ways to Social Work practice

All of the participants expressed their affirmation on the need to apply Indigenous practices, ways and beliefs in social work practice. For them doing this could help immensely in improving social work practice and above all it would greatly benefit many Indigenous Peoples' communities, as it would transform the ways and engagement with the Indigenous Peoples. For Lin, she deemed it very helpful in the sense that the ways and framework of responding to the needs of Indigenous Peoples will be transformed and the Indigenous communities will no longer be divided. However, she also stressed the need for the Indigenous Peoples to be involved in the whole process.

For Kan, part of the duties of being a 4Ps program worker is to assess the level of social and economic development of the Indigenous clients. During this engagement, he realised that an initiative to integrate Indigenous Peoples' beliefs and practices into development work discussion can be meaningful and relevant. Social workers will be guided and enabled to understand how Indigenous clients view development per se. He believes that Indigenous people may have different concepts about development which may contrast those of non-Indigenous social workers though relevant and appropriate for Indigenous Peoples' communities. He elaborated by giving an example:

“We have this different concept of development that is not the same with their concept. For them, farming is for their basic needs, not for financial gain especially in remote areas up in the mountains with no concrete roads. For them, it is already enough to farm (Lahi ang ginatawag nato nga developed, lahi pud ang developed sa ilaha. Sa ilaha mag uma para sa ilang basic needs, dili pa sa makapangwarta. Labi na kung remote areas ky dili tanan madevelop og dalan ky madaut jud labi na kung buntod. So sa ila, enough na kaayo ng nag farm sila).”

Kim emphasized that mainstream society has different standards and concepts of development from those of Indigenous Peoples' communities. However, it is in this difference that social workers may work to apply or integrate Indigenous ways to the profession to fully understand where the Indigenous Peoples are coming from, instead of simplistically intruding and imposing a development framework that is not appropriate or relevant to their context, history and outlook.

Summary

Talaingod Manobos have their own way of looking at the world, on how they relate to the world and these form part of their own identity. These key findings have informed the research questions of this enquiry as to what comprise the Talaingod Manobos' elements of an Indigenous Framework. The findings help non-Indigenous understand the practice of "*Lusong*", as Talaingod Manobos' Indigenous helping approach and that helping is a norm and as intricate as to who they are. It also revealed that self-determination as an Indigenous concept utilised by the Talaingod Manobos in defining how social development must take place in their communities must be respected and recognised in social work's helping process with Indigenous communities. The emphasis on sharing or collectivity and "*Panubad-tubad*" manifests solidarity and coming together must be observed and practiced in the implementation of development programmes and service delivery. This chapter also provided context on the varied experiences of social workers working with Talaingod Manobos, where aside from remoteness, accessibility and security issues—they also stressed the importance of knowing deeply the Indigenous history and context of the Indigenous Peoples' communities in order to establish a respectful, relevant and meaningful helping relationship. The experiences also revealed the many gaps of social work education and practice when engaging with Indigenous Peoples' communities such as lack of knowledge about Indigenous culture that may lead to imposing discriminatory attitudes and assimilation among Indigenous Peoples. However, it is also important to note that social workers have expressed support to the integration of Indigenous knowledge and helping approaches of Talaingod Manobos in social work practice.

The challenge now remains for Philippine social work practice to create spaces for Indigenous paradigms within the profession – a cultural and historical engagement of social work which emerges grounded primarily on indigenous relationships, knowledge and beliefs alongside western paradigm.

Conclusion

This chapter revealed how the Talaingod Manobo leaders, social workers both Indigenous and non-Indigenous and Indigenous social work students fulfil their practices of providing or rendering help to other people.

For the social workers it presented how they rendered and provided help following the theories, concepts, values and ethics of social work profession. Some also shared how the profession shaped and transformed their views from just being influenced to take up the course to finally realising that they are committed to the profession. Other participants expressed their personal humanistic goals and aligned themselves to the profession's philosophy and ethics, knowing that social work is a helping and caring profession. For the social work students, they noted early on the need for the profession to be more relevant to the Indigenous Peoples' communities and also the importance of pursuing the degree.

The Talaingod Manobos render help in a way that it is inherent and innate to who they are, characterised by their identity and manifested in their culture that has been passed on from their ancestors many generations ago. The findings also help to draw the connections and relational emphasis of Indigenous Spirituality, Ancestral Land (Pantaron Range), Rituals (*Panubad-tubad*), *Lusong*, Sharing, Identity and Right to Self-Determination including their concept and practice of Indigenous Leadership. It highlights practices and processes that are diverse from mainstream society, yet impart teachings about Indigenous ways, knowing and being. This could teach Indigenous culture and tradition that can guide social workers and from which they could eventually form knowledge and skills essential for responsive, effective and relevant social work.

Frustrations on external factors were expressed such as Philippine government development programmes and the current Philippine welfare system which were seen as lacking in terms of providing relevant and appropriate services and programmes for the Indigenous Peoples' communities. The dissonance of the 4Ps, a prominent welfare programme with Indigenous Peoples' culture was recognised. The participants recognised the gaps in the social work profession and education including curriculum development and practice standards. The themes presented the agreements and dissonance shared between and among the varied participants like Talaingod Manobo leaders, Indigenous social workers, non-Indigenous social workers and social work students have yielded rich narratives and meanings on Indigenous healing and helping approaches. Findings suggest

that to transform and decolonise social work practice as regards Indigenous social work requires the importance of understanding Indigenous history, impacts of colonisation and oppression and the importance of Indigenous relationship with the land and environment. The findings of this enquiry identified Indigenous elements of Talaingod Manobos in developing an Indigenous social work framework of helping and healing. This can contribute to social work knowledge that recognises the importance of Indigenous ways and knowledge in constructing empowering programmes and services for and by the Indigenous Peoples' communities.

In the following chapter, analysis of the Talaingod Manobo elements of Indigenous Framework in application to social work and the implication to social work practice, research, curriculum and policy are discussed.

Chapter 7

Discussion and Conclusion: Talaingod Manobos Elements of Indigenous Framework in Philippine Social Work Practice

Introduction

This chapter positions the study to locate the theoretical contribution of Talaingod Manobos Indigenous knowledge and worldviews in Philippine social work, where it can best inform Philippine social work practice. This chapter highlights the importance of Talaingod Manobos knowledge, worldviews and helping approaches in informing social work theory and principles. The literature which examines the experiences of social workers among Indigenous Peoples' communities across the globe serves as an important part of the analysis.

This chapter presents the Indigenous elements held by Talaingod Manobos for generations contained in the literature. How each and every element is relational to one another, that one cannot exist without the others is presented, as all are interconnected. The experiences and learnings which have been passed from one generation to the next have formed their beliefs, practices and worldviews and are still relevant today. In fact, it is within the territories of the Pantaron Range that the sources of Indigenous knowledge lie.

These elements can enrich social work practice particularly in its engagement with Talaingod Manobos in presenting an Indigenous Practice Framework drawing from the themes that emerged from participant interviews. This chapter helps non-Indigenous understand an Indigenous framework of helping among Talaingod Manobos. The elements reflect a starting point for social workers in understanding Talaingod Manobos' helping and healing that can guide social workers in the engagement.

The overarching question presented at the beginning of this enquiry and used as guide in the research process throughout the different stages, is presented below.

“What are the elements of an Indigenous social work framework which will inform social workers in Mindanao as they engage with Talaingod Manobo communities?”

This specifically seeks to present an Indigenous frame of helping of the Talaingod Manobos which may contribute to the development of Indigenous social work.

Talaingod Manobos’ Elements of Indigenous Practice

The Talaingod Manobos’ elements of Indigenous practice have informed a framework for practice. The purpose of this framework is to invite social workers to consider and value Indigenous elements of helping articulated by Talaingod Manobos when delivering programmes and services intended for the Indigenous Peoples. For the social workers, it is important to have awareness of the Indigenous community and the diverse culture that they are working with in order to avoid prejudices and not to come up with assumptions that hinder the development of respectful relationships.

Diagram 1 below presents the elements of Indigenous worldviews, knowledge and practice, the “***Indigenous elements held by Talaingod Manobos***” which answer the overarching question of this enquiry. The diagram identifies key elements which together present the concept of the Indigenous practice framework. These elements have been identified in the analysis of the interviews with Talaingod Manobos and presented to the reference group and later integrated to inform a practice framework. The aim is to establish engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities particularly among Talaingod Manobos and honour the relationships that have always existed for the Talaingod Manobos. This diagram which was presented to the reference group, highlights the contribution of Indigenous knowledge to social work theory and practice.

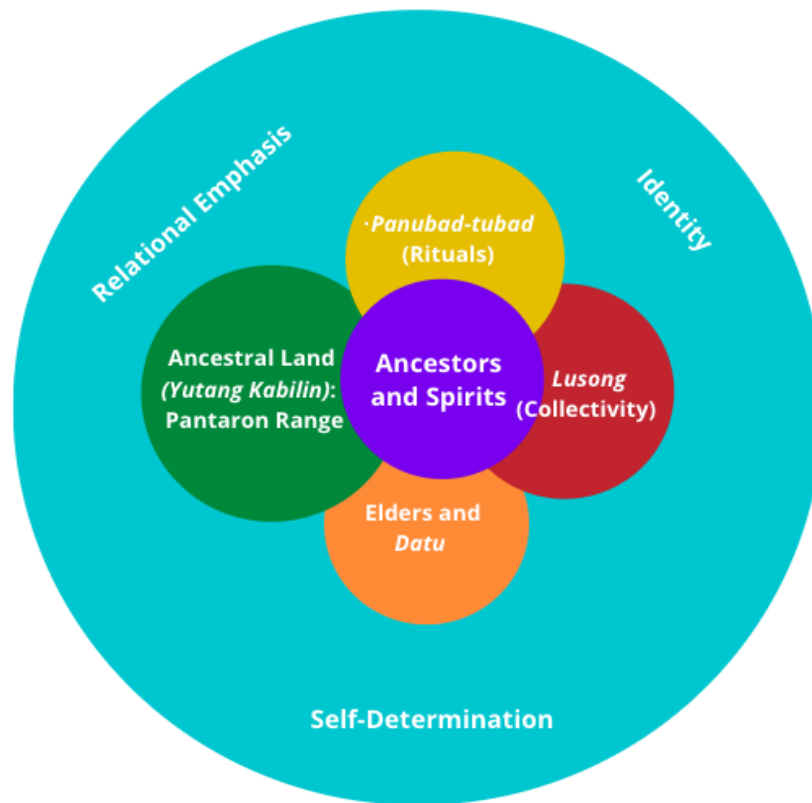


Diagram 1. Elements of Talaingod Manobos Practice

Key to the diagram above, is “*Yutang Kabilin*” which is the *Pantaron Range*, Talaingod Manobos’ Ancestral land. It is within the territories of the *Pantaron Range* where their lives, communities and all other Entities were born and connected to each other. It is also in these lands where their identity, their culture, beliefs and worldviews emerged and flourished. For the Indigenous Peoples, the Ancestral land is more than just a physical space; it is also their identity, knowledge or pedagogy of the place. The connection to the Creators and Spirits was highlighted by Indigenous leaders DK and DB in their respective interviews when they talked about their concept of ways of farming and harvesting. Each of the elements is discussed below.

