

Original Research Article

PANGAYAW: SEEKING PEACE IN VENGEANCE AMONG BLAAN TRIBE IN KIBLAWAN, DAVAO DEL SUR

ABSTRACT

Aims: This phenomenological study aimed to explore the lived experiences, coping strategies, and insights of the Blaan tribe in their practice of the Pangayaw or revenge-killing.

Study design: This study employs a qualitative design utilizing the phenomenological approach.

Place and Duration of Study: This study was conducted among the Blaans tribe that belongs in Kiblawan, Davao Del Sur, between 2020 and 2021.

Methodology: During data collection, there were nine (9) participants who willingly consented to participate in the in-depth interviews. After data was collected, transcribed, and translated, it was subjected to thematic analysis.

Results: The results revealed the lived experiences, coping strategies, and insights of the Blaans. In the practice of Pangayaw, it was found out that the members of the bereaved family feel relieved after vengeance was served. Meanwhile, coping strategies used include the *settlement of issues* with other families, along with government officials and money for compensation. On the other hand, members of the tribe shared their insights on the need to stop the practice of Pangayaw and called for legal interventions.

Conclusion: The study concluded that National Commission on Indigenous People (NCIP) should re-evaluate the conduct of this tradition for the well-being of the members of the tribe.

Keywords: Pangayaw, Blaan, Indigenous peoples, lived experiences, coping, insights

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, revenge killings have been prevalent among tribes, it has been largely influenced by cultural values, and sociopolitical and socioeconomic disparities (Lingga, 2017). Revenge-killing involves fatal retaliation among indigenous groups. In the Blaans, this is called Pangayaw, a practice that thrived because of cultural beliefs that vengeance is a way to obtain justice, thus retaliation is considered as a natural way to obtain justice for killing members of families (Tamos, 2016). It is one of the common cultural practices that are a source of violence in the Philippines (Social Weather Station, 2015).

Furthermore, several countries around the world have evident cases of revenge killings and are often rooted in blood feud cultures. Cultural killings are a significant concern due to the drastic effect on the community (Tamos, 2016). Such practices significantly affect the members of the tribe, including the surrounding communities. In addition, conflicts associated with this practice may also destroy agricultural properties and livestock. Apart from relocation and economic recovery for the families impacted, the literacy rate is often

hindered as schools would often be used as evacuation centers and only a very few teachers would take positions in conflict-prone regions (UNICEF, 2018).

Despite this, it cannot be undermined that in the Blaan culture, the practice of *Pangayaw* is deeply ingrained among its people and is almost impossible to eradicate (Lingga, 2017). Blaan has close family ties which are considered as one of the core values of Blaan families. Blaan people live with their relatives and usually reside in one compound or area. Moreover, the cultural importance of this view to understanding conflict between indigenous peoples and disadvantaged communities is an important factor that needs to be taken into consideration when initiating sufficient efforts to counter these cultural practices that yield great economic and psychological damage to the communities affected. Moreover, acts of personal revenge are more customary in cultures of honor where avenging injustices against one's family is normative and widely accepted (Mancao, 2019). Victims who avoid acting upon personal revenge in these cultures endanger their honors by the possibility of being perceived as cowards (Aase, 2017). Research shows that the shared interest among people to organize themselves as a cohesive social unit. In relation, Pritchard (1940) states that clan feuds are considered as regulating mechanisms to keep a society cohesive. This is the same with Gould (2017), which stated that threats in a community arouse a social need for revenge which keeps order in a social community. This could imply that the practice of *Pangayaw* may have contributed greatly to the close and organized culture of the Blaans.

Furthermore, Indigenous peoples' cultures are continuously changing, particularly the Blaan's. Despite this, communities of the Blaan still persist in their own socio-cultural and political systems. Its people do their best in protecting and revitalizing their own culture (Cordillera Indigenous Legal Center, 2015), despite the community's concerns about the *Pangayaw's* and its aggressive actions. There remains a dearth in literature discussing the customs and rituals made by the Blaans in their practice of *Pangayaw*. There has also been no notable research that toppled the practice of *Pangayaw* as a form of mechanism that allows the tribe and its people to continuously prosper, and its effects on its people. Due to the aforementioned reasons, the researcher sees it necessary to conduct this phenomenological study, exclusively, discussing the practice of *Pangayaw*, its effects to the community and its unique qualities that allow the Blaans to thrive and propel hostile transgressors from threatening the tribe's traditional practices and its people's lives. This study will also unmask the adversities and occurrences faced by the people of Kiblawan, particularly the Blaan people. The probing of the Blaan people's lived experiences will help identify the problems that the *Pangayaw* practice creates. Thus, the purpose of the phenomenological study is to enlighten people of the history of *Pangayaw* culture and the Blaan peoples' lived experiences of it.

2. METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The researcher believes that it is more appropriate to use the qualitative design to understand more nuanced details of the lived experiences of the Blaan tribe on the practice of *Pangayaw*. This was in line with what Creswell (2013) contended that qualitative studies are often conducted to explore the issues of an understudied population, especially when there are only a few conceptual studies in the area. Further, qualitative research design allowed the researchers to access the feelings and thoughts of participants, which can allow an understanding of the importance that people attach to their experiences to be created. Although qualitative methods of study were used to evaluate how many individuals

participate in such behavior, qualitative methods can help researchers understand how those behaviors take place and why (Turner, 2020).

Research Participants

Using purposive sampling, fifteen (15) Blaan people of Kiblawan were invited to participate in the data collection process, unfortunately, only nine responded to the invitation. Employing purposive sampling allowed the researcher to identify and select individuals, or prospective participants of a study in order to obtain relevant and rich data related to the phenomenon of interest (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan & Hoagwood, 2016). Meanwhile, the sample size was based on the guidelines set by Creswell (2013) for phenomenological studies who recommended at least 5 to 25 informants to be interviewed until data saturation was achieved. Subsequently, the participants were members of the Blaan tribe in Kiblawan, Davao del Sur, and resided in its locality for at least 5 years, regardless of gender and economic status—these are the inclusion criteria.

Data Analysis

It was imperative that the researcher, **the researcher** is immersed in the data by repetitiously reading over the material to prepare for analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2010). The data collection, note-taking, coding, and memoing transpired simultaneously from the onset of the research and a sorting process was facilitated to achieve categorical saturation (Locke, 2001). In analyzing the gathered data, the researcher followed Colaizzi's (1978) phenomenology data analysis model as well as the current data analytical procedures of Saldaña (2013) which highlights conceptual patterns and described the processes **I will do for my done in the** study.

Ethical Considerations

This study was conducted with strict adherence to the ethical protocols and guidelines set by the University of Mindanao Ethics Committee. The researcher made sure to follow this through requesting and securing from key authorities the permission needed to complete this research, from the conduct, **storing of data, and up until the to manuscript completion. is completed and the storing of data.**

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Presented in this section were the themes derived from the analysis of the gathered data. This included the presentation of themes for the researcher's questions and significant statements of the study. There was a total of nine (9) Blaan participants who willingly consented, and participated in the in-depth interviews. Using the validated interview guide questionnaire, the researcher was able to **get answersto** the research questions of the study.

