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THE EFFECT OF COMMERCIALIZATION OF CULTURE ON THE
IFUGAO YOUTH: A CASE STUDY OF TWO IFUGAO
MUNICIPALITIES IN NORTHERN LUZON, THE PHILIPPINES

Ms Anniken Renslo Sandvik

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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วิทยานิพนธ์นี้วิเคราะห์ถึงพลเมืองหนุ่มสาวในอีฟูเกาได้รับผลกระทบอย่างไรจากการใช้วัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นเป็นการค้าเนื่องจากปัจจัยหลายอย่างเช่นการเปลี่ยนศาสนาจากความเลื่อมใสในศาสนาอันเก่าแก่ของอีฟูเกาไปเป็นศาสนาคริสต์, การปรับเปลี่ยนของระบบการปกครองของชาติและระบบการศึกษา, และการเผยแพร่ของสื่อมวลชนต่างประเทศ, และการปฏิบัติขนบธรรมเนียมประเพณีพื้นเมืองของอีฟูเกาล้างหายไปเมื่อมีความพยายามที่จะฟื้นฟูขนบธรรมเนียมประเพณีเหล่านั้น การปกครองส่วนเทศบาลและจังหวัดในอีฟูเกาได้จัดงานเทศกาลประจำปีเพื่อแสดงถึงวัฒนธรรมพื้นเมืองอันเก่าแก่โดยในแนวทางปฏิบัตินี้วัฒนธรรมของอีฟูเกาถูกใช้ในทางการค้าเมื่อขนบธรรมเนียมประเพณีพื้นเมืองถูกใช้เป็นการแสดงที่ต่างจากบริบทเดิมไปเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของรายการที่มีไว้เพื่อแสดงให้กับคนดู

จากการสอบถามถึงประสบการณ์ที่เกี่ยวข้องกับเทศกาลเหล่านี้สองเทศบาลยังควนและกลางกาวิ วิทยานิพนธ์นี้พิจารณาถึงไม่ว่าแนวทางที่เน้นในลักษณะทางการค้านี้จะนำวัฒนธรรมอันเก่าแก่ให้สูญหาย เมื่ออนาคตของวัฒนธรรมของอีฟูเกานั้นอยู่ในกำมือของคนรุ่นใหม่ซึ่งคนกลุ่มนี้ได้เป็นกลุ่มข้อมูลหลักของการศึกษานี้ โดยมีสองพื้นที่การศึกษาที่ใช้ค้นคว้าในระหว่างเทศกาลประจำปีของสองเทศบาลและรวมถึงมีการสัมภาษณ์และสนทนากับเยาวชนของอีฟูเกา โดยใช้แบบสอบถามและการสังเกตที่เป็นแบบไม่มีส่วนร่วมเป็นส่วนใหญ่ สิ่งนี้ส่งผลให้วิทยานิพนธ์นี้ได้แย้งว่าจากการมีส่วนร่วมในการใช้เทศกาลทางวัฒนธรรมเป็นการค้า ทำให้เยาวชนในอีฟูเกาต่อเติมความรู้ทางท้องถิ่นของตนเอง และความรู้สึกที่ว่าวัฒนธรรมโบราณของพวกเขาเป็นสมบัติเริ่มแข็งแกร่งขึ้น ดังนั้นความสนใจของเยาวชนอีฟูเกาในการรักษาวัฒนธรรมอันเก่าแก่ที่คงอยู่ให้คงงามขึ้นต่อไปและการจัดการเทศกาลให้เป็นแนวทางที่จะอนุรักษ์วัฒนธรรมของอีฟูเกา

เนื่องจากวัฒนธรรมของอีฟูเกานั้นเชื่อมโยงอย่างใกล้ชิดกับวงจรทางการเกษตรกรรมและผลิตผลของข้าว ดังนั้นวิทยานิพนธ์นี้จึงพิจารณาถึงการใช้วัฒนธรรมเป็นการค้าจะช่วยเพิ่มความสนใจในการผดุงไว้ของการทำนาแบบขั้นบันไดแบบเก่าให้คงอยู่กับคนรุ่นใหม่ได้หรือไม่ ในที่นี้วิทยานิพนธ์พิสูจน์ว่าความสนใจที่มากขึ้นในการรักษาวัฒนธรรมของอีฟูเกาให้คงอยู่ต่อไปอาจจะใช้เวลามากกว่าที่จะนำไปสู่ความสนใจที่มากขึ้นในการสานต่อการทำนาขั้นบันไดถ้าเป็นเช่นนั้นการใช้วัฒนธรรมเป็นการค้าจะถูกใช้เป็นแนวทางเพื่ออนุรักษ์นาขั้นบันไดให้คงอยู่ต่อไปแต่กระนั้นมันได้เน้นว่าความสัมพันธ์นี้เปราะบางและที่ว้าวมของอีฟูเกายังคงเผชิญหน้ากับสิ่งท้าทายที่สำคัญเกี่ยวข้องกับความอยู่รอดของการทำนาขั้นบันไดมันได้แนะนำว่าการศึกษาอย่างถี่ถ้วนได้ถูกทำในที่ที่ความคิดเห็นมุมมองและแนวคิดของเยาวชนได้ถูกแยกแยะและรับฟังตามที่วิทยานิพนธ์นี้ได้แสดงถึงว่าความสนใจในการดำรงการทำนาขั้นบันไดให้คงอยู่ต่อไปและเยาวชนวัยรุ่นได้ตระหนักว่าการทำนาขั้นบันไดมีคุณค่าและสำคัญ ดังนั้นหน้าที่ที่เหลือก็คือการหาวิธีที่จะให้ระดับความสนใจเพิ่มขึ้นได้อย่างบ้าง

สาขาวิชา เอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ศึกษา

ลายมือชื่อนิสิต.....

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ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม.....

##5287674020 MAJOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

KEYWORDS: IFUGAO/ INDIGENOUS PEOPLE/ ETHNIC TRIBES/ YOUTH/
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FESTIVALS

ANNIKEN RENSLO SANDVIK: THE EFFECT OF COMMERCIALIZATION
OF CULTURE ON THE IFUGAO YOUTH: A CASE STUDY OF TWO
IFUGAO MUNICIPALITIES IN NORTHERN LUZON, PHILIPPINES.
ADVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. WITHAYA SUCHARITHANARUGSE, Ph.D.,
CO-ADVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. SIDA SONSRI, 134 pp.

This thesis analyzes how the young population in Ifugao is affected by the commercialization of their indigenous culture. Because of various factors like the conversion from the ancient Ifugao religion into Christianity, the adaption of national governing- and education systems, and the introduction of international mass media, the indigenous Ifugao cultural practices are vanishing. As an attempt to revive these practices, the municipal and provincial governments in Ifugao are arranging annual festivals showcasing the indigenous culture. In this process the Ifugao culture is commercialized, as the indigenous practices are being performed out of their original contexts as parts of a program created to entertain an audience.

By examining the experiences concerning these festivals in the two municipalities Hungduan and Lagawe, this thesis discusses whether or not the commercialization process brings the ancient culture closer to a survival. As the future of the Ifugao culture is in the hands of the young generation, this group has been the focus group of this research. The two field studies took place during two annual municipal festivals, and here interviews and conversations with the Ifugao youth were carried out, questionnaires were handed out, and observation, mostly non-participant, was conducted. This resulted in this thesis arguing that by participating in the commercialized cultural festivals, the Ifugao youth increase their indigenous knowledge, and their feeling that their ancient culture is an asset becomes stronger. Thus, the Ifugao youth's interest in keeping the ancient culture alive grows, and the arranging of festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture.

Because the Ifugao culture is closely linked to the agricultural cycle and the production of rice, this thesis also discusses whether or not the commercialization of culture leads to increased interest in the ancient rice terraces' sustainability among the youth. Here, the thesis argues that an increased interest in keeping the Ifugao culture alive may over time lead to an increased interest in maintaining the rice terraces. If so, the commercialization of culture will serve as a way to keep the terraces sustainable. However, it is stressed that this connection is fragile, and that the Ifugao society still faces a great challenge concerning the survival of the rice terraces. It is suggested that a thoroughly study is conducted, where the thoughts, views and ideas of the youth are identified and listened to. As this thesis shows that the interest in the continued survival of the rice terraces exists, and that the youth do find the terraces both valuable and important, the remaining task is to find out how this level of interest can be increased.

Field of Studies: Southeast Asian Studies Student's Signature.....

Academic Year: 2011 Advisor's Signature.....

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ABBREVIATIONS

ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of nature
LGU	Local Government Unit
NSCB	National Statistical Coordination Board
NSO	National Statistics Office
SITMO	Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement
SK	Sangguniang Kabataan (a political youth organization in the Philippines)
UCEL	Universities' Collaboration in eLearning

GLOSSARY

Barangay	The smallest administrative division in the Philippines, might be translated into village, district or ward.
Baya	Ifugao rice wine
Commercialization	The process where business methodology is applied to something in order to profit, or exploit something for maximum financial gain, sometimes by sacrificing quality.
Commoditization	The process in which a product becomes indistinguishable from others similar to it.
Cultural commercialization	Used in this thesis to describe the process where an indigenous culture is taken out of its original context with the objective of entertaining an audience.
Ethnography	Qualitative method aimed to learn and understand cultural phenomena, which reflect the knowledge and system of meanings guiding the life of a cultural group.
Hudhud	An indigenous epic traditionally recited and chanted among the Ifugao people during the sowing and harvesting of rice, funeral wakes and other rituals.
Hulin	A ritual traditionally performed when the rice planting was completed to ensure a bountiful harvest and good health by driving away pest and diseases.
Ifugao	A group of people inhabiting Ifugao province in the Cordillera Mountains in northern Luzon, Philippines.
Ifugao Rice Terraces	2000 years old rice terraces created by the Ifugao people.
Kulpi	Traditionally a ritual performed when all the rice fields were planted to protect the newly planted rice from possible diseases. Now a name for the municipal festival in Lagawe.
Mumbaki	Indigenous priest

People's empowerment

Theory arguing that to make positive change in a certain community, the people in the community has to be directly involved.

Tungoh

Traditionally a non-working holiday, where agricultural work was taboo. The residents were supposed to remain at home for a day of relaxation, and no outsiders were allowed to enter the village. Now a name for the municipal festival in Hungduan.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study analyzes how the young population in Ifugao is affected by the commercialization of their indigenous culture. By examining the experiences in two municipalities, it discusses whether or not the commercialization brings the indigenous culture closer to a survival. Because the Ifugao culture is closely linked to the agricultural cycle and the production of rice, the thesis also discusses whether or not the commercialization of culture lead to increased interest in the rice terraces' sustainability among the youth.

This chapter gives an introduction to the topic of research, and is separated into five parts. First, a brief background on the Ifugao people and their culture is given. Second, the objectives of this research are presented, followed by the study's hypothesis, which makes up the third part. The fourth part consists of literature reviews, detailing relevant theories and previous research works, while the fifth and final part outlines the usefulness and significance of the research.

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The Ifugao People

The Cordillera Mountains in northern Luzon in the Philippines are inhabited by various groups of indigenous people, all being parts of the great ethnic group called Igorot, a name that literally means "mountain people" (Jenks, 1905). One of these subgroups is the Ifugao, whose members mostly live in the Ifugao province, located in the southern part of the mountains (Wikipedia, 2010). This people are known as the creators of the Ifugao rice terraces (figure 1.1), which were inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List in 1995 (Unesco, 2010).

According to Unesco, the rice terraces have been in the region for 2,000 years (Unesco, 2010), and the findings of an archaeological study carried out by Robert F. Maher suggest that this may be true. In 1962 he conducted research on four sites in the Ifugao province, using a technique based on radiocarbon analysis to estimate the age of charcoal and clay found beneath the surface on the locations. The results showed that

Figure 1.1: *The Ifugao rice terraces in Banaue.*



(Photo: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

some terraces could have been established as early as 1000 BC, while others dated back to 11th and 17th Century (Maher, 1973).

For all this time, the techniques used in building and maintaining the terraces have remained nearly unchanged (Icomos & IUCN, 1995:51), and therefore it is reasonable to say that the rice terraces are the proof of an ancient society still alive today. This is despite the fact that the natural vulnerabilities of the terraces are numerous and serious, consisting of earthquakes, typhoons, heavy monsoon rain, and frequent landslides (Araral, 2009:6). According to Araral (Araral, 2009:6), the Ifugao's use of customary laws, combined with their religious beliefs, has made them capable of coping with these challenges. Barton (1919:11) maintains that traditionally, the Ifugao society has been governed only by unwritten laws based on customs and taboos. For centuries, these laws have guided the Ifugao people through their daily life, both when it comes to personal behaviour, as well as matters directly related to the rice terraces, for example property rights, inheritance, water rights and family law and procedure (Barton, 1919:11-14). However, it is reasonable to believe that the rule of taboos and customary laws would not have been so successful, if it were not for the Ifugaos' religious beliefs. This has been noted by various scholars, Eduardo Araral being one of them. He argues that their practice of sacred rituals is one of the reasons why the Ifugao society still exists today.

“The robustness of the terraces overtime, to a significant degree, has been made possible because of the evolution of these rituals. All major transactions – particularly those involving risk, uncertainty and death require some form of ritual and the invocation of deities,” he writes in the paper *What can institutional analysis tell us about long lived societies? The case of the 2000 year old Ifugao society* (Araral, 2009:15).

The Ifugao cosmology operates with as many as 1,500 deities, who are called upon during sacred rituals (Araral, 2009:15). These rituals have traditionally been of great importance to the Ifugaos, and therefore they have to be considered a central part of the Ifugao ancient culture. This is evident in a study conducted by the ethnologist Harold C. Conklin, who during the year 1962-1963 lived in a small Ifugao village called Bayninan, and recorded the occurrence of rituals among the inhabitants. Eduardo Araral has reproduced Conklin’s findings (Conklin, 1980), and he concludes like this:

“Ifugaos hold rituals every month for an average of 16 days a month. In all he [Conklin] recorded 37 types of rituals which were held every month for an average of 16 days a month, with some rituals lasting 26 days. In all, at least 191 days were spent for rituals in this hamlet during the year 1962-1963, which is still a conservative figure” (Araral, 2009:15).

The last couple of decades, however, the occurrence of rituals has declined. Since the 1950s, more and more Ifugaos have converted to Christianity, and among them, the old rituals have become taboo (Araral, 2009:19). At the same time, a number of other challenges face the ancient Ifugao society: the integration into the market economy, labour shortages caused by declining interest in rice farming by the younger population, migration pressures, the introduction of chemical farming, and mass tourism (Araral, 2009:19).

Traditionally, the Ifugaos used their customary law as a guideline to how all work regarding the rice terraces should be done. There, labour exchange was an important factor, and neighbours and families used to cooperate to build and maintain the terraces. With the integration into the market economy, however, the system of labour exchange has in most areas been replaced with cash economy (Araral, 2009:19). According to Araral, this is unfortunate, because the cost of mountain farming is high, and thus, likely to cause labour shortages. This, in turn, will lead to higher demand for labour, and higher demand is likely to result in even higher costs (Araral, 2009:19).

“Terraced farms are increasingly being abandoned in some municipalities in

Ifugao due to labor shortages. When farms are abandoned, weeds grow and the terraces dry up and collapse occurs at the onset of the rainy season,” Araral writes (Araral, 2009:21).

Other factors have also led to this labour shortage; one being the fact that the current exit opportunities for the Ifugaos are many. Araral explains that the introduction of roads, mass education, media and tourism has made it possible, and also more interesting, for the Ifugaos to look for work outside their villages.

“In the last decade, out migration to adjacent provinces, cities and foreign lands have increased overtime in large part because rice farming is not profitable while other more profitable livelihood options have become available,” Araral writes (Araral, 2009:20).

However, it is not a new thing that Ifugaos look for work outside their villages, because the customary property law has traditionally said that only the eldest in the family inherits property, while the other siblings have to look for other sources of livelihood. This law served its purpose in the past, but appears not to be suitable to the market economy (Araral, 2009:20-21).

In addition, population pressure, tourism and urbanization are putting further pressure on the socio-ecological system of the Ifugaos (Araral, 2009:22). Combined together, these challenges constitute a major threat to the survival of the 2000 years old Ifugao civilization, and therefore, Unesco has inscribed the rice terraces on the list of World Heritage in Danger (Unesco, 2001).

1.1.2 Tourism in Ifugao

When the anthropologist Roy Franklin Barton published the book *Ifugao Law* in 1919, he reported that the Ifugao was a tribe of barbarian headhunters, unaffected by the world outside their society, because of their geographical isolation (Barton, 1919:6-9). According to Barton, the Spanish colonization period had left few traces (Barton, 1919:6-9), and Unesco confirms this, stating that the Ifugao was among the communities who refused to be conquered by the Spanish, and therefore they were able to “retain patrimony over the land that they had inherited, according to custom” (Unesco, 2008:5). However, even though the Ifugao mountain-land remained unconquered by the Spanish, the colonization period led to more people visiting the region, especially scholars and missionaries, a development that continued with the arrivals of the Americans in the early 1900s. As a consequence of this, tourism

developed in the region (Unesco, 2008:6).

The first official step taken by the Philippine government towards recognizing the importance of the Ifugao rice terraces occurred in 1973, when President Ferdinand Marcos issued the Presidential Decree No. 260, declaring the rice terraces as “irreplaceable treasures of the country” (Unesco, 2008:10). Soon after, the government-owned Banaue Hotel and Youth Hostel was constructed in the municipality of Banaue, an event considered as a breakthrough for tourism in Ifugao (Unesco, 2008:10-11). In the 1980s, more tourism-related construction occurred in Banaue, and the municipality soon emerged as the tourism centre of the province (Unesco, 2008:11). In 2006, the visitors to Banaue counted for 85 percent of the total amount of tourists in Ifugao (90,874 persons)(Unesco, 2008:31). However, the municipalities Hungduan, Kiangan and Mayoyao, are currently emerging as tourist destinations as well (Unesco, 2008:11).

The impacts of tourism are many, and reach from impacts on the physical environment, like over-population, shortage in water resources, pollution of both air and water, and deforestation, to economical impacts, which can be positive or negative, covering both generation of new jobs, and increased costs of goods and services (Unesco, 2008:53-63). The impacts hardest to measure, however, are the ones related to the host-community’s lifestyle, known as socio-cultural impacts. To be able to assess these impacts, thorough studies of the cultural changes are required (Unesco, 2008:54).

1.1.3 Cultural Commercialization

Cultural commercialization falls into the category of socio-cultural impacts of tourism (Unesco, 2008:55). As a means both to attract more tourists, as well as keeping the Ifugao culture alive, the provincial and municipal governments have initiated yearly cultural festivals, celebrating events that traditionally have been important parts of the Ifugao way of life (Unesco, 2008:38). Because the culture is being presented out of its original context, and because the festivals are being arranged to attract more visitors to the region, it is reasonable to say that the culture is being commercialized. According to Unesco, this process is experienced by the Ifugaos to be both positive and negative: Positive, because the commercialization of culture provides economic benefits to the cultural performers, and because the performances are instrumental in reviving cultural practices about to become extinct, and negative, because the staged performances

misrepresent and desecrate the local culture (Unesco, 2008:55). Carlos Milos R. Bulilan reports that the latter is the case for the town of Banaue. He conducted research in this town from 2005 to 2006, and found that many rituals were staged performances, arranged only to please the tourists. According to him, this has resulted in “desacralization” of the rituals, and this, in turn, has led to change in the Ifugao system of meaning (Bulilan, 2007:28).

Still, while Banaue is categorized as the urban tourist centre in the Ifugao province, the majority of the Ifugao people live elsewhere (NSO, 2007). Therefore, it is necessary to examine the situation in the other municipalities if one is to understand how the Ifugao culture is affected by commercialization. It is also reasonable to believe that the youth experience the commercialization of their culture differently than what the older generations do. Currently, however, no research confirms or disproves this, which means that there is a knowledge gap to fill.

1.2 Research Objectives

a) To investigate how the cultural commercialization affects the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture.

b) To identify potential success and failure in arranging these festivals as a way to protect the ancient Ifugao culture¹.

c) Traditionally, the cultural practices of the Ifugaos have been closely linked to the agricultural cycle and the production of rice. This thesis aims to examine if an increased interest in the Ifugao culture among the youth leads to an increased interest in keeping the rice terraces sustainable².

1.3 Hypothesis

By participating in the commercialized cultural festivals, the Ifugao youth increase their indigenous knowledge, and start viewing their ancient culture as an asset. Thus, the Ifugao youth’s interest in keeping the ancient culture alive grows, and the arranging of festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture. When the interest in

¹ Here it is important to note that different people will have differing views on the effects of cultural commercialization on their society. Thus, the potential success and failure identified in this paper have to be seen as *perceived* success and failure.

² The author recognises that *increase* is a quantitative word that promises that something is to be counted. In this context, however, the objective is to find out whether or not the youth is more interested in their culture now than before, and consequently, if this leads to them being more interested in the Ifugao rice terraces. It is important to note that an answer will be based on the youth’s own perceptions.

keeping the Ifugao culture alive grows, so does the interest in maintaining the rice terraces. Therefore, the commercialization of culture serves as a way to keep the terraces sustainable.

1.4 Review of Literature

This section is divided into three parts: literature concerning cultural commercialization in Ifugao, literature concerning cultural commercialization in other parts of the world, and literature concerning theories applicable to cultural commercialization.

1.4.1 Cultural Commercialization in Ifugao

One of the few publications available concerning cultural commercialization in Ifugao is the earlier mentioned paper *Experiencing Cultural Heritage and Indigenous Tourism in Banaue*, written by the missionary Carlos Milos R. Bulilan, and published in 2007. Bulilan spent almost one year in Banaue, and during his stay, he conducted research on the effects of tourism on the Ifugao indigenous culture, focusing on three main areas, namely traditional livelihood, artworks, and the religious systems of Banaue. In this context, the two latter research-areas are of most importance, as they concern two aspects of cultural commercialization that can be linked to the cultural festivals currently arranged by the authorities.

To start with the arts, Bulilan states that handicrafts and artworks are essential elements in religious and social practices, and many objects are therefore charged with spiritual meanings, and have to be considered sacred. Still, many of the objects are now made available for tourists, and Bulilan separates these products into four categories of items sold in the souvenir shops in Banaue (Bulilan, 2007:24-27). The first category concerns wood and metal crafts like woodcarvings of traditional religious significance, replicas of wooden ritual boxes and amulets, traditional daggers and spears, gongs, and also wooden kitchen and household wares. The second category consists of woven products like the women's skirt called *tur-gue* and the men's g-string called *wanoh*, but also more modern designs like tablecloths and doormats, bags and jackets. Bulilan's third category is native baskets, "which were traditionally used for agricultural, household, and religious purposes" (Bulilan, 2007:26), while the final category concerns t-shirts with designs showing the rice terraces, the rice god *bulul* and other

motives found among the Ifugaos. Bulilan argues that the fact that all these products are made available to tourists shows that cultural symbols have become commoditized.

“The demand for souvenirs has led to mass production and the alteration of traditional handicrafts. Although there has been a kind of ‘reawakening’ of traditional skills and creativity among the Ifugao of Banaue, their attitude toward their craft products has changed. Craftsmen now see traditional artifacts in commercial rather than religious perspectives. Their once symbolic value has been replaced by their marketing price,” he writes (Bulilan, 2007:28).

The other relevant aspect of Bulilan’s research concerns commercialization of religious rituals. Here, Bulilan’s main argument is that tourism has led to desacralization of the indigenous Ifugao culture, and he uses his own experiences to illustrate this. One such example concerns a ritual performed after a man had been stabbed to death in Banaue (Bulilan, 2007:17). The day after the murder, the news spread that the family and relatives of the victim were to hold a traditional ritual of revenge, called *him-ong*, even though this practice had almost been eradicated after the introduction of Christianity. Therefore, it was a long time since the ritual was last performed, and Bulilan was invited by a villager to witness the event. He explains that *him-ong* is a combination of dance and ritual action, performed on the day that a murdered Ifugao is buried. The *mumbaki*, which is the term for an indigenous priest, invokes ancestral spirits to bring harm to the killer, and these spirits are believed to identify and choose the person who is to carry out the revenge. On this particular occasion, the ritual started early in the morning.

“Early that morning, I heard clashing sounds coming from all directions. Going out, I saw long lines of dancers in their colorful gear, beating the measure on their *bangibang* (a traditional percussion bar), approaching the hill on which the rite would be held. Some of them held shields in one hand and spears in the other. The leaves of a red-leafed shrub decorated the heads of the participants,” Bulilan recalls (Bulilan, 2007:18).

On the hill, meat and chicken sacrifices were prepared, while the participants were waiting for the dancers to arrive, and according to Bulilan, only close family members were allowed to stay in the centre. He recalls the solemnity of the ritual, and that everyone was silent, except from the chanting *mumbakis*. That was until the tourists arrived. Bulilan describes the moment like this:

“When the dancers arrived, the *mumbakis* started to chant. Everybody was

silent until, from nowhere, a group of tourists suddenly appeared. With their guides, they hurriedly approached the center and started to take pictures. Not only that, they were also making noise. The solemnity was broken, yet the ritual had to go on. People started to complain, ‘*Ay Apo*, what are they doing there? Would somebody please drive them away,’ a woman angrily commented. ‘They are commercializing the ritual!’” (Bulilan, 2007:18-19).

According to Bulilan, the tourists persisted in coming closer to the elders, “behaving as though they were watching a circus,” even though the locals tried to get them to step back. Thus, the ritual, which lasted for hours until the body of the victim was buried, had to go on while the cameras continued to flash (Bulilan, 2007:19).

This account shows how a ritual sacred to the Ifugaos may be disturbed and ruined by the presence of tourists. However, Bulilan also reports that there exist rituals that are performed just to meet the tourists’ expectations as well, and these rituals are stripped for all kinds of authenticity. Here, he provides an example from the weekly entertainment at Banaue Hotel (Bulilan, 2007:19).

“Every Saturday night (or upon request), the Banaue Hotel displays a ritual performance for the guests. (...) The participants, in their full native costume, perform traditional dance steps at the beat of a gong. A ritual presentation then follows. This time, however, not live sacrificial animals but wooden pigs and chicken are offered. The ‘priest’ chants the *baki* as the ‘ritual’ goes on,” Bulilan writes (Bulilan, 2007:19).

After one such performance, Bulilan talked to one of the natives, and asked him more about the meaning of the movements and the prayers during the ritual. The answer he got was that there were no meaning at all, just simply a show to entertain the tourists.

Bulilan believes both the first and the second example show that tourism may be devastating for the indigenous Ifugao culture. In the paper he concludes like this:

“Systems of meaning have been altered to please the visitors – meanings which are essential for the preservation of the cultural identity which holds the Ifugao of Banaue together as a people. Such disorganization and falsification of meanings threaten the culture with collapse” (Bulilan, 2007:28).

It is important to note that Bulilan’s paper only concerns the municipality of Banaue, which is the tourism centre of Ifugao province. As the ten other municipalities in the province have yet to experience tourism in such a scale, it is not possible to apply Bulilan’s findings to the Ifugao culture as a whole. Still, his research is useful as

a measurement of how tourism *may* affect the Ifugao culture.

Only one publication concerns commercialization of Ifugao culture outside Banaue, and that is the report *IMPACT: The Effects of Tourism on Culture and the Environment in Asia and the Pacific: Sustainable Tourism and the Preservation of the World Heritage Site of the Ifugao Rice Terraces, Philippines*, written by the nongovernmental organization Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMO), published by Unesco in 2008. However, the report focuses on the overall impacts of tourism in Ifugao, and thus, only a small part of it is devoted to commercialization of culture. Yet, when the objective is to investigate how cultural commercialization affects the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture, the findings presented under the headline Socio-Cultural Impacts (Unesco, 2008:54-58) are necessary background information. First of all, the organization supports many of Bulilan's arguments presented above, and confirms that it is common that cultural performances are staged just to satisfy the tourists' needs. Some traditionally sacred rituals may be presented out of context, and the themes for ethnic songs and dances may be changed to suit the tourist's expectations. According to SITMO, this means that the performances communicate a false message to the visitors, and are thereby losing their authenticity. The organization writes that this becomes even worse when the cultural performances are staged without any appropriate occasion to justify the performance at all.

"Agricultural rituals, for instance, are staged at the wrong times of the year, just for tourist consumption. Even though local villagers are aware of this cultural travesty, they are encouraged to perform because of the financial incentives offered to them by tourists, tour operators and even academic researchers," the report states (Unesco, 2008:56-57).

However, SITMO is not in doubt that there exist positive impacts of cultural commercialization as well as negative, and the revival of vanishing cultural practices is said to be one of them. Here, the organization mentions the municipal festivals arranged by the authorities every year, saying that these festivals contribute to the revival of cultural practices, at the same time as they are attracting more tourists.

"These festivals provide tourists with the opportunity to experience the rich cultural tradition of Ifugao. They also enable the present generations of Ifugaos to re-learn their cultural values," the organization states (Unesco, 2008:55).

Closely related to this, is the transfer of cultural knowledge and skills from one

generation to the next, and SITMO argues that this is one of the most important effects of the cultural commercialization. The organization explains that in some municipalities, elderly members of the communities have formed cultural performing groups among the young people to perform for tourists, and in the process, “indigenous knowledge is transmitted to the younger generations” (Unesco, 2008:56). This also concerns other aspects of the Ifugao culture, such as woodcarving, loom weaving, and the production of other local crafts, which “would have become extinct, if not for the entry of tourists into Ifugao” (Unesco, 2008:56).

Finally, SITMO argues that there is a great difference between the situation in Banaue and the other municipalities, mainly because Banaue has interacted with tourists for more than three decades, while the other municipalities are only now emerging as tourist destinations.

“Learning from the case of Banaue, stakeholders in these emerging tourist destinations are fully aware of the possible negative and positive impacts of tourism on their local culture,” the organization writes (Unesco, 2008:55).

Thus, SITMO believes, these municipalities may avoid many of the negative impacts while at the same time gaining more benefits from the positive ones.

As mentioned above, this report is useful as background information for further research concerning the Ifugao youth. However, there is no doubt that further research is needed, especially since no sources are cited or referred to throughout the section regarding socio-cultural impacts, and also because SITMO as an organization arranges tours for tourists, where the tourists are invited to join the locals in their traditional performances (Unesco, 2008:71). Thus, SITMO can be seen as a stakeholder, even though the profit they gain from the tours reportedly is small. Even though there is no reason to believe that their account is coloured by this relationship, more research is required to confirm or disprove the theories.

1.4.2 Worldwide Experiences

Since the 1970s, a number of case studies have been conducted concerning the effects of commercialization on indigenous cultures. In this section some of them will be mentioned, with an objective of showing the wide range of conclusions that have been made.

