From Being to Becoming: Protests, Festivals, and Musical Mediations of Igorot Indigeneity

by

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For my parents, Edwin and Lenore

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Abstract

Case studies that highlight the complex musical lives of Igorots, a minority group from Northern Philippines, remain sparse in ethnomusicological studies on Philippine indigenous music. Due largely to colonial racial logics and postcolonial nationalism, scholarship on Igorot music has been driven by essentialism and an attachment to cultural purity; it refuses consideration of indigenous people as agents who engage contemporary realities. My dissertation confronts these issues by illuminating conflicting expressions of Igorotness demonstrated through past and present discourse and the case studies of two Igorot groups who performed in protests and festivals in the Philippines in 2017 and 2018. Compelled by clashing politics, diverse audiences, internal community frictions, and subjective desires, members of both groups grappled with their identities through musical performances in public and intimate settings. From their enactments, Igorotness emerged as at once commemorative, politically pointed, unconstrained by "tradition," and radically transformed. Adapting postcolonial analysis and theories on indigeneity, performance, and practice through historical critique and ethnography, I demonstrate that Igorotness is less a fixed category of difference than it is a field where identity is constantly contested. This work challenges dominant scholarship by disrupting canonical expressions of indigenous musical identity. It attends to musical performance as a tool for dialogically engaging various forms of Igorot self-awareness, and pieces together discrepant narratives to reveal a wide-ranging sense of human dynamism. I foreground Igorots' intricate trajectories and struggles for self-determination as seen in their musical lives.

This dissertation's chapters evoke dialectic tension, rupture, and continual emergence—each succeeding narrative unsettles those before it and carves out new possibilities for representation. Chapter One examines selected writings and scholarly-artistic movements from the Spanish and US colonial eras to the early twenty-first century. I investigate the influence of colonial and postcolonial cultural politics on the knowledge production of Cordillera music while outlining epistemic shifts in a gradual overcoming of essentialism. Then, I discuss contemporary Igorot musical practices, beginning with Igorot protest music, its hybridity, and historical and ideological footings in Igorot knowledge and Philippine leftist politics in Chapter Two. Chapter Three complicates this narrative, focusing on the cultural ensemble Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera (DKK) to reveal the vulnerability of Igorot protest musical practices to misreadings and disapproval by varied audiences. Analyzing opposing performance strategies that DKK employed in response to these issues, I demonstrate how both overt and unconventionally oblique references to Igorot activism strengthen political legitimacy. In Chapter Four, I turn to musical displays in state-sponsored indigenous community festivals. Tracing the practice's evolution from tactical exercises that supported US imperial control to celebrations of official self-governance, I portray festival performances as symbols of continuity and resistance that serve to reclaim Igorot heritage. Chapter Five unveils how festivals counteract grassroots notions of division, difference, and autonomy, and constrain Igorot self-expression. Delving into the experiences of delegates from the municipality of Sagada and an intimate, impromptu musical moment that affirmed their syncretic realities, I dismantle idealizations of festivals as spaces for Igorot empowerment.

Introduction

Two years ago, hundreds of people in the Cordilleras flocked to a local rural *barangay* (village) for a wedding celebration. By noon, after a marriage ceremony presided over by elders and a Christian church service, hundreds of guests—including friends, nuclear family, and extended relatives of the newlyweds from all over the region—had already cued-up at an area near the married couple's new residence for about two cups of rice, *etag*[1] flavored broth, *pancit* (noodles), and *dinuguan* (pork blood stew). This food was freshly cooked from the periodic, on-site slaughtering of pigs and packaged with folded paper plates in clear, cheap, yet practical, plastic bags. After obtaining the calorie-dense meal, which is common fuel for daily mountain living, guests scattered and sat around an outdoor space to enjoy reunions and good company. As is customary, men of all ages drank gin, brandy, *tapey* (native rice wine), and/or beer. By dusk, a few young men were already stumbling, struggling to stay upright, uncontrollably laughing, or spitting out slurred profanity. Emboldened, some of them approached the women, who, calmly sitting together, giggled and often shooed the men away. They reeked of alcohol and blurted hilarious nonsense.

Regardless of their state, however, the men—as the women—were eager to partake in traditional music-making. Somewhere indoors within the event's vicinity, highly respected *lakay*

[1] Aged, smoked, and salted pork from pigs slaughtered in ritual occasions. These days, etag are also produced outside ritual contexts and commercially sold.

(male elders) sat together to chant *ayyeng*.[2] They nodded in affirmation, slumped, and swayed from intoxication, which nourished their trance-like energies for a recitation that would go on until noon the following day. Standing near this indoor space, I heard the chants' muted drone to the occasion's outdoor happenings, which included speeches and the singing of *oggayam*[3] on the microphone by well-wishers from distant areas of the region, and performances on the *gangsa* (a set of flat graduated bronze gongs). Guests volunteered individually and in groups and formed spontaneous ensembles of six to seven whenever they could, sustaining the instruments' sonic momentum and honoring the music's ritual significance while also providing entertainment. With the rhythmic addition of a *tambol* (long, semi-goblet shaped drum), and *takik* (small iron bars) men and women executed the *takik, bugi-bugi,* and *pinanyuan*[4] courtship dances, enacting grace, persistence, sexual chemistry, and playing hard-to-get. *Pattong* renditions exuded masculinity and a bit of mischief in a performance by a group of adolescent boys. As opposed to smoothly maneuvering through the dance area, the lead performer teased his fellow gong players by initiating dizzying swerves and abrupt, unpredictable shifts in body positions. At one point, he crouched, got up and leaned back, and crouched again in rapid succession, with an ironic, furrowed-brow seriousness. These youthful impulses did not seem to offend the elderly, some of whom simply chuckled and shook their heads in response. Snappy and well-executed despite the antics, the act signified the gangsa's renewed salience to the younger generation.

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[2] *Ayyeng* are leader-chorus songs performed by elderly men in weddings and other similar feasts. The text, which is extemporaneous, refers to the occasion of performance, and the melody is executed according to flexible melodic formulae.

[3] An unaccompanied vocal chant sang by a solo performer in celebratory occasions.

[4] The *bugi-bugi* is the most fast-paced among these three dances. The *takik* takes its name from small iron bars of the same name. In the *pinanyoan*, women dance with a scarf, which their male partners attempt to take from them through a choreographed pursuit. The male dancer's obtainment of the object symbolizes an acceptance of his courtship and the conclusion of the dance.

A tense moment occurred due to the unusual addition of a live band. Musicians from nearby villages came together to play covers of novelty songs, country western popular music, and rock ballads in English and Ilocano. The band performed multiple sets of two to three tracks. Unaware of this arrangement, a group of men reached for the gangsa too soon. In an unfinished set, the band resumed playing with the lead gangsa player barely establishing the tempo. Dropping the instruments, the gong players stood idly in a corner and waited, confused, and slightly embarrassed. Apparently, it was the first time that the village employed this approach. Wedding organizers did not foresee nor discuss how a live band would affect the event, but the community never thought that such discussion was needed. Like open mic sessions at clubs and bars, musical performances at Cordillera weddings are highly participatory and not bound to rigid organization if they are at all planned, though this assumption stems from the knowledge that only staple repertoires would be performed. After a brief conversation among the event's organizers, one of the hosts announced that the band would play alternately with those who wish to perform on the gangsa. The resolution eased the conflict and restored the program without any objection. Besides, the event's attendees, as virtually any contemporary audience, would appreciate offerings of live popular music, as shown in the exchanges that followed. Band musicians took their share of the gongs, while others adapted pattong, takik, and bug-bugi choreography to the band's danceable tracks, gleefully shuffling their feet and flapping their arms (Fig. 1.1).

Indeed, the band enticed the audience into couples' slow dancing. At the signal of mellow intros, attendees paired up in front of the ensemble, creating moments akin to dreamy outdoor evening scenes in many popular films. These moments transformed the event into a less distinctive Igorot affair, prompting a resident to comment, *"Ay, parang yung dati ah"* ("Oh, it's

just like the old days"), implying the atypicality of the practice. Nevertheless, they offered an alternative, yet suitable, medium for merrymaking. Knowing what to expect after attending many local weddings, however, I realized this only after accepting a sneaky invitation to the dance. Shy and dreadful of being at the center of attention, I was observing the scene from the margins

Figure 1. 1 Attendees of a recent wedding at a rural Cordillera village adapt traditional choreography to a performance of novelty songs by a live band. Unless stated otherwise, all photos are by the author. August 4, 2019.

when Bangiyad, the barangay captain's wife, approached me. *"Uy, sayaw tayo!"* ("Hey, let's dance!") At first, I respectfully declined. *"Sige na, please?"* ("Come on, please?") she kept insisting. I agreed, finally, out of an avoidance of rudeness but also with the belief that it would make a special memory. And it did, though unexpectedly. Delighted, Bangiyad took my hand, but suddenly to passed it to someone else: a tall adolescent local who, as it turned out, had asked her to ask me for him. I did not know this person, though I recognized him as one of the men

who had earlier danced elegantly with gangsa. I have been deceived, I thought, recoiling from mortification as a teenage boy whisked me off to the dance floor amid teasing and suggestive grins. Little did I know that this move would grant visceral contact with the authenticity of a slow dance at an Igorot wedding in the Cordillera mountains. With an uncontrived air of conviction, he placed my hands on his shoulders, supported me by the waist, and proceeded to guide my movements. Swaying to his effortless lead and to the music's impositions, I yielded to a musical reality that need not be confined to ancestral traditions.[5]

Soon, gangsa regained prominence as dawn approached. When people packed up the venue the next day, the gongs would be stored back at the barangay government office. Daybreak signaled the end of festivities and music-making, and the resumption of everyday routines. The community would have to wait for the next occasion before they could sound the gongs once again. Reveling in the remaining hours amid a bluish, imminent morning, guests rushed to the instruments and formed one group after another. *"Mabalen! Pwede pa!"* ("We can still play!"), they exclaimed, checking the sky time and again. In these final moments, multi-pitched, interlocking clangs filled the air in a race against the sunrise.

Typically, weddings are significant occasions in many Igorot communities. They serve as a rite of passage that promises progress, and the continuity and strengthening of time-honored cultural values through the life of a growing family and a supportive congregation. A wedding's traditional importance persists, however, because of a porousness that makes room for new practices negotiated through exchanges among the people it gathers. A site of contestation at the heart of community life, the celebration above paints a microcosm of Igorot identity in flux and

[5] I say, "ancestral traditions" and in some places "ancestral musical traditions" to refer to local practices and musics that can be generally described as "native" or "non-Western" and for the lack of a better term for traditional music, but not without an awareness of the problematics of the terms "ancestral," "tradition," and even "music" in the context of indigenous practice.

hints at its latent potential in larger social fields. Contrary to their seeming incoherence, the musical scenes I describe are more than random occurrences at a reception of an Igorot couple's betrothal. They trace a series of interconnected musical events within the loose structure of a community occasion that allegorize the intricate inner workings of an Igorot self. Gangsa and chanting, conventional or otherwise, demonstrate an enduring sense of value for tradition, though varied according to performers' desires. The inclusion of a full band set-up appears to unsettle this resilience just as it presents new avenues for self-expression, cunning strategies for the refusal of self/other binaries, and the assertion of contemporary belonging. A return to convention does not undermine these affirmations. Rather, it re-establishes a foundation for a continually expanding musical world.

Musical fluidity and the shifting identifications that steer and spring from process and change pervade various arenas of Igorot life but remain mostly neglected in historical and ethnomusicological writings on Philippine indigenous music. Due largely to colonial racial logics and the lingering influence of postcolonial nationalism, scholarship on indigenous music has been motivated by essentialism and an attachment to cultural purity. Even recent monographs from the past five years manifest these tendencies, dwelling on "folk" structures, musical aesthetics, and worldviews.[6] A focus on the local is fundamental to decolonization, but it denies the nuanced backgrounds of the colonized. In addition, it serves the relentless reproduction of indigenous people as musicological Others and refuses a consideration of them as agents who engage present-day economic, political, personal, and social concerns. It is imperative, then, to transcend these limits, and practice "an attitude of critical openness," as

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[6] Among these are the recently published works *The Vocal Repertoire of the Ibaloi from Kabayan* (University of the Philippines Press, 2017), and *Síbod: Ideology and Expressivity in Binanog Dance, Music, and Folkways of the Panay Bukidnon* (Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2016).

James Clifford put it, that heeds indigeneity's "complex historical transformations and intersecting paths in the contemporary world."[7]

I pursue this path of inquiry by illuminating conflicting expressions of indigeneity demonstrated through past and present discourse and the case studies of two Igorot groups who performed in protests and a festival in the Philippines in 2017 and 2018. Compelled by clashing politics, diverse audiences, internal community frictions, and subjective desires, members of both groups grappled with their identities through musical performances in public and intimate settings. From their enactments, Igorotness emerged as at once commemorative, politically pointed, unconstrained by tradition, and radically transformed. The tensions between, within, and among their musical renderings demonstrate that Igorotness is less a fixed category of difference than it is a field where identity is constantly contested. This dissertation challenges dominant scholarship by disrupting canonical expressions of indigenous musical identity. It attends to musical performance as a tool for dialogically engaging various forms of Igorot self-awareness and pieces together discrepant Igorot narratives to reveal a wide-ranging sense of human dynamism. I foreground Igorots' complex trajectories by shedding light on their struggle for self-determination as seen in their musical lives.

Encountering Igorots

North of the Luzon group of Philippine islands, the Gran Cordillera Central Mountain range stands between Cagayan Province in the east and Ilocos Province in the west and stretches from the Cagayan-Ilocos Norte coast in the north down to the Lingayen Gulf in the southwest (Fig. 1.2). Six provinces comprise its 20,000 square kilometer land area: Abra, Apayao, Benguet,

[7] James Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013), 13.

Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain Province. Together, they make up what officially has been called, through Executive Order 220, the Cordillera Administrative Region since 1987. Scholars generally refer to people from this region collectively as "Igorot" and so have people across the Cordilleras who desire to highlight their shared regional identity. All Igorots, according to Jules DeRaedt, are distinguished by parallels in the use of a simple tool complex, swidden and paddy farming practices, headhunting, and leadership systems based on wealth and expertise in customary law.[8]

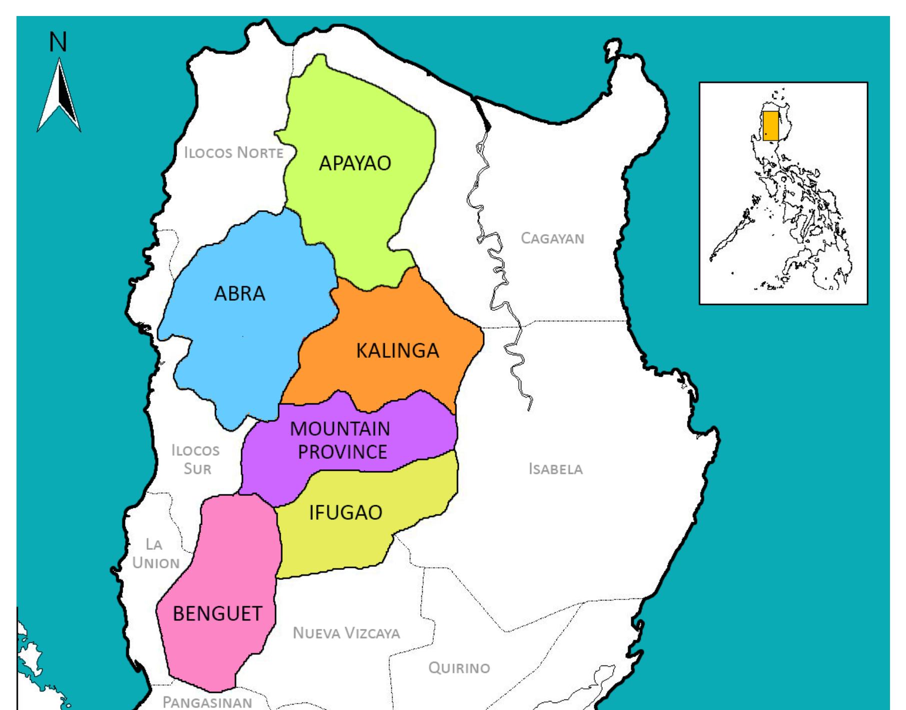

Figure 1. 2. Map of the Cordillera Region that highlights its six provinces (https://ati.da.gov.ph/ati-car/content/area-coverage).

A closer look at history reveals the various social and political impulses that conceived this name. Deirdre McKay and June Prill-Brett each propose two different etymologies for the

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[8] Jules DeRaedt, *Similarities and Life Styles in the Central Cordillera of Northern Luzon* (Baguio: University of the Philippines College Cordillera Studies Center, 1987), 13.

word "Igorot." On the one hand, McKay writes that the term joins the pan-Filipino word *"golod,"* which means mountain, with the prefix "i-," which means "people of." "Igorot" signals a geographical displacement from place of origin, and technically applies to so-called Igorots when they are outside their home turfs and are interacting with non-Igorots. In pre-Spanish times, people from the nearby lowland areas used the name for traders who came down from the mountains.[9] On the other hand, Prill-Brett suggests that the term comes from *"gerret,"* an Ilocano word that means "to slice or cut off."[10] Thus, the term may have had early associations with Igorots' practice of headhunting, which they have ended since the 1930s. It may have been conceived out of fear, intimidation, or as a plain distinction from other groups, depending on context.

When they came to the Philippines in the 1500s, the Spanish used "*Ygolotes"* (or *"Ygorotes,"* and later, *"Igorrotes"*) as a general label for the uncolonized peoples located at the northwestern Luzon coast immediately past the Ilocos region. Later, they deployed it to differentiate between upland peoples of Northern Luzon and other non-Igorot Philippine conquests. While they called their native conquests in the Philippines—as in the Americas—*"indios,"* they assigned specific terms based on religious differences and receptiveness to colonial authority. They retained this label to refer to lowland animist groups who were more vulnerable to religious conversion and colonial intimacy, named populations in the Philippine South that have converted to Islam as *"moros,"* and called non-Muslim animists *"infieles."* Spanish colonial officials supported indio resistance to moro and infiele expansions. In their desire to convert them, the Spanish documented descriptions of these two groups from their indio

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[9] Deirdre McKay, "Rethinking Indigenous Place: Igorot Identity and Locality in the Philippines," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 17, no.3 (2006): 294.
[10] Gerard Finin, *The Making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera Consciousness* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2005), 11.

(non-Igorot) allies, producing records from which soon emerged distinctions among Philippine natives.[11]

Further, Spanish production of Cordillera identity also aggravated enmity among Cordillera groups, which had existed before colonization. The Spanish received word about the presence of gold mines in the region. Questioning why the Catholic God bequeathed all that gold to “a hoard of naked savages,”[12] they declared war on Igorots who were based in what is now known as Benguet Province in pursuit of their precious metals in 1620. Oblivious to the specific differences among people they called *Ygorotes*, they attacked nearby areas, even those without goldmines. Spanish invaders inflicted the vilest most frequent incursions and raids on the foothill villages of the Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao, including nearby lowland communities. Those affected fled upwards to the mountains. Apart from causing a shortage of resources and frustration over the loss of land, this displacement resulted in heightened tensions among the populace.[13] This is one reason why not all Cordillerans accept the name “Igorot,” and that, as William Scott explains, it is perhaps more fitting to use the names of specific ethnolinguistic communities. But some people, like those who figure centrally in this present work—save for many in the Abra, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao provinces—have claimed the label, and in most cases have co-opted its derogatory meanings into empowering self-designations. The name signifies their empowered survival and political persuasions. The collective terms “Cordillera” and “Cordilleran,” in contrast, which I interchange with “Igorot” in this dissertation, are relatively neutral.

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[11] McKay, “Rethinking Indigenous Place,” 294.

[12] William Henry Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon,* revised ed. (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1974), 26-30.

[13] McKay, 295.

Meanwhile, other Spanish colonial policies also explain why Igorots stand out as Philippine internal others. The Spanish classified Igorots as *tribus independientes,* or "independent tribes." Yet, Igorots were only independent in the sense that they were unconquered people, and not formally tribes of an independent province. Igorots did not have tribal governments and tribe-based geographic boundaries. Thus, they did not fight "tribal" wars and defended Spanish attacks through isolated actions.[14] The label only served the expediency of indicating their general linguistic and cultural traits. Among themselves, Igorots have diverse social institutions, agricultural and settlement practices, and blurred geographic and cultural boundaries. Firm networks exist within villages and related villages, and varieties in language and custom occur from one locale to the next, without any sharp differences. Researchers in succeeding decades would apply the "tribe" classification and Igorots would later accept it, but, as Fred Eggan clarifies, this grouping has "little basis in native society."[15] Thus, the understanding that people who live by rivers, coastlines, and the uplands are equally "tribal" and "native" would soon be dismantled by local differences, which manifest into various forms of discrimination today.[16]

Although the present-day consequences of their invasion were grave, the Spanish did not fully conquer the Cordilleras. In their attempts to do so, they built numerous individual military posts called *commandancias politico militares* in various parts of the region throughout the nineteenth century. In 1846, they built one in Benguet, one in Lepanto in 1852, in Bontoc in

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[14] Scott, *The Discovery of the Igorots,* 3.
[15] Fred Eggan, "Cultural Drift and Social Change," *Cultural Anthropology* 4 (1963): 349.
[16] McKay, 294-95; Scott, 7.
My Igorot collaborators talk about lowlanders who comment that Igorots have tails. School modules and textbooks are also riddled with derogatory portrayals of Igorots and other minorities. More public instances involve famous people like Filipina actor and comedian Candy Pangilinan, who said "I'm not an Igorot. I'm a person!" during one of her stage shows, and more recently a belittling comment by Senator Imee Marcos who quipped "Maybe I can call on our Igorots" to co-opt Igorot cleansing rituals for her new office, which was previously occupied by vocal administration critic Senator Antonio Trillanes.

1859, Amburayan in 1889, and Cabugaonan and Cayapa in 1891. Through these commandancias, the Spanish aimed to control trade, establish tax-collecting districts, and initiate occupation, but the political success of these posts was never really determined. They fell from Igorot resistance and the sudden departure of the Spanish upon the arrival of US Americans in 1898.

Like their European precursors, US colonizers deployed the term "Igorot" as a marker of race, ties to place, and an inferior otherness. Adopting Spanish terminology, US colonizers used it to identify people living in the mountainous areas of Northern Luzon who resisted colonial mandates, especially Protestant conversion. Moreover, they described Igorots as "wild," "backward," and "uncivilized," and set them apart from the more heavily Hispanized lowlanders, whom US officials fondly characterized as the most "quiet" and "peaceful" people of the islands.[17] Convictions about Igorot identity and difference informed the unique colonial policies that would reconstruct the Cordilleras and forge a collective identity on its people.

Yet, US colonizers construed their treatment of Igorots as an act of benevolence, softening the façade of their brutal conquest. Altruistic sentiments inflected iterations of US colonial ideology, suggesting a moderate form of colonial intervention, as seen in early attempts at identifying natives. David P. Barrows, the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, favored scientific tidiness over ethnographic complexity in writing the 1903 census. But he attended to language, ties to place, and physical and socio-cultural characteristics, manifesting a perceptive meticulousness that starkly contrasted with vague Spanish accounts. Like Barrows, Zoologist Dean C. Worcester, who was reassigned to the Cordilleras for a plan to build a resort for US officials, nuanced his descriptions of Igorots. He wrote of their "savagery," but

[17] Finin, *The Making of the Igorot*, 27-29

considered that not all of them were "warlike;" Worcester sympathized that Igorot aggression was justified given their harsh treatment by the Spanish.[18] Later, he described an Igorot community as "a kindly, industrious, self-respecting silent tribe of agriculturists."[19] This positive, detailed attention evinced US colonizers' empathetic desire to better understand their new conquests. In relation, cataloguing Igorots into tribes manifested the US government's compassion—or more accurately, pursuit of redemption. Under US law, the category "tribe" was established to designate Native American groups based on the presence of a defined political structure and geographic attachment. Applied as a governance blueprint for the Philippines, Anne Paulet argues, this scheme of organization stemmed from guilt over the catastrophic Indian Wars that violently displaced Native Americans from the Great Plains.[20] Evidence from written personal accounts suggest that US officials in the Cordilleras, many of whom were posted to the Great Plains, expressed regret over the massacre of Native Americans.[21]

Further, US officials legitimized colonial violence through displays of Igorots intended to educate the public about white superiority as a scientific truth. Igorots were recruited to exhibit their dances, and rituals, particularly dog-eating, in settings like the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. A central attraction enclosed in a "village" alongside exhibitions that boasted of Euro-American innovation, Igorot imports at the fair provided physical evidence of barbarism and racial hierarchy, strengthening notions about the moral uprightness of US efforts and the need for Igorot domestication. Images of Igorots at the fair would soon circulate to a larger audience

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 33.
[20] Evidence from written personal accounts suggest that US officials in the Cordilleras, many of whom were posted to the Great Plains, expressed regret over the catastrophic genocides of Native Americans.
[21] McKay, 297.
Anne Paulet details how US policies on Native Americans served as a basis for the treatment of the Cordillera people in her PhD thesis "The Only Good Indian is a Dead Indian: The use of United States Indian policy as a guide for the conquest and occupation of the Philippines, 1898-1905."

through the *National Geographic* Magazine, whose travelogue tradition celebrated US imperialism, yet also transfigured Igorots into objects of romantic, escapist fantasies.[22] With these misguided spins, US colonizers reproduced and fixed the notion of the Igorot as Other. This intermingling of subjugation and sympathy carved out the rationale for maintaining Igorot inferiority and executing assimilative colonial strategies purported to usher Igorots into progress.

Joining Ifugao, which had been part of the Nueva Vizcaya Province, with the Spanish-era commandancias of Amburayan, Apayao, Benguet, Bontoc, Kalinga, and Lepanto, the US created what they called the "Mountain Province," an administrative grid on which they introduced colonial structures. These structures served to elevated Igorots' social status in the new colonial order. US colonizers placed educational, religious, economic, labor, and political systems that allowed Igorots to thrive. These systems transformed the Igorot population into a workforce trained for capitalist production and educated for survival and self-governance. Amid these signs of supposed advancement, however, increased interaction with lowlanders gave rise to Igorot stigmatization, state-imposed policies on land ownership persisted, and commercial ventures in agribusiness, mining, and infrastructure accelerated. The adverse effects of US colonial policies would not be lost to Igorots, who, geographically displaced to meet economic demands, began to form large networks that facilitated collective self-discovery. Soon, they would confront a deepening crisis of outsider encroachment in the region.

As these developments extended to the post-independence Philippine Republic, the Cordillera region obtained further government representation, grew more aware of their inclusion into the national body politic, and pursued self-determination of Cordillera identity in a modern era. Local political leaders lobbied for new local administrative boundaries in the colonially

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[22] Vernadette Vicuña Gonzales, "Headhunter Itineraries: The Philippines as America's Dream Jungle," *The Global South* 3, no. 2 (2009): 145.

conceived region. In 1966, they would divide it into the four provinces of Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao, and Mountain Province. Benguet and Mountain Province were bound to the Ilocos Region, and Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao to the Cagayan Valley Region. 1987 saw the birth of the CAR, which consisted of these provinces and, in addition, Abra province. Finally, in 1995, Kalinga-Apayao would split into Kalinga and Apayao.

As Igorots gained social prominence and renewed self-knowledge, however, the political and economic forces that have historically controlled the Cordilleras intensified their grip through measures that would provisionally recognize indigenous people and communities and barely protect their land resources from exploitation. One such measure was Republic Act 8371, or Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA) in the Philippines. Proposed in 1987 and formalized into law ten years later, IPRA evolved from a sole consideration of indigenous people's land rights to legislation that additionally stipulated their human rights. Its development includes provisions that protected them from prejudice, discrimination, and recognized their right to self-determination. Yet, the act defines indigenous people and ancestral domains in limited terms, which excludes people and communities who do not fit these criteria, regardless of their indigenous affiliations.[23]

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[23] Chapter II, Section 3h of the 1997 IPRA reads: "A group of people or homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as organized community on communally bounded and defined territory, and who have, under claims of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed and utilized such territories, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, or who have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of colonization, non-indigenous religions and cultures, became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos. ICCs/IPs [Indigenous Cultural Communities / Indigenous Peoples] shall likewise include peoples who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, at the time of conquest or colonization, or at the time of inroads of non-indigenous religions and cultures, or the establishment of present state boundaries, who retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, but who may have been displaced from their traditional domains or who may have resettled outside their ancestral domains." The passage "became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos" implies that difference is a determining factor of indigeneity, but this difference, as mentioned above, stems from colonial maltreatment.
Titia Schippers writes that in 2005, the Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization (BITO) deployed state-authorized indigenous-peoples discourse to acquire land rights and facilitate negotiation between corporate intruders and community members of the Bakun municipality in Benguet Province. In producing a document called Ancestral

Indeed, Oona Paredes emphasizes, the IPRA legitimizes the state's own legal definitions of indigeneity and forces ethnic minorities to conform to stereotypes in exchange for gains and basic rights that the law is supposed to ensure. In consequence, the IPRA, Paredes adds, interferes with indigenous peoples' independent decisions to preserve and perform their ancestral traditions, provoking internal disputes about cultural representation.[24] The government also established cultural institutions, like the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA). As it promotes a Philippine culture that leans heavily toward the traditional, the NCCA neglects attending to other aspects of indigenous experience that warrant recognition.[25] Reliant on indigenous self-identification—even in the absence of any formal registration of indigenousness— the NCIP performs a function similar to that of the NCCA with a stronger focus on indigenous communities, but the commission has, indeed, been instrumental in allowing mining, hydropower, and logging corporations to intrude into ancestral lands;[26] political monopolies that strengthen development

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Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan, which is one of the requirements for obtaining a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title under the IPRA, BITO "created" their indigenousness by emphasizing the traditional aspects of their lifeways, the ecological richness of their territory despite its modifications due to logging ventures, by formalizing their fluid leadership systems, and espousing to community members that Bakun's inhabitants are indeed indigenous, even if many of did not identify as such. I discuss this topic further in Chapter Five.

[24] Oona Paredes, "Preserving 'tradition': The business of indigeneity in the modern Philippine context," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 50 no. 1 (2019): 86.

Paredes also points out that the label "indigenous" is problematic in Southeast Asia given the centuries of mobility among its indigenous populations and because even dominant groups are also considered natives. In the Philippines, there is no record of ethnicity nor any credible population count of indigenous groups.

[25] While the commission acknowledges identity fluidity as part of Philippine culture, its mission statements show that it places greater emphasis on the safeguarding and continued transmission of endangered Philippine cultural practices. Indeed, it envisions Filipinos as people "with a strong sense of nationhood and a deep respect for cultural diversity," which suggests its priority for recognizing cultural differences as fundamental. A range of responsibilities that pertain to policymaking, sponsorship, and the promotion of Philippine arts and culture reflects its preservationist mandate. The NCCA awards competitive grants to scholars, researchers, and organizations through the National Endowment Fund for Culture and the Arts. Scholarship categories that apply to indigenous community research and engagement emphasize preservation as a specific qualification. Further, the NCCA collaborates with the UNESCO in enacting its policies on matters of cultural preservation.

[26] The NCIP's website specifies its objectives:

a. "To serve as the primary government agency through which ICCs/IPs can seek government assistance and as the medium, through which such assistance may be extended;

aggression created a dangerous alliance between corporations and the state that aggravated resource extraction. Today, Igorots engage these crises through complex practices that convey a range of meanings—from complicity, to adaptation, to defiance—as they continually find their place in Philippine society.

Igorot Musical Representation

Music and sound are indispensable to these engagements. In ways that other forms of expression cannot afford, music and sound generate sensory experiences in performers and listeners that regulate and create connections between psychological, affective, and social processes, and lend greater efficacy to the exercise of agency. Ancestral musical traditions provide striking sonic-visual elements infrequently heard by non-Igorot audiences and thus delineate Igorot experiences. More importantly, music and sound serve as resources for creative reworkings of native practices into political scripts for intercultural dialogue in the form of elaborate reenactments and hybrid expressions that reveal Igorots' acute awareness of their marginalized

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b. To review and assess the condition of ICCs/IPs including existing laws and policies pertinent thereto and to propose relevant laws and policies to address role in national development;
c. To formulate and implement policies, plans, programs and projects for the economic, social and cultural development of the ICCs/IPs and to monitor the implementation thereof;
d. To request and engage the services and support of experts from other agencies of government employ private experts and consultants as may be required in the pursuit of its objectives;
e. *To issue certificate of ancestral land/domain title* [emphasis added], and;
f. Subject to existing laws, to enter into contracts, agreements, or arrangement, with government or private agencies or entities as may be necessary to attain the objectives of this Act, and subject to the approval of the President, to obtain loans from government lending institutions and other lending institutions to finance its programs."

Among its recent interventions involved granting Sagittarius Mines, Inc. the rights to mine gold and copper from the town of Tampakan in Koronadal City, Southern Philippines in a controversial $5.9 billion mining project that went against a local government ordinance put a pause on open-pit mining. The town is believed to contain Asia's largest, untouched reserve of gold and copper. This practice, along with alleged corruption and maldistribution of payments from project permits in indigenous communities, explains why some of my collaborators dissuaded me from consulting the NCIP for my research. Other factors, such as the conflict between government entities and traditional political structures, which I will expound in Chapter Five, also come into play. My Igorot collaborators thought it more advisable to consult with the local barangay units in the case of festival participants. I also directly asked for permission from core members of the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance and the DKK.

condition. But despite its tactical value on stage, performances that feature or reference ancestral traditions remain anchored in off-stage realms. In "village" contexts, native musics are often crucial in marking life and social events, and vital in rituals, ceremonies, and in moments of leisure and merrymaking. Deployed for different publics, their "real life" significance extends into broader spheres as a tool for mediating Igorots' self-determinations.

Igorots confront issues of representation by navigating diverse political discourses and negotiating situational and personal concerns. In this dissertation, I focus on their involvement in Philippine leftist politics and the political-economic mechanisms of the state, and on the specific circumstances that prompted their deviations from these structures. I examine protest music espoused by the cultural organization and ensemble Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Cordillera (Forum of Cordillera Cultures; DKK) and the complexities and limits of these repertoires as realized by DKK's participation in protest gatherings called *Lakbayan ng Pambansang Minorya Para sa Sariling Pagpapasiya at Makatarungang Kapayapaan* in 2017 and Cordillera Day Commemorations in 2018. Additionally, I investigate Igorots' participation in state-sponsored indigenous community festivals and the various issues that complicate the preservationist, commemorative, and touristic aims of these events by delving into the 2018 Lang-ay Festival of Mountain Province and the off-stage experiences of its delegates from the municipality of Sagada. The present work's core narratives tackle entanglements of Igorot musical practice with the various historical, cultural, and political threads that interweave these engagements; the succeeding body chapters will address the matter in detail.

Rethinking Igorot Indigeneity

My work responds to dominant ethnomusicological approaches to Philippine indigenous music. Conceived from a colonial legacy, most studies deploy essentialisms that dismiss and avoid

indigenous music's necessarily syncretic and strategic aspects. In the rare instances that they do receive attention, authors limit their analyses to theoretical reflection and the examination of what is considered "traditional" repertoire. Despite these shortcomings, these research currents outline crucial steps in foregrounding the music and narratives of marginalized groups. Through historical critique, they can be productively understood as important contributions to the present work.

In *Western Music and Its Others,* Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh offer a helpful framework for this examination. Building from the work of theorists like Edward Said and Homi K. Bhabha, they address a refusal in postwar music studies to examine the politics of representation and the field's tendency to treat culture as an "innocent domain of social life" nestled away from the complications of politics. While I am aware that this inclination no longer dominates the field at large, the argument that culture and knowledge is inevitably premised on social power strikes me as relevant. Born and Hesmondalgh ask these salient questions: "How is it possible to represent other cultures? What techniques are available for representation, what implicit meanings do they bear? What is the relationship between political domination and cultural- and knowledge-production? What forms of subversion of dominant representational practices are possible? What role do Western and non-Western cultural producers and intellectuals play, wittingly and unwittingly, in various processes of representation?"[27] In the first chapter, I respond to these prompts through a brief historical critique of the representation of Cordillera music in key periods within the many decades that span the late-Spanish and US colonial eras, Philippine independence, and more recent decades that lead up to the early twenty-first century. Writing within and against colonialism, amid changing historical circumstances,

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[27] Georgina Born and David Hesmondlagh, eds. *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000), 6.

and a developing awareness of the politics of representation conceived progressively evolving portrayals of Cordillerans and their music. Its trajectory points toward a transcendence of essentialism that recognizes the political and subjective entanglements of indigenous musical life.

I describe Igorots as "indigenous people," co-referencing tribal, aboriginal, or ethnic minorities, which in the Philippines also include populations formally collectivized as the Mindanao Lumad, Caraballo tribes, Mangyan of Mindoro, Palawan hill tribes, Agta and Aeta, and Muslim groups.[28] However, I also approach the term "indigenous" with an awareness of the multidirectional flows of power that propel its diverse framings of identity. I recognize its initial conception through a privilege of naming and control by those considered "non-indigenous;" in turn, I foreground how indigenous people respond to being categorized by others. Far from being thought of as archetypes of a primitive imaginary detached form the "outside world" and on the brink of disappearance, indigenous people are visible actors in contemporary spaces. Such visibility is not an innocent act.[29] They engage the politics of otherness through a reflexive, intricate, and often dangerous struggle for power.

I rely on recent theorizations of indigeneity to demonstrate this engagement. Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn reconceptualize the term from one that describes a fixed state of being to a relational notion of identity that manifests in broader social arenas of difference. This suggests that indigeneity is neither universal nor intrinsic, and contingent on historical formations, or, as the two scholars put it, "never about untouched reality."[30] But more

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[28] For a nuanced, description of these groups, see Jose Mencio Molintas, "The Philippine Indigenous Peoples' Struggle for Land and Life: Challenging Legal Texts."
[29] Clifford, *Returns*, 14.
[30] Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn, "Introduction" in *Indigenous Experience Today,* edited by Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 3.

importantly, power relations particular to such arenas enable some conceptions to dominate others and create a lasting impact on identity politics. Illustrating their theories, de la Cadena and Starn talk about "Indian" and "Aborigine" as European inventions to label people who have lived in the Americas and Australia respectively long before colonization, and the influence of contrasting French colonial policies on the present-day antipathy between the Kabre and Ewe people of Togo, West Africa.[31] My dissertation explores multiple meanings of Igorot identity—as a sign of subjugation and as an expression of empowerment, depending on context, origin, and manner of deployment. Yet, narratives on the material and symbolic control of Igorotness are prominent throughout my work as I discuss Igorots' colonial history, and the lingering influence and undertones of that history on present discourses that conceive and maintain Igorots' subaltern condition.