RESULTS

Lived Experiences of The Blaan People in their Practice of Pangayaw

There was a total of nine (9) B'laan participants who willingly consented, and participated in the in-depth interviews. Using the validated interview guide questionnaire, the researcher was able to answer the following research questions.

Table 1. Themes on the lived experiences of the B'laan people in the practice of Pangayaw

THEMES	SIGNIFICANT QUOTES
Fear for security	<i>Mureport mi sa among barangay kay mahadlok mi</i> PB_RQ1
	<i>Oo, nahadlok kay basin dilinapudmuundangunyabalusan mi.</i> PF_RQ1
	<i>Ang gibatijuddihasatinuod lang kay hadlok</i> PN_RQ1
	<i>Oh, naapektuhan ang pamilya kay kanunay man ka magbantay ug mahadlok kung magbalosnapudsila ug usab.</i> PG_RQ1
Seeking for settlement to avoid retaliation	<i>Mureport mi sa among barangay kay mubalusgyudnasila</i> RQ1 PB_KII1
	<i>Mubayad ka, maoniy TAGAL nimo. Mao ning TAGAL nakong amu hatagmaoningadlawasunodsemana.</i> PB_RQ1
	<i>Ipatawagpud tong panahon, unyamuingon ang tagtungodngamagpabayad.</i> PA_RQ1
	<i>ooihatagsa among mama para kung maguol among mama itunolsaiyahaaronmalipaysiyang ana kabalos ka... Kanangkamot o tiil,</i> PM_RQ1
Abiding Tribe's custom	<i>Nay "SOFGAT. Driginalainsiya kay aronPangayawonsiyadidto,</i> PA_RQ1
	<i>Ug masturyahanna, diligudpwedengapatyonnila ang akoangpamilya ug dilisilamubalos.</i> PB_RQ1
	<i>Ug diligyudmasturya, drtsogyud nah, atangan, balusan..</i> PB_RQ1
Performing rituals to call on God	<i>musampitsilasaGinooba ug "(B'laan language)" oh "Mulusadiwata" salangit.</i> " PD_RQ1
	<i>mutawag o musampit ug GinooMULO."Mulusa tana" ang Ginoobasampitonimo before ka mubiyahe ..</i> PE_RQ1
	<i>Pwederaman sir manokunyatawagong tong among Ginoo. Human ug tawag sir mulakawna ang tig-Pangayaw...</i> PF_RQ1
	<i>TAMLA MOLO, maoni ang ishagitsamgakaliwat..</i> PF_RQ1
Feeling relieved after taking revenge	<i>Oonaa nay kalinaw (after revenge). (Yes, there is peace (after revenge).)</i> PL_RQ1
	<i>Oonaa nay kalinaw, kay nagbalsanay naman. (Yes, there is peace after the vengeance.)</i> PE_RQ1

Theme 1: Fear for security

In the course of the interview process, the participants also expressed their fear for their physical well-being. Participants regard that after the acts of revenge-killing they develop feelings of fear for their safety and family for the fact that the opposing family may once again retaliate. Participant F stated:

Oo, nahadlok kay basin dilinapudmuundangunyabalusan mi. Nakabalos mi, unyamubalospudnasila ug balik. Kuanmurakagmahadlok kay basin mangayawsila ug sugodmakapatay man sila. (Yes, I was fearful because the chaos might not stop

and they will retaliate against us. We have retaliated, then they would retaliate against us.) PF_RQ1

Oh, naapektuhan ang pamilya kay kanunay man ka magbantay kung magbalosnapudsila ug usab. (The family is affected because you are always on the lookout if they retaliate with each other over and over again.) PG_RQ1

Meanwhile, consumed with fear, they ask help from the authorities to report people who carry weapons. A participant indicated:

Mureport mi sa among barangay kay mahadlok mi, kay dili man pwedengamulakaw nay armas kay mahadlok mi. Mahadlok man pud mi, kay makakita mi ug tawongaingon ana. (We report the person to the barangay because we are fearful, because it is not permitted to walk around with weapons. We are fearful, so when see those people we report it to the barangay.) PB_RQ1

On the other hand, acts of retaliation makes the Blaans become fearful of what may come to their family. Participant 1 said:

Ang gibatijuddihasatinuod lang, samtangnangayaw mi taposnapusilan ang kalaban, pag-abotnamodihasaamoangulianansaamoangdapitdilinaingunnga kana kami ngamalipay mi, dili. Ang kalipay lang namonakabalos mi maonadiha ang musunoddiha ang imongpagkabantay kay mu (inaudible) man pudtu. Samtangwala pay... (To be honest, after we do Pangayaw and the enemy was shot, we did not feel happy. We did feel happy because we retaliate but we need stay focused because they can attack us again.) PN_RQ1

With the constant thought of retaliation, they have to be vigilant most of the time. Somehow, the Blaans also understand the consequences of their actions that even after the revenge reventhengekilling, they did not feel happy about it. Members of the tribe have lived in constant fear of their physical security.

Theme 2: Seeking for Settlement to Avoid Retaliation

Living as a member of a tribe that practices revenge killing, the Blaans have beingbeen seeking a settlement to avoid retaliation. One participant mentioned:

Mureport mi sa among barangay kay mahadlok mi, kay dili man pwedeng amulakaw nay armas kay mahadlok mi. Mahadlok man pud mi, kay makakita mi ug tawongaingon ana, (We report the person to the barangay because we are fearful, because it is not permitted to walk around with weapons. We are fearful, moreso when we see those people, we report it them to the barangay.) PB_RQ1

In addition, the payment method is set for a TAGAL which entails the deadline of when the payment should be given.

Mao naingonnilangamaoning TAGAL, maoningmgabutangngaikabayad. Ang akonggiingonsilbibayadsanamatay, oh. Mubayad ka, maoniy TAGAL nimo. Mao ning TAGAL nakongamuhatagmaoningadlawasunodsemana. (That is what we call TAGAL, these are things that is offered. What I mean was payment for the dead. You pay, this is your TAGAL. This is TAGAL, that this day or next week I will give my payment.) PB_RQ1

After the Pangayaw, members of the tribe may proceed with negotiations and blood compact to end the Pangayaw between the families. Participant A added that members of the Pangayaw may settle the issue, through payments for the dead. A blood compact takes place.

Oonaapudna ug mahusaynasilaunyamasitol. Ipatawagpud tong panahon, unyamuingon ang tagtungodngamagpabayad, bayarannila tong ilanggipatayunya mag-uliay nana sila, silbimagsandugo nana sila.(Yes there is. They will be gathered together and the family will ask for payment, payment for the dead person and their relationship will be mended **back** using a *blood compact*.) PA_RQ1

On the other hand, others would present a body part of the dead in order to pose an idea that revenge has been achieved and their Pangayaw is successful.