One of the pioneers in this research area is the anthropologist Davydd J. Greenwood. In 1977, he published the paper *Culture by the Pound: An*

Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commoditization, where he analyzed the commoditization of local culture in the case of Fuenterrabia, a Spanish Basque village (Greenwood, 1977:129-138). In this paper, Greenwood recalls that from the 15th to the 19th Century, Fuenterrabia was a city of great importance, as it was located almost on the border between Spain and France, where the two countries continually contested the rights to control the territory in the northeastern corner of Spain. Therefore, French soldiers invaded Fuenterrabia several times, but according to Greenwood, the most famous siege took place in 1638, lasted for 69 days, and ended with victory to the town. To remember this event, the ritual *Alarde* used to be held every year, recreating the successful battle. This ritual is the focus of Greenwood's study. According to him, the ritual traditionally involved almost everyone in the village:

“The siege of Fuenterrabia was one in which wealthy and poor – men, women, and children, farmers, fishermen and merchants – withstood a ferocious attack together. The *Alarde* reproduces this solidarity by involving all occupational groups, men, women, and children, in the activity. (...) Together these people, who most of the time are divided, vulnerable, and confused, are a single spirit capable of withstanding the onslaughts of the outside world as they once withstood the siege of 1638,” he writes (Greenwood, 1977:133).

However, in 1969 Greenwood experienced what he calls a turning point in the history of the *Alarde* ritual. As the ritual takes place in the tourist season when the city's population is much bigger than during the rest of the year, the inhabitants experienced that curious onlookers quickly filled the narrow streets. As a consequence, the government declared that the ritual should be performed twice on the same day, so that everyone who wanted could see it. Even though this did not happen, Greenwood believes that the declaration itself had a devastating effect on the ritual.

“In service of simple pecuniary motives, it defined the *Alarde* as a *public show to be performed for outsiders* who, because of their economic importance in the town, had the *right* to see it,” he writes (Greenwood, 1977:135).

Two summers later, Greenwood found that the town was having a great difficulty in finding people to participate in the *Alarde* ritual, much because its traditional meaning was gone. Therefore, he concludes that the commoditization of culture to suit the tourist's expectations and needs is a threat to local cultures.

“By making it the part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and

paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before. Thus, commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives,” he argues (Greenwood, 1977:137).

This view is supported by a more recent study, conducted by the two scholars Elisabeth Kirtsoglou and Dimitrios Theodossopoulos in 2004. In the paper *‘They are Taking our Culture Away’: Tourism and Culture Commodification in the Garifuna Community of Roatan* they examine how the inhabitants of an ethnic minority community in Honduras suffer of culture loss because they cannot control the commoditization of their culture through tourism (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004:135-157). The community in question is the Garifuna community in the town Punta Gorda, located on Roatan island a few miles of the coast of Honduras. According to the two scholars, the Garifuna culture has acquired a prominent place in the national Honduran folklore since the 1970s, and is now promoted as a tourist attraction. This in itself is not a problem to the Garifuna, because the community “believe in the power and value of ethnic or indigenous tourism” (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004:136). They want to make their village known to the outside world, to attract tourists, and consequently improve their standard of living. Thus, the main issue of concern is not the exposure of their culture as such, but rather where and why this exposure takes place, and also who it is that makes a profit out of it. In other words, the two scholars argue, it is when the community is denied direct participation in the tourism industry that the problems occur.

“The living Garifuna acquired an exoticized status that implied national recognition, but always on the bases of a stereotypical, commodified and visual representation of their customs. (...) The Garifuna of Roatan claim that their culture is being taken away; or rather sold to the western cultural collectorcum-tourist who, in her desire to consume Otherness and to find ‘authentic’ experiences, bypasses the indigenous people whose resources are thus being managed by more skilful and better-equipped local and other entrepreneurs,” Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos explain (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004:137-138).

The scholars provide one example, and that regards the Garifuna musical and dancing tradition called *Punta*. They explain that on festival days and Sunday mornings, the rhythmic sound of this music can be heard in all over the town of Punta Gorda, and small girls and boys will dance barefoot on the roads, while parents and other relatives will cheer for them. At local festivals the dancing becomes a

competition, and is also considered as a part of neighbourhood beauty contests. But lately, the *Punta* dance has become popular among tourists, and now some Garifuna participate in organized groups, which perform for tourists in private resorts and bars on the island of Roatan. Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos observed these performances several times, and in the paper, they recall what they thought afterwards:

“We felt that it focused on a stereotypical and sterilized representation of the ‘exotic’: drums, singing shells, beautiful young men and women dancing to the rhythmic sound of the *punta*. The audience was confronted by ‘something that sounded African’, but never had the opportunity to speak to the musicians or the performers. Having realized with disappointment that the Garifuna dancers received only a small portion of the profits generated, we couldn’t help recollecting the words we heard so often in Punta Gorda: ‘They are taking our culture away’” (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004:148).

Both this study and the Greenwood study earlier mentioned, show that when indigenous cultures are commercialized to suit tourists’ demands, some of the original meanings of this culture may be lost, especially if the commercialization happens without consent from, and without being controlled by, the community in question. Therefore, tourism may be considered as a threat to the survival of indigenous cultures.

However, while this is a central argument in much available literature on the socio-cultural effects of tourism, many scholars also argue the opposite, namely that cultural commercialization contributes to the survival of indigenous cultures. This is evident in the paper ‘*Cultural Tourism in Bali: Cultural Performances as Tourist Attractions*’, written by the scholar Michel Picard. He undertook research in Bali during 1981 and 1982, and found that even though tourists had invaded the island, the inhabitants did not sacrifice their own values “on the altar of monetary profit” (Picard, 1990:37). According to Picard, dancing is a central part of Balinese culture, and when tourists first arrived the island, dancing performances quickly became popular among them. However, the types of dances available in Bali are of great diversity, some existing only for the sake of entertainment, while others are used solely for religious rituals. When dancing performances first were staged to show the tourists, confusion between ritual and entertainment occurred, but according to Picard, the Balinese authorities decided that they would not tolerate that.

“Their reaction consisted of attempting to prevent the risk of ‘profanation’ (*provanasi*) entailed by the ‘commercialization’ (*komersialisasi*) of ritual dances, by

endeavoring to work out criteria to distinguish between those dance genres which might be commercialized for the tourist market, and those which should not,” Picard writes (Picard, 1990:62).

Consequently, tourism was no longer accused for degrading Balinese religious values, but instead regarded as a “stimulus for artistic creativity” (Picard, 1990:62).

Thus, cultural commercialization can be seen as a phenomenon contributing to the continued survival of indigenous traditions, as well as a phenomenon threatening them. Some scholars also argue that a combination of these two views is possible. One of them is David H. Stymeist, who in the paper *Transformation of Vilavilavevo in Tourism* has investigated how the Fijian fire walking-ritual called *Vilavilavevo* has been transformed into a tourist event, after originally being a calendrical ceremony of one single community. On the one hand, Stymeis argues, today’s *Vilavilavevo* may be considered as the prime example of staged authenticity, because the members of the community no longer perform the ritual for themselves, but for tourists only, in exchange for money. Thus, the commercialization process has “decontextualized the event to allow its transformation and recontextualization in touristic practice” (Stymeist, 1996:15). Additionally, the performance of the ritual may lead the tourist to believe that the Fijian is more different than what he or she actually is. As Stymeist puts it:

“Far from fostering greater cross cultural understanding, the spectacle may act to confuse and degrade such appreciation, obscuring the fact that the Fijian is the tourist’s contemporary and not the inhabitant of a cultural zoo” (Stymeist, 1996:15).

On the other hand, Stymeist maintains that it is wrong to say that the commercial performances of *Vilavilavevo* are entirely without meaning to the Fijian.

“Although some note a decline or lessening of belief consequent upon the institution’s commercialization, it is still true that *Vilavilavevo* is an indigenous Fijian institution and, as such, an activity congruent in its premises and ideology with many other deeply rooted aspects of Fijian life. (...) It is by no means difficult for a person born and raised in the cultural context of that world to accept the intrinsic postulates upon which *Vilavilavevo* is based” he writes (Stymeist, 1996:15-16).

Thus, some of the original meanings of the ritual are kept intact, even though it has been through a commercialization process because of tourism, and has been taken out of its traditional context. In other words, it is evident that the effects of cultural commercialization can be both positive and negative for one single community. It is

reasonable to believe that this differ from community to community, just as the way the communities deal with the challenges of tourism differ. This, in turn, shows that there is not possible to find the answer to how cultural commercialization affects the Ifugaos by looking at the outside world. Still, the examples are useful, as they provide a range of *possible* answers.

1.4.3 Theoretical Framework

A central publication concerning theories on cultural commercialization is the paper *Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism*, written by Eric Cohen. It was originally published in 1988, but reprinted in the book *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity and Change* in 2004 (Cohen, 2004:101-114). In the first part of the paper, Cohen examines earlier studies published on the topic, and he finds that they tend to focus on three main theories. First, he writes, “tourism is said to lead to ‘commoditization’ of areas in the life of a community which prior to its penetration by tourism have not been within the domain of economic relations regulated by criteria of market exchange” (Cohen, 2004:101). Here, local culture often serves as the preferred example, as local feasts and rituals, customs and arts are believed to become touristic commodities when they are produced for touristic consumption. Out of this the second theory follows, which says that commoditization destroys the authenticity of the local cultural products, and instead a staged version emerges. Cohen describes it like this:

“As cultural products loose their meanings for the locals, and as the need to present the tourist with ever more spectacular, exotic, and titillating attractions grows, contrived cultural products are increasingly ‘staged’ for tourists and decorated so as to look authentic” (Cohen, 2004:101).

This, in turn, leads to the third theory, which states that the staged authenticity thwarts the tourist’s genuine desire for an authentic experience. While the tourists are looking for something authentic, they are instead caught in a “fully developed mass tourism system” that “surrounds the tourist with a staged tourist space, from which there is ‘no exit’” (Cohen, 2004:102).

When these theories are combined together, it seems like commoditization engendered by tourism destroys the meaning of cultural products for the tourists, as well as the locals.

Cohen, however, does not believe that this reflects the reality, and therefore, he continues the paper by searching for what he calls “a more realistic conclusion”

(Cohen, 2004:102), and ends up with one that can be said to be the opposite of the one deduced from earlier literature:

“Commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions. Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public. However, old meanings do not thereby necessarily disappear, but may remain salient, on a different level, for an internal public, despite commoditization” (Cohen, 2004:113).

This thesis investigates whether or not this theory is applicable to the communities in the two Ifugao municipalities Hungduan and Lagawe. Here, it should be noted that the term “commercialization” is used instead of Cohen’s “commoditization”. In this regard it is necessary to briefly define these terms. While *commoditization* refers to the process in which “a product becomes indistinguishable from others like it” (Investopedia Financial Dictionary, 2010), *commercialization* is the process where business methodology is applied “to something in order to profit, [or] to exploit something for maximum financial gain, sometimes by sacrificing quality” (Wiktionary, 2011). As there is no reason to suspect that the cultural performances in Ifugao are turned into commodities during the festivals, the term commercialization is more convenient for this research. In this context, the term is used to describe the process where the indigenous culture of the Ifugaos is taken out of its original context with the objective of entertaining an audience. In other words, this thesis analyzes Cohen’s theory regarding commoditization of culture in the context of cultural commercialization.

The second theory to be used in this research concerns people’s empowerment. Here, thoughts made available by the Sri Lankan peasant leader Karunawathie Menike in the paper *People’s empowerment from the people’s perspective*, published in the journal *Development in Practice* in 1993, are applied (Menike 1993:176-183).

According to Menike, many nongovernmental organizations and official development agencies that works towards an aim of empowering poor people fail to recognise the culture of those poor people. Thus, she argues, many of the programmes organized by these organizations and agencies are counterproductive. Menike believes the solution to this problem is simple: the organizations that wish to support people’s empowerment should “demonstrate their faith in poor people by respecting and

supporting their own decisions” (Menike 1993:176). In her article, she puts it like this:

“If you want to empower the Poor, please first trust the Poor. Have confidence in the people’s knowledge and wisdom. The People can teach you – and not the other way around. Please do not come to teach the Poor and impose your values and strategies on us because of your false notion that the Poor are ignorant, lethargic, and need to be shaken up. Don’t insult the Poor. Allow the People’s Movements to take their own decisions, and to plan and manage their resources. Let the Poor seek solutions to their own problems” (Menike 1993:181).

This thesis applies this theory to the cultural commercialization in Ifugao, and explores whether or not the fact that the Ifugaos themselves are the ones in charge of the commercialized cultural festivals helps them in keeping their culture alive.

1.5 Significance and Usefulness of Research

This thesis provides new knowledge about the effects of the commercialization of culture on the Ifugao, especially the youth. While other studies tend to focus on the town of Banaue, which is the urbanized centre of the province where most tourists go, this study gives an examination of two other municipalities, and therefore, new information becomes available. This information is useful both to other scholars, the policy makers in the Philippines and organizations like Unesco, because when the goal is to protect the indigenous culture of the Ifugao people, it is necessary to know what works and what does not.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, a detailed description of the applied research methodology is given, so as to provide an insight in how the findings came about. The methodology consisted of in-depth interviews with key-informants, a questionnaire distributed to the focus group and observations before and during two festivals in Ifugao. These methods will be presented and described separately, followed by an account of the problems encountered during the research, and an explanation of how the research findings are analysed. First, however, the choice of research locations is explained, and the focus group defined.

2.1 Research Locations

The research for this thesis was conducted during a field trip to the Ifugao province in April 2011. Two municipalities were chosen for the study, namely Hungduan and Lagawe (see chapter III for a portrayal of the two locations). To understand why just these locations were chosen, it's necessary to remember what has been written about cultural commercialization in Ifugao before. As the literature reviews in chapter I showed, other studies related to this topic focus mainly on the municipality of Banaue, and Banaue town in particular. This is the tourism centre of Ifugao, and has dealt with tourists in more than three decades. In the ten other municipalities of the province, tourism is still emerging and developing, and therefore it is reasonable to assume that the effects of cultural commercialization in these municipalities vary from the ones Banaue has experienced. Thus, to get the complete picture of how cultural commercialization affects the Ifugaos, it is necessary to examine the situation outside Banaue.

Additionally, it was seen as useful to find two locations that were different from each other in terms of topography, accessibility, and population, because this would make a comparison more interesting and useful, and the overall findings in a larger degree transferrable to Ifugao as a whole.

These are the two main reasons why the two municipalities Hungduan and Lagawe were chosen as research locations. First, none of these two locations can be seen as similar to Banaue when it comes to tourism development. Second, Hungduan

and Lagawe are two municipalities very different from each other. With its 9,601 persons, Hungduan is the most sparsely populated municipality in the province, while Lagawe is the fourth largest, with 17,477 inhabitants (NSCB, 2011a). Furthermore, while all parts of Hungduan are very remote and rural, only accessible by a mostly unpaved road, Lagawe has more urban features, as Lagawe town is the capital town of Ifugao (NSCB, 2011a), and reachable by the main Ifugao road. The two municipalities are also different when it comes to topography, as Hungduan is located on a higher altitude, framed by steep mountains covered by rice terraces, some of them inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List (Unesco, 2008:18). While terraced rice fields are common in Lagawe too, they are often not as steep as in Hungduan.

The final two reasons for the selection of research locations were of more practical character. First, it had to be possible for the author to travel and stay there during the research period, and secondly, the municipals' festivals had to fit into a schedule limited to one month. Consequently, the research for this thesis was conducted in Hungduan between the 11th and the 19th of April during the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival, and in Lagawe between the 20th and the 29th of April during the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival.

2.2 Focus Group

The future of the indigenous Ifugao culture and the closely related rice terraces is in the hands of the young generation. It is reasonable to believe that the youth experience the commercialization of their culture differently than what the older generations do, simply because their relationship to the culture is different. However, at this point, no research confirms or disproves this.

Because of the above stated reasons, the Ifugao youth was chosen as the focus group for this study. No age limit was set before the research was carried out, but the objective was to get the views and ideas of a group of people old enough to be aware of the issues raised, while still being a part of the young generation about to form their future lives.

2.3 Interviews and Conversations

On both research locations, the key informants occupied the same positions in the communities, reaching from the elders of the society, the festival organizers, the municipal politicians and officials, and most importantly, the Ifugao youth, the focus

group of this research (see appendix A for a list of the informants). Separate lists of questions were prepared for the various interviews, but these lists served mainly as guidelines, not to be strictly obeyed. Thus, the interviewer allowed for the interviews to take the directions that appeared natural there and then, and this, in turn, resulted in a broader field of knowledge and a better understanding of the research topic. For the interviews with the youth, the following list of questions made up the guideline:

- What do you think about when I say “Ifugao culture”?
- What does this culture mean to you? (Is it important to you? In what ways?)
- What does *the Tungoh ad Hungduan/Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival mean to you? (Is it important to you? In what ways?)
- What do you think are the positive sides of arranging the festival?
- What do you think are the negative sides?
- How does it affect your interest in your local culture?
- How does the festival affect your interest in the Ifugao rice terraces?

Most of the interviews with the Hungduan youth were conducted on the days before the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival started. However, it was difficult to get in touch with the youth, because many appeared to be shy in the meeting with an outsider. Therefore, the number of proper interviews was limited to ten, even though the conversations were many. The group of respondents consisted of eight girls and two boys, and this reflects the fact that the boys were harder to get in touch with than the girls. All the girls and one of the boys were students, while the other boy worked in the terraced fields as a farmer. Regarding the age, two respondents were 15 years old, three 17, one 19, two 20, one 21 and one 24. Six of the interviews were conducted individually, while four girls were interviewed in groups of two.

In Lagawe it was especially hard to come in touch with the youth, and this resulted in few interviews, but many conversations, where the above mentioned questions served as a loose guideline for the talk.

However, when it comes to all the other conversations the author engaged in throughout the field study, they were not structured at all, but instead the products of the curiosity evident in some of the inhabitants of Hungduan and Lagawe. Purely the single fact that an outsider appeared in their community without being a tourist served as a factor triggering their interest, and thus, many took the initiative themselves to open a conversation. When they learned the topic of research, many appeared to be interested

in sharing their knowledge, and in that way contributing to the study. There is no doubt that these conversations were of vast importance for this research.

It is necessary to note that the interviews and conversations were conducted in English, and without the use of translator. Therefore, the author avoided the use of difficult and complex words like *commercialization*, *indigenous*, and *ancient*, because even though most of the young people in Ifugao have a good understanding of English, they are not native speakers of the language, and thus, their vocabulary is limited. Therefore, to make sure the questions were understood, simple wordings were chosen.

2.4 Scale Questionnaire

As a means both to get more representatives of the Ifugao youth to answer the research questions, and at the same time clarify whether or not the statements given by the key informants were applicable to a larger part of the focus group, a questionnaire was prepared (appendix B). The first questions were designed to classify the respondents, asking for their name and age, which *barangay* they were from, whether or not they were in school, and what role they occupied during the festival.

Second, the respondents were asked what they found the most important during the festival. Here, four alternatives were listed ((1) play/look at sports, (2) compete with other *barangays* in various activities, (3) learn about and experience my traditional culture, and (4) be with friends), and the respondents should rate them from 1 to 4, 1 being most important, and 4 being least important. It was evident, however, that many found some of the alternatives equally important, and then it was opened for them to use the same number multiple times.

The main part of the questionnaire consisted of four scale questions, where four statements were listed, and the respondents were asked to express how strongly they agreed or disagreed with them. The four statements were as follows:

1. By participating in *Tungoh ad Hungduan/Kulpi ad Lagawe* I get new knowledge about the traditional Ifugao culture.
2. Because of the festival, I am more interested in Ifugao culture than I was before.
3. The Ifugao culture is valuable, and it is important to me to take care of it.
4. The Ifugao rice terraces are valuable, and it is important to me to take care of them.

Finally, the respondents were asked to indicate their dreams for the future. Here four alternatives were given, namely (1) to live in Hungduan/Lagawe, (2) to live in a city in the Philippines, (3) to go abroad, and (4) other. If the respondent checked the final alternative, he or she was also asked to specify a bit more.

This questionnaire was handed out to 60 people in Hungduan and 101 people in Lagawe. Out of the 60 in Hungduan, 56 questionnaires were properly answered, and in Lagawe, the number was 96. The reason for asking more people in Lagawe was that the latter municipality has a higher number of inhabitants, and thus, a higher number of youths. The respondents aged from 12 to 28 years old, the majority being 15-22. This group of people was chosen because they are old enough to be aware of the issues raised in the study, while still being a part of the young generation about to form their future lives.

Also here it has to be underlined that the English language was used in the making of the questionnaire.

2.5 Participant and Non-Participant Observation

In addition to the interviews and the conversations, as well as the questionnaire, the research consisted of participant and non-participant observation, conducted during the two festivals. Here, it is necessary to give a brief definition of these terms, so as to understand the difference: Participant observation occurs when the observer takes part in the situation being studied, while the non-participant observation occurs when the researcher refrains from partaking in the activities, but simply acts as an outsider looking in (UCEL, 2004).

Most of the observation conducted for this thesis can be classified as non-participant, as the author watched the performances from the outside. It is reasonable to believe that the activities would have been carried out the exact same way if the author was not there, since the author had no influence on the festival activities what so ever.

However, in some situations the performers were very much aware of the presence of the author, and the observations resulting from these situations are classified as participant observations. It is hard to say whether or not these performances were coloured by author's presence, but as long as the possibility is there, it is important to take that into account. Still, these situations were very few, and took, without exceptions, place before the festivals started, mainly during the practicing of the performances.

The observations, both participant and non-participant, served as means to confirm or disconfirm certain theories and statements, especially regarding the youth and the festivals. By the method of observing, it was possible to find out to what degree the youth participated in the festivals, what they did and for how long.

2.6 Problems Encountered

One major problem emerged during the field study, and that was the difficulty of getting in touch with the youth. In Hungduan, interviews with the youth were conducted during the first days, but it was evident that while some were talkative and consequently easy to interview, others appeared to be embarrassed and shy in the meeting with an outsider, and thus, reluctant to answer any questions. In Lagawe, this barrier was even harder to overcome. Because the young people immediately backed away when they were approached and asked to participate in interviews, the only way to get them to talk was to engage them in loose conversations, without pen and paper present. This makes the analyzing of the data harder, but is still better than nothing at all.

The problem was overcome by the use of the questionnaire. That way it was possible to get the opinions and views of more representatives of the Ifugao youth without scaring them away.

2.7 Defining analysing approach

To a large degree, this is a documentary thesis, using an ethnographic approach to learn and understand how cultural commercialization affects the Ifugao youth. It is largely descriptive in terms of portraying the two festivals in question – regarding how they used to be, regarding what they are now, and regarding the commercialization process in between. Given the research methodology used, the findings are based on the Ifugaos' perceptions, thoughts and views. These findings are systemized to create arguments answering the three research objectives. Figures based on the questionnaire findings are used as evidence to back up these arguments. Finally, the findings are analysed in the context of the earlier literature referred to in chapter I, and thus, the findings are put in a broader picture, describing the situation in Ifugao as a whole, and how this may relate to similar communities worldwide.

2.8 Summary

The research for this thesis was conducted during a field trip to the Ifugao province in April 2011. Two municipalities were chosen for the study, namely Hungduan and Lagawe, which are two locations different from each other in terms of topography, accessibility, and population, and therefore suitable for a comparison, as well as for applying the findings to Ifugao as a whole. Because the future of the indigenous Ifugao culture is in the hand of the young generation, the Ifugao youth was chosen as focus group for the study.

The research methodology consisted of in-depth interviews with key-informants, a questionnaire distributed to the focus group, and observations before and during the two festivals *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and *Kulpi ad Lagawe*. During the conducting of this research, one major problem emerged, namely the difficulty of getting in touch with the youth. To overcome this, a questionnaire was handed out, and that made it possible to get opinions and views from a larger part of the young generation.

The findings presented in this thesis are largely based on the Ifugaos' perceptions, thoughts and views. In the analysis, they are systemized to create arguments answering the three research objectives. Finally, the findings are analysed in the context of earlier literature, and consequently put in a broader picture.

CHAPTER III

SETTING THE SCENE – A DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH LOCATIONS

Every year, each of the eleven municipalities that make up Ifugao province arrange cultural festivals as a means to revive vanishing cultural practices, as well as to attract more visitors. This research concerns two of these festivals, namely the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and the *Kulpi ad Lagawe*, and in this chapter, a portrait of the two host-municipalities will be given. First, however, a description of the Ifugao province is outlined.

3.1 The Ifugao Province

The Philippines is divided into 17 regions, one of them being the Cordillera Administrative Region, located in the northern part of the island of Luzon (NSCB, 2011b). This region, in turn, is divided into six provinces: Apayao, Abra, Kalinga, Mountain Province, Benguet and Ifugao (figure 3.1). Ifugao province itself consists of 11 municipalities, namely Aguinaldo, Alfonso Lista, Asipulo, Banaue, Hingyon, Hungduan, Kiangan, Lagawe, Lamut, Mayoyao and Tinoc (figure 3.2).

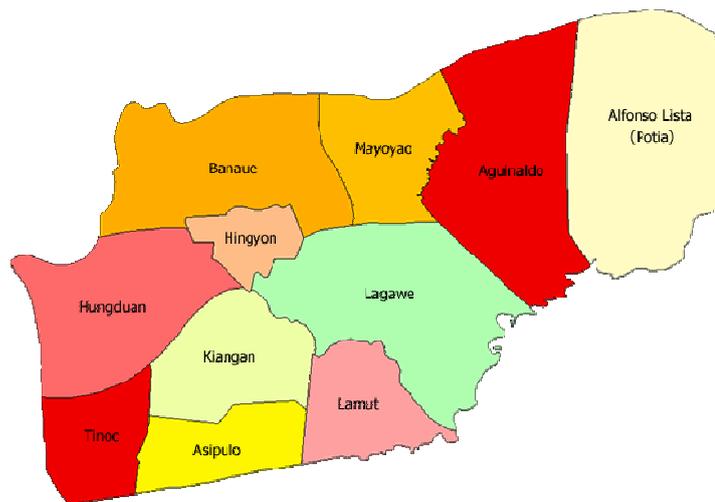
According to the last census of population released in 2007, 180,815 persons

Figure 3.1: Map of Cordillera Administrative Region and its provinces



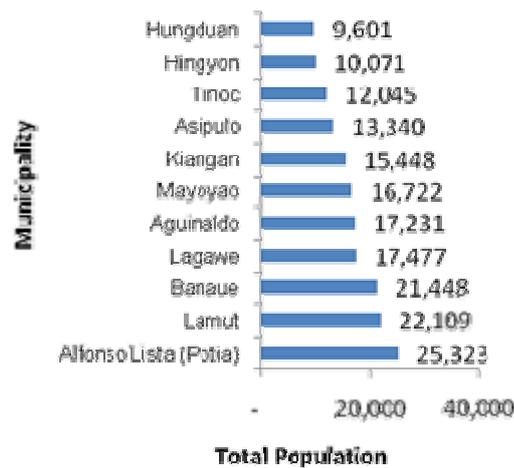
(Source: Wikipedia, 2011a)

Figure 3.2: Map of Ifugao province and its municipalities.



(Source: PhilRice DBMP, 2011).

Figure 3.3: Total population by municipality, Ifugao 2007.



(Source: NSO, 2009)

live in the Ifugao province. This is almost 20,000 more than in year 2000 (NSO 2009). 14 percent of this population live in the municipality of Alfonso Lista, and this makes Alfonso Lista the largest municipality in the province. On the other end of the scale is Hungduan, which is populated by 9,601 persons, 5.3 percent of the total in the province (figure 3.3). The capital of the province is located in the fourth largest municipality, and that is Lagawe (NSCB, 2011a).

As mentioned in chapter I, the Ifugao province is to a large degree inhabited by the ethnic group Ifugao, who is known as the creators of the Ifugao rice terraces. According to Unesco, who has inscribed the terraces on its World Heritage List, the

terraces of the Ifugao people cover most of the 20,000 square kilometres land area that makes up the Cordillera Administrative Region (Icomos & IUCN, 1995:49). Scholar Lawrence A. Reid, however, states that the terraces are most common in Ifugao province and in Bontoc (Reid, 1994:366), the capital of the Mountain Province. The five particular rice clusters that are inscribed on the World Heritage List are all located in Ifugao, more specifically in the municipalities of Banaue, Mayoyao, Hungduan and Kiangnan (Unesco, 2008:17-18).

Naturally, the culture of the Ifugaos has traditionally been closely linked to the building and maintaining of these rice terraces, as well as the agricultural cycle and the cultivation of rice. Now however, as outlined in chapter I, the cultural practices are vanishing, and many of the rice terraces are in decay. As a means to save the rice terraces and the culture connected to them, the provincial and municipal governments in Ifugao have initiated yearly festivals to celebrate ancient traditions. During April and May each of the 11 municipalities arrange municipal festivals where ethnic games, dances, songs, and sometimes also rituals, are performed. In June the festivities are lifted up on a provincial level, when the *Gotad ad Ifugao* is held in the capital Lagawe. This festival lasts for a week, and according to Unesco, it attracts the best athletes and performers from all municipalities (Unesco, 2008:40).

The research for this thesis has been conducted during the municipal festivals in Hungduan and Lagawe. The following sections will give a description of these two locations.

3.2 Hungduan

The Ifugao province is penetrated by one major road that enters the province in Lamut, passes through Lagawe and Hingyon, before it reaches Banaue, and continues into the neighbouring Mountain Province. To reach Hungduan municipality, it is necessary to take off from this road near the centre of Banaue town, and travel for at least one hour on a mostly unpaved road.

With its 9,601 people, Hungduan is the most sparsely populated municipality in Ifugao (NSCB, 2011a). These people live in nine *barangays*, a Filipino term that describes the smallest administrative division in the Philippines, and might be translated into village, district or ward (Wikipedia, 2011b). The *barangays* are scattered around the mountainous area that makes up the municipality (figure 3.4). While some of them are located along the road and thus reachable by motorized transportation, others are

Figure 3.4 *Terraced fields and steep mountains cover most of Hungduan.*



(Photo: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

more remote, only accessible by foot. Out of the nine *barangays*, Hapao is the largest, with 2,218 people living there. The capital *barangay*, however, is Poblacion, populated by 1,486 people, and this is where the local government unit has its office. The smallest *barangay* is Maggok, which is the home for 615 persons (appendix C).

Economically, Hungduan is classified as a level 4 municipality (NSCB, 2011c), which means that it has an annual income of between 25 and 35 million pesos (Department of Finance, 2008). The scale that serves as basis for the determination of the financial capability of the local government units, goes from level 1 to level 6, level 1 representing an income of more than 55 million pesos, and level 6 less than 15 million pesos. According to mayor Hilario T. Bumangabang, most of the income in Hungduan is generated through farming, as most of the municipality's inhabitants are farmers, rice field owners and live stock raisers. Some also make handicrafts (Bumangabang, 15 April 2011).