Such control, however, can come from both outside and within Igorot communities. Empowering expressions are also limiting because opportunities for reclaiming identity come with risks of misrepresentation. Anna Tsing explores this dissonance in the essay "Indigenous Voice." Theorizing with the metaphor of "friction," Tsing explores the non-universality of claims to indigeneity, illustrating the limited power or "grip" of indigenous movements. Indigenous politics may broadly resonate, travel, and gain traction, yet they may also "irritate" other groups, resulting in what she calls "nodes of dissension." Widely celebrated discourses on indigeneity "open spaces of refusal" and "potential breaks and alliances."[32] Tsing cites a range of examples, including the incongruence of global conversations on indigenous rights in ethnically and racially homogenous Indonesia, sex discrimination in rhetoric on sovereignty through the US

[31] Ibid.
[32] Anna Tsing, "Indigenous Voice," in *Indigenous Experience Today,* edited by Marisol de la Cadena and Orin Starn (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 40.

Supreme Court's exclusion of the matrilineal Native American community of Santa Clara Pueblo in New Mexico,[33] and state-supported environmentalist regulations' constrictions on aboriginal whaling practices in Greenland. Powerful discourses for indigeneity, then, are also arenas of tension.[34] Tsing focuses on disagreements on the national level, but frictions also emerge within local horizontal and vertical terrains. The Igorots I worked with also conceive their identities in relation to regional, provincial, municipal, and village dynamics founded on a resilient sense of tribal autonomy. They subscribe to divergent political beliefs that cut through broad articulations of cultural revitalization. Further, they break away from these alliances to forge new persuasions. Frictions among empowering discourses of Igorotness, then, occur in the junctures between geography, ideology, the collective, and individual.

Placed side by side, these discourses make up a messy narrative, but I avoid immediate cohesion to describe Igorotness as a site of dialectic tension. Constantly shaping and troubling each other, these discourses outline an emergence that illustrates the dynamism of Igorot identity and new possibilities in its representation. In his book *Returns,* James Clifford introduces a range of narratives that vary in scale and contingency. He examines Native American Ishi's multiple identities as the romanticized "last wild Indian," a subject of postcolonial biographical interest, and a poignant reminder of settler-colonial violence. He dissects the contradictions in the cultural renewal of the Alutiiq/Sugpiaq people of Kodiak, Alaska in native-led publications on heritage and in museum exhibits of traditional masks loaned from overseas. Juxtaposed, these narratives describe indigenous people as they shed and remake their identities through shifting affiliations and in overlapping phases of migration and homecoming. That these narratives are "lumpy," "difficult to contain," and, indeed, "excessive," demonstrate Clifford's failed attempt in

[33] Ibid., 52, 56.
[34] Ibid., 52.

capturing indigenous experience.[35] But Clifford consciously engages such failures. Advocating for what he calls a "historical and ethnographic realism," Clifford imparts discrepant and unfinished stories that give a more actual sense of the past, the present, and what may be emerging.[36] By assembling chapters that narrate various strands of Igorot positioning and subjectivity, I portray Igorot identity as a process of becoming. I follow an emergent trajectory where Igorots have appeared as colonial subordinates—as suggested above—as a refuge of cultural purity in postcolonial nationalism, and as central negotiators in public, Igorot-led movements who channel their identities through multiple frames and who always seek more promising avenues for better representation. These tensions illustrate Igorot identity as dialogic, yet unfinished, and ever on the edge of renewal.

Games of Articulating Tradition

I examine the intricate dynamics of this proposed Igorot ontology by turning to scholars who have theorized on practice, postcolonialism, and the performance of identity in popular music. Sherry Ortner's insights about the role of agents in the instability of structures helps elaborate Igorot emergence. Whereas theories of practice by Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens emphasize social repetition, Ortner's, which she calls subaltern theory of practice, foregrounds the disruptive impact of dominated agents' actions. These actions cause ruptures that render social structures vulnerable to change and transformation. Ortner's theory on social disorder over coherence entails that there are multiple and conflicting sites of practice. Various engagements are at play and the tensions between them lay evidence to the non-hegemonic and always imperfect nature of practice. Additionally, Ortner coins the term "serious games" to describe

[35] Clifford, 8, 29, 39.
[36] Ibid., 70.

these actions, agents' high-stakes engagement with social life, the constraints of these engagements, and agents' emergent and intertwining subject positions. Agents may find pleasure and enjoyment as they inhabit various structures with creativity and skill, but power dynamics compel agents to act with intention, and sometimes, Ortner writes, "deadly earnestness."[37]

Adapting Ortner, I frame DKK's and Balugan residents' performances of Igorotness as divergent acts of resistance. Both groups celebrate their Igorot roots in response to Igorot discrimination, yet clashing ideologies underpin their presentations. DKK espouse an Igorotness that is radical in its political leanings and collectivism. Conversely, Balugan residents celebrate Igorot heritage while depending on state and corporate sponsorship and the tourism industry. In addition, these clashes are not simply a matter of difference in opinion. Rather, they expose the lengths that Igorots would travel in pursuit of serious aims. These performances feed tourist economies on which their livelihood depends and convey a legitimacy that proves their rightful ownership of resources and ancestral lands. Igorot performers put their lives at risk by incorporating protests on state and corporate control, militarization, and anti-insurgency, and invigorating campaigns for government representation. Most important, their acts encourage audiences to understand their circumstances, combat discrimination, and assert their belonging in contemporary spaces. These disparities show contrasts of Igorotness in institutional and organizational frames, but Igorot practice extends beyond them. As Ortner argues, "There are always sites… of alternative perspectives and practices available, and these may become the bases of resistance and transformation.… This, then, is one aspect of the subaltern version of practice theory, with everything slightly—but not completely—tilted toward incompleteness, instability, and change."[38] Indeed, the divisions I described are fractured by Igorots' struggle to

[37] Sherry Ortner, *Making Gender: The Erotics and Politics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996), 12.
[38] Ibid., 18.

act within their boundaries. In their pursuit of alternative avenues, they subvert the ideologies they supposedly subscribed to in transformative ways. These tensions render Igorot practice as multilayered and precarious in real-life.

I adapt theories on the exercise of agency through deliberate performance choices to elaborate on how agents enact these tensions. Gayatri Spivak develops the term "strategic essentialism" to describe an approach to representation where agents provisionally deploy an essentialist stance about their identities—be it racial, ethnic, gendered, etc.—in pursuit of needs and desires. In doing so, agents reiterate their condition as "other" or "subaltern," but they do so in a politically charged manner that serves their own ends. Strategic essentialisms are, thus, disruptions in Ortner's sense. They demonstrate a play on complicity and resistance with the attainment of recognition at stake. Using this tactic, agents act, in Spivak's words, "from within but against the grain,"[39] cunningly unsettling hierarchies of power. Igorot protest and festival performers mobilize distinctive markers of their identities to advance their political, economic, and cultural interests. The wearing of traditional costumes, accessories, and other accoutrements, and even the emphatic use of "Igorot," a label that has acquired pejorative meanings, function as tactical devices that mark ethnic and racial difference.

Timothy Taylor's strategic inauthenticity and George Lipsitz's strategic anti-essentialism are concepts closely related to Spivak's. However, they directly address musical performances aimed at counteracting audience's preconceived notions about performers' identities. Taylor's strategic inauthenticity pertains to a kind of artistic creativity that forgoes a strict allegiance to tradition and subverts ingrained audience demands for racial and ethnic self-identification.[40]

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[39] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography," in *Selected Subaltern Studies,* edited by Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (New York ad Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 13.
[40] Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), 125-43.

Discussing world music singer-songwriters like Senegalese Youssou N'Dour and Beninese Angélique Kidjo, Taylor argues that performers reject pressures from western audiences to remain musically and otherwise "non-western" or "pre-modern."[41] Lipsitz's strategic anti-essentialism similarly refers to performances that indicate hybridity and fluidity. But whereas Taylor attends to an overturning of tradition, strategic anti-essentialism describes an oblique enhancement that masks other aspects of one's identity to which audiences may be unaccepting. In his work, Lipsitz talks about Chicano punk rockers is Los Angeles and Puerto Rican musicians playing Black-oriented Latin Bugalu music in New York as strategic anti-essentialists. They escape to other identities that share affinities with theirs to make claims about their status and "distance themselves from problematic hierarchies." Taylor's and Lipsitz's theories illuminate the range of performance tactics that DKK employed in Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018. As I will discuss in Chapter Three, they overlaid their performances with non-Igorot elements to accentuate their dynamic realities rather than indulge reductive, romanticized views. Conversely, they staged acts veiled in a benign "apolitical" appearance in order to make a stronger political statement, concealing facets of themselves that audiences may perceive as too "different," or even dangerous. They became, in Lipsitz's terms, "something other than themselves to become more like themselves."[42]

Lipsitz and Taylor's theories are limited to forms of self-expression accessible to a public audience. An inquiry into Igorots' private music consumption as a resource for self-constitution is vital in better understanding the complexity of their experiences, especially as these relate to their desire for recognition. DeNora delves into this use of music in her book *Music in Everyday*

[41] Ibid., 126.
[42] George Lipsitz, *Dangerous Crossroads: Popular Music, Postmodernism, and the Poetics of Place* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), 62.

Life (2000). She writes that intimate musical practices—that is, practices in private, individual, or one-to-one human interactions—offer an insight into how music constitutes the self as an aesthetic agent. Individuals use music as a reflexive tool that aesthetically fosters self-awareness and a sense of existence as it constructs and regulates mood, memory, and identity.[43] DeNora focuses on listening practices, but her ideas apply well to how music-making activities mediate Igorot performers' struggles with self-presentation. To this end, I adapt DeNora in a chapter where I discuss the self-regulatory function of rehearsals among Balugan residents. Offering an escape and respite from the festival's issues and pressures and prompting reflection on the burden of public self-identification, musical rehearsals complicate festivals as spaces for Igorot empowerment.

At this point, it is necessary to rethink "tradition" into a concept that dovetails with the entanglements of Igorot performance. I rely on David B. Coplan's unpacking of the term's problematics in "Ethnomusicology and The Meaning of Tradition." While it remains a core concept in ethnology, folklore, and ethnomusicology, tradition is complicated by a paradox that pits social and historical contingency against immutability. The notion of immemorial tradition is useful among natives and folklorists alike, but it easily shatters from historical questions about who deploys it, for what aims, under what conditions, and power relations. Coplan states that the notion of tradition as "invention" is a productive recourse. Citing Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, and Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, he argues that cultural patterns are reified for political reasons by both colonizer and colonized. The argument, however, causes concerns about tradition's stability and empiricism. Yet, Coplan writes, it is in this instability where tradition lies—it takes form as the historically grounded structure of images, expressive values,

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[43] Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 45-6.

and aesthetic standards that extend to the present and is mediated by various actors, observers, and social contexts. Performances, Coplan adds, translate tradition by dually operating as a "mnemonic code" from which history is elaborated, and as a critical reiteration of autonomous beliefs and ideas.[44] In the present work, I often use "tradition"—and sometimes, "ancestral tradition"—to mean the components of hybridization that are seen as immune to history, to refer to practices vulnerable to essentialist misreadings, and to emphasize—as opposed to romanticize—the stakes of advocacies for land rights and cultural preservation. But it carries into the performances I described as an emergent framework for dialogic filters that reverberate from the past to the present. It is easy to argue that staged performances of traditional practices are "inauthentic." Divorced from natural village contexts, presented as spectacle, and easily accessible to mainstream audiences, tradition may even appear to some as devalued or diluted in strategic positionings. Yet one must not stop at the surface to merely admonish these seemingly relegated, ersatz renditions. Strategic deployment does not necessarily undermine heritage, cancel histories of subjugation, or indicate "cultural loss." Indeed, even the scrutiny of strategy opens discussions on how local struggles of dispossession and disenfranchisement draw indigenous people toward reification to begin with. In such deployments, tradition transforms and finds renewed significance as a practice that elucidates the politics and contradictory nature of indigeneity. Igorot tradition, then, "does not cease to exist."[45] It thrives and progresses into contemporary forms.

[44] David B. Coplan, "Ethnomusicology and the Meaning of Tradition," in *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History,* edited by Stephen Blum, Philip V. Bohlman, and David M. Neuman (Urbana and Chicago: Illinois University Press, 1993), 35-47.
[45] Ibid., 40.

Capturing Becoming

Writing about Igorot becoming requires an attendance to sources of varying media, authorship, degrees of candidness, and levels of proximity to the various people and communities at the focal point of this study, and the critical, dialogic examination of these sources. I employed multiple methods and worked with Igorot individuals with conflicting persuasions as people who either affiliate or dissociate with the groups I examine. I conducted research in various locations in the cities of Quezon and Manila in the National Capital Region, and in Benguet and Mountain Province at the Cordillera Administrative Region for a period of several months from 2017 to 2020.

I investigated the archives of the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan for sources on how Igorots were documented, particularly by writers from Europe and the US. Conversely, archival materials at the Cordillera Studies Collection at the University of the Philippines Main Library in Baguio, Benguet Province, provided a wealth of accounts on Cordillera practices, history, state politics, and activism written by Igorots and other Filipino and foreign writers who have worked closely with Igorot communities. The Bontoc Provincial Government's Tourism Office led me to relevant legal documents, as well as promotional print and video sources, especially on state-sponsored events. Finally, the University of the Philippines Center for Ethnomusicology and the Lucresia Kasilag Collection at the Philippine Women's University Library granted me access to musical scores of works by nationalist composers that relied on Cordillera music.

Whereas libraries and archives store institutional knowledge on Igorot music, ethnography affords in-the-moment experiences of social interactions, performances, and their contexts, and a visceral understanding of the intricacies of Igorot representation. Ethnographic attention to protests, festivals, and their behind-the-scenes moments revealed how matters of

audience and political and economic imperatives curtail freedom of expression, how Igorots pursued alternative avenues that legitimize their self-knowledge, and how these transgressions carved out divergent terrains that inform the nuances of Igorot identity. A large portion of my research involves observing and documenting rehearsals and on-stage performances, which resulted in video recordings that all in all last for approximately 25 hours. In the months and years that followed Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018, I organized focused viewing and listening groups where I enlisted Igorot adults and elderly to help with translation, description, and to gather commentary on the recordings I produced. I complemented these experiences with informal conversations and semi-structured interviews. I spoke with Igorot performers, schoolteachers, activists, elders, and local government officials, whom I asked to reflect on the meaning of protests and festivals and on non-Igorots' perceptions of them. I met with 55 individuals for this project and produced recorded interviews worth over 15 hours. Finally, fleeting exchanges, and other telling encounters throughout my research unveiled insights about the issues that Igorots navigate.

Chapter Summaries

This dissertation's chapters evoke dialectic tension, rupture, and continual emergence—each succeeding narrative unsettles those before it and carves out new possibilities for representation. Chapter One offers a historical critique of selected writings and scholarly-artistic movements from the latter years of the Spanish colonial era to the early twenty-first century. Through a roughly chronological discussion, I investigate the influence of colonialism, historical circumstance, and cultural politics on the knowledge production of Cordillera music, outlining epistemic shifts that characterize a gradual overcoming of essentialism. Building from this intellectual reckoning, I turn to musical practices that illustrate Igorot complexity. I begin with a

study on Igorot protest music and an analysis of three examples that characterize the range of standard protest music repertoire. I examine their hybrid qualities and historical and ideological underpinnings in Igorot knowledge and Philippine leftist politics to illustrate Igorot syncretism and contemporary engagement. Chapter Three complicates this discussion. Focusing on the cultural ensemble Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera and their experiences in the Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018 protest summits, I reveal the vulnerability of Igorot leftist performers to misreadings and rejection by varied audiences. Analyzing opposing performance strategies that DKK employed in response to these issues, I demonstrate how both overt and unconventionally oblique references to Igorot activism strengthen political legitimacy, and equally, articulate Igorot identity.

Chapter Four pivots toward musical displays in state-sponsored community festivals. Revisiting the US colonial period and the years after independence, I trace the practice's evolution from tactical exercises of US imperialism to symbols of official self-governance, portraying festival performances as manifestations of continuity and resistance that embody a reclaiming of Igorot heritage. Chapter Five problematizes the previous account by unveiling how the Lang-ay Festival of Mountain Province counteracts grassroots notions of division, difference, and autonomy, and constrains Igorot self-expression. Examining 2018 participants from the municipality of Sagada and an intimate, impromptu musical moment that affirmed their syncretic realities, I dismantle idealizations about festivals as spaces for Igorot empowerment.

A Note on Positionality

The subject matter of this monograph warrants overt reflection on biases, whether historical, individual, or my own. Some would maintain that this present undertaking may be better accomplished by a native scholar who identifies as indigenous, or, at the minimum, through an

exclusive reliance on indigenous precepts, ideologies, and worldviews. I recognize that native-led research empowers communities and decolonizing initiatives and facilitates access to resources for exploring and advancing local knowledge in larger arenas of scholarly conversation. However, uncritically supporting, let alone extolling, native scholarship, especially in arguing for complex notions of indigeneity, is self-defeating. It regurgitates essentialist ideologies of "authenticity" and the "native," when cultural purity is non-existent, and the boundaries between outsiders and insiders are permeable. On the one hand, to say that native scholars are *genuinely* native denies the necessary distance that locals create as they scrutinize their communities, and the inevitable influence of their fundamentally complex affiliations on the production of texts. On the other, outsiders develop community ties over time through what Kirin Narayan describes as an "engaged coexistence" with native communities.[46] Such involvement transforms differences into mutual relationships that may grant outsiders access to generally safeguarded knowledge and accommodates experiences of exchange that nourish the textures of a researcher's work. Furthermore, placing primacy on native scholarship presupposes that objective and "untainted" knowledge can only be yielded from certain sources and methods, even if all knowledge is inescapably prejudiced. It is more productive, Narayan suggests, to attend to the value of relations with the people we seek to write about, to acknowledge the shifts and overlaps of identity involved in the research process, to honor intersubjectivity as vital to the construction of knowledge, and to create texts that portray those whom we study as "people with views, dilemmas, and voices."[47] Finally, drawing from theories on expression and performance from native domains and elsewhere in the world strikes a balance that de-others the indigenous

[46] Kirin Narayan, "How Native is a 'Native' Anthropologist?" *American Anthropologist* 95, no. 3 (September 1993): 680-82.
[47] Ibid., 672.

subject and creates connections to broader framings of human expression that align with an argument for plurality, sameness, and belonging.

Indeed, it was through an embrace of hybridity, exchange, and empathy that my work grew into a collaborative advocacy. Because of the notoriety of resource extraction, my intervention initially attracted suspicion, criticism, and even mockery. These responses spoke to the structured inequalities that pervade research on marginalized sectors, even those driven by social justice. As Harris Berger observes, domination is always possible, intrinsic in all social life, and even the most equitable practice is underpinned by larger contexts and the "legacies of domination" they carry.[48] Although I could not and will never escape these problematics, I strove, on a personal level, to inhabit the lived experiences of the people I worked with and incorporate my understandings into my scholarly practice. I immersed myself in protest summit camps, attended street demonstrations and other similar gatherings, supported indigenous activists' campaigns, repeatedly visited communities, and have begun to repatriate media that I have produced. I have also lived alongside my Igorot host family and cooked for them, kept house, and labored in their fields. Yet, beyond this co-existence, the negative reactions leveled at my foreign presence prompted commentary on othering and representation that breathes salience into the stories I set forth. Thus, I gained more than "folk" knowledge from the field. Field interactions helped shape my work into something greater than my own coming to terms with indigeneity as a Filipina who was born and bred in Manila, has been immersed in nationalistic scholarship, and identifies as a non-Igorot, "non-indigenous" person. I earned the collaboration of people who have trusted me with their grievances, bore witness to unheeded narratives of

[48] Harris Berger, "New Directions for Ethnomusicological Research into the Politics of Music and Culture: Issues, Projects, and Programs," *Ethnomusicology* 58 no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2014), 319.

human struggle, and gained inspiration in writing for a shared endeavor that promises for these narratives to be heard.

Chapter One

The "Other" in Igorot Sounds:
A Short History on Representations of Cordillera Music

I was fresh out of college when I joined—by my request—a repatriation project in Sagada, Mountain Province. Led by the University of the Philippines Center for Ethnomusicology in 2013, the project's objectives included returning and verifying digitized audio recordings of vocal expressive traditions that anthropologist Lester Brooks and ethnomusicologist Jose Maceda gathered from the municipality in 1954. My team's itinerary consisted of interviews, listening sessions, and observation, meticulously planned and unstructured, as is typical of fieldwork. Observing about 80 Sagada residents as they rehearsed a traditional dance for an indigenous cultural festival at the hub of the municipal center was one of our flexible activities. A team of about 11 scattered across the space, with some conspicuously aiming cameras at the residents, we stood out as intrusive spectators who would pass as oblivious tourists; some of the residents felt uncomfortable. The municipal mayor's office knew of our visit but apparently not the entire community, including the many elders who took part in the rehearsal. With the municipality emerging as one of the foremost Philippine tourist spots over the years, Sagada's inhabitants have learned to protect themselves from unwanted attention, as seen in announcements about how visitors should behave. At the time, a list of rules had been posted in many of the town's

public areas, which the local government have recently reiterated.[49] Disapproval of our presence soon reached its tipping point: breaking briefly from the dance, an elderly woman dressed in traditional garb turned to our direction and yelled, "Our culture is not for sale!" Then, she turned back and carried on dancing, reinvigorated by her fervor. Shocked, we retreated as our supervising members consulted our local guides about how to address the incident.

In this chapter, I am not concerned about how the encounter alludes to the conflict between the intrusive nature of tourism and its economic rewards. Rather, I am drawn to reading it as a rebuke of "outsider" representation as a historical phenomenon. I do not, however, wish to dwell on the invasive nature of research in native communities. After all, researchers have redirected their work toward advocacy, outside attention—it goes without saying—is necessary for recognition, and communities have acknowledged the value of research, as a moment after the confrontation suggests: our team leader delivered an impromptu speech in front of the residents, emphasizing that the project would enable Sagadans to preserve memories of the stories and songs of their ancestors. In reply, at the command of an elderly man, the residents sang a celebratory Salidummay song, signaling a rooted acceptance of our presence and an appreciation of our project's value to their community. But the succinct, yet impassioned declaration by the elderly woman in the anecdote above is not to be dismissed. Against the backdrop of a rehearsal that prepared them for mainstream viewing, it hurled a robust defensive against Igorots' struggles with outsider control. Years after this repatriation project, in less

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[49] Steve Rogers, "Visiting Sagada? 12 Things You Must Remember," *Rappler,* March 24, 2016. https://www.rappler.com/life-and-style/travel/sagada-visitors-guidelines-vacation.
These rules ask visitors to: 1) respect Sagadan culture and keep their distance from rituals; 2) secure necessary permits when doing field research; 3) manage their expectations about business establishments and other services; 4) walk whenever possible; 5) conserve water; 6) manage garbage; 7) be kind to the people in restaurant kitchens; 8) responsibly use their vehicles; 9) take precautions when going around mountainous terrain; 10) be modest; 11) help preserve the local environment, and; 12) respect the people.

dramatic, though comparably intimidating exchanges, I would recite introductions like our team leader did to Igorot collaborators for my own project. That 2013 incident, it seemed, hardly left me. My voice often trembled as I spoke, braced for possible rejection, and took in the swell of the subjugation they have endured.

This chapter investigates the representation of Cordillera music and identity from roughly the late 1800s to the early twenty-first century. By analyzing selected sources and placing them in key historical moments, I examine how Cordillera music research and its applications in scholarship, education, and the arts have variously positioned Igorots: as racialized colonial subjects, emblems of postwar nationalist movements, and as people whose musical traditions prove the necessity of exchange in the making of identity. As shown by these epistemic shifts, outsiders have strived to better portray Igorots. Yet crises of experience brought about by colonial legacies, historical circumstance, and structural politics hinder them from considering aspects of Cordillera musical lives that transcend essentialist frames. In no way do I discount the groundwork of these intellectual developments. They are, undoubtedly, vital to the dialogue that drives research toward amplifying indigenous voices.

Georgina Born and David Hesmondalgh's application of postcolonial analysis in their introduction to *Western Music and Its Others* guide me in this chapter. Drawing from Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, they interrogate dominant forms of representation, subversions of these forms, and the techniques and enabling forces of both. In addition, they examine the role of knowledge production in social and political movements, and how western and non-western knowledge producers serve these movements in intentional and unintentional ways.[50] I talk about authors who brought Igorot music into larger arenas of cultural conversation and the changing

[50] Georgina Born and David Hesmondlagh, eds. *Western Music and its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2000), 6.

social and historical imperatives that nurtured their biases. Imperial expansion and idealizations of progress motivated descriptions of Igorots in Spanish and United States colonial ethnologies, though these relied increasingly on racialism to prove native inferiority. Pre- and post-war Filipino elite scholars responded to these discourses through a nationalistic regard for indigenous music but, constrained by their colonial heritage and national cultural politics, they inevitably conceived identity binaries that swept Igorots along with other indigenous groups into the category of "internal Other," even in artistic efforts that aimed to elevate and revitalize ethnic minorities. Humanistic concerns in research began to consider the circumstances of specific locales, groups, and individuals, and the plurality of their musical practices, but have yet to expand into broader fields of Philippine music-making from a confinement to traditional music. The progressive consideration of indigenous realities in these currents outline a foundational arch from which my work stems.

Racializing Igorot Sounds

Writings about Igorot music during the Spanish colonial period are scarce. Cordillera groups' systematic practices of territorial defense deterred Spanish occupation of the Northern Luzon uplands until the late 1800s[51] and Spanish colonizers were more concerned with matters of military conquest, Christianization, and colonial governance. Indeed, these ethnologies, which accompany statistical data, maps, and administrative letters, contain only sporadic discussions of Igorot music. Nonetheless, they have much to say about the appeal of Igorot music in the Western empire.

[51] See Introduction, pages 9-12.

In the 1800s, European chroniclers wrote about Igorots in ways that indicated a transition in the portrayal of non-European others, but nonetheless continued, or more precisely, aggravated, already prejudiced interpretations. Underpinned by political theology and colonial conceptions of Catholic morality, some of these writings attended to social and cultural practices to demonstrate the inferiority of native groups and the need to conquer them. Others drew attention to the native body alongside increasing dominance of biological determinism. Research in Europe heavily substantiated white racial superiority as a "scientific truth." This development factored into views about difference in the Philippines, along with the influx of Spanish emigrants to the colony and its disruption of social hierarchies, which prompted the Spanish's reliance on racial theories. Influencing Spanish constitutional provisions, these internal imbalances would fuel the nineteenth-century anticolonial movement by reinforcing the elite *illustrado*[52] class's rejection of Spanish rule and distrust of the colonial government among of members of the broader Spanish population.[53]

Writings about Igorot music were either confined to early modern ethnological approaches or supplemented with descriptions of the Igorot body. In 1894, Spanish priest and missionary Buenaventura Campa wrote about the gangsa (spelled *"gansa"*) in passing in a travel writing piece about his arrival in a farm called "Pulá." Campa described that he had been hiking for long hours in the area's mountainous terrain when he encountered the house of a person named "Mamigad" and chanced upon women and more than a hundred young men, two of which were playing the gongs. Describing what likely was dancing, Campa likened the two to goats as they "jumped" in front of him. Campa wrote how impressed he was by their ability to move

[52] In nineteenth-century Philippines, a generation of elite Filipinos who were educated in Europe.
[53] Florentine Rodao, "The Salvational Currents of Emigration: Racial Theories and Social Disputes at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 49, no. 3 (2018): 429-30.

around small cliffs and slopes with ease, but the encounter also saddened him. Making sense of such behavior, he reflected on the unfortunate task of trying to understand how human aberrations came to be.[54]

In an 1887 account on the religion and customs of Philippine natives, Jose Maria Ruiz wrote about Igorot music through discussions of material implements and the function of instruments in rituals. Ruiz mentioned the gangsa (also spelled *"gansa"*) along with woven cloth, spears, spoons for eating, which he contrasted with lowlander's use of fingers, and the nose flute.[55] Ruiz also details the use of the gangsa in the ritual construction of a wooden *hagabi* (spelled *"tagabi"*) bench, a symbol of wealth and prestige among the Ifugao people. Commenting on what he thought were ridiculous aspects of the activity, yet understanding it as a rite of passage, Ruiz suggested Igorots' high awareness of class systems and capacity to rise to nobility in a colonial setting.[56] Further, Ruiz's work indicated his regard for racialism in a separate section that detailed the physical characteristics of his objects of study. Anti-clericals in the nineteenth century typically employed this perspective to undermine Catholic teachings.[57] But Ruiz was himself a Catholic who collaborated with priests for this work; his writing proves that Catholics also accepted racial theories, regardless of the conflict.

Compared to Spanish colonial accounts, writings about Cordillera groups in the late 1800s and early 1900s manifest an empirical approach to musical description. A fear of the disappearance of native cultures informed this shift, one that aligned with a projection of the

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[54] Buenaventura Campa, *Etnografía Filipina: Los Mayóyaos ya la Raza Ifugao* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Rios, 1894), 111.
[55] Jose Maria Ruiz, *Memoria complementaria de la sección 2a del programa: Pobladores aborigines, razas existentes y sus variedades religión, usos y costumbres de los habitantes de Filipinas* (Manila: Colegio de Sto. Tomas, 1887), 104
[56] Ibid., 106.
[57] Rodao, 432.

US's benevolent image amid its rise to global power in the turn of the twentieth century. Calling to mind Renato Rosaldo's "imperial nostalgia,"[58] such fear can be traced to the US government's "colonial guilt" over its treatment of Native Americans in the aftermath of their catastrophic ethnic cleansing during the Indian Wars of the 1800s.[59] With this reckoning at the forefront of white American consciousness, Bruno Nettl writes, US-based researchers began to regard Native Americans with sympathy and a serious intent on understanding their ways of life.[60] Meanwhile, US administrators saw Philippine groups as counterparts of Native Americans, and thus, dealings with their new conquests as an opportunity for redemption.[61] Offered a new horizon in the study of other cultures, US researchers drew from their experiences with Native Americans in studying Cordillerans. Scientific descriptions helped produce benign state policies toward Cordillera groups, which included educating the public about their lifeways through detailed ethnologies, recordings, and exhibitions. This reckoning underpinned the formation of comparative musicology at the turn of the twentieth century, where scholars trained in folklore and early anthropology were concerned with the analysis, origins, evolution, and global distribution of music, as well as the measurement and classification of scales, pitches, and musical instruments. Fortunately for researchers, turn-of-the-century developments in technology helped institutionalize cross-cultural music studies through a method akin to science that combined field research and laboratory work. *In situ* studies of music-making in Philippine soil gave an opportunity for closer examination, but so did imports of Philippine music in the US.

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[58] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 6, no. 26 (1989): 107-122.

[59] See Introduction, page 12.

[60] Bruno Nettl, *Nettl's Elephant: On the History of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, Springfield, and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 11.

[61] McKay, 296-97.

The latter was the case for Frances Densmore, who studied Igorots displayed at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition. Densmore drew from her experiences working with Native American populations in the upper Midwest in her approach toward Philippine musical traditions.[62] Densmore's ideas about Philippine indigenous music reflected the biases of turn-of-the-century Social Darwinism. In this climate, intellectuals like Herbert Spencer and Richard Wallaschek theorized on the role of biology in what constitutes "good" music. As Krystyn Moon writes, Spencer believed that vocal music originated from physiological responses to emotions that produced sounds other than speech, and that the human capacity to produce songs and chants required a higher degree of development.[63] In turn, Spencer argued that people of lower races, that is, non-Europeans, produce mere musical utterances resulting from emotional impulses, an indication of an early stage of development. In contrast, Europeans, people he considered to be of a higher race, possess the habit of turning such utterances into songs and chants. Whereas Spencer focused on physiology, Wallascheck theorized that melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic complexity correlated with human evolution. He supposed that melody and harmony arose simultaneously with rhythm, the earliest form of music-making. But because of natural selection, Wallaschek additionally claimed, only the European race were mentally capable of cultivating harmony to its fullest extent.[64] Applying Spencer's and Wallaschek's theories in her studies on Philippine music, Densmore theorized about four stages of musical development. The first, "pre-music" stage involved the discovery of rhythm, which came from a natural human tendency to hit objects. In the next, humans produce improvised and unaccompanied vocal utterances. The

[62] Densmore would perform Native American repertoire in conferences where she presented her research on Native American musics, evoking nostalgia over these musics.
[63] Krystyn Moon, "The Quest for Music's Origin at the St. Louis Fair: Frances Densmore and the Racialization of Music," *American Music* 28(2) (Summer 2010): 201.
[64] Ibid.

use of percussive instruments as an accompaniment to the voice manifests in the third stage. Finally, the ability to retain and repeat a melody defines the fourth.[65]

Densmore placed Igorot music at the earlier stages. In her essay "The Music of the Filipinos," Densmore wrote about the primacy of rhythm in Igorot instrumental music and a perceived lack of sophistication and organization in vocal music.[66] She described the physical properties and handling of selected musical instruments, even providing a simple drawing of the the *bungkaka* (bamboo split buzzer) (Fig. 2.1), but she focused primarily on the gangsa. She transcribed gong rhythmic patterns using Western conventional notation, distilling them to definite pitches, duple meter, and accents of four pattern assignments (Fig. 2.2). She also included details on the execution of what appears to be the pattong dance. Densmore stated that the dancers moved in a counterclockwise circle and that no one appeared to be leading the choreography.[67] Moreover, Densmore drew from what she referred to as a "primitive music lesson" on the gongs in her other observations about Igorot instrumental music. Noticing the systematic approach of teaching, she concluded that rhythm is "studied, elaborated, and accurately taught."[68] In contrast, Densmore saw Igorot vocal music as remarkably underdeveloped. Although she appreciated Igorots' application of the pentatonic scale and their capability for ensemble performance through multi-part singing as indicative of musical insight, Densmore thought of Igorot songs as a "musical void."[69] Listening to material that seems to be what is termed today as through-composed music, she understood what she heard as a lack of repetition in phrase and melody as evidence for a low level of mental control and

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[65] Frances Densmore, "The Music of the Filipinos," *American Anthropologist* 8(4) (1906): 600.
[66] Despite the title, Densmore referred to the Filipinos in her study by more specific "tribe" names.
[67] Ibid., 620
[68] Ibid., 621.
[69] Ibid., 623.

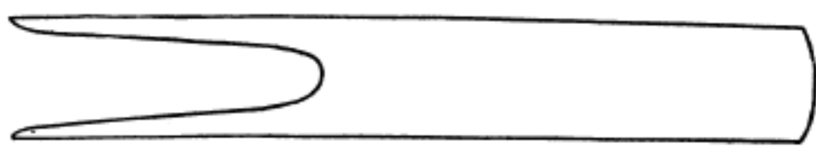

Figure 2. 1. Illustration of the bungkaka (bamboo buzzer) in Frances Densmore's essay "The Music of the Filipinos," American Anthropologist, 1906.

Figure 2. 2. Frances Densmore's transcriptions of gangsa rhythmic patterns in "The Music of the Filipinos," American Anthropologist, 1906.

concentration—or "psychological resistance," in her words—that "has not progressed to a point which permits the memorizing of a melody."[70] She also stated that the rhythmic quality of some songs manifested the impact of Igorots' constant engagement with hard, manual labor, and thus stemmed from physical rather than emotional responses. Finally, Densmore compared Igorot music to those of Negritos, which she also detailed in the same article. Negritos' "idyllic life" paralleled their habit of dancing to music from a flute and the wide pitch range of their vocal music, as opposed to Igorots who concern themselves with hard work and warfare and thus dance to the percussiveness of gongs and sing in less dynamic sets of notes. Despite her views, Densmore does not necessarily consider Philippine music as insignificant. As with other music

[70] Ibid., 622.

scholars at that time, she argued for its importance in understanding how musical expression among humans developed, their endangerment, and their need to be preserved.

Like Densmore, Albert Jenks portrayed Igorots through a racial, evolutionist lens, yet his writings exhibited a stronger relativist stance that nuanced his descriptions of Igorots as "primitive." Jenks lived in Bontoc for a few months, allowing a closer, sympathetic understanding of the Cordillera natives. His residence resulted in the publication of *The Bontoc Igorot,* the preface of which read, in part, "I recall with great pleasure the months spent in Bontoc pueblo, and I have a most sincere interest in and respect for the Bontoc Igorot as a man."[71] Jenks wrote extensively. Along with descriptions of physical features and racial lineage, he included details on social customs, labor practices, religious beliefs, rituals, and an entire section devoted to music.