Pero kung namataymadala ang kamot o ang tiilniya...ooihatagsa among mama para kung maguol among mama itunolsaiyahaaronmalipaysiyang ana kabalos ka... Kanangkamot o tiil, (Yes, if he is killed his hand or feet will be taken. Yes, it will be given to the bereaved mother so that they will be happy that you got the revenge... Hand or foot.) PM_RQ1

In the practice of revenge-killings families have the option to make negotiations to settle the issue before or after the Pangayaw has been done. However, unless the two families come into agreement on the negotiation, revenge killings may continue until both families deem it plausible.

Theme 3: Abiding Tribe's Custom

The Blaans also continue to follow the traditions associated with the practice of Pangayaw. During the practice of Pangayaw members practice the SOFGAT:

*"SOFGAT. Gilainsiya kay aronPangayawonsiyadidto, Pero ang katongnagpundosapayag mag-amping siya, mag-andam kay ug maka-kitasiyagtawo kay **upsilonpusilon** pudniya. Hmm ilainsiya. Para walaymadamay."* (SOFGAT. He was isolated because he will be hunted. But when he stays at the hut, he will take good care, he must be prepared when he **sayssaw** people, he will shoot them. They are isolated. To avoid other's getting involved.) PA_RQ1

Members of the families who are targeted for Pangayaw, are isolated from others in a hut and they wait for a few days until the Pangayaw ends. Until they are left to themselves. On the other hand, it has been believed that Blaans must not let anyone kill a family member without having the right to retaliate, a member of a family that witnessed the practice of Pangayaw stated:

Ang basehan man gud ana nila, dili man sila gusto ngapatyonna ang ilahangisig—pananglitanakoilangpamilyapatyonnaadiligudpwedengapatyonna ang akoangpamilya ugdilislamubalos.(The basis is, they do not want their relatives to be killed—for instance they will kill my family, it is not acceptable **to not to** take revenge.) PB_RQ1

The idea of revenge-killing has been part of the customs and traditions of the Blaans. Their concept of peace and settlement is anchored on the idea that killing a family member is a license toward killing the opposing **familyasfamilyas** well.

Theme 4: Performing rituals to call on God

In the constant practice of Pangayaw, the Blaans have come to practice traditions and rituals associated with it. Among it is their call for God and the fairies to ask for guidance and provision of blessing for their revenge-killings to be successful. Whenever a pangayaw commences, those that participate in the act called for their Gods, Participant D said:

Kanangnaanasiya, ug muadtonaganinasiladidtomangayawmusampitsilasaGinooba ug "(B'laan language)" ang ilangpasabot ana "Ginooubani mi sa among paglakawnga way maibannamongakinahanglankanunay ka makig-ubannamo." "Muanasila" (Yes there is, when they would go to perform Pangayaw,

they would ask God which means “May God accompany us in our journey that no one will die among us, you must be with us” They will tell that.) PD_RQ1

In addition to that, they call sand ask God for guidance by saying certain words as included in the statement of Participant F:

Mutawag ka Ginoo, sampit ka Ginoo sir. Nya kuan “magbalos ko Ginootabangi ko kung naa bay salaakongisuon”... So kanangmutawag o musampit ug GinooMULO. “Mulusa tana” ang Ginoobasampitonnimo before ka mubiyahadto ka mangayaw ka, sayuta. oh “Mulusadiwata” salangit. (You will call for God... Like saying “I will get even Godwillhelp me if he really did wrong to my brother”. So when you are calling God, it is called MULO. “Mulusa tana” is the God that you’re calling you going to do Pangayaw, it means the ground. Mulusadiwata” means the sky.)PF_RQ1

In the same light:

Kuan sir ipatawagtanankaliwat, then magtapokunya among. Pananglitankuanonnamona ang dugosakuan, Pwederaman sir manokunyatawagong tong among Ginoo. Human ug tawag sir mulakawna ang tig-Pangayaw, TAMLA MOLO, tawagong ang Ginoo sir. Pwededugosatawo ug kiningtungodrajudsaimongkalagot sir pwederaimongdugo or dugosamanok. “We will gather the relatives together, and have the blood of(someone). We can use chickens to call for our God. After calling we proceed with the Pangayaw. We can use the chicken’sbloodand if you are so angry, you can use your blood.) PE_RQ1

In performing rituals for God, the families of the individuals will perform revenge-killing by the blessing of their families. Sacrifices of chickens and even the person they want to sacrifice is deemed appropriate as a blood sacrifice.

Coping Strategies of the Blaans in their experience of Pangayaw

Table 2 above below displays the themes derived from the data gathered that answered the question “What are the coping strategies of the Blaans in their experience with Pangayaw?”. Apparently, there were five (5) themes that were raised in the analysis of the data namely; settling the issues to avoid retaliation, praying for the enlightenment of both parties; avoiding the opposing parties; accepting the situation and moving on; and, asking for intervention from the barangay and local government unit.

Table 2. Coping Strategies of the Blaans in their practice of Pangayaw

THEMES	CORE IDEAS
Settling the issues to avoid retaliation	, amoasilagiestoryahanngadilinamomubalos kay maghulat lang mo kung unsay kaninghusaynila. PA_RQ2
	ang among estoryasakalabanaregluhon lang nato. Para dili ta magdako... PM_RQ2
	Mao tug iaginamosa barangay ang amuangkapitan, PN_RQ2
	ang nabaslanngamusugotnapud ug negotiation, Oo, naay blood compact namahitabo. PG_RQ2
	Ang gihimonamo sir, gipa-abotnamosakonsehosa barangay, didto naming balik ang mga relation namo sir. PE_RQ2
Praying for the enlightenment of both parties	Nag-ampo, ngaunta lang tamanaunta to. Dili natomausab, PB_RQ2
	Gina ampona di nauntamubalospa.. PB_RQ2

	<i>Gaampo mi tibuokpamilya, nay ritual para mag ayotanan. PB_RQ2</i>
Accepting the situation and moving on	<i>Pero gidawatnalangnanakabalosperowalanakabsan ang pikas..RQ2 PM KII1</i>
	<i>Naguol pa ko ana, peronawalanasiyaninglabay ang isa katuig...move on. PF_RQ2</i>
Asking for Intervention from the barangay and local government unit	<i>Mao tugiaginamosa barangay ang amuangkapitan, gianhian mi nikapitangiareglo mi.. gisabutan ang bayad..PN_RQ2</i>
	<i>Ang gihimonamo sir, gipa-abotnamosakonsehosabarangay ,didto naming balik ang mga relation namo sir. PE_RQ2</i>

Theme 1: Settling the issues to avoid retaliation

The participants of the study utilize coping strategies to cope with their experiences. Among the experiences they perceive was the fear of security because of the possibility of retaliation, participants' families try to settle their issues with the opposing families through negotiations. A participant stated:

Ah kaningkuan,mgaigsoonniya ug iyahangubananak, amoasilagiestoryahanngadilinamomubalos kay maghulat lang mo kung unsay kaninghusaynila. Kaningsa tribal. (Ah, his siblings and his other children, we talked to them that we will not retaliate because you will just wait to see what they will settle.) PA_RQ2

Some others try to convince the families of the victim to not proceed with revenge killings and allow authorities to judge the crime committed. In a similar light, members would also agree if opposing parties aim to settle the issue. This is to avoid the predicament from going further. However, there are also cases where participants flee from their homes to avoid further damage as well. As participant M mentioned, as a mother of a child that committed a crime the opposing party refused their call for settling the issue, consequently, they chose to leave.