Talaingod Manobos’ relations with their Ancestral Land highlights their strong connection to the environment that surrounds them. This connection is significant in knowledge construction of Talaingod Manobos on how they relate to the world and understand it. How Talaingod Manobos develop ideas and learnings are shaped out of their daily experience with the *Pantaron Range* and all of its life creatures found within it, for example, the *alimukon* (*white eared dove*) bird. This concept of “*Yutang Kabilin*” tells us of the sacred connection of Talaingod Manobos to the *Pantaron Range*, the relationship that they have built and shared with one another and how they strengthen this relationship is manifested

in rituals/ceremonies that take place (Wilson, 2008). This was described by Indigenous leader DB, when he narrated their Indigenous knowledge that has guided them to understand the natural cycle of farming. This concretises the view of person-in-the-environment as this goes beyond the micro-mezzo-macro social work practice (Kirst-Ashman & Hull, 2015) in viewing individuals; rather it extends to how individuals and communities are interrelated and interconnected to Mother Earth.

The element of “*Lusong*” as discussed further by Talaingod Manobo leader participants, DB and DG, represents the way of life of the Talaingod Manobos. This concisely characterises the communal living of being a Talaingod Manobo where social, cultural and economic activities are done collectively and are performed by the whole community. The “Datu” (leader) makes sure that nobody is left behind. They noted that harvest as well as productive activity is fairly distributed, to each and every member. “*Lusong*” is easily implemented since Talaingod Manobos establish a strong kinship system at the family level. This concept of family system and relationship among Talaingod Manobos, bridges and holds connections not only within the family but also with the greater community. This practice of “*Lusong*” is supervised by the “*Datu*” with the “*Baylan*” who performs rituals, seeks to strengthen community bonds and solidarity of the community. This is an indigenous practice of helping practiced by the Talaingod Manobos. “*Lusong*” also helps improve their livelihood and production as the harvest or planting is done through collective action – a practice that has been passed on by their ancestors.

For the Talaingod Manobos, their rituals or “*panubad-tubad*” characterise their identity. Ritual also allows them to connect to the spirits or to their ancestors (Poonwassie & Charter, 2001), or to “*Magbabaya*” and to “*Inayon*” and so with their Indigenous values of sharing, connection, collective responsibility and acceptance. This was reiterated by DK:

“Right now, they call us Manobo because of the Ancestral domain called Pantaron. We exercise our right to self-determination and establish our spiritual practice and above all the setting up of our arbitration process and judicial system. We were able to establish the local form of governance, hence being called Manobo (ang karon nga ginatawag nga Manobo tungod sa dunay kaugalingon na ginapuy-an sama anang Pantaron. Adunay kaugalingong paghukom naa poy kaugalingon sa pagsimba og labaw sa tanan na paghusay, ginatawag na Manobo tungod kay kumbaga gobyerno adunay silay mga naka ayon sila diha kumunidad).”

Talaingod Manobos according to the Indigenous leader participants have diverse social structures which have important functions in the community, particularly in governance

and decision-making. The “*Datu*” (Chieftain) or “*Bai*” (female counterpart) serves as the leader and governs the community, and the Baylan (healer/priestess) has an important duty in healing and in the spiritual aspect. The leaders in the study said that the community also expresses their high regard for the “*Igbujag*” (Elder) (Lacorte, 2011). They pay great attention to the important role of the Elders of the community. For them, the “*Igbujag*” is said to be the wisest and most respected figure in the community; hence, they are always consulted by the *Datu*. The “*Igbujag*” used to be the *Datus* in their respective communities; people consider them to possess wisdom, immense knowledge and rich experiences. This was emphasised by DK, DG and DM during interviews.

Another point is on the role of Elders (“*Igbujag* or *Igbudyag*”) and Leaders (“*Datu*” or “*Bibyaon*”). The ones who manage the daily affairs of the community by demonstrating leadership skills, knowledge and ability to settle disputes are the Leaders or the “*Datu*” or “*Bibyaon*”. The Elders or “*Igbujag* or *Igbudyag*” can only share their wisdom as they are not allowed by the community to mediate (Pacificar & Obenza, 2013) in this process. The interviewees DK, DG and DM, said that the “*Datu*” or “*Bibyaon*”, seeks guidance and wisdom from the Elders or “*Igbujag* or *Igbudyag*”, for problems relating to dispute settlement or issues affecting the community. The “*Datus*” and the Elders, discuss collectively to resolve disputes or to look for durable solutions. It is also the responsibility of the “*Igbujag* or *Igbudyag*” to identify the tribe’s next “*Datu*” among the younger generations; that is why, people in the community have high respect for the “*Igbujag* or *Igbudyag*”. It is imperative then, for social workers to involve Elders and Leaders in the helping relationship as they are the great source of knowledge and wisdom for the community in keeping their beliefs and practices, in maintaining their identity and above all leadership (Poonwasie & Charter, 2001; Busija, et al., 2018). For example, a social worker before introducing any community programmes should first ask for the wisdom and consent of the Elders and Leaders to help in co-designing interventions for the community. Talaingod Manobos seek the guidance and wisdom of the Elders and Leaders who can help or provide direction to the helping relationship. The recognition of Elders and Leaders manifests connectedness, relationship and leadership.

The elements briefly presented above have been developed from the findings based on participant interviews. This can help draw up a model for social workers in connecting with Talaingod Manobo families and community to undertake effective social work practice. The utilisation of this Indigenous framework creates a safe space of engagement, to move from “us” and “them” to a new mindset of “us”. Social workers should recognise and

respect this diverse helping relationship by being open, by listening and not by imposing. The meaning and discussion of each element which constitutes the Talaingod Manobos framework of helping are presented below.

◆ ***Indigenous Spirituality (Magbabaya, Inayon and other Spirits)***

In the interviews, Talaingod Manobo Leaders spoke of how important it is for every Talaingod Manobo, as people and as a tribe, to pay tribute and reverence to the Spirits. They exist because of their Creators—whom they call “*Magbabaya*” and “*Inayon*” and all other Spirits. An element that binds all the elements in this framework and is a core of this model is Indigenous Spirituality. This recognises that they are guided by the spirits in their day to day living. Talaingod Manobos stated that they recognise how important it is to seek their (spirits) guidance and approval in every aspect of their life. This practice displays reverence and respect to all things that surround them, knowing that they are created by their Creators, their source of life. Talaingod Manobos understand that everything and everyone created by their Creators are all related, intertwined and interconnected.

The Talaingod Manobo participants’ close relationship with the Creators can be manifested for example during planting or farming season, wherein they call upon “*Kalayag*” the spirit of the plants, to guide them in identifying which areas are safe to be cleared for planting. Another example when this practice is manifest is when they wage war and call upon “*Mandarangan*” (War God) for protection and at the same time, to give them strength and guidance particularly for their “*Baganis*” or warriors before embarking on traditional warfare or “*pangayaw*”. Talaingod Manobos believe that everything that exists in their midst, their lives, their history and stories even the unseen elements all originate from their Creators called “*Magbabaya*” and “*Inayon*”. This context helps non-Indigenous people understand the worldviews of Talaingod Manobos that in every aspect and all elements, both seen and unseen, are all related in one way or another.

This speaks of spirituality as the core of Indigenous worldviews and wisdom (Gray et al., 2008, 2013; Hart, 2009; Lavalley, 2010; Martin, 2008) especially among Talaingod Manobos and this has been demonstrated in their rituals/ceremonies (Hart, 2009; Lavalley, 2010; Martin, 2008). As noted by the Talaingod Manobo leaders, this is explicit in their healing and helping practices. In their economic life, this has been demonstrated from planting crops, to harvesting, to hunting, before embarking on a long travel, or before waging “*pangayao*”. This is how Talaingod Manobos in this study expressed their

spirituality and this concept should not be equated with “religion”, but rather as an expression of their connectedness to everything that relates to them, while manifesting utmost respect to this sacred connectedness (Hart, 2009; Lavallo, 2010; Martin, 2008). Indigenous Spirituality is an important pillar of an Indigenous worldview (Martin, 2008; Hart, 2009; Lavallo, 2010; Wilson, 2008) and culture and the Talaingod Manobos believe that their Ancestral lands and mountain are owned by the Spirits. It is imperative that social work recognises the importance of Indigenous culture and spirituality when working with Indigenous Peoples’ communities as these are integral in understanding Indigenous helping and healing. Traditionally, healing and helping do not occur at the physical level; it also transcends “spiritually”, meaning it encompasses connections to human relationship, the earth and the cosmos (de Alencar et al., 2016). By knowing all these, social workers can make Indigenous practice available, something that Indigenous families can resonate with and participate in. The recognition of Indigenous spirituality in the helping process can assist the social workers in understanding that healing and helping also mean maintaining connection and relationship with the community, with the Creator and spirits including Mother Earth. One of the ways of manifesting connectedness to Indigenous spirituality is done through rituals or “*panubad-tubad*”. Social workers can work with Elders and “Datu” and build relationships along the way, by working together to find answers and not by imposing solutions. Indigenous Spirituality is the **core** of Talaingod Manobos’ worldviews which shows their reverence and strong belief in their Creators and Spirits. Though considered unseen elements, yet their existence in the lives of Talaingod Manobos cannot be questioned. This relationship connotes how Talaingod Manobos place significance on their “spirituality” and this strong devotion is demonstrated in rituals/ ceremonies (Wilson, 2008) as they come together to seek meaning, guidance and intercessions from their Creators and Spirits manifested in their dreams through signs and even among animals such as “Alimukon” (white eared dove, transcript interview) as symbols (Lacorte, 2011, and Transcripts). These signs and symbols are later transformed into “knowledge” when verified during actual practice. As stressed by DB during the interview:

“Part of our culture is, we really have to perform a ritual (panubadtubad) during planting season as our way of showing our respect to the trees, to the stones. That is our culture (among kultura na mogalas mi, muritual paman mi naa pay panubadtubad, kana ang kultura pinaagi sa pagrespito sa kahoy mga bato ana)”

Traditionally, Indigenous Spirituality also means carrying their voices, stories, songs and dances with them as integral to their lives. The participants shared that this sacred practice

is passed on from one generation to the next during ceremonies and rituals across families, kinship groups and communities as part of this relational emphasis. Cyndy Baskin (2002), an Aboriginal social worker, asserted the responsibility to use “spirituality to create a better world through resisting oppression” (in Profitt, 2010, p. 127) and decolonising.

Indigenous Spirituality when engaged with in social work means recognising this sacred connection and process not only as a core of Indigenous worldview but also as essential in Indigenous healing and helping. Indigenous Spirituality comprises experiences and learnings from their Ancestors which have been passed from generation to generation which form their beliefs, knowledge and outlook. This was emphasised by DK during the interview. Indigenous Spirituality, places emphasis on respectful and reciprocal relationships between Indigenous Peoples and the natural environment believing that all Entities are created by the Creators, as well as the Spirits that dwell inside the Pantaron Range. Social workers therefore must have the skill and knowledge to understand the person, family and/or community and its web of relationships. Being self-aware demonstrates respect to the context and history of the people. Social workers can ensure that social work practice is relevant and can establish respectful and authentic relationship with Indigenous communities if they practice self-awareness.