While brief, the section showed remarkable detail, and an indication that he regarded Igorot music as valid. It included details on the gangsa's material composition, size, and hypotheses on the instrument's origin and its migration across the Cordillera region. Jenks also wrote about the gangsa's manner of use and, with numbers and punctuation, attempted to transcribe rhythmic patterns on the higher-pitched *co-ongan* and the lower pitched *kalong* in quadruple time. Jenks postulated that the interplay between these two gongs demonstrated Igorots' appreciation of harmony, but Jenks acknowledged his inability to further explain it as it was likely based on local aesthetics. "The actual music is lost sight of by the American," he said.[72] Further, Jenks wrote that Igorots' musical aesthetics were pleasing, suggesting their awareness of established musical conventions. He gleaned this from listening closely to performances on bamboo jaw harps. After observing three or four men play the instrument for

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[71] Albert E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (Manila: Bureau of Public Printing, 1905), 15.
[72] Ibid., 190

around thirty minutes, Jenks noticed thematic patterns that, he thought, "bespeak a genuine musical taste."[73]

Notwithstanding his considerations, it is important to note that Jenks's perspective was informed by an optimism about Igorots' potential for US-led advancement. The final passages in the preface to his book summarized the core aims of his research:

> "I believe in the future development of the Bontoc Igorot for the following reasons: he has an exceptionally fine physique for his stature and has no vices to destroy his body. He has courage, which no one who knows him feels to ever think of questioning; he is industrious, has a bright mind, and is willing to learn. His institutions—governmental, religious, and social—are not radically opposed to those of modern civilization, but are such, it seems to me, as will quite readily yield to or associate themselves with modern institutions."[74]

It is remarkable that most of these scholars wrote about gangsa. The instrument may have substantiated their insights about the peculiarities of Igorots, but this attention establishes the historical centrality of gongs in Cordillera music. As later studies would reveal, gangsa have been regarded as family heirlooms and as sacred because of their purpose of summoning spirits in rituals; to avoid offending spirits, people in some Cordillera communities practice their playing by using substitutes, like tin cans, or playing on gangsa near flowing bodies of water whose noise would drown out the sound of the gongs. As what Campa, Ruiz, Densmore, and Jenks may have learned, metal idiophones are considered more valuable than bamboo instruments among Philippine musical cultures. Even today, gangsa performance remains a potent medium for Igorot agency, as the present work will show.

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[73] Ibid., 192.
[74] Ibid., 15.

Nationalistic Interventions

Not unlike their colonial precedents, non-Igorot Filipinos also took interest in researching Cordillera music in the early twentieth century and the perceived endangered status of indigenous music motivated their efforts. Yet against the backdrop of a transition from US colonial subjugation to self-rule, their concerns spoke to the larger issue of a burgeoning nation's need to define its own identity. After all, a sense of nationalism had already been brewing since the nineteenth century, fueled by a turn-of-the-century revolution, and the promising interim of a shift in colonial order. And while the US government subjected the country to its imperial motives, it supported Filipino social mobility and the production of knowledge and culture through material and symbolic structures on which a Philippine nationalism could be conceived. Colonial administrators commissioned histories, established libraries, archives, museums, a public school system, institutions for higher learning, introduced scholarships for US studies, built venues that cultivated fostered the consumption of media and the arts. Resil Mojares captures this paradox when he remarked "what would have seemed to be a period of triumphant 'Americanization' was, in fact, also a period of concerted 'Filipinization.'"[75] These changes nurtured an anti-colonialist stance that ranged from overtly political to forms of spiritual self-cultivation. For the latter, the arts and humanities provided a suitable medium and native, "pre-colonial" cultures a logical source.

The collection of local "traditional" musics and its applications in further scholarship, music education, and composition realized this transition. Writing her Master of Arts thesis called "Philippine Folk Dances and Games" in the 1920s, dance scholar Francisca Reyes-Aquino (then Tolentino) conducted fieldwork in Central and Northern Luzon. In collaboration with

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[75] Resil B. Mojares, "The Formation of Filipino Nationality Under Colonial Rule," *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society* 34(1) (2006): 12-13.

educator Petrona Ramos, Aquino used her findings in designing educational materials suitable for music programs in public and private schools. At the recommendation of university professors and officials and teachers of the Bureau of Education, Aquino published her work in 1927 (through Silver, Burdett and Company). Its implementation worked favorably with the era's nationalist climate. Declaring it as the "first representative survey of Philippine folk dances and games,"[76] Aquino's publication would help preserve music from the country's remote areas, spread knowledge and arouse broader curiosity among readers, and provide a vital resource of dances and music characteristic to various provinces of the Philippines for students of "national music."[77] That said, the book's entries included field data that Aquino reworked into simplified, synthesized, and standardized exercises for convenient use in Philippine classrooms. She provided brief, general background information, minimal native terminology, and instructions that indicated flexibility in the use of musical instruments. Aquino also developed streamlined sets of dance steps and limb positions, which she described in a separate, introductory, section on fundamentals.

To represent the Cordillera region, Aquino included an exercise she called the "Igorot Festival Dance" (Fig. 2.3). It appears to be based on the pattong, a widely used term for a celebratory circular dance commonly practiced across the region.[78] In contrast to its traditional execution, Aquino instructed that the dance should be performed with an Igorot song called "Bagbagto," which she referenced from a collection of folk songs standardized as piano transcriptions for the classroom. Additionally, she indicated using the ukulele-like *kutibeng* as an instrumental accompaniment to the dance, along with other bamboo instruments and a gong, the

[76] Francisca Reyes-Aquino and Petrona Ramos, *Philippine Folk Dances and Games,* 1935 Edition (New York: Silver Burdett, 1935), iii.
[77] Ibid.
[78] See introduction and succeeding chapters for more detailed discussions.

type of which she did not identify.[79] Further, Aquino specified the employment of "step-hop" and "skip-step" footwork from her list of standard choreography and gave loose instructions on arm and hand motion.

Aquino's work demonstrates the adaptation of traditional materials in developing classroom strategies for Filipinization, but it was made possible by power differentials that enabled her to select, reconceive, and manipulate Igorot music. Recently implemented school curricula on indigenous cultures called Indigenous Peoples Education, in contrast, involve the teaching of traditional dances as Igorot people practice them.[80] Aquino's intervention put less priority on the understanding of Igorot music than on the state-sponsored practical application of native sources by a young nation grappling with its sense of self.

Nonetheless, Aquino would emerge as a key figure in tradition-based Philippine music education. She continued music documentation projects in the 1930s onward that led to the publication of multi-volume standard teaching resources. Through her contributions, Christi-Anne Castro comments, Aquino effectively forged "a canon of national dances and music for the nation-state."[81] Prestigiously honored by the Philippine government, she ranks among prominent individuals who were instrumental to early nationalism in music.

Philippine nation-building gained momentum after independence from US colonization in 1946 through the creation of state infrastructure and institutions, as well as ideologies that epitomized the country's liberation. Along with lawmakers and politicians, intellectuals and

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[79] Gongs in the Philippines are broadly distinguished by shape. Some gongs are bossed, like those commonly found among Islamic groups, and others are flat, which are typical in the Cordilleras. Other distinctions include physical handling, that is, if the instruments are suspended in a horizontal or vertical frame, or hung, and how they are sounded—by hand, or with specific types of mallets.
[80] It is worth mentioning that the core responsibility of implementing Indigenous Peoples Education curricula is assigned to schoolteachers, and not to the elderly.
[81] Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 72.

IGOROT FESTIVAL DANCE

This dance is performed during a fiesta, kanyau, or other celebration among the Igorot peoples of the Mountain Province.

FORMATION: Dancers stand at one end of the room or open space. Any number may take part in this dance.

MUSIC is furnished by a gong, kutibeng, and other bamboo instruments. Any rhythm in 2/4 time will do. That of an Igorot song * "Bagbagto" is suggested above.

I

Take step-hops around the room, hands moving obliquely up and down, left and right, alternately. (32 cts.)

II

Dancers walk around in an imaginary circle. Hands are extended sideward with fingers and palms open. (32 cts.)

III

Take step-hops and skip-steps alternately to center and away from the center. Arms swinging easily at sides. (32 cts.)

Dancers may repeat the dance in any order they want. They are free in their movements and there is no definite number of steps to be performed.

* Singing version may be found in The Progressive Music Series, Philippine Edition, Book One.

Figure 2. 3. Entry on the "Igorot Festival Dance" from Francisca Reyes-Aquino's Philippine Folk Dances and Games (Silver Burdett, 1935).

artists took part in this development; the musical arts sector explored the greater potential of indigenous sources in Philippine self-identification. The moment prompted profound self-critical reflection that led many Filipino artists and intellectuals to distance themselves from a predominantly Western musical orientation.[82] It is worth noting that this realization occurred among people and institutions who have been steeped in coloniality. By this I mean the "non-indigenous" Filipino elite circles empowered to control native narratives in forging a non-Western, Asian- and Filipino-oriented self-discovery.

At the helm of US-trained Filipino scholars, research on Philippine music followed cultural and intellectual currents that birthed ethnomusicology in the US in the 1950s. Gregory Barz and Timothy Cooley comment that the need to contend with colonial legacies and the anxiety that music research supported imperialism led to US ethnomusicology's conception.

[82] Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, eds. *Shadows in the Field: Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology, 2nd ed*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) 11.

Filipino scholars underwent a similar reckoning. Local research on indigenous music began to prioritize documentation, classification, analysis, and comparison that increased the base of music knowledge and test theories concerning musical encounters and diffusion. Because it harkened back at early twentieth century music studies practiced by European and US predecessors, ethnomusicology in the Philippines was arguably more of a renaissance than a corrective of older approaches, as Nettl remarked about US ethnomusicology's ironic "grand entrance."[83] But pursued by Filipino researchers through systematic and rigorous methods in a postcolonial Philippine setting, this shift would take on a new significance.

Early studies of Philippine music were left out of the canon that outlines the overall history of ethnomusicology until the mid-twentieth century emergence of Jose Maceda, who is regarded as the "father of Philippine ethnomusicology." Maceda abandoned his initial path upon realizing the importance of understanding non-Western musical cultures. Maceda was a concert pianist educated in prestigious schools in Manila, Paris, and New York. In an often-told anecdote, he was interrogated by a foreign colleague who asked why he did not play music from his country. Situated in his own time, Maceda read the remark less as a form of stereotyping than a pivotal realization of an estrangement from his Philippine roots that, Ramon Santos explains, would drive Maceda's intellectual projects. Pursuing academic training in musicology, he conducted extensive fieldwork in the country and laid the foundation for the practice of ethnomusicology in the Philippines. Later, he would engage his sonic discoveries in an artistic pursuit of musical decolonization.

Through the leadership of Maceda as its founder and first director, the Department of Music Research in the 1950s (now the University of the Philippines Center for

[83] Nettl, *Nettl's Elephant,* 80-81.

Ethnomusicology) at the University of the Philippines College of Music created a structured environment that helped cultivate a Philippine musical identity. More than an academic unit that offered music literature courses to university students, it led projects that yielded extensive surveys on musics in the Philippines, employing a "two-pronged" approach that consisted of conducting fieldwork *in situ* for longer periods and laboratory data analysis.[84] This method was central to the department's first major output titled *An Ethnomusicological Survey of Philippine Music,* the objectives of which Corazon Dioquino enumerates:

> (a) to collect tapes of music, music instruments, ethnomusicological data, and photographs from the most important linguistic groups of people all over the Philippines, (b) to catalogue this collection in an archive at the University of the Philippines, (c) to study this music in relation to culture, and (d) to relate Philippine music to music in Southeast Asia.[85]

Although specific to the survey, these also explain the motives that drive the department's other activities. The department regarded people and communities least transformed by colonialism as the "most important linguistic groups" and drew attention to music of groups in Asia and elsewhere to address colonization more broadly. An east-west binary, then, underpins its decolonizing agenda.

The department applied internal dichotomies between the most colonized groups and the least in its selection of research subjects. It distinguished between the music of lowland Christian populations and those of ethnolinguistic minorities and prioritized the latter to address the needs of postcolonial recovery. As a result, the majority of the department's documentations, which consisted of over 2,000 hours' worth of audio tapes by the 1980s, feature "people with

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[84] Corazon Dioquino, "Musicology in the Philippines," *Acta Musicologica* 54 no.1/2 (1982): 131.
[85] Ibid.

indigenous or Islamic religions whose music offers a stark contrast to that of the Christianized groups."[86] Such music, Dioquino argues, are vital in defining Philippine identity as they hold the key to the "fundamental structures of music" in the country.[87] Moreover, the department also disseminated its findings about Philippine indigenous music through its resident publication *Musika Jornal* and the wealth of books and audiovisual materials produced by researchers who relied on its facilities. Even though it had already produced a substantial archive by the 1980s, the department continued to advocate for the need for further research on traditional music. Conveying the department's core aims, Dioquino reiterates the importance of looking into non-Western music in "isolated pockets that appear to be slowly fading away…."[88]

Visited as early in the 1950s as one of the department's first field sites, Cordillera communities figured prominently in these projects. Like writings on music from other ethnolinguistic minorities and from countries like Indonesia, and Vietnam, sources on Cordillera music were meticulously written. They emphasized traditional repertoires and their fundamental aspects, applied established classification systems, included visual references, and foregrounded local language. *Musika Jornal* articles published in the late 1970s by Rosario Lorrin and Marialita Tamanio-Yraola discuss characteristic instrumental, vocal, and ritual music in Ifugao and Bontoc, respectively. Lorrin classified instruments using the Sachs and Hornbostel system and included detailed drawings of these items (Fig. 2.4). She also attached photographs in her essay captioned with instrument names, their physical properties, and their traditional function. Lorrin included pictures that focused on musical instruments and their immediate context of use. Yraola also included pictures in her account on Bontoc music. Yraola included details like

[86] Ibid., 130.
[87] Ibid., 142.
[88] Ibid., 141-42.

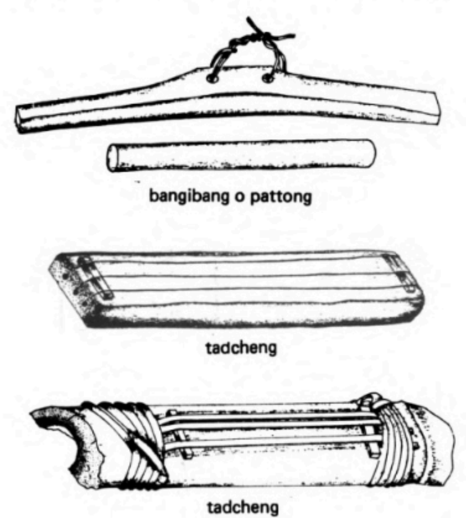

Figure 2. 4. Detailed illustrations of Ifugao instruments in Rosario Lorrin's article "Mga Ilang Tala Ukol sa Musika ng mga Ifugao" ("Some Notes on the Music of the Ifugao People"), Musika Jornal 2 (1978).

Lorrin's, but also discussed the physical appearance of musical and ritual performance settings. One caption read, in Filipino, "This arrangement is definitely seen in large gatherings when they situate themselves before gangsa playing and dancing begins, during rest periods, or while eating,"[89] which suggests how she found such arrangements remarkable (Fig. 2.5). Yraola's thorough, 70- page account delves into the various songs, dances, instrumental music, and rituals traditionally practiced by Bontoc people. Lorrin does the same, but she distinguishes between pre- and post-World War II Ifugao songs. In the latter, she examines vocal music into which melodies for US-American songs have been incorporated, suggesting the impact of colonial intrusion. Later in her essay, Lorrin points out that a lot of ritual music has been "relegated to

[89] Marialita Tamanio-Yraola, *"Ang Musika ng mga Bontok Igorot sa Sadanga, Lalawigang Bulubundukin" Musika Jornal* 3 (1979): 53.

Ang ganitong kaayusan ay isang tiyak na tanawin bago simulan ang pagtugtog ng gangsa at sayawan sa isang malaking pagdiriwang, o kaya'y nagpapahiwatig ng pamamahinga o oras ng pagkain ng mga panauhin (Limmayog 1973).

Figure 2.5. An image from Marialita Tamanio-Yraola's essay "Ang Musika ng mga Bontok Igorot sa Sadanga, Lalawigang Bulubundukin" ("Music of the Bontoc Igorot from Sadanga, Mountain Province") (Musika Jornal 3, 1979). The caption translates as: "This arrangement is definitely seen in large gatherings when people situate themselves before gangsa playing and dancing begins, during rest periods, or while eating."

disuse."[90] Further, both articles were written in Filipino (with Lorrin's providing just a summary in English) and utilized native terms for songs, instruments, and rituals. Complementing these references, the department also released audiovisual materials, such as the 12-inch record *Ang Musika ng mga Kalinga (The Music of the Kalinga)* in 1978, and through the assistance of the UNESCO, the documentary *The Music of the Buwaya, Kalinga* in 1980. Institutionally legitimized, these sources helped produce authoritative knowledge about music in the Cordillera region through public access and applications in core courses on Philippine music literature for many years. On a broader scale, they served as indispensable vestiges of a Philippine past in a

[90] Rosario Lorrin, *"Mga Ilang Tala Ukol sa Musika ng mga Ifugao," Musika Jornal* 2 (1978): 154.

climate where the romantic, "apolitical" guise of musical self-knowledge overshadowed the politics of representation.

The department grew into the UP Ethnomusicology Archives, then into the UP Center for Ethnomusicology, its present form. The center was recently included in the UNESCO Memory of the World Register because of the heritage value of the large collection it has amassed. An effort to expand its archive beyond the purview of traditional music accompanied this growth, however, along with repatriation projects like the one I described in the beginning of this chapter. An acknowledgement of the need for inclusivity is perhaps the most notable goal; at a public conference, one of its head administrators stated that the center should house "all kinds of music" in its archive. Yet as the homepage of its recently updated website implies, the preservation of music-cultural heritages in the Philippines, Southeast Asia, and in "representative areas" of other parts of the world remains its distinctive, foundational purpose.[91]

In a field that would later be called "ethnomusicology-composition," indigenous music research would serve as a foundational component of art music composition to those who felt compelled to write music in the interest of nation-building. Filipino composer Eliseo Pájaro, one of the earlier luminaries in this undertaking, penned the essay "Nationalism in Music" to articulate the Filipino composer's responsibility to their nation. "What can we do to inspire our composers to produce great works that are expressive of our aspirations and feelings as a people, and which would be reflective of our national customs and traditions, aesthetic sense, our own way of life?" he contemplated.[92] Filipino composers responded variedly to this imperative, though the issue of colonial inheritance determined the symbolic potential of their methods.

[91] "UP Center for Ethnomusicology," The University of the Philippines Center for Ethnomusicology, accessed June 12, 2021. https://upethnom.com.
[92] Eliseo Pajaro, "Nationalism in Music," *Musical Journal of the Philippines* 1(2) (1966), quoted in Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 44.

Some composers, like Lucio San Pedro and Antonino Buenaventura, leaned toward romanticism and orchestration within the frame of Western traditions. Colonized Filipinos have embraced Western music as their own after a protracted exposure to European and US American aesthetics. Eventually, folk melodies utilized the diatonic scale, and nineteenth century Filipino art music composers wrote in the Western Romantic style, which was prevalent in Europe during their time.[93] Conversely, the deployment of western tonality and harmony was unsuitable to other composers, who saw the promise of musical modernism. A style that accommodated sounds and expressive cultures beyond the limits of Western conventions, which included gong, bamboo, and vocal and dance repertoires of indigenous communities, its flexible strategies offered an apt medium for a nationalistic message. Enabling evocations of a pre-colonial past, musical modernism provided the key to music that celebrated a postcolonial era.

Lucresia Kasilag was among the Filipino composers who incorporated indigenous Filipino and other Asian materials in her application of modernist techniques. She was immersed in Western art music from a very young age and, like Maceda, aspired to be a concert pianist. Eventually, she changed career paths and made her mark as a renowned scholar, educator, school administrator, and a critical force in Philippine cultural nationalism. She was moved by the post-war climate in the Philippines while learning about the possibilities of musical modernism during her studies in composition and theory in New York. Upon her election as dean of the Philippine Women's University in 1953, Kasilag introduced new courses, and programs for teaching and research that stressed the value of Asian music and preservation of musical cultures in the country's far-flung areas. Armed with experience, skills, and institutional repute, Kasilag's work extended beyond academia as she occupied top positions in organizations that promoted culture

[93] Castro, *Musical Renderings,* 53.

and the arts. Among many other leadership roles, she served most prominently as director and musical director of two eminent national cultural institutions in the country, respectively: the Cultural Center of the Philippines and the Bayanihan Dance Company. [94] It was her work with the latter, however, that Kasilag profoundly realized the utmost potential of Asian music. As part of her method, she devoted her time to field research on musics across the country. It was then when she learned about the rich Asian heritage of Philippine music.

Kasilag's discoveries inspired a prolific career in music composition that served the interests of nation-building. Visitacion de la Torre explains that in her works from 1958 onwards, she employed what she named an "East/West" strategy.[95] Trained in modernist composition, which, as exemplified by French composers like Claude Debussy and Olivier Messiaen, borrowed from non-Western sources, she recognized their musical confluence. Kasilag saw no contradiction between the two worlds, because she attended to the autonomous aesthetic value of indigenous music and incorporated it to a western, modernist musical template. "I use the materials, but the idioms are the same… I realize that the sounds are limited, but the colors and nuances are very rich."[96] In conjunction, Kasilag thought that Philippine identity possessed an ambivalence because of a history of diverse, East-West cultural encounters, but suggested that it leaned more strongly toward the West. Philippine music, "is not purely Oriental or indigenous, but Western," Kasilag said, with "the Hispanic tradition too strong to be denied as an

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[94] The term "Bayanihan" refers to a Filipino cultural value of helping each other in communal unity without expecting rewards.
The company would eventually change its name Bayanihan Philippine National Dance Company, which represented its contributions of nationalizing Philippine dance through a decades-long collaboration with the state.
[95] Visitacion de la Torre, *Lucresia Kasilag: An Artist for the World* (Philippines: V. R. de la Torre and the Friends of LRK, 1985), 61.
[96] Ibid.

influence."[97] Thus, Kasilag's musical modernism ranged from programmatic orchestral works and avant-garde experimentations.

Kasilag drew from the Cordilleras in applying her compositional strategy. In *Philippine Scenes* (1974), an orchestral work whose three movements depicted the three main Philippine-island groups—Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao—Kasilag represented the Cordillera region in the first movement titled "Mountain Side." Although the work does not use Cordillera instruments, it conjures sounds and sights reminiscent of the region. The piece uses pentatonic melodies, as evident in the flute introduction that resembled *tongali* (nose flute) traditional music (Fig. 2.6). Its free-flowing rhythm floated above a static drone of dissonant low-pitched and high-pitched woodwinds and brasses, and occasional rolls on the timpani, evoke the region's vast fields. Robust brass and string clusters conjure the region's majestic mountain range, and a chanting chorus references the male congregational chants common in Cordillera musical cultures. Intermittent, punctuating single notes on a bossed gong reference the region's gong tradition (Fig. 2.7).

Visions of a Dialogue Between a Western Flute and Saggeypo with Chimes and Kubing (1996), as the title suggests, involves a conversation between Western and indigenous instruments that culminate into a sonic convergence. The work includes Cordillera instruments like the Kalinga *kubing* (jaw harp) and *saggeypo* (bamboo panpipes), with the addition of wind chimes, and the *tulali* bamboo flute of the Panay Bukidnon people of Panay, Visayas. Other than using pentatonic scales, the piece does not make precise references to specific repertoires or rhythmic patterns, but it emphasizes the pitch and timbral qualities of its instruments in a way that highlights their contrasts and similarities. The piece begins by alternating its individual

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[97] Ibid.

Figure 2.6. The opening measure of Philippine Scenes (1974) include a solo flute passage that may remind listeners of the tongali (nose flute). Musical score courtesy of the Lucresia Kasilag Collection of the Philippine Women's University Library.

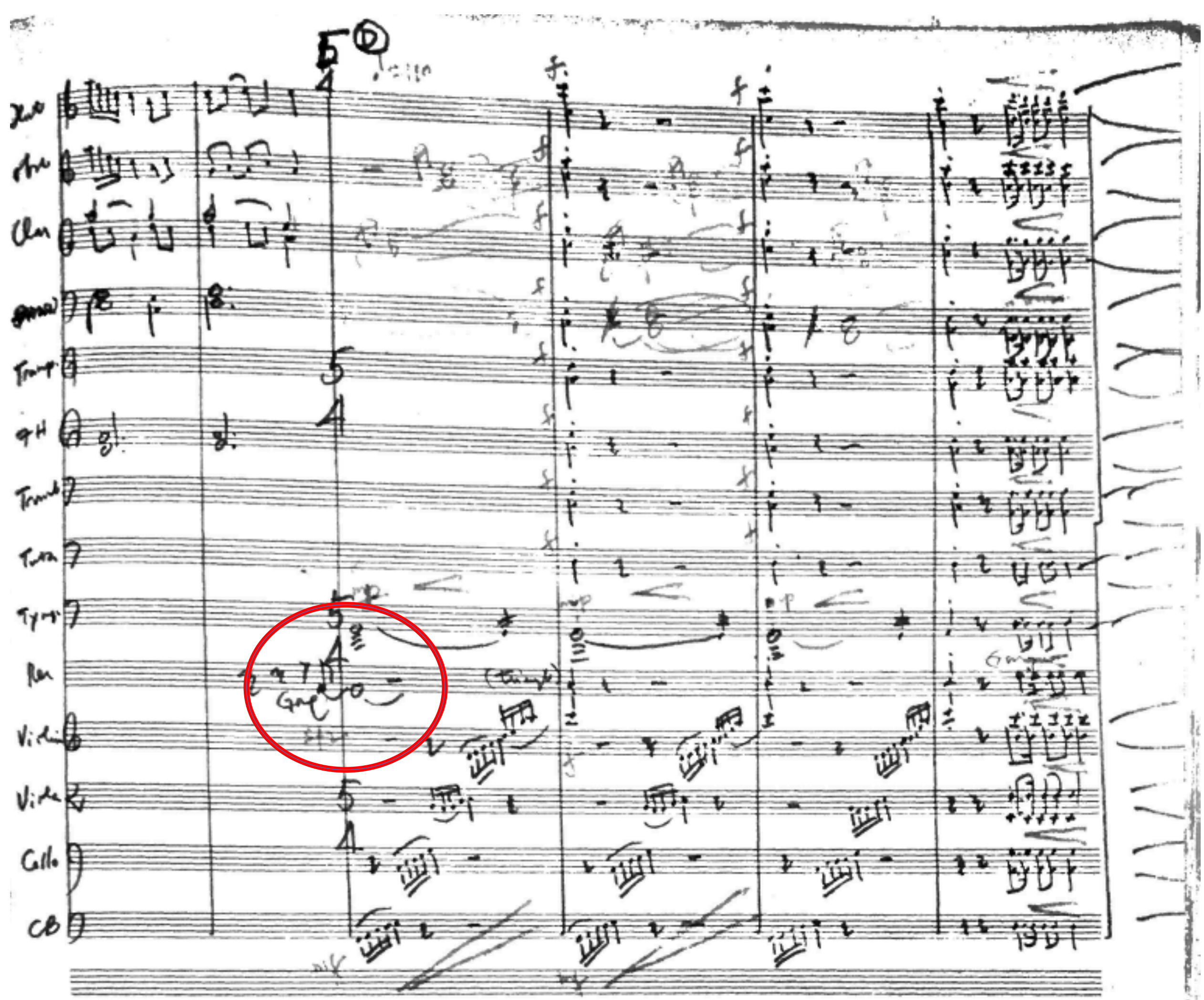

Figure 2.7. Intermittent notes on a bossed gong punctuate the first movement of Kasilag's Philippine Scenes (1974), called "Mountainside." Musical score courtesy of the Lucresia Kasilag Collection of the Philippine Women's University Library.

instruments (Fig. 2.8) and progresses through increased activity; solo parts shorten in duration as switches between one instrument to another occur more rapidly. The piece concludes as the instruments gradually overlap in dense layers, whose components remain discernable (Fig. 2.9)

Like Kasilag, Maceda also looked to music composition to apply his research his findings. In Maceda's case, this application fulfilled a logical step in his tenacious intellectual pursuit of a compositional language that, in his view, subverted the hegemony of the West.

Figure 2.8. Opening measures of Lucresia Kasilag's Visions of a Dialogue Between a Western Flute and Saggeypo with Chimes and Kubing (1996), which highlights the timbral and pitch features its individual instrument parts. Musical score courtesy of the Lucresia Kasilag Collection of the Philippine Women's University Library.

Taking what he saw as the next logical step to conducting extensive research, Maceda advocated for non-Western music by crafting a revitalizing modernist approach aimed at dismantling the boundaries of Western composition. The musical avant-garde provided a framework he could exploit. To Maceda, Michael Tenzer writes, "it could take on a progressive social function in the Philippines by articulating the repressed voices and aesthetics of its marginalized peoples in a reinvigorating modern way."[98] Departing from the ideas of avant-garde composers like Edgard

[98] Michael Tenzer, "Jose Maceda and the Paradoxes of Modern Composition in Southeast Asia," *Ethnomusicology* 47 no. 1 (2003): 100.

Figure 2.9. Conclusion of Lucresia Kasilag's Visions of a Dialogue Between a Western Flute and Saggeypo with Chimes and Kubing (1996) where instrument parts overlap. Musical score courtesy of the Lucresia Kasilag Collection of the Philippine Women's University Library.

Varese, John Cage, and Iannis Xenakis, Maceda experimented with sound organization, audiotape manipulation, and the unpredictability of chance music. Seeing the limitations of these techniques, he incorporated aesthetics, practices, and worldviews that he understood as essential to Asian cultures. In his first forays into composition in the 1960s and 1970s, Maceda wrote music produced from the pitch and timbre varieties of gong and bamboo instruments that relied

Figure 2.9. (continued).

on large numbers of performers, a portrayal of Asian collectivism reclaiming a high-tech, Westernized world.

Cordillera instruments played a crucial role in this strategy. In his composition *Ugnayan: Music for 20 Radio Stations* (1974) for instance, ten gangsa, one hundred *ongiyong* (whistle flute), one hundred *balingbing* (buzzer), and fifty *kolitong* (polychordal zither), produced varying sound densities and textures (Fig. 2.10). Maceda grouped these instruments and assigned to them different rhythmic configurations that he composed, as opposed to derived from his field research. He then recorded these sound clips and, for *Ugnayan's* performance, assigned these clips to distinct radio frequencies. Participants would tune into these frequencies with their transistor radios, playing all the clips simultaneously. As in its premiere in 1974, *Ugnayan* is to be executed through the dispersion of sound from the unpredictable and indeterminate movement of people who would switch on their radios and experience music together as they move around freely in a public space. Taking place, two years into President Ferdinand Marcos's martial rule, *Ugnayan* was executed through the support of the national government under the auspices of Marcos's wife, Imelda, who helped stir the country's cultural programs. Through the

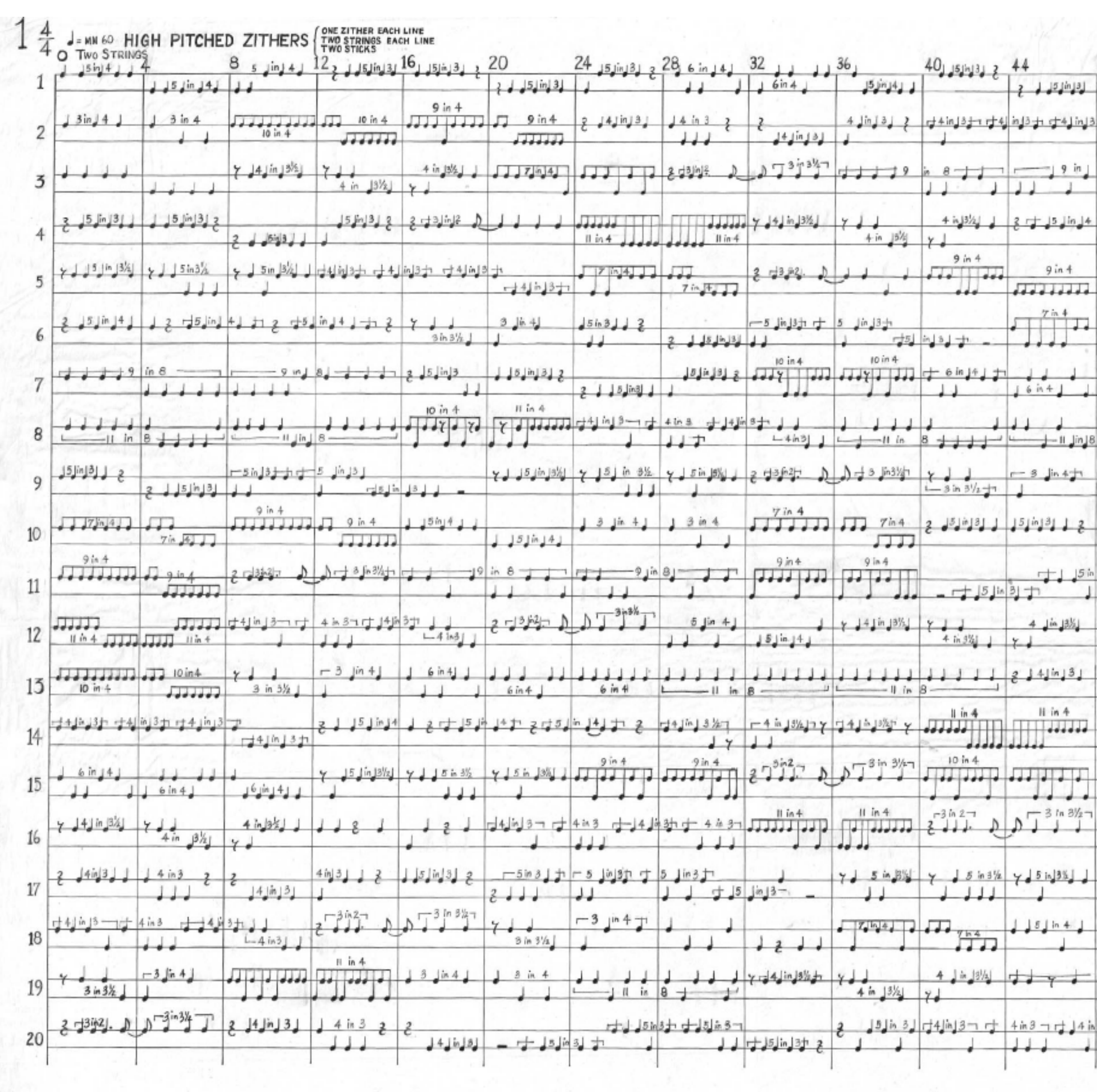

Figure 2.10. An excerpt from Jose Maceda's Ugnayan: Music for 20 Radio Stations (1974) that shows the varying densities of kolitong (bamboo zithers), balingbing (bamboo buzzer), and ongiyong (whistle flute) in the first thirty measures. Musical score courtesy of the University of the Philippines Center for Ethnomusicology.

state-sanctioned leveraging of radio stations, their wide-ranging frequencies, and a large number of participants, Cordillera instruments dominate and reclaim vast spaces, which can span between any two points across the country.[99]

The watershed significance of postwar intellectual developments and its legacy on future generations of intellectuals and artists should not be dismissed, just as its impact on the knowledge production of indigenous music and identity should not be ignored. The extraction of traditional music that has defined postwar music research was instrumental in decolonization and enriching cultural memory. Yet, its necessary curation sidelined the fluidity of the people who served as its indispensable resource. Postcolonial music research dictates what counts as "important," to use Dioquino's wording, or more precisely, what is indigenous, authentic, and otherwise. The romanticism of this endeavor was further realized in nationalist compositions, but these works cannot be narrowly read as innocent pursuits or mere matters of "freedom of expression," because asymmetrical power relationships and privileged borrowings enabled their creation. At the same time, however, a default sense of trust in the idea that Philippine "insiders" have taken on the imperative of indigenous representation nurtures a reluctance in scrutinizing such relationships. Postwar music scholarship, as Born and Hesmondalgh put it, tends to exclude social and political self-critique in its understanding of culture.[100]

"Reflection, Reciprocation, Advocacy"

Nevertheless, these issues were not lost to a younger generation of Filipino music scholars who sought to identify the shortcomings of postwar research and composition paradigms. They

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[99] Neal Matherne provides a detailed assessment of *Ugnayan* in relation to the problematics of the Philippine state-sanctioned National Artist Award in his PhD dissertation "Composing the Nation

[100] Born and Hesmondlagh, 7.

emerged in the 1980s and 1990s at a time when ethnomusicology took a "humanistic turn," following the cultural anthropology of George Marcus, Clifford Geertz, James Clifford, Paul Rabinow, and others. Engaged in what is known as the "science wars," ethnomusicologists began to stir the field toward new directions that invite a critique of empiricism, closer attention to individual musicians and the musical life of specific communities and locales, and what Barz and Cooley refer to as "new fieldwork," which the three quotes above encapsulate—research that caters to community interests and that acknowledges subjectivity.[101] Jeff Todd Titon describes the oppositions that underlie this change: "from science to cultural critique, from the musical object to the musical experience, from analysis to interpretation, from explanation to understanding."[102] Applications of these in the writings of Filipino scholars ranged from analyses of representation, self-critique, and extensive ethnomusicological studies that demonstrated the flexible and permeable nature of traditional music.

Composer and scholar Jonas Baes interrogates ethnomusicology in the Philippines, which remains characterized by its postwar emergence and its close ties with music composition. Baes suggests that the discipline espouses fixed, reductive understandings of indigenous identity, much like modern-day state policies and economic demands on which indigenous people rely for survival. He examines issues of mendicancy and tourism and presents a brief case study on the Diangan Bagobo Ensemble to theorize on the alienation of indigenous persons due to the encroachment of modernity.[103] Elsewhere, in a critique of ethnomusicology-composition, Baes warns against the enticement with native instruments and acknowledged how composers—

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[101] Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, *Shadows in the Field,* 11-13.
[102] Jeff Todd Titon, "Applied Ethnomusicology: A Descriptive and Historical Account," in *Theory, Method, Sustainability, and Conflict: An Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology,* edited by Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Todd Titon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 1:24.
[103] Baes, "To the Memory of an Angel: Philippine Indigenous Music and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation," *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies* 2(1) (2004), 45.

including himself—misrepresent and control indigenous identity by celebrating these "cultural objects" as emblems of national pride.[104] Meanwhile, ethnomusicologists Jose Buenconsejo and La Verne de la Peña offer rigorous examinations of fieldwork data to illustrate the fundamentally mutable nature of indigenous identity and musical practice. Buenconsejo debunks notions about cultural purity through a study on musical hybridity as evidenced in the intersubjectivity of the Agusan Manobo people. Buenconsejo suggests that musical expressions result from a Manobo self, subjectivity, and morality that are shaped by structural transformations. In turn, these transformations stem from exchange and "ideological confrontations" with neighboring communities in the Mindanao group of islands.[105]

De la Peña writes about the permeability of Cordillera music through a study of the Kankana-ey vocal genre *day-eng*. Challenging views that favor a music-context dichotomy, he examines the genre's porousness and embeddedness in various aspects of Kankana-ey social life. De la Peña analyzes the day-eng from distinct, yet interrelated vantage points that draw a continuum between music and context: in terms of its musical features and variations in its rendition, and in relation to the setting of its performance and the other activities that take place alongside it. Inclusive and incorporative in nature, the day-eng is variably executed based on overlapping social dynamics that surround its performance. Practitioners typically follow a set of rules. Yet, de la Peña observes, they transgress from these rules to accommodate "intrusive" elements and accept them into the day-eng system. De la Peña witnessed these flexibilities in performances during a wake, which he reads as a site of convergence. The presence of guests from across the Cordillera region shaped the social exchanges that took place during the event, as

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[104] Jonas Baes, "Bamboo and Music Composition: Disquietudes on the Ascendancy of a "Cultural Object," *Humanities Diliman* 5(1-2) (2008): 130.
[105] Jose Buenconsejo, *Songs and Gifts at the Frontier: Person and Exchange in the Agusan Manobo Possession Ritual, Philippines,* edited by Jennifer C. Post 4: xi-xiii

the resulting day-eng demonstrated. Day-eng performed adhered to standard melody called *day-eng di natey*.[106] But these also incorporated exogenous vocal expressive forms, like the pan-Cordilleran *salidummay,* genres of other Cordillera groups like the *bad'iw* of Ibaloi and Bontoc *daliliyan,* and even Christian hymns. Parallel musical structures across these vocal genres, practitioners' use of transformative devices like melodic formulae and their skills in variation, the social exchanges that inflect a day-eng performance allow these transgressions and illustrate the inclusive and dialogic nature of day-eng practice—by extension, it demonstrates the dynamism of Kankana-ey sociality.