butang ta muingon ang kalabanaregluhon, kami sa among sitwasyonangaakongestoryaa, ang among estoryasakalabanaregluhon lang nato. Para dili ta magdako, karon kay dili man silamusugot, karondili name kaulididtosaa. Dirinalang mi saubos para way damay. (We cope with it, initially was through settling it, we asked the enemy to settle it. To prevent it from going big, but they did not want to settle it, we can no longer go back to our place. We are staying here to avoid involving other people.) PA_RQ2

On other hand,those that asked for help from authorities have a more fruitful result in terms of negotiations. Adding to that, monetary compensation is also generally effective at settling negotiations if authorities interfere with the settlement of issues. Participant N vouched:

Mao tugiaginamosa barangay ang amuangkapitan, gianhian mi nikapitan so nagtestingdaw ug kuan ug imuhapangayopilay penalty? Mao tu ang gibungadsaakongasawamaoni ang kantidad. Kato ug dilisilamubayadsaimongkantidadpadayonuntaakongpagfile ug kasonila. Karon kay aminado man sa among kantidadnauyonannila, walanahusayna mi. (I ask for an advice from the attorney and according to him we will summon them at the barangay to get a settlement and talk about the amount of the penalty. And my wife givegavethe amount and they have agreed to it. And if they did not, I would continue the case if ever. Now we are settled.) PN_RQ2

Once settled, members of the families of Blaans will meet to create a blood compact to strengthen their successful negotiation. The blood compact is meant to indicate an assurance that the members of both families will not retaliate.

Kung magtakdona ang nabaslanngamusugotnapud ug negotiation silbingatabletablana mag-abotsausa ka lugardihanamagestoryahanay mag SADYANDI naimnanay ug dugoaron di namausab ang panghitabo. Oo, naay blood compact namahitabo. (When the bereaved agrees with the negotiation, it will serve as a board to arrive at a place where SADYANDI will talk to each other and drink blood so that the situation will not change. Yes, there was a blood compact.)
PG_RQ2

In the same light, despite their eagerness to practice revenge-killing on behalf of their family, advice allowed them to prevent it from happening. Somehow, because of external intervention Participant E relied on the intervention of authorities to settle the crime of killing their relative.

Ang gihimonamo sir, gipa-abotnamosakonsehosabarangay, didto naming balik ang mga relation namo sir. Sakitpud to saamo sir, gusto ta ko mubalos ug Pangayaw sir kasonaa may ningtambagsaakoanga isa ka tawongasalig lang mi sapolitiko. Ipaabot lang natonasakonseho. (What I did sir, we waited for the trial of the barangay, that was when our relationship was mended. It was painful, I wanted to take revenge but someone advised that I must trust in the government (trial).)
PE_RQ2

Finally, settlement of issues on retaliation through negotiations allowed some Blaans to avoid further damage to their families. Be it through monetary negotiations or through the help of authorities, members have the option to settle issues on crimes committed without resulting in revenge killings. Once successful, traditional blood compact allows Blaans to feel that they are safe, however, if not successful, they may continue to live in fear of constant retaliation.

Theme 2: Praying for the enlightenment of both parties

In dealing with the experiences on how some Blaans feel that the act of revenge-killing is wrong they pray to their God for enlightenment. As Participant B have stated:

Sakit sir, peroamo lang i-dibdib kay saamoanghuna-hunamali man gud to...Nag-ampo, ngaunta lang tamanaunta to. Dili natomausab, sukadkarondilinauntasilamubalos kay mafeel man gyudsiguronanilangamali ang ilahanggibuhat. (It hurts, but we kept it in our hearts because if we think about it, it was wrong. I prayed that it would stop. It should not be done again starting today, no more vengeance because they must feel that what they did was are doing is wrong.)
PB_RQ2

The practice of Pangayaw is not entirely a belief that is acceptable and considered right even on the entirety of the Blaan tribe. Thus, others who sees this to be a wrong practice can only pray that others no longer feel the necessity to retaliate and for those that practice it to see that whatever they did are doing is not right.

Theme 3: Avoiding the opposing parties

As mentioned, some negotiations may not be as successful as others may want it to be. Other B'laan families instead flee and avoid the opposing families instead, as Participant M have stated:

butang ta muingon ang kalabanaregluhon, kami sa among sitwasyona ng akongestoryaa, ang among estoryasakalabanaregluhon lang nato. Para dili ta magdako, karon kay dili man silamusugot, karondili name kaulididtosaa. Dirinalang mi saubos para way damay. (We cope with it, initially was through settling it, we asked the enemy to settle it. To prevent it from going big, but they did not want to settle it, we can no longer go back to our place. We are staying here to avoid involving other people.) PM_RQ2

In avoiding, not only can they evade the retaliation of opposing families they also aim to delimit the possibility of other people from being frombeing involved. Even though avoidance would mean that they need to travel to other places, leave their homeland and continue just to make sure that they are physically safe along with their families.

Theme 4: Accepting the Situation and Moving On

Retaliation usually occurs in cases where Blaans feels that their family members and loved one are stripped of their lives involuntarily. Because of anger they retaliate and practice revenge killings in hope of providing justice for the crime that was committed against their family. In cases of failure to kill, despite the attempts for revenge-killings they come to accept the idea that they have at least tried to retaliate despite not being able to kill the person who committed the crime. Participant M said:

hm makamove on. Ohnalipay ko uynaa lay balossa among amongmagulangperowala man namatay. naa pa kay gibatikasuko kay wala man gudnamatay tung nagpataysaimongmagulangAnonaman kay di kaayo tanto sakit kay nakabalosna mi gamay pero di kayo. (Hmm, to move on. Yes, I am happy because I did get even, but he did not die. I still feel angry since the one who killed my brother is still alive. It was not really painful since we already got even. But I can't really feel happy.) PM_RQ2

On the other hand, in the case of Participant F they have allowed time to heal their worries and anger for the person who committed the crime and grief for their bereaved.

Kanangmalipayon, kainingawalana ang kaguol pila nakatuig. Naguol pa ko ana, peronawalanasiyaninglabay ang isa katuig...move on. (I was glad the worry for the past few years was gone. I was worried, but subsided after a year. Moved on.) PF_RQ2

Lastly, individuals with bereaved families have the choice of accepting and moving on after a predicament, or the death of a loved one. And somehow, time allows them to live their lives even without ending up with revenge killings.