Hungduan is also currently developing as a tourism destination (see appendix D for a complete overview of the tourism arrivals in the Ifugao province from 2003 to 2010). As table 3.1 shows, the number of tourists that arrive the municipality varies from year to year, but it is possible to see a trend of increasing tourism from the year 2006 and forward. Still, few of these tourists generate any income to the inhabitants of Hungduan. Most of the tourists are day-visitors who rent transportation and guide in the neighbouring tourist centre Banaue, register at the tourist office on the municipal

Table 3.1: *Tourist arrivals in Hungduan 2003 to 2010*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Foreign Tourists</u>	<u>Domestic Tourists</u>	<u>Total</u>
2003		1,093	1,093
2004	490	2,737	3,227
2005	100	1,974	2,074
2006	2,956	3,955	6,911
2007	5,903	5,895	11,798
2008	3,795	2,536	6,331
2009	3,424	6,826	10,250
2010	3,229	1,895	5,124

(Source: Ifugao Provincial Tourism Office, 2011)

border, and spend half a day or a day exploring the rice terraces of Hapao and Poblacion. However, there are a few places in the municipality that offer accommodation and food for travellers, and according to mayor Bumangabang, it is likely that this number will grow in the near future, as the people of Hungduan will look for new sources of income (Bumangabang, 15 April 2011).

The wish for more tourists to visit Hungduan was one of the reasons why the municipal government in 1994 decided to organize an annual cultural festival named *Tungoh ad Hungduan*. According to an account of the festival written by the municipal authorities, the *Tungoh* has five core objectives (LGU Hungduan, 1994):

1. To strengthen the appreciation and interest in the Ifugao culture specifically in the spectre of arts such as indigenous songs, dances, games, architectural designs and rituals, among others.
2. To enhance the knowledge of the young generation regarding their cultural practices by encouraging them to observe and participate.
3. To facilitate good community relations, cooperation, unity and understanding among participants.
4. To encourage the local people to strengthen their agricultural activities.
5. To promote tourism industry in the municipality.

Since then, the *Tungoh* has been arranged the second or third week of April every year. Among the activities are the performing of traditional songs, dances and rituals, an ethnic parade where people from each *barangay* participate dressed in their native clothes, and competitions in native games. The last couple of years the festival has also included activities like volleyball and basketball for the youth, as well as a cultural night with a focus on modern songs and dances.

There exists no documentation of the number of participants the *Tungoh* draws every year. According to both the mayor and other government officials, the number varies every year, and is largely dependent on the weather. In an interview in April 2011, mayor Bumangabang put it like this:

“If the festival falls on a rainy day, there will be less people, and also if it has rained a lot the days before. Many may be obstructed by muddy roads and landslides. Especially from the far away *barangays*, there may be fewer participants. But when the weather is good, there are always many people” (Bumangabang, 15 April 2011).

The annual costs of the festival amount to about 500,000 pesos, and it is mostly funded by a municipal development fund and donations from private persons, especially people born in Hungduan who have moved either abroad or to a bigger city in the Philippines. Each *barangay* also has to participate by paying for their transportation- and food expenses. Neither the municipal nor the *barangay* government units get any return on their investments, as the festival is free for both participants and audience. Thus, the *Tungoh* is all money out, and no money in. According to the municipal planning officer Mauro Bando, there are limits as to how long the municipality can keep that going.

“This year [2011] we didn’t have enough funds for all the usual activities, so we had to choose some and eliminate others. Only a few activities will be contested, because we cannot afford the prices. The whole organizing process costs a lot because it involves everyone working here, and they cannot do the work they are supposed to do in their normal jobs. Because of the expenses, we have recommended that the *Tungoh* will be an every third year activity instead of an annual one,” he said (Bando, 12 April 2011).

At this stage, however, this is just a proposal that is to be discussed by the municipal government.

One possible income source during the festival is tourism. Until now, however, the festival fails to attract as many outsiders as hoped. Even though the dates of the festival are published on the Internet and some posters handed out in the neighbouring tourist centre Banaue, the organizers experience that few tourists are aware of the festival. The ones that make it usually don’t spend more than half a day. Thus, the majority of both participants and audience are locals and people from Hungduan who live elsewhere to work or study, but come home to celebrate.

3.3 Lagawe

East of Hungduan is Lagawe, a municipality located on a lower altitude than most of the municipalities in the province, but still characterized by a mountainous landscape. About ten percent of the municipality's total land area is agricultural land, and most of this agricultural land consists of rice fields (LGU Lagawe, 2011).

While Hungduan is located off the beaten track, Lagawe is penetrated by the main Ifugao road, which passes through Lagawe town, the capital town of the Ifugao province where most provincial offices are located. Lagawe town is separated into four *barangays*, namely Poblacion East, Poblacion West, Poblacion South and Poblacion North. However, the municipality of Lagawe consists of 20 *barangays* all together, and while some of them are easily connected to Lagawe town by road, others are only reachable by foot (figure 3.5).

In terms of population, Lagawe is the fourth largest municipality in Ifugao with its 17,477 people (NSCB, 2011a). Poblacion West, East and North are the most densely populated *barangays*, Poblacion West being the biggest with 2,202 persons. On the other end of the scale is Luta, with 217 people (appendix E).

Like Hungduan, Lagawe is economically classified as a level 4 municipality, with an annual income between 25 and 35 million pesos (NSCB, 2011d). According to the municipal government, most people in the Poblacion *barangays* earn their money from salaries and wages. In the rural *barangays*, however, most of the income comes from crop farming, the main products being rice, corn, vegetables, root crops, fruits, and live stock (LGU Lagawe, 2011).

Figure 3.5: *The urbanized Lagawe town (left) and the rural barangay Boliwong (right).*



(Photos: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

Table 3.2: *Tourist arrivals in Lagawe 2003 to 2010*

<u>Year</u>	<u>Foreign Tourists</u>	<u>Overseas Filipinos</u>	<u>Domestic Tourists</u>	<u>Total</u>
2003			250	250
2004			3,226	3,226
2005		100	2,653	2,753
2006			1,343	1,343
2007			1,555	1,555
2008	723		1,478	2,201
2009	836		1,348	2,184
2010	190	75	2,858	3,123

(Source: Ifugao Provincial Tourism Office, 2011)

Even though there are more than 50 restaurants in Lagawe town, and also a couple of places that offer accommodation, the municipality experiences a limited degree of tourism. The numbers counting tourist arrivals the last eight years show that there was a peak in 2004, when 3,226 tourists visited the municipality. Since then, the number has remained between 1,300 and 3,000, 2010 being the only exception with 3,123 visitors (table 3.2). Most of the tourists coming are domestic travellers, but for the last couple of years, foreigners have also started to come. However, among the inhabitants of Lagawe, it is an expressed view that most tourists only pass through the municipality, most often on their way to Banaue. The statistics of tourist arrivals in the whole Ifugao province suggest that this may be true (see appendix D for details).

Even though the rice terraces inscribed on Unesco World Heritage List are located in other parts of the Ifugao province, also Lagawe has rich traditions for rice cultivation, and traditionally, the culture of the inhabitants have been closely linked to the agricultural cycle, just as in the rest of Ifugao. But also here, the indigenous cultural practices are vanishing, and therefore, the municipal authorities have initiated the annual festival *Kulpi ad Lagawe*. According to the Lagawe-mayor Ceasario D. Cabbigat, the municipality has long traditions regarding annual town-fiestas, but in 1996 the festival was given the name *Kulpi*, and it was decided that during the festival, the traditional Ifugao culture should be a point of focus (Cabbigat, 26 April 2011). The activities are quite similar to the ones found in Hungduan during the *Tungoh*, with an ethnic parade, and the performing of native songs, native dances and native games. Additionally, also modern activities are represented, with basketball, volleyball and a street dance contest for the youth.

Most of the activities arranged during the *Kulpi* are contested, and participants from the different *barangays* compete for money-awards. The prizes are donated by

individuals, many of them being Filipinos living abroad. In 2011, the three biggest prizes amounted to 20,000 pesos each (see appendix F for an overview of the prizes).

Also in Lagawe, the festival appears to be all money out, and no money in. According to municipal planning officer Cherryl Bumanghat the local government unit budgeted 300,000 pesos for the 2011-festival. Because everything is free for all the participants during the festival, the municipality earns no income on it.

“Everything costs money. But nothing comes in,” Bumanghat says (Bumanghat, 25 April 2011).

Just as *Tungoh ad Hungduan*, *Kulpi ad Lagawe* attracts few foreigners and other tourists. Almost all the people attending are locals and people from Lagawe who live elsewhere to work or study, but come home to celebrate.

3.4 Summary

A little more than 180,000 people inhabit Ifugao province. Most of these people belong to the ethnic group Ifugao, who are the creators of the Ifugao rice terraces. The Ifugao culture has traditionally been closely linked to the building and maintaining of these rice terraces, but now, the cultural practices are vanishing. Thus, the authorities initiate yearly festivals to revive ancient traditions. In April and May, each of the eleven municipalities in Ifugao organizes municipal festivals, and annually in June, a provincial festival is held.

Hungduan is the least populated municipality in the province. Every second or third week of April it arranges the *Tungoh* festival, where traditional songs, dances and rituals are performed. A similar festival called *Kulpi* is arranged in Lagawe, the capital municipality of Ifugao. None of the festivals are profitable, because everything is free for both participants and audience. One possible income source during the festival is tourism, but so far, both *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and *Kulpi ad Lagawe* attract mostly locals and people who have moved from the municipalities, but come home to celebrate.

CHAPTER IV

THE EFFECT OF CULTURAL COMMERCIALIZATION ON HOW THE IFUGAO YOUTH VIEW THEIR ANCIENT CULTURE

This is the first of three chapters in which the research findings of this study are presented and analysed, and it is related to the first objective of the thesis: to investigate how the cultural commercialization affects the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture. The findings from the two research locations Hungduan and Lagawe will be presented and analysed separately, before a comparison is provided.

4.1 Hungduan

If one is to investigate how the cultural commercialization in Hungduan affects the municipality's young generation, it is first necessary to look at how the culture is commercialized through the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival. Thus, the following section will provide a thorough description of what the *Tungoh* used to be, how the celebration is commercialized, and what the festival is like today. Then, the research findings concerning how this festival affects the youths' view of their culture are presented and analysed.

4.1.1 Tungoh ad Hungduan

It's seven o'clock in the morning, a Sunday morning in April, and on the municipal ground in Hungduan men and women, boys and girls are running back and forth, all dressed in woven clothes. Everywhere are men in g-strings, women in skirts, and everywhere is red, black, white, yellow, but mostly red, and most red of all is the part of the municipal ground that consists of nine native huts, traditionally build with wood, without nails, and there are nine huts because there are nine barangays, and now delegates from each barangay gather outside their hut, it's early in the morning, and the Ifugaos of Hungduan are doing their last preparations for a day full of celebrations. They are getting ready for the first day of the Tungoh ad Hungduan festival.

The municipal ground is located on the top of a small hill, and suddenly all the people dressed in red are moving in the same direction, down the hill, some are beating

gongs, while others are just cheering and smiling, and gradually, the grounds on top of the hill turn silent.

And then, it doesn't. After gathering at the bottom of the hill, hundreds of Ifugaos are walking together, more organized this time, walking uphill now, and the police and military are the first ones coming, but after them the road is all red, black, white, and yellow, but mostly red, and it's the opening post of the Tungoh-program, it's the ethnic parade, and the citizens of Hungduan have put on the clothes their ancestors used every day, in their hands are spears and gongs and dead chickens held by their feet, and the gongs are beaten and the people cheering, until finally everyone are gathered on the municipal ground in front of the stage, and on the stage, the municipal mayor stands, and with him is a congressman and the Ifugao governor and the vice mayor, and in the following hours, all of them will address the audience, and even though their words will be different, the heart of their messages will be the same: Today we are celebrating the culture we have inherited from our ancestors, and we are doing that so as not to forget. It is important that we remember, and that we teach the youth, so that they may continue practicing our traditions. That's why this festival is so important. We are celebrating so that our culture may survive.

(Author's observations 17th of April 2011)

4.1.2 The Traditional Tungoh – A Resting Holiday

The above account from the 2011 *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival stands in great contrast to the stories describing the traditional *tungoh* celebrations. However, to understand what *tungoh* traditionally was to the Ifugaos, it is important first to be familiar with the cycle of rice cultivation. The original rice cycle in Ifugao consisted of five major stages (Unesco, 2008:21-22):

1. The weeding stage, taking place in September, when the rice stalks began to rot.
2. The land preparation stage, taking place in October and November, when the land was prepared for a new season of rice growing.
3. The rice planting stage, lasting from December at the earliest, to February.
4. The cultivation stage, where the main concern was to protect the crops from pest, and weed the terraces so as to give the rice plants space to grow, lasting from February and until the rice was ready for harvesting.

5. The harvesting stage in May or June. At the same time, prime seeds were selected for the next agricultural year.

Naturally, this process required a lot of work for the farmers, but once a year a non-working holiday was declared, namely the *tungoh*. According to the ethnologist Harold C. Conklin, who conducted long-term research in Ifugao from 1961 and onwards, *tungoh* (he spells it *tungo*) was a ritual holiday that occurred when the harvest was complete, and as one part of a four-day sequence of activities (Conklin, 1980:35).

“Each day in this sequence is distinguished by separate observances: (1) closing of reliquaries; (2) a ritual holiday, *tungo*; (3) post-holiday rites, *hala'nub*; (4) final cleansing rites, *lotwad*,” he writes (Conklin, 1980:35).

During Conklin’s study period in Ifugao, the “*tungo*” was celebrated as a non-working holiday, where everyone in the community had to remain within the district, and no outsiders were allowed to enter the area. All agricultural work on this day was considered a strict taboo, and the residents were supposed to remain at home for a day of relaxation.

To make sure that no outsiders, not even relatives, would come to visit on this day, groups of men and boys would gather in the morning, bringing leafy shoots of the plants *Cordyline* and *Miscanthus*, and form lines along the dikes of the district’s core fields.

“Led by spear-brandishing men, these exuberant youths from all hamlets shout and dance in unison as they pass slowly and in single file from the center of the district to the main trail markers,” Conklin describes (Conklin, 1980:35).

This way, the district’s boundary markers would be re-established, and any outsiders nearby would know that the inhabitants were celebrating *tungoh*, and that it would be considered a taboo to cross the borders.

While Conklin says that *tungoh* happened after the harvest was completed, the Ifugaos interviewed for this research maintain that it occurred when the first thunder was heard or when it rained after a long dry spell. In any case, the essence of the celebration remains the same – that it was considered a taboo to work on this day, and that no outsiders should enter a district where *tungoh* was celebrated. As one municipal officer expressed during an interview with the author in April 2011 (Bandao, 12 April 2011):

“*Tungoh* means a non-working holiday. People remain in their homes, and will not go to the fields, because that would be a taboo. Traditionally, the *tungoh* was a very solemn holiday, and there would be no noise in the village.”

When we compare these accounts to the observations presented in the introduction of this chapter, it is evident that the *tungoh* celebrations have been through a process of change the last couple of decades. The following section will look into that.

4.1.3 The Commercialization of Tungoh

To understand the commercialization process of the *tungoh* celebrations in Hungduan, it is necessary to first take a closer look at the main cause for why this process has happened at all, and that is the decline of cultural practices among the Ifugaos. Thus, this section is divided into two parts, the first focusing on the decline of practices in various parts of the Ifugao culture, namely religious rituals, recitation of myths, *hudhud* chanting, various forms of ethnic sports, and the performance of traditional songs and dances. Then, the commercialization process that has resulted in the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival is examined.

4.1.3.1 The Decline of Indigenous Cultural Practices in Ifugao

One of the best ways to illustrate the decline of cultural practices in Ifugao is by looking at the decline in the performance of rituals connected to Ifugao ancient beliefs. As explained in chapter I, religious rituals used to play a major role in the Ifugao way of life, because all major happenings in the society – be it death, disease, marriage, or just normal day activities connected to rice cultivation – required some form of ritual where gods, deities and ancestor spirits were invoked. However, when Christian missionaries began entering the mountain land in the beginning of the 20th Century, more and more Ifugaos converted to Christianity, and suddenly the practicing of the ancient religion was considered taboo. Thus, the performing of rituals declined.

Because the ancient system of belief played such a big role in the traditional Ifugao way of life, the decline of rituals is not only important in terms of religion, but has also to be considered as closely linked to the decline of other cultural practices. One example is the recitation of myths. According to the anthropologist Roy Franklin Barton who spent many years in Ifugao, myths entered nearly every Ifugao ritual, telling stories about hero-ancestors, gods, and other supernatural beings, who in the past were confronted with problems similar to those worrying the Ifugaos in the present, and

about how they resolved these problems (Barton, 1955:7). It is necessary to stress that these myths were taken seriously, and never narrated for the sake of entertainment. This is also emphasized by Barton in his book *The Mythology of the Ifugaos*:

“Myths – I think all of them – are used ritually; they enter into the framework and constitution of the culture and its world viewpoint; they are taken seriously, they are never, as myths, related for diversion” (Barton, 1955:3).

Thus, when the performance of rituals vanished, so did the recitation of myths.

The same trend is evident when it comes to *hudhud* chanting. The *hudhud* consists of more than 200 chants divided into 40 episodes each, telling stories about ancestral heroes, customary law, religious beliefs and traditional practices, as well as reflecting the importance of rice cultivation (Unesco, 2011). According to Unesco, who inscribed the *hudhud* chants on its Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2008, the chants are believed to have originated before the seventh century, and has traditionally been practiced during the rice sowing season, at harvest time, and at funeral wakes and rituals. But, because Christianity has taken over as the major religion, and also because the methods for rice production have been modernized, the *hudhud* is seldom chanted in the original context anymore (Unesco, 2011).

In parallel with the conversion to Christianity, the Ifugao society has been through a couple of other major changes, which also have participated to the decline of cultural practices. One of the most important changes may be the change in how the society is governed. Traditionally, as described briefly in chapter I, unwritten laws based on customs and taboos guided the Ifugaos through their lives. In 1919, Barton described this in detail in the book *Ifugao Law*, where he stated that “the Ifugaos have no form of writing: there is, consequently, no written law. They have no form of political government: there is, therefore, no constitutional or statutory law. Inasmuch as they have no courts or judges, there is no law based on judicial decisions. Ifugao law has two sources of origin: taboo (...) and custom” (Barton, 1919:11).

Thus, in the absence of courts and judges, the Ifugaos needed other ways to enforce their customary laws, and the outcome of disagreements and quarrels were therefore often decided through duels in various kinds of ethnic sports, for example wrestling. According to Barton, wrestling was an ordeal used throughout Ifugao, mainly “to settle cases of disputed rice-fields boundaries” (Barton, 1919:97). However, the

matches were normally friendly, because the Ifugaos believed that the deceased ancestors had already decided the outcome.

“The Ifugao believes that the ancestral spirits of the controversants know which party is the right, that they know just where the true boundary is, and that they see to it that he who is right shall win, provided always that they be invoked with the proper sacrifices; and that they ‘hold up’ even the weaker of the wrestlers, and causes him to win, provided that his cause is just,” Barton explains (1919:97-98).

Now, however, the Ifugaos have adapted to the modern way of life, and are governed by the same form of government as the rest of the Philippines. Thus, activities that used to be practiced to settle disputes vanish.

The adaption to the modern way of life also affects other parts of the Ifugao culture. With the modern society came television and Internet, and this has led to international popular culture taking over for traditional leisure activities like *hudhud* chanting, singing of native songs, and native dancing. This change became evident in conversations with elderly members of the Ifugao society in Hungduan in April 2011.

“When I was a child, we didn’t have anything else to do in the village, than to sit and listen to the adults singing Ifugao songs or chanting *hudhud*, and we enjoyed doing that” one man said, and continued:

“Today, the youth are busy with video games or the computer. They are affected by modern times” (Lacbawan, 13 April 2011).

4.1.3.2 *From Peaceful Holiday to Cheerful Festival*

When all the factors presented in the previous section are combined, it is evident that the indigenous cultural practices of the Ifugaos are vanishing, and as earlier explained, municipal festivals like *Tungoh ad Hungduan* are organized by the authorities to make sure that the traditions are kept alive. It is reasonable to say that these festivals are commercialized cultural products, and the following section will explain why that is. However, here it is important to note that in this context, a broad definition of the term *commercialization* is necessary. Looking at the most widespread definition, it is evident that to commercialize means to “apply business methodology to something in order to profit, [or] to exploit something for maximum financial gain, sometimes by sacrificing quality” (Wiktionary, 2011). As Chapter III showed, the festival organizers of the *Tungoh* have no economical benefits to gain from the event,

and thus, it would be incorrect to say that the cultural performances presented during the festival are commercialized in the sense of being exchanged for money.

Still, three factors put limits to that conclusion. First, one of the expressed objectives of the festival is to attract more tourists, and more tourists will eventually lead to more money, as the tourists will sleep and eat in the municipality, and in many cases, also buy souvenirs. However, this has yet to happen in Hungduan, because the few tourists the festival attracts most often arrive from the neighbouring tourist centre Banaue in the morning, and head back after a couple of hours. But that being said, the single fact that the organizers wish to attract more tourists, suggests that the cultural performances are presented in an entertaining manner so that outsiders will find it interesting and fun to watch. In other words, the culture is presented in a way that make more tourists, and thus more money, a possible outcome of the festival.

Second comes the fact that some of the activities during the festival are contested, the best performances being awarded with prizes. One cannot rule out the possibility that these prizes serve as the main motivation for the participants in the contested activities, and if so, it might be suggested that the prospect of earning money is what keeps the Ifugao culture alive. However, because of budget constraints, many of the activities that used to be contested in earlier years are now being carried out as regular performances with no winners or losers, and thus, the commercialization caused by the prizes is more limited than before.

Third, commercialized products were sold during the festival. However, this was mostly pencils, knives and tools, underwear and shoes, sold by locals in tents in one area of the municipal grounds, and did not appear to be a part of the festival as such, but more a result of people wanting to sell their goods at a place where many people were gathered.

Thus, even though the Ifugao culture is not directly being exchanged for money, it is possible to suggest that the prospect of gaining profit to some degree is serving as a motivation factor for both organizers and participants during the festival.

More important, however, is the fact that the cultural practices performed during the *Tungoh* are presented out of their original context, and therefore, it may be suggested that the original meanings of the practices disappear. This leads us to a wider definition of the term *commercialization*, as already mentioned. Here, it is necessary to look beyond the business-element of the term, and instead use it to describe something traditional that is taken out of its original context, mainly to entertain an audience. Of

course, the profit element also has a role to play, if only indirectly, as explained above. However, in this research, the out-of-context-factor might be more important.

The most obvious example is the name of the festival itself. In section 4.1.2 of this chapter, the traditional *tungoh* celebrations were outlined, and it was made clear that the term *tungoh* could be translated into a non-working holiday, where the inhabitants of a village stayed in their homes, and visitors were considered a taboo. During today's *tungoh*, however, the organizers wish for as many visitors as possible, and in contrast to the traditional holiday, the Hungduan-*barangay* Poblacion, where the festival is taking place, is very much alive, no tranquillity or silence being observed at all. As one elder woman interviewed for this research said (Lacbawan, 12 April 2011):

“*Tungoh* used to be a rest day, and there was no sounds, and no pounding of rice, only relaxation. But during this festival you will hear a lot of sounds. I guess we just gave the festival this name, even though it is not the right way to use the term.”

Representatives for the municipal authorities confirm this, but at the same time they underline that the term is not too misleading, because the timing of the festival is more or less correct: *Tungoh ad Hungduan* is arranged every second or third week of April, a time when it is realistic to expect the first thunder of the season and rain.

Evidently, most of the cultural practices showcased during the festivals are also being presented out of their original contexts, just because of the fact that they are presented as parts of a program, and not in connection with rice cultivation, weddings, religious rituals and so on. The next section of this chapter will go in detail on these practices as presented in the 2011 edition of the festival, but particularly one post on the program is essential to mention here, and that is the *hulin* ritual performed during the opening ceremony the 17th of April. Traditionally, the *hulin* was performed when the rice planting was completed, and the objective was to ensure a bountiful harvest and good health by driving away pest and diseases. The ritual was performed by male members of the community carrying spears and the red plant called *dongla*, and starting from one point in the village, they would walk in a single file around the houses, beating the walls and produce as much noise as possible, screaming “go away, go away”. They would continue walking through the rice terraces, simulating that they drove away an unseen force. The final destination of the ritual's walking process was the boundaries of the community, where the *dongla* plant would be planted to prevent the evil spirits, pests and diseases driven away to come back. This would also be a

signal for outsiders not to visit the community on this day, as the purposes of the ritual would be disturbed¹.

It is not hard to imagine that the performing of *hulin* traditionally was a time consuming event. During the 2011-festival, however, the whole process was over after one minute of young men running after one-another in a circle on the municipal ground. For the spectators, it was hard even to understand what was happening before the whole session was finished. Thus, the performance gave the impression of being a staged event, performed only for the sake of entertainment, with no original meaning attached. This, in turn, makes it reasonable to say that the performance of the *hulin* ritual was commercialized. Because the presentation of the ritual seemed to be so far from what the traditional ritual must have been like, it is realistic to conclude that this part of the festival was the most commercialized one. Yet, it was evident that also other cultural practices displayed have been through a similar process.

According to one of the festival organizers, it does happen that they receive negative comments because of this process. Most often, it is the elders of the community who complain that for example the rituals are not being presented in the right context, underlining that they do not want their culture to be commercialized this way. The fact that some members of the society have this opinion gives the festival organizers a dilemma.

“As Ifugaos, we respect our culture, and we respect our elders. The question is, how can we portray and present our culture to the public, and at the same time not provoke the elders? We believe that we are not disrespecting our culture by arranging this festival, even though we are organizing simulated activities. Our objective is to show our community what our indigenous customs are like, because there are many here that do not know, and there are many people who have moved from the municipality that do not know,” the municipal planning officer explains (Bandao, 12 April 2011).

Here it is necessary to note that the organizers have a policy towards what parts of the culture they find okay to commercialize, and what they should leave alone. During this year’s festival they had banned the use of the traditional percussion bar called *bangibang* for the first time. The municipal planning officer explains the decision like this (Bandao, 12 April 2011):

¹ This account is based on information provided by a poster posted at the municipal hall in Hungduan during the Tungoh festival in April 2011.

“Traditionally, the *bangibang* was used in a burial dance for a murdered person, and for many of the *mumbakis* [indigenous priests] and the elders of the community it is important that the instrument should not be used in other activities. And we try to respect our people, and this year we have listened to them. Now, it is inscribed in the rules that no *bangibangs* are allowed.”

Even though it is evident that the cultural practices are presented out of their original contexts during the festival, it seems like the mainstream belief in Hungduan is that the festival performances still give a truthfully picture of the Ifugao culture. In other words, it is believed that the songs are sung the way they used to be sung, the dances danced the way they used to be danced, and the ethnic sports played the way they used to be played. Everything is the same, only the contexts are different. As an elderly woman expressed during a conversation (Lacbawan, 12 April 2011):

“I would say that the festival is portraying the culture like it is. The culture is performed as it has been performed in all memories’ time.”

Still, this conversation took place a couple of days before the festival started, and even though the woman was optimistic, she carried a fear with her as well – the fear that the cultural performers would present her culture wrong.

“Many participants are young, and the elders are only there as their guides and team leaders. So I hope that the performers are instructed well. I hope that they don’t perform just for compliance. That’s my fear,” she said.

4.1.4 The Tungoh of Today

The 2011 *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival was a six-days event, starting Thursday the 14th of April, and lasting until Tuesday the 19th, and it took place on the municipal grounds in *barangay* Poblacion in Hungduan municipality. In addition to the municipal hall, the municipal grounds consists of one basketball court, one stage and one open ground, as well as a small hill where nine native Ifugao huts are located, and also a larger building, designed for seminars and meeting activities. These nine huts and the larger building make up what the local authorities call Eco Village, an area intended to show off the indigenous traditions of the Ifugaos to tourists and other visitors. During the festival, however, each of the nine huts serves as campsite for one *barangay*.

The first three days of the festival were designated to youth activities, more specifically tournaments in volleyball and basketball. Every *barangay* participated with one team of girls and one team of boys in both of the sports, and thus, the municipal

grounds were crowded by youths on these days. While some of the contestants arrived the grounds every morning and left again in the evening, others chose to spend the nights too. According to the festival planners, these three days of modern sport activities are included in the program to attract more young people.

“If we should have only traditional activities, the interest for the festival among the youth would not have been so great,” one of the organizers said in an interview (Bandao, 12 April 2011).

Because the finals of the sports are not played until after the main festival day, it is reasonable to believe that the youth will stay in the area, and participate in the activities on this day as well.

And, after three days of basketball and volleyball, on Sunday the 17th of April, it was time for the main event – the first day of the main festival. The following section will describe this day in detail, and to make this account as easy to follow as possible, the section is divided into three: (1) the opening program and its cultural presentations, (2) the ethnic sports competition, and (3) the cultural night with dancing competition for the youth. Then follows an account of the remaining program of the festival, describing the two final days.

4.1.4.1 The Opening Program with Cultural Presentations²

As described in part 4.1.1 of this chapter, the first part of the program was an ethnic parade, where most delegates from the nine *barangays* had dressed in their native clothes, that is woven g-strings for men, and woven skirts for women, and carrying indigenous tools and weapons, they walked from a meeting point and up the hill to the municipal ground. However, some also dressed in clothes that showed their connection to their society. For example did groups of youths dress in their team shirts, showing to which basketball- and volleyball team they belonged to.

When all participants had arrived, the opening ceremony began, consisting of speeches and cultural presentation numbers prepared by the various *barangays*, the first being the *hulin* ritual described in detail in section 4.1.3. The second presentation number was a *hudhud* chant, performed by a group of mostly elderly women, and a couple of elderly men. Just as the traditional custom is, one of the women operated as

² The explanations of the cultural presentation numbers are based on information provided by posters posted at the municipal hall in Hungduan during the Tungoh festival in April 2011.

the lead narrator, and she and the rest of the performers, who formed a choir, alternately chanted the epic. One single melody was employed for all the verses.

The third cultural presentation number was an ethnic ensemble, and in contrast to the other performances, this presentation was not based on a traditional practice of the Ifugaos, but a result of an effort made by Ifugao teachers to integrate ethnic musical instruments in their music- and arts classes. In earlier festivals, the ethnic ensemble has been a contested activity, where delegates from the different *barangays* competed with each other for a prize. This year, however, the festival's budget was limited, and thus, only one group performed the ethnic ensemble during the opening ceremony. Also in this group, most of the performers were elderly women and men, singing and playing ethnic instruments.