Baes's reflexive contentions speak to issues that prompted an admission of scholarly imposition on musical cultures and consequent corrective developments throughout the history of musicological research. Yet there is a need to explore how his theorizations fair with comprehensive and nuanced analyses of indigenous musical practice. Doing so would uncover how other indigenous persons have indeed embraced modernity and have capitalized on the fetishization of ancestral traditions as a vital tool in their contemporary lives with which they can leverage social and political structures. Meanwhile, Buenconsejo and de la Peña present substantial data to prove that encounter, exchange, and porous and shifting affiliations are fundamental to identity-making. Nonetheless, their studies are limited to what are understood as traditional repertoire and to the confines of private village settings.

Much of the knowledge that has been produced about Igorot music presents difference as a defining feature of Igorot musical identity. But there is more to be acknowledged about Igorots' musical practices. Igorots inhabit larger fields of encounter in their lived realities and dialogically engage with history, modernity, local and national politics, and market economies,

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[106] La Verne David de la Peña, "Traversing Boundaries: A Situated Music Approach to the Study of *Day-eng* Performance Among the Kankana-ey of North Luzon" (PhD. diss., University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2000), 148-156.

and with ongoing experiences of othering and marginalization. Music mediates these engagements through necessarily contradictory ventures into non-traditional genres and modes of representation that informs and enriches their complex identities.

Chapter Two

Sonic Syncretisms of the Revolutionary *"Kaigorotan"*

In this chapter, I examine the musical manifestations of an Igorotness intertwined with Philippine left-wing activism. I begin with a discussion on how a politicized, revolutionary consciousness emerged among some Igorot groups as they struggled to protect their land from outsider usurpation. Commonly known as "warriors," Igorots are highly accustomed to organized territorial defense, as seen in their histories of confronting colonial intrusion by the Spanish as early as the 1700s, and by the Americans in the early and mid-twentieth centuries. But crises in environmental devastation, community displacement, and deaths among tribespeople resulting from escalating corporate and national government development aggression in the 1970s and 1980s prompted a number of communities to re-strategize. These circumstances, refracted through a broadening political awareness, led Igorots to expand and modify tribal knowledge, organization, identity, and understandings of territorial defense to the extent of eventually adopting the ideology and practice of the Philippine Left. To Igorot activists, Philippine revolutionary theory reinforces their indigenous cultural values and views about the special significance of land; left-wing political theory crystalized their aims and promises a stronger chance at sovereignty.

As they adopted a leftist perspective, Igorot activists embraced revolutionary views about music as a creative medium for tackling social issues, particularly experiences of oppression. However, typical guitar-accompanied protest songs were not the only basis for the musical

material they developed. Elements from Igorot music and dances figure prominently in their repertoires, given the fundamental role of expressive traditions in mediating everyday experiences. Their musical practices, as I will show through analyses of protest songs and the gong-and-dance genre *pattong,* illustrate political struggles as part of Igorot realities. Cordillera histories of territorial defense attests to this notion.

"Ti daga ket biag"

The above Ilocano[107] phrase, which translates to "land is life," is ubiquitous in indigenous Cordillera activist parlance. In Lakbayan and Cordillera Day, I saw it printed on mass-disseminated pamphlets and statements, and on banners and flags strewn all over protest venues. Program emcees, speakers, and eager audience members chant the phrase to punctuate speeches, mark transitions from one activity to the next, and re-energize crowds in meetings and protest marches. Its repetitive utterance may render it obsolete. Nevertheless, it cannot be trivialized. To many indigenous Cordillerans, land is the basis for existence. Amid intrusion into ancestral domains in the twentieth century, which began to accelerate in the 1960s onward, they grew increasingly conscious about land as a source of survival and identity-making, and as a foundation for core belief systems and practices that protect and celebrate land for what it can give.

The multifaceted concept *"ili,"* which generally refers to a notion of territoriality, encapsulates the significance of land among Igorots. On the surface, the ili can be defined as a bounded territory where a population of common ancestry and citizenship lives. However, its

[107] One of the prevalent languages spoken the Philippines out of 130, also spoken by a Philippine lowland Christian ethnolinguistic group of the same name as well as the lingua franca of indigenous groups from the Cordillera Administrative Region.

traditional internal structures[108] reveal the deep interconnections between indigenous Cordillera ecology, economy, cultural, and socio-political systems.[109] More than an occupied physical space, the ili is a self-sustaining community whose practices, local knowledge, and social relationships grant its inhabitants a sense of self and belonging. As McKay observes, "affective, social, and economic interdependence," and the communal relationships and collective identity that stem from it, are reinforced when confined in historically territorialized spaces.[110] Thus, life in the ili shows how Igorotness is predicated on, and intricately woven into land.

A reciprocal relationship with the ili pervades the defining practices of Igorots. Fulfilling the divine obligation to care for oneself, for others, and the environment, ili inhabitants subsist and survive on land, investing labor on its arability, vegetation, forests, and bodies of water for their basic needs. Macli-ing Dulag, a revered Kalinga tribal leader who led territorial defense actions in the 1970s and 1980s, evoked the spiritual leanings of agricultural labor in the ili when he said, "*Apo Kabunian,*[111] the Lord of us all, gave us this land. It is sacred, nourished by our sweat. It shall become even more sacred when it is nourished by our blood."[112] Thus, communities devote significant effort in planting and harvesting; rituals associated with these agricultural practices, such as the *begnas* (harvest rituals) are focal points within the ili. In relation, Igorots take care of the ili through resource management practices. In Ifugao province, for instance, a family or entire clan is tasked to manage and maintain woodlots, a method called

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[108] These insights are based on discussions in the work of Mariflor Parpan-Pagsupara, Deirdre McKay, and June Prill-Brett, and my own personal interviews with members of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance.

[109] Deirdre McKay, "Locality, Place, and Globalization in the Cordillera: Building on the Work of June Prill-Brett," in *Cordillera in June: Essays Celebrating June Prill-Brett, Anthropologist,* edited by Bienvenido P. Tapang (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2007), 150-1.

[110] Ibid.

[111] *Kabunian* (sometimes spelled *"Kabunyan"*) is a Kankana-ey term that pertains to a supreme being or deity that controls natural and human fortunes.

[112] Ceres P. Doyo, *Macliing Dulag: Kalinga Chief, Defender of the Cordillera* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2015), 19.

muyung. Fallowing is another common practice among Igorots, leaving arable land unsown from one to five years to restore its fertility. In a practice called *mananum,* community members work together to maintain and rehabilitate water resources. Similarly, at the time of a death, the Tingguian and Isneg people of the respective Abra and Apayao provinces close off specific areas for the replenishment of their biodiversity, declaring them as under *lapat*. Setting foot in these areas and exploiting their resources are prohibited and punishable by ili laws.

Other local laws that determine rights and privileges to exploit, manage, and even own land root Igorots to their ili. A *prima occupantis* system, June Prill-Brett writes, serves as basis for territory ownership in the Cordilleras in general; privilege over these resources belong to the first to occupy, access, and exploit them.[113] Within ilis, traditional rights to the ownership of land fall into three patterns.[114] An entire village has communal rights to water and some land resources, like lumber, which belong exclusively to the ili and can neither be sold, claimed, nor exploited by outsiders. In contrast, "indigenous corporate rights" allow clans to turnover or sell land they have continuously occupied, but only in case of emergencies. Similarly, those who have individual rights to land such as rice terraces, hillside tree lots, and residential areas can sell their properties, but only to relatives, primarily to the closest of kin. Inherited through progeniture (regardless of sex), or marriage, these properties are among their most precious heirlooms. As typical, the amount of land owned by clans or individuals determines their social standing.

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[113] June Prill-Brett, "Concepts of Ancestral Domain in the Cordillera Region from Indigenous Perspectives" from RESEARCH REPORT 1: Perspectives on Resource Management in the Cordillera Region (Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, February 2001), 8.
[114] Ibid., 10.

People of the higher socio-economic class *baknang* are generally admired in Igorot communities, and their status is something many aspire towards.[115] But in spite of their reputation, the common goal of nurturing and strengthening the ili motivates many Igorots to place utmost importance on the community's welfare over that of the individual. The strength and success of an ili rely on collective relationships and the socialized cooperation of its inhabitants. Local concepts in the Sagada-Kankana-ey language, such as *ob-obbu,* the phrase *ipeyas nan gawis,* and *betad* attest to the importance of egalitarianism in Igorot communities. *Ob-obbu* refers to their collective ethos, an equivalent of *bayanihan* in the Tagalog language. *Ipeyas nan gawis* encourages the sharing of goodness in work, health, relationships, and overall people's welfare. *Betad* refers to collective action in defending territories, overall tribal welfare, and in mitigating disasters.[116] Even leadership within the ili reflects their value for the collective. Matters of governance, tribal welfare, and other internal affairs are overseen by a council of elders called *lallakay*. They convene to discuss important tribal matters in the *dap-ay,* designated locations for meetings among elders within ilis. In addition, the lallakay organize and preside over peace pacts called *bodong,* which involve negotiations on issues such as territorial disputes and crimes committed within and among communities. Value for collective relationships ascribes an ili identity to Igorots that is stronger than their individual repute. As Prill-Brett gleaned from her research among Bontoc groups, when a person is apprehended by another from

[115] In *Dap-ay Discourse Uno,* Benedict Solang states that migration from the *ili* is a measure of success among Cordillera locals. This view, he further argues, resulted from American colonial economic policies that portrayed the US as an industrial urban center, and the Philippines as its rural base.
[116] Benedict Solang, "Persistence and Disintegration of Socio-Political Systems and Values," in *Dap-ay Discourse Uno: Activist Perspective of Cordillera History and Social Change* (Baguio City: Northern Media Information Network, 2017), 36-37.

a different community, they say *"nilayusan cha chatako!"* ("they have taken advantage of us!"), addressing the ili to which the offender belonged.[117]

While many of these values and land practices have faded today, they remain to be considered by many Igorots as proof of an established system of land management and an immeasurable respect for the environment. The destruction of these systems by outside forces attests to the gravity of intrusion. The embeddedness of Igorot being to the land, as seen in the complex structures that a dependent and foundational relationship with the ili have built, explains how hard it is to imagine Cordillerans having no access to it. If you take land from them, "we will cease to exist," [118] says Sarah Dekdeken, the Secretary General of the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA). Any attempt of such deprivation is seen as antagonistic.

The Cordillera Land Problem

Large-scale, systematic attempts to take over Igorot ancestral lands began during the colonial eras. As far back as 1521, the explorer Ferdinand Magellan claimed Philippine soil as property of the Spanish monarchy through the Regalian doctrine. Though considered a "legal fiction," it justified Spanish military efforts that sought to control the country's people and pursue the land they owned.[119] Using religious conversion to cover-up their economic and political needs, Spanish forces reorganized the country's internal boundaries, imposed land title laws that warranted their expropriation of its land, and launched military expeditions to seize its natural resources. Existing as smaller, divided tribal[120] units by the late-sixteenth century, Cordillera

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[117] McKay, "Locality," 151.
[118] Sarah Dekdeken, Davidson Agulin, and Gerald Chupchupen, interview by author, Baguio City, July 10, 2019.
[119] June Prill-Brett, "Land Rights and Legal Pluralism Among Philippine Highlanders," *Law and Society Review* 28 (1994): 691.
[120] As I mentioned in the introduction, the term "tribe" is not intrinsic to Cordillera political structures, though it has been applied by Spanish and US colonizers in distinguishing Cordillera groups. While I use the term with caution, it serves the purpose of describing the particular social politics of Igorot communities.

communities were subject to displacement and land dispossession. At first, the Spanish never fully controlled the Cordilleras. With their existing systems of land ownership and organized practices of territorial defense, the Cordillerans resisted Spanish intrusion through local uprisings and maintained autonomy from the colonial government. Nevertheless, the threat of their autonomy provoked the Spanish to use stronger, punitive tactics. In his writings, Scott notes that from 1829 to 1839, Spanish Commander Guillermo Galvey led military operations that burned villages, destroying fields and homes, and introduced smallpox, contaminating and murdering their inhabitants.[121] Towards the turn of the twentieth century, the colonial government established nine military outposts that surrounded the Cordilleras to secure their reach. These comandancias politico-militares operated as socio-political units that divided Igorot communities, allowing Spanish authorities to collect taxes, implement forced labor, and place their local allies in-charge. Spanish implemented cadastral laws, which required that all cultivated and occupied lands should be surveyed and registered. Igorots' unfamiliarity with these colonial regulations made it easy for Spanish citizens, as well as for Chinese mestizos and non-Igorot Filipino landlords, to file claims over Cordillera lands.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the more systematic, divisive colonial strategies of the US government further destabilized community resistance and gave way to land expropriation. Guided by US government-sponsored ethnological research on Igorots and their lands' potential for economic gain (in which US scholars Dean C. Worcester and David P. Barrows took part), US colonizers were able to expand control over communities that had resisted Spanish intrusion. Through new laws, a number of which required taxes and additional payments, the Americans reinforced land ownership policies that the Spanish initiated. Among

[121] Scott, 213.

these were the Land Registration Act of 1902, which required landholders to acquire a Torrens title[122] as proof of land ownership, and the Public Land Act of 1905, a law that declared unregistered land as properties of the state. The US colonial government also took over Igorot mines and land areas within their vicinity. Through the Mining Acts[123] of 1905 and 1935, they respectively allowed Americans and Filipino citizens to take possession of public lands and declared native mining and gold panning punishable. Literacy issues, the lack of money, and conflicts with existing tribal customs, stifled Igorots from adapting to these legalities. Only a few of them, notably the wealthy baknang class who began to pursue their own commercial interests, could meet these impositions. Those who could not were exploited, their properties land-grabbed even by their fellow, more fortunate tribespeople. Moreover, imposing a commercial economic system that lured Igorots towards income-generating ventures was not the only tactic that weakened Igorot community ties. The Americans also launched agricultural and resettlement programs that altered Igorot lifestyles and social organization. Proclamation No. 217, which declared 81.8 percent of Cordillera forests as "forest zones," deprived its resident communities of their traditional right to cultivate their land. New farming programs diversified available crops in the region and supplied US colonizers with products that satisfied their temperate fruit cravings. But these forced Igorots to abandon their planting practices. Furthermore, the colonial government established reservations, displacing groups to other areas in the Cordillera region. This move catalyzed integration with lowlanders and other indigenous tribes, causing conflict. More importantly, it separated Igorot communities, undermining their collectivist relationships.

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[122] Through a Torrens title, a government establishes ownership of assets through a land registration and transfer system. Ownership indicated by the title is indisputable.
[123] Minerva Chaloping-March provides a detailed account on the development of Mining Act of 1995, the most recent iteration of the 1905 law, in her article "The Trail of a Mining Law: 'Resource Nationalism' in the Philippines" (2011).

These colonial tactics created the conditions for the continued aggravation of the Cordillera land problem after the US occupation. The Philippine government implemented additional laws that opened Cordillera ancestral lands to local and foreign businessmen, landlords, and the state's political and military entities. Communities were further endangered and land increasingly subject to systematic exploitation. Strengthened commercialization in the 1950s led to a boom in the region's agricultural industry. This attracted Chinese businessmen, who, through intermarriages, the covert assistance of locals, and by trumping locals with competitive farming techniques, gained control over huge portions of Cordillera land. The government attempted to control rampant Chinese occupancy, though they were unsuccessful. Regardless, government responses to outsider encroachment only reiterate the state's authority over the Cordilleras. For instance, the government converted some areas into national parks to control outsider occupation, though such a measure, like the crop diversifying programs previously described, constrained Igorots from practicing their farming livelihood. Similarly, they implemented tree farming programs aimed at recovering denuded forests, but these ventures demoted contributing Cordillera farmers to the territories' lessees. Further, improvements in public agricultural land that resulted from farming programs enticed private interest, especially those based in Baguio City, Cordillera's regional cosmopolitan center, and the Philippine capital of Metro Manila. Land buyers turned these areas into real estate, however, irrespective of rules that required the continued planting of specific crops, like coffee, to supposedly sustain forests.

The Cordillera region increasingly attracted local and foreign investment in the 1960s and 1970s that exacerbated the damages on its vast resources and territorial conflicts between outsiders and Igorots. Together, the provinces of Benguet, Kalinga, Apayao, and Mountain Province accommodated eight mining companies whose operations comprised 36 percent of

mining activities in the country.[124] With the magnitude of these projects came immense environmental devastation that depleted forests, desiccated watersheds, and soiled rivers with mineral waste. The Philippine government, which in 1972 former president Ferdinand Marcos had placed under martial law, supported these projects. Lawmakers under the regime enacted Presidential decrees 410 in 1974 and 705 in 1975,[125] laws that warranted state claims to Igorot ancestral lands. Consequentially, these laws laid the groundwork for large-scale development ventures, the two most infamous of which were the Chico River Basin Development Project (CRBDP) and the Cellophil Resources Corporation (CRC) operations. Though derailed by various forms of organized community opposition, these projects demonstrate the severity of outsider encroachment into Cordillera territory.

In 1965, the Philippine government under Marcos proposed the construction of four large dams along the Chico River, one of the major river systems in the Cordillera region. Within eight years, the project gained traction through targeted funding from The World Bank and the support of the private firms Engineering and Development Corporation of the Philippines and the German company Lahmeyer International. With its capacity to provide 1,010 megawatts of hydroelectricity, the Chico River was seen as a profitable alternate energy source due to increasing oil prices. However, the impact of constructing four "megadams", especially to Cordillera inhabitants and their environment, would have been catastrophic. The river irrigates rice fields and supplies the homes of Cordillerans, many of whom live along its banks. Had it

[124] Jason Versola, "Salidummay ti Dangadang: Music and Ritual as Mobilizing Forces in the Anti-Cellophil Struggle in Cordillera, Northern Philippines During the Martial Law Era" (BM Thesis, University of the Philippines, 2018), 21.

[125] Presidential Decree 410 declares ancestral lands as alienable and disposable, ignoring their right to ancestral domains; Presidential Decree 705, also known as the Forestry Reform Code of the Philippines considers pasturing livestock, unlicensed exploitation of timber and other resources, punishable offenses. It also implemented regulations that allowed land classification and surveying by outside parties, and the public access to land for national interests.

pushed through, the project would have affected 1,400 square kilometers of land and over 100,000 inhabitants living in the municipalities of Tinglayan, Lubuagan, and Pasil in Kalinga, and Tabuk, Sagada, Sadanga, Sabangan, and Bontoc in Mountain Province. Six villages would have sunk, and thousands of rice fields, hundreds of hectares of fruit trees, and national roads would have been destroyed.[126] Like the CRDBP, the CRC would have also devastated Cordillera lands had it gained the full capacity to operate commercially. Promoted as an export-oriented solution to the country's economic debt, the CRC was established in 1973 for large-scale logging activities intended to produce of pulp, a substance sourced and processed from pine trees. Funding for the corporation's pulpmills was loaned by European banks with the Philippine government as guarantor; the corporation's owner, Herminio T. Disini, was one of Marcos's alleged cronies. Officially authorized by the Timber and Pulpwood License Agreement No. 261, the government granted the corporation almost 200,000 hectares of pine tree forests located in the Mountain Province, Kalinga, Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and most significantly in Abra province, where many of the Tingguian people are based.

With the support of foreign investors and the Philippine government, companies in-charge of these projects applied various repressive measures against Igorot communities. Proponents of the CRDBP never consulted the people who lived and thrived in the areas they would exploit. The Kalingas confronted them, but were rejected, criticized, and belittled for their expressed attachment to their land. The authorities offered money and relocation, compensations that would not match the damage that the project would inflict. Unsatisfied, the Cordillerans

[126] Doyo, "Macliing Dulag," 17.
It should be mentioned corporations like DPJ Engineers and Consultancy and the locally owned Kalinga Hydropower Corporation have proposed to build multiple dams into the Chico River since the 2000s. The most recent attempts involve the Chinese company China CAMC Engineering Co., Ltd., the Chinese government, and the Philippine National Irrigation Administration. Opposition to these projects among activists and community members persist.

organized a peace pact conference, called *bodong*, a gathering where tribespeople discuss issues and build resolutions that foster amicable and civil relationships between communities. Though traditionally enacted between two communities, the Cordillerans thought it necessary to expand the practice to cover multilateral participation. The bodong they planned, which would be held in Quezon City, Metro Manila in 1975, was intended to convene a large population of multiple Cordillera communities and build resistance against the CRDBP. The Kalinga people, together with the Bontoc people and members of the Episcopal Commission on Tribal Filipinos, took part in the bodong. Though bodongs for these purposes were newly modified, their defining elements, which include the building of *pagta ti bodong* (resolutions of the bodong), as well as the music and dance performances that facilitated exchanges and built rapport among those present, were still retained. (Performances of expressive traditions would lay the groundwork for later recontextualizations of Cordillera musical practices, a matter that will be further discussed below.) The bodong helped unify the Cordillera community against the project, prompting the government to minimize operations. It did not take long, however, for the government to reassert its dominance. It formed the Presidential Assistance on National Minorities and the Kalinga Special Development Region, which reportedly bribed and coerced the people in agreeing to their plans.[127] Continually met by skepticism and suspicion from community members, the government resorted to large-scale military deployment. Many Kalinga leaders were arrested.

CRC proponents pursued similar approaches. Aware of burgeoning community opposition to their plans, the CRC engaged with multiple dialogues with the Tinggian communities in Abra between 1977 and 1978. Neither compromise nor consensus, however,

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[127] "A History of Resistance," Cordillera Peoples Alliance. www.cpaphils.org/campaigns/A%20History%20of%20Resistance.rtf. Accessed 19 September 2017.

were achieved in these meetings. The CRC refused to heed the Tinggians' complaints and even initiated meetings in the absence of tribal leaders who were not told about these gatherings. The CRC also employed diversionary tactics to distract Tinggians from maintaining their oppositional stance. Through a Community Relations Office, they instituted social responsibility programs and published newsletters that reframed their problematic intrusion. Professing itself as a "catalyst of cultural renaissance in Abra," the CRC implemented cultural programs that concealed and compensated for the exploitative nature of their projects.[128] The Abra local government assisted the CRC, replacing civilian officials with military-affiliated personnel, who launched smear campaigns against efforts of resistance. Strengthening their opposition in 1977, the Tinggians conducted a multilateral bodong against the CRC held in Bangilo, Abra. While considered a successful attempt in uniting disparate Igorot tribes for a single cause, its resolutions[129] were dismissed by the CRC. Backed up by the perceived legality of government laws and the authority of Marcos, the CRC was determined to push through with its plans.

These exchange of events shows how the government projects were ill-conceived. Perhaps their organizers did not anticipate the community opposition that would arise from the conflict between state regulations and customary socio-political systems. But their actions evince a sense of entitlement to dismiss and circumvent already existing laws that have bound the

[128] Versola, "Salidummay ti Dangadang," 29-30.

[129] Based on Versola's research, the bodong conference's resolutions, or *pagta ti* bodong are:

1. The preservation of cultural heritage of peace, cooperation, and unity, as well as respect to the traditional culture of the Tinggian;
2. Protection of the Tinggian's right to communal forests and watersheds, common pasture lands, and private agricultural lands, as well as ban of CRC's operations in specific areas deemed by the Tinggian as communal;
3. Non-allowance of rivers as means of log transportation, as the river is a vial source of food, water, and irrigation;
4. Appointment of the bodong partners as duly authorized representatives of the Tinggian people to the CRC, and;
5. Respect the Tinggian's constitutional right to ancestral domain, communal forests, and natural resources which were "long defended and protected" by their ancestors

people who historically inhabited the region, a symptom of ethnic discrimination. Igorots continued to protest the CRBDP and the CRC through demonstrations and multilateral bodong towards the 1980s. Consequently, the authorities intensified their reactions, inflicting hostilities towards Cordillerans. With the region heavily militarized, villages were burned, people were arrested, tortured, and summarily executed, and women were raped. In one of the protests in Kalinga, Macliing Dulag was shot and killed. The succeeding events would show how the projects' proponents underestimated the community's understanding of local and national politics. Cognizant of outsiders' aggressive rejection of their laws, Cordillerans resorted to widespread organized resistance, placing their real-life struggles as ethnic minorities at the forefront of their cause.[130]

Adopting a Revolutionary "Kaigorotan" Consciousness

The Cordillera community's organized, strategic responses at the early onset of the CRBDP and the CRC indicate that they have thoughtfully assessed the Cordillera land problem. But the influx of knowledge about similar situations outside the region broadened their socio-political awareness about the issues the projects present.[131] Scott, who wrote expansive accounts of Cordillera history, contributed to this development. His writings on colonial and Philippine government policies that legitimized encroachment into the region provided an impetus for Cordillera resistance.[132] In his essays "Igorot Youth Arise" and "The Greening of Cathedral

[130] In "Indigenous Land Rights and Legal Pluralism among Philippine Highlanders" (1994), Prill-Brett provides a discussion of how Cordillerans invoked laws of various relevant jurisdictions as a tactic to advance their land struggles. These includes discourses within customary, national, international, and human rights laws applicable to their identities as people belonging to a particular tribe, as Igorots residing in the CAR, and as Filipino citizens.
[131] Benedict Solang, "Dap-ay Discourse Uno: Activist Perspective of Cordillera History and Social Change" (Baguio City: Northern Media Information Network, 2017), 52.
[132] See *The Igorot Struggle for Independence* (1972?) and *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon* (1974).

Heights," Scott praised Cordillerans for leading uprisings and called for them to form alliances with the Filipino youth.

Apart from the influence of intellectuals like Scott, militant political activism proved to be another vital force that shaped Cordillera resistance. Small movements that began as working-class labor groups in the 1920s, evolved and gained traction as revolutionary organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. These movements initially applied the ideas of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin amid a growing recognition that imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism, and feudalist land practices supported political-economic exploitation by ruling classes in the country. The strategy of concentrating resistance efforts in urban areas and national centers—along with a problematic alliance with the US government and other exploitative practices—generated disapproval from people and organizations within these movements. In the late 1960s, these internal tensions would fracture the movement and trigger the formation of militant factions. Led mostly by college and university students based in Manila and in nearby urban centers, this new group of activists incorporated the influence of Mao Zedong to the prior Marxist-Leninist ideology and trended towards organizing the working class and countryside peasantry and advocating radical forms of political struggle. Aware of the leadership that leftwing movements needed, these students envisioned themselves as the "petty-bourgeoisie" intellectual force that could guide organized working class and peasant masses toward their progressive aspirations.[133] In the early 1970s, student actions culminated in the First Quarter Storm Movement, a period of numerous

[133] The Philippine Left defines the petty-bourgeoisie as a strata of middle class intellectuals, students, and professionals with a capacity to lead revolutionary movements, but nonetheless tend to waver in their interest in political activism.

protests, violent demonstrations, and civil unrest in the Philippines from January to March 1970 against the Marcos government.[134]

Many Igorot students based in Manila participated in these actions. Armed with their own experiences of corporate and national aggression through the CRDBP and CRC atrocities, they realized the validity of these ideas and joined forces with the Left just as the Left, working to strengthen their ranks, turned to the countryside to educate and organize a larger Philippine public. Both sides would mutually cooperate in fighting the same crises. Igorots joined and formed political organizations, participated in street protests, and brought in the political views and practices that they imbibed during their home visits. Dulag's leadership in uniting the Kalingas and other Cordillerans to confront the authorities was shaped by what he gleaned from his visits to other areas in the country with people of similar living conditions. Non-Cordilleran activists who integrated themselves into Cordilleran communities offered holistic ways of understanding the aggressive intrusion into their ancestral lands. In turn, Cordillerans realized that the land problem is not an isolated phenomenon, but just one of the many signs of a systemic form of top-down exploitation.[135] Shared experiences among oppressed sectors across the country justified the need for comprehensive resistance against a single root cause, which at the time, they understood, was the political-economic and fascistic mechanisms of the Marcos regime.

[134] It is important to mention that internal issues have been dividing the interests of progressive revolutionary movements as early as the 1920s and 1930s. US relations after World War II, decision-making, ideology, student leadership, and armed struggle were among their salient points of disagreement.

[135] The direct link between the Cordillera land problem and national political economy is a common trope deployed in speeches, written statements, and articles that offered left-leaning historical accounts. I also encountered this analysis in the interviews I conducted with Alma Sinumlag, Gerald Chupchupen, Davidson Agulin, and Fernando Mangili.

The rise of a revolutionary leftwing consciousness brought about a rethinking of political identity. They adopted a politicized notion of the label "national minority," which conveys their identities as ethnic minorities who experience forms of oppression that are unique, yet also whose struggles could not be separated from those of the mass national body politic. In a similar vein, they deployed *"Kaigorotan"* (roughly, "the Igorot community," or "Igorotness") as a pan-Cordilleran tool for self-identification. The term exists in everyday language, denoting a colonially established label that Cordillera natives have assimilated over time, despite its derogatory use by outsiders.[136] Deployed in the context of leftist activism, *"Kaigorotan"* revitalized a historically pejorative term and a political collectivization of ethnic minorities of the CAR. Reconceiving their identities as such, Cordillera activists adopted organizational structures of the Philippine Left. They formed allied groups that catered to the specific interests of various sectors present in the region and established various legal organizations that represented elders, the youth, students, women, the LGBTQ+ community, human rights workers, and cultural workers in the 1980s. These organizations comprise the Cordillera Peoples Alliance (CPA), a widely recognized federation of leftwing activist groups based in the Cordillera Administrative Region.

Cordillera activists applied the campaign methods of leftwing political organizations. Telling stories about social injustice in the Cordilleras and tying these to systemic mechanisms, they offered a framework with which to analyze and address their local crises. They held educational discussions that dealt with local and national conditions among members of their groups and alliances and other supporters. Igorot activists carried out these discussions in the form of conferences and seminars like bodong, and sometimes opened these events to the

[136] See discussion on the history of the term in the Introduction, pages 8-11.

mainstream public. Igorot activists also lobbied for their concerns, filing complaints in government offices. The difficulty is, as their experiences with the CRBDP and the CRC show, authorities could manipulate the law and dismiss their concerns. Apart from expressing grievances on-paper, then, they organized protest actions, the most visible of their activities set strategically in densely populated areas of nearby cities, or in the vicinity of establishes to which their complaints were directed.

Although these initiatives modified community relationships and activities, core facets of Cordillerans' indigenous cultural traditions remained foundational to their political lives. Though it collectivized them and raised their political consciousness, leftwing activism merely reinforced already existing Igorot value systems on sovereignty and territorial defense, as well as those that pertain to nurturing communities and its people, a view that elderly Igorot activists especially uphold. As Davidson Agulin, a Kalinga elder and activist remarked in an interview, *"Mas nauna pa nga kami!"* ("We actually were ahead of them!").[137] In a couple of his speeches, the late Igorot activist Benedict Solang described the parallels between value systems espoused by the two perspectives. The goal of sovereignty, the collective defense of territory, and "serving the people" finds expression in the traditional regard for the ili and its members, as well as in the concepts I have previously described, like betad, ipeyas nan gawis, and ob-obbu. Egalitarian social values manifest in the bodong practice, and the recognition of dap-ay leadership in the community level.[138] The cultural value *ayew,* exhorted to urge people to not be wasteful, and motivates sustainability practices, resonates with the importance leftist activists place on living a

[137] Sarah Dekdeken, Davidson Agulin, and Gerald Chupchupen, interview by author, Baguio City, July 10, 2019.
[138] Igorot political organizations did not maintain the dap-ay structures. Based on interviews I conducted with elders affiliated with CPA and elders and community members of Sagada, the *dap-ay* remains independent of left-wing politics in some communities. It has the authority to allow or reject activist intervention, especially in matters pertinent to the community, as it sees fit.

simple life. It is these similarities, Solang argued, that made collaboration with leftist groups logical and uncomplicated;[139] more importantly, these equivalents reinforced the relevance of Igorot concepts, which remains crucial in their pursuit of sovereignty and self-determination.

Revolutionary Theory in Musical Practice

Igorot activists also applied revolutionary ideas about art and culture in their practices, particularly those propagated by Chinese communist leader Mao Tse Tung. In papers he presented in a 1942 conference in Yenan, China, Mao advocated for revolutionary art as a creative, yet broadly accessible medium that depicts the struggles of oppressed people and inspires a politicized desire for social change.[140] For Igorot activists who valued cultural sovereignty as a linchpin of protest, employing these views did not simply mean writing music that resembled popular guitar-accompanied protest songs typically performed by non-indigenous activists. It entailed building repertoires that relied on musical materials unique to, and popular in, the Cordilleras that represented Igorotness and extended the importance of ancestral musical traditions in contemporary political practices. These musics demonstrate a syncretism that melds together traditional Cordillera musical elements and leftwing activism's artistic expressions, one that signifies the social movement that merged revolutionary theory and indigenous knowledge.

Students based in Baguio, Benguet Province initiated these efforts. They spent time in rural Cordillera communities amid ongoing CRBDP and CRC operations, took note of the traditional musics the locals performed and wrote their own, mostly written in Ilocano and Tagalog.[141] The result was a repertoire of tonal protest songs whose duple rhythms, melodies

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[139] Solang, "Persistence and Disintegration of Indigenous Socio-Political Systems and Values," 38.
[140] Mao Zedong, *Talks at the Yenan Forum on Art and Literature,* 2nd ed. (People's Republic of China, 1960), 11-27.
[141] Another major language in the Philippines, also spoken by a Philippine lowland Christian ethnolinguistic group of the same name. Officially designated as the country's national language, it is also called Filipino.

built on five notes, instrumental accompaniment, and vocal approaches are traceable to expressive cultures in the region. These students would later form a cultural group and musical ensemble called "Salidummay." The name is apt, Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes suggests. A genre of widely known celebratory vocal music in the Cordilleras whose simplicity, familiarity, and prominence in congregational singing, "salidummay" serves as a metaphor for the kind of inspirational populist cultural work that leftist revolutionaries embrace.[142]

Among the songs they wrote was *"Entay Ganaganasen"* ("Let Us Enjoy"). "Entay Ganaganasen" is a strophic song in quadruple rhythm. Based on a recorded version from the 1990 album *Dongdong-ay,* the song begins with rhythms on the *pattateg* (bamboo xylophone). After a few measures, a chord in C major punctuates the first beat of every measure, establishing the tonal center (Fig. 3.1). A takik rhythm on the gangsa fills the sparse texture of the pattateg (Fig. 3.2). Through its association with the takik, the gangsa pattern also adds a celebratory character to the song, a musical reflection of its text (Fig. 3.3). The vocal melody of "Entay Ganaganasen" uses five notes and is sung in the chest register, approaches to vocal music employed in traditional Cordillera genres. The first two and last lines of each verse are sung in unison; the penultimate utilizes two-part singing, reminiscent of the indeterminate vocal counterpoint resulting from leader-chorus chanting among elders and male individuals engaged in rituals (Fig. 3.4).[143] The song's celebratory theme makes it suitable for shows called "cultural nights" and in protest activities that exude a festive energy. The song parallels the music-and-dance merrymaking that comes with weddings and the end of harvest in Cordillera communities.

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[142] Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes, "Unsettling Salidummay: A Historico-Ethnography of a Music Category," (PhD diss., University of the Philippines, 2011), 28.
The salidummay genre is widespread in the Cordilleras, even in the remote highland villages of Kalinga, Abra, and Mountain Province.

[143] This is based on the chants I heard from men and elders participating in a *senga,* a ritual for healing and peaceful ascendance into the afterlife.

“Daga a Nagtaudan” (“Land is Our Origin”) is another song that Salidummay wrote at the time of the land crises. It also contains elements of traditional Cordillera music, though slightly departs from this influence. Like “Entay Ganaganasen,” this song is strophic with a

Figure 3.1. Excerpt from “Entay Ganaganasen.”

melody written around five notes, but in contrast to the former’s remarkably dance-like character in quadruple rhythm, “Daga a Nagtaudan” projects a moderately slow, stately forward-moving character in $\frac{6}{8}$ meter. Though minimal, the song utilizes note contrasts, and chord changes and progressions based on a D tonality. Throughout the song, a repetitive guitar motif briefly sways downward on C, a non-harmonic tone, in the first, third, and fourth lines of each verse. Chords in D and G alternate in these same lines, while the second line uses a D-G-A progression.

Figure 3.2. Takik improvisation on gangsa overlaying "Entay Ganaganasen" instrumentation in between verses. Pitch-particular transcriptions of gangsa only provide closest approximations.