Theme 5: Asking for Intervention from the Barangay and Local Government Unit

The inclusion of legal authorities is also among the ways that would aid the Blaans to cope with the experiences of revenge killings. Despite the fact that Pangayaw is a practice within their tribe, the Blaans have realized that help could be gained from external sources affairs. With the help of barangay officials, settling the issues through monetary compensation is easier. The option of unsuccessful negotiation that may end with revenge-killing is reduced because in legal aspects, Blaans have recognized their right to file cases and convict those who have done them wrong. A participant divulged their experience on this:

Mao tugiaginamosa barangay ang amuangkapitan, gianhian mi nikapitan so nagtestingdaw ug kuan ug imuhapangayopilay penalty? Mao tu ang gibungadsaakongasawamaoni ang kantidad. Kato ug dilisilamubayadsaimongkantidadpadayonun ta akongpagfile ug kasonila. Karon kay aminado man sa among kantidadnauyonannila, walanahusayna mi. (I ask for an

advice from the attorney and according to him we will summon them at the *barangay* to get a *settlement* and *talk* about the amount of the penalty. And my wife *give* *gave* the amount and they have agreed to it. And if they did not, I would continue the case if ever. Now we are settled.) PN_RQ2

The same was done by Participant E:

Ang gihimonomo sir, gipa-abotnamosakonsehosa barangay, didtonaningbalik ang mga relation namo sir. Sakitpud to saamo sir, gusto ta ko mubalos ug Pangayaw sir kasonaa may ningtambagsaakoanga isa ka tawongasalig lang mi sapolitiko. Ipaabot lang natonasakonseho. (What I did sir, we waited for the trial of the *barangay*, that was when our relationship was mended. It was painful, I wanted to take revenge but someone advised that I must trust in the government (trial).) PE_RQ2

Urges to retaliate are suppressed as Blaans began to recognize that they can lean on authorities for help and guidance. Adding to that, this may imply that external affairs and intervention, allow objective judgment of their cases dissimilar to tribe's leaders that adhere strictly to the values and customs of their practice of Pangayaw.

Insights the Blaans Shared by the Blaans about Pangayaw

Table 3 illustrates the themes found in the analysis of the answers of the participants' significant statements that answered the question "What insights can the Blaans share about Pangayaw?" These are as follows: *stop the practice of Pangayaw, and ask for the government's intervention.*

Table 3. Insights of Blaans on the practice of Pangayaw

THEMES	CORE IDEAS
Stop the practice of Pangayaw	<i>AdtoonnaniladitotasamgakadagkuansamgaB'laanestoryahannila... dilinamangayaw kay daghan ug maapektuhan.</i> RQ3 PA KII1
	<i>Muadto ko didtokinanglanaregluhonningproblemasiya kay kaningPangayawlisod kayo nisiya ug masugdan...RQ3 PD KII1</i>
	<i>Tambag, tambagannamongayawmaghimoingon ana kay dilina mayo ...RQ3 PB KII1</i>
	<i>Akongika-advice sailaha sir, untaundangonuntaningmaongPangayaw.</i> RQ3 PG KII1
Ask for the government's intervention	<i>Sir naa may barangay officials ipaabotsailaha. Kay para maaksyonanjud.</i> RQ3 PE KII1
	<i>Amoang gusto unta ang gobyernomagpakabanaanangmangayaw.</i> RQ3 PA KII1
	<i>Dili maayo. Ang dapathimouon kung kinsakang to nakasalanaanamayparaanngabalaod file-annimo ug kaso... RQ3 PL KII1</i>
	<i>Dibawala man nasabalaodsagoberno, Dapatkatuuntadapatsundonuntasa among katribongaBlaankatungmandosabalaod..</i> RQ3 PN KII1

Theme 1: Stop the practice of Pangayaw

The Blaans have practiced Pangayaw for a long time, even today. And somehow, with their various experiences and ways to combat the effects of this practice they have come to delineate the need to stop this being practiced even further. Instead, the government should

help the IP to have a livelihood, and have a farm-to-market road in order to stop the members of the tribe from committing wrongdoings.

Akongika-advice sailaha sir, untaundangonuntaningmaongPangayaw. Kinahanglanun ta nga ang tawomagbinut an unya ang atonggobyernohatagan ug kahayag ang mganitibountasamasapanginabuhian, mgakalsadanganindot para ang tribodilimaghuna-huna ug daotan. (My advice to them sir, stop this Pangayaw. Should let the people be free then our government will give light to the natives as to livelihood, roads that are beautiful so that the tribe does not think evil.) PG_RQ3

Similarly, government authorities must approach leaders of the Blaan tribe to talk about stopping the practice of Pangayaw. This act should prevent the practice of revenge-killings that affects everyone in tribe. Participant A deliberately said:

AdtoonnaniladidosasamgakadagkuansamgaBlaanestoryahannila... dilinamangayaw kay daghan ug maapektuhan. (They should goto the people with authority to talk... stop the practice of Pangayaw because it affects everyone). PA_PQ3

Similarly,

Ang imuhadiha, ang akodihamuadto ko saparehas ana munisipyo. Muadto ko didtokinanglanaregluhonningproblemasiya kay kaningPangayawlisod kayo nisiya ug masugdan. (For me I would go to the MunicipalHall. I will go there to settle the problem because Pangayaw is very difficult (to end) the moment it started). PD_RQ3

On the other hand, people must also try to take advices for people who will most likely do revenge-killing.

Tambag, tambagannamongaayawnahimo ag ingon ana kay dilina mayo niyadili man pudsilamakapugongsailahanggibuhat. (Advice. I will advise them to stop it because it is not good). PB_RQ3

Lastly, insights of the member so the Blaan tribe have mentioned that there is indeed a need to stop the practice of Pangayaw. This is detrimental to the health of other people, and must not be further entertained.

Theme 2: Ask for the Government's Intervention

The Blaans shared their insights on how government intervention is relevant into makingto makesure that the practice of Pangayaw is not the only way towards attaining justice for their bereaved loved ones. They believe that based on their experiences, legal authorities are present, to reach out to them andis could be a way to avoid chaos. Participant E said:

Lisodkaayo sir ug di magpadayon ang kalinaw. Dili ka kapanginabuhi ug tarong kay ang naarasaimongdaplin kay puro rakagubot. Sir naa may barangay officials ipaabotsailaha. Kay para maaksyonanjud. (It would be difficult to maintain peace. You will not be able to work properly because you are surrounded by chaos. There are Barangay officials report it the issue to them so that it will To be addressed). PE_RQ3

Adding to that, members ask that government officials should show care and involvement in the discussion of Pangayaw. They must make effort to communicate with the people of the tribe in order to stop killings involving innocent victims.

Amoang gusto unta ang gobyernomagpakabanaanangmangayaw. Ilahaunta ng adtoondidto, estoryahonnilangadili an nanilauntanabuhaton. Walaonnaunta ng Pangayaw kay daghan man ang mangamatayngawalaysala. (We would want the government to care. They can approach the people to talk and stop the practice.