♦ ***Relational Emphasis, Identity and Self- determination (Yutang Kabilin or Ancestral Land)***

Prominent in what the Indigenous participants said, especially the Talaingod Manobo leaders, was their strong connection to their Ancestral land or “*Yutang Kabilin*”, or in Manobo term “*Banwa*”. During interviews, they shared openly that their whole existence, whether as human beings or as part of a tribe, is shaped by, rooted in and patterned after all the things that exist within their Ancestral land, the Pantaron Range. Their dreams, stories and even resistance are all grounded in this special relationship. Therefore, this ***element binds all other elements in this model***. In fact, they mentioned that their knowledge is formed and developed out of this daily interaction and connection to every entity that exists therein, whether human experiences or otherwise, among the rocks, rivers, trees, animals or the skies. All these have provided wisdom and opportunity for growth for them in order to thrive and survive. However, it should be noted that this unique relationship with the land is not only true among Talaingod Manobos but also to all other Indigenous Peoples’ communities across the globe (Briskman, 2014; Matsuoka et al., 2013;).

“We exercise our right to self-determination and establish our spiritual practice (Adunay kaugalingong paghukom naa poy kaugalingon sa pagsimba).”—DK

Talaingod Manobos regard the Pantaron Range as a site where their concept of sovereignty merges with their rights and responsibilities, knowing that they, including their ancestors, belong to the land and at the same time are the faithful stewards of this land. It means they must govern and protect it in such a way to maintain balance and harmony the way their ancestors have guarded it (Matsuoka et al., 2013). Their sovereignty and responsibilities are best articulated in their day to day living, further manifested by their rituals, practices and laws that govern who they are as Indigenous Peoples (Gray et al., 2008; Matsuoka et al., 2013). This relational emphasis highlights Indigenous ways of defending their Ancestral land as an innate obligation of every Indigenous person in order to defend their existence and their identity because, as stressed by Atkinson (2002), the Indigenous land is the “whole of who they are as a people” (Briskman, 2014, p. 234). Traditionally, Land holds their stories as a people, their ancestors, their Creators and Spirits that dwell in the mountains and rivers of Pantaron Range (Atkinson, 2002 in Briskman, 2014). Their ancestors wove their dreams and carved their aspirations, as they prepared the lands so that future generations could also enjoy the abundance of Pantaron Range. They aim to protect it from being plundered. The relational emphasis tells something about the well-being of the Indigenous Peoples that reflects interconnectedness of one person, to his/her family, community and greater environment, to the Creator and Spirits and to Mother Earth.

This inherent and sacred connection between land and Indigenous Peoples requires social workers to see and acknowledge this sacred relationship as this is unique among Indigenous Peoples’ communities. Unfortunately, this is something that contemporary social workers should recognise. So, when Talaingod Manobo participants stressed “Land is our life”, it should not be limited to being seen as just for economic interest or as a source of living per se, but it goes more than that. For the Talaingod Manobos, the concept of Ancestral Land or “*Yutang Kabilin*” is their identity, the core of their humanity because they are deeply connected to their land and to everything that can be found within it. This is something that all social workers must be aware of, the “sacredness of this connection”, as relationship is significant for the Talaingod Manobos since relationship is considered medicine for healing. The concept of Ancestral land largely speaks about their sovereignty, their capacity to govern the territories and to decide for themselves as peoples whose ancestors have lived within this ancient and sacred lands. Indigenous ways and culture

are “relationship based” (Aitken,1990), the same with Talaingod Manobos. However, in contemporary practice, given that the majority of the social workers are non-Indigenous, and because this has not been highlighted within the profession nor discussed inside the classroom, as emphasised by other participants of this study, more often than not, they have failed to recognise this sacred connection and distinct relationship (Briskman, 2014; Gray et al., 2008, Matsuoka et al., 2013).

On the other hand, it must be noted as Czyzewski and Tester (2014) argued that the social work principle of self-determination is at the core of social work practice, which acknowledges client’s capacities to decide and through “respectful engagement, work with them in solidarity” (p. 219). In this engagement with Indigenous Peoples, the social work principle of self-determination can be best understood in the process. Establishing helping relationship is done by ensuring that social workers are not recreating colonial relationship, discrimination and subjugation by imposing own set of cultural standards (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014; Gray et al., 2008) as they work in solidarity with them. Knowing about all these, social workers must find that space as described by Blackstock (2011) as “moral common ground” (Alberta College of Social Work, 2019, p. 22) where humility, openness and respect to these differences exist and where they start acknowledging the mistakes as brought about by discrimination and stereotypes. This practice is unique knowing that Indigenous social work speaks largely of the elements of Ancestral land, Creators and Spirits, *Lusong*, *Panubad-tubad*, Identity and Relational emphasis and so diverse from the contemporary social work.

Indigenous Self-determination in a Social Work Context

In this engagement with Indigenous communities, there is a need to understand the unique concept of Indigenous self-determination. Here the individual intersects with the collective concept of self-determination, the right to decide, the right to govern, autonomy over social, political and economic development (Turpel, 1992). The social worker should know that for the Indigenous peoples, it is their Indigenous belief that everything is interrelated and interconnected. Therefore, the social work principle of self-determination in the context of working with Indigenous Peoples’ communities is challenged to transcend from “individual view of self-determination” to “collective sense of self-determination” knowing that the cultural context and social processes of Indigenous Peoples across the globe operate collectively, including the concepts of identity, right and freedom (Smylie et al., 2014). The western approach in viewing self-determination as inherently individualised is in stark

contrast to the prevailing relational emphasis of Indigenous communities; thus, it manifests the relational nature of self-determination (Kuokkanen, 2012). Implications of this understanding towards self-determination challenges social workers to engage deeply to understand their colonial history. The process of colonisation has impacted Indigenous Peoples' communities to the point that their right to self-determination has been undermined or subjugated by the state and even among welfare organisations. Lastly, the complexity of domestic colonial relations and history requires life-long learning and unlearning on the part of social workers in order to learn their culture (Czyzewski & Tester 2014; Kuokkanen, 2012; Smylie et al., 2014;)

Yutang Kabilin (Ancestral Land) as an Indigenous element that invokes the "Right to self-determination" denotes social workers' challenge to the existing dominant paradigm (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014; Smylie et al., 2014;) that sees Indigenous Peoples as incapable of charting their own destinies. Instead, Indigenous Peoples have the right and the capacity to govern and decide for themselves. For one, their relational existence in their Ancestral land has cultivated valuable knowledge and worldviews as they thrive in Pantaron Range along with their ancestors, long before any textbooks or articles have been written about their existence. Indigenous practices and knowledge have been developed out of their deep respect for their natural connection to the land and it is in this connection that they have established their autonomy and governance. Therefore, their call for the right to self-determination, centres on their Indigenous autonomy to care for this Ancestral land. It also means there is a collective decision and involvement in every programme, service that may impact their community and their well-being as well (Canada, 1996; Dodson, 2006 as cited in Briskman, 2014). In this context, Hiller and Carlson (2018), challenge social workers to go beyond "person-in-environment" to "person-in-place-on-Indigenous-land-and-in-Indigenous-Sovereignty" (p.61) or "person-in-place-on-Ancestral-land-and-in-Indigenous-Sovereignty", to recognise that the disposition of Indigenous Peoples are related and connected to the history, stories and entities within the Ancestral land, that there is no dichotomy of this relationship. Social work's principle of self-determination must operate to recognise this cultural and relational context when engaging with Indigenous Peoples' communities while at the same time challenging the existing assumptions, stereotypes and discrimination against Talaingod Manobos and Indigenous Peoples' communities. At this juncture, social workers are also called to recognise that resistance and struggles are inherent to Indigenous Peoples especially among Talaingod Manobos, as their legitimate approach in exerting their right to self-determination and by

all means, must fight ceaselessly to defend their Ancestral land from all forms of displacement and dispossession (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014).

Barriers to Effective Engagement

Given the fact that colonial vestiges are still embedded within Philippine social work (Yu, 2006), consciously or unconsciously, biases and wrong assumptions as a result of domestic colonial tendencies and dynamics are manifested in engagement with Indigenous Peoples. Based on observations on the narratives gathered during the interviews, there are social workers who tend to undermine Indigenous Peoples right to self-determination because of this prevailing biases and assumptions that Indigenous Peoples are illiterate and can be easily persuaded.

It is sad to note that some social workers, as reported in the study, were seen by the Talaingod Manobos to be operating in a framework where they tend to impose their own cultural standards just like how Rowie imposed her rules pertaining to hygiene and by doing so, disregarded Indigenous Peoples' capacity to decide for themselves and to participate in the process for their well-being (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014). As Talaingod Manobo leaders and Indigenous social work students identified, there are also many instances where social workers have unconsciously promoted welfare guidelines and policies that forcibly assimilate Indigenous Peoples in the ways and cultural standards being practiced by mainstream society. For example, the 4Ps programme created division in the community because of its inclusion and exclusion criteria to the program itself. This is trivializing Indigenous ways and culture as inferior which has been an on-going practice among many non-Indigenous social workers not only in the Philippines but in many social welfare settings across the globe as stressed by Briskman (2014); Yellowbird & Gray (2010) and Yu (2019).

Whether consciously or unconsciously, social workers perhaps possess this view to teach Indigenous Peoples the ways and practices of the mainstream society, presuming absolute sameness or absolute differences as clarified by Gilbert (2013) without realising context and diversity or simply lack of understanding of its history. The impact of colonial history and culture, largely considers western culture superior to that of the Indigenous Peoples, is a classic example of how domestic colonialism perpetuates (Alamon, 2017; Brieninger, 2010;).

Such limited understanding of Indigenous culture and history can be explained by the fact that until now this Indigenous social work has been absent in the Philippine social work curriculum, approaches and models (Veneracion, 2003). Veneracion (2003) also stressed that Indigenous social work practice and education is still largely considered as a gap in practice and the curriculum, thereby failing to address the true nature of problems and challenges faced by Talaingod Manobos and all other Indigenous Peoples' communities in the Philippines.