Moreover, vocal harmonies are utilized as the song progresses. The second verse is sung in two parts, a male voice singing consonant fourths and fifths below the female-sung melody. In the rest of the verses, a mixed chorus sings tight, multi-part harmonies reminiscent of choral singing (Fig. 3.5). The accompaniment stops in the last verse, emphasizing the voices and the text, written in Tagalog (also known as Filipino), the country's national language (Fig. 3.6).

Entay ganaganasen *Entay ganaganasen* *Dong dong-ay sidong ilay* *Salidummay*	Let us enjoy
Menkanata ya menliwliwa *Menkanata ya menliwliwa* *Dong dong-ay sidong ilay* *Salidummay*	Sing and make merry
Men-urnong ya makiggayem *Men-urnong ya makiggayem* *Dong dong-ay sidong ilay* *Salidummay*	Listen and ponder
Kakadua umali ilaen *Kakadua umali ilaen* *Dong dong-ay sidong ilay* *Salidummay*	Visit with comrades
Entay ganaganasen *Entay ganaganasen* *Dong dong-ay sidong ilay* *Salidummay*	Let us enjoy

Figure 3.3. Text of "Entay Ganaganasen" and its English translation, taken from the Salidummay Album Collection.

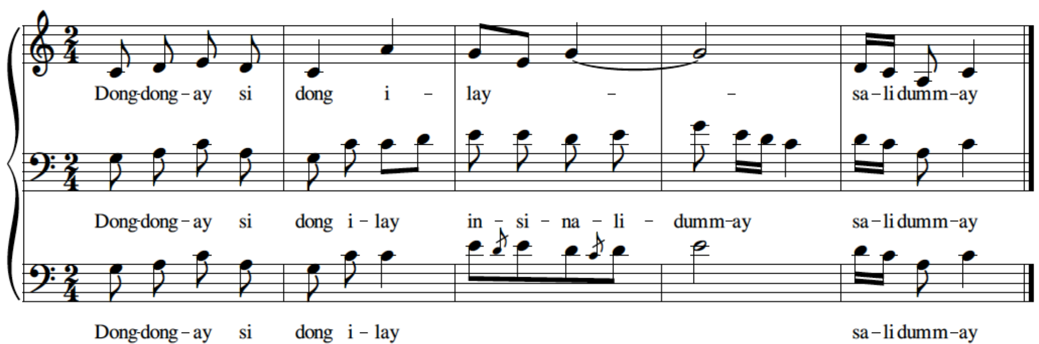

Figure 3.4. Multi-part harmonies in "Entay Ganaganasen." All transcriptions are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

Figure 3.5. Multi-part harmonies in "Daga a Nagtaudan."

The song alludes to the syncretic nature of Cordillera protest music and the broadened socio-political awareness from which it was developed more vividly through the melding of two contrasting musical materials. It utilizes a traditional[144] melody in free rhythm on the *tongali* (bamboo nose flute) written in a minor mode on C natural (Fig. 3.7). These characteristics, together with the tongali's airy timbre, starkly contrast with the accompaniment's buzzy, metallic

[144] In the absence of consultation with original Salidummay members who wrote this song, I make this description based on a comparison with a tongali performance in Kalinga recorded by Jose Maceda in the 1950s.

Ti daga nagtaudan	The land is our origin
Ti daga naiyanakan	We were born in the land
Puon iti pagbiagan	The source of life
Gaget linget ti puonan	For which we sweat and toil
Nagramutan ti puli	Where the people took root
Nagpakatan ti ili	Where the village was built
Nag-adalan ti ugali	Where tradition was learned
Pag-awidan ti umili	Where the people return to
Pagtakderan ti balai	Where we build our houses
Pagmulaan ti pagay	Where we plant rice
Pag-inanaan ni natay	Where our dead rest
Iti daytoy a bantay	On this mountain
Kaapuan ti nag-aywan	The ancestors cared for it
Saan tayo a baybayan	Let us not neglect it
Saan maipalubusan	Let us not allow
Ti daga ket maawan	The land to be lost
Kas pangarigan ket adda	Should there be
Ti mang-agaw ti daga	Usurpers in our land
Ay, pagtitinulungan	Ay, help each other
Bantayan salakniban	Guard over and defend it
Ti daga nagtaudan	The land is our origin
Ti daga naiyanakan	We were born in the land
Dara ken biag ti puonan	The source of life For which we bleed and survive
Pinamanang lupain	Ancestral land
Dito ako ay nagising	This is where I was enlightened
Dito ako nabuhay	This is where I have lived
At dito rin mamamatay	And this is where I will die

Figure 3.6. Text of "Daga ti Nagtaudan" and its English translation, taken from the Salidummay Album Collection (with minor modifications by author).

Figure 3.7. Tongali melody in "Daga a Nagtaudan."[145]

quality, rhythmic regularity, and D major tonality. But juxtaposed with and incorporated into the song, they suggest references to the plurality of cultural elements in Cordillera leftwing activism. After the second verse, the tongali melody weaves into the accompaniment's steady duple pulse. Discordant with the established harmonies, it interposes a haunting, somber quality, as if evoking the threatened loss of a peaceful life in the Cordillera. The melody reappears at the song's conclusion, played solo once again. Its placement on both of the song's end suggests a regard for traditional life as the root of Cordillera activism, a message conveyed throughout the song's text.

Songs like "Daga a Nagtaudan" helped spread word about the hostile implications of the CRBDP and the CRC operations. As crises from these endeavors escalated, Salidummay members, together with other Cordillera cultural groups Grupong Binhi, Children of the Cordillera, and Shengnget formed an alliance called *Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera* ("Convergence of Cordillera Cultures"; DKK) in 1981. As the cultural arm of the CPA, the DKK leads cultural programs and activities of leftist movements in the region. Through the DKK

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[145] Rules about the melody, rhythm, and execution of Cordillera traditional musical repertoires are not fixed. Performers vary and nuance the music based on community standards and personal preference, and through improvisation. Thus, although transcriptions of traditional music illustrate basic, distinctive characteristics of repertoire, they reference renditions that are contingent on specific tastes.

alliance, the Salidummay members recorded and compiled the songs they wrote and produced their self-titled first album in 1987. Core members of the DKK continue to popularize these songs through their current repertoire of performances, which they stage in various activities like demonstrations, protest summits, youth and elderly exchange activities, and collaborative productions with performing groups based within and outside the Cordilleras.

Igorot activist cultural workers did not limit themselves to these hybrid songs. Adopting the Philippine Left's views on the arts meant not only writing songs comparable with typical protest music genres. In the Cordillera context, the characteristic of revolutionary art as relatable and refractory of the shared experiences of oppressed groups justifies foregrounding expressive traditions in protest repertoire, given their role in mediating Igorot realities. Thus, in protests, Igorots reposition expressive traditions, the most visible of which is the pattong dance.

The pattong is widely known in the Cordillera region. It is performed in celebratory gatherings, and everyone present in these settings are encouraged to take part in its performance. Participation is even seen as obligatory. Felomina Cais, my host mother in Sagada, made me feel guilty for pulling evasive maneuvers and indulging my shyness when I rejected invitations to the pattong. "*Ay!* If you come here, you have to dance!" she said.[146] Exceptions arise in large gatherings where people are asked over the microphone to dance together with their peer groups, or with their family members and village mates as a form of representation. An ensemble of six men initiates a pattong. Each of them holds a gangsa of a particular pitch and size by a string-attached handle made from an ergonomic piece of wood, a miniature *bulul*[147] statue, or in some cases, a human jawbone.[148] Using wooden rubber-padded mallets on these gongs, they play a

[146] Felomina Cais, August 3, 2018, informal conversation with author.
[147] A representation of ancestors believed to protect rice fields. Also called *tinagtaggu*.
[148] According to my research, these jaw bones belonged to people who have died from tribal war beheadings. Gangsa with these fixtures are still used today, as I have seen in the Lang-ay Festival.

rhythmic pattern—also called pattong—by interlocking with one another. A performance starts with the lead player beating the first gangsa several times enough to establish a tempo for the other five players. Once they achieve unison, they diverge into their assigned patterns one after the other. This results to an ostinato of various strident, metallic pitches in duple rhythm, whose sound envelope permeates vast spaces. From a distance, one would know if an occasion were taking place through the gangsa's resonance; indeed, gangsa sonorities alerted me to ongoing rituals, performances, and rehearsals. While music researchers have transcribed pattong rhythmic assignments, there is no fixed pattern to which players adhere. Differences in rhythmic patterns, tone, and gong pitches can be heard from players in one province or village to the next, and players vary their patterns through syncopation and elaboration. Nevertheless, standards apply. Players are sometimes teased or even reprimanded by locals and the elderly if they do not execute their rhythms properly and tastefully. Tone production and the execution of one individual rhythm in relation to another are bases for their judgement.

Once the ostinato is secure, the gangsa players dance by shuffling their feet with their upper bodies and knees bent. With the lead of the first player, they either stay in place, leaning from side to side on each leg, or move snakelike backwards and forwards, forming multiple, circles that repeatedly break and reemerge. Men and women spontaneously join in the dance, and also shuffle their feet to the lead of the gangsa ensemble, but also move their arms and hands. As with the gangsa ensemble, other dancers follow the lead of the first participant who joins the dance. While overall improvisatory, pattong choreographies are typically codified, signaling a participant's place of origin or affiliation. For instance, a participant from Kalinga would kick one leg higher than the other in a turned-out position as he shuffles his feet. Those who are not playing gangsa bounce their outstretched arms, with the women fluttering theirs gently and

gracefully. To rest, they would simply put their hands on their waists. In Mountain Province, conversely, people would not raise one leg higher than the other as they shuffle their feet. In addition, Mountain Province women extend their arms with closed hands and raised thumbs. When tired, they place their hands in front of their chests, pressing their knuckles onto each other.

The pattong is commonly seen in weddings and other events, including traditional bilateral bodong, that address the private concerns of a small congregation. But its performance in gatherings that addressed the common, political interests of a large number of Cordillerans across the region created a wider context for its execution. In the 1970s, the pattong, along with other expressive genres, was performed in gatherings where community members discussed the CRBDP and CRC operations.[149] Events such as these set the precedent for performances in protest settings organized by left-wing Igorot activists.

In its overtly politicized form, a pattong performance is noticeably different from those performed in private community gatherings. As evidenced in the choreographies they execute, participants are more diverse, hailing from a variety of villages and provinces in the region. Significantly, their distinctions are rendered more vivid by the traditional costumes they wear that mark their tribal identities (Fig. 3.8). In protest contexts, many participants don variously designed *tapis* (wrap-around skirts) and *bahag* (g-string). Considered formal wear, these clothes indicate the seriousness of these occasions. The common colors on these attires are red and black, but the addition of other colors, use of different materials, embellishments, and accessories vary their appearances. Women from Mountain Province, for example, wear a belt over their *tapis* with long, tassel-like extensions that bounce, bend, and flick as they dance, while

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[149] Versola, 53.

Figure 3.8. Participants of a pattong wear diverse traditional costumes that indicate their distinct tribal identities, September 1, 2017.

the men wear *bedbed* headbands. Kalinga women wear *tapis* with beadwork, while the men often wear rattan-woven headdresses with chicken feathers on each of its sides, long and dendrite-like, extending upwards. Bahag and tapis adorned with pom-poms and lose threads in bright shades of yellow and red, as well as a white blouse with embroidered, red piping worn by women distinguishes Ifugao clothes. Ibaloi costumes are the most distinct. Women wear tapis predominantly patterned with large black, red, and checkered green stripes, and a matching jacket with a sown-in scarf, while Ibaloi men drape blankets over their shoulders. Further, the addition of the "war dance," enhances pattong performances in political protest settings. Male dancers apply the same feet choreography as that of the pattong, but while holding a *kalasag* (wooden shield) in one hand and a *kayang* (spear) on the other. The "war dance" references

traditional performances in tribal war-related occasions, or in celebrations of victories won. Moreover, the wearing of a white bahag, called *"lagtep,"* references death and tribal combat practices in Bontoc, Mountain Province, and in certain locations in Kalinga province. It was also worn amid the height of confrontations with proponents of the CRDBP.[150] Drawing from various cultural elements, the overtly politicized pattong conceives a pan-Cordilleran sense of Igorotness. It binds its participants and their communities of affiliation.

The pattong soundscape in street demonstrations is even more vibrant than those from more private protest settings. (Fig. 3.9). Produced from more than six or seven gongs, the gangsa ensemble's earthy, multi-pitched resonances pierce through vast spaces and break the bustling monotony of urban environments. Together with whistles of traffic enforcers and the car horns of frustrated motorists, it announces the arrival of protesters, often with a male dancer performing the war dance in front of the contingent. Aesthetics in tone production and rhythm execution are secondary in these performances. With the endurance of players tested in seemingly unending marches, the mere presence of gangsa timbres sufficiently enlivens demonstrations, its harsh tones in counterpoint with leader-chorus protest chants and calls-to-action delivered through a megaphone or a mobile sound system. Strategically situated, this display disrupts the motions of contemporary life and subverts the dominance of the political and economic elite at the heart of a city. These pattong performances assert the legitimacy of leftwing politics and an Igorot belonging.[151]

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[150] Sarah Dekdeken, Davidson Agulin, and Gerald Chupchupen, interview by author, Baguio City, July 10, 2019.
[151] William Peterson, "Performing Indigeneity in the Cordillera: Dance, Community, and Power in the Highlands of Luzon," (*Asian Theater Journal* 27 2010): 247.

Figure 3.9. Demonstrators during a commemorative Cordillera Day protest at Session Road, Baguio City. A gangsa ensemble of twelve gongs are positioned in front of the contingent. Ahead of them, a male elder performs the "war dance," April 4, 2018.

One can argue that the syncretisms in this reconceived pattong, as well as those in the protest songs "Entay Ganaganasen" and "Daga a Nagtaudan" are paradoxical, and therefore problematic. These seem to defeat the objective of reclaiming what once belonged to Cordillerans—their land, and the cultural life that had sprung from it. But the plurality of elements in their musics demonstrate the exchanges that arise from their breadth of historical experiences internalizing knowledge systems that conflict with theirs. In consequence, their musical repertoires break the dichotomies between what is "Cordilleran"—or "Igorot"—and what is not. As Fred Myers argues, the performance of indigenous identity is often inevitably "a contradictory act."[152] These syncretisms are thus strategic, yet also rooted in real life.

[152] Fred Myers, "Showing Too Much or Too Little: Predicaments of Painting Indigenous Presence in Central Australia," in *Performing Indigeneity: Global Histories and Contemporary Experiences,* edited by Lauren R. Graham and H. Glenn Penny (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 352.

Chapter Three

Protesting “Traditionalists” and the Mainstream: Resounding Politics, Remaking Identity

Sudden strikes on a gangsa commenced a pattong performance by Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera (DKK) during Lakbayan’s inaugural cultural night in Manila on September 1, 2017. The performance capped an evening of similar acts staged by other ethnic minorities for spectators largely based in the capital. The crowd hushed to anticipation as the beats accreted gradually into a dense ostinato executed by six gangsa players who unexpectedly emerged from the audience. Half-dressed in boldly colored woven bahag and feathered headdresses, they shuffled their way to the stage, amid clapping, shrieks, gasps, camera flashes, and a flurry of thrilled chatter from the crowd. *“Ayan na sila!”* (“There they are!”) Oh, I love them!” gushed audiences as eleven other similarly-dressed dancers arrived. Even I, a researcher who has learned from living with Igorots that the pattong possesses a ritualistic, yet perfunctory, nature, was transfixed by this opening; like the excited spectators sitting close by, I would soon be entranced by what followed. Together, the performers coursed through the stage in perpetual snakelike motion, shifting between a variety of formations. At one point, in an elaboration of conventional pattong choreography, they whirled around a male dancer who carried a shield and a spear, which he slowly aimed to the ground before launching into his first movements. Then, he hissed as he charged forward, further animating a sight bathed by the dizzying ring of chromatic interlocking gangsa pitches at which audiences gazed through their tablets, and mobile phones.

After seven endless minutes, DKK exited the stage to a loud, hooting applause, closing what appeared to be taken by mainstream audiences as more of a captivating number than a political outcry.

Unlike this display, another of DKK's performances held during the Cordillera Day protest march on April 24, 2018 in their regional home of Baguio City generated a different response—or a lack thereof—from its surrounding public. Performing the pattong, DKK led protesters through the city's busiest areas. Ushered by twelve gangsa, the protesters marched in formal Igorot attire, chanting *"Kaigorotan, Lumaban!"* ("Igorot community, fight!"), bringing sights and sounds that would compel an Igorot-dominated public. Yet, the march drew little spontaneous participation from its immediate spectators. Indeed, it relied on traffic enforcers to clear its path against the mundane flow of people and motorists. The exaggerated performance of a ritual sacrifice where a chicken was struck to its death in an uncustomary, violent manner, did not appear to convey the protest's sacred urgency to its surrounding audiences—not even to the armed local riot policemen, noticeably Cordilleran in their physical features, who were tasked to control the protesters.[153] Marshaled just outside the city's Supreme Court compound, the targeted destination of the march, they barred the demonstrators from entering the area in a face-to-face provocation. Upset by the policemen's valor, an Igorot elder recited a prayer, invoking the supreme deity Kabunian to punish them. Yet, the policemen stood squarely against the rallyists; some of them smirked, seemingly unfazed by the curse cast against them.

Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018 created spaces for DKK to proclaim and spread their advocacies through musical performances that melded an Igorot rootedness with political

[153] My description of the performance as exaggerated is based the opinion of multiple Igorot consultants based in Sagada, Mountain Province, and from my numerous observations of the slaughtering of chickens in private community rituals.

stance. However, their practices are not without challenges, as the episodes above illustrate. Non-Igorot audience enthusiasm signaled the success of the first performance, though it warned of a misplaced admiration toward its spectacular appeal. The second, conversely, could have been appreciated and bolstered by an audience of closer affinity, but was, instead, met with indifference. More than show common obstacles to political action, audience reception reveals DKK's unique dilemmas as performers, activists, and as Igorot people. To contend with these struggles, DKK reconfigured their identities for different viewers through strategies that illuminate the conflicting ways that Igorots assert their agency.

In this chapter, I explore the complexity of DKK's musical practices by examining the problematics of portraying ethnic identity as inextricable from political stance for non-Igorot audiences in Lakbayan 2017 and Igorot audiences in Cordillera Day 2018. I delve into two performances that they staged for each event to demonstrate how they refashion their identities to combat misperceptions of multiple audiences. Through these acts, Igorotness emerges as contingent and contradictory, a practice where political conviction and a rooted sense of being are either necessarily highlighted or underplayed. This chapter complicates views about cultural propriety and argues for the legitimacy of fluidity. Adherence to and deviation from the customary practice ancestral traditions may either aid or undermine performances because performances are prone to misinterpretation by people from both outside and inside indigenous communities. Nevertheless, both emphasizing and softening traditional cultural markers articulate indigenous identity.

Taylor's strategic inauthenticity and Lipsitz's strategic anti-essentialism shed light on issues of reception that undercut DKK's representation in Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018, and equally, explain the innerworkings of DKK's responses to these issues. Taylor's

strategic inauthenticity describes how performers veer away from tradition to subvert the purist expectations of spectators.[154] It highlights the risks of misrepresentation that Lakbayan 2017 posed on its delegates and encapsulates DKK's performance decision in Hugpungan, the event's main concert. DKK sang the non-traditional protest song "Tumuréd" ("Be Brave") to counter the concert's problematic framing. Inverting Spivak's strategic essentialism, in contrast, Lipsitz's strategic anti-essentialism describes a temporary disguise that emphasizes certain identities that audiences may feel less threatened by.[155] Lipsitz applies the concept to performers who conceal their native attributes, but I use it to capture a foregrounding of native authenticity that relationally obscures non-traditional political beliefs. While urgent and well-intended, the desire to protect tradition among insiders fosters purist expectations that impinge on the self-expression of their fellow indigenous people. Strategic anti-essentialism exposes how, in contexts like Cordillera Day 2018, the Igorot community at large disapproves of portraying Igorotness as a form of political activism. At the same time, the concept applies to a performance by Gerald Chupchupen, a conspicuous figure in DKK's numbers. Responding to community disapproval, Chupchupen recontextualized his protest appearance through an act that provisionally de-emphasized his identity as an activist while dissolving the essentialist dichotomy between activism and Igorotness.

Indigenous Allies on a National Stage

One would not think that performers contend with these complex difficulties in Lakbayan 2017 (Lakbayan, hereafter) and Cordillera Day 2018, annual events that carried an undoubted importance. Lakbayan, for instance, condemned various pressing national issues for their

[154] Taylor, 125-43.
[155] Lipsitz, 51-66.

negative impact on Philippine ethnic minorities. Lakbayan, which translates to "journey," began as regular summits where peasants from Luzon provinces would caravan to Manila to spread word about their struggles to the broader Filipino public. Since 2012, oppressed sectors of Philippine ethnic minorities have applied the term to name their own exodus of declaring their marginalized grievances in the Philippine capital. The first of these iterations was *Manilakbayan,* which highlighted the struggles of the non-Muslim indigenous groups collectively known as "Lumad."[156] These included reportedly state-sanctioned large-scale mining and the alleged extra-judicial killings of community leaders and teachers of Lumad schools, progressive institutions for local elementary and high school students with curricula that focus on sustainable agricultural practices, environment protection, and the right to land. Like Cordillerans, Lumad people customarily regard ancestral land as priceless and usufruct, a divine gift that community members are obligated to care for and share among themselves. Corporate development companies, supported by the Philippine government, resort to aggressive military operations to restrain the threat of these learning centers. Undeterred by Manilakbayan 2012 protests, however, community threats and atrocities intensified from 2013 to 2017.[157] Fleeing their homes, yet determined to strengthen their ranks, Lumads embraced the support of larger leftwing organizations and allied with other minority groups afflicted by similar circumstances. Its

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[156] From the Cebuano language, short for *katawhang lumad* ("indigenous people"). Term was adapted as a unifying designation for minorities in Mindanao during the Marcos dictatorship, which comprised of 18 groups: Erumanen ne Menuvu', Matidsalug Manobo, Agusan Manobo, Dulangan Manobo, Dabaw Manobo, Ata Manobo, B'laan, Kaulo, Banwaon, Bukidnon, Teduray, Lambangian, Higaunon, Dibabawon, Mngguwangan, Mansaka, Mandaya, K'lagan, Subanen, Tasaday, Tboli, Mamanuwa, Tagakaolo, Talaandig, Tagbanwa, Ubu', Tinenanen, Kuwemanen, K'lata, and Diyangan.

[157] 214 attacks on Lumad schools, instigated by increased militarization, took place from 2013 to 2014. On September 1, 2015, Emerito Samarca, a school administrator, and elders Belle Sinzo and Datu (tribal leader) Dionel Campos were brutally murdered in the schools grounds of the Alternative Learning Center for Agricultural and Livelihood Development, or ALCADEV. The Philippine military and their alleged paramilitary cronies, according to eyewitness, are culpable for these killings. In their defense, the Philippine government claimed that the Lumads cooperated with the New People's Army, the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines, that they served as the guerilla group's recruitment source, and that Lumad schools were training grounds for communists. Rehashing these allegations in 2017 amid growing protests, Duterte threatened to bomb Lumad schools.

broadest iteration, *"Lakbayan ng Pambansang Minorya para sa Sariling Pagpapasiya at Makatarungang Kapayapaan,"*[158] was realized in 2017 through the participation of the Mangyan, Aeta, Muslim, and Igorot peoples. Lakbayan 2017 condemned various forms of fascism and other national issues deemed urgent for their negative impact on ethnic minorities. Its delegates, called *"Lakbayanis,"* denounced President Rodrigo Duterte's declaration of Martial Law in parts of Mindanao, Southern Philippines, and his push for the Human Security Act, a contentious legal petition that at the time declared 649 activists—among them, Igorots and other individuals from ethnic minorities—as terrorists.[159] Lakbayanis challenged US intervention on Philippine military exercises in Islamic communities, the Islamophobia it conjured, and neoliberal government policies that justified the exploitation of ancestral lands. Lakbayanis sought the support of other sectors of Philippine society through these campaigns, founding Sandugo[160] with the Philippine Left, an alliance of organizations that represent their collective interests. In so doing, they consolidated the struggles of marginalized ethnic groups against systemic forms of oppression.

The delegates portrayed themselves as militant activists. But to stress their unique circumstances, Lakbayanis foregrounded their difference from the event's targeted mainstream audience. This gesture was sincere as it was deliberate, conceived to attract the public and convey the event's earnest importance (Fig. 4.1). Markers of difference colored Lakbayan's political rhetoric, publicity, setting, and activities. Though they typically wear Western fashions,

[158] "Journey of National Minorities for Self-Determination and Just Peace" in English.

[159] Recently, the government has amended the Human Security Act with the Anti-Terror Law of 2020 to impose a tighter grip on terrorism. Because of its vague and conflicting definitions of terrorism, however, the law has faced criticism from various sectors. The law is prone to abuse, they argued, and impinges on human rights. Other mechanisms to control activism include the efforts of the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict, which have red tagged and arrested members of progressive and leftwing organizations, which include indigenous activists.

[160] Literally "one blood"; blood compact practice that symbolized unity among war fighters. The most common historical reference in the Philippine setting was the blood compact practices of the *Katipunan* (also *Kataas-taasan, Kagalang-galangang Katipunan ng Mga Anak ng Bayan,* or "Society of the Venerable Association of the Children of the Nation"), an organization that led turn-of-the-nineteenth-century revolutions in the Philippines.

Lakbayanis presented themselves in traditional costumes and accessories. Vibrant, eye-catching posters adorned with “tribal” motifs and stylized graphics of costumed ethnic minorities in combative postures decorated the event’s print, television, and online media announcements (Fig. 4.2).

Figure 4.1. A Lumad elder at Lakbayan. September 4, 2017.

Lakbayanis set the event at the University of the Philippines Diliman flagship campus, equating it with other protest movements that shaped recent Philippine history. The University of the Philippines is known for its progressive stance on political issues. A premier state university that has been recognized by many as a bastion of activism, it has inspired student-leaders to build progressive organizations since the 1930s and provided a setting that catalyzed the growth of student movements. These actions led to countless uprisings and the peaceful EDSA revolutions in the 1980s and 2001, which helped topple the respective regimes of dictator Ferdinand Marcos and former President Joseph “Erap” Estrada. The UP has sustained its progressive streak, despite

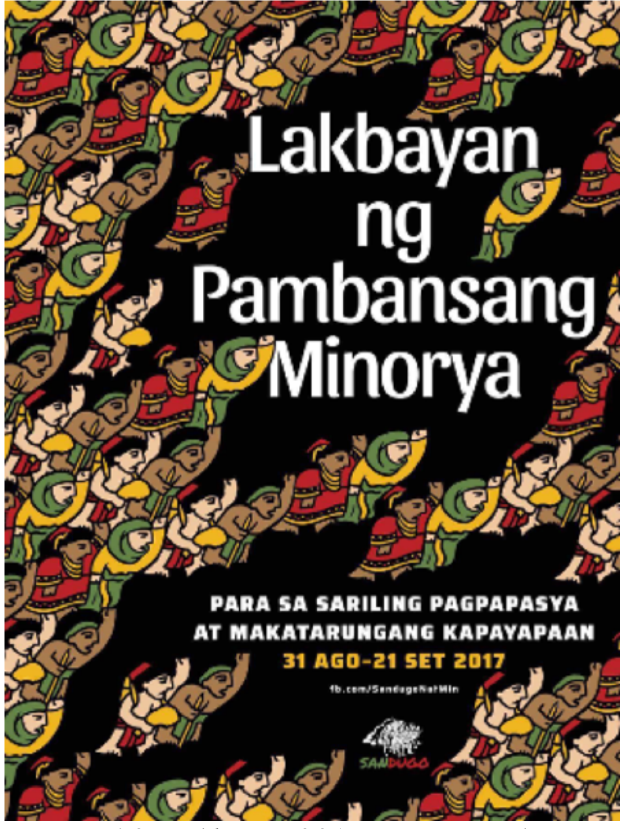

Figure 4.2. Lakbayan 2017 promotional poster (https://contendup.wordpress.com/2017/08/30/lakbayan-2017-lakbayan-ng-pambansang-minorya-para-sa-sariling-pagpapasya-at-makatarungang-kapayapaan/)

being recently red-tagged by the Duterte administration.[161] From the end of August to the whole of September 2017, Lakbayanis camped in university grounds, whose verdant landscape and decades-old buildings, unkempt and nearly decrepit, concretized the dire living conditions of its guests. Lakbayanis lived at a 493-hectare lot at the university's outskirts, visible to multitudes who traverse the city's boundaries.

[161] According to the Philippine Supreme Court, red-tagging refers to "the strategic naming of individuals and organizations as communists or terrorists by the state, particularly law enforcement agencies and the military." Many, particularly political activists, perceive red-tagging as problematic because it conflates the right to dissent with committing subversion and legitimizes persecution and endangerment of the lives of those being labeled.

The camp, called “Sitio Sandugo” (“Sandugo Village”) appeared like a cultural fair. Immediately visible from outside its cyclone fence enclosure stood souvenir booths and an adjacent museum that sold “ethnic” food, clothing, jewelry, books, and event merchandise, and the services of a traditional Igorot tattoo artist—commodities that would lure a Manila-based audience. Inside the camp, tree-filtered sunlight reflected vibrant reds, purples, yellows, greens, and sky blues from flags, *banderitas*, banners, artwork, and the traditional clothes and accessories worn by the Lakbayanis (Fig. 4.3) Appetizing food aromas meshed with vibrant sounds of multilingual conversation, children at play, music, and occasional loudspeaker announcements.

Figure 4.3. Inside Sitio Sandugo, September 13, 2017.

The sitio’s other distinctive features unsettled this convivial atmosphere. While colorful and cartoonish, large, human figure stand-ins portrayed ethnic minorities with raised clenched

fists. Signs that said, “Stop the Killings!”, “Land is Life!”, and “Save Our Schools!” alluded to the troubling issues that led to the sitio’s existence. Deeper into the sitio, rows and rows of makeshift tents fashioned from coconut lumber and tarp served as shelter for the Lakbayanis, mirroring their experiences of displacement; September monsoons soon ravaged these skeletal structures, forcing Lakbayanis to evacuate and stay at barely habitable spaces inside university buildings. Lakbayanis held “immersions” in these tents, educational practices of the leftwing political tradition where attendees gain exposure to the lived struggles of oppressed sectors through first-hand conversations with members of these sectors and through in-depth discussions on history and events pertinent to pressing political issues. Lakbayanis recounted details of their living conditions and conflicts with the corporations, the government, and the military.

From my own immersion, I gained a better understanding of why Igorots attended Lakbayan. I met Alma Sinumlag, Secretary-General of the DKK, who explained that the summit helped unite people of the Cordilleras so they can confront the crises that have imperiled the whole region. Development aggression continued to worsen, with companies like Nickel Asia Corporation ceaselessly lobbying to exploit the region’s resources through mining, logging, and hydropower projects. Foreign investors, with the assistance of the Philippine government, have also revived encroachment into the Chico River. To be sure, community resistance is faced with retaliation from authorities. They employ various forms of intimidation that range from eerie scare tactics, red tagging, kidnappings, and killings, the most recent of which took place in 2007 and 2014.[162] To make matters even worse, these problems are not limited to the Cordilleras. Many other marginalized groups are troubled with the same crises. Sinumlag insists on the

[162] To this I would add the reportedly attempted murder of Chinese American Brandon Lee, who was present in Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018 as a volunteer for the Ifugao Peasant Movement. He was shot by unknown gunmen in Ifugao Province in August 2019.

importance of contending with these issues together with others. After all, she said, “The world extends beyond our tribe.”[163]

These narratives came to life in the public events that Lakbayan organized. Lakbayan held lectures, forums, and symposia at a stage area near the entrance, where men, women, and children spoke, enraged, some of them bursting into tears. Cultural presentations also took place there every day, mostly in the evenings (Fig. 4.4). These ranged from guest performances by well-known artists to agitprop dramatic skits that narrated Lakbayanis’ plight, which were often melded with expository musical acts on their ways of life. From beyond a hundred-meter distance, I could hear defiant overtones from the songs, music, and educational discussions that carried through the open air with the hope of solidarity from those within earshot.

Unsettling “Authenticity”

“Context is important,” replied Fernando “Ampi” Mangili, the Vice Chairperson of the Cordillera Peoples Alliance, when I asked him about what distinguished Lakbayan’s shows from other similar displays. “Here, they are anchored on the event’s political objectives.”[164] However, performances find multiple meanings from both performers’ aims and audience reception, and often, audience opinion is difficult to control. Although woven into advocacy, Lakbayan’s displays of tradition are prone to misreadings by an outsider audience inclined to demand authenticity from indigenous performers. This is evident from the reception of performances in contexts saturated with dissenting messages, like the one I recounted in the introduction and Lakbayan’s culminating protest march. Held on September 21, 2017, it commemorated former

[163] Alma Sinumlag, interview by author, Quezon City, 15 September 2017.
[164] Fernando Mangili, interview by author, Quezon City, 11 September 2017.

Figure 4.4. Cultural presentations at Sitio Sandugo. Top: A Muslim man dances the fingernail dance pangasik, 17 September 2017; bottom: Manobo Lumad children perform the courtship dance dayun-dayun, September 16, 2017.

president Ferdinand Marcos's declaration of martial law forty-five years prior. In an atypically monumental demonstration, Lakbayanis, for the first time, marched together with hundreds of organizations from the country's multiple sectors. Farmers, LGBTQ+ rights groups, religious associations, students, artists, teachers, factory workers joined the protest, even organizations of

rivaling factions. Dressed predominantly in red and black clothes, the thousands-strong contingent unambiguously advocated for social justice. People lined in rows held signs and banners that said *"Wakasan ang Martial Law! Biguin at Labanan ang Pasistang Rehimeng U.S.-Duterte!"* ("End Martial Law! Defeat and Fight the Facist US-Duterte Regime!"). Near the front end, protesters pushed a large makeshift Rubik's cube effigy named Rody's cube (after the current president) that melded the facial features of Duterte, Marcos, Adolf Hitler, and that of a black pug—a pet dog (Fig. 4.5). From time to time, a protester yelled "Never again, never again!" to which the crowd roared, "Never again to martial law!" engulfing the spatial span of its sound envelope. A performance on the gangsa by Igorot Lakbayanis further intensified this soundscape. Strategically positioned at the front with some dressed in traditional clothing, DKK performers played the pattong, ushering a sea of protesters and summoning spectators (Fig. 4.6).

Figure 4.5. Rody's cube effigy at the commemorative Martial Law protest, Manila Today, September 21, 2017.

Figure 4.6. Gangsa players perform the pattong, leading a large contingent of protesters in downtown Manila. Manila Today, September 21, 2017.

The performance drew meaning from its immediate context, but such meaning was lost to surrounding audiences. People approached DKK performers as tourists would, asking to take photos. At first, DKK performers obliged, but later declined. Some laughed at DKK in their clothes, saying, *"Hoy tama na may buntot ka! Kita pa yung puwet mo!"* ("Hey, you *do* have a tail! And your ass is exposed!").[165] These audience responses illustrate the grave, divisive consequences of Igorots' colonial past. Non-indigenous locals either mock performances of indigeneity or treat indigenous people as icons of what Vernadette Vicuña Gonzales describes as the visual tropes of the native.[166] I asked Eric Carreon, one of the pattong performers that day, how he felt about this reception. "What can we do? This is the way things are,"[167] he conceded, suggesting the pervasiveness of an anti-Igorot bias. Such incidents suggest that audiences pay more attention to Igorot peoples' "exotic" presentations than their political persuasions. Igorot

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[165] Sarah Dekdeken, Gerald Chupchupen, and Davidson Agulin, interview by author, Baguio City, July, 10 2019.
[166] See Vernadette Vicuña Gonzales, "Headhunter Itineraries: The Philippines as America's Dream Jungle" *The Global South* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2009): 144-172.
[167] Eric Carreon, personal communication with author, Manila City, September 21, 2017.

people are seen as uncorruptible by, or even incarcerated from engaging, political discourses. To borrow from Vernadette Vicuña Gonzales, "Native representations… continue to haunt lived realities, constraining the political horizon for indigenous peoples in the different subaltern zones they occupy."[168]

"Hugpungan," Lakbayan's highlight concert, demonstrated that such prejudice affects even the organizational aspects of a protest summit like Lakbayan.[169] Managed by the UP's resident production staff, the concert was predominantly framed as a cultural exhibition. The exuberantly voiced-over tagline "*Ating kilalanin ang mga etnolingwistikang minorya ng Pilipinas!* ("Let's get to know the ethnolinguistic minorities of the Philippines!") opened the concert. As opposed to performing overtly politicized numbers, many Lakbayanis re-enacted their traditional music and rituals (Fig. 4.7). This shift to a perceived political neutrality justifies the inclusion of a stylized rendition of the *subli,* a Catholic devotional dance practiced in the lowland province of Batangas and other southwestern areas of Luzon. The addition was inappropriate for an event like Lakbayan, however, as it entertained internal center-periphery tensions between lowland Christian groups and ethnic minorities, diluting the summit's militant activism. Held at the large, indoor proscenium-type UP theater, the concert's watered-down, essentialist undertones was projected with the aid of stage spotlights and robust audiovisual facilities (Fig. 4.8). Aware of these issues, I sat uncomfortably among a mainstream audience of mostly students and personnel from schools based in Manila who appeared to clapped instinctively at each of the numbers.

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[168] Gonzales, "Headhunter Itineraries," 168.
[169] A Cebuano word for "convergence."