Stop the practice of *Pangayaw* because a lot of uninvolved individuals are being killed.) PA_RQ3

On the other hand, there are other ways to settle the problem on crimes being committed. The involvement of the officials could be possible if people ask for their help, and the fact that the *Pangayaw* practice is not followed by few acts of revenge-killings within the tribe, intervention of external **affairs support** may just provide them the resource they would need to stop and settle *Pangayaw*. Participant L stated:

*Dili maayo. Ang dapathimouon kung kinsa kang to nakasalanaanamayparaanngabalaod file-annimo ug kaso, ipatawagnimosa barangay, ipatawagnimosa leader satribo kay naa man momga tribal chieftain murespeto mi saamuangmgaisip leader nga chieftain kay diha ang sundonngabalaodsatribokinahangalandili lang ang pandayonnamo ang balaod kung walarespetohaangabalaod. (It is not right. Those who did something wrong, **there is will resort to the law, you can file for a case**, or go to barangay, or **you will** call the leader of the tribe because even if **you have there are** tribal chieftains, we will respect **our the** leaders as chieftains because when the tribal law is followed, we must not just keep the law if the law is not respected). PL_RQ3*

Also:

*Dapat ang gobyerno ana, kay wala ma sagobyernongagitugotan ang Pangayaw. Di bawala man nasabalaod, Dapatkatuuntadapatsundonuntasa among katribongablaankatungmandosabalaod. Kanangmuingon ang balaoddilimo mu Pangayawnaa man balaod. Pwedenimosilasakahan ug kaso, magkahiubos ka, pwedena. Aron mulutaw ang hustisya sa imongkahiubos sa imongkatribongablaan. Dapatwalaon lang unta tung sapagkakaron ang Pangayaw. (Since the government did permit it, it is not in law. We should do what the law stated. You can file **a case** so that you can get the justice you want from your Blaans tribe. *Pangayaw* should not be performed anymore.) RQ3 PN KII1*

The Blaans identify their rights as **a** human and a member of the government who has the right to be encompassed by Laws that undermine killings among people. The Blaans believed that government interventions must see that the law protects their right, knowing that the values and customs of the tribe cannot provide them the protection and right to live peacefully as members of the society.

DISCUSSION

Live Experiences of The Blaans People in their Practice of *Pangayaw*

Living with fear for the life of their family and their own, they have lived with constant fear for security, fear for settlements, and seeking ways to avoid retaliation. Moreover, through these times, they abide by their tribe's customs—they perform rituals to call for Gods and fairies, and somehow, during this period of time, members of the bereaved families would say that they have achieved relief after avenging and dead loved ones. The following themes were found:

Theme 1: Fear for security

In the process of conducting and continuously practicing *Pangayaw*, members of the tribe are fearful. An increasing body of research subsequently shows that a vengeful nature is connected to a number of adverse psychological effects. As a result of these negative

repercussions, there are more psychological effects and despair, as well as a decreased sense of fulfillment in life (Azmy, 2019). Symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder and psychiatric morbidity have also been associated with strong vengeful desires and a better ability to carry out these wants (Cardozo, Kaiser & Kaiser, 2018).

The Pangayaw technique depends on counterattack or attack against the practice. Pangayaw is usually a form of physical retaliation (Torres, 2017). Stabbing, shooting, and hacking are examples of these. Pangayaw is preoccupied with the physicality of the vengeance. Some of the motivations for this include inflicting the most agony and harm on the transgressor as possible, with the aim of deterring future harmful behavior.

Theme 2: Seeking for settlement to avoid retaliation

It was found that after the **conduct of** revenge killing, **has been conducted**, members of either the bereaved families may seek to avoid the retaliation of another, through the payment of money or other forms of tangible exchange to halt the Pangayaw to happen once again. Contrary to Aase (2017) members of the Blaan tribe seek to avoid retaliation through ways that would indicate cowardice or disrespect to their leaders and families. Meanwhile, according to Gould (2017), the possibility of retaliation keeps members of one group constantly monitoring each other's behavior, resulting in communal order. This is only achievable if family members are prepared to accept money rather than continue to practice the Pangayaw irrationally because of personal grudges.

Theme 3: Abiding tribe's custom

According to Tampus (2016), there are a number of events that take place before, during, and after a Pangayaw. There are numerous factors that lead to a Pangayaw, such as an offense, transgression, or wrongdoing. Despite the inherent avenging intentions, it is clear that the act of revenge has always been a common response to injustice. Since it constantly goes back to a victim's perspective and how a person interprets an act, there is no precise explanation as to what inspires an act of revenge and what gives people the desire to avenge (Jackson et al. 2019).

Another manifestation according to The Philippine Daily Inquirer (2012), a mining company is caught in a Pangayaw because massive mining activities are being planned on the Blaan people's territory, which could have a significant impact on their resources and livelihood. Transgressors are terrified of their thirst for retribution. Tampus (2015), a narrative from a farmer who once waged a Pangayaw stated that due to poverty, a person has very little to live for, giving people the freedom of second thoughts whenever doing something bad since they have nothing left to lose. The **Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM)** is named as the most economically challenged regions in the country (Durante, Gomez, Sevilla, & Maneg, 2017) and unfortunately, ARMM also has the largest cases of revenge killings in the country coincidentally. Picoli et al. (2017), pointed out that the biological framework cannot explain the archaeological evidence showing of violence among social groups.

According to studies, the cycle of clan revenge is directed at the reproductive success of those engaged. This, he believes, explains women's unique position in combat and the higher prevalence of children among fighters (de la Rosa, 2018). Certain cultures, according to Gelfand (2009), see these events and behaviors as significant and self-defining. The fact that a culture's views differ from those of others does not imply that they are invalid. Personal vengeance is more common in honor cultures, where avenging injustices against one's family is expected and socially acceptable (Mancao, 2019). Victims who do not seek

personal vengeance in these cultures risk being labeled as cowards, jeopardizing their honor (Aase, 2017).

Theme 4: Performing rituals to call on God

Traditional tribes like the Blaans have their own belief system, one of these is to pray to the Gods and fairies for guidance upon doing something (Tamos, 2016). In particular, in the practice of Pangayaw, the members of the families who are en route to making vengeance pray to the Gods that they may come home and overcome their journey towards the Pangayaw.

Theme 5: Feeling relieved after taking revenge

From a philosophical perspective, revenge is said to be personal and retributive. It is identified as a person's yearning to get even due to perceived harm. A typical observation is that the act of vengeance places a premium on the intimate emotional ties between the spiteful actor and those on whose behalf the revenge is sought (McClelland, 2017).

When people's personal and familial reputations are damaged or their honor is violated, they become enraged quickly (Markwica, 2018). These people have a larger drive for vengeance and are more biologically predisposed to hostilities in response to insults to their honor. There are also gender disparities in animosity and punitiveness.

The degree to which people get enraged by injustice is influenced by a variety of contextual conditions, according to an experimental study. The seriousness of the offense and the capacity to identify specific individuals who are responsible for the violation heighten people's wrath and desire for vengeance (Richard et al., 2020). It was discovered that a proclivity for anger in everyday life is linked to the acceptance of retaliating for negative behavior with more negative behavior, as well as self-reported spiteful attitudes and behavior. When they or members of their in-groups are unjustly hurt, they experience a range of negative emotions, including rage, grief, and humiliation. Anger, more than any other emotion, is strongly linked to a desire for vengeance (Wen-Hai et al., 2019). In addition, Jackson, Choi, and Gelfand (2019) provided evidence of some of the vengeance's psychological benefits.