Land as Marker of Indigenous Identity

More so, in respect of the aspect of Indigenous identity, the Talaingod Manobos consider the Pantaron Range as the marker of their identity, regarding themselves as its guardians. Pantaron Range being their Ancestral land, has not only sustained them physically, but above all relationally, culturally and spiritually, the same with all other Ancestral lands for many Indigenous communities across the globe, as emphasised by Hiller and Carlson, (2018). As a marker of their identity, it is understandable therefore that Talaingod Manobos have taken up the duties and responsibilities to govern and defend this land as they are *"integrally belonging to Pantaron Range"*, as narrated by DK during the interview:

"Of course, our fight for the land is always relentless. We want to retain our lumad identity and heritage, so we are doing our best to preserve our tribe. The tribes will never be eliminated from the mountains. What we want is for us to survive. (syempre naa na. gusto namu nga dili mawala ang pagka lumad ang pakigbisog ana nga hugot jud nga pagpatuman nga dili pana mawala ang tribu namu. Dili mawala ang mga tribu diha sa kabukiran. Gusto jud namu ipadayon)."--DK

Talaingod Manobos possess strong relations to their Ancestral land, knowing that everything found within their Ancestral land is interconnected to the outside world. With this belief and responsibility, they identify themselves as "Manobos", meaning "native to the land". This identity reference offers a "sense of belonging" to their land called "Pantaron Range". Out of this relationship and sense of belonging, as stressed by DK above, the Talaingod Manobos regard themselves as the stewards of Pantaron Range, guarding, protecting its territories and borders, even by means of waging "pangayao" against outsiders who target their land for its rich resources. In the mountain ranges, forest and rivers of Pantaron, their ancestors have carved the stories of their tribe; they crossed the same rivers and they walked on the same land treaded by their ancestors.

In the engagement with Indigenous Peoples' communities, it is also important to note the imperatives of the principle of acceptance to guide social workers in understanding where the Indigenous Peoples are coming from. Through the principle of acceptance, social workers recognise strengths, worthiness and capacity including limitations. Along with this principle comes *Respect to Diversity* and *Inclusion* which means acceptance of differences, recognition and space to value these differences. This principle operates in a way that building understanding for Talaingod Manobos' identity means finding meanings in these connections between their community and their Ancestral Land. The Pantaron Range is not only their Ancestral land, but also where identity is built and so with all other entities that thrive therein. What constitutes this identity is a space where their Indigenous knowledge, epistemes and worldviews are shared and cultivated (Baskin, 2011). This principle of social work sees Talaingod Manobos as belonging to the Pantaron Range and Pantaron Range is intrinsically part of who they really are.

With this practice, social workers are challenged to decolonise social work. Social workers should demonstrate willingness to learn and unlearn, to engage critically by creating spaces where Indigenous voices, thinking and feelings are respected and recognised.

♦ ***Indigenous Collectivity (Lusong as a manifestation of collective effort of helping)***

As noted in the literature (Price & Artaraz, 2013; Veneracion, 2003; Yu, 2006) and as observed by the social worker participants in this study, western approaches and frameworks have been deeply embedded in Philippine social work practice. If social workers utilise only western paradigms and worldviews, they limit their practice and ability to engage with Indigenous People. Despite professional social work's long history of engagement with Indigenous Peoples' communities, the idea of recognising Indigenous helping and healing approaches was still a gap based on the narratives shared by the participants. Perhaps such deficits in the profession can be attributed to the impact of colonisation, as historically it was the Americans who introduced professional social work to the Philippines; and perhaps due to domestic colonialism as pointed out by Breininger (2010) Indigenous Peoples' communities are viewed as inferior, relegating Indigenous Peoples including their knowledge, approaches and worldviews to the margins (p.3); and brought about by structural discrimination that marginalises Indigenous Peoples from discourses and narratives (Alamon, 2017).

“Lusong” as an Indigenous element requires social workers to look back at helping practices way before the colonisers introduced an individualist concept. The Talaingod Manobos live by it, in such a way that it has become their natural practice as manifested in their day to day living. Based on Talaingod Manobos’ narratives Talaingod Manobos live to help their community, thus *“helping is a norm”*, is a code that emerged in the previous chapter.

This collectivity or communal nature of Indigenous helping stands in contrast to that of western concepts of helping. The western approach or conventional social work approach primarily focuses on individual’s skills and coping capacity in addressing problems; however, it may further oppress (Dominelli, 2002) rather than address the problem when this will be applied to Indigenous Peoples especially Talaingod Manobos. This is because Talaingod Manobos operate where land in the highest ontological sense, is relational and connected. The practice of *“Lusong”* requires social workers to recognise this diverse yet imperative aspect of Talaingod Manobos’ culture, that helping approaches must be framed in this way, that individuals are not separated from the wider social, cultural and even natural environment, including the ancestors and the spirits. If social workers continuously impose colonial helping approaches, it may further displace Indigenous Peoples’ trust in the social work profession (Hart, 2009; Weaver 2010; Yellowbird & Gray, 2010). *“Lusong”* as a helping approach utilises a collective approach to helping which is based on their life-long experience being passed on from one generation to the next. Narratives from Talaingod Manobo leaders during the interviews highlighted the importance of community in all aspects even in resolving concerns and affairs. They believe that through collective action, misunderstanding can be corrected, and conflicts can be prevented.

The concepts of peace and justice are taken seriously by everyone in the community, as according to Felix (2004) “peace is the concern of all” (p.142) in these communities. This same practice is also being employed by the Pacific communities following the “by Pacific, for Pacific framework” (Mafile’o, 2001, 2006, 2018).

In this section, social workers particularly non-Indigenous social workers, understand the diverse helping approach being practiced by Talaingod Manobos, which shows how community participation is highly important in resolving individual concerns that affect the community. This element centres on inclusivity, collectivity and interconnectedness where the community participates to find relevant solutions. This practice may resonate with the

right to participation as key ethical principle of social work (Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles, IFSW, 2018).

◆ ***Indigenous Rituals: Healing and Spirituality***

Based on the narratives shared by the Talaingod Manobo leaders, the act of practicing and performing rituals among Indigenous Peoples' communities is carried out based on varied intentions. The act demonstrates how Indigenous Peoples place meaning to this sacred connection and the relationship of Talaingod Manobos to the earth, to their Creator and all the entities that surround them (Courchene, 2019; Ragrario et al., 2014) and this practice is called "*Panubad-tubad*" in their language. It also means honouring relationship to nature and to the spirits as a way to obtain and sustain livelihood.

Helping and Healing Strategies of Talaingod Manobos

Talaingod Manobos perform rituals or "*Panubad-tubad*" in almost every aspect of their community life. As DK and DM said during the interviews – no harvesting, hunting or planting shall commence without doing a ritual. Rituals are an important component of their lives; they reflect their relationship to the Universe and how well they are connected to the natural environment (Morissette et al., 1993, Poonwassie & Charter, 2001).

Rituals or "*Panubad-tubad*" are also healing practices. When one member of the community is ill, the family and even the whole community perform rituals. For the Talaingod Manobo, everyone is invited to participate. Through this practice, everyone in the community can show how much they are connected and how they are responsible for the well-being of others. There is a collective approach to healing and responsibility, and everybody is invited to care and to share in the well-being of the community. This strengthens their bond and solidarity as a whole community.

Central to this Indigenous element is Indigenous Spirituality, which is significant to every Talaingod Manobo, where through rituals, they express reverence to their Creators, the parent-figures "*Inayon*" and "*Magbabaya*" and even to their collective spirits ("*Taharayuhan*") petitioning them for a good harvest, for safety and for healing (Ragrario, et al., 2014) and the sacredness of this connection to their Ancestral land is being reiterated. Further, the "*Baylan*" is regarded as both healer and priest or priestess in their communities, that is why rituals are being solemnised by the "*Baylan*" and it would usually start with a "*panubad*" (prayer). The "*Baylan*" uses chickens or pigs when performing

rituals, to look for signs and messages from the spirits. As part of their Indigenous ways of knowing and doing, Talaingod Manobos rely on the symbols and signs from their surroundings or dreams. They look for signs or omens, for they always believe that the spirits are there to guide them appearing in these signs or omens – this is the spirit who guards the mountains, the fields and the rivers (Lacorte, 2011). These signs have been regarded as a source of knowledge in the natural world, that also guides them as they interact with nature in their daily lives. DM explained briefly how ritual is performed.

“Yes, a ritual is performed by a Baylan in order to help cure the illness. (Oo, ritual sa baylan para itambal sa nay sakit).”--DM

The practice of “*Panubad-tubad*” characterises Talaingod Manobos’ way of sharing with all entities found within their Ancestral land. Practicing “*Panubad-tubad*” vividly reflects that community prayers are a manifestation of their shared commitment in looking after the healing, interest and well-being of one another. The practice also allows them to reconnect to their Ancestral roots, knowing that the process constitutes stories of their ancestors and their history (Poonwassie & Charter, 2001). “*Panubad-tubad*”, accentuates that Spirituality is significant among Talaingod Manobos (de Alancar et al., 2016; Lacorte, 2011).

It should be noted that the prayers, stories and even dances performed when there is “*Panubad-tubad*” can be likened to the Ceremonies and Story circles practiced by many First Nation communities in Canada and North America where the intimate, collective activity establishes both human connections and spiritual connectedness, an indigenous practice for healing and helping. This cultural practice of “*Panubad-tubad*” can be incorporated in the intervention, of which the Elder (*Igbujag*), the *Datu* and *Baylan* can be engaged in social work practice.

“Panubad-tubad” as an expression of Indigenous spirituality

This study presents practices and beliefs that are specific to Talaingod Manobos that would assist social workers to deeply understand how imperative this spiritual connection is, that this element should not be defined and limited within the confines of conventional religion. Rather, “*Panubad-tubad*” should be understood as an expression of Indigenous spirituality where it articulates not only vertical relationship but more importantly a horizontal relationship as it connects with human relationships, with the natural environment including the trees, rocks, rivers, etc., a social network (Poonwasie & Charter,

2001) and all entities that Talaingod Manobos believe to exist in Pantaron Range. Above all, “*Panubad-tubad*” is Talaingod Manobos’ way of knowing.

“but the ritual depends on the things that we are going to do, if it is for farming or before going to war. If that’s a tribal war, we have to call a God. In farming we call on “Kalayag” and in Pangayaw we call on “Mandarangan” (pero ang ritual na nagadepende na kung unsa imong sugdan og unsa imong adtoo, pangayaw ba or pananum. Kung pangayaw naa pud naky syay lahi na tawagon kumbaga Ginoo kumbaga sa pananum” kalayag” ang ginatawag. Sa pangayaw “mandarangan” among ginatawag”) -- DK

The “*Panubad-tubad*” as Indigenous worldview places important value on the relationships and connections, between and among all the entities found within the Ancestral land or Pantaron Range. “*Panubad-tubad*” manifests the values of sharing, respect and responsibility to look after one another; hence it points out that the spiritual aspect of helping and healing is done collectively in a manner that no individual is being left alone in the helping process. The important values characterised by Indigenous healing and helping, are Indigenous values of sharing, connection, collective responsibility and acceptance contrary to individualist and managerialist approaches of contemporary welfare paradigms.

“Panubad-tubad” in Social Work context

In the context of social work, non-Indigenous social workers in this study expressed that they have observed a certain degree of disconnection with and condescension (see Rowie p. 160) from other social workers towards Indigenous Peoples’ communities. This disconnection is related to their knowledge gaps on Indigenous culture and history and was strongly articulated during interviews. In order to fill this gap, it is deemed important for social workers to possess a level of openness and awareness of the community, its history, culture and struggles so as to understand Talaingod Manobos’ worldviews and practices. Awareness on the part of social workers is vital to recognise cultural diversity (Danso, 2018; Munford & Sanders, 2011; Weaver, 1999) including knowledge and values that empower Indigenous Peoples.