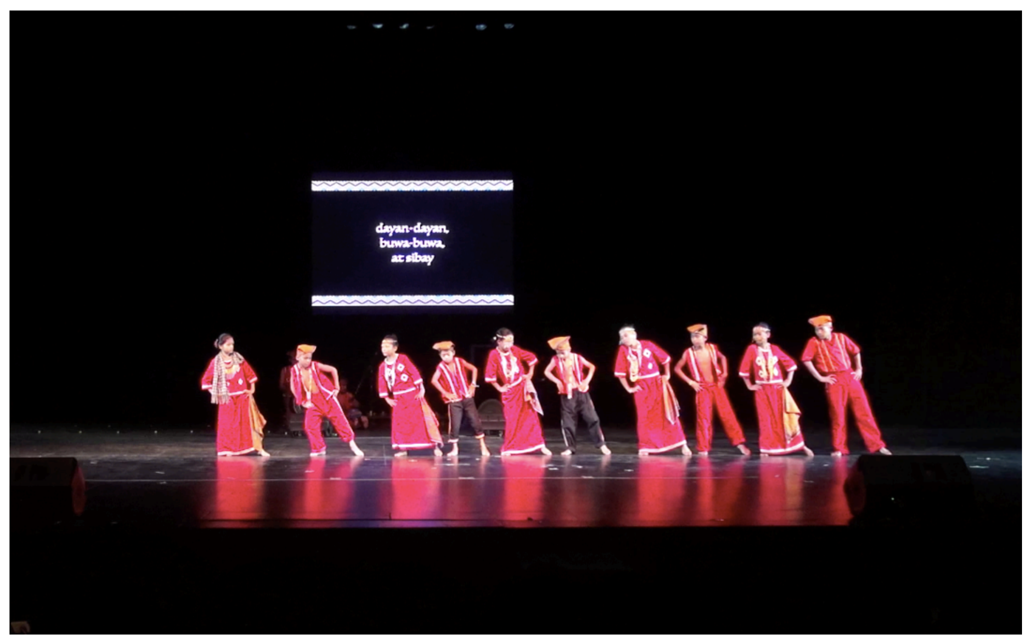

Figure 4.7. Manobo Lumad children dancing traditional courtship dances at the University Theater during Hugpungan, September 18, 2017.

Figure 4.8. A concert (not Hugpungan) inside the University of the Philippines Theater (http://www.missosology.info/forum/viewtopic.php?f=6&t=145715).

Sinumlag expressed her frustration to me. *"Ewan ko ba kung bakit nagkaganon! Nagkamali ang cultural committee"* ("I don't know what happened. Lakbayan's cultural committee must have done some things wrong").[170] Santos Mero, Sinumlag's senior colleague, joined our conversation, seconding Sinumlag's responses. "This is in direct violation of our right to self-determination!"[171] he lamented. Disappointed as they were, however, these circumstances prompted DKK to devise strategies that would maneuver Hugpungan to work in their favor. Averting the concert's risks, Sinumlag and her fellow DKK members decided to perform the protest song "Tumuréd."

Through "Tumuréd," DKK projected their syncretic experiences as Igorots and activists by melding traditional and Western music. They used Cordillera instruments like the Kalinga jaw harp called *ulibaw,* and stamping tubes called *tongatong*, but employed these atypically. As custom, the ulibaw is played solo with duple rhythmic patterns for entertainment and courtship among the Kalinga. In "Tumuréd," the instrument created an atmospheric effect, opening the performance with its rippling multiphonic tones in a bouncing ball rhythm (Fig. 4.9). Two tongatong followed, layering the ulibaw with a fragmented two-pitch pattern, different from the denser ostinato that six or seven tubes produce in leisure, spiritual, and curing ritual practices (Fig. 4.10). Apart from setting a rhythmic reference, this tongatong pattern served a crucial role, establishing the song's minor mode, main melodic motif, and tonality. Chordal guitar accompaniment provided tonal harmonic support, rooting the continuous tongatong fragment on e flat minor (Fig. 4.11), while a *djembe* drum provided additional rhythmic support and intensity. Further, the use of these two latter instruments signified the dynamic musical experiences of

[170] Alma Sinumlag, personal communication with author, Quezon City, September 18, 2017.
[171] Santos Mero, personal communication with author, Quezon City, September 18, 2017.

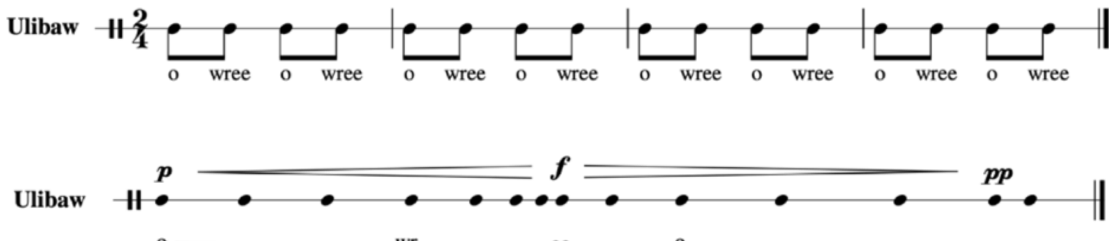

Figure 4.9. A conventional ullibaw pattern (top) and an excerpt of the ullibaw opening in DKK's performance of "Tumuréd" (bottom).

Figure 4.10. Tongatong in typical ensemble contexts (top) and the tongatong part in DKK's performance of Tumuréd (bottom).

Igorots. In fact, members of the leftwing Igorot musical ensemble Salidummay were exposed to other musics as college students in Baguio City when they wrote "Tumuréd" in the 1980s; they studied Igorot musical idioms while integrating in rural Cordillera and incorporated these into the song. In addition, DKK's use of the guitar, whose ubiquity, according to widespread and expert opinion among Filipino musicians, should qualify it as a national instrument, symbolically positioned "Tumuréd" and its performers in contemporary popular music arenas. The same can

be said of DKK's addition of the djembe. Show bands and acoustic musical groups in the country commonly use the goblet drum. Although they do not employ West African rhythms, they prefer the djembe for its depth of timbre and portability.

Figure 4.11. Vocals, tongatong, acoustic guitar, and djembe parts in DKK's performance of "Tumuréd."

Like the instrumentation, the melody and text evince an outward-looking politics grounded on an Igorot self (Fig. 4.12). The song drew from Cordillera vocal music with its

pentatonic melody, refrain harmony of two-part, parallel fourths, use of the chest register, grace notes, and a congregational approach to singing, but these elements were decontextualized from typical community contexts to convey rooted political statements. The song's harmonic, vocal, and melodic attributes exuded an imposing quality. These bolstered the song's text, which argued for Igorot fluidity and collectivism. "Tumuréd" spoke of struggles particular to Igorots, as lines from the first and second verses suggest, describing communities destroyed from mines and river dams. But the following sections, especially the third verse lines *"Saan mang dako isigaw / Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao / Mangahas na Bumangon / Kumilos, Lumaban,"* ("No matter where you're from / Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao / With courage, Stand up / Mobilize, Fight") asserted the inexorable link between Igorot experiences and those of other minority groups. Indeed, the song established this notion through its spoken opening lines. Juxtaposed with *"Kami ang Kaigorotan"* ("We are the Igorot Community"), the line *"Kami ang Pambansang Minorya"* ("We are the National Minority") articulated an alliance between Igorots and other marginalized ethnic groups. Further, "Tumuréd"'s use of two widely spoken Philippine languages—and its non-use of any Igorot village native tongue—signified broad, present-day Igorot sociality. Its refrain and final verse are in Ilocano, one of the country's major languages, and the lingua franca of the Cordilleras that is also spoken in nearby lowland provinces outside the region. The rest of the text is in Filipino, the country's national language. Through this bilinguality, DKK engaged their present audiences, as well as the other Lakbayanis, and performed an indigeneity unbound to place, making the urgency of their cause relatable. Singing about the interconnectedness of people across and beyond the Cordillera, DKK challenged isolationist notions about Igorot identity.

Opening lines	Kami ang Kaigorotan Kami ang pambansang minorya Ang aming dugo ay 'sing alab ng araw Ang aming puso ay 'sing tibay ng buto	We are the Igorot community We are the national minority Our blood is as fiery as the sun Our hearts are as mighty as our bones
	Tuloy-tuloy na nangmumulat, nakiisa, lumalaban, hanggang may tunay na hustiya, kalayaan, pagkakapantay-pantay, at sariling pagpapasiya	We continue to enlighten, unite Fight, until we attain true justice, freedom, equality, and self-determination
	Kami ang Sandugo	We are one blood
Verse 1	*Lupa ng ating ninuno,* *unti-unting naglalaho* *Sama-samang harapin* *Ipagtanggol ang lupain*	Our ancestral lands Continue to perish Together, let's fight them Protect our territories
Verse 2	*Mga tribo ng mga angkan,* *nilunod ng tubig ng dam* *Katutubong mamamayan* *Pininsala ng minahan*	The tribes of our kin Drowned in the water dams Indigenous people Were killed in the mines
Verse 3	*Saan mang dako isigaw* *Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao* *Mangahas na bumangon,* *kumilos, lumaban*	No matter where you're from Luzon, Visayas, Mindanao With courage, stand up Mobilize and fight
Verse 4	*Banbantay ken karayan* *Tawid ta'y kinabaknang* *Kalintengan ta'y ilaban* *Babantayan, salakniban*	The rivers and mountains Are part of our rich heritage It is our right to fight for our land To nurture and defend it
Refrain	*Tumured, tumured* *Tumured tay u-unga* *Ya datayo in-ada* *Ya datayo am ada* *Ya alapo da'y wada* *Tumured tay u-unga*	Be brave, be brave Be brave, fellow youth And our mothers And our fathers And our kin here present Be brave, fellow youth

Figure 4.12. Text of Tumuréd based on DKK's performance in Hugpungan, with an English translation taken from the Salidummay Album Collection.

Finally, DKK took advantage of the theater's limitations. They sang a song whose messages of resistance benefitted from audiovisual amplification. The music permeated through the vast theater, surging with warm, earthy, and percussive timbres, dense rhythmic patterns, and a chorus protesting through song—elements that coalesced with DKK's hybrid image. Shone under the state lights barefoot in traditional clothes and accessories yet also dressed in jeans and shirts with protest-themed prints, they stood poised and defiant against the audience (Fig. 4.13).

Figure 4.13. DKK singing "Tumuréd" at Hugpungan, September 18, 2017.

Taylor writes how, in a refusal to be pigeonholed, "modern griot" Youssou N'Dour, calls on his African audience, yet also possesses a voracious aesthetic appetite for various western and modern influences in his music. Besides, Taylor contends, Youssou *is* an artist whose creativity is informed by his various encounters.[172] The same can be said about DKK. They appeal to Cordillera audiences by taking on issues closer to home and through sonic and visual cues of

[172] Taylor, 136, 143.

identification. But against mainstream audience expectations about Igorot musicians, they draw music from their contemporary and political lives and an awareness of their identities in relation to the broader Philippine public. *"Buti nga nakakanta pa kami ng 'Tumuréd'"* ("Good thing we were still able to sing 'Tumuréd'") Sinumlag later acknowledged, firmly gesturing at the song's message.[173] Their decision may strike one as routine, and even arbitrary, but deeper analysis illustrates how "Tumuréd" delivered a rebuke to Hugpungan's discourses by affirming contemporary Igorot realities.

DKK's experience in Hugpungan—and in Lakbayan as a whole—discloses the difficulties indigenous performers confront as they engage mainstream audiences. It also explains why, as Sinumlag later disclosed, DKK prefer performing in local contexts where negotiating difference does not seem an urgent concern.

Grassroots Comfort in a Regional Home

Two dates for Cordillera Day commemorations compete for legitimacy.[174] The Philippine government celebrates it on July 15, the day when Executive Order 220 was passed in 1987 under the presidency of Corazon Aquino. The law officially established the CAR as a single territory.[175] The CPA, who have been campaigning for regional autonomy since 1985, viewed this as a triumph, but they soon realized that it was only a legal formality that feigned the granting of autonomy. EO 220 resulted from a so-called peace pact that was widely publicized as the Mount Data Peace Accord between the now defunct paramilitary group Cordillera People's

[173] Alma Sinumlag, personal communication with author, Quezon City, September 18, 2017.
[174] "On the People's Cordillera Day and Genuine Regional Autonomy," Anakbayan Cordillera, July 12, 2012, https://anakbayancordillera.wordpress.com/tag/cordillera-day/.
[175] See Introduction, pages 8, 10-15.

Liberation Army (CPLA)[176] and Aquino, whom the CPA had considered an ally against the Marcos regime. The CPLA, now considered defunct, did not support the interests of the CPA and its grassroots base, and was deemed culpable for human rights violations in the region and the killings of CPA leaders and other Igorots. Aware of the CPLA's influence over the CAR, Aquino ignored its reported hostilities and utilized the organization as a tool to retain control over the region. Aquino gave its members key positions in the organizational units duly established under EO 220, such as the Cordillera Regional Assembly and the CPLA Bodong Administration. As July approaches each year, the government reminds the public of the significance of the 15th. Through numerous press releases, they declare it as a regional holiday, and schedule activities that span a period of two weeks in its celebration.[177] In opposition, the CPA and its supporters use the occasion to inform audiences of the July 15 celebration's fallacy. To them, Cordillera Day—or what they call the "People's Cordillera Day"—honors significant events that ignited Igorot social movements. Their version of Cordillera Day traces its origins to Philippine military-led attacks that took place on April 24, 1980. Under the command of Lt. Leodegario Adalem, soldiers fired gunshots at Macliing Dulag and Pedro Dungoc, Igorot tribal leaders and luminaries instrumental to protest actions against the CRBDP. Dungoc survived the attack, but Dulag did not; the day of these assaults in the four years that followed would be known as the Macliing Memorials. Because Dulag's assassination was predicated on his territorial defense leadership, the day of his death served as a venue for the discussion of land issues that concerned a broad

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[176] The CPLA was founded in 1986 by CAR-based former members of the New People's Army who split from the armed organization. The 1980s was a turbulent time for the Communist Party of the Philippines. As they questioned the party's theory and practice, many formed factions as they resigned from its ranks. While the CPLA has long ceased in existence, reports in September 2019 suggest its revival. The alleged deployment of paramilitary groups that consist of members of indigenous populations—especially among the lumad peoples of Mindanao, Southern Philippines—is seen as a tactic of local and national government to divide community relationships and regain control over ancestral lands.

[177] On July 7, 2021, the Malacañan Palace declared July 15th as special non-working holiday in observance of the government's version of Cordillera Day.

swath of the Igorot population and the remembrance of many others who were killed like he was. Over the years, the memorials attracted a large attendance and inspired mass movements. It did not take long for these gatherings to evolve into large-scale symposia. Beginning in 1985, April 24 became known as Cordillera Day, an event where Cordillerans gather to tackle pressing social and political issues, honor the lives of other slain Igorot activists, and strengthen political solidarity.

The 34th commemoration of Cordillera Day in 2018 (Cordillera Day, hereafter) was held at the Pacday Quinio Elementary School in Barangay Asin, Asin Road, Baguio City in Benguet Province. Themed "Unite to Resist Tyranny! Assert Our Right to Self-Determination!" the event tackled local issues like the militarization of Cordillera provinces and mining companies' exploitation of Igorot ancestral lands. Framing these problems as symptoms of systemic issues, participants additionally addressed pressing national concerns like human rights violations and the *quo warranto* ousting of Supreme Court Justice Maria Lourdes Sereno, who is critical of the Duterte administration. Claiming these latter issues as the region's own, Cordillera Day espoused Igorotness as a form of activism that ultimately critiqued state politics on a national level.

Cordillera Day hosted a wealth of activities that offered an immersive understanding of Igorot activism. In its three-day duration, the event tackled pertinent local and national issues as it demonstrated how Igorot revolutionary practice interweaved with a syncretic, contemporary life rooted in tradition. It opened with the ceremonial sacrifice of a black pig led by elders from various Igorot communities. Christian church leaders, CPA officers, and other activists assembled at the school basketball court where the ritual slaughtering was done, taking turns delivering prayers, blessings, and inspiring remarks for the event's success (Fig. 4.14). As the day passed, others would deliver speeches and lectures in a mix of English, Filipino, and

predominant Ilocano. They stood on an elevated proscenium festooned with large thematic posters and a row of seventeen red makeshift kalasag with the letters K-A-I-G-O-R-O-T-A-N-L-U-M-A-B-A-N painted on them. Over 1,500 participants attended the event—Cordillerans from various sub-groups, members of other indigenous communities, progressive politicians, and other indigenous and human rights advocates from outside the region attended the event.

Figure 4.14. Opening ritual at the 34th Cordillera Day Celebration, April 22, 2018.

A performance led by core members of DKK symbolized the integral importance of broad support for Igorot activism. It began with a rendition of the protest song *"Entayo"* ("Let's Go"). Written with a trudging chordal guitar accompaniment in duple rhythm, verses sung by different soloists, and a chorus that utilized Ilocano together with its Filipino and English translations—*"Entayo mga kailyan / Tayo na, mga kasama / Let's go, my friends, Entayo!"*—the song urged the wider Filipino population to come together in defense of the Cordilleras. A dance-drama followed this invitation, depicting the plight of Igorot communities against

development aggression through semi-pantomimic acting and acrobatic choreography (Fig. 4.15). As rousing and impressive as it was, the entire number had yet to conclude with a grand

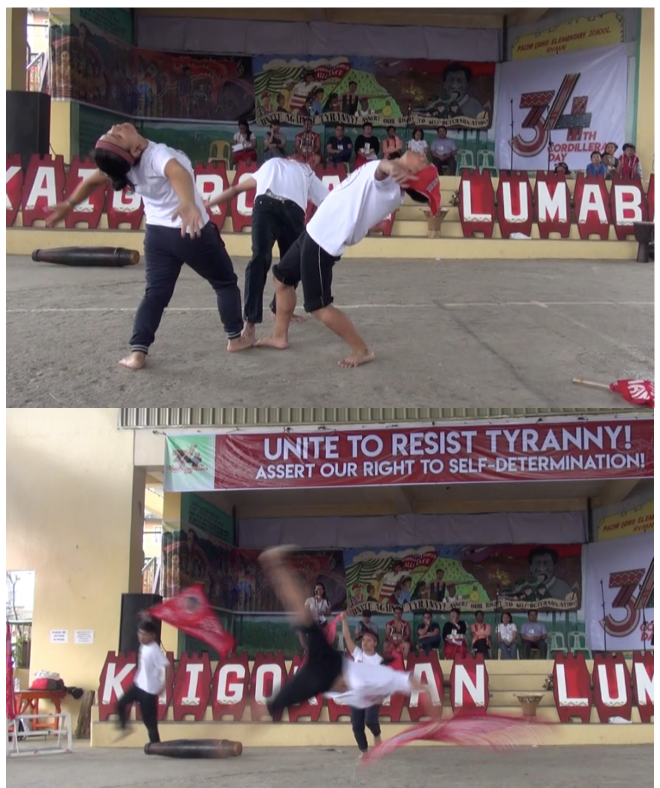

Figure 4.15. DKK members perform a dance drama during the opening activities of the 2018 Cordillera Day commemoration, April 22, 2018.

pattong performance. In a version called the "unity dance," representatives of each delegation and attending organization were called to the stage to dance while waving their logo flags. As they circled the space to the lead of gangsa players, the flags flew, flapped, and billowed, colliding into a dazzling display of politicized collectivism (Fig. 4.16). Several moments in, audience members joined them, morphing the dance into a hypnotic, colorful array of concentric human circles that pulsated and spun, filling a twenty-foot-or-so area of depth that almost bled into its seated audience. The footage I made from these dances were wobbly. I sat on the front

row and, along with my row-mates, had to push our seated selves from the floor to make room for the performance. Yet I was also enthralled by the display, momentarily forgetting about my camera as I panned away from the viewfinder. I was exhilarated from the sight of otherness, tradition, and political conviction coalescing. Impromptu deliveries of a half-sung, call-and-response protest chant that swung between minor thirds flourished the spectacle as it surged throughout the hall:

Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao
Kalinga, Abra, Apayao
Agkaykaysa a mangipukkaw:
Kaigorotan, lumaban![178]

Even without flags and thunderous chanting, the pattong fostered a sense of comradery among its participants as it would in village gatherings. Led by individual community delegations and soon magnified by audience participation, it was performed time and again throughout the event (Fig. 4.16).

While it provided a visceral sense of grassroots engagement and was open to anyone genuinely interested, Cordillera Day was largely hidden from public view. Fencing with concrete walls and steel gates surrounded its venue, which was located twenty minutes away by car from the city's more populated areas. The event was tightly secured; organizers required its attendees to register and wear IDs and nametags. Like members of the media, I was asked to additionally attach "34th Cordillera Day" stickers on my recording equipment. These practices were developed to deter infiltration by the military, which, of course, would have vested interests in surveilling the event. As the assassination of Dulag and many others proves, the Philippine military seeks to suppress leftwing activism. Although Cordillera Day security measures

[178] "United, we shout!" in English.
Bontoc is considered as the provincial center of Mountain Province, which could explain why "Mountain Province" is not included in this chant.

Figure 4.16. Cordillera Day delegates perform the unity dance (top) and the pattong (bottom). April 22, 2018.

indicate a resilience of activism, they fulfill, in a way, the military's interests. Most of the event's activities were shielded from a broad Igorot public, whose approval Igorot activists have yet to fully gain—even rooted expressions of Igorot agency are prone to rejection from within Igorot communities.

The Politics of Silence: Gerald Chupchupen

The rendition of a pattong variation known as the "war dance" in protests performs a particularly compelling connection between leftwing activism and Igorot identity.[179] War dance reenactments cite Igorot histories of grave significance. Within "strict" tradition, men perform the dance by executing pattong footwork while brandishing a kalasag on one hand and a kayang on the other to avenge the death of a tribe member during times of intertribal conflict. Igorot activists have been staging it in protests along with the pattong since the 1980s when they assembled to resist corporate and state intrusion into their territories. This history shows how DKK's stagings of the war dance commanded even greater authenticity through the performances of Igorot elder Gerald Chupchupen (Fig. 4.17).

Figure 4.17. Gerald Chupchupen (left) performing the war dance at Cordillera Day, April 24, 2018.

[179] Based on consultations with Igorot activist and non-activist collaborators, the war dance does not seem to have a native term, which means its labeling may have been prompted non-Igorot audiences. While its transposition in protests and festivals is a recent phenomenon, the war dance (or sometimes "warrior" dance) appears to have been around for much longer based on photo-documentation by US chroniclers in the early 1900s.

Chupchupen was the most visible among the Igorot activists I have seen perform. Apart from his iconic superhero-like depiction on a twenty-foot tarpaulin poster (Fig. 4.18), he led countless pattong and war dance performances for both Lakbayan and Cordillera Day. Chupchupen radiated an unpretentious, yet unwavering command as he danced, which perhaps stems from an irrefutable understanding of Igorot struggles. Chupchupen's performance harkened at past practices that he witnessed as a teenager amid confrontations between Igorots and state entities. His occasional use of a lagtep referenced the same experiences. Borrowing from funeral customs, men from some Cordillera provinces wore the clothing to brace themselves for battle, signifying self-sacrifice and a willingness to die.[180]

Figure 4.18. Gerald Chupchupen rendered on a large thematic tarpaulin poster for Cordillera Day, April 22, 2018.

[180] Sarah Dekdeken, Gerald Chupchupen, and Davidson Agulin, interview by author, Baguio City, July, 10 2019.

Now a gray-haired Bontoc lakay (elder) in his 60s whose presence and agility exudes an effortless air of wisdom, Chupchupen performs the war dance in protests as he did at Cordillera Day's culminating march in Baguio City on April 24, 2018 (Fig. 4.19). The protest was disruptive, as it should be, but this one was unique in its foregrounding of Cordillera identity. A gangsa ensemble of twelve gong players produced dense, interlocking rhythms that permeated through space. Occasional leader-congregation protest chanting, as well as loudspeaker commentary on mobile P.A. systems about the current state of provincial and national politics, which expounded on calls written banners and signages held by protesters, layered an already raucous soundscape. The protesters also invited pedestrians and bystanders to join the demonstration as they progressed through busy and heavily populated thoroughfares of schools, the Session and Harrison Roads, and the perimeter of a famous mall franchise. Onlookers rarely join impulsively, but the rallyists were unpressured to strengthen the contingent. It was unexpectedly huge as other individuals and members of religious and school organizations that had not attended the other Cordillera Day activities showed up alongside delegates, many of whom were recognizably Igorot based on their clothing. One of them was Chupchupen, who figured centrally in the march. Positioned at the head of the assembly, he was dressed in a lagtep (white bahag) and held a kalasag and a kayang as he commanded thousands of demonstrators through the city's prominent areas. Bathed by the metallic gangsa ostinatos and the roaring calls of dissenters, his presence cut through the city's urban mundanity. It is through these acts that Chupchupen inscribes political conviction as an assertion of Igorot belonging.

What seemed like an earnest affirmation was, as it turned out, beleaguered with internal conflicts about Igorot representation. Chupchupen was implicated in a long-standing debate

Figure 4.19. Gerald Chupchupen performing the war dance at Session Road, Baguio City, during Cordillera Day 2018, April 24, 2018.

about politicizing Igorot identity. A Facebook video of CPA Chairperson Windel Bolinget speaking against the Duterte government in full Igorot garb posted on September 16, 2017—at the time of Lakbayan—magnified this internal conflict.[181] Windel presented himself as an Igorot who established his political standing as a defining trait of his ethnic identity, an idea depicted in the video's mise-en-scène: as the camera zoomed into his headshot, it exposed the bahag, vest, and boar husk necklace that he wore and panned across the *"Kaigorotan Lumaban!"* banner behind him. Windel objected to Duterte's declaration of martial law in parts of Mindanao, saying that it sanctioned systematic forms of abuse when Marcos declared national martial in 1972. After reiterating Marcos's ill repute, Windel warned about Duterte, saying that the current president is no different from the former. Both are hostile dictators and instruments of US

[181] Cordillera People's Alliance. 2017. "Never Forget." Video, 00:01:39. September 10, 2017. https://www.facebook.com/cpaphils/videos/1587845247918997/UzpfSTEwMDAwMjU2ODQ0NzI3MToyMzUwNDc4NjMxNzE0Mzk1/

imperialism, he said in Filipino.[182] In an internet-dominated era of compulsive online commenting, the post went viral, generating more than 5,000 responses. Windel received backlash from Igorots who disapproved of equating Igorotness with political activism. Many argued that Igorots should not wear traditional attire in protests. Others reproached Windel by invoking the term "*kababain,*" an Igorot concept that translates to "shameful" or "condemnable." In doing so, the commenters claimed that Windel violated core Igorot values about the performance of tradition.

As a colleague of Windel's and as a conspicuous, highly photographed performer in protests, Chupchupen, too, met disapproval, but not only from the Igorot public. Members of his family, especially his grandchildren, criticized him for his actions. Coming home to Baguio after Lakbayan, they showed him newspapers with pictures of Chupchupen wearing traditional clothes while performing the pattong and war dance, calling out the impropriety of his actions (Fig. 4.20). *"Yung mga apo ko nga eh, sabi nila, 'O, ikaw, Lolo, bakit ka ganito?'"* ("My grandchildren asked me, 'Grandfather, why did you do this?'") Chupchupen frustratingly recounted. The confrontation created an opportunity for him to explain the authenticity of the performance, citing how their ancestors wore bahag in the past for these purposes. Likewise, social media debates about wearing traditional clothes in protests enabled a transmission of knowledge from Igorot activists to their fellow Cordillerans, one that older generations have not actively pursued. Yet, the changing concerns of other Igorots, especially those of the younger generation, may have been a reason for this oversight. The desire for a better, independent life outside their Cordillera hometowns is a common aspiration that has diverted their attention from primarily caring for the ili. Also, it is likely that older generations, particularly Igorots with

[182] Ibid.

firsthand experiences with development aggression, have internalized territorial defense as a default focal point of Igorot practice, and thus something that need not be explained or justified. This would explain why people like Chupchupen found the objections hurtful. They implied that "politicizing" Igorotness, regardless of history, is inappropriate.

Figure 4.20. Gerald Chupchupen photographed for Pinoy Weekly, September 21, 2017. Photographs of the same scene also appeared in Manila Today and the widely read Philippine Star.

Further, people who shield tradition from an explicitly political application have their reasons. Against the ills of colonization, cultural preservation has been enshrined as fundamental to indigenous advocacy by indigenous and non-indigenous people. For decades on end, advocates have pursued concerted efforts through community-led commemorations, research, scholarship, and other institutional means. Scrutiny of this representation may undermine the purported value of tradition. At a fundamental level, Coplan reiterates, the colonized reproduce tradition as something romantic and unchangeable, appropriating dominant discourses birthed from a colonial invention. Also, traditionalists have repositioned these discourses into

commercialized ventures. But such critique is imperiled by the reliance of many Igorots on essentialist notions of tradition as an economy of material survival. Excluded from full-time formal-sector jobs in the government, private industries, education, and general retail, yet forced to adapt to capitalist production, Igorots have depended on readily accessible income-generating activities. Apart from cultivation in ancestral farms, this includes offering tourist services and manufacturing crafts, which rely on local resources. Lynne Milgram explains that a growing number of visitors increased the demand for these means to suit commercial consumption.[183] Consequently, this development helped establish a currency that now sustains Igorot communities. In turn, the need to maintain these local industries depend on the romantic idea of an immemorial tradition. This mode of survival nurtures and benefits from the safeguarding of tradition from any threat of encroachment and alteration. It is not surprising, then, for Igorots to criticize and even denounce Igorot political activism.

Conflicted with an existential crisis, Chupchupen staged a solo act. After conducting purgative rituals in private, he veered away from his characteristic performances, wearing his bahag in public as he went about his daily activities in Baguio from February to May 2018. Many would think that he wanted to frivolously attract attention with his half-dressed exterior, or blithely mark himself as Igorot, but Chupchupen's performance was sincere, even resolute in its rooting of Igorotness to salient histories. Described by his colleagues as an act of "cleansing," it served to affirm his Igorot convictions. Yet, the performance was neither separate from nor less political than his usual displays, reframing his war dance performances from a perceived perversion to a progressive, undeniably Igorot expression of struggle. He removed himself from

[183] Lynne Milgram, "Fashioning frontiers in artisanal trade: social entrepreneurship and textile production in the Philippine Cordillera" *South East Asia Research,* 28, no. 4 (2020): 413-431, doi: 10.1080/0967828X.2020.1834336: 418.

the context of conventional protest settings with chanting demonstrators, overt rhetoric, and gong and dance spectacles, effacing his persona as their animating protagonist. Baguio City served as an ideal venue for this act. Known as a center for education, trade, tourism, administrative politics, health, and industry north of Manila, the city congregated Cordillerans from all over the region and provided a context for conversations about Cordillera regional identity.[184] As he walked through the city, Chupchupen rejected requests for photos and argued with strangers who prodded him about his clothes, refusing any belittlement and fetishism of his appearance and the need to justify it.

Mariè Abe writes how the opposition between the nationalized *jishuku* movement and *chindon-ya* performances in street protests held in the aftermath of the Fukishima Daiichi Plant disaster of March 11, 2011, sounded new political affordances. Against the austere, mandated silence of jishuku, the vibrant clamor of the chindon-ya, which used to simply be a thriving, ostentatious commercial enterprise, voiced dissent from the negative impact of nuclear power, but also from the repressive impact of jishuku on chindon-ya practitioners in postindustrial Tokyo.[185] The inverse of this relationality between sound and silence illuminates the significance of Chupchupen's solo act. Beyond its immediate appearance, I observe, it produced meanings within and against the discourses of war dance stagings in protests that granted legitimacy to his practice as an activist. In stark contrast to the aural and visual noise, as it were, of his dancing persona in protests, this uncontrived silence resounded emergent political meanings that erased the essentialist dichotomies on which the criticisms against his practice were premised. The act renewed the importance of his political beliefs toward a broader Igorot public. Attending to these

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[184] Among these are the acculturation seminars held by religious leaders and intellectuals in Baguio City, which I discuss in Chapter Four.
[185] Mariè Abe, "Sounding Against Nuclear Power in Post 3.11 Japan: Resonances of Silence and Chindon-ya," *Ethnomusicology* 60, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 2016): 236.

resonances together reveals the "acoustic and affective work"[186] of a dialogic Igorot ontology. Staged repeatedly for months, before, during, and after Cordillera Day commemorations, it responded to the criticisms against his musical practice as it reasserted the rooted significance of his protest displays. *"Ako ay isang Igorot"* ("I *am* an Igorot"),[187] he reasoned.

The strategies I discussed reveal the multifaceted nature of DKK's practice as Igorots who portray themselves through the lens of activism. More than symbolic expressions of sharp, advocacy-driven ideologies, their musical performances involve conflicting presentations of self that play on various perceptions about difference, identity, and tradition. Navigating multiple audiences, they stage performances that either reject reductive ideas about who they are, or that serve to elide criticisms about cultural propriety. Yet, while complex and contradictory, these mediations of Igorot identity encompass a common trajectory. They open further dialogues about framings of Igorotness and illuminate Igorots' ongoing struggle for recognition.

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[186] Ibid.
[187] Sarah Dekdeken, Gerald Chupchupen, and Davidson Agulin, interview with author, Baguio City, July 10, 2019.

Chapter Four

Igorot Displays Sanctioned by the State

Gerald's solo performance proclaims leftwing political activism as a practice that liberates an incontestable Igorot "authenticity." But events in the recent history of the Philippine Left, undermine this portrayal. With the Left's promising, radical objectives came an ideological crisis in the late 1980s.[188] This sparked distrust and divisions from within its ranks, including its Igorot members and their non-activist Igorot allies. The CPLA, a faction that the CCPA) describes as "terrorist," resulted from this clash.[189] Moreover, friction between leftwing activists and non-activist Igorots, which still occur today, weakened the movement's grassroots base. *"Nakiki-sama kami sa aktibista kasi pareho naman kami ng gusto. Maka-environment sila eh"* ("We support and cooperate with activists because they share our concerns. They're environmentalists"), said Hana "Lin-ey" Cais, the barangay secretary of Aguid, in Sagada, Mountain Province. But activists, Lin-ey acknowledged, can be "*panggulo"* ("disruptive"). They tend to unnecessarily meddle with internal tribal affairs, especially in the management of land.[190] In addition, non-activist Igorots would get caught in police and military investigations of activists assigned to areas near their villages. Addressing this recent issue in Aguid, Lin-ey's father, lakay Gabriel "Toyoken" Cais and other community elders and leaders prohibited

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[188] According to Benedict J. Tria Kervkliet, this crisis centered around three issues: tactics, strategies, and ideology; focus on the urban areas in strengthening a mass base as opposed to the countryside, and; decision making. These problems lowered grassroots support by 3 percent in the countryside.
[189] Solang, 92-96. See also Chapter 2.
[190] Hana "Lin-ey" Cais, interview by author, Sagada, Mountain Province, July 18, 2019.

activists from setting foot in their village. The activists obliged, out of respect for the authority of elders and the legitimacy of village politics.[191] These shortcomings unveiled the complexities of organized leftwing resistance and the difficulty of attaining sovereignty through its political lines. Already dangerous due to state retaliation, membership in and support for leftwing organizations proved to be even riskier and more problematic than negotiating with the state. While some Igorot communities continued their cooperation with and commitment to the Left, others, in favor of safety, stability, and immediate foreseeable progress, complied with the state in exchange for the opportunities it offered.

To be sure, this choice did not necessarily imply that these Igorots altogether abandoned their hope for sovereignty. Rather, it illustrated a process of negotiation that involved a non-antagonistic coexistence with the state, whose origins, paradoxically, can be traced to Igorots' subordination to the US colonial empire. Looking back at US colonial history to dissect the transition from US colonial rule to Igorot self-governance illuminates the complexities of

[191] Gabriel "Toyoken" Cais, interview by author, Sagada, Mountain Province, July 18, 2019.
Nerve Macasapac writes that through adapting the political structure of the lallakay (council of elders), the authority of elders has also been instrumental since the late 1980s in implementing the "insurgent peace zone" in Sagada, a civilian, indigenous community-led demilitarization effort that regulated the armed conflict between the Philippine state's Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the New People's Army, the Communist Part of the Philippines's armed wing. An ad hoc lallakay formed Sagada's Municipal Peace Committee (MPC) together with municipal officials, women leaders, community organizers, teachers and church officials. The MPC produced a 12-point resolution and plea for the demilitarization of Sagada, which reads:

1. Total pull out of all armed groups within the geographical jurisdiction of Sagada Municipality;
2. No detachments from both the AFP and the NPA should be assigned in the geographical area of Sagada;
3. No fighting should be done inside and within the geographical area of Sagada;
4. No carrying a firearms and other deadly weapons inside and within the jurisdiction of Sagada;
5. No harassment, intimidation, illegal arrests, illegal searches, and other criminal acts by the contending forces on the civilian population;
6. That Sagada be a designated area for peaceful negotiations;
7. Safe conduct for all wounded or killed on either side;
8. Safe conduct for medical rescue teams to battle areas be they civilians, vehicles, etc.;
9. Safe treatment and hospitalization for any wounded or injured on either side inside Sagada in safe conduct going out;
10. Respect and observance of customs and cultural practices;
11. Investigation of suspects should be conducted with the participation of the people. No torture or killing of suspects;
12. Complaints from either side referred to duly constituted committee or civil court authorities.

Igorots' present-day cooperation with the state. US colonial strategy exhibited an ambivalence that many Igorots today generally credit Cordillera recuperation to what Finin phrases as "American support." Many believe that US colonizers helped raise Igorots' standards of living and aided the survival of their precolonial practices. Spectacular musical performances that center Igorot culture and tradition through perceivably "apolitical" ways—as opposed to overtly political renderings—epitomize this dynamic.

This chapter examines official framings of Igorot identity in local governmental politics and its symbolic expression in state-sponsored festivals. I offer a brief history of how a sense of Igorotness took shape from the US colonial government's policies, the postcolonial manifestations of US colonial rule, and in turn, the responses of Igorot communities to these developments. While founded on social Darwinism—and thus violent and intrusive—US officials touted their conquest of the Cordillera region as part of a "civilizing mission" intended to uplift Igorots and groom them to lead a colonially envisioned Philippine Republic. The effects of US colonization on Igorot communities exhibit a corresponding duality. Igorots survived and prospered within an imposed political order, whose various colonial policies introduced new governance, economic, religious, and educational systems and helped elevate their stature and acknowledged their traditions. These measures also empowered Igorot movements that countered colonialism and its internal perpetuations. Economic and social benefits attained from educational and professional pursuits instilled an adaptive consciousness that deterred many Igorots militant, anti-government action. Instead, they utilized their newly earned credentials to advance assimilationist Igorot advocacies through government leadership, especially after the Second World War. Staged spectacles of expressive traditions, enhanced to mirror Igorots' syncretic and contemporary condition, as well as songs and music served to articulate these

official campaigns. Yet, channeling these calls through Philippine governmental policies entailed navigating the inescapable influence of colonialism. Thus, performances of identity distinction at the helm of the state enact continuity and resistance—adapting what began as fraught, official exercises of Igorot display in order to create recuperative settings that championed an Igorot agency.