The next three cultural performances focused on traditions that used to be inherited from one generation of Ifugaos to the next. First, a group of young girls dressed in white shirts and red woven skirts sang a native Ifugao song, and then two different groups danced two different native dances, namely the *paggaddut* dance and the *kalanguya* dance. The term *paggaddut* is the name of a particular rhythm caused by the beating of the gong, a native musical instrument, and this rhythm accompanies the native dance carrying the same name. The rhythm has a faster beat than the rhythms accompanying many of the other Ifugao dances, and the dance is usually performed by a couple, both dressed up in special head-gear, which for the woman includes gold beads and necklaces that symbolize the wealth of the couple. While the *paggaddut* rhythm is caused by the beating of gongs only, other instruments are included in the *kalanguya*. Here, a male dancer with a ceremonial blanket hanged on his shoulders leads the dance, followed by a female dancer wrapped in another blanket. The dance continues as the blankets are turned over to the next pair of dancers, and the gong beaters will move around as well, participating in the dance.

The seventh cultural performance was a simulation of an ethnic game called *punnuk*, or, tug of war. Traditionally, *punnuk* was a recreational activity in some of the *barangays* of Hungduan. After the completion of the rice harvest, these communities practiced a period of rest, and during this rest period, the different communities often agreed to engage in a friendly match of tug of war, especially if the communities were bounded by a river. In this particular type of tug of war, the two teams would settle on one side of the river each, carrying a hooked branch of a tree between them. In the middle, a figure of rice straw was fastened, and the two teams would try to outdo each

other in pulling this figure over to their side of the river. During the festival, however, there was no river, and just as during the *hulin* ritual, the simulated performance lasted for less than a minute.

The final cultural performance during the opening ceremony was another native dance, called the *dinnuy-ah* dance. *Dinnuy-ah* is the name of the most common beat of the gongs accompanying Ifugao dances, and was traditionally performed during prestige rituals, for example the *imbayha*, which may last for months with nightly dancing. It is said that the steps of this dance are easy to learn, because there are just a few of them, and they are all very basic. Thus, everyone who wants may participate, and this was the case during the *Tungoh* festival as well. After the group of dancers from *barangay* Bangbang had presented their number, the municipal and *barangay* officials, guests and visitors, a couple of tourists and the rest of the public joined them in front of the stage, all taking part in the *dinnuy-ah* dance, and together they finished the opening program of the festival.

4.1.4.2 *The Ethnic Sports Competitions*³

The whole afternoon of the main festival day was dedicated to ethnic sport competitions in six categories. All games were arranged on the municipal grounds, one after another, and all the time, a crowd of cheering audience was surrounding the contestants. The first competition was in a sport called *huktingngan*, a term that translates into royal rumble. For outsiders, it looked like a type of wrestling where the point is to be the last man standing inside a ring marked on the ground. All the nine *barangays* had one contestant in the competition, and they were all in the ring at the same time. According to the rules, each man had to hold on to his own g-string with one hand and one of his feet with the other, and by the sound of the start-signal the men jumped towards each other, trying to push the others out of the ring. Last man standing in the ring was the winner of the competition.

The second competition was a camote race, and here, the contestants were teams made up of ten women from each *barangay* (figure 4.1). Camote is the same as sweet potato, a vegetable frequently cultivated in Ifugao, and in the race, the main point was for the contestants to carry on their head, from one point to another, a basket filled with camote, without using their hands. First, however, the teams had to make something

³ The presentations of the rules in the various competitions are based on information provided in the program booklet provided by the local government unit in Hungduan for the 2011 festival.

Figure 4.1: *Left: a woman participating in the camote race. Right: the tug of war.*



(Photos: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

called a *likon* out of the plant *dungon*. When made, the *likon* should be placed between the basket and the contestant's head, and when both the *likon* and the basket filled with camote were in the right position, the women were free to run. From this point on, the race was a relay, with one woman taking over the basket when another woman finished. If any camote fell out of the basket, the player had to stop to pick it up, and if she used her hands to support the basket, boos, but also laughter, from the audience would meet her. The first team with all participants finished was declared the winner.

The third competition was a stilt race, called *akkad*, where the children were the participants. Here, the point was to run as fast as possible on the stilts to a designated point and back. However, even though every *barangay* should participate with five contestants each, only a few children were there. Thus, the race was quickly completed.

The fourth competition was in a category directly linked to the production of rice, namely rice pounding (*munbayu*). In this contest, it was three participants per *barangay*, two men and one woman, and each team was given one bundle of *palay*, that is the harvested rice plants. The point of the contest was to pound this bundle of *palay* until only the rice was left. The teams were judged for four things: First, the quality of the rice when they were finished, second, the cleanliness of the work area, third, the timeliness, and finally, the teamwork.

After the rice pounding competition, it was time for the most popular contest, namely the *guyyud* – the tug of war (figure 4.1). This type of tug of war was different from the one simulated during the opening ceremony, simply because no river was needed for the game, only a rope and at least two teams consisting of ten male

participants each. In this contest, all the *barangays* participated, which means that there were nine teams fighting for the championship. Two and two teams would fight each other, each of the teams holding on to one end of the rope. On the ground in the middle of the teams, there was a line, and the point of the game was to force the other team to cross this line by dragging them by the rope. This contest was by far the most popular one, with audience crowding together on all sides of the rope, cheering, screaming, yelling and laughing as the contestants fought for the championship.

The final competition was *hanggul* (arm wrestling), and of much smaller scale than the tug of war. Only one male contestant per *barangay* participated, and the point of the game was for one participant to pin down the wrestling arm of his opponent, both being seated at a table. When the winner was declared, the daytime program of the main festival day had come to an end.

4.1.4.3 *The Youth's Cultural Night*

After dinner Sunday night, the festival program continued, and now, it was the Ifugao youth's time to be in focus. The main feature of the night was a native dance contest (figure 4.2), where a group of youths from every *barangay* participated. Before the contest started they practiced their steps in between the huts in the Eco village, some being guided by the elders of their community. Later, when they were all dressed up in native clothes, headgear and jewelleryes, the boys and girls gathered in front of the stage, and on the stage a jury was seated, ready to judge the performances of the youth. Every number consisted of a group of dancers – at least three girls and three

Figure 4.2: *Youth participating in the native dance contest.*



(Photos: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

boys, and a group of gong-players. The rhythms played by the various teams' gong-players were different, and so also the steps of the dancers, a result of the fact that every little village in Ifugao has its own traditions, its own specialities, its own way to sing and dance. For an inexperienced eye, the dances may appear identical, but the Ifugaos themselves notice the differences, and the judges notice the differences. The winner of the native dance contest was the *barangay* with the performance most true to its origins, with the most correct steps and the most correct gong playing. And just as during the opening ceremony, the night's program was closed by a dance where also the public participated – everyone was allowed to enter the ring of dancers.

4.1.4.4 *The Final Festival Days*

Monday morning the municipal ground of Hungduan was totally different from what it had been the day before. Only a few people were dressed in their native attire, and there was no gong playing to be heard. Now, modern international pop music had taken over, reflecting the program of the day, where no indigenous cultural activities were represented, only modern events – sports during the day, music and dance during the night. The sports of the day consisted of the championship games in volleyball and basketball, and these games continued on the final festival day as well. And in the evening, another contest for the youth was arranged, but this time in modern cultural categories, namely solo song, duet, instrumental contest, ballroom dance, and modern dance. Just like the evening before, what appeared to be all the young people gathered in front of the stage, and many participated in the contests.

On the final festival day, the last volleyball and basketball games were played, and a theatre group from Hungduan National High School presented a play. Then, the last speeches during the 2011 *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival were held in a closing program, and the festival was over.

This account shows that the program of the 2011 festival in Hungduan was a great mix of traditional and modern activities, with mainly one day focusing just on the indigenous culture of the Ifugaos. It is evident that the cultural practices presented during the festival were presented out of their original contexts, but that being said, the festival performances appear to give a correct picture of the activities and the traditions that used to be. The next section of this chapter examines how the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival affects the way the Hungduan youth view their ancient culture.

4.1.5 The Effects of Cultural Commercialization on the Hungduan Youth

The previous section showed that it would be incorrect to say that the cultural performances presented during the *Tungoh* festival are commercialized in the sense of being exchanged for money, mainly because the organizers of the festival have no economical benefits to gain from the event. Still, three points were made, arguing why the culture still could be considered commercialized. First came the single fact that it is an expressed goal for the festival to attract tourists, and increased tourism will eventually be profitable for the municipality. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the Ifugao culture is presented in an entertaining manner, so as to attract more outsiders. This is also commercialization, because the culture is indirectly turned into an article of trade – the tourists will use money on accommodation, food and souvenirs, and in turn they will experience indigenous cultural performances. However, at this point, the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival attracts only a few tourists, so it is important not to overstate the significance of this process.

The second point highlighted that some of the activities during the festival are contested, with prizes being awarded. As one cannot rule out the possibility that these prizes serve as the main motivation for the participants in the contested activities, it might be suggested that the prospect of earning money is what keeps the Ifugao culture alive.

Thirdly, it was pointed out that the cultural practices performed during the festival are presented out of their original context, and that this may lead to the disappearance of the original meaning of the practices. Here, the name of the festival itself and the performing of the *hulin* ritual were emphasized, but it was also stated that many of the other practices presented had been through a similar process. This may also be considered as cultural commercialization, because pieces of the indigenous culture are taken out of their context, and presented in such a manner as to entertain the audience.

Thus, even though there is no direct exchange of culture for money present, the Ifugao culture presented during the *Tungoh* festival is still showcased in an entertaining manner, with traditional practices taken out of their original contexts and put in a program created to amuse both participants and audience.

The question now is how this cultural commercialization affects the way the Hungduan youth view their indigenous culture. Here, three main factors demonstrate

that overall, the youth becomes more aware of, and more interested in, the Ifugao culture by participating in the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival.

First, the youth report that through the festival they get a chance to learn about the indigenous practices of their people, and consequently, the Ifugao culture is being remembered. This is one of the main reasons why they find the festival important, and evidently, it is also one of the main reasons why it is being arranged.

According to the majority of people spoken to during the study, the main problem facing the Ifugao society today is not that the youth does not appreciate the traditional Ifugao culture, but rather that they seldom perform it, and thus, they are not given the chance to appreciate it. One of the reasons for the lack of performances is of course the overall decrease in cultural practices, as outlined above. Another is the fact that many youths leave their village, municipality, and also province to go studying in a larger city elsewhere in the Philippines. There is one university in the Ifugao province, namely the Ifugao State University, located in the municipality Lamut, but naturally, the opportunities outside Ifugao are many more.

“There are many young people growing up here, but when they start studying, they leave. True enough, some study in the province, but many go further away, to Isabella or Baguio or Manila. And when they go there, they will automatically try to adopt the culture of their new home, a culture that can be totally different from ours,” one teenager said (Gayamo, 14 April 2011).

And when they first have left the province, it is reasonable to believe that their fields of interest will concern other things than the Ifugao culture, for example their chosen profession.

“The youth is thinking about how they can earn money. They are taking their bachelor degrees, and when they are educated, they focus on their work. This is what they are interested in, and therefore, there are so many that don’t know how to dance the Ifugao dances properly, or how to chant the *hudhud*,” the same man expressed (Gayamo, 14 April 2011).

Others believe that the young generation simply lack any interest towards the ancient Ifugao culture. As one elderly woman said during a conversation (Isabella Lacbawan, 12 April 2011):

“Our culture is vanishing. The youth don’t care, don’t mind, and are not interested in learning from the elders. They don’t know what, when, how and why the elders do as they do.”

Thus, it is evident that new arenas for the transfer of indigenous knowledge from the elder generation to the younger one are necessary, and it seems to be an expressed agreement among the inhabitants in Hungduan that the *Tungoh* festival serves well as such an arena. As a man who was assisting the youth with their program during the festival said (Bumangabang, 16 April 2011):

“The festival is very important, because it strengthens the young people’s relationship to their own culture. They advance their knowledge in traditional skills.”

The focus group of this research supports this view. Out of the ten young people who were interviewed in Hungduan, nine mentioned that the *Tungoh* was important to them because they learned about the traditional practices of the Ifugaos. As one 17 years old girl said (“Pia”, 13 April 2011):

“The festival is important, because when we participate, we learn how it used to be here before.”

Another respondent, a girl aged 15, mentioned some of the activities she found it important to learn more about (Shaevalee, 13 April 2011):

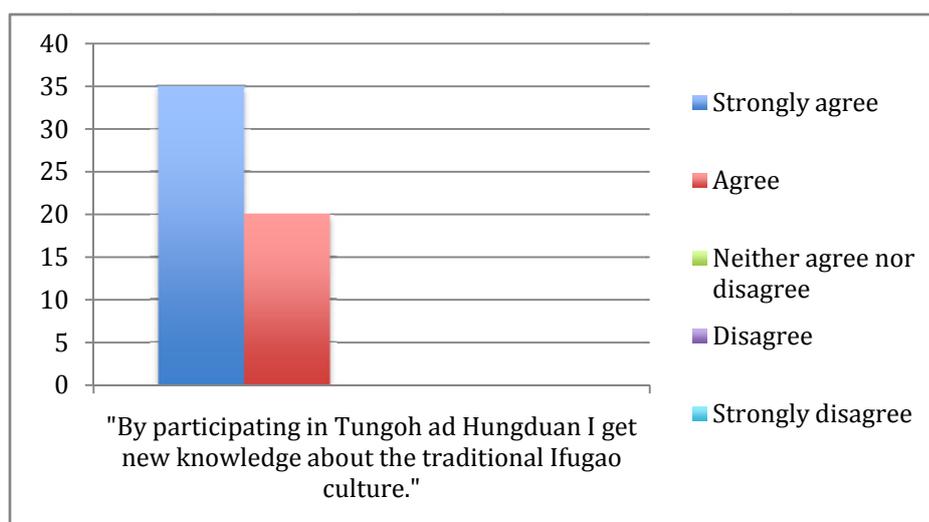
“The festival is a big help to me, because I’m learning what they did before. Native dance, for example, and native sports like arm wrestling. And pounding of rice, of course.”

Some of the respondents also mentioned that during the festival they got the chance to learn about the differences in the cultural practices among the various *barangays*.

“This is where we can present our culture, and see how the traditions are in the other *barangays*,” a girl aged 19 said (Ferticia, 13 April 2011), while a 24 years old girl put it like this (Maxie, 13 April 2011):

“I learn new things through the festival too, because I learn what they are doing in other *barangays*. One example is the dancing. It is different steps in every *barangay*, and even the playing of the gong is different.”

Thus, it is evident that the youth in Hungduan believe they gain new knowledge about the indigenous Ifugao culture by participating in the festival. This is confirmed when the questionnaires answered by 56 young people are analysed. When asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed to the statement “By participating in *Tungoh* ad Hungduan I get new knowledge about the traditional Ifugao culture,” 35 respondents answered that they strongly agreed to this, while the other 20 agreed (figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3: *Level of agreement to statement number 1*

Closely related to the teaching of old traditions is the remembrance of how the Ifugao life used to be, because when the indigenous knowledge is transferred to the youth, the culture is being remembered. To the youth politician Ronel Gayamo (16), who was present during the opening day of the *Tungoh* festival, the continued remembrance of the Ifugao culture is one of the most important issues he is working on as the provincial representative for Ifugao in the Philippine political youth organization, Sangguniang Kabataan (SK).

“We have to be able to say to our elders that they can trust us with our culture. We will take care of it, and make sure that the generation coming after us will do the same. The youth is the hope of the fathers,” he says (Gayamo, 14 April 2011).

He does believe that the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival makes the cultural remembrance easier.

“This festival is made to remember what our traditional culture is like. Because we, the youth, are involved and invited to participate, our eyes will be opened. During this festival we shall perform and appreciate our culture, because when we perform, we appreciate,” he says (Gayamo, 14 April 2011).

Several of the other youths interviewed supported this view.

“I think the festival is important because as we have our festival, we remember what our forefathers’ lives were like, how they lived their lives. That’s very important to remember,” a 24 years old girl said (Maxie, 13 April 2011), while another girl (15) put it like this (Shaevalee, 13 April 2011):

“The festival is very important, because it helps us remember the culture, the traditions, the beliefs, so that today’s children will not forget the native activities of the past.”

A boy aged 21 also agreed:

“This is actually the first time I’m joining this kind of activities, and I will continue doing so, because by participating I’m supporting our culture, so that it will not disappear. This is our identity, and at least we will always remember what our ancestors did before,” he said (Benedict, 17 April 2011).

The second factor contributing to the conclusion that the youth becomes more aware of, and more interested in, the Ifugao culture by participating in the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival, is the fact that none of the interviewed believed that the arranging of the festival has any negative impacts. In other words, the youth seems not to be affected by the cultural practices being performed out of their original context during the festival. As one girl (15) said (Shaevalee, 13 April 2011):

“I don’t think the culture is portrayed wrong or anything like that. No, I cannot see any negative impacts of having it. And if there were, I think we would have stopped arranging it.”

It is reasonable to believe that these findings reflect that during the last couple of decades, the traditional cultural practices of the Ifugaos have vanished, meaning that practices like *hudhud* chanting, the dancing of native dances, and the performing of ethnic sports, are not performed in the contexts they used to be performed in anymore. Thus, these practices are naturally not occupying the same position in the youth’s lives as they do for the elders, or as they did for the elders when they were young. This is simply a result of times that are changing, e.g. Christianity replacing pagan beliefs, modern education models being introduced, new farming techniques replacing traditional methods, international popular culture made available through radio, television and Internet and so on, in other words, modern lifestyles are taking over for ancient practices in all parts of an Ifugao’s life. Therefore, the *Tungoh* festival serves as one of few arenas where the Hungduan youth can witness live performances of their indigenous culture at all. Then, it is of minor importance that the practices have been through a commercialization process before they reach the stage. In fact, by looking at the findings presented above, the opposite seems closer to the truth, as the youth report that they learn more about the traditional Ifugao culture by participating in the festival. However, this may also mean that the youth does not notice that the commercialization

process has taken place at all, simply because they do not have much to compare the festival performances with. For the older generations this is different, since both elders and many of the adults have grown up with the performances as natural parts of their daily lives. That the festival organizers report that they sometimes get comments from elders in the society, complaining that the culture is presented out of context during the festival, reflects this.

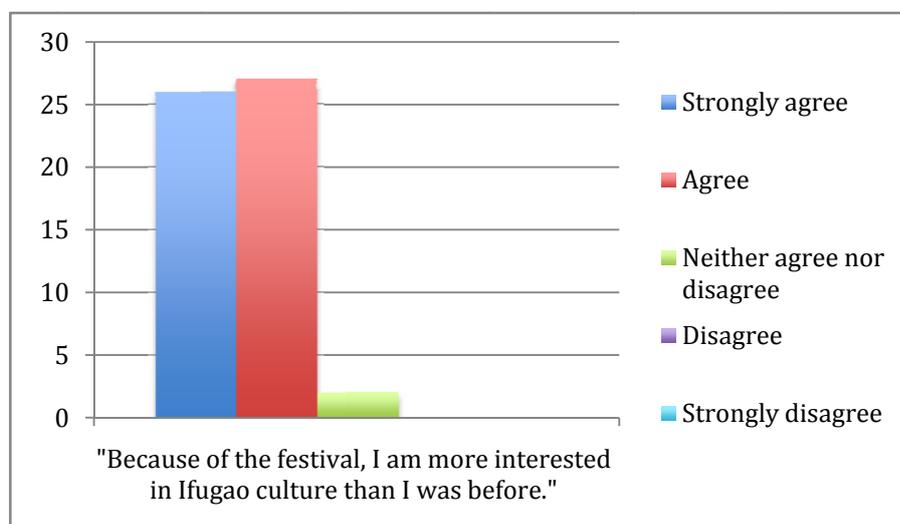
The third and final factor showing that the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival makes the youth both more aware of and more interested in the Ifugao culture, is that they are actually saying so themselves. Four of the young people interviewed stated that by participating in the festival, they became more interested in the Ifugao culture. Two girls aged 17 said that they became more interested because they found it fun and interesting to join the native dance and sing the native songs, while a 19 years old girl put it like this (Ferticia, 13 April 2011):

“[The festival] does lead to more interest in our culture, because by presenting it, we gain more knowledge, and by gaining more knowledge, we get more interested.”

As these interviews were conducted before the festival started, it has to be noted that the respondents were mostly referring to earlier festivals and the preparations they had made beforehand for this year’s festival, and not the 2011 *Tungoh* itself. One of the respondents, however, was interviewed during the festival, and also he, a boy aged 21, expressed that he was more interested in the Ifugao culture now than he was before.

Also the questionnaire respondents confirm this view. When asked to indicate how much they agreed to the statement “because of the festival, I am more interested in

Figure 4.4: Level of agreement to statement 2



Ifugao culture than I was before,” 26 people reported that they strongly agreed, while 27 said that they agreed. Two people neither agreed nor disagreed (figure 4.4).

The three factors presented above demonstrate that overall, the youth becomes more aware of, and more interested in, the Ifugao culture by participating in the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival. However, here it is important to mention that the festival is not the only place where the Hungduan youth get the possibility to learn about and experience their indigenous culture. During the study period, it was a common statement that the festival had to be considered one piece of a greater picture. One of the festival organizers of the *Tungoh* put it like this (Bandao, 12 April 2011):

“The increased interest in indigenous knowledge is a result of a combination of many things. Some places there are activity programs for the youth, and there are some programs in school where the young ones learn to chant *hudhud* or to dance native dances. So this is a combination of things, and not something that results only from the festival.”

Some of the young people, among them a 20 years old girl, supported this, saying that “through the festival, we learn new things about our culture, for example the beating of gongs, the music, the native dance and indigenous songs. But it isn’t only because of the festival that we learn this, we learn from our parents too, and also in school and by participating in other activities” (Jovelyn, 13 April 2011).

Also these people believed that the festival affected them positively, but mainly because it served as a place where they got the chance to show other people what they had learned earlier, as well as a place where they could experience the cultural differences from *barangay* to *barangay*, and, like that, gain new knowledge.

To sum up, the youth of Hungduan does not appear to be affected by the fact that the indigenous culture presented at the *Tungoh* festival has been through a commercialization process. For them, this is one of few arenas where the cultural performances are showcased at all, and thus, they describe the festival as very important to them, because they get a chance to experience pieces of their ancestors’ lives. If the festival does not alter the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture, it does at least make them more aware of it. Additionally, a majority reports that the festival makes them more interested in the culture, and this may suggest that they view the culture in a more positive light – as something exciting and important.

4.2 Lagawe

Just as in the case of Hungduan, it is necessary to first look at how the culture is commercialized through the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival if one is to investigate how this process affects the youth of Lagawe. Therefore, the following section will provide a thorough description of what the *Kulpi* used to be, how the celebration is commercialized, and what the festival is like today. Then, the research findings concerning how this festival affects the youths' view of their culture are presented and analysed.

4.2.1 Kulpi ad Lagawe

Where Hungduan is high mountains and green, green, green, Lagawe is grey buildings and blue hills, Lagawe town that is, the capital of the province, an urban spot in a landscape of rice terraces and steep mountains, and it's here in Lagawe town that the municipal festival is taking place, the Kulpi, and today is the first day, and it is afternoon, the cultural parade and the opening ceremony are already finished, and now everyone is gathered outside on the municipal grounds, people are everywhere, on the basketball court and the two volleyball fields, in front of the ferris wheel, and the carousel, crowding in front of the bingo-stand and the gambling booths, and also on the other side of the grounds, where an agro-industrial fair is taking place, there, there are goats and rice wine and fresh vegetables and people, everywhere is people, but not as many as on the grass beside the volleyball fields, in front of the stage, because here, the ethnic games are taking place, and right now, there is a tug of war going on, and two teams are holding on to a rope, the teams consists of two groups of men, all dressed in woven g-strings, their native attire, and it is easy to see that they are not used to wearing it, because underneath, they have their modern underwear, it is woven g-strings on top of a boxer shorts, it's the traditional meeting the modern, but the game is the same, the strongest team wins. And a crowd of people surrounds the contestants on both sides of the rope, everything is loud sounds, everybody is screaming, yelling, cheering, laughing, and as the excitement of the fight grows, the crowd moves closer to the contestants, and in between is a couple of policemen, doing their best to keep the crowd calm, to give the contestants room to pull the rope, to scream, sweat and laugh, but it's not easy, cause everyone wants to take part in this, everyone wants to see who the strongest men are, the strongest men of Lagawe.

(Author's observations 27th of April 2011)

4.2.2 The Traditional Kulpi – A Ritual to Chase Diseases

Accompanying the traditional cycle of rice cultivation in Ifugao, as described in section 4.1.2 of this chapter, was a similar cycle of ritual events, mainly performed to appease the gods and other unseen beings, so that the rice fields would yield plenty (Unesco, 2008:23). According to Unesco, this cycle consisted of 14 great rituals, which were performed during the year in connection with the various stages of the rice cycle, and among the most important ones was the *kulpi*. *Kulpi* was usually performed in March, when all the rice fields were planted. The objective of the ritual was to protect the newly planted rice from possible diseases, and chickens were sacrificed to gods and spirits, so as to get their help (Unesco, 2008:25-27).

In the souvenir program for the 2010 *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival, the municipal government included a description of the traditional *kulpi* celebrations, and according to their account, the *kulpi* began after the completion of the planting season, and also after the rice field owners had prepared rice wine, called *baya* (LGU Lagawe, 2010). The ritual would start either at the rice wine granary or at the house of the richest man with the widest rice fields in the village, and the villagers and all native priests (*mumbaki*) would gather at the chosen location. The program text describes what happened next:

“The owner brings out his jar of rice wine, pours it into a wooden bowl, flats small coconut cups or ‘taug’ on the wine and every one present drinks using the cups to convey the wine to his lips. (...) The ‘mumbaki’ begins the ceremonial rites by invoking the soul of the dead ancestors of the family by clan lineage, mentioning the name of each departed ancestor until as far back as the fifth or sixth generation. After pausing for some minutes, the ‘mumbaki’ calls upon the ‘munkontad’ or messenger gods, asking them to call on the gods and goddesses to come and attend to the occasion” (LGU Lagawe, 2010).

The gods and goddesses were invited to come and drink wine, and then, the chickens were sacrificed. The first chicken would be for the dead ancestors, the second for the gods of prosperity, and the third for the gods of rice and vegetation.

When the ritual at the richest man’s house or granary was completed, the next household would start the process in his house, and so the ritual performance would move from one household to another, until every household in the village had finished.

Like during the *tungoh*, it was considered a taboo to enter a village while the *kulpi* was performed. To warn outsiders from entering, the villagers would put pieces of the plant *pudung* in the trails leading to their village. And by the start of the ritual, a

villager would blow in a horn, and when the horn sounded, it was clear that this would be a day of rituals, rest and merry-making, and no-one would go to work (LGU Lagawe, 2010).

This account shows that the main point of the original *kulpi* was to communicate with the ancestor spirits and other gods and deities through sacred rituals. In today's *kulpi*, however, there are no traces of these traditions. An elderly man expressed it like this during a conversation (Canato, 20 April 2011):

“The culture is being destroyed by the modernising of activities, in the sense that the rituals seem to be set aside. All the prayers that used to be said during the rituals are not presented in the modern kind of activities.”

The following section will look at how this change has taken place.

4.2.3 The Commercialization of Kulpi

To understand the commercialization process of the *kulpi* in Lagawe, it is necessary to remember the main cause for why this process has happened at all, namely the decline of cultural practices among the Ifugaos. How this decline happened, and how it has affected various parts of the Ifugao culture was described in section 4.1.3.1 of this chapter. There is no reason to repeat this information here, but it is useful to emphasize that the traditional *kulpi* vanished first and foremost because of the introduction of Christianity during the 20th Century, as the ancient religious beliefs became taboo. Therefore, it is not surprising that today's *kulpi* is very different from the traditional *kulpi* described above, simply because there is no ritual involved at all. Thus, *kulpi* is now reduced to a name, more or less chosen by chance. In fact, the festival existed as a town fiesta long before it got the name *Kulpi ad Lagawe*, as it did in 1996. During an interview in Lagawe in April 2011, a municipal officer explained the development like this (Bumanghat, 25 April 2011):

“The fiesta has not always been like this. When we were kids, we celebrated a fiesta of patronage to St Mary Madeleine. Then it was changed to a normal town fiesta during the summer where people came together, just as the custom is in much of the Philippines. And then suddenly, it was decided that we should celebrate our traditional culture instead, and connect the festival to the rice cycle. That's when the name *Kulpi* was chosen.”

Thus, the *kulpi* of today does not reflect the traditional *kulpi*, and the term is used out its original context. Instead of describing a sacred ritual where gods and

ancestor spirits are invoked and asked to protect the rice plants, the term now describes a three-days festival filled with a mix of traditional and modern activities, organized to attract as many people as possible. Therefore, it is reasonable to say that the *kulpi* has been commercialized.

However, just as underlined in section 4.1.3.2, where the commercialization of the *tungoh* festival in Hungduan was outlined, a broad definition of the term *commercialization* is necessary. As the authorities in Lagawe municipality reports that they have no economical benefits to gain from the festival, it would be incorrect to say that the *kulpi* is commercialized in the sense of being exchanged for money, at least directly. Still, two factors make it necessary to modify this to a certain degree.

First, one part of the festival grounds is occupied by an agro-industrial fair where representatives from the different areas in Lagawe have stands where the products typical for their area are for sale, that being vegetables or coffee, rice wine or handicrafts. This part of the festival is clearly commercialized, as the products are produced and brought to the *kulpi* to be sold.

Second, another part of the festival ground is occupied by a ferris wheel and a carousel that cost money to ride, and various gambling stands, where prizes can be won for money. Also this part of the festival is evidently commercialized, also when using the traditional meaning of the term. Yet, neither the agro-industrial fair nor the amusement park area concern the Ifugao culture as such, and thus, it is inaccurate to conclude that this automatically leads to the culture being commercialized too.

What involves the Ifugao culture, however, is the fact that most performances and games during the *kulpi* are contested. This means that there is a money award awaiting the best three performers in each category. In most of the categories, the amount of money awarded is relatively small, reaching from 300 to 3,000 pesos for the winners, but in two categories the first prize amounts to 5,000 pesos, and in three categories as much as 20,000 pesos (Appendix F). It is reasonable to believe that these prizes at least serve as a motivation factor for the performers, and in some cases the prizes may be the only reason why the contestants participate at all. It may be taking it too far to suggest that the possibility of earning money is what keeps the Ifugao culture alive, but still, the prizes do contribute to a commercialization of the festival, and thus, the Ifugao culture.

Putting the money aside, also other aspects of *Kulpi ad Lagawe* appear to be cultural commercialized, the most obvious factor being that the cultural practices are

presented out of their original contexts. Instead of being chanted in relation to the planting of rice, for example, the *hudhud* is performed as a part of a program to entertain the audience. The same goes for various ethnic sports that used to be played as a way to sort out a disagreement or conflict. Now, these sports are treated as games only, with entertainment as the core objective. Here, one example is the sport called *uggub*. This sport consists of two players who each has a set of darts made of sugar cane, and the players take turns in throwing these darts on the back of the other player. Only darts that actually hits the *back* of the other contestant are counted as points, headshots and darts hitting the butt or lower are invalid. Before, this sport was used to settle disagreements among the Ifugaos, and the winner of the game would also be the winning part in the conflict⁴. During *Kulpi ad Lagawe* the game was played for fun only.