Hence, the recognition of “*Panubad-tubad*” may help develop a sense of appreciation of how essential it is for rituals to be included in the helping process, knowing that “*Panubad-tubad*” is one of the many expressions of Talaingod Manobos’ strength, creativity and

capacities, as a holistic and collective method of healing and helping (de Alancar et al., 2016).

In addition, recognising “*Panubad-tubad*” in the helping process, may demonstrate respect for diversity by avoiding recreating colonial relations (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014) by decolonising social work as an act that is imperative in promoting social justice, as a key principle that underpins social work (Global Social Work Statement of Ethical Principles, IFSW, 2018).

◆ ***Honoring Indigenous Elders and Leaders***

The narratives of all Indigenous participants in this study emphasised the important role of Elders in every aspect of their community life and so this is highly emphasised by the Talaingod Manobo leaders during interviews. For the Talaingod Manobos, it is impossible for them to live their day to day struggles without the guidance and presence of the Elders (Felix, 2004; Garvan, 1931; Kaliwat Theatre Collective, 1996). The presence of Elders in the community is not only needed during settlement of dispute or negotiations during “*pangayaw*” (Tribal Wars), but the Elders are also seen as a central leadership figure in the community. They are the bearers of Spiritual and cultural knowledge, the keepers of oral history and traditions of the community because they carry with them the stories and memories of their ancestors (de Alancar et al., 2016; Lacorte, 2011)

The Elders and Healers/Priestesses and in the case of Talaingod Manobos, the “*Igbujag*” (Tribal Leader/Chief), the past leaders and the Baylan (Healer/priestess) are part of their Indigenous leadership structure and community process (Lacorte, 2011; Paluga & Ragrario, 2018), as it is inherent in their duties to lead their communities in preserving their Indigenous knowledge, history, culture and identity. They are the prominent figures in Indigenous Spirituality and Ceremonies.

In the words of Garvan (1931), “*The authority of Elder people is respected as long as they are physically and mentally able to participate in public gatherings.... They have greater influence in time of trouble than in time of peace*” (p. 22). This exemplifies how Indigenous Peoples particularly Talaingod Manobos look up to their Elders for wisdom and guidance to govern their community given that the concept of “peace” is a shared concern of the whole community. More than ever, this epitomises the importance of shared leadership and greater community participation on matters that concern and affect the well-being of

the community. In fact, part of the role of the *Datu* and “*Igbujag*” is ensuring that “peace and justice” should be given a higher importance whenever “*tigi*” or “*husay*” (dispute settlement) is being initiated. This is where community participation takes place, a must for any undertaking or decision concerning their community. The process of honouring the voices of the people, is done by ensuring an open and meaningful dialogue, where all the *Datu* (chieftains) and Elders are involved (see DG, DK, BaiB and DB quotes pp. 110-113).

The presence of “*Igbujag*” illustrates shared leadership with previous “*Datus*”, even including “*Datus*” from external communities; therefore, expanding unity across various villages within Pantaron Range. This was shared during the interviews. So, with this external relation, the “*Datus*” meet to discuss a problem, to settle a case or to resolve issues, pursuing peace pacts (Felix, 2004; Kaliwat Theatre Collective, 1996). Such acts demonstrate their aspiration to attain peace within their territories. On one side, this unity has led them to forge the creation of “*Salugpungan Ta’tanu Igkanugon*” or “Unity in Defense of Ancestral Land”, a Council of Elders and *Datus*, organised in 1994 where it was able to unite 83 various Manobo Tribes, when a threat from a multinational logging company imperilled their Ancestral land. The interview of DB gave an example on how Talaingod Manobos were able to plan, design and establish the Indigenous schools in Talaingod and neighbouring remote communities. This explains how through the leadership of the *Datus* who were members of “*Salugpungan Ta’tanu Igkanugon*”, they were able to plan, coordinate meetings and later to establish the *Salugpungan Ta’tanu Igkanugon Learning Center Inc.*, commonly known as “*Salugpungan schools*”.

The experience elucidates that through shared leadership and through exercising self-determination, the Talaingod Manobos were able to establish their schools. The process might be painstaking as they navigated the bureaucratic process of the Philippine education system especially its accreditation process. Since they have been practicing collectivity and participatory process in their community, collaborating with other NGOs and church-based organizations was never difficult for them. They have seen this as an opportunity of working together in order to address literacy issues of their communities.

The presence and voices of Talaingod Manobo Elders in day-to-day life, invite social workers to learn and to be more aware of how the community practices collective participation. Their socio-political structures permit sharing of ideas and collective decision-making for any issues or problems besetting their communities. It puts forward the value of transparency, collective accountability and participation. More so, when

working with Indigenous Peoples' communities, an individualist approach of helping may disrupt their value of unity and counter their collective way of life. So, it is important for social workers to communicate and engage in dialogue with the Elders and "Datu" before commencing a programme or project, knowing that the Elders hold an important voice in the community. The Talaingod Manobos' way of life reminds social workers to reflect on how ethical principles promote the right to participation and inclusivity, that in transforming communities and society, full involvement of the community is required. It is an invitation to collaborate and to work with the Elders, Tribal leaders and Healers while keeping in mind social work's principles and ethical practice.

Talaingod Manobos' Notion of Development

The model presented above (see diagram 1) highlights Talaingod Manobos' diverse notion of development, as no element exists without the other, given that everything is a special web of connections that transcends socially, politically, economically and spiritually, as written by Martin (2003):

"All things are recognised and respected for their place in the overall system. While they are differentiated, these relations are not oppositional, nor binaric, but are inclusive and accepting of diversity. These relations serve to define and unite, not to oppose or alienate (p. 207).

The identity and the existence of Talaingod Manobos are directly connected to the existence of "Pantaron Range" and from that reality, the special web of connection is established. As mentioned earlier, Talaingod Manobos deem themselves as faithful stewards of the Pantaron Range. Such relationships have also allowed them to build an Indigenous system relevant to these obligations and sense of sovereignty (Matsuoka et al., 2013). It is inherent and it is sacred (Martin, 2003). This is the **Relational Emphasis**, the "dynamic processes of connections and transactions" (Pachucki & Breiger 2010, p. 208). Out of this relationship, Talaingod Manobos for example, have developed characteristics and attitudes that seek to understand and learn the voices of the birds, mountains, rains, rivers and everything that surrounds them. They carefully look out for the stars for the signs that would tell them that it is time for planting or harvesting (Lacorte, 2011). Based on the narratives, the Datus always reiterate that they would listen to the sounds of "Alimukon" (white-eared brown dove) to know whether they should proceed with the journey or not or proceed with farming or not.

This action shows how Talaingod Manobos revere the Spirits that guard the trees, rivers and birds that they depend on for guidance (Lacorte, 2011). According to the Datus there is the call or the sound of “Alimukon” that gives a warning either for illness, accidents, bad luck or a sound of approval. It is also their belief that if you go against it, something untoward may happen or the plants will not grow no matter how much you cultivate the land (DB and Lacorte, 2011). This actuation also connotes **Respect to** and **Knowledge of** the natural cycle of things that exists within the Ancestral I

and. Cropping method follows this cycle out of this respect. When one area is cleared and utilised for farming for this cropping season, they will search out for different areas for the next cropping season. The Talaingod Manobo leaders mentioned in the interviews that such is being observed to allow the soil to rest in order to replenish and restore its nutrients. This practice is something clearly opposite to the farming practices of mainstream society especially in vast plantations such as Dole or Del Monte Philippines. This Indigenous way shows how the Ancestral land is given high importance as the source of life and as that which sustains life.

“Yes, that is why the soil is fertile in our community because we give value to our soil and as a result we have bountiful harvest with our fruits. If the people from the lowland will not study and observe our ways and culture, they will really look at it in a different way and assume that we are lazy people (Oo, mao nang sa amoa bisag walay abuno tambok gyud siya tagtulo ka bunga ang mukuan tungod kay ginaampingan ang yuta. kung tan-awon sa bisaya nga kung dili siya makigduki-duki nganong nin ana ang kahintang lahi ang pagtan-aw nimo).” - DM

This Indigenous practice by the Talaingod Manobos has earned them prejudice and biases from the lowland settlers, accusing them that they are “lazy people” for practicing farming differently from them. However, Talaingod Manobos consider land more than just physical space, rather it is sacred, and it is life and they have developed Indigenous ways and development built around this knowledge. Talaingod Manobos also consider their relationship with Pantaron Range as a manifestation of **Reciprocity**. **Reciprocity** is also promoted when they hold themselves accountable to one another, in ensuring the well-being of one another and in making sure that nobody is being left behind. This relationship is highly manifested in “*Lusong*”.

“*Lusong*” is understood as reciprocity, solidarity with each other, a sense of collectivity and accountability to one another; hence, they exist to help each other. This practice of

sharing takes place even if they are too poor to give or even if the other person could not extend the same to them.

On the other hand, how they value their “*Igbujag*” speaks largely of their **Respect for Elders**. For them, they hold the connection of their past and they are the holders of wisdom (de Alancar et al., 2016; Garvan, 1931; Lacorte, 2011). Such respect is also manifested on how they listen to and honour the voices of the Elders on important discussion affecting their communities especially on issues pertaining to peace, development and welfare. Knowing that Elders carry teachings and hold important voice in the community, social workers, when working with Indigenous Peoples must ensure to work with the Elders to honour this important connection within Indigenous communities. Social workers must be mindful about this process and relationship shared within Indigenous communities to be effective in their engagement.

The **assertion of their right to self-determination** is also another important factor in understanding Talaingod Manobos’ notion of development. In advancing their own culture and their own way of life within its territories and borders, it is important that they are the ones who should govern and decide how development should take place. This is a reminder for social workers that development efforts must be grounded on where they are, by acknowledging their systems, belief and process as an Indigenous community. According to Czyzewski and Tester (2014), self-determination means governing without interference and forced assimilation. Given this reality that the outsiders have the tendency of imposing dominant knowledge, process, policy and outcome that will evidently become a re-creation of colonial relations (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014), social workers must always be reminded to consider things from the perspective of the community.

Articulating the concept of development of the Talaingod Manobos require social workers to understand that Talaingod Manobos possess their own development epistemology, largely in contrast to how mainstream society views and promotes development. If development programmes result in Talaingod Manobos being displaced from their land and disconnected from their culture, then it opposes Talaingod Manobos’ development epistemology. A development concept must place deep respect for the natural environment and sustain the web of relationship. It must adhere to the sense of collectivism and must be sustainable to ensure that future generations may inherit the land and its richness— a concept that guides social workers during the engagement. Therefore, the elements provide a framework that the Talaingod Manobos see development as the

wholeness of their existence, their connection to the natural world, including the spiritual entities and it centres on their ancestral land called “Pantaron Range”, where identity, history and relationship are knitted together.