Igorot Advancement as an Imperial Legacy

Igorots have achieved government recognition, but it is vital to acknowledge how imperialist strategies of the US colonial era made this possible.[192] Igorots thrived in regimes that, through blatant and subliminal ways, brought them into hostile subordination. As discussed previously, US colonial officials reinforced the racial, ethnic, and cultural otherness of Igorots as a population of natives distinct from Hispanized lowlanders. At the same time, they expressed sympathetic optimism about the potential changeability of their "wild" ways. This contrasted with their violent attempts to obliterate Native American culture in the 1800s, the reckoning of

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[192] It is important to mention that imperial projects do not operate under a universal logic. Pulling from European and non-European exercises, contributors to *Imperial Formations* argue that imperialist ventures vary based on varying treatments of difference and conceptions of the empire itself. Ussama Makdisi demonstrates the contrast between Ottoman imperial understandings of religious difference and those by the US empire. Whereas US missionaries refused religious difference and unthinkingly regarded superiority of Anglo-Saxons as superior, Ottomans expressed tolerance through a consideration of hierarchy and distinction. Meanwhile, Peter Perdue discusses how Han Chinese advanced a pervasive form of racial nationalism that grew from classical Chinese heritage espoused by intellectuals at the end of the Qing dynasty, global articulations of science-based racialism that flowed from Europe, the US, and Japan, and the experiences of Chinese migrants in Japan, Southeast Asia, and the US. The Soviet Union, Abeed Khalil writes, was not an imperially motivated intervention. Rather, it was an activist initiative that broke from tsarist authority and that aimed to mold its citizenry in an "ideal image." Soviet expansion is thus more of a "radical modernizing project," the goals of to which many native intellectuals shared. To argue for imperialism in an "out-of-bounds" sense, Carole McGranahan contends that imperial politics do not necessarily apply to colonies, as the case of Tibetans in the Himalayan hill town of Kalimpong illustrate. They were considered imperial, as opposed to colonial subjects, and consequently excluded from the disadvantages and privileges afforded by colonial regulations. Parenjit Duara illustrates that even sovereignty is dictated by imperial states. Duara cites the Manchukuo nation, whose nominal independence is complicated by Japanese-imposed industrial and agricultural military programs. Writing the introduction of the book, McGranahan and Ann Stoler argue that "Imperial polities are not, as we once imagined them, based on fixed forms and secure relations of inequity: they produce unstable relationships of colonizer and colonized, of citizen to subject, and unequal struggles over the forms of inclusion and the principles of differentiation."

which caused regret among US officials. As a result, their first steps at intervention included surveys and ethnographies and purportedly educational displays of Igorots that accommodated relative specificity, from which stemmed policies aimed at "uplifting" Igorot communities.[193]

One of the ways US officials effected Igorot advancement was through the establishment of structures that encouraged political, economic, and social mobility in the burgeoning colony. Among the prominent baknang class and reasonably capable aspirants, US officials appointed individual local leaders called *presidentes*.[194] Presidentes carried out US colonial policies in local units in the region, such as the enforcement of land title and tax laws, gathering of census data, and the management of farming and other village matters. Presidentes were not left to their own devices in communicating and overseeing village activities, however. US officials also appointed lowlanders to facilitate village and provincial governance. Called *escribientes,* these officials liaised between US administrators and Igorot presidentes, and served as secretary-treasurers.[195] Moreover, US officials introduced capitalist industries in the fields of agriculture, livestock, timber, and mining. Depending on their current social status, Igorots served as either employees or brokers in these industries to gather income for tax and livelihood expenses. Mining was especially profitable for Igorots who could not find employment during lulls in planting and harvest. With the influx of a capitalist market economy, private income, as opposed to tribal affinity, kinship, and traditional land inheritance systems, sustained Igorot communities.[196]

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[193] See Introduction, pages 12-15, and Chapter One, pages 40-41.
[194] "Baknang" translates to "wealthy" in present-day Ilocano. In Cordillera native communities, the term refers to individuals and families who possess prestige due to their wealth and prominence.
[195] Anavic Bagamaspad and Zenaida Hamada-Pawid, *The People's History of Benguet Province* (Baguio City: Baguio Printing and Publishing Company, Inc.), 210-212; 223-226.
This is another colonially imposed hierarchy that reinforced internal differences between uplanders and lowlanders.
[196] Ibid., 244

US administrators also "uplifted" Igorot communities through religious and educational policies that would help them achieve reputable social status. Protestant missions at the time aimed to change Igorots' spiritual beliefs, introduce a new work ethic and access to medicine and technology and improve standards of living.[197] However, much of Igorot practice, except for headhunting and others seen as morally reprehensible, was retained. Ibaloi and Kankanay-ey Igorots in particular, Susan Russell points out, did not see fundamental oppositions between a nominal Christian belief and what they regard as their traditions, or *ugali*.[198] Nonetheless, conflicts in religious practice emerged as clergymen assigned to the region preached various strands of Protestantism, and rivalries between churches, churchgoers, and evangelized Igorots took place. Conversely, the non-sectarian environment of English-speaking state schools provided an escape from these tensions, as well as a more concrete program for Igorot advancement. The most well-known of these was the Trinidad Agricultural School (TAS), an institution that realized US colonial ideals of Igorot education.[199] Built in 1916 on 1,900 acres of land in Trinidad valley, Benguet province, the TAS exclusively taught Cordillerans of elementary and high school age "modern agriculture" and other vocations, like animal husbandry and home economics. Envisaged as a normal school, its advanced students underwent training to prospectively serve as teachers. At first, parents refused sending their children to the TAS. Benguet is located at the farther southern end of the CAR, distant to many Igorot communities. Igorot children would have to forgo their responsibility of working with their parents in ancestral fields. Parents feared exposing their children to danger, particularly from intertribal hostility.

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[197] According to Arun Jones, Episcopal missionaries assigned to the Cordilleras decidedly chose to influence Igorots because they were not Catholicized, reinforcing the notion that Igorotness justified religious conversion.
[198] Susan Russell, "The Grand Cañao: Ethnic and Ritual Dilemmas in an Upland Philippine Tourist Festival," *Asian Folklore Studies* 48, no. 2 (1989): 252.
[199] Finin, 78-90. Also, the TAS is now the Benguet State University.

Nevertheless, these concerns were soon assuaged. Unlike regular schools, the TAS provided their students with annual tuition and decent dormitory accommodation in exchange for a highly affordable sum and working at the school's grounds. The presence and proximity of some students' relatives in Benguet assured protection from village feuds and other dangers. As it attracted more students, TAS attendance grew from thirty during its opening in 1916 to one hundred eighty-eight in 1920.[200]

Protestant missions, English-speaking schools, and other imposed legal and economic structures assimilated Igorots into the new colonial order. Yet, these measures of dominance were mitigated by a calculated concern for fostering diplomatic Igorot-state relations through an adoption of traditional practices. US officials, particularly Worcester, saw that holding a *cañao* would fulfill these aims. Customarily, a cañao is a ritual feast held in Igorot villages for various occasions, such as appeasing spirits of ancestors, healing, prosperity, and as a celebration of community status and the right to uphold it.[201] The wealthy and prominent baknang Igorot class traditionally sponsors the event, which involves the sacred slaughtering of costly amounts of livestock and the feeding of hundreds. As the baknang's influence declined with imposed market economies and laws on the private ownership of land at the onset of the twentieth century, political power and prestige shifted to the colonial government to sustain and organize these feasts.[202] In 1906, through support from the Philippine Commission's Anti-Headhunting Fund, Worcester launched the first "American" cañao in Bontoc.[203] US officials conceived the event in its largest form, holding a cañao for each province. All residents were invited, regardless of village affiliation, together with US officials posted as far as Manila. Activities included feasts

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[200] Ibid.
[201] Peterson, "Performing Indigeneity in the Cordillera," 252.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Finin, 51-53

over two hundred sacks of rice, ten carabaos, and twenty large hogs. US colonizers instructed Igorots to take part in sporting activities and in dialogues with other tribe leaders to settle their conflict. The event also featured Igorot displays of traditional music and dance that served as entertainment to US officials; Igorots, who were instructed to bring musical instruments played gangsa to mark the parade-like arrival of US military men on horseback during its opening activities.[204] Seen as an overall successful event, Worcester's cañao was repeated in succeeding years and drew even larger Cordillera crowds. Samuel Kane, who likened Americanized cañao to county fairs, recounted that cañao parades in 1910 were overwhelmed by the simultaneous sound of 350 gangsa.[205]

Despite its diplomatic purpose, the Americanized cañao proclaimed US colonial dominance over a region and its people. With this co-optation, US officials erased the traditional cañao's ritual significance and exploited its political potential as a tactical exercise of pacification that reinforced US colonial authority. Regardless, the Americanized cañao was not immune to Igorot resistance; that the event was "non-traditional" and appropriated by US colonizers was not lost to Cordillerans. Many were reluctant to attend but decided it wise to do so for fear of reprisal from US officials, whom Igorots have come to recognize as their adoptive white *apos,* or leaders.[206] Others, in contrast, opposed participation because of colonizers' lack of respect for their practices; much like what was done at St. Louis, the cañao's organizers arranged for performances of sacred rituals for the delight of US officials. Yet, aware of the conditions for event's success, Igorots negotiated with colonizers, using their attendance and contribution as

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[204] Samuel E. Kane, *Life or Death in Luzon: Thirty Years of Adventure with the Philippine Highlanders* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company), 312.
[205] Ibid., 317.
[206] In *The White Apos,* Frank Jenista discusses other ways that US officials co-opted Igorot practices to justify their authority in Ifugao Province, such as invent beliefs about the *bulul,* a representation of an Ifugao ancestor-guardian.

leverage. Only when given two pigs and was promised an additional two, for instance, did elders from Ifugao agree to stage a *himong,* a sacred, ceremonial dance performed to avenge a decapitated village member. More than an isolated moment, this exchange was a subtle form transgression that foreshadowed the significant, impactful ways that Igorots maneuvered colonial influence to advance their own ends.

Socio-Intellectual Movements and Postcolonial Ascendancy

Colonial understandings of Igorot difference and inferiority, and the policies, institutions, and practices they set forth constituted the imperial legacy from which Igorotness began to materialize. These would "stick,"[207] perpetuated through what Sally Ness describes as internal forms of colonization carried out by the colonially inherited Philippine Republic, particularly after World War II.[208] Nevertheless, these histories created the ideological, political, and socio-cultural blueprint that empowered Igorots to thrive in a state-dominated order.

Multidirectional in its outcome, colonial reconstruction of the region provided Igorots with an awareness of their identity as simultaneously unitary and diverse. Although it supplanted traditional socio-political structures, the US colonial administrative grid established spatial boundaries under uniform systems of governance that constituted a unified Cordilleran territory. Similarly, employment prospects in numerous mining and logging industries, concentrated in Benguet and Abra, for example, spurred migration. These movements transformed village hamlets into communities filled with workers and their families, precipitating social exchanges

[207] See Sarah Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* 2nd ed.
[208] Sally Ness, "Originality in the Postcolony: Choreographing the Neoethnic Body of Philippine Ballet," *Cultural Anthropology* 12 no. 1 (1997): 71.

between various Cordilleran subgroups that helped to ease tribal antagonism.[209] While political control and economic need created more pressing conditions for Igorotness to take shape, formal education through English-speaking schools, especially the TAS, would prove to be its defining, enduring force. The TAS inspired a collectivist attitude among its students through its training programs and social environment. Through its academic subjects, students acquired the intellectual tools that allowed them to think critically about their place in a transforming region. Students at the school lived, worked, and took classes together, forging a sense of collectivism as they aspired towards common goals; at the same time, student interactions within the TAS fostered nuanced understandings of Igorot diversity.

Music-making at the TAS, both planned and spontaneous, played an important role in these developments. During parties, weekend picnics, and in their free time, students would dance and make music with gangsa for hours on end, creating a context for comradery and close conversations about the various practices and beliefs that informed their expressive traditions. These music-cultural exchanges cultivated a consciousness that stretched into TAS students' participation in large formal events. In 1932, TAS students took part in the Baguio District Music and Dance Contest and won in the Best Igorot Dance Category. However, TAS students understood that it was also important to recognize the unique musical practices of the region's various provinces and villages. In a fundraiser that they organized in 1934, they featured representative dances from Benguet, Ifugao, and Bontoc. Eventually, graduates of English-speaking schools would bring these experiences into larger arenas of Cordillera society. Equipped with formal education, TAS alumni qualified for jobs deemed promising in the changing regional landscape. With over a thousand TAS graduates serving as police officers,

[209] Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid, *The People's History of Benguet Province,* 224-25.

clerks, public works employees, entrepreneurs, and teachers by 1925, formally educated Cordillerans were hailed as the forerunners of Igorot progress. Seeing that it led to success in the form of professional and political careers, Finin notes, many Igorots favored education and assimilation in advocating for Igorot interests—indeed, many Igorots retained their economic status and cultural practices as they profited economically and politically from applying their education.[210] As a result, schools and colleges, especially in the cosmopolitan city of Baguio, would flourish in the region and attract multitudes of aspiring Igorot youth.[211]

However, US educational policy spawned Igorot intellectual movements that challenged its underlying colonial convictions. Armed with the experience and training to formally express their grievances, Igorot intellectuals engaged government politics and lobbied against their discrimination. In its Filipinization program in the 1930s, the US favored lowlanders over Igorots in government appointments and candidacies, even within the Cordillera; non-Igorot lowlander Filipinos—those more vulnerable to colonial influence and intimacy—would soon reject Igorot governance. In response to their exclusion, Igorot intellectuals formed BIBKA[212] an association that promoted the welfare and unity of Cordillerans and raised issues pertaining to their place in the national body politic.[213] Through BIBKA, they submitted legislative resolutions that called for representation to the Philippine government. Still, prejudice against Igorots among lowlanders persisted. Filipino politician and writer Carlos P. Romulo's remarks in his book *Mother America* (1943), notoriously shed public light on this phenomenon. Romulo lamented that "the Igorot is not Filipino," exhorting an outright rejection of Igorots as citizens of the

[210] McKay, "Rethinking Indigenous Place," 296.
[211] Finin, 78-90, 186.
[212] Acronym for Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, and Kalinga; Mountain Province and Abra
[213] Finin, 135.

country.[214] *Mother America* was published in the US, but it eventually fell into the hands of Baguio resident and Igorot luminary Alfredo G. Lam-en in 1953. Through an open letter, Lam-en exposed Romulo's remarks to the Igorot public. Romulo's subsequent attempts to reverse his opinions did not assuage criticism, especially from Igorots. Indeed, it created the impetus for a deliberate effort to uphold Igorot dignity. Nine Igorot intellectuals and church workers, led by Baguio-based American missionary Laurence Wilson, organized the Acculturation Discussion Group (ADG),[215] a gathering that addressed the implications of Igorot national assimilation. Its members thought that Igorots have uncritically imbibed "Filipino" culture and diminished their sense of value for traditional practice. The ADG sought to define and promote a broad notion of Igorotness that merged with the demands of a cosmopolitan Cordillera.[216] In their monthly meetings in Baguio, they discussed which aspects of Igorot culture, values, and customary laws should be kept, discarded, and adapted for contemporary life. Regard for Igorot tradition even provoked incitements about the superiority of Igorots over lowland Filipinos. While its proceedings were not widely publicized, these meetings were exemplary as systematic pursuits of a reversal of internal discrimination, and of cultural homage and revival.

Shared by many, this intellectual movement's aspirations permeated through other arenas of self-determination, championed by its Igorot protagonists as they clinched government positions. While BIBKA initially failed in its aims, Igorot efforts in fighting the Japanese during World War II validated Igorots' capacity to lead. In 1955, President Ramon Magsaysay approved the election of an Igorot as a governor of Mountain Province, signaling the recognition of Igorots

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[214] Carlos P. Romulo, *Mother America: A Living Story of Democracy* (Garden City: Double Day, 1943), 53.
[215] These conferences evolved into what was later known as the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conference. As its name suggests, it focuses on religious beliefs, though religious beliefs are understood to encompass Igorot culture in a broad sense. Proceedings of this conference are compiled in a volume called *Acculturation in the Philippines: Essays on Changing Societies,* published in 1971.
[216] Laurence E. Wilson, "The Nationalization of Igorots," *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* 5 (2) (1955): 56.

and their inclusion into national politics. Although confounded by internal divisions, popularity contests, and diplomatic alliances with supportive lowlanders, the election of Igorot officials augmented grassroots advocacies for stronger involvement in outsider-owned industries and in other government offices. Its most vital consequence, particularly achieved through the election of Lam-en as Governor, rested on Igorot discrimination: Igorot government officials gained authority to dispute the stigma of Igorotness and its pejorative meanings.[217] In "The Rise of the Igorots," Cordillera teacher Rex Botengan marked this historical turn. Chiding the US government's "civilizing" project, he proclaimed that Igorots were "no longer the objects of pity and ridicule."[218] Igorot representation in the municipal and provincial government created a channel between Cordillera citizenry and the state that carried what Finin calls "Igorotism" as an official campaign.[219]

Displays of Self-Governance

Under the auspices of the state, advocacies for Igorotness find symbolic expression in large-scale public cultural displays that serve a recuperative purpose. In a postcolonial age, however, these performances do not merely replicate ancestral tradition as practiced in its "natural" settings. Driven less by preservationist desires than a nostalgic impulse, displays of tradition demonstrate a desire to transpose village practices into public manifestations that exude contemporaneity and innovation.[220] Staged spectacle served as a potent device in conveying these attitudes to non-Igorot audiences, as well as to Igorots absorbed into Philippine cosmopolitanism.

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[217] In 1958, Mountain Province Congressman Louis Hara contested the use of the term Igorot, arguing against its offensiveness and that it should be replaced for how it has been used in the past. Lam-en, in contrast, asserted that the label "Igorot" should be owned as a source of pride.
[218] Rex Botengan, "The Rise of the Igorots," *Philippine Free Press,* July 18, 1959.
[219] Finin, 141-42.
[220] See Christi-Anne Castro, *Musical Renderings of the Philippine Nation,* 80-82.

However, state-sponsorship of Igorot community festivals began in the form of "grand cañao" that helped to advance former president Marcos's cultural nationalist ideologies in the 1970s. Much like Worcester's revision of the Igorot ritual, the event was packaged as an "intertribal display" for tourists that, Linda Richter writes, boosted Marcos's political credibility and softened the country's image under his tumultuous martial law regime.[221] Grand cañao displayed various Igorot delegations parading in traditional costume and performing their dances and rituals in prominent city areas. By 1978, the Department of Tourism envisioned grand cañao as annual affairs. Because it was conceived as a tourist attraction, grand cañao sparked protests from Igorots in the 1980s who asserted that it mocked and commercialized their culture.[222] Yet, its many advantages gradually won the acceptance of Igorot communities. As Russell notes, grand cañao reaped economic benefits and political recognition and established the relevance of upholding ritual traditions for a national audience, especially among Igorot youth who, in contrast to the elderly, have been distanced from ancestral traditions, prioritized modern pursuits and cosmopolitan social mobility, and doubted the necessity and practicality of such events. Its overall sentimental justification trumped these outcomes. Events like the grand cañao placed Igorots on a united footing and afforded both a heightened cultural experience and public demonstration of cultural pride.[223] Since 2007, Igorot officials from La Trinidad, Benguet have reclaimed the grand cañao from an intertribal showcase to a regionalized, widely attended official ritual feast, as well as a standard event in commemorative festivals. Displays in the grand

[221] Linda Richter, "The Political Uses of Tourism," in *The Politics of Tourism in Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 53.
[222] Maurice Malanes, "Igorot dances in pure form," *Inquirer* 3, http://www.travelsmart.net/article/101768/ 2000. Accessed 14 October 2019.
[223] Russell, 253.

cañao would set a precedent for larger, authoritative contexts for the affirmation of Igorot identity towards broad audiences.

In contrast, staged performances organized by the Igorot organization BIBAK, the postwar iteration of BIBKA,[224] offered an antithesis to state-sponsored grand cañao. BIBAK voiced calls to reclaim identity through public performances of Igorot rituals, music, and dance. They aimed for "authenticity" but saw that sheer reenactment was regressive and irrelevant to their syncretic, modern realities. Performances should be dialogic, they thought, engaged with non-Igorot audiences. Unlike their pre-war forerunners who replaced their loincloths with Western clothing, BIBAK members realized the value of honoring one's heritage. They staged performances with a degree of elaborateness that went beyond referencing village life and strategically wore traditional clothing that they began to call "Igorot costumes."[225] Through these acts, BIBAK members reinvigorated Cordillera traditions in a manner that aroused curiosity and demanded attention and respect from a mainstream audience. After enthusiastic reception and an increasing collegiate membership in Baguio, BIBAK organized days-long festivals that bolstered their campaigns. Targeting a broad public of Igorots and non-Igorots, these events hosted a variety of activities including sports tournaments and spelling bees. But marked with names such as "All-Igorot Song and Dance Festival" and defining performances of Igorot expressive cultures, these occasions remained rooted to Igorot tradition. As it called for Igorot anti-discrimination, BIBAK's performances extended from the Cordillera region to events of national significance in Manila, such as the 1963 Independence Day celebrations. While removed from its

[224] Both BIBKA and BIBAK promoted the unified regional identity of the Cordilleras; these acronyms stand for Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, and Kalinga and Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, and Kalinga, respectively. The change in name was necessary to reflect different takes on Cordillera culture. BIBKA founders wanted to be recognized by lowlanders as legitimate Filipinos whereas BIBAK members also advocated for pride and respect toward Cordillera traditions.
[225] Finin, 210.

traditional context, this performance manifested Igorots' proud sense of cultural distinction and integration into a national stage. Local and national politicians graced these events with messages of support, framing BIBAK's Igorotism as a legitimate and relevant movement. BIBAK's activities resembled Lakbayan and Cordillera Day but only to the extent that they represented the unity, diversity, and contemporaneity of a distinctively Igorot congregation. BIBAK created a context for Igorot inclusion in governmental politics. Thus, the organization laid the groundwork for festivals that articulated Igorot empowerment under the aegis of the state.

In recent years, Igorot community festivals have evolved into local occasions that highlight specific Igorot subgroups, provinces, municipalities, and their characteristic cultural features. Adapting Susan Isorena-Arcega, William Peterson enumerates four categories of festivals in the Philippines. Igorot community festivals fall into the fourth:

> 1. Festivals celebrating indigenous culture or that are connected with displaying or enacting pre-Christian myths or historical legends, including those that celebrate harvests of the land or sea;
> 2. Religious festivals, most of which are devoted to a local patron saint or a deity such as the Santo Niño (the Holy Child) who in parts of the Philippines functions virtually as a patron saint;
> 3. Festivals from the south of the country that celebrate aspects of Muslim culture or history, or those that celebrate interfaith and intercultural cooperation and mutual respect, and;
> 4. Festivals of a more recent origin that promote municipalities or regions including (a) those associated with a city's "Foundation Day," typically dating from the American colonial period; (b) those associated with the development of tourism that champion the products associated with a particular region (e.g. flowers, fish, crabs, woven mats, mangoes); and (c) those that extend from local government priorities such as developing adventure tourism or promoting environmental sustainability.[226]

[226] William Peterson, *Places for Happiness: Community, Self, and Performance in the Philippines* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 155.

The *Adivay* Festival, for instance, which was first held in 2005, derived its name from an Ibaloi-Igorot concept that translates to a joyful gathering. Festivals today rely heavily on the mass involvement of hundreds of community members, from government officials, resident organizations, clubs, and to other members of the private sector. Local elders and "cultural experts" serve as consultants for its events while village residents from the youth to older generations join their efforts and contribute to its various activities. Igorot community festivals promote cultural reinvigoration and revival, underscored by themes such as "Benguet Culture, Our Future: Sustaining Cultural Identity Amidst Global Changes." This phrase captures the general sentiment of people who have come to recognize the vitality of festivals. They provide a venue for unification as well as vivid and visceral decolonizing experiences for its Igorot participants and their non-Igorot audiences. While these may not alter Igorots' marginalized condition, Peter Phipps writes, indigenous community festivals afford local mobilizations that embody momentary, yet disruptive, claims to power.[227]

Nonetheless, festivals espouse a notion of Igorotness that is at once permeable, adaptive, and grounded on tradition. Lasting for multiple days and sometimes weeks, festivals host events such as ball-sports tournaments, symposia on entrepreneurship, chorale competitions, and typical entertainment draws of live popular music concerts and beauty pageants. More than simply add variety, these events, whose majority of participants are Igorots, articulate the dynamic nature of Igorotness. Moreover, dynamism is not only evidenced in program diversity, but also in the ways that festivals position Igorot material culture. Multicolored woven cloth, kayang and kalasag, and basketry are recontextualized as decorative motifs that add dimension to festival venues. The

[227] Peter Phipps, "Performances of Power: Indigenous Cultural Festivals as Globally Engaged Cultural Strategy," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political,* 35, no. 3, Indigenous Politics: Migration, Citizenship, Cyberspace (2010): 219.

same materials embellish apparel, novelty items, and packaging of food products sold in market stalls that attest to Igorots' capacity to venture into profitable business projects (Fig. 5.1). Termed "agro-trade fairs" and "expos," these spaces call to mind Igorot displays in US colonial exhibitions. Propelled by an Igorot agency, they operate as strategic reversals of colonial dominance.

Figure 5.1. Items for sale at an Igorot festival fair. Photo by Dennis Dolojan, April 5, 2012. https://www.pinoyadventurista.com/2012/10/wandering-around-bontoc.html

Such reversal finds even stronger expression in cultural presentations, a defining element of festivals. Cultural presentations showcase large-scale, elaborate dance-dramas that feature reenactments of origin stories and local practices, and theatrical skits that either channel environmental advocacies or narrate quasi-heroic tropes of Igorot ascendancy. Elders take part in these shows, but teachers, young professionals, and school children play more crucial roles. Their presence proves the continued relevance of tradition and validate new modes of

transmission—the inclusion of Igorot music and dance into school curricula have supplanted "old" village practices. Further, cultural presentations are competitive, adjudicated by local officials and "cultural experts." Adherence to tradition is a prime expectation, but performances are also evaluated based on distinctiveness and innovation. To be sure, debates about what constitutes an acceptable interpretation, particularly in rendering more sacred rituals, persist. But enhancements speak of a modern Igorot mindset that regards invention rather than strict adherence as an homage to tradition.[228] In consequence, performances are stylized, and conform to aesthetic and showmanship standards that may be non-existent in off-stage real-life contexts, but appeal to a broad, present-day audience. More than simply educate festival goers about the deeper significance of their practices, cultural presentations take on a new significance by legitimizing Igorotness as a contemporary, intercultural, and creative practice.

Cultural presentations in Igorot community festivals aim for aesthetic cohesion, theatrical flair, and representation. Various accoutrements such as cultural implements, fruits, rice wine, floats, tree branches, and sometimes live animals, enliven performances. Delegates beautify themselves with make-up, accessories, and garments made from eye-catching material, like pink and yellow satin or bright red cotton (Fig. 5.2). Routines consist of role-playing and dramatic dialogue woven into various vocal, instrumental, and dance repertoires. For instance, a performance that depicts traditional village life may narrate a protagonist's journey from birth, assumption of farming responsibilities, courtship, marriage, death, and its concomitant ritual and musical performances. Delegates project themselves as they perform by sometimes acting and singing in an almost exaggerated manner for the show's hundreds of viewers, further overwhelming content of presentations. This is one of the many ways they make the most out of

[228] See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983).

Figure 5.2. Festival delegates pair their tapis with bright red cotton shirts instead of typically wearing white upper garments, April 7, 2018.

a rare cumulative fifteen- to twenty-minute duration to represent their communities. Often, they choose to perform repertoires that would excite audiences. For instance, delegates from Mountain Province staged the takik[229] (Fig. 5.3) in the Etag Festival in 2018. The performance opens with dotted rhythms on the solibao, followed by three or four strong strikes on the underside of the first gangsa, which the lead player emphasizes with and by alternately positioning the gong low to the ground and high above his head in quick movements. Two other players provide rhythmic support to the lead gangsa, striking their gongs at either the underside or rim.[230] The gangsa players trail behind a male dancer, who agilely flaps his out-stretched arms. Through these gestures, he woos a female dancer who repeatedly bends her knees to the pulse of

[229] See also Chapter Two, pages 90-91.
[230] Rather than hitting the gangsa's rim, the takik is typically performed with a pair of small iron bars, from which the dance gets its name.

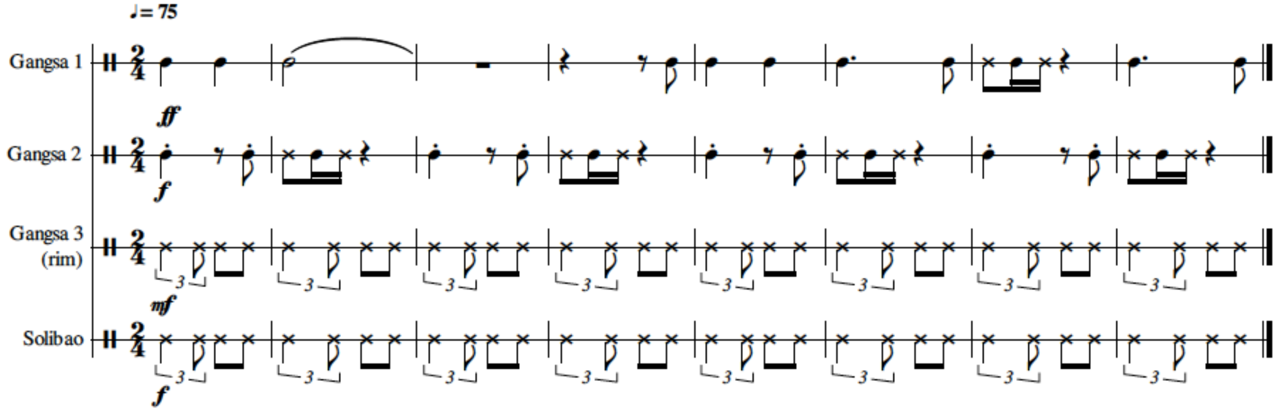

Figure 5.3. The takik rhythm, based on a performance at the 2018 Etag Festival.

the instruments with her arms flexed in an L-position (Fig. 5.4). Except for the drummer, all performers move in a circular path determined by the female dancer's graceful evasions of her male suitor's. Further, each delegation's uniformity in tapis and bahag designs signify specific community affiliations, (Fig. 5.5), as do the subtle and explicit contrasts in the gong-and-dance genre pattong.[231] Performed as dancers enter, exit, and move across stage areas and evaluated according to choreographic precision and tone clarity, the pattong serves as a foundational element that articulates Igorot diversity in cultural presentations.

Transposed into culminating parades, cultural displays acquire a more potent, recuperative purpose. Set in urban, commercial areas bustling with the media and crowds of local and foreign tourists, street-dancing activities create sonic-visual disruptions that reclaim an indigenous dominance over colonized spaces. Colorful costumes, props, and festival ornaments offset concrete infrastructure. Much like DKK-led street protests in Manila and Baguio City but removed of political grievances fervently delivered through chants and stark, hand-held signages, delegates arrive, propelled forward by the pattong, poised with grace and athleticism in a display

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[231] See also Chapter Two, page 97-99.

Figure 5.4. Delegates from Sagada, Mountain Province perform the takik, February 3, 2018.

Figure 5.5. Festival performers from Mountain Province wearing uniform bahag and tapis, April 4, 2018.

enveloped by gangsa sonorities. Through these elements, Peterson observes, street-dancing takes on a central role in indigenous community festivals' celebration of identity. However, parades do

not exclusively showcase these displays. Some, as strikingly evidenced in the Panagbenga[232] Flower Festival of Baguio City, feature delegations that do not exhibit visibly traditional forms of Igorot self-identification. In Panagbenga's celebrations in 2019, for instance, street parades featured thematic floats of popular local television shows, pharmacies, and elite clubs that highlight demonstrations of Chinese martial arts. As opposed to superfluous placements, these performances fulfill a relational function by amplifying a simultaneous sense of Igorot distinction and inclusion in an urban cosmopolitan context. (In fact, organizers of the Panagbenga have compared the occasion to the yearly Rose Parade in Pasadena, California.[233]) Further, the presence of state officials in these occasions grant festivals prestige. Policemen surveil and control crowds behind thick nylon ropes, assuring the public's safety, particularly that of the local and national politicians who attend the festival. Government officials, whose authority over the event is felt through promotional materials and widely disseminated speeches, join parades, customarily ushered by color guards in Type-A uniform and flanked by brassy, percussive ensembles of military marching bands. An antidote to Worcester's co-opted cañao, these celebratory occasions for Igorotness colored by a union of state and citizenry served to restore Igorot agency.

Thematic songs and music articulate Igorot community festivals' official nature. These musics are either commissioned or adopted, as in the case of what I will call the Panagbenga Festival Theme.[234] Originally titled "Tribute to the Cordilleras," it was composed in 1989 by Macario Fronda, a bandleader from the nearby lowland province of La Union, and previously

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[232] *Panagbenga* is a Kankana-ey term that translates to "season of blooming."
[233] Bona Elisa Resurreccion, "About Panagbenga: The Baguio Flower Festival," https://www.panagbengaflowerfestival.com/about-us/, accessed 3 January 2020.
[234] Also called "Panagbenga Hymn," and "Panagbenga Festival Theme Song" in other places, though the music has not officially been set to words.

performed during sports tournaments across the region. Panagbenga organizers designated the piece as the festival's official anthem in 1996. The piece's pentatonic melody articulates its Igorot leanings (Fig. 5.6). Its harmony, rhythm, and genre perform a similar function, though it may not be readily obvious due to their Western qualities. Composed for symphonic bands, the piece possesses a militaristic character. It is written in duple meter and in short, repetitive two-measure antecedent-consequent phrases. Although harmonized with tight, yet tender thirds, and major chords that move in a conjunct, *legato* fashion, perfect fourth ostinatos on trombones and tubas, as well as dense, rolling snare-drum patterns, maintain the piece's square and stately *maestoso* pulse. However, the Panagbenga Festival Theme possesses what Cynthia Marasigan describes as a "multivocality" in music, evoking both the subduing and emboldening impacts of US colonization. The piece descends from regimental band traditions that were historically instrumental to colonial empire. Written by a local composer to celebrate a region populated by a marginalized ethnic group, the anthem conveys a defiant message.[235] The Philippine Military Academy (PMA) Band and other similar local ensembles customarily perform the theme, often fronted by flag twirlers in the Panagbenga's parades and exhibitions. A penchant for innovation, however, led festival organizers to rework it into a "modern" version. In 2011, it was arranged into a synthesizer-infused techno version. Fronda, who favored the PMA Band's renditions, initially disapproved this modification. Yet, he also acknowledged the need for the music to evolve.[236] Fronda and other individuals from government offices and the private sector ventured

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[235] Cynthia Marasigan, "Race, Performance, and Colonial Governance: The Philippine Constabulary Band Plays the St. Louis World's Fair," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 22, no. 3 (2019): 350.
[236] Elmer Kristian Dauigoy, "Baguio Flower Festival Theme evolves, but not to its composer's liking." *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* May 7, 2011. https://www.pressreader.com/philippines/philippine-daily-inquirer-1109/20110307/281865819974876, accessed 3 January 2020.

Figure 5.6. "Panagbenga Festival Theme" (reduced transcription).

into setting text to the music, though the project halted due in part to his death,.[237] These efforts are being revisited, especially for the Panagbenga Festival's 25th annual celebration in 2020.[238]

Official musics in Igorot community festivals evince flux and dynamism, as developments in the Panagbenga Theme suggest. But they also serve as foundational, sacrosanct anthems that reiterate ethnic and regional belonging. The "Cordillera Hymn," written by Igorot educators Juanita Madarang and Julia Saganib in the 1980s, exemplifies the latter. Igorots, notably state employees in the region, lacked familiarity with the song.[239] As part of a concerted effort to encourage Igorots to learn it in 2017, the Mountain Province local government organized the "Cordillera Hymn Challenge," where its workers competed for the best rendition. Winners gained cash incentives from the event, but the competition also urged participants to internalize the hymn and perform it with sincerity. "We are Cordillerans," argued Amador Batay-an, Provincial Administrator in Mountain Province. "It is but proper that we should not only be aware that we have a regional hymn, but we should also know it by heart."[240] Soon, Mountain Province Governor Bonifacio Lacwasan would sign memoranda that mandated performance of the song once every month at Provincial offices and in various state occasions.

The Cordillera Hymn fulfills Igorot self-identification through its close affinities with Cordillera musical practice and its recent developments. Aside from traces of traditional vocal repertoire in its pentatonic melody, its consonant four-part SAT/B texture (Fig. 5.7) resembles

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[237] Circulating through the internet is a version reportedly set to text by Armando Galimba. In the absence of further research, I am more inclined to rely on periodicals that refute its legitimacy.

[238] Jane B. Cadalig, "Will the Panagbenga Hymn finally be heard with lyrics?" http://baguiomidlandcourier.com.ph/city.asp?mode=archives/2019/march/3-24-2019/city3-Will-the-Panagbenga-hymn.txt, accessed 3 January 2020.

[239] Upon seeing the text printed on souvenir pamphlets I gathered from fieldwork, my host mother, Philomena Cais, asked me to write it on a piece of paper for her to keep.

[240] Rose C. Dagupen, "Provincial Government Conducts Cordillera Hymn Challenge" *Baguio Herald Express,* 13 October 2017 https://www.baguioheraldexpressonline.com/provincial-government-conducts-cordillera-hymn-challenge/, accessed 13 August 2018.

Figure 5.7. Vocal parts of the verse of the "Cordillera Hymn."