Coping Strategies of the Blaans in their experience of Pangayaw

Throughout the experiences of the Blaans, it was evident that they have experienced challenges, however, data analysis also showed that the people were able to cope with the challenges. The members of the tribe have employed different coping strategies namely: settling the issues to avoid retaliation, praying for the enlightenment of both parties; avoiding the opposing parties; accepting the situation and moving on; and, asking for intervention from the barangay and local government unit.

Theme 1: Settling the issues to avoid retaliation

In a longitudinal study, reductions in revenge motivations on one day were connected to higher life satisfaction, more cheerful moods, and fewer psychosomatic symptoms the next day (Bono et al., 2020). While the most common type of protective trend in response to community violence was protective-stabilizing, in which young people with greater levels of environmental factors demonstrate relative mental health resilience while being exposed to violence (Ozer et al., 2017).

Meanwhile, to relieve emotional and psychological strains associated in the practice of revenge-killing is through compensation, this provides tangible evidence that an apology is sincere, other than it is valued in part for its own sake (Radu et al., 2019). Meanwhile, recompense is used to alleviate the emotional and psychological pressures connected with the practice of revenge-killing; this gives physical evidence that an apology is genuine, aside from the fact that it is appreciated in part for its own sake (Radu et al., 2019).

Researchers have discovered that when perpetrators apologize for their wrongdoings, victims are less inclined to seek vengeance and more ready to forgive (Zhang et al., 2019), therefore terminating the circular process. Victims are also less inclined to seek vengeance if their perpetrators give some type of compensation. Participants playing against a defecting player in a prisoner's dilemma game were less inclined to seek retribution by defecting in the following rounds when they got an apology and considerable pay rather than just an apology (Witvliet et al., 2020).

Certain aspects and functions of vengeance may be beneficial to the community as a whole (Elemo, Satici&Saricali, 2018). Transgressors will be afraid of retaliation, which will deter future misdeeds. In a circumstance where transgression has occurred, vengeance punishes wrongdoings, reducing the likelihood of subsequent negative behaviors. According to the findings, revenge-seekers rated the revenge incident as fair, whereas revenge-recipients rated it as excessive. This demonstrates how a difference in perception can lead to unending cycles of retribution (Jackson et al., 2019).

Theme 2: Praying for the enlightenment of both parties

The members of the tribe pray to God asking that they realize the consequence of their actions. The members see this to be a coping strategy, somehow, they cling to faith in order to accept the possible unending revenge killings once they started to take place. They leave it to their Gods and fairies (Tamos, 2016), an action that is congruent to their beliefs involving their Gods and fairies.

Theme 3: Avoiding the opposing parties

Violence is an uncontrollable stressor that can manifest as both a continuous source of stress and a devastating incident that occurs on a one-time basis. There is a large body of evidence showing that exposure to violence in families and communities has a significant negative impact on young people's mental health (Altman, Gorman & Chavez, 2018). Violence is an uncontrollable stressor that can manifest as both a continuous source of stress and a devastating incident that occurs on a one-time basis. There is a large body of evidence showing that exposure to violence in families and communities has a significant negative impact on young people's mental health (Altman, Gorman & Chavez, 2018).

Theme 4: Asking for intervention from the barangay and local government unit

Others in the tribe elected to seek help from their LGUs, or powerful officials, in order to put an end to the family's revenge killings. It turns out that it's an adaptive retribution role designed to enhance cooperation by preventing others from taking advantage of others' hard work (Klausen, 2015). Revenge killings are one of the forms of community violence. And evidently, the results it has on the eyewitnesses and its practitioners are not good. Particularly for adolescents, witnessing violence increase higher susceptibility to trauma and PTSD.

Insights the Blaans share about Pangayaw

After collecting data on the insights of the Blaan members on the practice of the Pangayaw, it is apparent that the members only wanted two things to occur. These are the two things that were derived: stop the practice of Pangayaw and ask for the government's intervention. This indicated a rather negative insight into the said revenge-killing practice.

Theme 1: Stop the practice of Pangayaw

As previously stated, the Blaans advised that their tribesmen should approach people with authority and stop the practice of Pangayaw. The Blaans asked the government to talk to the people to stop the practice of Pangayaw because there are innocent victims involved. Also, during the discourse, the majority of the members of the Blaan either witnessed and practiced the Pangayaw, became victims or were simply eyewitnesses—from their responses, eventually members may be at risk of PTSD (Cardozo, Kaiser & Kaiser, 2018). Adding to that, Pangayaw never ceased to cause deaths in the tribe, and realizing the damage which this very physical practice to others (Torres, 2017). Realizing this, the majority of the members, the majority agreed to stop the practice of Pangayaw.

Theme 2: Ask for the government's intervention

Having external judicial systems that can reprimand a transgressor on behalf of the victim or offer compensation for the injustice can also reduce acts of revenge. This, in general, may enable a new outlook on practices that involved killings and violence to occur. Personal revenge is often the only way to restore justice and honor in countries with weak legal systems or subcultures where victims are unable to rely on the judicial system (Elemo et al., 2018).

The word "justice" was one of the primary aspects and the seventh most commonly mentioned word for the themes in a study where researchers tried to find blueprints for retribution (van Doorn, 2018). Another one was taking the law into your own hands in which the revenge seeker becomes the jury for the justice of the situation. People usually think of justice when they are thinking of revenge. As it is stated multiple times, revenge is taken when someone is harmed by another. Some might argue that people reciprocate the harm to the primary transgressor since it is viewed to be just. This does not have to be the case all the time, people might have other motives than fairness.

4. CONCLUSION

This study has shed light on the lived experiences of the Blaans on their practice of Pangayaw, including the ways they were able to cope with it and their insights on the said practice of their tribe. Also, this has become an avenue for the Blaans to share their sentiments about the practice, how it threatens their physical security and how it challenges their living conditions in fear of retaliation. In addition, it has been clear that the feeling of being at peace after the practice of revenge-killing is temporary, and if the practice is not settled a volley of retaliation will continue.

This study has served as an avenue for Blaans to share their own insights on the matter, and apparently, and as evidenced in the results and discussion, the Blaans deem Pangayaw as a practice that must be stopped. Further, as a social sciences educator, I believe that there is more to practices anchored on a particular tribe, as people of the tribe are part of a practice or culture—if they are negatively affected by it, I have realized that appropriate interventions must be done to combat it. Teaching my students about the minority groups of our society is relevant, and to have this genuine experience of hearing and listening to their stories is both heartwarming, and alarming. I advocate for the beauty of our nation's culture

and respect for their uniqueness. However, I cannot deny that to spread their stories about their experiences is a simple task that I can do to contribute to a brighter future for the students, and every member of the generations of Blaans. This should not only help us explore how Blaans lived with the Pangayaw still in practice, but this should shed light on the lack of knowledge and idea that we have about their individual screams.

Finally, the Blaans have been unheard of, thus, the Blaans deserve to live in peace while living in a community that includes and protect them as part of the people of the government. This paper should give light to their pleads and hopefully ignite appropriate interventions with respect to the practice of Pangayaw. Hopefully, I can extend my goals, as an educator, and as a person that is raised among the leaders who can voice their feelings and experiences in the academe and in platforms relevant enough for higher authorities to hear.