Here, however, it is important to note that many ethnic sports were treated as games and leisure activities in earlier times too. Additionally, it seems like the most common view in Lagawe is that even though the cultural practices are performed out of their original contexts, the picture portrayed of the Ifugao culture during the festival is more or less correct. In other words, the *hudhud* is chanted the same way as it used to be, and the rules for the games are the same as they were before – the activities remain the same, even though the context shifts. And because the times are changing, it is inevitable that the contexts change too. Thus, it is believed that to present the Ifugao culture through a festival is to keep the culture alive, even though the culture is commercialized in the process. The mayor of Lagawe, Ceasario D. Cabbigat puts it like this (Cabbigat, 26 April 2011):

“I don’t think there are any negative impacts of this cultural commercialization process. The festival has been welcomed by the community, and we believe that it lessens the impact of the modern times, and reminds our children off our culture. This is our way of life, and we don’t want it to die with us. It must be handed down to the next generation, and this is our way of doing that.”

4.2.4. The Kulpi of Today

The 2011 *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival lasted for three days, starting Wednesday 27th of April and ending Friday the 29th. Most of the festival took place on the municipal

⁴ This information was obtained in a conversation with an elderly Ifugao man watching the game in the 2011 *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival.

grounds in the centre of Lagawe town, the capital of Ifugao province, as well as of Lagawe municipality. Here, the municipal grounds make up a great square, with four of the town's most important buildings located around it: the municipal hall, the Lagawe central school, the provincial hall, and the church. The square itself consists of a concrete plaza and a grass field, a small stage and a corner where a handful of native Ifugao huts have been raised. During the festival, much of the concrete area was used as grounds for a small amusement park, which was raised three days before the festival started. Both during those three first days, and also while the festival was going on, the ferris-wheel, carousel and the gambling stands served as a meeting point, especially among young people. Both during the days and in the evenings they would gather there to hang out with their friends.

Many of the delegates from the other *barangays* in Lagawe arrived the town the day before the festival started, and were accommodated in the central school building. However, early Wednesday morning a great number of *jeepneys* (a middle of transportation typical to the Philippines) loaded with people arrived from all directions. Many of these *jeepneys* drove back again when the day's program was over.

The program of the 2011 *Kulpi ad Lagawe* consisted of a mix of traditional and modern activities. According to mayor Cabbigat, the reason why was simple (Cabbigat, 26 April 2011):

“Our festival is a combination of modern practice and indigenous traditions, because this way we will attract more people to participate.”

The following section will describe the program in detail, more or less chronologically from the start Wednesday morning and until the end Friday afternoon. To make the account as easy to follow as possible, it is divided into four parts, the first concerning the opening program, the second the ethnic games, the third the cultural nights, and fourth the final day where the street dance contest was the point of focus.

4.2.4.1 *The Opening Program*

Above, it was concluded that today's *Kulpi ad Lagawe* is totally different from what the *kulpi* used to be before. That being said, however, one similarity does exist, and that is the centrality of rice wine, or *baya*. As section 4.2.2 described, everybody present at the performing of the traditional *kulpi* ritual had to drink of the rice wine, which was also offered to the gods. Also during the 2011 festival, all the people present at the opening ceremony was offered a taste of the wine, but before that,

as the first post on the program, entries to a rice-wine-making contest were submitted. Later, as a part of the official opening program, a ceremony called *hiit di baya* took place, where a couple of Ifugao elders, as well as the Ifugao governor and Lagawe mayor, poured rice wine and drank, before the audience was invited to drink too. It is evident that this ceremony has its similarities to the traditional *kulpi* ritual.

Hiit di baya was the final element of the opening program, which started with the rice wine submission, followed by a thanksgiving mass in the St. Mary Magdalena parish church. Then, the main opening began, starting with the cultural parade. Just as during the *tungoh* in Hungduan, the participants had dressed in native attire – the men in woven g-strings, the women in woven skirts, and all in the colours of red, black, white and yellow. However, not all the people were dressed in indigenous clothes, as someone had chosen to wear an outfit showing their connection to their society. For example, the youth living in *barangay* Abinuan wore green basketball clothes with the text “Abinuan Spikers” printed on them, while the people belonging to the farmer organization in the same *barangay* wore their working clothes. The parade started on the grass field in front of the school, and followed the streets around the municipal square.

After completing the walk, the participants gathered in front of the stage where the opening ceremony was to be held, a ceremony consisting mostly of speeches, but with a couple of intermission numbers. The first number was held by a group of children that made up an ethnic ensemble. As mentioned previously, an ethnic ensemble is not based on one traditional Ifugao practice, but is instead a result of an effort made by Ifugao teachers to integrate ethnic musical instruments in their music- and arts classes. During the opening ceremony, the audience witnessed the result of the efforts made in *barangay* Tungngod. The second intermission number was a modern one, where the winner of the contest Ifugao Got Talent sang a song. Then, the provincial, municipal and *barangay* officials performed a native dance, before the *hiit di baya* took place, completing the opening ceremony.

Following the opening program was a native dance contest where most of the participants were adults. Just like during the youth contest in Hungduan, the participants should have a performance as true to its origins as possible, with correct steps and correct gong playing. Also in Lagawe, every *barangay* has its own traditions and specialities, a fact that makes it interesting for the teams to watch each other. During this contest, however, a big part of the audience left, apparently because the program was running over its time, and the participants were hungry for lunch.

4.2.4.2 Ethnic Games

After lunch the first day, and the whole second day too, the focus was on ethnic games, volleyball and basketball, and everything at the same time. Thus, the audience had to choose what they wanted to watch: basketball, volleyball or the ethnic sports. Because it was many people watching all the games at all times, it is reasonable to believe that most of the audience alternated between the various places. However, this is impossible to say for sure, and remains a simple guess.

It is important to note that the contestants in the ethnic games appeared to be the only ones wearing Ifugao native attire for the remaining part of the program. Actually, they did not have any choices, as proper indigenous attire was one of the rules for participating in the games. The people not participating, however, seemed to have changed back to normal clothes as soon as the cultural parade was over.

Five ethnic games were played during the Wednesday and Thursday, and that was arm wrestling (*hangu*), wrestling (*bultong*), tug of war (*guyudan*), rice pounding (*munbayu*)(figure 4.5) and an indigenous form for dart, called *uggub* (figure 4.6). Most of these games have been thoroughly described earlier, more specifically in section 4.1.4.2 (arm wrestling, tug of war and rice pounding) and 4.2.3 (dart). Thus, it is only wrestling that will be described here. However, as this type of wrestling was similar to the international type of wrestling, where two participants are fighting each other with one objective in mind, namely to get the opponent out of a ring, it is not necessary to go

Figure 4.5: Rice pounding contest.



(Photos: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

Figure 4.6: *Performing of the indigenous game Uggub.*



(Photos: Anniken Renslo Sandvik)

in detail. Yet, it is interesting to mention that in earlier times, this sport was used to settle disputes, especially disputes concerning boundaries, as described in section 4.1.3.1. It is also important to note this type of wrestling differs from what we saw in Hungduan, where all the contestants were in the ring at the same time – everybody against everybody.

Even though the audience had to choose what sports they wanted to watch during the *kulpi* festival, cheering people were always surrounding the contestants participating in the ethnic games. Just like in Hungduan, the tug of war appeared to be the most popular game, where almost everybody at the municipal square tried to get a glimpse of the contestants, while cheering for the team they wanted to be the strongest. Here it is necessary to mention that because Lagawe consists of as many as 20 *barangays*, the *barangays* were divided into six zones, and during the whole festival, the teams participating in the various contests were made up from these zones.

4.2.4.3 *The Cultural Nights*

Evidently, there were a lot of people, both audience and participants, around during the daytime activities in the 2011 *Kulpi ad Lagawe*, as most of the space between the four great buildings of the town was crowded, and as each of the games lasted for a long time because there were many competitors who were to play. In the evenings, however, many of these people failed to show up, also during the cultural

night that was arranged the first evening. On the program were two *hudhud* contests, one for adults and one for youths, one Ifugao song contests for adults, and finally, a contest called *tungngali*, which is the name of an ethnic instrument explained to be a mouth and nose flute. In the last category, there was only one participant, an elderly woman. In the Ifugao song contests more people participated, and the teams were a mix of elders, adults, and also some younger people. One after another, the teams were asked to enter the stage to perform their chosen song. The judgement that declared the winner was based on the teams' performances, as well as the song lyrics and the level of correct use of the Ifugao language.

The *hudhud* chanting contest for adults also saw a great number of performing teams, while the contest for the youths only had two teams participating. Also in this contest both the performance and the text of the chant counted, as well as to which degree the chanting resembled the *hudhud* of earlier times.

As earlier mentioned, many seats stood empty during the cultural night. Most of the audience appeared to be other contestants, waiting for their turn, and watching the other team's performances. However, even fewer people met up the following night, when an inter faith concert was taking place.

4.2.4.4 *The Street Dance Contest*

Friday morning the situation was quite the opposite, when hundreds of people crowded the streets of Lagawe town. Even though it was early, the sun stood high on the sky, and being absorbed by the concrete roads, the heat among the crowd was so unbearable that some persons even fainted. Still, the people remained standing by the sides of the roads, because they were waiting for the creative street dancing contest, for many the expressed highlight of the festival, especially among the youth. Here, every zone participated with one number, and it was evident that a lot of time had been sacrificed to get the number as good as possible. The contestants, who were young girls and boys, were all dressed in colourful costumes, one team outdoing the other in materials and fantasy. Rhythms produced by drums, gongs, and poles were the only music accompanying the dancers as they moved through the streets, harvesting applause from the audience. And when every team had danced in the streets, the contest was repeated on the grass field in front of the school, so that both the jury and the audience could have one final look. The winners were announced during the closing ceremony, and with that, the 2011 *Kulpi ad Lagawe* was over.

4.2.5 The Effects of Cultural Commercialization on the Lagawe Youth

The previous section showed that the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival represents a process of cultural commercialization in Ifugao. What used to be a religious ritual is now reduced to a name only, a name chosen more or less by chance when the municipal authorities decided that their annual town fiesta should celebrate their indigenous culture as well as being a summer celebration. Thus, it is obvious that the term *kulpi* is used out of its original context, describing an event consisting of a mix of traditional and modern activities, instead of a religious ritual where gods and ancestor spirits are invoked and asked to protect the rice plants from diseases.

During the festival, other cultural practices are being performed out of their original contexts too, as they are now arranged to entertain both participants and audience in an annual event, and not in the context of rice cultivation, religious rituals, conflict solving and so on. This is one of the reasons why it is reasonable to say that the *Kulpi* festival represents a process of cultural commercialization.

Another reason is the fact that most of the performances during the *Kulpi*, both indigenous and modern, are contested, which means that there is a money award waiting for the best performers in each category. It is reasonable to believe that these prizes at least serve as a motivation factor for the performers, and in some cases the prizes may be the only reason why the contestants participate at all. In other words: the culture is performed by participants hoping to win money, or even: the culture is performed in exchange of money to the best performers.

That being said, it is important to remember that the authorities in the municipality reports that they have no economical benefits to gain from the festival, and thus, it would not be right to say that the culture is commercialized in the sense of being exchanged for money. However, the distinction here is a bit vague, much because two parts of the *Kulpi* clearly *are* commercialized, namely the agro-industrial fair and the amusement park- and gambling area. Yet, none of these parts of the festival have anything in particular to do with the cultural events, except for being arranged at the same time and place.

The question now is how this cultural commercialization affects the way the Lagawe youth view their ancient culture. Here, two factors suggest that overall the youth becomes more aware of, and more interested in, the Ifugao culture by participating in the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival.

The first is related to the youth's level of knowledge about their indigenous culture. According to Lagawe mayor Ceasario D. Cabbigat, this knowledge-level is generally too low.

“The reluctance of the younger generation is why we have adopted this festival in the first place. Today's youth don't want to wear a g-string, and the native dances they don't know how to dance. They may like it, but they don't know how to do it the right way. So every now and then we have to refresh the mind-settings of our young people. When they move to the cities, they tend to forget their cultural past, so this activity is arranged to raise awareness about what they have to learn, that this is our way of life, this is our identity as Ifugaos,” he says (Cabbigat, 26 April 2011).

And evidently, the *Kulpi* festival serves as a way to increase the indigenous knowledge among the youth. When asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed to the statement “by participating in Kulpi ad Lagawe I get new knowledge about the traditional Ifugao culture,” 49 of the 95 questionnaire respondents said that they strongly agreed, while 43 persons agreed. Only 3 people reported that they neither agreed nor disagreed (figure 4.7). Given the broad range of respondents in terms of age and occupation (the respondents aged from 12 to 28 years, with the majority being between 14 and 18, and approximately two thirds were in school while the final third was working), it is reasonable to believe that they are all very different types of people, with different interests and values. Yet, they answer more or less the same, and thus, it is tempting to conclude that the Lagawe youth get new knowledge about their

Figure 4.7: *Level of agreement to statement 1*

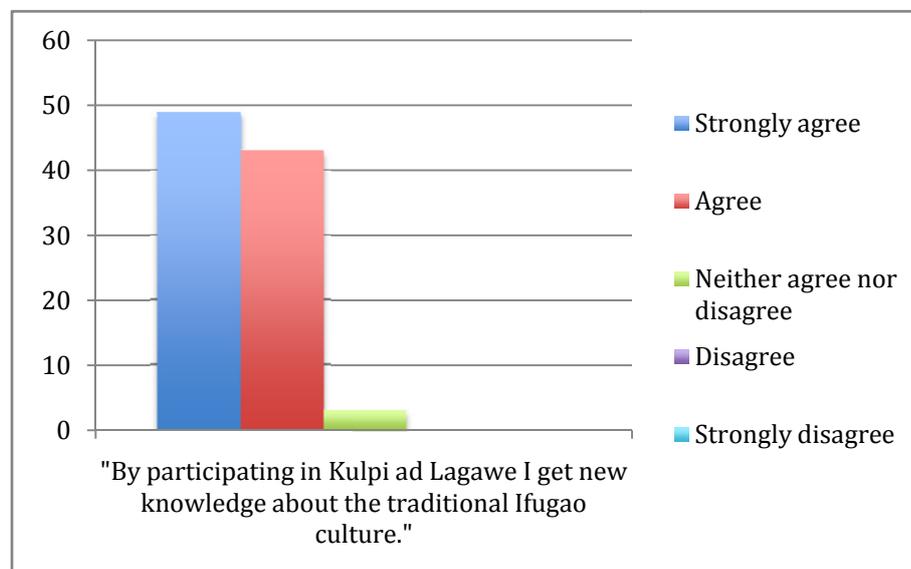
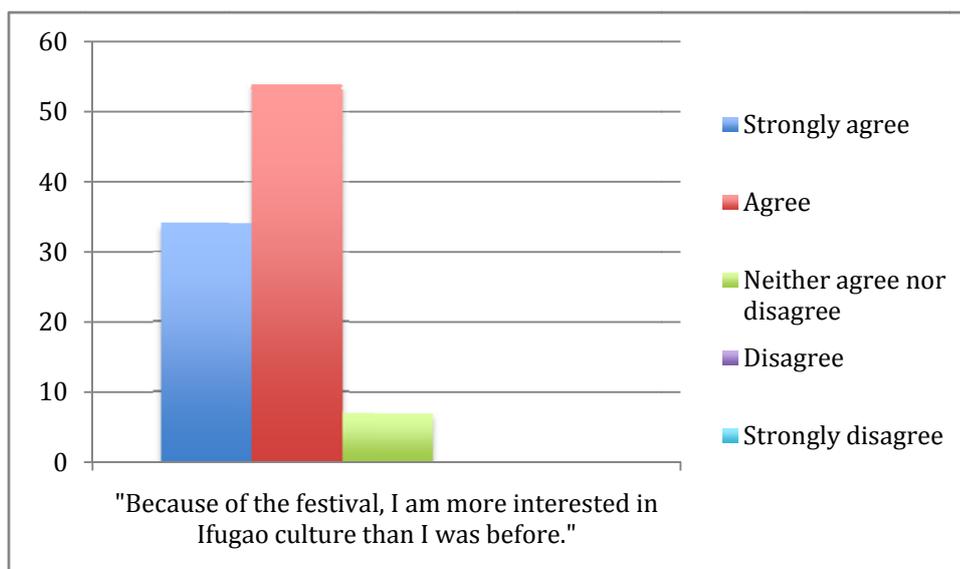


Figure 4.8: *Level of agreement to statement 2*

traditional culture during the *Kulpi*, regardless of their favourite field of interest.

Second, the majority of the questionnaire respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they became more interested in the Ifugao culture because of the festival. The statement they were asked to consider was “because of the festival, I am more interested in Ifugao culture than I was before”. Compared to the answers of the previous statement, the respondents were a bit more unsecure, as 7 of them neither agreed nor disagreed. However, the majority (54 people) said that they agreed, while the final 34 strongly agreed (figure 4.8). Out of this follows the conclusion that the interest in the Ifugao culture increased among the youth during the festival.

Thus, it is evident that the cultural commercialization that has taken place in Lagawe affects the municipality’s youth positively.

4.3 A Comparison

It is both similarities and differences to observe regarding how cultural commercialization affects the way the youth in Hungduan and Lagawe view their ancient culture. Before venturing into that, however, it is necessary to briefly compare the processes of cultural commercialization in the two municipalities (figure 4.9), and to a large degree, the processes appear to be quite similar. Both *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and *Kulpi ad Lagawe* are results of policies made by authorities in their attempts to save cultural practices rapidly vanishing. During both festivals, traditional cultural practices are being performed out of their original contexts, as they now are being performed to

entertain an audience as parts of a program, instead of being directly related to the process of rice cultivation, religious rituals, conflict solving and so on. Thus, it is reasonable to say that the culture has been through a commercialization process, because it is turned into a commodity presented to entertain. That being said, none of the organizers have any economical benefits to gain from the festivals. Therefore, none of the festivals can be considered commercialized events in the sense of being profitable happenings.

However, here there are a couple of differences necessary to note. One is that in Hungduan, one of the expressed objectives of the *Tungoh* festival is to attract more tourists to the municipality. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the cultural performances are performed in such a manner as to interest more tourists, which in turn will lead to more money for the municipality. In Lagawe, increased tourism is not an expressed goal for the *Kulpi* festival.

On the other hand, while looking at the prizes awarded during the festivals, Lagawe appear more commercialized than Hungduan, as the *Kulpi* operates with a larger scale of awards. Yet, prizes were present in Hungduan too, and if there were not for economical constraints, it is likely that the *Tungoh* would have had just as many awards as the *Kulpi*. In any case, these prizes make it impossible to know if the performers participate because they are interested in the culture, or if they are most concerned about winning the prize. It is too drastic to conclude that the cultural practices are performed for money, but as long as there is money involved, it is not possible to rule it out either.

As a summary, it can be said that the *Tungoh* and *Kulpi* festivals appear to be more or less equally commercialized, with cultural practices being performed out of their original contexts as parts of an entertaining festival program.

When it comes to how this cultural commercialization affects the way the youth in the two municipalities view their ancient culture, there are most similarities to spot, but also a few differences. The most obvious and important similarities appear when the youth's thoughts regarding their culture and the festivals are examined. On both locations the youth reported that they got new knowledge about their culture during their municipality's festival, and in both cases the majorities strongly agreed or agreed that they became more interested in the Ifugao culture because of these festivals. These similarities are important, because they lead us to the conclusion that the festivals really

do make the youth care more about their ancient culture, despite the commercialization process.

In Hungduan, this was confirmed by the interviews and conversations with the youth, where it became evident that the *Tungoh* festival is one of few arenas where the cultural practices are showcased at all, and thus, the festival appears to be very important, since it represents one of the chances the youth gets to experience pieces of their ancestors' culture and way of life. While some elders may complain that the culture is being presented wrong and out of context, this doesn't matter to the youth. This follows the fact that because modern life styles have been taking over for traditional practices the last couple of decades, the cultural practices are seldom performed in their original contexts anymore. Thus, other arenas are necessary for the youth to learn about the Ifugao culture, and in Hungduan it was evident that the *Tungoh* festival served as such an arena. As the overall attitude towards their culture appeared similar in Lagawe, it is possible to say that the above line of thoughts goes for the Lagawe youth as well.

Thus, all in all, it is reasonable to say that the findings of this research show that the two festivals *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and *Kulpi ad Lagawe* have positive effects on how the youth view their ancient culture. The overall findings demonstrate a strong agreement regarding the most important factors, as the majority of both the Hungduan and Lagawe youth believe they learn more about their ancient Ifugao culture during the festivals, and at the same time they are becoming more interested in it.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, the findings related to the first objective of the thesis, to investigate how the cultural commercialization affects the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture, were presented and analysed, first regarding Hungduan, then Lagawe. However, to investigate how the cultural commercialization affects the young generation, it was necessary to first look at how the culture is commercialized through the festivals. Thus, the first part of the chapter provided a thorough description of what the *tungoh* used to be, how the celebration is commercialized, and what the festival is like today. It was made clear that traditionally, the term described a resting holiday, where working was considered a taboo, just like crossing the borders into a village where *tungoh* was celebrated. The last couple of decades, however, the Ifugao culture has been through a process of commercialization, and today's *tungoh* appears totally

different from the traditional celebrations. The main reason for why this cultural commercialization process has taken place, is the decline of cultural practices among the Ifugaos. This decline, in turn, has occurred because of a combination of reasons, e.g. the introduction of Christianity, the adoption of a modern government system, and the entry of mass media channels into the Ifugao society. As an attempt to keep the Ifugao culture alive despite this development, festivals like *Tungoh ad Hungduan* are being organized, and these festivals can be considered a result of the cultural commercialization process. Even though the organizers do not have any economical gains from the festival, one of its objectives is to attract more tourists to Hungduan, and more tourists will eventually lead to more money. The impression that a commercialization process is taking place is strengthened by the fact that some of the practices are being performed as contests with money awards awaiting the best performers. Furthermore, the cultural practices performed are being presented out of their original contexts, as parts of a program meant to entertain. Despite this, the people of Hungduan believe that the festival performances give a truthfully picture of the Ifugao culture. Their main argument is that even though the contexts have changed, the activities remain the same, e.g. the dances are danced the way they used to be danced and the ethnic sports played the way they used to be played. The 2011 *Tungoh* festival was a six days event, where the first three days were designated to youth activities only, with a focus on modern sports. After these initial days, the main festival was opened, the first day being the central one, where the indigenous Ifugao culture was in focus. Also here, there were arranged activities for the youth only, as a competition in native dance was held during the evening.

The analysis of the findings regarding how this cultural commercialization affects the way the Hungduan youth view their indigenous culture showed that the youth does not appear to be affected by the fact that the indigenous culture presented at the *Tungoh* festival has been through a commercialization process at all. For them, this is one of few arenas where the cultural performances are showcased, and thus, they describe the festival as very important to them, because they get a chance to experience pieces of their ancestors' lives. If the festival does not alter the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture, it does at least make them more aware of it, and through the festival, they increase their indigenous knowledge. Additionally, a majority reports that the festival makes them more interested in the culture, and this may suggest that they view the culture in a more positive light – as something exciting and important.

Regarding the *Kulpi ad Lagawe*, it was explained that traditionally the term *kulpi* described a sacred ritual performed after the completion of the rice planting, the objective being to protect the rice from possible diseases by invoking ancestor spirits, gods and deities. But as the Lagawe society has been through more or less the same changes as what was described concerning Hungduan, a process of cultural commercialization has taken place also here. During today's *kulpi* no ritual is involved at all, and the term is reduced to a name only, chosen for the cultural festival more or less by chance. Also at this festival, the cultural practices presented are being performed out of their original contexts. The impression that a commercialization process is taking place is strengthened by the fact that most of the practices are being performed as contests with money awards awaiting the best performers. However, the mainstream belief among the inhabitants in Lagawe is that this commercialization process, and thus, the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival, does not affect the Ifugao culture negatively, but rather the opposite, as the festival helps them keep their culture alive. The 2011 *Kulpi* festival was a mix of traditional and modern activities. As many of the activities were organized at the same time, the audience had to decide what performances they wanted to watch.

Two factors suggested that overall the Lagawe youth was positively affected by the commercialization process that has resulted in *Kulpi ad Lagawe*. First, the youth reported that they increased their indigenous knowledge during the festival, and second, they said that the festival made them more interested in the Ifugao culture.

The findings from Hungduan and Lagawe were overall very similar, despite a couple of differences regarding the organization of the festivals and their level of commercialization. Thus, it was concluded that cultural commercialization has positive effects on how the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture.

CHAPTER V

POTENTIAL SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN ARRANGING FESTIVALS TO PROTECT THE INDIGENOUS IFUGAO CULTURE

As we have seen, the traditional cultural practices in Ifugao are rapidly vanishing, and the Ifugao culture is in need of protection. To secure this protection, the authorities in the Philippines have initiated annual festivals in each Ifugao municipality, celebrating the Ifugao culture. This chapter examines whether or not this strategy works, and is related to the second objective of the thesis: to identify potential success and failure in arranging commercialized festivals as a way to protect the ancient Ifugao culture. As in chapter IV, the findings from the two research locations Hungduan and Lagawe will be presented and analysed separately, before a comparison is provided.

5.1 Hungduan

The sun has hidden behind the dark, blue-green mountains that encircle the Poblacion barangay in Hungduan, a weak, grey light is the only thing left from the day, and right now this light is the only thing making all the people visible, the people who are gathered in small groups in front of nine native huts, here are boys beating gongs, here are boys dancing, girls dancing, yeah, here are young people dancing, and they are all holding one arm out in front of them, while the other is kept behind the body with a bend in the elbow, and they are moving to the rhythm of the gongs, all in the same direction, and suddenly all of them turn, they are moving backwards now, and then, forward again, and all of them are young, this is the young people's night. One of the boys takes a break from the dance, this is Benedict, 21 years old, and right now he is dressed in jeans and sweater, but he assures that he will change soon, "now we are only practicing," he says, "but later, there will be a contest in native dance, and then, I will wear proper attire, indigenous clothes," he says, and soon, both the sun and its final grey light have disappeared, and when the darkness arrives, so do the woven clothes in red, white, black, yellow, and soon, the youth are all walking in the same direction, they are leaving the huts, and gathering in front of the stage, and finally, one after another the groups are asked to perform their dance, and again there are boys

beating the gongs, girls moving slowly, boys moving faster, and for green eyes and ears all the dances seem similar, but that's not true, it's a special move here, and a special rhythm there, and now it is in the youth's power to bring these specialities to life, to show them off, to teach, to learn, and about an hour later, the 21 years old Benedict is a bit disappointed, but happy still, "it didn't go that well, we didn't win," he says, "but it doesn't matter really. This was the first time I danced native dance, so I'm happy anyway. Now I know how it's done."

(Author's observations 17th of April 2011)

One natural way to measure the success of a festival is to look at its popularity. But, as mentioned in chapter III, no one keeps track of the number of visitors the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival attracts each year. However, the organizers have some indications, and according to them, the number depends largely on the weather.

"If the festival falls on a rainy day, there will be less people, and also if it has rained a lot the days before. Many may be obstructed by muddy roads and landslides. Especially from the far away *barangays*, there may be fewer participants. But when the weather is good, there are always many people," mayor Bumangabang said (Bumangabang, 15 April 2011).

Out of this one can argue that the festival is a success, as it attracts a lot of people as long as it is practically possible to go. This is confirmed by the attitude towards the festival among the audience and participants. With a few exceptions, all of them were locals or people with origins in Hungduan who currently live elsewhere. It was evident that to them, the *Tungoh* was an annual event of great importance that they wanted to take part in. A 19 years old girl put it like this (Ferticia, 13 April 2011):

"The festival is important because we learn about our traditions, but also because it is like a brotherhood here. People from different *barangays* come together to celebrate the same thing".

However, to find out whether or not the festival is successful in terms of keeping the indigenous Ifugao culture alive, more measures need to be taken. For example is it useful to look at the level of participation among the youth during the festival. This follows the fact that the survival of the Ifugao culture is in the hands of the young generation, which in turn means that it is necessary to engage the youth in the cultural activities if the culture is to be kept alive in the longer term.

As the observation presented above shows, the Hungduan youth appeared to be participative during the 2011 festival, and maybe especially so during the native dance competition arranged Sunday night. However, also in the other indigenous activities the young generation made up a great part of the partakers, and in most of the contests, the teams consisted of a mix of elders, adults and youth.

Because no one keeps track of how many people the *Tungoh* festival attracts each year, it is impossible to know for sure whether or not there are more youths participating now than before. Consequently, it is not feasible to use this measurement as an indicator of how successful the festival is in involving the youth.

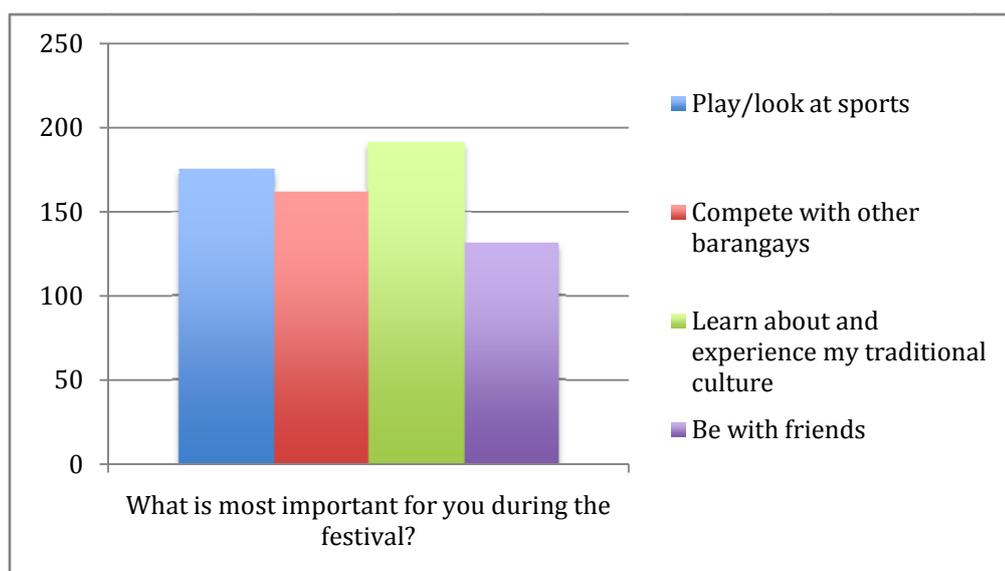
However, by looking at the roles occupied by the youth during the 2011 festival, it is possible to get a picture of their current level of engagement. Out of the 54 persons who answered the question “what are you doing at this year’s *Tungoh* ad *Hungduan*?” the vast majority (50 persons, which makes up almost 93 percent) reported that they were at the festival to participate, while 4 said that they were present as audience.