Anti-Oppressive and Empowerment Approaches in Social Work

Social work has been greatly criticised for its role in the “Stolen Generation” in Australia and the “60s Scoop” that took place in Canada and Northern America (AASW, 2004; Fejo-King, 2011; Gray & Hetherington, 2013; Hart, 2015; Sinclair, 2004; Whiteside et al., 2011; Yu, 2019). While there is still a greater need for Philippine social work to reflect on the kind of engagement it has with the Indigenous Peoples, it is also sensible to ask whether Philippine social work has done something to ensure that Indigenous Peoples’ voices, knowledge and worldviews are included and recognised in the profession or has it remained as uncritical, residual and has maintained its colonialist stance in its approach towards Indigenous Peoples. This contention still needs to be asked and documented, as there are notable gaps in literature in Philippine social work. On one hand, there is a need to recognise the changes when many social workers across the globe have begun to include Indigenous worldviews, approaches and methods in social work research, curriculum, practice and even in policy. These efforts give value to the voices, meanings and experiences of Indigenous Peoples’ communities (Briskman, 2014; Carlson, 2017; Gray & Hetherington, 2013).

What is significant from the experiences of these countries (New Zealand, Australia, Canada) is the fact that there have been various endeavours to decolonise the profession, to recognise Indigenous worldviews and knowledge aside from the western dominant paradigm and the words “whiteness of social work” (Fejo-King, 2011; Walter et al., 2011). On one hand, Talaingod Manobos’ Indigenous Framework is embedded in anti-oppressive and empowerment approaches, a growing body of knowledge in social work that will best guide social workers when working with the Indigenous Peoples. This Indigenous framework when put into practice aims to decolonise by tackling uneven power relationships, hegemony (Carlson, 2017) and structural inequalities while it pursues collective rights, right to self-determination, participation and accountability. With Talaingod Manobos’ Indigenous framework soon to be in place within Philippine social work practice, then there would be a shift particularly in development programmes and interventions. The Indigenous framework with human rights and social justice which are core social work values and underpinning principles hopes to empower Indigenous

Peoples to utilise their Indigenous worldviews and practices on matters that concern their rights and survival.

Anti-oppressive (Dominelli, 1996, 2002) and empowerment approaches (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rappaport, 1981, 1984) help social workers to acknowledge the importance of understanding Indigenous meanings and experiences at the centre of development discourses as it privileges Indigenous history, worldviews and knowledge. In the case of this study, it highlighted Talaingod Manobos' culture, context and experiences. Utilising anti-oppressive and empowerment approaches helps social workers recognise that as Indigenous Peoples, particularly the Talaingod Manobos, they possess different worldviews, their concept of development and even welfare is so different from mainstream society; hence, their right to self-determination should be respected and recognised (Czyzewski & Tester, 2014; Smylie et al., 2014). Further, these approaches urge social workers to study Indigenous history to look at the impact brought about by years of assimilation, dispossession and discrimination being faced by Indigenous Peoples' communities, especially the Talaingod Manobos. More importantly, these approaches challenge social workers, especially non-Indigenous social workers to reflect on how they position themselves in this aspect, how they respond when confronted with oppression, their role to effect change and to overcome personal biases. When the principles of social justice and human rights were reiterated in the Global agenda of social work, it set an imperative for social workers to take a hard look at current practices in the Philippines: whether the current programmes and services work in this underpinning; whether the current practice truly encourages other social workers and social work students to think critically and challenge the existing oppressive status quo; or whether it remains passive and unmindful of this power relationship or dynamics or worse become an agent to this oppressive undertaking. All these concerns need to be explored.

The elements of Indigenous Talaingod Manobos' Framework clearly demonstrate that they value self-determination, collective rights, building participation and empowerment long before the mainstream society has coined these concepts. The Indigenous Framework presented here challenges social workers, particularly non-Indigenous social workers, to be humble and critically reflective in looking at the power dynamics deriving from where they are, while at the same time utilising rights-based practice, to build partnerships and empowering communities (Calma & Priday, 2011; Danso, 2018). The call to work towards change from the grass roots, should start right from where the Indigenous Peoples' communities are, as pointed out by Ife and Fiske (2006) "*community development needs*

a human rights-based framework if it is to be successful, and human rights needs a community development framework if they are to be realised” (in Carlson, 2017, p. 149). Nevertheless, it pointed out that Indigenous Peoples hold answers to their problems, if only their right to self-determination is recognised and respected (Carlson, 2017).

Engaging the Talaingod Manobos’ Indigenous Elements in Social Work

Social work in the Philippines is considered a product of western values and paradigms (Yu, 2006; 2006). This study explored Indigenous knowledge and worldviews and their utilisation in social work theory and practice. The Indigenous Practice Framework invites social workers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, to be mindful of the existence of Indigenous knowledge, worldview and paradigms that exist apart from the prevailing western worldview and knowledge; while at the same time it challenges social workers to be uncomfortable and to challenge existing monopoly of western knowledge and paradigms. The Talaingod Manobos’ Indigenous Practice Framework offers key elements in its Indigenous helping and caring that is imperative in decolonisation and in engagement with Indigenous Peoples’ communities. It teaches social workers to be respectful in honouring Indigenous voices in the practice, to work with diverse cultural background and history.

Knowing the history and context of Indigenous communities provides insights and knowledge on how to position an ethical and effective social work engagement which must take place with Indigenous Peoples. The elements of Talaingod Manobos’ Indigenous Practice Framework as presented above help social workers in understanding the diverse processes and practices that take place in an Indigenous Peoples’ community that may be encounter. This requires Philippine social work practice to have a space for the Indigenous social work to develop and engage alongside with western theory and approaches.

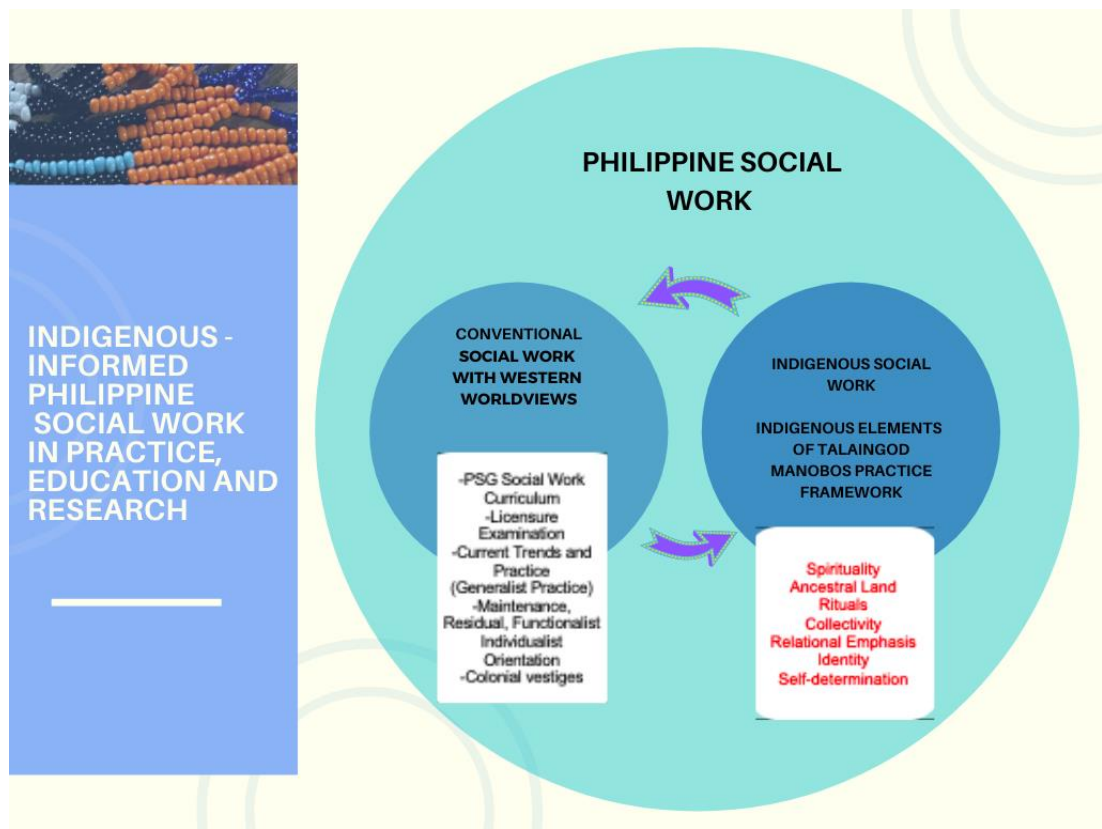


Figure 3. Indigenous-informed Philippine Social Work in Practice, Education and Research

Figure 3 above presents the proposed development of an Indigenous-informed Philippine social work framework. The left circle presents contemporary Philippines social work arrangement and practice, and the right circle is the proposed Indigenous social work practice alongside its worldviews, values and elements. The outer bigger circle, represents the Philippine social work – where these two epistemologies are inclusively located. This figure places an emphasis on “ethical space” (Sasakamoose, et al., 2017; Yellowbird, 2013) where these two epistemologies are working together and that while social work is a profession developed from the dominant culture, it should be relevant in the local condition. This figure highlights the Indigenous elements of Talaingod Manobos, which clearly presents the Indigenous worldviews, knowledge and practice of the Talaingod Manobos, as explained in the previous chapter and in this chapter. By engaging in this framework, it can have implications to Philippine social work practice, research and education such as, but not limited to, developing a practice standard with Indigenous communities, engagement of Indigenous helping approaches in the curriculum and Indigenous social work research. This framework invites social workers to be aware, mindful and respectful to these worldviews that exist in the profession. The framework aims to honour process, ancestors and relationships among individuals, families and community as a whole. Social workers reiterate what change agents should be, by allowing

them to examine their own biases and prejudices while at the same time addressing the impact of colonisation, and oppression on many Indigenous Peoples' communities. It also reminds social workers on the contribution of Indigenous knowledge to the social work's theory and practice, as manifested in their practices and beliefs such as self-determination, collective rights, building participation and empowerment – values long-held and practiced by Talaingod Manobos. This framework will create opportunities for Philippine social work to establish diverse helping approaches and Indigenous interventions that allow culture as an implicit part of the profession, education and practice (Gray et al., 2013).

The engagement of this framework into social work practice entails a paradigm shift that will shake the status quo of contemporary social work practice and education. As aptly put by Young et al., (2013) this step shall “equalise Indigenous epistemology” (p.193), the starting point of truly recognising Indigenous knowledge, worldviews and Indigenous social work in itself. It positions Indigenous knowledge of Talaingod Manobos, for example, in the same manner that social work recognises Western paradigms and epistemology and not just from the margins. This requires development of teaching and learning strategies that derive from the elements of Indigenous Framework with the knowledge contributed by the Indigenous leaders in its development. By doing so, this will enrich social work curriculum not only with the Indigenous culture, history and knowledge but also with Indigenous values, principles and attitudes that require every social worker to undertake a meaningful and respectful engagement.