REFERENCES (NOTE: DONE ALPHABETIZED)

- Aase, T. (2017). Introduction: Honor and Revenge in the Contemporary World 1. In *Tournaments of Power (pp. 1-17)*. Routledge.
- Altman, C. E.; Gorman, B. K.; & Chávez, S. (2018). Exposure to violence, coping strategies, and diagnosed mental health problems among adults in a migrant-sending Community in Central Mexico. *Population Research and Policy Review, 37*(2), 229-260.
- Barnes, B. E.; & Magdalena, F. V. (2018). Traditional peacemaking processes among indigenous populations in the Northern and Southern Philippines. *Conflict Resolution in Asia: Mediation and Other Cultural Models, 63*.
- Blust, R. and Trussel, S. (2015). Blust's Austronesian Comparative Dictionary web edition.
- Chen, WY.; Corvo, K.; Lee, Y. (2017). Longitudinal Trajectory of Adolescent Exposure to Community Violence and Depressive Symptoms Among Adolescents and Young Adults: Understanding the Effect of Mental Health Service Usage. *Community Mental Health J 53, 39–52*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10597-016-0031-5>.
- Charbonneau, O. (2020). Civilizational imperatives: Americans, Moros, and the colonial world. *Cornell University Press*.
- Clark, J. (2017). Beliefs from the B'laan Ethnic Group (Mindanao). Retrieved from: <https://www.aswangproject.com/mythology-blaan-ethnic-group-mindanao/>
- Coello de la Rosa, A. (2018). The 'fierce people' in the context of US foreign politics: a historical anthropology approach to Napoleon Chagnon's interpretation of the Yanomami. *Social Anthropology, 26*(4), 519-534.
- Cordillera Indigenous Legal Center. (2015). In Defense of Our Right to Our Mineral Resources in Our Ancestral Territories.
- Crossman, A. (2020). What is Symbolic Interactionism.
- Durante, O.; Gomez, N.; Sevilla, E.; & Maneg, H. (2017). Management of Clan Conflict And Rido Among the Tausug, Magindanao, Maranao, Sama, and Yakan Tribes. In *Rido: Clan Feuding and Conflict Management In Mindanao. 97–125*.
- Fatfouta, R., & Merkl, A. (2014). Associations between obsessive compulsive symptoms, revenge, and the perception of interpersonal transgressions. *Psychiatry Res. 219, 316–321*.
- Fenequito, A. (2017). Clan war eyed in DavSur town ambush. *Philippine News Agency*.
- Filipinas Heritage Library. (2018). The Lumad of Mindanao.
- Gowey, D. (2018). Headhunting, Slave-raiding, and Shape-shifting: Modes of Prowess in an Early Modern Visayan Society. In Association of Asian Studies Annual Conference. *Washington DC*.
- International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (2019). Indigenous peoples in Philippines.
- Jackson, J. C.; Choi, V. K.; & Gelfand, M. J. (2019). Revenge: A Multilevel Review and Synthesis. *Annual Review of Psychology, 70, 319–345*. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-010418-103305>

- Liberman, P., & Skitka, L. J. (2017). Revenge in US public support for war against Iraq. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 81(3), 636-660.
- Maguire, L. (2016). The Morality of Revenge.
- Markwica, R. (2018). Emotional choices: How the logic of affect shapes coercive diplomacy. *Oxford University Press*.
- McClelland, R. T. (2017). The pleasures of revenge. *J. Mind Behav.* 31, 195–235. <https://doi.10.1017/S0140525X12001513>
- Medrano, A. D. (2016). Oona Paredes. A Mountain of Difference: The Lumad in Early Colonial Mindanao. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asian Studies Program Publications, 2013. 195 pp. *TRaNS: Trans-Regional and-National Studies of Southeast Asia*, 4(2), 430-433.
- Mellejor, L. (2018). Tribal leader calls for 'Pangayaw' vs NPA. Philippine News Agency.
- Millondaga, K. J. (2018). Mothers, wives, and farmers: Stories of women 'gone mad'. *Asian Journal of Women's Studies*, 24(3), 396-412.
- Moffit, K. and Perry, J. (2015). Social Conflict Theory in Sociology: Definition & Contributors.
- Moser, A., & Korstjens, I. (2018). Series: Practical guidance to qualitative research. Part 3: Sampling, data collection and analysis. *European Journal of General Practice*, 24(1), 9-18.
- National Commission for Culture and Arts. (2020). People of the Philippines: Blaan.
- Oxford English Dictionary (n.d.). Revenge. Lexico.
- Ozer, E. J., Lavi, I., Douglas, L., & Wolf, J. P. (2017). Protective factors for youth exposed to violence in their communities: A review of family, school, and community moderators. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 46(3), 353-378.
- Philippine Daily Inquirer (2012). Execs say mining firm is caught in 'Pangayaw'.
- Picoli, S., Antonio, F.J., Itami, A.S. (2017). Power-law relaxation in human violent conflicts. *Eur. Phys. J. B* 90, 156. <https://doi.org/10.1140/epjb/e2017-80127-3>
- Radu, A. G., Arli, D., Surachartkumtonkun, J., Weaven, S., & Wright, O. (2019). Empathy and apology: The effectiveness of recovery strategies. *Marketing Intelligence & Planning*.
- Richard, O. C., Boncoeur, O. D., Chen, H., & Ford, D. L. (2020). Supervisor abuse effects on subordinate turnover intentions and subsequent interpersonal aggression: The role of power-distance orientation and perceived human resource support climate. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 164(3), 549-563.
- Sahin, B. (2019). The Mediating Role of Justice Perception on The Relationship Between Revenge Behavior and Basic Psychological Need Satisfaction.
- Tamos, S. (2015). Rido and Pangayaw: Evaluating the Non-killing Paradigm in Mindanao Revenge Killings.
- Tamos, S. (2016). Between Pangayaw and Theater: Revenge Killings among the Agusan Manobo of Mindanao, Southern Philippines.
- Torres, W. (2017). In Rido: Clan feuding and conflict management in Mindanao, Makati City: The Asia Foundation.
- van Doorn, J. (2018). Anger, feelings of revenge, and hate. *Emotion Review*, 10(4), 321-322.
- Wen-Hai, C., Yuan, C. Y., Liu, M. T., & Fang, J. F. (2019). The effects of outward and inward negative emotions on consumers' desire for revenge and negative word of mouth. *Online Information Review*.
- Werbner, R. (2020). Max Gluckman's commitments, projects and legacies. In *Anthropology after Gluckman*. Manchester University Press.
- Witvliet, C. V., Wade, N. G., Worthington Jr, E. L., Root Luna, L., Van Tongeren, D. R., Berry, J. W., & Tsang, J. A. (2020). Apology and restitution: offender accountability responses influence victim empathy and forgiveness. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 48(2), 88-104.

Zhang, Q., Oetzel, J. G., Ting-Toomey, S., & Zhang, J. (2019). Making up or getting even? The effects of face concerns, self-construal, and apology on forgiveness, reconciliation, and revenge in the United States and China. *Communication Research*, 46(4), 503-524.

UNDER PEER REVIEW