Furthermore, the respondents were asked what they found most important during the festival. Here, four alternatives were listed, namely play/look at sports, compete with other *barangays* in various activities, learn about and experience my traditional culture, and be with friends. The respondents were asked to rate the alternatives from 1 to 4, 1 being most important, and 4 least important. However, many respondents chose to use the same number for several alternatives, because they believed them to be equally important/unimportant.

Out of the 56 people who answered this question, nine listed all the alternatives as equally important, that is to say that they marked all the alternatives with the number 1. The alternative that was most frequently listed as most important among the 47 remaining respondents was number three, to learn about and experience my traditional culture. 10 respondents mentioned this as the only alternative deserving the label most important, while 21 believed it to be equally important as one or two of the other alternatives. Most common was the combination of alternative 1, 2 and 3, which 8 respondents answered.

37 respondents chose to mark one or more alternatives with number 4 – least important. 19 persons meant that alternative 4, being with friends, was least important to them during the festival, while additionally 6 mentioned that alternative in a combination with one or two of the other alternatives. Five respondents believed that

Figure 5.1: *The most important factors during the festival*



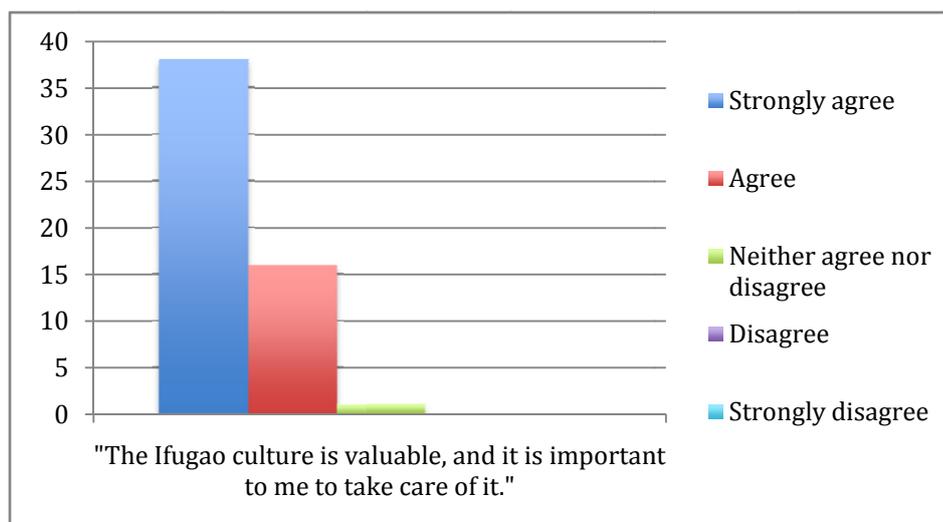
alternative 3, to learn about and experience my traditional culture, was the least important thing.

To get a complete picture of how the alternatives were rated among the youth, it is reasonable to use a point system, where rating number 1 equals to 4 points, 2 to 3 points, 3 to 2 points, and 4 to 1 point. Thus, the alternative that gets the highest amount of points is the alternative seen as the most important all together, while the alternative with the least amount of points is the least important one. As figure 5.1 shows, these numbers confirm the above stated results, as alternative three gets 191 points, alternative one 175 points, alternative two 162 points, and alternative four 131 points. In other words, the youth believe the most important thing for them during the festival is to learn about and experience their traditional culture. Then follows to play and watch the sports, and to compete with the other *barangays* in various activities, while being with friends is seen as the least important thing.

The answers to these two questions show that the majority of the youth present at the 2011 *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival participated in the activities in one way or another, and that the most important thing for them was to learn about and experience the indigenous Ifugao culture. Thus, the festival appears to be a success in terms of keeping the culture alive.

This view is strengthened by the organizational structure of the festival. As described above, many of the respondents found it equally important to learn about their indigenous culture, to play and watch sports and to compete with the other *barangays'*

Figure 5.2: *The level of agreement to statement number 3*



teams in various activities. But because the program was designed so that the indigenous and modern activities took place on different days, no one had to choose one thing instead of the other. This also means that the ones who might not have been that interested in the indigenous activities, possibly took part in them anyway, just because that was the only thing happening that day.

Whether the festival is a success or not as a means to protect the ancient Ifugao culture, may also be measured by observing the youth's attitude towards the culture during the festival. In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement to the statement "the Ifugao culture is valuable, and it is important to me to take care of it". 55 persons answered this question, and out of them 38 reported that they strongly agreed, while 16 persons agreed. The final one neither agreed nor disagreed (figure 5.2).

This may indicate that the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival creates a climate where the indigenous Ifugao culture is nurtured, and consequently the positive feelings towards this culture flourish. While this has to be considered a success, it does at the same time relate to one possible failure of the festival, namely that this positive relationship between the youth and the indigenous culture is a product of the festival only, and may disappear when the youth return to their everyday life. It was evident that this was a concern among the people of Hungduan, even though they believed the festival led to an increased interest in the Ifugao culture among the youth. An elderly woman expressed herself like this (Lacbawan, 12 April 2011):

“As the elders, we are trying to transfer indigenous knowledge and skills to the young generation, and this is the main objective of this festival too. I believe it is working, because if you pass by a group of young children, you can hear them sing our songs, dance our dances, or maybe they are trying to chant a *hudhud*. With festivals happening in all the *barangays* and municipalities in Ifugao, we can see an increased interest among the youth, and some of them even want to learn the rituals. So little by little the young ones learn. And maybe in hundred people, one will be really interested in the indigenous culture.”

In other words, even though the absolute majority responds that it is important to them to take care of the Ifugao culture, it may not be realistic to believe that all of them will take this to a higher level by actively working to keep the indigenous culture alive. Thus, the festival can be seen to create a false sense of togetherness, which just lasts for as long as the festival is on. This is also reflected by the fact that the people of Hungduan that were interviewed for this research appeared to agree on that the festivals alone cannot save their indigenous cultural practices. During the study period, it was a common statement that the festivals had to be considered as one piece of a greater picture. One of the festival organizers in Hungduan put it like this (Bandao, 12 April 2011):

“The increased interest in indigenous knowledge is a result of a combination of many things. Some places there are activity programs for the youth, and there are some programs in school where the young ones learn to chant *hudhud* or to dance native dances. So this is a combination of things, and not something that results only from the festival.”

Many gave the impression that they believed the festivals served as an arena where the youth could show the other inhabitants of Ifugao what they had learned throughout the year. This way, the festivals became a motivation factor that pursued the youth to practice so as to be ready for the April and May performances.

However, it was also often mentioned that the indigenous Ifugao culture and traditions were not a big enough part of today’s schooling. As one elderly woman said (Lacbawan, 12 April 2011):

“Some things are learned in school, but it’s voluntarily, and only those who are interested participate.”

At the same time, many programs seem to be on their way, among them the designing of a textbook that will help the schools incorporate Ifugao culture and

traditions into different subjects, for example native dance as a part of physical activities, and *hudhud* chanting as a part of the music lessons. Another plan involves a school of traditions and culture, where the youth may learn to perform indigenous practices the right way. Here, the idea is that during for example a five-days intensively training program the youth may learn performances like *hudhud* or native dance from elders who know how to perform the activities properly. As the youth politician Ronel Gayamo said (Gayamo, 14 April 2011):

“The arranging of festivals is a good thing, but we need something more.”

In other words, if this “something more” exists, the festival may serve as a place where the youth get the chance to show what they have learned elsewhere. That way, it may be considered a motivation factor that affects the youth throughout the year, and if so, the festival is a success in terms of keeping the indigenous culture alive.

Finally, two other possible failures of the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival have to be considered. First comes the fact that the indigenous cultural performances are being presented out of their original context. Therefore, it can be argued that the impressions the youths get of their culture differ from the real Ifugao culture, or more precisely, the Ifugao culture as it used to be. This in turn leads us to the thought that it is not the authentic Ifugao culture that is being remembered, but a commercialized version of it, where only the parts suitable for entertaining are the parts in focus. However, as described in chapter IV, the youth seems not be affected negatively by this commercialization process.

Second, some of the festival performances are contested. This was elaborated in chapter IV, where the cultural commercialization of the *Tungoh* was examined, but it is reasonable to mention it in this context too, especially since it is realistic believe that these prizes at least serve as a motivation factor for the performers. It may be argued that the money awards at least ensure that the indigenous activities are being performed, and that the prizes lead to more people participating. On the other hand, the awards make it hard to know *why* the participators are being involved – is it because of the money, or is it because they are actually interested in the continued remembrance of the Ifugao culture.

All findings combined together, however, it is reasonable to conclude that there are more successes than failures to spot in arranging commercialized festivals as a way to protect the indigenous Ifugao culture. The following section will look at the situation in Lagawe.

5.2 Lagawe

It's the day before Kulpi ad Lagawe 2011, and in one corner of the school ground in barangay Tungngod, a group of children is standing, they are moving at the same time, their chests and heads are wagging from one side to another, and they are singing too, and some of them are playing musical instruments, this is the ethnic ensemble of Tungngod, and they are practicing, cause tomorrow is the big day, the opening of the Kulpi, and this ensemble is included in the opening program, so they are practicing, and so are people in the other barangays of Lagawe, in Boliwong for example, the barangay hall is crowded, by women and girls finishing the parade costumes, by elders practicing native dance, everywhere there are people, they are talking fast with each other, they are smiling, laughing, cause tomorrow is the big day, and they are putting a last hand on all the preparations, they are getting ready, and so are the people of barangay Poblacion East, but here it is mostly the youth that run back and forth, and most of them are gathered in the barangay hall, and they too are making costumes, here are fabrics in black and red and green and yellow and plastic coloured orange and green, blue and purple, and it's impossible to imagine what the final costume will look like, but it is still time, cause these are costumes for the creative street dance contest on the final festival day, and according to this group of youth, the creative street dance contest is the highlight of the whole festival, the most important thing, and therefore, a dance instructor has been hired, she has come all the way from another province to coordinate these boys and girls, and it's not easy, she says, but it's fun, it's a lot of fun, and the locals think so too, as they are cutting and sewing and cutting again, but even though it is the dance contest that is most important to them, they are looking forward to the rest of the festival too, to the sports and to the traditional activities; the street dance is most important, but it's going to be fun to watch the Ifugao activities too, they say, but still, none of them is going to participate in the native activities. Among these youths, the modern events beat the indigenous ones.

(Author's observations 25th of April 2011)

As the previous section showed, one way to measure whether a commercialized festival is a success or not is to look at its popularity. However, just as in Hungduan, no one keeps track of the number of participants and audience during the annual *Kulpi ad Lagawe*, and thus, it is not possible to determine its popularity this way. Yet, by looking at the attitude towards the festival among the audience and participants, it is possible to

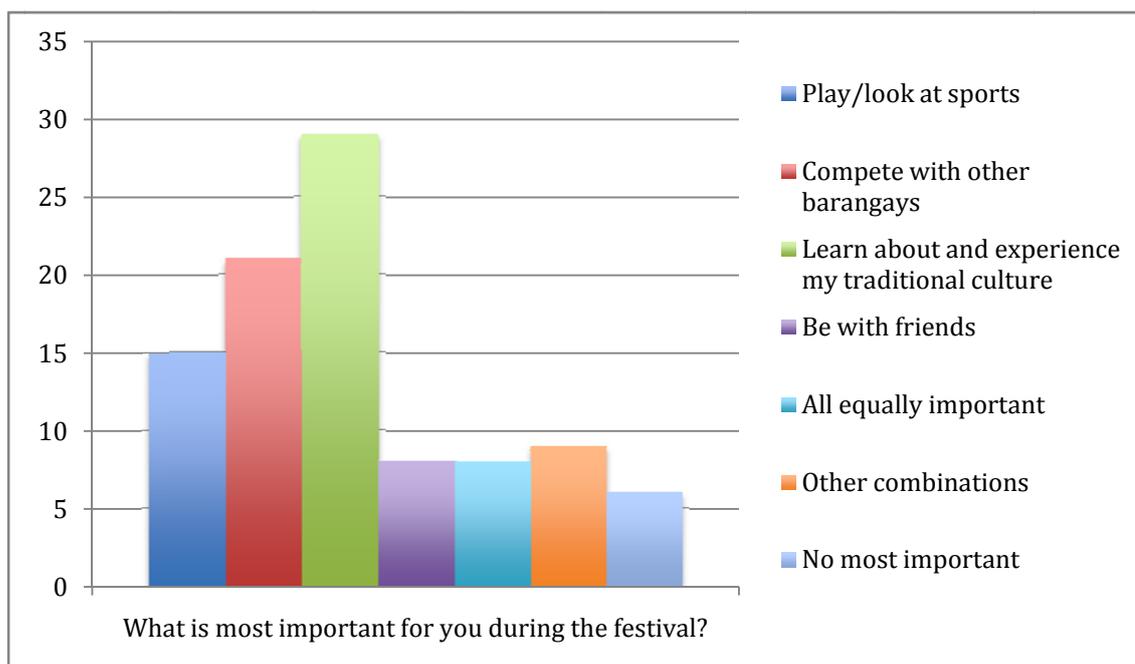
get an indication of how much the *Kulpi* means to them. The absolute majority of the participants and audience were locals or people originally from Lagawe who had come home to take part in the festival. It was evident that to them, this was an important annual event that they did not want to miss. One of the festival planners said it like this (Bumanghat, 25 April 2011):

“One of the most important objectives of the fiesta is the fun, the coming together after a whole year of working. We need to have some rest and some fun, and come together to renew friendships.”

This shows that the festival is important to the people of Lagawe, and thus it can be called a general success. However, to find out whether or not it is a success in terms of keeping the indigenous Ifugao culture alive, more measures need to be taken.

First, it is necessary to look at the level of participation among the youth during the festival, since the future of the culture is in the hands of the young generation. However, by examining the observations presented above, it is evident that the youth in Lagawe is far from one homogeneous mass. While some of the youth the author spoke to before the festival started did not know much about the *Kulpi* at all, others were excited about the little amusement park that was set up. Some, in turn, were practicing indigenous activities, while others focused on the modern activities, for example for the creative street dance contest that was to take place on the final day. It was evident that this contest was the highlight of the festival for many, and that this was what they were looking the most forward to. Still, when this group of youth were asked about their relationship to the traditional Ifugao culture, most of them expressed that it was important to them, and they mentioned native dancing, the *hudhud* chanting and the singing of Ifugao songs as activities they found interesting and important. Even so, many of them appeared not to be sure whether or not they were to take part in any of the indigenous activities during the festival, because they had to practice for the street dance contest.

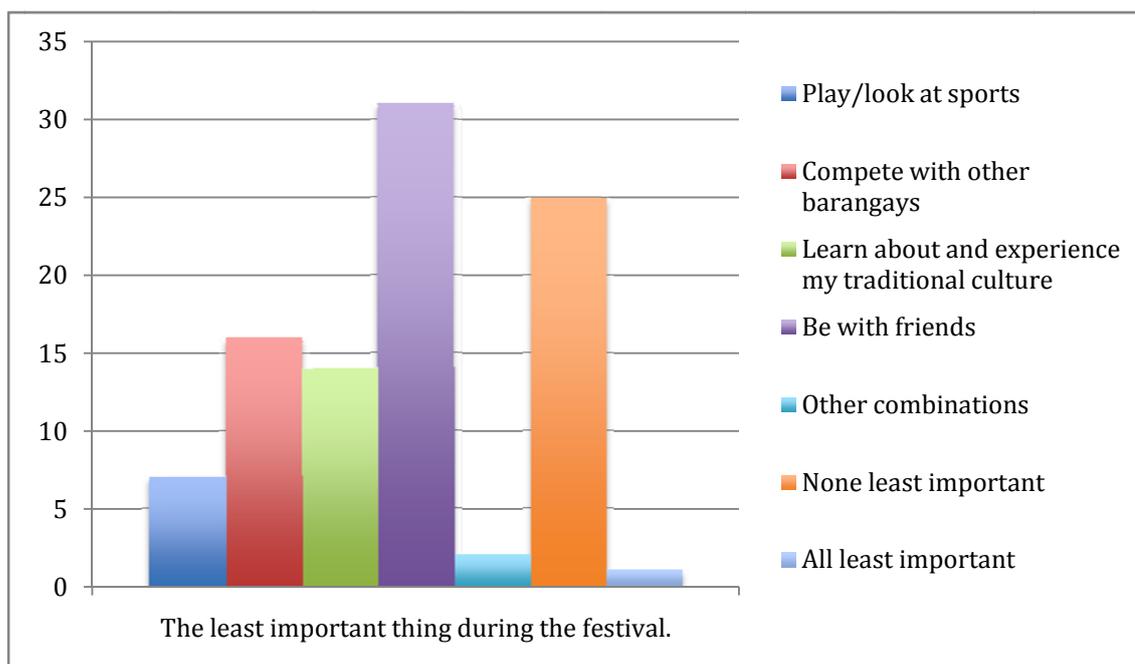
This shows that the Lagawe youth consists of different identities with various interests and values. However, it is still possible to get a picture of their overall engagement in the festival by looking at the roles the questionnaire-respondents reported that they occupied during the 2011 *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival. Among the 94 persons who answered the question “what are you doing at this year’s *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival?” 52 reported that they were participants, while 42 said they were audience. In other words, just over half of the respondents took part in any of the activities during

Figure 5.3: *Votes for the most important factor*

the festival. However, this does not automatically mean that the *Kulpi* is unsuccessful in engaging the youth in indigenous activities, as many of the onlookers at the various ethnic games appeared very much interested and enthusiastic.

It is possible to get a more complete picture by looking at the respondents answer to the question “what is most important for you during the festival?” Here, four alternatives were listed (play/look at sports, compete with other *barangays* in various activities, learn about and experience my traditional culture, and be with friends), and the respondents were asked to rate the alternatives from 1 to 4, 1 being most important, and 4 being least important. However, many respondents chose to use the same number for several alternatives, because they believed them to be equally important or unimportant.

Eight respondents expressed that they believed all the alternatives were equally important, which means that they marked all the alternatives with the number 1. The alternative that was most frequently listed as the most important one among the remaining 88 respondents was number three, “to learn about my traditional culture”. 29 respondents marked this as the only number 1 alternative, while 8 people believed it to be equally important as one or two of the other alternatives. However, as figure 5.3 shows, it was quite a close race, since 21 respondents believed alternative two (to compete with other *barangays* in various activities) to be the most important factor. 15

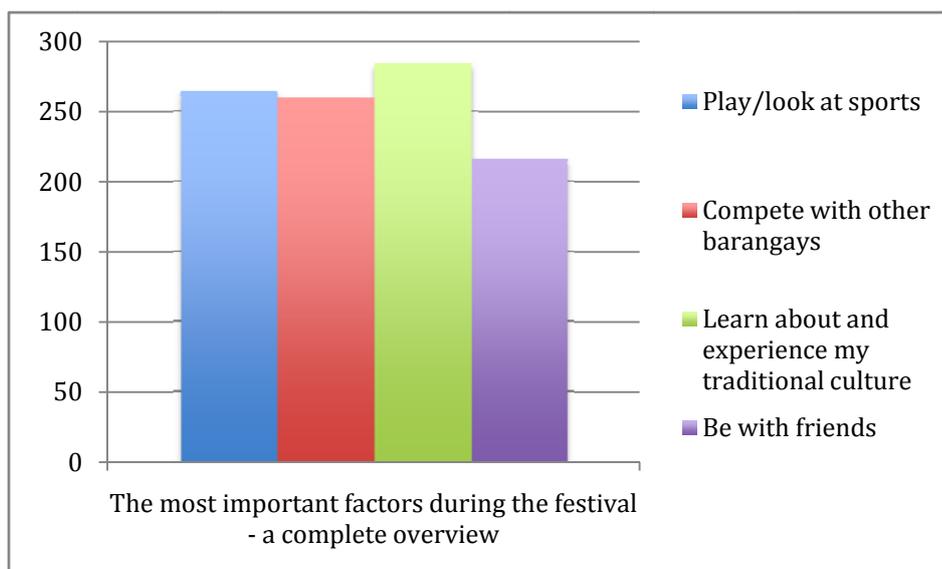
Figure 5.4: Votes for the least important factor

persons answered alternative 1 (to play/look at sports), while 8 people meant that being with friends was the most important thing. 6 respondents did not mark any of the alternatives with the number 1, and thus, it is reasonable to believe that they did not find any of the alternatives important enough to deserve that label.

It's just as interesting to examine what the respondents found least important during the festival (figure 5.4). Here, 31 respondents answered alternative 4, to be with friends, and this corresponds with the fact that only eight people believed this to be the most important thing. 16 people reported that alternative 2, to compete with other *barangays*, was the least important thing, and 7 people believed it to be alternative 1, to play and watch sports. However, what is most remarkable is the fact that 14 persons responded that alternative 3, "to learn about and experience my traditional culture," was the least important thing during the festival. This indicates that parts of the Ifugao youth don't find the indigenous activities during the *Kulpi* interesting at all. For a festival which main objective is to increase just this interest, this may be considered a failure.

However, to get a complete picture of how the alternatives were rated among the youth, and consequently a better basis for an analysis, it is reasonable to use the point system where rating number 1 equals to 4 points, 2 to 3 points, 3 to 2 points, and 4 to 1 point. Thus, the alternative that gets the highest amount of points is the alternative seen

Figure 5.5: *The most important factors during the festival overall*



as the most important all together, while the alternative with the least amount of points is the least important one.

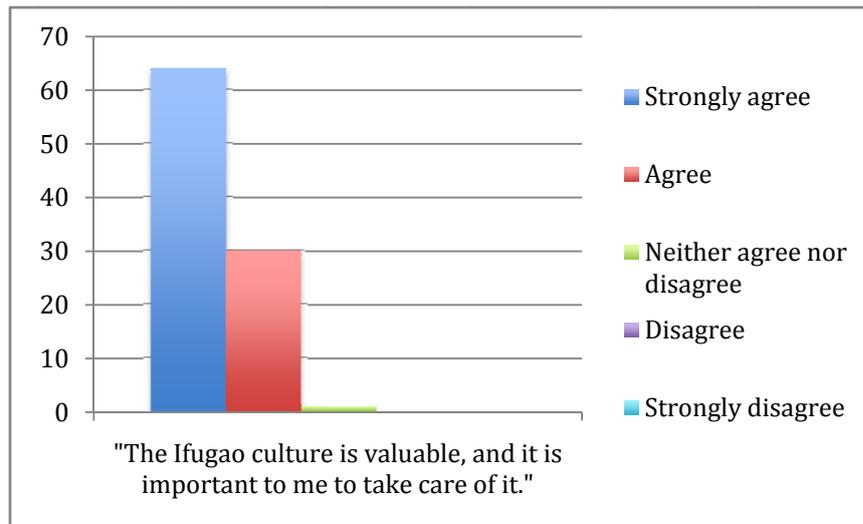
As figure 5.5 shows, the numbers resulting from the point system confirm the results presented in figure 5.3 and 5.4. All together, alternative 3 was seen as the most important factor during the festival, with a sum of 284 points. This means that this alternative was rated high also among many of them who did not give it top score. On the other end of the scale, we find alternative 4 with 216 points, which means that all over, this was seen as the least important thing for the youth during the festival. However, the numbers also shows that the three first alternatives have gotten quite equal amounts of votes, as alternative 1 has received 264 points and alternative 2 260 points.

In other words, it can be said that to play and watch sports and to compete with other *barangays* in various activities can be considered as equally important among the Lagawe youth. These two things are more important than being with friends, but less important than learning about and experience the indigenous Ifugao culture. Thus, even though some representatives for the youth find the indigenous cultural performances to be the least important thing during the festival, the majority believes the exact opposite. Out of this follows that the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* is successful in engaging the majority of the youth in the indigenous culture, and consequently, the festival appears to be a success in terms of keeping the culture alive.

That being said, two factors put a limit to this success, both of them being of organizational character. First, the program of the festival included a wide range of activities, e.g. indigenous cultural performances, modern dance, sports like basketball and volleyball and ethnic games. However, as much of it happened at the exact same time, especially the modern sports and the ethnic games, the ones who were interested in both had to choose what they wanted to watch. This suggests that only the youth already interested in the Ifugao culture would learn more about their ancient traditions during the festival, as the ones not interested may prefer to watch their friends play volleyball or basketball, or even play themselves. This was mentioned as a challenge by one of the youth the author talked to during the festival. She, a girl aged 16 years, said that it was important to her to learn about the traditions of the past, but that she also wanted to see her friends playing volleyball, and therefore, she had to move back and forth between the different areas (“Analou”, 27 April 2011).

The second factor relates to the fact that most of the performances, both the modern and indigenous ones, are contested, which means that there is a money award waiting for the best performers in each category. This was elaborated in chapter IV, where the cultural commercialization of the *Kulpi* was examined, but it is reasonable to mention it in this context too, especially since it is realistic to believe that these prizes at least serve as a motivation factor for the performers. In some cases, the prizes may be the only reason why the contestants participate at all. It may be argued that the money awards at least ensure that the indigenous activities are being performed, and that the prizes lead to more people participating. On the other hand, the awards make it hard to know *why* the participators are being involved – is it because of the money, or is it because they are actually interested in the continued remembrance of the Ifugao culture.

However, some research findings suggest that the latter is closest to the truth. In the questionnaire handed out to the youth, the respondents were asked to indicate how much they agreed to the following statement: “the Ifugao culture is valuable, and it is important to me to take care of it”. 64 people strongly agreed to this, while 30 agreed, and one person neither agreed nor disagreed (figure 5.6). In other words, all except one found their indigenous culture valuable, and this contributes to the impression that the interest in the Ifugao culture is high among the Lagawe youth. Consequently, it is possible to suggest that the part of Lagawe youth that participated in the indigenous activities, did so because these activities were important to them, and because they wanted to contribute to the continued survival of the Ifugao culture. If so, the *Kulpi ad*

Figure 5.6: *Level of agreement to statement 3*

Lagawe appears to be a success in terms of keeping the culture alive.

A final possible failure of the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival has to be considered, and that is the fact that the indigenous cultural performances are being presented out of their original context because they have been through a commercialization process. Thus, these performances differ from the Ifugao culture as it used to be, and this in turn, means that the culture that is kept alive through the festivals, are not the exact same as the indigenous culture of earlier times. If this difference grows too big, the festival may constitute a threat to the survival of the Ifugao culture, and if so, it has to be considered a failure. However, as described in chapter IV, the youth of *Lagawe* seems not to be negatively affected by the commercialization process that has taken place, and thus, this has to be considered a possible failure only.

All in all, it seems to be more successes than failures in arranging the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* as a way to keep the indigenous Ifugao culture alive. That being said, there exist possible failures too, especially regarding the way the festival is organized. This has to be taken into account.

5.3 Comparison

Both in Hungduan and *Lagawe* the municipal festivals appear more successful than not in being an arena where the Ifugao culture is remembered, and therefore protected. However, the picture was in general more positive in Hungduan than *Lagawe*, as the following comparison will show.

First of all, in Hungduan the youth was more participative as a whole than in Lagawe. While more than 90 percent of the questionnaire respondents took part in the festival activities in Hungduan, only a little more than half did the same in Lagawe. That being said, on both locations the majority of the youth reported that the most important thing for them during the festival was to learn about and experience their traditional culture. However, in Lagawe many of the young people spoken to gave an impression of being more interested in the modern activities than the indigenous culture. It is of course possible that also representatives of the youth in Hungduan held these beliefs, but here one major organizational difference may have played a great role, and that is the structure of the program. In Hungduan, all traditional activities took place on the same day, and this day was all about the indigenous Ifugao culture. Thus, also the people who might have been more interested in modern sports or popular culture participated in these traditional activities too. In Lagawe, the modern and indigenous activities happened at the same days, and therefore, the youth had to decide what they wanted to watch and take part in.

This shows that both in Hungduan and Lagawe, the festivals appear successful in protecting the Ifugao culture, but that more possible failures are evident in Lagawe. Additionally come three possible failures they share: first, that it is not given that the youth's interest in the safekeeping of the Ifugao culture continues when the festival is over. Even though this was an expressed view among key informants in Hungduan only, and not in Lagawe, it is reasonable to believe that this is an issue on both locations.

Second, both of the festivals operate with money awards for the best performers in each activity during the festival, the *Kulpi* in a larger scale than the *Tungoh*. This makes it impossible to know if the youth that participate do so because they are interested in the culture, or because they want to win the prize.

Third, during both festivals the indigenous culture is being performed out of its original context. Thus, the culture being remembered varies from the culture as it used to be. However, as previous findings showed, the youth seems not to be negatively affected by this.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has identified potential successes and failures in arranging commercialized festivals as a way to protect the ancient Ifugao culture. The first section

focused on Hungduan, where it was argued that the *Tungoh* festival could be considered a success just because it attracts a lot of people as long as the weather permits them to go. However, to find out whether or not the festival is successful in terms of keeping the indigenous Ifugao culture alive, more measures had to be taken. Three factors suggested that it was a success: First, the youth was very participative during the *Tungoh ad Hungduan*, and the most important thing for them during the festival was to learn about and experience the indigenous Ifugao culture. Second, the findings indicated that the festival creates a climate where the indigenous Ifugao culture is nurtured, and consequently the positive feelings towards this culture flourish. And third, the festival was believed to serve as a motivation factor pursuing the youth to practice their indigenous culture, and then, during the festival, show their co-inhabitants what they have learned elsewhere.

On the other hand, three potential failures were evident. First, it is possible that the positive relationship between the youth and the indigenous culture is a product of the festival only, and may disappear when the youth return to their everyday life. Second, in some categories, prizes were awarded to the best performers. Thus, it is not possible to know what motivates the participant – the prize or the chance to practice the Ifugao culture. Third, the indigenous cultural performances are being presented out of their original context during the festival. Therefore, it can be argued that the impressions the youths get of their culture differ from the real Ifugao culture, or more precisely, the Ifugao culture as it used to be.

The second section of the chapter focused on the findings from Lagawe. Here, it was not possible to conclude that the festival was a success by looking at the youth's level of participation, as only half of the respondents took part in any of the activities. While some appeared very enthusiastic, others were not interested in their indigenous culture at all. However, this does not automatically mean that the *Kulpi* is unsuccessful in engaging the youth in the indigenous culture. The majority reported that learning about and experience the Ifugao culture was the most important thing for them during the festival, and this suggests that the festival is a success in terms of keeping the culture alive, despite the fact that many choose to watch the performances instead of participate themselves.