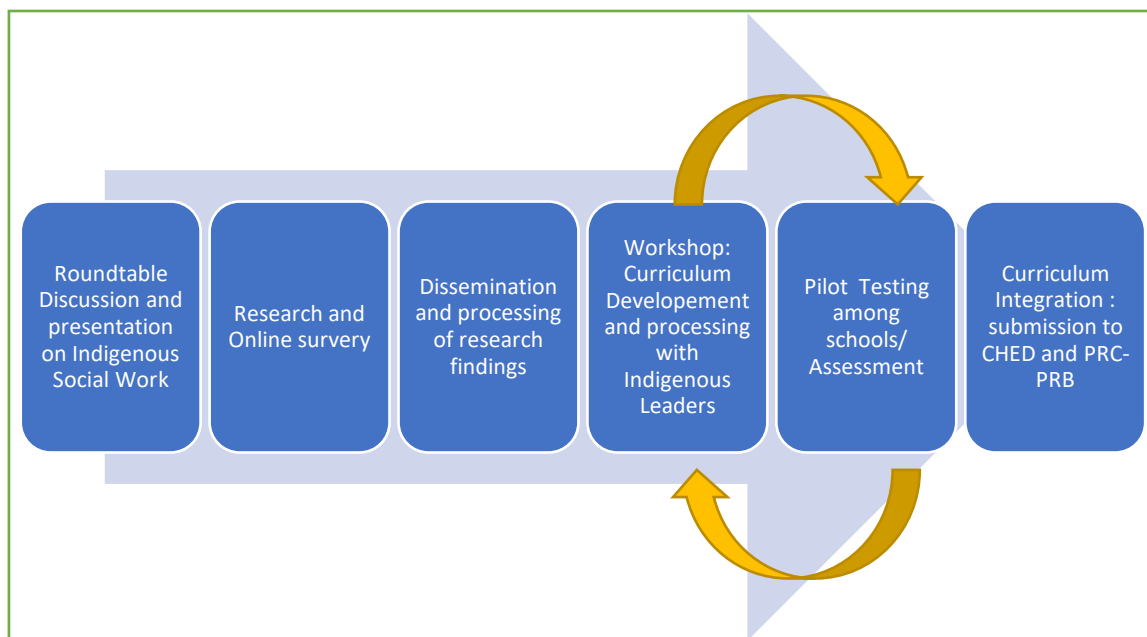


Figure 4. Process for development of Indigenous-informed Philippine Social Work

Changes need to be supported by the profession if they are to be effective for social work practice. It is therefore suggested that NASWEI initiate a roundtable discussion among social work educators to explore reflections, processes and experiences particularly of Indigenous social workers on this topic. Such processes should include the presence and voices of Indigenous elders and leaders. This could be followed by a research and survey in order to ascertain challenges, deeper reflections and contributions on how this should be undertaken at the local NASWEI and PASWI chapters. The result of the research can be utilised for curriculum development workshops and processing with a goal to come with up a Framework on Indigenous Social Work. The workshop should include Indigenous Leaders to help social workers in co-designing the curriculum and its content. The curriculum could be piloted at identified pilot schools/University to run this project, to determine how it could be taught effectively and efficiently. This should be done together with Indigenous social workers. These pilot social work schools should be situated within Mindanao or areas in Luzon and Visayas with known concentration of Indigenous Peoples' communities like in CAR Region, Central Luzon or Western Visayas. The goal is to create a curriculum co-created by social workers, Indigenous social workers and Indigenous Peoples, manifesting a collaborative knowledge and practice development.

Study Limitations

The inclusion of other Indigenous Peoples aside from Talaingod Manobos, can strengthen this research. However, there are diverse and numerous Indigenous groups and sub-groups spread across Mindanao and given the limitations in terms of time and resources in interviewing, the inclusion of more groups was not possible. The idea to include all Indigenous groups and even Moro people was presented and discussed thoroughly during the earliest phase of the research proposal stage. However, with the immensity of the topic and the diversity of knowledge of the different groups of Indigenous Peoples, the scope of the study was limited. Therefore, the proposed inclusion was not seen doable; it is however suggested, that replication of the enquiry to cover other Indigenous Peoples be done since it is relevant and important.

This enquiry may have been more enriching if the interviews were conducted in their respective communities, where the researcher could have fully immersed in the community and experienced their culture first-hand. Such experiences could have truly enriched this enquiry. However due to security issues prevailing at the time and up until now, Indigenous leaders particularly the Indigenous Reference Group did not permit the researcher to conduct the study in their respective communities in Talaingod. The interviews were conducted inside a Church property to ensure the safety and security of Talaingod Manobo leaders and the researcher. Additional participants such as Indigenous social work students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers, specifically those coming from NGOs could also provide distinct experience on their engagement. Their voices and lived experiences could have supplemented narratives which are highly significant in data analysis.

Follow up interviews could have been undertaken among the participants had security and time not hindered the researcher from doing so during the field work. Such interviews could have provided deeper insights and perhaps clarification on the responses shared by the participants during the first round of interview. The need to translate to several languages is also seen as limitation as there are nuances and direct meanings of words or phrases that can be lost during translation. Despite these challenges and risks recognised at the outset of the research, still the research was pursued with the guidance and assistance of the Indigenous reference groups and the researcher's supervisors.

The researcher located herself within the Insider-Outsider dichotomy (Breen, 2007; Darling, 2016; Kwame, 2017) in this study. This was the nagging concern when this research journey was started and when engagement with Indigenous Peoples' communities commenced. The researcher was deeply aware of her personal limitations and biases thus she kept asking herself where she should position herself. It is typical for any qualitative researcher utilising a Constructivist Grounded Theory to clarify the researcher's role and his/her position in the entire research process. For one, the appropriateness of the Constructivist Grounded Theory in this enquiry allows exploration of how the social process emerges and how the participants' experiences construct realities, including the interplay of how much effort participants exert over these processes and under what conditions such realities are constructed (Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

The researcher in this enquiry had a degree of hesitance with regard to not being Indigenous. In fact, there was hesitation if indeed she was competent and even the right person to pursue this enquiry for fear that she would not be able to give justice to the voices and experiences of the Talaingod Manobos. It was also very clear to the researcher right from the start that she had no intention to speak on their behalf rather she must privilege Indigenous voices. As a social worker and as part of the academic community, it is the researcher's duty to ensure that their stories are brought to the fore, and that their stories are recognised and respected. Being a non-Indigenous social worker, she locates herself as an "Outsider" doing research for the Indigenous and it can have serious implications if researcher is not conscious of the power dynamics between a non-Indigenous researcher/social worker and Indigenous Leaders (Raheim, et al., 2016). With this realisation coming into play, it gave the researcher the chance to distance herself from the data once in a while, to avoid being too acquainted with the data for fear that it may run the risk of over-familiarity and totally undermine the rigour and trustworthiness aspect of this enquiry (Raheim et al., 2016; Whiteside, 2009;).

Research Implications

This study has implications to practice, education and future research in Philippine social work in the context of Indigenous social work. Indigenous social work, as both theory and practice, as utilised in this study may encounter possible challenges given the present arrangement of social work practice when it is deeply entrenched in its colonial legacy (Yu, 2009). The study highlights issues in relation to its conception in Philippine setting. For one, there is lack of awareness on the existence of Indigenous worldviews and knowledge

and so with the problem relating to its recognition of Indigenous worldviews and knowledge as an equally important knowledge and paradigm aside from the western paradigm; hence, this area in Philippine social work is highly under-researched. Second, Mindanao narratives are not visible (Paredes, 2013) in the dominant discourses on Philippine development work and these are the areas where these Indigenous Peoples communities are located. Outside the borders of Philippine social work practice, there are immense literatures that put forward Indigenous social work as being developed and practiced in many countries across the globe.

Perhaps this body of knowledge is able to invite Filipino social workers to revisit and re-examine the Code of Ethics and answer the following concerns: whether the PASWI Code of Ethics still meets the growing needs and concerns of Filipino social workers especially Indigenous social workers; whether it is still relevant given the tumultuous changes that have taken place in Philippine social welfare and development practices and discourses; whether it recognises cultural diversity and sensitivity to varied cultural identities, practices, beliefs and values systems; whether the Code of Ethics encourages Filipino social workers to think critically when tackling the most pressing issues affecting communities; and whether it ensures inclusivity of other worldviews, voices and lived experiences especially of those at the peripheries. These can be done through dialogues and pursuing researches.

Decolonising Philippine social work practice may offer possible challenges. Somehow, as observed, it is safe to say that this has been the usual arrangement in social work practice. Theories, concepts and approaches from the West are easily replicated and applied into the local context. There are theories and concepts that are seen fit to some extent, and in fact, even local initiatives can be transformed once epistemology and ontology are transported using Western paradigms. However, this practice may impede in the development of local theory and practice, especially that of Indigenous knowledge and practice (Gray et al., 2013).

Research which reviews Practice Standards of social work practice that outlines the required expectations for social workers and that ensures ethical practice and responsibilities shall guide social workers following the Code of Ethics. This should aim to:

- a. acknowledge and recognise Indigenous worldviews and understand the history and culture of Indigenous Peoples.

- b. make social work practice and operate in an anti-oppressive and empowerment framework that upholds important values of respect, openness, sharing and reciprocity.

As part of the efforts to decolonise Philippine social work practice, changes must always be included. In the realm of social work curriculum, when students are prepared for practice, lessons pertaining to engagement with Indigenous People are not highlighted inside the classrooms nor are there subjects that discuss Indigenous Peoples. This gap was reiterated during the interview with both Indigenous and non-Indigenous social workers including the Indigenous students who stressed that they are from Mindanao and Mindanao has been a home to many Moro and Indigenous Peoples' communities. Findings of this enquiry stress the need to develop social work education where Indigenous Peoples are not invisible and should reflect accurately Indigenous worldviews, paradigms and knowledge (Gair et al., 2005; Gray & Hetherington, 2013; Green & Baldry, 2008;). It also hopes that social workers challenge the colonial legacy embedded in social policies, education and programmes.

This study is limited only to the Talaingod Manobos. Further research can focus on other Indigenous Peoples' communities utilising their Indigenous worldviews, paradigms and research methodologies as a significant step towards decolonising social work. This can lead to a greater understanding on varied Indigenous epistemes and paradigms utilised by many Indigenous Peoples' communities across the country and particularly here in Mindanao. Topics can cover livelihood, community development and empowerment, employment, education, gender and mental health, the role of the youth in the community and their relationship with the elders in terms of continuity of practices and beliefs and how domestic violence and child abuse issues are being addressed, though other topics may be integrated. This enquiry is an invitation for social workers to embark on Indigenous-centred research epistemologies and paradigms hopefully to be co-developed by the Indigenous Peoples' communities. This is a bold yet significant step in claiming a research space for the Indigenous into the mainstream.

Conclusion

The ***Creator and Spirits, Ancestral Land, Elders (Igbujag) and Datu, Collectivity (Lusong), Ritual (Panubad-tubad), Relational Emphasis, Identity and Self-determination*** are the Talaingod Manobos Indigenous elements that shall inform social workers when they engage with Talaingod Manobo communities. All these address the overarching question of this enquiry: “*What are the elements of an Indigenous social work framework which will inform social workers in Mindanao as they engage with “Talaingod Manobos” communities?*” Additionally, the integration of this framework into our education and practice will offer better ways of learning, doing and engaging with Indigenous Peoples.