Two factors put a limit to this success, both of them being of organizational character. First, many of the activities happened at the same time, and the audience had to choose what they wanted to watch. This suggests that only the youth already

interested in the Ifugao culture would learn more about their ancient traditions during the festival, as the ones not interested may prefer to watch their friends play volleyball or basketball. Second, a money award was waiting for the best performers in each category. It may be argued that the money awards at least ensure that the indigenous activities are being performed, and that the prizes lead to more people participating. On the other hand, the awards make it hard to know *why* the participators are being involved. However, all except one of the questionnaire respondents found their indigenous culture valuable. Consequently, it is possible to suggest that the part of Lagawe youth that participated in the indigenous activities, did so because these activities were important to them, and because they wanted to contribute to the continued survival of the Ifugao culture. If so, the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* appears to be a success in terms of keeping the culture alive.

Finally, the findings from Hungduan and Lagawe were compared, concluding that both of the festivals appear successful in protecting the Ifugao culture, but that the picture is slightly more positive in Hungduan.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTEREST IN THE IFUGAO CULTURE AND INTEREST IN THE IFUGAO RICE TERRACES

This chapter deals with the third and final objective of the thesis, which was to examine if an increased interest in the Ifugao culture among the youth leads to an increased interest in keeping the rice terraces sustainable. The findings from the two research locations Hungduan and Lagawe will be presented and analysed separately, before a comparison is provided. First, however, an introduction describing the relationship between the Ifugao culture and the Ifugao rice terraces is necessary.

6.1 Introduction

As explained in chapter I, the cultivation of rice in terraces has been a central part of the Ifugao way of life for more than 2,000 years. Traditionally, the Ifugao society has evolved around these terraces, and because of factors like the building techniques used and the steep slopes and high altitudes of the mountainsides on which the rice terraces are built, the Ifugao rice terraces have been inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List. In other words, the Ifugao rice terraces are considered a valuable treasure, not only for the Ifugaos, but also for the world.

However, just as the cultural practices of the Ifugaos are vanishing, many of the rice terraces are in decay. This was also mentioned in Chapter I, where the decay was explained by factors like the integration into the market economy, labour shortages caused by declining interest in rice farming by the younger population, migration pressures, and mass tourism. Traditionally, the Ifugaos practiced a system of labour exchange where neighbours and families cooperated to build and maintain the terraces, but with the integration into the market economy, this system was replaced by cash economy. Because the cost of farming in the mountains is high, there was little profit to be earned, and thus, many began looking for other kinds of work.

At the same time, the infrastructure has improved, the education system has been altered, and media and tourism have entered the Ifugao mountain-land. This makes it easier for the Ifugaos to learn what's outside their province, and for many, and

especially the youth, it is more interesting to look for work outside their villages. This, in turn, leads to labour shortages in the rice terraces, and many of them are left abandoned. As an elderly woman said during an interview in Hungduan (Lacbawan, 12 April 2011):

“It is not a secret that our young generation isn’t interested in maintenance of the rice terraces. They go to school and receive an education, and they don’t like to work in the rice terraces, because the work in the terraces is what I like to call *labourouse*: you spend more on labour than you get back as income or produce. Before, the people here were content if they got their rice and some vegetables, they had their agricultural circle, where they made the terraces, planted the rice, harvested the crops, and then they started all over again. Now there are so many more impulses from the outside. But if we cannot encourage the youth, then there will be no more rice terraces. If it comes a heavy rain and some of the terraces collapse, there will be no one around to fix them, for example. The existence of the terraces lay within us, the people”.

The decay of the rice terraces is also closely related to the vanishing cultural practices, as these two elements have to be considered two sides of the same coin. All cultural practices of the Ifugaos – both the religious practices, the sports, and the entertaining elements, such as singing and dancing – have always been closely connected to the cultivation of rice, just as the cultivation of rice always has been closely connected to the practice of religion, the sports competition deciding the outcome in conflicts regarding the fields, and the dancing and singing accompanying the field work.

This is easiest illustrated by looking at the traditional cycle of rituals in connection with the traditional rice cycle, starting in September, when the farmers started weeding and clearing the rice fields prior to land preparation. Then, the *Lukya* ritual was performed “to give word to unseen spirits that farming activities will begin shortly” (Unesco, 2008:25). This was followed by the *Hagnong* ritual in October, which was meant to calm down gods who might get disturbed or displeased with the land preparation activities that were taking place. Sometime in October or November the ritual *In-apuy* was performed with a hope of magically increasing the rice stored the previous agricultural year. In November the making of the seedbeds started, and this was announced by the performing of the ritual *Hopnak* or *Panal*. Then, the seeds were laid in the seedbeds, and “to ensure that the seedlings will sprout and grow and that rats and birds will leave them be,” the ritual *Lokan di Binong-o an Datag* was conducted

(Unesco, 2008:25). Like this the cycle continued, including eight more rituals, before the final one, *Kahiw*, was performed in August, ending the agricultural year.

In all these rituals various cultural practices were central elements, for example dancing, singing, and chanting, and therefore, it is evident that the indigenous Ifugao culture is closely connected to the rice terraces. Out of this follows the natural consequence that the rice terraces' decay affects the cultural practices and the vanishing cultural practices affect the rice terraces.

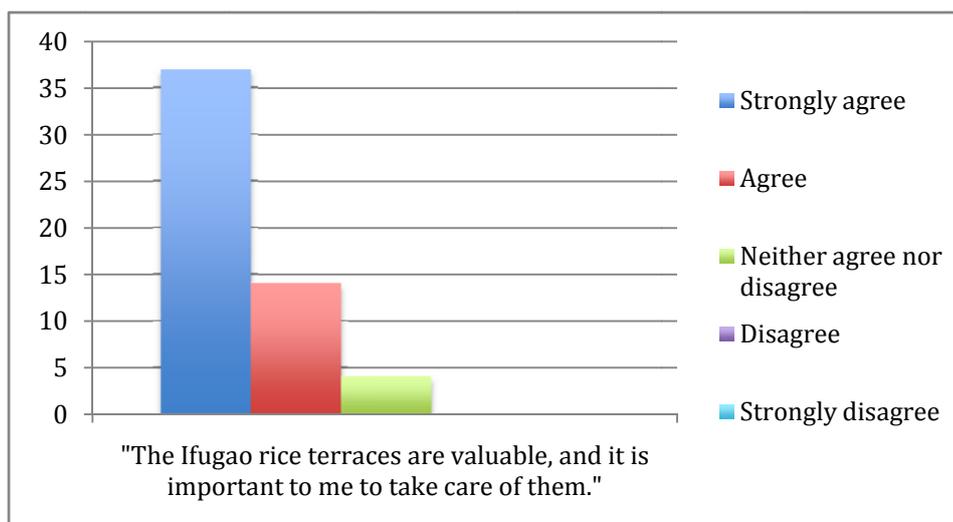
And this, in turn, leads us to the final research objective. As noted previously, *increase* is a quantitative word that promises that something is to be counted. Thus, it is necessary to emphasize that in this context, the objective is to find out whether or not the youth is more interested in their culture now than before, and consequently, if this leads to them being more interested in the Ifugao rice terraces. The answer is naturally based on the youth's own perceptions.

6.2 Hungduan

The previous findings have shown that the majority of the local youth in Hungduan increase their indigenous cultural knowledge during the *Tungoh* festival, at the same time as they are becoming more interested in it. Now, the question is if this also leads to an increased interest in the rice terraces, and during the interviews and conversations with the informants, it became evident that there at least is a hope that such a link exists. The 16 years old youth politician Ronel Gayamo expressed this hope like this (Gayamo, 14 April 2011):

“Our hope is that if we teach the young ones our culture, it will be a way of protecting the environment. Ifugao is one of the places in the Philippines where you have forests and mountains, but if we don't manage to transfer our culture to the young people, what is going to happen to the trees and the mountains then? Take the rice terraces as an example, look at the mountains over there, and think about how those rice terraces get water. It is because there is a forest above it. Without the forest, there will be no water. Actually, in our culture, it is a taboo to clear the mountains for trees, but now, people care more about money, and therefore they will cut the trees. Our hope is that if we learn the youth about our culture, they will appreciate where they come from, and maybe this can protect the environment. They have to understand that this also can

Figure 6.1: *Level of agreement to statement 4*



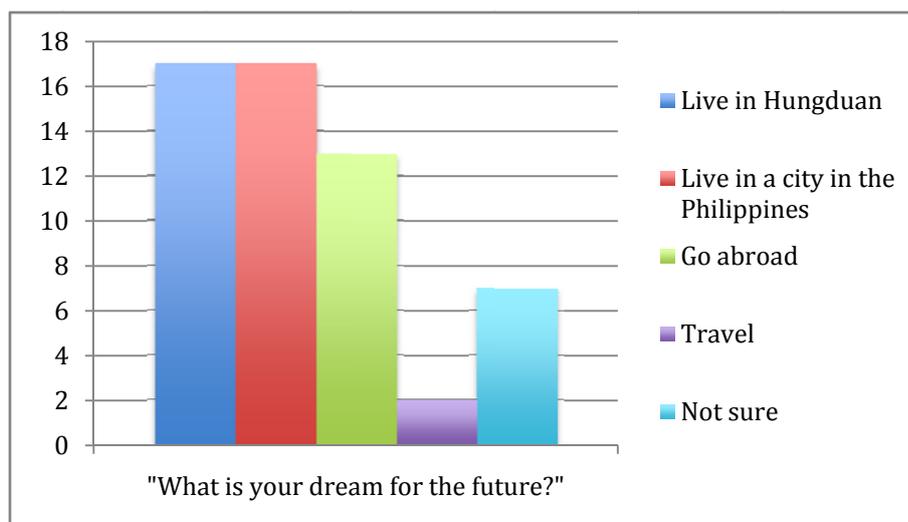
be a way to earn money. If we preserve the environment, the rice terraces and our culture, tourists will continue coming, and then, the people here will have an income.”

Thus, it can be said that there is an expressed hope that more knowledge about and interest in the indigenous Ifugao culture will lead to an increased interest in the survival of the rice terraces. And when examining the findings from the interviews and questionnaires in Hungduan, it is evident that the youth find the rice terraces very important. In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement to the statement “the Ifugao rice terraces are valuable, and it is important to me to take care of them”. Here, 37 out of 55 strongly agreed, while 14 agreed, and 4 neither agreed nor disagreed (figure 6.1). Also during the interviews, this trend was observable, as eight out of ten expressed that they believed the rice terraces were important.

However, they were reluctant to confirm any link between the festival and this interest. Instead, it was apparent that to them, the terraces were a source of food, and thus, a necessary part of their lives. As one of the two 17 years old girls said (“Ellaine”, 13 April 2011):

“The rice terraces are very important to us, because they are a part of our culture. And that’s also where we get our food. Without the rice terraces, we cannot survive.”

This means that it is unlikely that the youth become *more interested* in the rice terraces because of the festival, despite the fact that the festival made them more interested in the Ifugao culture.

Figure 6.2: *The youth's dreams for the future*

The findings presented above are interesting seen in the context of what the youth dream about for their future, which was the question posed in the final part of the questionnaire, the exact wording being *what is your dream for the future?* Here, three alternatives were listed, namely to live in Hungduan, to live in a city in the Philippines, and to go abroad. If none of these suited, the respondents were asked to use their own words to describe their dreams (figure 6.2).

17 of the respondents answered that they would like to live in Hungduan, while the same number said that they preferred a city in the Philippines. 13 wanted to go abroad, while two people dreamt about travelling around the world. The final seven respondents were not quite sure what they wanted for their future, and chose to choose two or three of the alternatives. Three wanted either to live in a city in the Philippines or to go abroad, for two people all the alternatives were possible, and for one person the choice was between going abroad and staying in Hungduan. The last person ticked the box for living in Hungduan, but wrote that he or she would prefer to live in a city in the Philippines if he or she was given the chance to do so.

When alternative two, three and four are combined together, it is evident that 32 of the respondents, which is equal to more than fifty percent, answered that they rather would leave Hungduan than live there (here, the answers including more than one alternative is excluded). It is reasonable to believe that this may contradict their wish to take care of the rice terraces, because when leaving the municipality, and especially the Ifugao province, there will automatically occur a distance (both literally and figuratively) between them and the rice terraces. In other words, these findings indicate

that some of the people who strongly care for the rice terraces, do not want to work in the fields as farmers themselves. And this, in turn, shows that the fact that the youth care about the rice terraces does not necessary help their survival.

The contrast between the positive answers on the statement regarding the importance of the rice terraces, and the youth's future dreams may also suggest that the positive feeling towards the terraces, and also the Ifugao culture, is a product of the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival. Because people from all *barangays* are gathered to celebrate their ancient culture together, it is possible that they feel a stronger connection to their roots at that time than what they do the rest of the year. When asked about the future, however, they were forced to think about what they really wanted for their lives, and then the respondents possibly figured that even though the Ifugao culture and rice terraces are important, other things are just as important, or even more.

That being said, it is evident that the Hungduan youth care about the Ifugao rice terraces, and that many of them understand that if they are to be saved, they have to participate in the caretaking of them. Almost a third of the questionnaire respondents believed they would stay in, or come back to, Hungduan to live their adult lives there, and seven people said they were not yet sure. In addition come the findings from the youth that were interviewed, where all the respondents could picture themselves in Hungduan in the future. While one said that his way of life was already decided, as he already was a farmer working in the fields of Hungduan, six of the others expressed clearly that what they are dreaming of is to come back to Hungduan when they are finished studying. One 15 years old girl put it like this (Shaevalee, 13 April 2011):

“I’m not dreaming of going abroad or anything like that. I want to serve my place.”

The two final respondents did not know what they dreamt about the most, but the thought of going back to their municipality was not foreign to them. As one of them, a girl aged 17, said (“Ellaine”, 13 April 2011):

“I might want another kind of work when I’m finished in school, but I still want to help out with the rice terraces. I consider them my wealth as an Ifugao, and I don’t want to loose them.”

It is not possible to rule out that this is a result of the increased interest in the traditional cultural practices, but it is just as likely that it is a result of growing up in a municipality where the rice cultivation still is central to the inhabitants' way of life. As described in chapter III, most of the working population in Hungduan are farmers, and

the land area of the municipality consists of high mountains, with much of the mountainsides covered by rice terraces. Naturally, the youth that grow up under these circumstances quickly learn to see the rice terraces as parts of their lives, and many of them learn how to do the work properly at an early stage. They know that this is where the family's money is coming from, and consequently, they know that without any rice terraces there would be no money.

All in all, the research findings from Hungduan show that the municipality's youth care about the Ifugao rice terraces, and find it important that they are taken care of. However, no evidence suggests that this is a result of an increased interest in the Ifugao culture caused by the *Tungoh ad Hungduan* festival. Furthermore, the youth's interest in the rice terraces does not necessarily mean that they want to stay in Hungduan to work in the fields themselves. However, a fair share reported that they wanted just that, and if these people maintain their interest in the Ifugao rice terraces, it is reasonable to say that it is still hope for the terraces' survival.

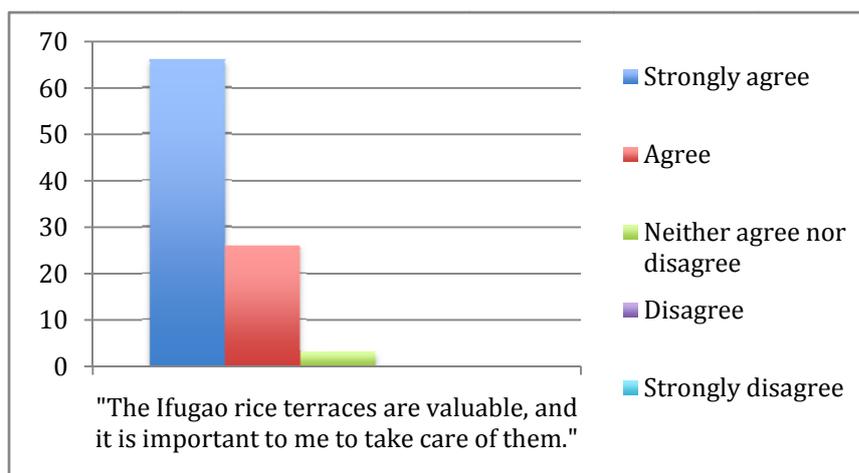
6.3 Lagawe

The findings from the previous chapters have shown that during the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival, the municipality's youth increase their indigenous knowledge, at the same time as they are becoming more interested in the Ifugao culture. The question now is whether or not this affects the youth's interest in the Ifugao rice terraces.

There is no doubt that the youth of Lagawe find the rice terraces important. When asked to indicate their level of agreement to the statement "the Ifugao rice terraces are valuable, and it is important to me to take care of them," 66 of the 95 questionnaire respondents strongly agreed, while 26 agreed. The final 3 persons did neither agree nor disagree (figure 6.3). In other words, almost 97 percent of the respondents saw the rice terraces as something valuable that they wanted to take care of.

This is somewhat surprising, as parts of Lagawe are categorised as urban, with Lagawe town being the capital of the Ifugao province. Also, as explained in chapter III, the particular clusters of rice terraces inscribed on the World Heritage List are not located in Lagawe, but in other parts of the province. Thus, it would not have been that remarkable if the research findings suggested a lower interest in the rice terraces in Lagawe, compared to the findings from Hungduan.

That being said, also Lagawe has rich traditions for rice cultivation, and in most of the municipality's *barangays*, farming is still the major source of income. Thus, it is

Figure 6.3: *Level of agreement to statement 4*

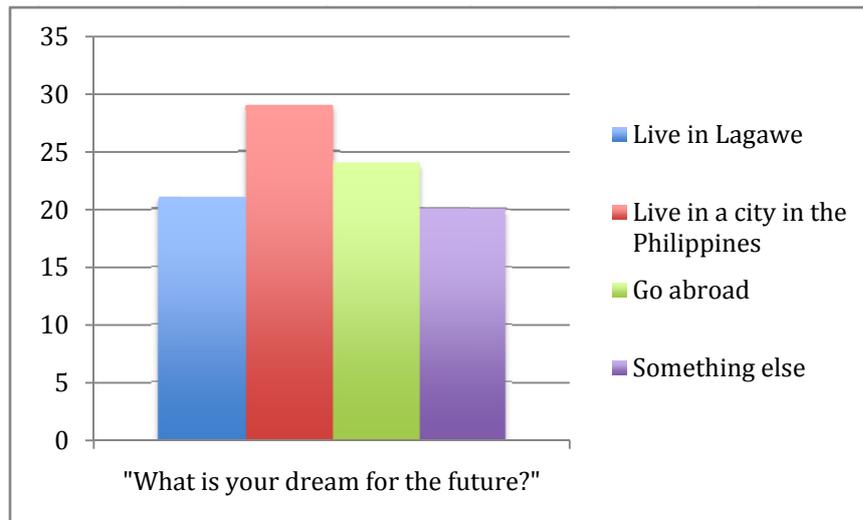
reasonable to believe that the youth that grow up in these areas quickly learn to see the rice terraces as natural parts of their lives, and many of them learn the secrets of farming at an early stage. As they know that this is where the family's money is coming from, they also understand that without any rice terraces there would be no money, and consequently, they learn that the rice terraces are important to them.

No evidence suggests that the youth's interest in the rice terraces was caused by the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival.

To a large degree the youth's dreams for the future contradict their wish to take care of the rice terraces. In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked what they dreamed about for their future, and three alternatives were listed: to live in Lagawe, to live in a city in the Philippines, and to go abroad. If none of these suited, the respondents were asked to use their own words to describe their dreams.

It is possible to divide the respondents into four more or less equal groups based on what they answered (figure 6.4). About one fourth (21 people) said that they dreamed about a life in Lagawe, while another fourth (29 people) wanted to live in a city in the Philippines. 24 respondents answered that they preferred to go abroad, while the final 20 either were not sure and consequently chose two or three of the alternatives, or they expressed another dream, e.g. to finish their studies (two persons) or to travel around the world (one person). 13 of the final 20 respondents included Lagawe in their answer, and therefore, it is reasonable to say that 34 of the respondents picture themselves in Lagawe in the future. This means that 62 of the respondents would prefer not to.

Thus, it is evident that some of the youth who find the rice terraces valuable and believes it to be important to take care of them, don't want to stay in their municipality

Figure 6.4: *The youth's dreams for the future*

to help out with this work. This may suggest that to secure the survival of the rice terraces, it is not enough to make the youth interested in them.

6.4 Comparison

Despite the differences between the two municipalities, e.g. Lagawe being more urban than Hungduan, and Hungduan being one of the locations for the Ifugao rice terraces inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List, the research findings concerning the youth's relationship towards the rice terraces were very similar.

First of all, on both locations, the young generations appeared to be interested in the survival of the Ifugao rice terraces, and it was evident that the rice terraces are important to them. This may be seen in the context of an increased interest in the Ifugao culture as such, caused by the festivals, but none of the findings on either of the locations suggested that. Instead the youth of Hungduan stressed that it was natural for them to be interested in the rice terraces, as they are their source of food and income. It is reasonable to believe that this goes for the youth of Lagawe too, given that the majority of the population in the rural *barangays* work as farmers.

However, even though the majority both places stated that it is important to them to take care of the rice terraces, most of the youth dream about a life outside their respective municipality. Thus, it is not given that a high level of interest in the rice terraces is enough to save them.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has examined if an increased interest in the Ifugao culture among the youth leads to an increased interest in keeping the rice terraces sustainable. Traditionally, the Ifugao society has evolved around the rice terraces. However, just as the cultural practices of the Ifugaos are vanishing, many of the rice terraces are in decay. This decay is closely related to the vanishing cultural practices, as all cultural practices of the Ifugaos have always been closely connected to the cultivation of rice, just as the cultivation of rice always has been closely connected to the culture.

Then followed the question whether or not this connection was transferrable to the youth's attitude towards the indigenous culture and the rice terraces, starting with Hungduan. First of all, it was evident that the youth found the rice terraces very important. However, they were reluctant to confirm any link between the festival and this interest. Instead, it was apparent that to them, the terraces were a source of food, and thus, a necessary part of their lives. This means that it is unlikely that the youth become *more interested* in the rice terraces because of the festival, despite the fact that the festival made them more interested in the Ifugao culture.

Even though the youth find the rice terraces important, the majority of them dream about a life outside Hungduan. That being said, a significant number of youths did expressed that if the rice terraces are to be saved, they too have to participate in the caretaking of them. It is not possible to rule out that this is a result of the increased interest in the traditional cultural practices, but it is just as likely that it is a result of growing up in a municipality where the rice cultivation still is central to the inhabitants' way of life.

Also in Lagawe, there was no doubt that the youth find the rice terraces important. This is somewhat surprising, as parts of Lagawe are categorised as urban, and as the particular clusters of rice terraces inscribed on the World Heritage List are not located in Lagawe, but in other parts of the province.

However, just as in Hungduan, no evidence suggests that the youth's interest in the rice terraces was caused by the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival.

Also like in Hungduan, the youth's dreams for the future to a large degree contradicted their wish to take care of the rice terraces. Thus, it is evident that some of the youth, who find the rice terraces valuable and believe it to be important to take care of them, don't want to stay in their municipality to help out with this work. Thus, it is not given that a high level of interest in the rice terraces is enough to save them.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study has analyzed how the young population in Ifugao is affected by the commercialization of their indigenous culture. By examining the experiences in the two municipalities Hungduan and Lagawe, it has discussed whether or not the commercialization brings the ancient culture closer to a survival, and also, whether or not this commercialization leads to an increased interest in the Ifugao rice terraces' sustainability among the youth. This final chapter provides the concluding remarks of the thesis. First, a summary is given, followed by a discussion. Finally, the limits of the study and further recommendations are outlined.

6.1 Summary

The Ifugao people inhabiting parts of the Cordillera mountains in the Northern Philippines is known as the creators of the 2000 years old Ifugao rice terraces, which were inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List in 1995. The last couple of decades, these rice terraces have been in decay, and therefore they are now on Unesco's list of World Heritage in Danger. At the same time, the performance of the indigenous Ifugao culture has declined. As a means both to attract more tourists, as well as keeping the Ifugao culture alive, the provincial and municipal governments in the Ifugao province have initiated yearly cultural festivals, celebrating events that traditionally have been important parts of the Ifugao way of life. Because the culture is being presented out of its original context, and because the festivals are being arranged to attract more visitors to the region, it is reasonable to say that the culture is being commercialized.

This thesis has examined how this cultural commercialization has affected the Ifugao youth, focusing on three research objectives: (1) to investigate how the cultural commercialization affects the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture, (2) to identify potential success and failure in arranging these festivals as a way to protect the ancient Ifugao culture, and (3), to examine if an increased interest in the Ifugao culture among the youth leads to an increased interest in keeping the rice terraces sustainable. The hypothesis was as follows: "By participating in the commercialized cultural festivals, the Ifugao youth increase their indigenous knowledge, and start viewing their ancient culture as an asset. Thus, the Ifugao youth's interest in keeping the ancient

culture alive grows, and the arranging of festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture. When the interest in keeping the Ifugao culture alive grows, so does the interest in maintaining the rice terraces. Therefore, the commercialization of culture serves as a way to keep the terraces sustainable”.

The research was conducted during a field trip to the Ifugao province in April 2011. Two municipalities were chosen for the study, namely Hungduan and Lagawe, which are two locations different from each other in terms of topography, accessibility, and population, and therefore suitable for a comparison, as well as for applying the findings to Ifugao as a whole. Because the future of the indigenous Ifugao culture is in the hand of the young generation, the Ifugao youth was chosen as focus group for the study.

The research methodology consisted of in-depth interviews with key-informants, a questionnaire distributed to the focus group, and observations before and during the two festivals *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and *Kulpi ad Lagawe*. During the conducting of this research, one major problem emerged, namely the difficulty of getting in touch with the youth. To overcome this, the questionnaire was handed out, making it possible to get opinions and views from a larger part of the young generation. The findings presented in this thesis are largely based on the Ifugaos' perceptions, thoughts and views. In the analysis, they are systemized to create arguments answering the three research objectives. Finally, the findings are analysed in the context of earlier literature, and thus, the findings are put in a broader picture.

While chapter I gave an introduction to the research topic and chapter II detailed the research methodology, chapter III portrayed the research locations. In chapter IV, V and VI, the research findings were presented and analysed.

Chapter IV related to the first objective of the thesis: to investigate how the cultural commercialization affects the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture. First, the cultural commercialization process was examined, starting with the *Tungoh ad Hungduan*. Traditionally, the term described a resting holiday, where working was considered a taboo, just like crossing the borders into a village where *tungoh* was celebrated. Today's festival, however, is totally different, and appeared commercialized. Even though the organizers do not have any economical gains from the festival, one of its objectives is to attract more tourists to Hungduan, and more tourists will eventually lead to more money. Additionally, some of the activities during the festival are contested, the best performances being awarded, and furthermore, the cultural practices

are being presented out of their original contexts, as parts of a program meant to entertain. Despite this, the people of Hungduan believe that the festival performances give a truthfully picture of the Ifugao culture. Their main argument is that even though the contexts have changed, the activities remain the same, e.g. the dances are danced the way they used to be danced and the ethnic sports played the way they used to be played.

The 2011 *Tungoh* festival was a six days event, where the first three days were designated to youth activities only, with a focus on modern sports. After these initial days, the main festival was opened, the first day being the central one, where the indigenous Ifugao culture was in focus. The youth in Hungduan did not appear affected at all by the fact that the indigenous culture presented at the *Tungoh* festival had been through a commercialization process. For them, this is one of few arenas where the cultural performances are showcased, and thus, they describe the festival as very important to them, because they get a chance to experience pieces of their ancestors' lives.

If the festival does not alter the way the Ifugao youth view their ancient culture, it does at least make them more aware of it, and through the festival, they increase their indigenous knowledge. Additionally, a majority reported that the festival makes them more interested in the culture, and this may suggest that they view the culture in a more positive light – as something exciting and important.

The term giving the name to the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival did traditionally describe a sacred ritual performed after the completion of the rice planting, the objective being to protect the rice from possible diseases by invoking ancestor spirits, gods and deities. During today's *kulpi*, however, no ritual is involved at all, and the term is reduced to a name only, chosen for the cultural festival more or less by chance. Also at this festival, the cultural practices presented are being performed out of their original contexts. The impression that a commercialization process is taking place is strengthened by the fact that most of the practices are being performed as contests with money awards awaiting the best performers. However, the mainstream belief among the inhabitants in Lagawe is that this commercialization process, and thus, the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival, does not affect the Ifugao culture negatively, but rather the opposite, as the festival helps them keep their culture alive. The 2011 *Kulpi* festival was a mix of traditional and modern activities. As many of the activities were organized at the same time, the audience had to decide what performances they wanted to watch. Two factors suggested that overall the Lagawe youth was positively affected by the

commercialization process that has resulted in *Kulpi ad Lagawe*. First, the youth reported that they increased their indigenous knowledge during the festival, and second, they said that the festival made them more interested in the Ifugao culture.

Chapter V related to the second objective of the thesis, and thus, identified potential successes and failures in arranging commercialized festivals as a way to protect the ancient Ifugao culture. In Hungduan, three factors were presented as indicators that the *tungoh* festival was a success: First, the youth was very participative during the festival, and the most important thing for them when they were there, was to learn about and experience the indigenous Ifugao culture. Second, the findings indicated that the festival creates a climate where the indigenous Ifugao culture is nurtured, and consequently the positive feelings towards this culture flourish. And third, the festival was believed to serve as a motivation factor pursuing the youth to practice their indigenous culture, and then, during the festival, show their co-inhabitants what they have learned elsewhere. On the other hand, three potential failures were evident. First, it is possible that the positive relationship between the youth and the indigenous culture is a product of the festival only, and may disappear when the youth return to their everyday life. Second, the fact that some of the performances are awarded makes it difficult to know the participants' motivation for joining the activity. Third, the indigenous cultural performances are being presented out of their original context during the festival. Therefore, it can be argued that the impressions the youths get of their culture differ from the real Ifugao culture, or more precisely, the Ifugao culture as it used to be.

In Lagawe, it was not possible to conclude that the festival was a success by looking at the youth's level of participation, as only half of the respondents took part in any of the activities. While some appeared very enthusiastic, others were not interested in the indigenous culture at all. However, this does not automatically mean that the *Kulpi* is unsuccessful in engaging the youth in the indigenous culture. The majority reported that learning about and experience the Ifugao culture was the most important thing for them during the festival, and this suggests that the festival is a success in terms of keeping the culture alive, despite the fact that many choose to watch the performances instead of participate themselves.

Two factors put a limit to this success, both of them being of organizational character. First, many of the activities happened at the same time. Thus, the audience had to choose what they wanted to watch. This suggests that only the youth already

interested in the Ifugao culture would learn more about their ancient traditions during the festival, as the ones not interested might prefer to watch their friends play volleyball or basketball. Second, a money award was waiting for the best performers in each category. It may be argued that the money awards at least ensure that the indigenous activities are being performed, and that the prizes lead to more people participating. On the other hand, the awards make it hard to know *why* the participators are being involved – is it because of the money, or is it because they are actually interested in the continued remembrance of the Ifugao culture. However, the findings suggest that the latter is closest to the truth, as all except one of the questionnaire respondents found their indigenous culture valuable. Consequently, it is possible to suggest that the part of Lagawe youth that participated in the indigenous activities, did so because these activities were important to them, and because they wanted to contribute to the continued survival of the Ifugao culture. Comparing the findings from Hungduan and Lagawe, it was evident that both of the festivals appeared successful in protecting the Ifugao culture, but that more possible failures were evident in Lagawe.