The Indigenous Elements of Talaingod Manobo Practice identified in the study have informed an Indigenous Practice framework that offers a unique perspective on Philippine social work that carries Indigenous Mindanao context as its background. This body of knowledge hopes to bring to the fore the discourse on the importance of Indigenous knowledge as a paradigm for social work especially in Philippine social work theory and practice. Their practices and Indigenous ways are intersected with a strong desire to promote welfare collectively, right to self-determination and above all their collective concern towards “peace for all”. These values are strongly reflected on how Talaingod Manobos organise their community structure and how the elements of *Lusong, Panubad-tubad, Igbujag* are developed. The enquiry has also extended new understanding that in the realm of helping and healing, these elements of the Indigenous Framework are closely related with one another. There is an emphasis on the concept of self-determination which is expressed collectively and is manifested across every element. Similarly, findings also reveal that this body of knowledge is seen as a gap in Philippine social work practice and so it is necessary to include and recognise them in social work theory and practice. This enquiry hopes to establish that Indigenous social work will not be conflated with “Multiculturalism” but rather as an important practice of the profession. This practice seeks to challenge the gaps of Philippine social work in developing relevant approaches and interventions that confront the political and cultural realities affecting Indigenous Peoples’ communities across the country.

Appendix One

Consent Form for Talaingod Manobos

“SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE FROM THE SOUTH: TALAINGOD MANOBO’S INDIGENOUS PRACTICE FRAMEWORK “

I, _____, have read (or, where appropriate, have had read to me) and understood the Information Statement and Consent Form, and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that even though I agree to be involved in this project, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and can withdraw my data up to four weeks following the completion of my participation in the research. Further, in withdrawing from the study, I can request that no information from my involvement be used. I agree that research data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be included in a thesis, presented at conferences and published in journals on the condition that neither my name nor any other identifying information is used.

With my permission, I formally agree to have my interview audio-recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

Name of Participant (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Investigator (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Student Supervisor (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Please quote the application reference number HEC17-082

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Franklin Street CBD**REGIONAL CAMPUSES**Bendigo
Albury-Wodonga
Mildura
Shepparton**Consent Form for Talaingod Manobos
(translated)****“SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE FROM THE SOUTH: TALAINGOD
MANOBO’S INDIGENOUS PRACTICE FRAMEWORK “**

Ako si _____ nga nakabasa (o kung asa mas nahaum, napasabot pinaagi sa pagpabasa sa akoo) ug nasabtan ang Information Statement and Consent Form, ug ang akong mga pangutana nataubag kini sa ensakto).

Ako nakasabot nga maski pa misugot ko nga mosalmot aning project, pwede ko mo-atras ug pwede nako akong bawi-on ang mga datus gikan upat ka semana human ang akong pasalmot sa research. Ug sa akong pag-atras sa project pwede nako mahangyo nga dili magamit ang masking unsang impormasyon na kalambigit sa akoo. Ako naga-uyon nga ang mga datus sa research na gihatag nako kauban sa akong pagtugot, malambigit sa thesis, ma-presentar sa conferences, ug madumala sa journals, sa kondisyon nga dili gamiton akong pangalan o maski unsang impormasyon na mopahibalo sa akong pagkatao.

Sa akong pagtugot, pormal ko na misugot na ma-record ang akong interview: Oo ☐ Dili ☐

Pangalan (block letters): _____

Pirma: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Pangalan sa imbestigador (block letters): _____

Pirma: _____

Petsa: ____/____/2018

Pangalan sa Student Supervisor (block letters): _____

Pirma: _____

Petsa: ____/____/2018

Please quote the application reference number HEC17-082



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Consent Form for Indigenous Social Workers

“SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE FROM THE SOUTH: TALAINGOD MANOBO’S INDIGENOUS PRACTICE FRAMEWORK “

I, _____, have read (or, where appropriate, have had read to me) and understood the Information Statement and Key Informant Consent Form, and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that even though I agree to be involved in this project, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and can withdraw my data up to four weeks following the completion of my participation in the research. Further, in withdrawing from the study, I can request that no information from my involvement be used. I agree that research data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be included in a thesis, presented at conferences and published in journals on the condition that neither my name nor any other identifying information is used.

With my permission, I formally agree to have my interview audio-recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

Name of Key Informant (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Investigator (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Student Supervisor (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

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Mildura
Shepparton

Consent Form for Non-Indigenous Social Worker

“SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE FROM THE SOUTH: TALAINGOD MANOBO’S INDIGENOUS PRACTICE FRAMEWORK “

I, _____, have read (or, where appropriate, have had read to me) and understood the Information Statement and Consent Form, and any questions I have asked, have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that even though I agree to be involved in this project, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and can withdraw my data up to four weeks following the completion of my participation in the research. Further, in withdrawing from the study, I can request that no information from my involvement be used. I agree that research data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be included in a thesis, presented at conferences and published in journals on the condition that neither my name nor any other identifying information is used.

With my permission, I formally agree to have my interview audio-recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

Name of Participant (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Investigator (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Student Supervisor (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Please quote the application reference number HEC17-082

Consent Form for Indigenous Social Work Students

“SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE FROM THE SOUTH: TALAINGOD MANOBO’S INDIGENOUS PRACTICE FRAMEWORK “

I, _____, have read (or, where appropriate, have had read to me) and understood the Information Statement and Key Informant Consent Form, and any questions I have asked, have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that even though I agree to be involved in this project, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and can withdraw my data up to four weeks following the completion of my participation in the research. Further, in withdrawing from the study, I can request that no information from my involvement be used. I agree that research data provided by me or with my permission during the project may be included in a thesis, presented at conferences and published in journals on the condition that neither my name nor any other identifying information is used.

With my permission, I formally agree to have my interview audio-recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

Name of Key Informant (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Investigator (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Name of Student Supervisor (block letters): _____

Signature: _____

Date: ____/____/2018

Please quote the application reference number HEC17-082

Appendix Two

Final major, stand-alone & minor themes

Talaingod Manobos			Indigenous Social Workers			Indigenous Social Work Students			Non-Indigenous Social Workers		
Final Themes	Stand-alone Codes	Minor Themes	Final Themes	Stand-alone Codes	Minor Themes	Final Themes	Stand-alone Codes	Minor Themes	Final Themes	Stand-alone Codes	Minor Themes
Being a Tribal Leader means carrying immense responsibility	leadership is not about birthright Defending the land ensuring security leadership is difficult	Leadership is inherent, not inherited Honouring Shared leadership Leaders' role in conflict settlements	Noting Intersectionality of Discrimination Tasks of being a (Indigenous) Social Worker Drawing out Personal Reflections Applying Indigenous way to SW practice Applying SW principle (engagement with IP)	earning SW Degree Experiencing dilemma mobilizing resources expected to give proper assessment adopting practices in SW helping fellow lumad progress	Needing more Lumad Social Workers (Indigenous Social Workers)	Pursuing a Social Work Degree Struggling to Continue in the Social Work Degree Program Varied Realizations while Pursuing the Degree Observing Poor Treatment towards Indigenous Peoples Noting Gaps in Social Work Education	devising coping mechanism to learn gathering people is not easy Organizing work is never easy	Citing Impact of Assimilation	Noting Varying Observations on Indigenous Peoples Realising the Importance of Diversity and Self-determination Identifying Gaps in Welfare Programs Issues related to <i>Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program</i> (4Ps) Suggesting Ways Forward for Social Work	Feeling pity (towards the lumad) Finding ways for participation (CO Work) consultation with the lumad	Importance of Respect Identifying Gaps in SW Education Conveying limited knowledge on IP culture Exhibiting condescending views towards Indigenous Peoples
Leaders' Responses to Aggressions from the Outside	establishing leadership Fleeing their community forcing people to evacuate and hide	Attitude towards Education Expressing Concerns on Arming Indigenous Peoples									
Concretising Indigenous Way of Helping and Welfare	destroying schools Ritual for the healing										
Manifesting Relations	Ancestral Doman as										

through Rituals	sacred ground					and Practice					
	Concept of Lusong					Emphasizi ng Importanc e of Indigenou s Practice in Social Work					
	Ritual before planting Ritual is seeking guidance from Creators										
Recalling Experiences with Social Workers	comparing Social Workers expressing preference										

Final combined coding stage of all Indigenous Leaders coded and re-coded

Leadership is (description)

- leadership is an act of example
- leadership is difficult
- leadership is not about birthright
- leadership is not inherited easily

Datu's Roles in the community

- Defending the land
- Datu role in ensuring food supply
- ensuring harmony in the community
- ensuring relevance and connectedness
- ensuring security
- ensuring survival
- establishing leadership

Forms of aggression experienced by Lumad

- being bombarded by bomb instead
- experiencing harassment and assault
- experiencing security issues
- Killings of lumad leader became rampant
- constantly experiencing of red-tagging
- constantly being harassed
- falsely tagging as rebel returnee or surenderee
- experienced hamletting
- Experiencing smear campaign
- Experiencing suffering (bombing)

Intrusion of Big businesses

- acknowledging that land grabbing is a threat
- allowing big companies in lumad territories (Government)
- attempting to put up a hydropower plant
- attempting to trespass

Attacking Lumad-initiative program

- accused school of the NPA
- accused that land is owned by NPA
- Attacking lumad school
- destroying school

Displacement became a norm

- being displaced
- displacement is done repetitively
- Fleeing their community
- forcing people to evacuate and hide

Presence of military in ancestral territory

- emphasizing huge crisis brought by military
- escalating number of military battalions
- local villages are blocked by military
- historical attempts of military's intrusion

Example of Collapsing codes and themes into “Theme One”

Being a Tribal Leader means carrying immense responsibility

Major Theme (from Talaingod Manobo Leaders)

“Corresponding Themes from Talaingod Manobo Leaders”

Corresponding codes from Talaingod Manobo Leaders

Corresponding codes from Indigenous Social Work Students

CORRESPONDING THEME FROM INDIGENOUS SOCIAL WORK STUDENTS

Corresponding codes from Indigenous Social Workers

CORRESPONDING THEME FROM INDIGENOUS SOCIAL WORKERS

leading economic life; managing community affairs (leader); managing the needs of community; possessing the right attitude of a leader; Problem-solving skills (leader); recognizing leadership thru values; Can be a judge (leader); Ensuring food supply (leader); Leader has an immense responsibility; A leader must ensure a sufficient supply of food; Ensuring equal distribution of community resources; “ensuring harmony in the community (mediation)”; “ensuring relevance and connectedness “; ensuring security; ensuring survival; **PREVENTING PROBLEMS AND CONFLICT; avoiding bigger problems to occur; ESTABLISHING LUMAD AUTHORITY** ; *citing plenary approval; establishing Lumad laws; decision making process; recognizing tribal ownership*

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