Chapter VI dealt with the third and final objective of the thesis: to examine if an increased interest in the Ifugao culture among the youth leads to an increased interest in keeping the rice terraces sustainable. As all cultural practices of the Ifugaos have always been closely connected to the cultivation of rice, just as the cultivation of rice always has been closely connected to the culture, it was assumed that an increased interest in the culture would automatically lead to an increased interest in the rice terraces. However, even though it was evident that the youth in Hungduan found the rice terraces very important, they were reluctant to confirm any link between the festival and this interest. Instead, it was apparent that to them, the terraces were a source of food, and thus, a necessary part of their lives. This means that it is unlikely that the youth become *more interested* in the rice terraces because of the festival, despite the fact that the festival made them more interested in the Ifugao culture. Even though the youth found the rice terraces important, the majority of them dream about a life outside Hungduan. That being said, a significant number of youths did express that they understood that if the rice terraces are to be saved, they have to participate in the caretaking of them. It is not possible to rule out that this is a result of the increased interest in the traditional cultural practices, but it is just as likely that it is a result of growing up in a municipality where the rice cultivation still is central to the inhabitants' way of life.

Also in Lagawe, there was no doubt that the youth found the rice terraces important. This was somewhat surprising, as parts of Lagawe are categorised as urban, with Lagawe town being the capital of the Ifugao province, and as the particular clusters of rice terraces inscribed on the World Heritage List are not located in Lagawe, but in other parts of the province. However, just as in Hungduan, no evidence suggests that the youth's interest in the rice terraces was caused by the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival. Also like in Hungduan, the youth's dreams for the future to a large degree contradicted their wish to take care of the rice terraces. Thus, it is evident that some of the youth who find the rice terraces valuable and believe it to be important to take care of them, don't want to stay in their municipality to help out with this work. Thus, it is not given that a high level of interest in the rice terraces is enough to save them.

6.2 Discussion

Starting out, the hypothesis for this research was as follows: "By participating in the commercialized cultural festivals, the Ifugao youth increase their indigenous knowledge, and start viewing their ancient culture as an asset. Thus, the Ifugao youth's interest in keeping the ancient culture alive grows, and the arranging of festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture. When the interest in keeping the Ifugao culture alive grows, so does the interest in maintaining the rice terraces. Therefore, the commercialization of culture serves as a way to keep the terraces sustainable".

As this thesis has shown, the young generation in Hungduan and Lagawe increase their indigenous knowledge by participating in the commercialized cultural festivals *Tungoh ad Hungduan* and *Kulpi ad Lagawe*. However, whether or not this increased indigenous knowledge leads to the Ifugao youth starting to view their indigenous culture as an asset is a more complex question in need of examination. Two factors make it reasonable to say that the Hungduan and Lagawe youth find their indigenous culture valuable, and that this feeling increases during the festivals. First, the majority of the youth reported that they were more interested in the Ifugao culture than what they were before because of their respective festival. Second, an even greater majority agreed that the Ifugao culture is valuable, and said that it was important for them to take care of it.

Yet, to say that the youth "start viewing" their ancient culture as an asset during the festivals is an overstatement. Many of the respondents argued that the Ifugao culture was very important to them, and it is unlikely that this was something they just had

figured out. Even though the traditional cultural practices of the Ifugaos are seldom performed in their original contexts anymore, there do exist other arenas where the indigenous knowledge is being transferred from one generation to the next. Both through grandparents and parents, the schools and other activities, many youths learn about their culture, and it is quite possible that these factors also leads to the youth viewing their indigenous culture as an asset.

Thus, it's more correct to say that the youth's feeling that their indigenous culture is an asset becomes stronger during the festivals.

Then follows the question whether or not the increased indigenous knowledge and the stronger feelings towards the indigenous culture leads to an increased interest in keeping this culture alive. This research suggests that it does, as the absolute majority of the respondents both in Hungduan and Lagawe said that it was important to them to take care of the Ifugao culture. The most obvious way to take care of an intangible ancient culture is to continue performing it, and when it is performed, it is kept alive. Furthermore, the fact that learning about and experience the traditional Ifugao culture was the most important thing for the respondents during the festivals, suggests that the Ifugao youth are interested in learning about their culture and about how the different practices are performed. This also suggests that they want to keep their ancient culture alive. Yet, to measure whether or not this interest increases during the festival is difficult. However, the fact that most of the respondents agreed to the statement "because of the festival, I am more interested in Ifugao culture than I was before" may indicate that they also became more interested in keeping their culture alive.

Then comes the question if the above given conclusions means that the arranging of the cultural festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture. At least one factor suggests that this is most likely true. It is evident that when the youth increase their cultural knowledge, participate in traditional performances and learn how the performances are to be done, they consequently learn more skills they at a later stage can transfer to new groups of youth. As long as the Ifugao culture is being transferred like this, from one generation to the next, or from one person to another, the culture is being remembered and kept alive. Apparently, the cultural festivals serve as appropriate arenas for this transferring of knowledge, most of all because such a great part of the municipalities' young populations takes part in the events. Therefore, it can be said that the arranging of the festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture.

However, here it is necessary to remember the youth's dreams for the future, as so many said that they wanted to leave their home municipality in favour of a larger Filipino city or another country. If they fulfil these dreams, it is important to ask whether or not it is likely that they bring their ancient culture with them to their new home. Of course, the answer to this question will vary from person to person, but it is realistic to believe that the majority will try to adapt to the culture dominant in their new city or country. This does not mean that they will forget their own culture, but it is sensible to think that they seldom will practice it. This, in turn, suggests that even though the youth appear enthusiastic towards their culture during the festival, it is not given that this enthusiasm will last. It is important to remember that we are talking about young people with their life in front of them, and in the modern society, living a global life is becoming more and more normal. To think that the Ifugao youth will refrain from taking a part in such as society if they get the opportunity is not realistic.

That being said, it is still correct to conclude that the cultural festivals serve as a way to protect the Ifugao culture. However, it is reasonable to believe that more measures have to be taken to ensure that this protection will last.

As explained in detail in chapter VI, there is an uncontested connection between the Ifugao culture and the rice terraces, and that makes it reasonable to believe that when the interest in one of the parts grow, so does the interest in the other. However, the research findings suggest that this is a too straightforward conclusion. True enough, there is no doubt that the young generations in Hungduan and Lagawe are interested in the rice terraces, as the majority both places reports that the rice terraces are important, and also that it is important to take care of them. Not so certain, however, is it that this interest is caused by the festivals, or that the festivals in any way affect the youth's view of the rice terraces. This is of course a possibility, but it is just as likely that the interest is a natural product of the environment the youths have grown up in. For most of them, the rice terraces have been their source of food and income, and therefore, it is reasonable that they see the terraces as valuable.

Still, it seems realistic that also the interest in the rice terraces increases at least a little when the focus is turned towards the Ifugao culture. When the youth learn more about their indigenous culture, they cannot avoid becoming more aware of the connection between this culture and the rice terraces. Consequently, they may see that the rice terraces are valuable in other terms than as a source of food, and knowing that their survival is threatened, they may become more interested in working in the fields

themselves, making sure that they are maintained and kept sustainable. However, none of the respondents expressed these views during the field study, and thus, even though the line of thought seems reasonable, it may take a while for the youth to reach this point.

In any case, it is wrong to conclude that when the interest in keeping the Ifugao culture alive grows, so does the interest in maintaining the rice terraces. However, it is reasonable to suggest that this may happen over time.

When these findings are to be discussed in a broader context, three aspects are interesting, and that is, number 1, what the research findings say about the Ifugao society as a whole, number 2, how these findings relates to the already available literature on the subject, and number 3, how the two theoretical frameworks introduced in chapter I, namely Cohen's theory on cultural commoditization and Menike's theory on people's empowerment, can be applied to the research findings.

Beginning with factor number 1, it is necessary to investigate whether the findings resulting from two of the eleven municipalities in Ifugao can be applied to the rest of the province. One factor suggesting that they can is that the two municipalities chosen as research locations are quite different. While Hungduan is the smallest municipality of the eleven in the province measured by population, Lagawe is the fourth largest, and while Hungduan consists of tall mountains covered by steep rice terraces, some of them inscribed on the Unesco World Heritage List, Lagawe is located at a lower altitude, and even though there are both mountains and rice terraces in Lagawe too, parts of it have to be considered urban. In other words, these two municipalities represent two very different parts of the Ifugao province. Even so, the research findings remain similar, and this suggests that the findings may be applied to the rest of Ifugao as well.

However, there is one exception to this, and that is the municipality of Banaue, the tourist centre of the province. As the literature reviews in chapter I showed, other scholars have concluded that the cultural commercialization taking place in Banaue affects the Ifugao culture negatively, the main argument being that the culture is presented only to please the many tourists, and thus, the original meaning of the practices disappears. Still, the literature does not concern the *youth* particularly, so it is not possible to conclude that the Banaue youth don't increase their indigenous knowledge by participating in the festivals arranged in that municipality. Yet, the

findings suggest that there is a possible distinction between the situation in touristy Banaue and in the rest of Ifugao province.

That being said, only 12 percent of the inhabitants of Ifugao live in Banaue, as mentioned in chapter III. Thus, the absolutely majority lives elsewhere. If we do conclude that the research findings from Hungduan and Lagawe may be applied to the rest of the province except Banaue, we do at the same time say that the findings may be applied to the majority of the Ifugaos. This, in turn, leads us to the following conclusion: By participating in the commercialized cultural festivals, the Ifugao youth increase their indigenous knowledge, and their feeling that their ancient culture is an asset becomes stronger. Thus, the Ifugao youth's interest in keeping the ancient culture alive grows, and the arranging of festivals serves as a way to protect the Ifugao culture. An increased interest in keeping the Ifugao culture alive may over time lead to an increased interest in maintaining the rice terraces. If so, the commercialization of culture will serve as a way to keep the terraces sustainable.

These findings are important because they show that cultural commercialization may help the survival of the Ifugao culture. As this thesis has shown, the practice of various cultural customs in Ifugao has decreased the last couple of decades, and most parts of the culture are seldom being performed in their original contexts anymore. Because this is a result of times that are changing, it is unrealistic to believe that this process can be reversed. Therefore, it is necessary to find new arenas where the ancient culture can be practiced, so as to make a continued remembrance of the Ifugao culture possible. These findings demonstrate that the commercialized municipal festivals may serve as such arenas. This, in turn, indicates that the municipal- and provincial authorities, which are the initiators of these festivals, are moving in the right direction in their work to save the Ifugao culture.

The conclusion that cultural commercialization helps the survival of the Ifugao culture, is not transferrable to the rice terraces, at least not directly. That being said, it seems realistic that also the interest in the rice terraces increases at least a little when the focus is turned towards the Ifugao culture.

Still, neither to save the Ifugao culture nor the rice terraces is the arranging of commercialized festivals enough. When the youth dream about leaving the province, it is unlikely that an annual festival will make them change their mind, even though their cultural interest increases during these events. The possibility that the enthusiasm towards the Ifugao rice terraces, and also the Ifugao culture, is a product of the festivals

and the togetherness they create there and then, also suggests that the high level of interest may be a passing phenomenon. Therefore, more measures need to be taken for the Ifugao culture and the rice terraces to survive.

Moving on to aspect number two, relating these findings to the already available literature on cultural commercialization in Ifugao, a couple of factors are interesting. First of all, it is evident that this thesis contradicts the study conducted by Bulilan concerning the touristy town of Banaue. As described in chapter I, Bulilan argues that tourism has led to cultural commercialization in Banaue, and that this, in turn, has led to what he calls a *desacralization* of the Ifugao culture. As he puts it:

“Systems of meaning have been altered to please the visitors – meanings which are essential for the preservation of the cultural identity which holds the Ifugao of Banaue together as a people. Such disorganization and falsification of meanings threaten the culture with collapse” (Bulilan, 2007:28).

Bulilan’s conclusion is very different from what this thesis has shown. True, also the evidence of this research has illustrated that some of the original meanings attached to the cultural practices disappear when the practices are being performed during the commercialized festivals. However, it appears that this is more a result of the simple fact that the practices are performed on a festival, and not in the contexts they originally were performed in, than a result of a wish to please the visitors. The fact that the absolute majority of the participants and audience during the festivals are Ifugaos strengthens this line of thought.

It is also important to take into account that the practices of the Ifugao culture seldom are performed in their original contexts anymore, and thus, for the culture to survive, it is necessary with other arenas for performance. Therefore, it is reasonable to believe that instead of threatening “the cultural identity which holds the Ifugao (...) together as a people,” the festivals strengthen this relationship, and serve as gathering-points, where the Ifugaos meet each other to practice their culture and remember how the Ifugao world looked before the modern society made its entry.

However, in this regard there are two elements of Bulilan’s study that have to be mentioned. First, it is evident that his point of focus is the religious aspects of the Ifugao culture, and second, the study concern Banaue – the tourism centre of the Ifugao province. Looking at the first point first, it is obvious that commercialization of religious rituals has other consequences than commercialization of other cultural practices, e.g. dances, songs, and sports. This was evident in Hungduan too, where the

hulin ritual was a staged performance only, with apparently no original meaning attached at all. However, also here, it has to be taken into account that the majority of the Ifugaos now are Christians, and the rituals of their ancient religion are seldom practiced anymore. This does not mean that it is inevitable that the ancient rituals are commercialized, and it does not defend a so-called *desacralization* of them, but it does suggest that it is not necessary the wish to entertain tourists and visitors that causes this process, but the simple fact that the times are changing.

Looking at the second point, it has to be noted that is reasonable to believe that the situation in Banaue, which received 85 percent of the tourist arrivals in Ifugao in 2006, differ from the situation in the rest of the Ifugao province. Thus, it is no reason to doubt that Bulilan's conclusion portrays the reality in Banaue town. This, in turn, leads us to the conclusion that the rest of Ifugao may experience cultural commercialization more positively than the town of Banaue.

Thus, this thesis confirms the assumptions made by the non-governmental organization Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMO) and presented in Unesco's report, which also was reviewed in chapter I, where it was argued that the other municipalities of Ifugao have the possibility to learn from Banaue, and not copy what has gone wrong in that town. Furthermore, SITMO states that there do exist positive impacts of cultural commercialization, and that the revival of vanishing cultural practices and the transfer of cultural knowledge and skills from one generation to the next are two of them. This has been confirmed by this thesis.

As we have seen, the findings of this thesis are important because they present cultural commercialization as one possible solution for how the Ifugao culture may survive. However, this is a conclusion useful also for other parts of the world where minorities are working to save their indigenous culture. As long as the commercialization does not get out of hand, which may happen if entertainment takes over as the solely focus point of the festival at the expense of the cultural practices, it is reasonable to believe that also other groups of people would see positive results from such a process.

This leads us to aspect number 3, focusing on how the two theoretical frameworks introduced in chapter I can be applied to the research findings. First, it is interesting to look at Menike's theory on people's empowerment, and useful to remember what Menike believed should be the main strategy for organizations and agencies with a goal of empowering poor people:

“If you want to empower the Poor, please first trust the Poor. Have confidence in the people’s knowledge and wisdom. The People can teach you – and not the other way around. Please do not come to teach the Poor and impose your values and strategies on us because of your false notion that the Poor are ignorant, lethargic, and need to be shaken up. Don’t insult the Poor. Allow the People’s Movements to take their own decisions, and to plan and manage their resources. Let the Poor seek solutions to their own problems” (Menike 1993:181).

This theory is applicable to the cultural commercialization in Ifugao because there are the Ifugaos themselves who have initiated the cultural festivals, and not any outsiders trying to do what they believe is the best for the Ifugao society. Out of this follows that it is the Ifugaos’ knowledge and wisdom that make up the basis for the festivals, and it is the Ifugaos who occupy the role as teachers. No outsiders are imposing their values on the Ifugaos, trying to make them organize the festivals this way or that way. It is the Ifugaos themselves that make the decisions, and it is them who plan and manage the resources.

According to Menike, this strategy is a recipe for success when it comes to empowering the poor. As this research shows, it can also be relevant regarding commercialization of indigenous cultures. As long as it is the indigenous group of people themselves that is in charge of the process, deciding what parts of their culture it is okay to include in a festival program and what parts it is best to exclude, it is likely that the remembrance of the culture remains in focus, and not the wish to entertain. This, in turn, makes it reasonable to believe that when the festivals will contribute to keep the indigenous cultures alive, instead of making up just another threat to their survival.

Some studies concerning cultural commercialization in other parts of the world support this theory, as the literature reviews in chapter I showed. There, Picard’s research from Bali was presented, where he concluded that cultural commercialization can be seen as a phenomenon contributing to the continued survival of indigenous traditions, as well as a phenomenon threatening them. The key to achieve the first, and not the latter, was the existence of awareness among the local inhabitants concerning what parts of the culture that “might be commercialized for the tourist market, and those which should not” (Picard, 1990:62). The work of Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos, also reviewed in chapter I, strengthens this theory, as they found that an ethnic minority community in Honduras was suffering culture loss not simply

because their culture was made available for tourists, but because they were not in control of the cultural commercialization process themselves (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004:135-157).

Out of this follows that if no awareness towards how the culture is being commercialized is present, the consequences of the process might be devastating to the indigenous culture in question. If we apply this line of thought to the findings of this thesis, it might be suggested that if it was not the Ifugaos themselves who were in charge for the festivals, it is possible that the outcome would have been different.

Finally, it is interesting to apply Eric Cohen's theoretical framework to the findings of this thesis. Briefly summarized, Cohen had noticed that earlier studies often concluded that commoditization engendered by tourism destroys the meaning of cultural products for both the tourists and the locals. He, however, did not believe that this conclusion reflected the reality, and in his paper he presented what he called a more realistic conclusion:

“Commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions. Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before and external public. However, old meanings do not thereby necessarily disappear, but may remain salient, on a different level, for an internal public, despite commoditization” (Cohen, 2004:102).

In other words, even though an indigenous culture goes through a process of commercialization, it does not necessary mean that the traditional meanings of this culture disappear. By presenting cultural practices in a new context, the practices will possibly acquire new, additional meanings for the locals, as the new context represents a form of change in their society. However, it is still possible to keep and take care of the original meanings as well.

Cohen's theory is transferrable to the findings of this thesis. As the conclusion shows, the Ifugao youth increase their indigenous knowledge by participating in the municipal festivals, and their feeling that their ancient culture is an asset becomes stronger, despite the fact that the culture has been through a commercialization process. Thus, even though the context has changed and new meanings consequently have been attached to the practices, the original meanings remain, at least for most of the practices presented. As long as the performers and audience know that the dance they

are dancing or watching used to be a wedding dance, the original meaning of the dance will remain attached, and consequently, it does not matter that it is being danced on a festival, instead of a wedding. The same goes for the songs – as long as it is made known when the particular song used to be sung, it does not matter that the festival provides another setting, because the original meaning will still be attached to the performance.

However, there are examples showing that there exist exceptions to this theory, one being the performing of rituals connected to ancient religion as mentioned above, and another being the playing of ethnic games. While the games used to be methods of conflict solving, where the outcome of the contest decided the winner and the loser of a larger conflict, they are now performed as games only. As a modern system of governing has taken over for the traditional use of customary laws in Ifugao, few of the youth of today has experienced the traditional form for conflict solving. Because the differences between the traditional ways and today's government system are so great, it may be difficult for the youth to grasp the original meaning of the contests, and thus, the new meaning – that the games are games only – might end up being the dominant one. Yet, this cannot be seen as a result of the commercialization process as such, but rather, again, a consequence of the transition to a modern society.

6.3 Recommendations

As this thesis has demonstrated, the commercialized cultural festivals in Ifugao increases the indigenous knowledge among the participating Ifugao youth, and the youth also become more interested in their ancient culture during the festival. Thus, it can be said that the festivals contribute to the protection of the Ifugao culture. However, because it is possible that the increased level of interest that occurs during the festival is volatile, more has to be done to secure the survival of the culture.

One key seems to be to arise the youth's interest in their indigenous culture at an earlier stage. Thus, it is recommended that training in traditional cultural practices is integrated in the education system as early as possible. However, training in the practices is not enough, because the children and youth need to learn *why* the practices are taking place at all. If the youth are to understand that the future of their ancestors' culture lays in their hands, they have to learn at an early age both how the life of an Ifugao used to be, and how that society has developed into the world they see today. This teaching has to be made interesting, so as to awake the curiosity among the

younger generations. More research has to be conducted to learn how such an educational program should look and how it should be carried out. In this process, it is recommended that the children's and youth's ideas and thoughts are listened too and emphasized when the education program is created.

Some programs are on their way, among them a textbook concerning the Ifugao culture to be used in school, and an optional "school of traditions and culture," where those who are interested may enrol for e.g. a five days course, where elders teach the youngsters about various cultural practices. These are all welcomed initiatives.

As demonstrated in this thesis, it is possible that an increased interest in the Ifugao culture will lead to an increased interest in keeping the Ifugao rice terraces sustainable, at least over time. However, this connection is fragile, as the youth who grow up in a modern society carry other dreams than what their ancestors did. Even though the youth may be interested in the survival of the rice terraces, it is unlikely that they will give up their dreams and possibilities to succeed in their chosen carrier to work in the fields just as their parents and grandparents. Therefore, the Ifugao society faces a great challenge: How to arise the interest in the maintenance of the rice terraces among the younger generations? Also here, a thoroughly study is recommended, where the youth, their thoughts, views and ideas are identified and listened to. This research has shown that the interest in the continued survival of the rice terraces exists, and that the youth do find the terraces both valuable and important, and now, the task is to figure out how this knowledge can be used to further increase the level of interest. The only way to do this is to involve the youth in question.

6.4 Limitations of Study

This thesis concerns the Ifugao youth, which makes up only one part of the Ifugao society. Consequently, it does not cover all effects of commercialization on the Ifugao culture, but merely how this process affects one group of people – the youth. Naturally, cultural commercialization is a complex phenomenon, and further research is required to get a complete picture of how it affects the Ifugao society as a whole.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

The following is a list of the people interviewed in Hungduan and Lagawe during the field study in April 2011. Some of the respondents did not wish to reveal their real name, and in these cases, a nickname is used, indicated by quotation marks.

“Ana Cris” (Lagawe youth)
“Analou” (Lagawe youth)
April (Hungduan youth, 20)
Bandao, Mauro (Municipal officer, Hungduan)
Benedict (Hungduan youth, 21)
Bumangabang, Hilario T. (Hungduan mayor)
Bumangabang, John (Hungduan)
Bumanghat, Cherryl (Municipal planning officer, Lagawe)
Cabbigat, Ceasario D. (Lagawe mayor)
Canato, Julio (Lagawe elder)
“Ellaine” (Hungduan youth, 17)
Ferticia (Hungduan youth, 19)
Gayamo, Ronel (Ifugao youth politician)
“Grace” (Hungduan youth, 15)
Joel (Hungduan youth, 17)
Jovelyn (Hungduan youth, 20)
“Joy” (Lagawe youth, 15)
Lacbawan, Isabel (Hungduan elder)
Lacbawan, Phillip (Hungduan elder)
Maxie (Hungduan youth, 24)
Paggadut, Jimmy B. (Hungduan and Lagawe)
Pahiwon, Alejandro (Municipal administrator, Lagawe)
Palpag, Delio A. (Hungduan)
Patacsil, Renato (Head of Ifugao Cultural Heritage Office)
“Pia” (Hungduan youth, 17)

Pocdihon, Jose (Hungduan)

“Rechelle” (Lagawe youth, 16)

“Ruby” (Lagawe youth, 15)

Shaevalee (Hungduan youth, 15)

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

The following questionnaire was given to 160 young people in Ifugao – 60 in Hungduan and 100 in Lagawe. This particular questionnaire is the one that was given to the youth in Lagawe, and on the questionnaires handed out in Hungduan, the wordings were changed – Lagawe was changed to Hungduan, and Kulpi ad Lagawe to Tungoh ad Hungduan.

Name: _____ **Age:** _____ **From (barangay):** _____
In school (yes/no): _____ **If no, what are you doing:** _____

What are you doing at this year's Kulpi ad Lagawe (mark with an x):

Audience: _____ **Participant:** _____

What is most important for you during the festival?

(Please rate from 1 to 4, 1 being most important, and 4 least important)

Play/look at sports: _____

Compete with other barangays in various activities: _____

Learn about and experience my traditional culture: _____

Be with friends: _____

Please encircle how much you agree/disagree in the following statements:

By participating in Kulpi ad Lagawe I get new knowledge about the traditional Ifugao culture.

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree

Because of the festival, I am more interested in Ifugao culture than I was before.

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree

The Ifugao culture is valuable, and it is important to me to take care of it.

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree

The Ifugao rice terraces are valuable, and it is important to me to take care of them.

Strongly agree Agree Neither agree nor disagree Disagree Strongly disagree

What is your dream for the future?

To live in Lagawe: _____

To live in a city in the Philippines: _____

To go abroad: _____

Other (please specify): _____

THANK YOU!

APPENDIX C

POPULATION DETAILS: HUNGDUAN

The following numbers are taken from National Statistics Coordination Board of the Philippines, which are based on the population census of 2007 (NSCB, 2011c).

<u>Barangay</u>	<u>Population</u>
Abatan	832
Bangbang	700
Maggok	615
Poblacion	1486
Bokiawan	1155
Hapao	2218
Lubo-ong	966
Nungulunan	744
Ba-ang	885

APPENDIX D

TOURIST ARRIVALS IN IFUGAO PROVINCE 2003-2010

Out of the eleven municipalities in Ifugao province, only seven have experienced tourism in the period 2003 to 2010. Only these seven municipalities are included in the statistics.

2003

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	7,065	227	28,993	36,285
Hungduan			1,093	1,093
Kiangan			2,280	2,280
Lagawe			250	250
Mayoyao			377	377
Tinoc				
Total				40,285

2004

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	26,585	486	43,526	70,597
Hungduan	490		2,737	3,227
Kiangan	191		6,194	6,385
Lagawe			3,226	3,226
Mayoyao			1,610	1,610
Tinoc				
Total				85,045

2005

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	32,477	4,072	43,358	79,907
Hungduan	100		1,974	2,074
Kiangan	136		5,651	5,787
Lagawe		100	2,653	2,753
Mayoyao			320	320
Tinoc			33	33
Total				90,874

2006

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	24,025	3,727	50,332	78,104
Hungduan	2,956		3,955	6,911
Kiangan	2,877		3,045	5,922
Lagawe			1,343	1,343
Mayoyao			757	757
Tinoc				
Total				93,037

2007

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo			98	98
Banaue	37,435	3,502	39,441	80,378
Hungduan	5,903		5,898	11,798
Kiangan	2,698	230	4,338	7,266
Lagawe			1,555	1,555
Mayoyao			785	785
Tinoc				
Total				101,880

2008

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	48,074	4,634	41,666	91,802
Hungduan	3,795		2,536	6,331
Kiangan	3,400		3,513	6,913
Lagawe	723		1,478	2,201
Mayoyao			512	512
Tinoc			329	329
Total				108,088

2009

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	38,019	3,188	39,360	80,567
Hungduan	3,424		6,826	10,250
Kiangan	2,950		4,300	7,250
Lagawe	836		1,348	2,184
Mayoyao	409		1,025	1,434
Tinoc			507	507
Total				102,192

2010

Municipality	Foreign tourists	Overseas Filipinos	Domestic Tourists	Total
Aguinaldo				
Banaue	45,179	2,975	43,366	93,520
Hungduan	3,229		1,895	5,124
Kiangan	3,512	250	2,665	6,427
Lagawe	190	75	2,858	3,123
Mayoyao			1,145	1,145
Tinoc			638	638
			Total	109,977

(Source: Ifugao Provincial Tourism Office, 2011)

APPENDIX E

POPULATION DETAILS: LAGAWE

The following numbers are taken from National Statistics Coordination Board of the Philippines, which are based on the population census of 2007 (NSCB, 2011d).

<u>Barangay</u>	<u>Population</u>
Abinunan	504
Banga	144
Boliwong	1521
Burnay	961
Buyabuyan	434
Caba	846
Cudog	1500
Dulao	614
Jucbong	353
Luta	217
Montabiong	464
Olilicon	513
Poblacion South	980
Ponghal	363
Pullaan	321
Tungngod	853
Tupaya	515
Poblacion East	2175
Poblacion North	1893
Poblacion West	2202

APPENDIX F

PRIZES DURING KULPI AD LAGAWE 2011

Almost every activity performed during the *Kulpi ad Lagawe* festival was contested. The following is an overview of the money-prizes, awarded in each category. The information is taken from a poster posted outside the Lagawe municipal hall during the festival. The “w” indicates that a category was for women only, while the “m” indicates that it was for men.

PRIZES FOR KULPI AD LAGAWE 2011					
<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>PRIZE</u>	<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>PRIZE</u>	<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>PRIZE</u>
Ethnic parade 1 st	20,000	Volleyball (m) 1 st	5,000	Hanggul 1 st	700
2 nd	15,000	2 nd	4,000	2 nd	500
3 rd	10,000	3 rd	3,000	3 rd	300
Street dance 1 st	20,000	Hudhud youth 1 st	3,000	Bultong 1 st	2,000
2 nd	15,000	2 nd	2,000	2 nd	1,500
3 rd	10,000	3 rd	1,000	3 rd	1,000
Rice-wine 1 st	2,000	Hudhud adult 1 st	3,000	Uggub 1 st	300
2 nd	1,500	2 nd	2,000	2 nd	200
3 rd	1,000	3 rd	1,000	3 rd	100
Native dance 1 st	2,000	Ifugao song 1 st	2,000	Munbayu 1 st	1,000
2 nd	1,500	2 nd	1,500	2 nd	700
3 rd	1,000	3 rd	1,000	3 rd	500
Volleyball (w) 1 st	5,000	Tungngali 1 st	300	Munkolon 1 st	500
2 nd	4,000	2 nd	200	2 nd	400
3 rd	3,000	3 rd	100	3 rd	300
Guyudan (w) 1 st	3,000				
2 nd	2,000				
3 rd	1,000				

BIOGRAPHY

Anniken Renslo Sandvik was born in Arendal in Norway in 1985, but has lived most of her life in the country's capital, Oslo. She obtained her Bachelor degree in journalism from Griffith College in Dublin, Ireland in 2009. Before that, she was working as a journalist in the Norwegian local newspaper Dagbladet Finnmarken. In October 2009, she started her studies in the Master program in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University.