Figure 5.7. (continued).

the highly prevalent practice of congregational singing in the region. As Yoneno-Reyes argues, congregational singing—that is, the choral and harmonized singing of anthems, hymns, and even protest songs—has found a place in Igorot musical practice. Though introduced through

conventions of choral singing in Protestant churches, it lies in a continuum rooted in Igorot vocal traditions, especially the performance of "Salidummay" songs. Easily imbibed by Igorots, congregational singing has come to represent their identity in a contemporary, syncretic context.[241]

The sentimentality in the song's text and musical setting readily evokes a collective Igorot imaginary. Delivered in a solemn *adagio* in quadruple meter, its verses visualize the idyllic beauty of Cordillera land, and romantic aspirations for progress, peace, and sovereignty These culminate in a two-stanza refrain that implores Igorots of their obligation and responsibility to protect and dignify the region; predominantly syllabic rendering of the verses briefly rests on a gently emphasized "Cordillera," which lingers through warm, low-pitched harmonies that undulate within a narrow range, lasting an entire measure (Fig. 5.8).

Igorot community festivals and the musical performances they feature overturns performances previously deployed as exercises of Igorot subjugation. Festivals illuminate the embeddedness of Igorot identity and practice in colonial history, and simultaneously, a characteristic defiance of colonial scripts. That these events have been held in the region yearly since the 1990s demonstrates their importance in contemporary Igorot life. When asked about why Igorots have community festivals, Gabriel Cais gave a succinct, yet conclusive reply: *"Bahagi na ito ng kultura namin"* ("These have become part of our culture").[242] Russell, following Eric Hobsbawm and Jocelyn Linnekin, explains this avowal. Rather than a definitive

[241] Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes, "Salidummay's Hybridity and Congregational Singing," *Humanities Diliman* 7, no. 1 (2010), 26-27.
[242] Gabriel "Toyoken" Cais, interview by author, Sagada Mountain Province, July 18, 2019.

Figure 5.8. Vocal parts of the chorus of "Cordillera Hymn."

authoring of custom, tradition, she writes, stems from processes of "reflexivity and continual modification" triggered by experiences and exchanges within and across broader social arenas.[243]

[243] Russell, 249.

Chapter Five

Behind Festival Scenes: Division, Autonomy, and Self-Expression

Anxiety loomed as my watch struck past 8:00 AM without the 2018 Lang-ay Festival street-dancing event starting. The approach of mid-morning in the scorching hot town of Bontoc accelerated the evaporation of water on the concrete parade route. Water served as a cooling agent to ease young and elderly performers who would dance barefoot on the pavement for an hour or so. Otherwise, they would have to wear flip-flops and risk point deductions for disobeying rules about performing authentically.[244] I sat on the ground huddled with cordoned crowds of irate locals and tourists who could not wait for the parade to begin. *"Adiyak et isna! Kayat ko ay sumaa!"* ("I don't want to be here anymore! I want to go home!") they said. Several minutes, then an hour passed, and still no start in sight, until cheering approached my direction. A woman, possibly a celebrity, worked her way along the other side of the ropes, shaking hands and distracting audiences from their impatience. Thick and heavily contoured make-up masked her face and Igorot garb—a tapis, a matching jacket, and beaded accessories—dressed her for the occasion. Star-struck locals murmured, *"Wow, mapintas!"* ("Wow, she's beautiful!") as she touched and passed them. At some point, she stood squarely in my view, about three feet away. But as hands swept past my face to reach hers, I kept mine by my side, reluctant to do the same.

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[244] Judges also deduct points for costumes from the wearing of briefs under bahag.

It was Imee Marcos, one of the daughters of the dictator Ferdinand Marcos, arriving late at the festival, which did not start without her (Fig. 6.1).

Figure 6.1. Imee Marcos arriving at the 2018 Lang-ay Festival, April 7, 2018.

Contrary to what her fashionably late entrance may suggest, Imee was not invited to the festival. Festival organizers simply could not turn her down, especially in an official event held at a province considered to be a turf of the Marcoses. Imee came at an opportune time to campaign for her brother, Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos, Jr., who had been protesting his loss for the Philippine vice presidency since 2016. She would later defend him in a speech for the day’s main program and watch performances from an elevated stage. Prior to that, she would also sit comfortably in a float along with other government officials to wave at audiences ahead

of festival delegates. As she made her way to the procession's head, performers, most of whom left their hometowns before sunrise, waited in the side-streets, some sitting on the pavement. Participants from the municipality of Sagada, in particular, were exhausted, hungry, and thirsty, while also anxious about perfecting their routines and out-performing other delegates.

Imee's inclusion in the festival can be read as incidental. But her presence—glamorous, highly visible, and authoritative, yet also imposing, diversionary, and imbued with historically fraught politics—personifies its issues of representation. The event projected a benevolent, hospitable appearance that sanitizes its tense narratives as it legitimizes an Igorot identity that has been forged on its participating communities. Various Igorot realities dispute the festival's message of cultural homage and provincial unity.

This chapter examines the complexities of Igorot representation in state-sponsored festivals as demonstrated by the constraints of the 2018 Lang-ay Festival on its delegates. I discuss how social and cultural conditions in Mountain Province, illuminated by the subjectivities of community members and festival performers, undermine the festival's projection of Igorot identity. Led by Igorots, yet founded on state politics, the festival's organizational aspects challenge grassroots realities. Rather than simply mirror the real-life conditions of its constituency, the festival idealizes a Mountain Province identity by essentially functioning as a campaign for its delegates to pursue specific social, economic, and political goals. This chapter reveals the struggles that Igorots face as they comply with the festival in exchange for recognition and other possible rewards. At the same time, it advocates for the need to reshape festivals and their portrayal of indigenous people.

I foreground aspects of Igorot identity distinction and how these impact the Lang-ay Festival's execution and the relationships among its participants. Issues of diversity, difference,

and competition, which permeate the festival's displays, complicate the event's campaigns for provincial unity. The same can be said for indigenous notions of autonomy, which have pervaded communities in Mountain Province and the rest of the Cordillera region. Autonomy nurtures localism in the province's smaller domains and consequently conditions an indifference to events that the provincial government hosts.

In addition, I examine how the festival limits Igorot self-expression through a case study of Sagada delegates to the 2018 Lang-ay Festival. Residents, teachers, and students from public elementary and high schools in the village of Balugan comprise this group, which was formed ad hoc for the festival. I explore how they use music as a resource for self-constitution and a medium for expressing their plural realities. Exploring this notion, DeNora argues that music in private, intimate settings functions as a tool for reflexivity and aesthetic self-awareness that allows listeners to recalibrate their mood, memory, and identity. I apply DeNora to show how Igorots struggle with self-presentation as illustrated by a moment during rehearsals where the delegates broke away from their festival routines to learn the Christian song "This is the Day" on the gangsa. I unpack ethnographic details and the reflections of Daniel Cuyo, the delegates' leader-figure who arranged the song and taught it to the group. In so doing, I shed light on rehearsals as defiant spaces of self-determination that undermined the festival as a context for Igorot empowerment.

Under the Veil of Unity

The vast majority of the Lang-ay Festival's themes captures a spirit of Mountain Province collectivism.[245] Deploying the first-person plural perspective, repetitive use of the word "one,"

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[245] Other themes include: "Moving Forward Amid Cultural Diversity" for 2011, "Culture: Cornerstone for Progress" for 2012 and "Sustaining the Torch of Cultural Heritage" for 2013.

and phrases and words like “cooperation,” “solidarity,” and “cultural integrity,” these statements portray Mountain Province Igorots as a constituency with unanimous interests and concerns:

> 2006: “It is Only Looking Back in Time Do We Prosper Towards Tomorrow”
> 2007: “Moving Forward, One Community, One Heritage”
> 2008: “Living Tradition. We Care and Share”
> 2009: “Nurturing Our History and Culture”
> 2010: “Lang-ay: A Cultural Tool for Cooperation, Solidarity, and Transformation”
> 2014: “One People, One Heritage, One Direction towards Cultural Integrity”
> 2015: “One People, One Heritage, One Direction towards Cultural Integrity”
> 2016: “One People, One Heritage, One Direction towards Cultural Integrity”
> 2017: “MP @ 50: Reminiscing and Fostering Our Cultural Heritage”
> 2018: “Nurturing Our Homeland, Keeping Our Cultures Alive”

These statements resonate in the festival’s various activities, which create a context for mutual exchange, collective engagement, and merrymaking among Mountain Province’s municipal delegations. At the main thoroughfares of Bontoc, for instance, attendees gather for “Lang-ay by the Street” for a communal partaking of a rice cake called *“patupat”* cooked in a single, yet massive, proportion exclusively produced for the occasion. Delegates attend entrepreneurship workshops designed for all of Mountain Province’s agriculture-dependent communities and take part in battle-of-the-bands contests and beauty pageants. Teams that represent each of the municipal delegations play a repertoire of traditional sporting activities in an event called “Indigenous Games.” To culminate the festival, they come together at street-dancing events and cultural presentations to showcase a compendium of various Mountain Province traditions in their most spectacular form. Conceived as competitive, cash-prize events, these displays consist of spectacular, prop-heavy, and episodic dance-dramas. A panel of Igorot cultural experts and non-Igorot guests adjudicate these acts based on criteria that place utmost importance on cultural purity. These “signature” attractions, as head organizers hail them, paint the festival as

"untainted by modernity."[246] Bolstered by local ordinances such as Provincial Ordinance No. 67 and Resolution 2018-036, which enshrine the festival's importance and encourage mass participation, they attract audiences, facilitate learning and exchange, provide economic support, cultivate collectivism, and inspire cultural pride.[247]

However, themes are performative utterances that operate on the subtext of a perceived insufficiency. They lend nominal existence to a desired state or condition that has yet to be fulfilled or sustained. Upon critical scrutiny, themes hint at the issues that motivate their deployment. Thus, I ask, why does the festival call for provincial unity, let alone do so repeatedly over time? What do these themes imply about social realities in the province and what does the festival seek to change?

Contrary to the above rhetoric, difference and diversity pervade Mountain Province communities (Fig. 6.2). Language readily exhibits this phenomenon. The province's inhabitants speak various native languages. Widely recognized research on the most common languages—Balangao, Kanakana-ey, and Bontoc—demonstrate their respective prominence in the eastern, western, and central areas of the province and their ties to these places;[248] such prominence is reflected on the province's language-cultural subdivisions known by the same geographic markers, which the local government continues to employ.[249] But many inhabitants, notably in smaller localities, speak more than one of these languages. Population overlaps and intermingling typical of Cordillera groups allowed their uneven spread across Mountain

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[246] Roger Sacyaten. Interview by author. Bontoc, Mountain Province. May 22, 2018. Digital audio format.

[247] There are other events in the festival where delegates showcase their traditions. These include an event called "Igorot Showdown," that features a competitive showcase of traditions by youth participants of elementary and high school age. For this dissertation, I decided to focus on the street-dance drama and cultural presentation because they best epitomize the Lang-ay Festival's objectives, and involve the largest community participation.

[248] Lawrence Reid, "The Central Cordilleran Subgroup for Philippine Languages," *Oceanic Languages,* 17 (Spring – Winter 1974): 512.

[249] I contacted the Mountain Province government office to ask about the basis for these divisions, but they do not seem to be aware of it. Nevertheless, Lawrence Reid's research provides a useful clue.

Province's ten municipalities or, colloquially, "towns"—Barlig, Bauko, Besao, Bontoc, Natonin, Paracelis, Sabangan, Sadanga, Sagada, and Tadian. Moreover, some towns even have multiple local languages.[250] In Paracelis, for instance, some people speak the now endangered Ga'dang,[251] while people in Natonin converse in either Finalig, Linias, or Kenachakran, depending on their village of residence. People in Sagada also use language differently, with variations in accents, idioms, and vocabulary.

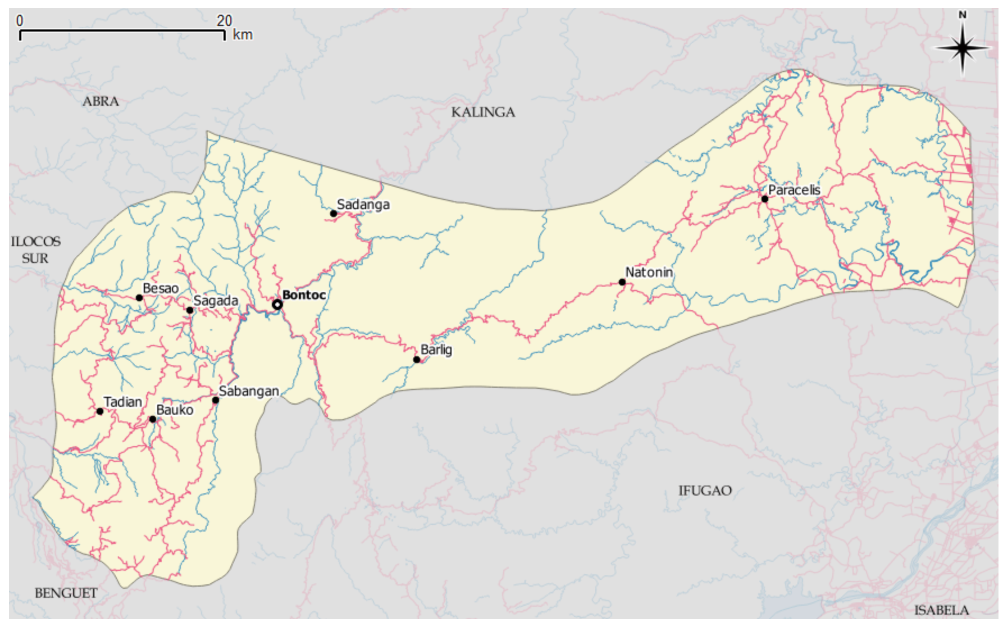

Figure 6.2. Map of Mountain Province. https://www.philatlas.com/luzon/car/mountain-province.html.

In addition to language, local beliefs and customs also attest to Mountain Province diversity. Parallels undeniably exist and, indeed, have formed the basis for broad identity categories, but factors like the environment, locality, economic and political climate, migration, and external relations brought about variations in the frequency of harvest, hunting and resources

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[250] In "Mapping Luzon's Indigenous Peoples," (2007) Pio Versola, Jr. describes issues about linguistic diversity in the Cordilleras and describes a project called the Northern Luzon IP Mapping Project, which helps correct information that discounts the complexities of language use in the region. This project is organized by the Cordillera People's Alliance and the Northern Media and Information Network.
[251] This is not to be confused with the Gaddang language in Nueva Viscaya.

management practices, ritual procedure, and mythology, among other aspects of Mountain Province Igorots' cultural lives.[252]

Musical differences, particularly in commonly performed gangsa rhythmic patterns, also illustrate variations in Mountain Province cultural practices.[253] Because of differences in local aesthetics and the physical properties of gangsa sets, contrasts in rhythm, rhythmic density, tempo, pitch range, and timbre in pattong distinguish one group from another. While the pattong of some communities—like Sagada, Besao, Sabangan, and Sadanga—tend to have minute differences, other pattong stand out from the rest. The Bontoc pattong is recognizable from the low pitches and mellow timbres of gangsa, while the Barlig pattong has a subtle lilt akin to a dotted rhythm. The pattong typically performed by the town of Paracelis is characterized by fast-paced, strident tones, and a narrow pitch-range.[254] Because of these qualities, its choreography is also unique from pattong in other Mountain Province towns. Performers dance by running in place with minimal leg movement, slightly elevating their feet from the ground. Dancers spread their arms with open palms and extended fingers, and gradually extending them outward from a curved position. This differs from common Mountain Province pattong dances where only the thumb is extended and the other four fingers are closed. Further, gong pattern distinctions are also evident even in villages within municipalities, which can be attributed to established

[252] Jules DeRaedt makes distinguishes Cordillera populations by identifying the customs they share in *Similarities and differences in lifestyles in the Central Cordillera of Northern Luzon (Philippines)* (1987).
[253] Observations on pattong variation are based on performances at the Lang-ay Festival—I am aware that these pattong performances may have been enhanced especially for the event by way of increasing the number of gongs, and assigning elaborate stage blocking due to the number of performers.
[254] To demonstrate complex sonic elements that are difficult to represent through transcriptions, such as overtones, undertones, and the multiple pitches produced from striking gangsa, I have uploaded these videos that I have produced as unlisted items on YouTube:
Sagada example: https://youtu.be/52BRwoiuhDw
Barlig example: https://youtu.be/aQhOrFE9D_4
Bontoc example: https://youtu.be/ZclN2V7EoKI
Paracelis example: https://youtu.be/p6s4TksWJes

community aesthetics on gong playing. It seems that the elderly population is more sensitive to these differences, however, compared to the younger generation.[255]

This prevalence of difference and diversity has brought about organizational difficulties, one of which was the choice of the festival's name. Following the practice of pulling from local concepts and cultural values, the event's organizers struggled to select a name that was acceptable to its various municipal delegations, and that, most importantly, captured the spirit of unity that the festival would embody. Members of the Association of Provincial Executives—particularly its head, Paolo P. Pagteilan—the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) Provincial Office, and Maximo Dalog, who was Mountain Province Governor at the time of the event's inception, debated the matter over several meetings.[256] Five names resulted from these discussions of which four were decidedly unsuitable; a look into these proposed names suggests that they were either too loose to highlight the unique identity of the province, too particular to a single group or community that it excluded other towns, or too removed from the festival's values and celebratory significance. "Pattong," the first choice, seemed apt, as it referred to a participatory gangsa performance genre for contexts of merrymaking. But as a polysemic term that is widely yet differently used across the Cordillera, it lacked the precision and distinctiveness suitable for a provincial festival name. The second option, "am-among," would have fit the occasion as it translates to fellowship, or clan reunion, but it refers to gatherings specific to the town of Bontoc held after the planting of the first rice crop. In addition, Bontoc's

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[255] In making these comparisons, I want to emphasize that I am referring to pattong as rhythmic patterns that they *typically* perform in festivals. As a reminder, "pattong" is a term that refers generally to all gangsa rhythmic patterns, but, as a polysemic one, it can also denote a specific kind of gangsa pattern. The slipperiness of the term suggests the lack of a sense of urgency to standardize the naming of gangsa repertoire, which also indicates provincial and regional division.
The topic of area-specific gangsa aesthetics presents a fertile area for further research. It opens discussions on closer analysis of gong sonorities rather than just their social function or context.
[256] Maximo Dalog is hailed as the Father of the Lang-ay Festival.

municipal festival is already named as such, and using the name would reinforce social hierarchies that placed administrative centers like Bontoc on top of other communities. The third, “fayash,” refers to sugarcane wine served during celebratory occasions. But this potential name had a weaker symbolic import compared to other terms that pertained to rituals and cultural values. The fourth choice, “begnas,” pertains to widely practiced thanksgiving rituals held after harvest. But like pattong, it is also used by other Igorot groups in the Cordilleras.[257] In the end, “lang-ay” emerged as the most appropriate. Although the DTI chose it after the commercially developed Lang-ay Wine, the term’s grassroots significance as an honored practice of village members coming together to share food and drink evoked the sentiment that would epitomize the Lang-ay Festival.[258]

Nevertheless, I sensed a palpable discord among the festival’s delegations that distorted the festival’s convivial atmosphere in 2018. In a performance of the *“tekwab,”* a ritual centered on the opening of a jar of rice wine, during the festival’s opening ceremonies, three elders recited prayers as representatives of the province’s three subdivisions. Each of them wore bahag of distinct colors and designs and donned matching, unique accessories, denoting their communities of affiliation. Taking turns on the microphone, they prayed in different languages. The first elder spoke in mixed Ilocano, representing the eastern subdivision; the second, on behalf of the western communities, recited—and sang—in Kankana-ey; and the third, a delegate for central Mountain Province, spoke in Bontoc.

These acts would set the tone for the festival’s other activities, especially those that involved cultural displays. Each participating town set up booths in the Agro-Industrial Trade

[257] The Maeng people from Abra province even used the term to name their local festival.
[258] Roger Sacyaten, “Lang-ay Festival: A Living Tradition and Legacy,” *The Mountain Province Monitor,* April-June 2017, 8-9.

Fair to sell signature food and other goods from their communities, distinguishing themselves from one another. Decorations in these booths were often ingenious and alluring, like a pot of green herbs dressed in a pair of stuffed, cross-legged denim pants with pink sneakers attached at the bottom end, as if the plant grew in place of a person's upper body (Fig. 6.3). Such displays allowed delegates to outshine others and attract more customers; yet unique goods, like Sagada's etag, woven cloth, a set of gangsa gongs, and homegrown arabica coffee, challenged more popular booths.

Figure 6.3. Creative displays at the Agro-Industrial Trade Fair Booths. The Mountain Province Monitor, 2017.

Of all the events, cultural presentations inevitably drew comparisons and judgement. Cultural presentations are the festival's most popular, attractions. To begin with, they were conceived as competitive events where uniqueness and spectacle largely determined which group wins. Delegates, as Roger Sacyaten describes, "put their best foot forward" in representing their

communities as they planned and conceptualized routines that judges and audiences would find most appealing, and more importantly, would stand out from the rest.[259] Beyond the events' mandates, competition also manifested as a private form of rivalry. With recognition at stake, participants compared themselves with others and expressed anxiety over the need to outdo them. For instance, Denver "Baguilat" Sibayan, the municipal festival coordinator for Sagada, alluded to the pressures that performance standards and audience expectations exert on participants. Sibayan said that audiences expect Sagada's routines to be grand and impressive. With their town frequented by tourists, audiences assume that Sagadans are accustomed to encounters with outsiders and are thus highly aware of how to impress them with cultural displays. Performances that do not match these expectations add weight to the anxiety and disappointment of participants. As opposed to a mere harmonious exercise or a context for friendly competition, then, cultural presentations were sites of tension where a community's skills in perfecting routines based on village practices that are not necessarily competitive determine recognition.

These tensions reflect rivalries among towns that extend beyond the festival's purview. Towns compete for tourism, the chief source of income and livelihood of their residents. The increasing number of hotels, lodgings, restaurants, souvenir shops, tour agencies, and ecological attractions that dominate Mountain Province commerce target tourist consumption. At a time when the adaptation to capitalist markets determines sought-after economic ascent and survival, and in a province that was recently found to have the highest poverty rate in the Cordillera region,[260] these sites and establishments have served as a convenient source of lucrative income.

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[259] Roger Sacyaten, "Lang-ay Festival: A Living Tradition and Legacy," 9.
[260] Philippine Statistics Authority, "2018 Poverty Statistics of the Cordillera Administrative Region http://rssocar.psa.gov.ph/content/2018-poverty-statistics-cordillera-administrative-region Accessed 3 May 2021.

In relation, the proximity of Mountain Province municipalities with one another intensifies this contest. One town can overtake the other and deprive it of consumers and resources.[261] The Lang-ay Festival's displays—through staged performances and agro-trade fairs—could draw equal attention to Mountain Province towns but only if their quality and appeal did not matter. Nevertheless, competition for economic survival among Mountain Province groups goes back to a protracted hostility within the Cordillera more broadly, of which trading, resources, mistreatment, and fear of possible threat of people from other villages, are the most common reasons. Finin writes that before the Spanish era, Cordillerans at times felt profound distrust, fright, and even terror when thinking about their fellow mountaineers. They conducted bi-lateral peace pacts to maintain trade routes between them and lowland communities, but beyond these agreements, deep-seated enmity existed, giving rise to severe restrictions of interaction among uplanders.[262]

Even "Gangsa Night," a participatory, noncompetitive event meant to conclude the festival, could not conceal these frictions, though it readily appeared as a harmonious exercise. Toward the end of the day when street-dancing and cultural presentations were held, festival officials and all delegations, mostly comprised of participants of elementary and high school age, gathered at the plaza for an evening of exchange and collective celebration. After official speeches and acknowledgements, competition winners were announced. These alternated with informal pattong performances led by each delegation in alphabetical order, as if softening the disappointment of loss with reconciliatory music-making. As in the traditional pattong, these

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[261] To be sure, competition also occurs within Sagada. Juline R. Dulnuan writes that in 1994, the Sagada multisectoral tourism council, comprised of 24 members from the local government and representatives from business, farming, women, education, tourist service, and church sectors, objected to the construction of a youth hostel because it will compete with local accommodations, bring moral decadence, and aggravate the water problem at the central village of Poblacion.
[262] Finin, 11-12

performances were participatory. After a few minutes, the emcee called on other delegates and audience members to join in—and most of them did. Together, they staged overwhelming performances comprised of hundreds of participants shuffling in unison to the lead of one dancer at a time and to the same gangsa rhythm (Fig. 6.4). They filled the performance space, at times minimizing the visibility of its concrete-tile floor, blocking the cool evening breeze that blew across the mountain. Standing right in front of the activity, I saw what typically consisted of thirty or so people in uniform attires and everyday clothing transformed into a huge crowd wearing costumes of mixed lengths, textures, and color combinations, pulsing together as if they formed a single, swirling, breathing organism. Mesmerized, I inched closer to joining the performance as the image of a local who earlier demanded "You should dance! Everyone should dance!" swam in my head. Convinced, I put my camera and other things down on my seat and joined the excitement. I threw away worries of their loss, which is normal to have in a country like the Philippines. Surrounding chairs were virtually emptied from delegates and audience members who had swapped them for the dance floor. And it was impossible for any theft to occur, I reasoned, as the potential perpetrator would feel accountable to a festival that celebrated Igorot values of trust and collective sharing—and would do so upon witnessing a powerful, magnetizing display that epitomized these values. The choreography was accessible as expected of a participatory genre, though I was self-conscious about following the lead, apart from slightly dizzy from being engulfed. But looking around as I danced awkwardly, I felt unjudged by a myriad of warm smiles, grounded, protected, and reassured by our communion.

Figure 6.4. Lang-ay Festival delegates dance together at Gangsa Night, April 7, 2018.

It did not take long, however, for the congregation split spontaneously into multiple, simultaneously occurring performances. Participants broke into their respective groups to enjoy their own local repertoires. Some joined other groups, but only briefly. Up close, distinct rhythms were recognizable as each ensemble focused on their performances. From afar, however, the rhythms clashed and overlapped, saturating the plaza with competing rhythmic patterns. Toward the event's conclusion, each delegation left the venue to go back to their hometowns, a trip that would take hours for some. Their gradual departure thinned the pattong soundscape and hollowed a space that was, momentarily, a vibrant site of collective music-making.

Closer examination of the festival's participants, their differences, and sense of competition renders its rhetoric as non-exhaustive—"oneness" and "unity" are, rather, points of contention. Yet perhaps the festival more strongly demonstrates these values by providing

evidence for its opposite; delegates' choice of coming together despite their highly visible differences and tense relationships reveal the festival as a symbol of their determination to attain unity. Indeed, that Mountain Province communities agreed to converge for a yearly week-long event is by itself an important achievement. Many doubted the festival's success as its participating towns have thrived in sovereign authority and developed their own persuasions.

Autonomy, Indifference, and Localism

The Lang-ay Festival is a symptom of a fundamental conflict in the Cordillera region between large governments and the small communities under their jurisdiction. As a celebration of Igorot identity and collectivism founded on provincial government citizenship, the festival disrupts an indigenous notion of autonomy, a concept of self-rule and local belonging that conveys the inappropriateness of government meddling in community affairs. Describing the practice, Prill-Brett states elsewhere that "No community imposes its will, its rules, or its laws on any other community."[263] Such notion of autonomy persists especially at the village level. Thus, despite the prevalence of state-sponsored festivals and the politics that support it, autonomy has continually shaped Cordillera social life.

Autonomy has driven Cordillerans' protracted resistance to state-sanctioned regional integration. For decades, Igorot lawmakers lobbied for the official recognition of the region's various communities as distinct administrative territories, resulting in its shifting boundaries. Through campaigns for self-rule and diverse representation, the Cordilleras transformed from a single administrative unit during the US colonial period to a region of six different provinces.

[263] June Prill-Brett, "Indigenous Socio-political Institutions and Concepts of Territory, Identity, and Land Resources in the Cordillera, in *Advancing Regional Autonomy in the Cordillera,* (Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, 1994), 26.

The latest development involved a split between the Kalinga and Apayao provinces in 1995. Provisions for regional (as opposed to village-level) autonomy in the 1987 Philippine Constitution, a more recent attempt in unifying the Cordilleras, also generated widespread opposition. Responding to this move, the University of the Philippines Cordillera Studies Center launched the Governance and Public Policy Research Program, an extensive project conducted from 1986 to 1994 by prominent scholars on Cordillera studies, most of whom were locals of the region. The project cited cultural diversity and non-universal practices in territorial and resource management as among the various obstacles to the constitutional mandate. The Organic Acts of 1990 and 1998 sustained campaigns for Cordillera unification but failed to deliver in legislative debates. Athena Casambre, a vocal critic of these acts, emphasized the lack of grassroots representation in these laws as a reason for their rejection. "Until authentic discourse is pursued… rather than 'ideologically, or bureaucratic-legalistically' determined, or 'politically driven,'" she argues, "the project of Cordillera Regional Autonomy will remain frustrated."[264] Discussions on the matter have resurfaced, but provisions acceptable to a large, diverse, and traditionally divided Cordillera constituency have yet to be drafted. Indeed, only "friendly" communities have formed alliances in the past due to a regard for independence and self-governance, and even these alliances were also short-lived. Regional unification remains a challenge of an immeasurable magnitude.[265]

The pervasiveness of autonomy at the grassroots level foundationally hinders unification. The lasting authority of village-level indigenous political structures allows autonomy to endure.

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[264] Athena Casambre, "The Failure of Autonomy for the Cordillera Region, Northern Luzon, Philippines," in *Towards Understanding People of the Cordillera* I (Baguio City: Cordillera Studies Center, 2001), 26, quoted in Sherwin Cabunilas, "Towards a Normative Intercultural Discourse in the Cordillera Autonomous Region," *International Journal of Philosophy* 1 no. 2: 1.
[265] Prill-Brett, "Indigenous Socio-Political Institutions," 23

Cordillerans' preservation of the diversity in scope, practice, and political capacity of these structures across the region and their lack of interest in universalizing these institutions, demonstrates Cordillerans' commitment to respecting autonomy.[266] Indigenous governing bodies, such as councils of elders and other prestigious decision-making institutions, continue to exert their influence, limiting the jurisdiction of state entities. Often, indigenous socio-political structures mediate local affairs, like settling disputes and managing land resources, while government offices handle infrastructure projects and municipal and provincial government relations. In some cases, the state may negotiate intervention in village concerns but local leaders in some areas have the authority to deny them. For instance, elders in the village of Aguid in Northern Sagada have rejected the involvement of the Department of Environmental and Natural Resources in their agricultural practices. Asked to explain the matter in a personal conversation, a consultant simply said, *"Kung ayaw ng Aguid, eh 'di hindi pwede!"* ("If Aguid refuses, then it is not to be!") suggesting the sharp rift between the state and the indigenous community, and the latter's unassailable authority. However, municipal and notably the smaller village-level governments called "barangay" operate differently. As the most local government unit, the barangay is enmeshed in indigenous community politics and is co-extensive with the local indigenous political structures.[267] Consequently, tribe-state divisions that stem from a regard for autonomy have conditioned an indifference to government affairs.[268]

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[266] For instance, the Kankana-ey, Tinggian, Ibaloy, and Bontoc have similar village political structures and their village leaders have parallel qualifications. But while these structures ascribe the status of their leaders, those in Kalinga political institutions called *"pangat"* are attained. These structures also compensate their leaders differently. Leaders either take fees, accept material goods, or serve for free. Further, leaders of these institutions have varying political power.
[267] Steven Rood, "Summer Report on a Research Programme: Issues on Cordillera Autonomy," *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia,* 7 no. 2 (August 1992): 268-70.
[268] In a report cited in the previous note, Rood argues that Cordillerans demonstrate a lack of interest in barangay projects, and regional and provincial concerns, as well as a lack of trust in government institutions.

I saw how people from Sagada expressed a lack of interest in the Lang-ay Festival. The excitement that I had imagined would pervade Sagada in mid-March, a few weeks before the event, was virtually absent. When I arrived there in March 2018, I expected to see streets laced with banderitas and plastered with banners and signages that advertised the upcoming event. From the central town, Sagada appeared as it did on an ordinary day, flecked with tourists and steadily traversed by locals who either people-watched or went about their everyday routines. This normalcy suggests that Sagadans do not see the Lang-ay Festival as a "town fiesta," a local event whose imminence is highly palpable. For example, Quezon Province would be flamboyantly saturated with large, bright-colored leaf-shaped ornaments called *kiping* in time for the Pahiyas Festival.[269] During Sagada's local Etag Festival, banderitas would line the streets and traffic would be impeded by locals, visitors, and the booths that attracted them. Conversations with Sagadans gave a clearer idea about how the town regarded the Lang-ay Festival. While prominent figures like elders and some local organizers and village officials recognized and upheld its significance, others conveyed an indifference toward the event. After I explained what my research interests were, for instance, some reacted with a drawn-out, insouciant, "Ah, Lang-ay," hinting that the festival was a minor concern compared to their other occupations.[270]

A scheme of delegation to the Lang-ay Festival's large-scale competitive events that, for years, has been enforced by the municipal government, speaks to this indifference. Participation

[269] A Catholic community feast in the lowland municipality of Lucban in Quezon Province that honors San Isidro de Labrador, the patron saint of farmers.

[270] This may have also signaled surprise, or more plausibly, relief, about the unexpected scope of my project and its perceived non-intrusiveness. The prevalence of researchers who visit Sagada to document ritual performances have conditioned residents' assumptions, and sometimes, suspicions, about the presence of curious outsiders. Indeed, locals who either knew or did not know of my work encouraged me to take pictures of *senga* death rituals in the northern village of Aguid and end of harvest practices in Dagdag, a village at the central area.

is divided, assigned each year to one of the town's different geographic zones that cluster its nineteen barangay (Fig. 6.5). Barangay Aguid, Madongo, Pide, and Tanulong make up the Northern zone; Antadao, Kilong, Teptep-an Norte, and Teptep-an Sur, comprise the Eastern zone; Ambasing and Balugan constitute the South Central Zone; Suyo, Ankileng, Taccong, Nacagang form the Southern zone,[271] and; Patay (or Poblacion[272]), Dagdag, and Demang make up the Central zone, where the government offices, commercial and transportation hubs, and local businesses are concentrated. Participants representing these zones compete in street-dancing and cultural presentations at the municipal-level Etag Festival, and the winning zone would represent Sagada in the provincial Lang-ay Festival. In addition, participation is ultimately optional. Some barangays within the same zones coordinate with others for alternate engagements. Balugan and Ambasing, for example, have long agreed to take turns in representing the South Central zone in the Etag Festival, and later, in the Lang-ay Festival, if they win in Sagada. While not ideal, these internal arrangements are acceptable so long as delegates meet requirements for the number of performers and the age groups to which they belong.[273] However, some towns break these arrangements. In 2018, South Central towns agreed that Ambasing would participate in the festivals. Instead, Balugan proceeded on their own. I am not aware of the reasons behind this, but my consultants suggested that it may either be due the difficulty in coordinating rehearsals for both villages, or that because Ambasing and Balugan are known to have a tense relationship.

[271] Some sources indicate Payag-eo as another barangay in the South Central Zone.
[272] Administrative centers are usually named Poblacion.
[273] Each competitive event requires a certain number of participants of specific age-groups. Street dancing requires 75 performers of elementary and high school age, while cultural presentations require an additional 20 elderly performers together with the 75.

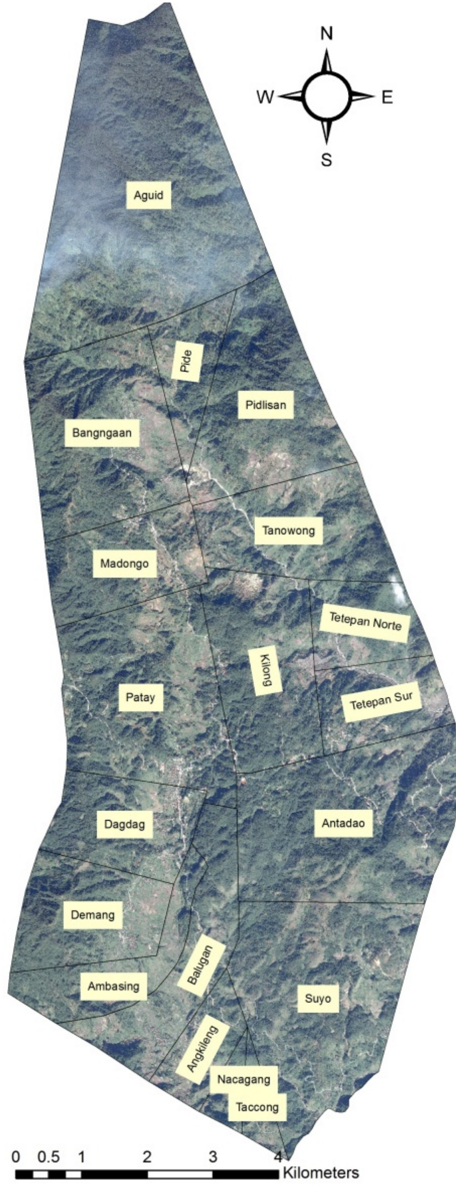

Figure 6.5. Map of Sagada and its barangays,
https://makkosadventures.wordpress.com/2016/03/11/the-barangays-of-sagada/

Sharing the task of participation allows villages to balance festival preparations with local concerns. Left to their own devices, Balugan residents struggled as various events took precedence over the festival. As late as the third week of March, elementary and high school students at the local public schools, the vast majority of performers, devoted their time to practicing routines for upcoming graduation and moving-up ceremonies. Around the same time,

Balugan mourned the deaths of two village members for a period that spanned weeks. During times of mourning, gangsa playing is customarily prohibited. Concerned about fast approaching festival dates and the urgent need for preparations, delegates opted to squeeze in rehearsals, sometimes ignoring residents who reprimanded them for breaking the rules.

Local political divisions and marginalization also demotivated delegates. John Polon, Balugan's then Barangay Captain, elaborated on this notion in a personal conversation where I asked permission to conduct research in the village. Polon doubted that the village would rightfully benefit from the event. *"'Buti sana kung sa amin mapupunta yung pera"* ("If only the prize money that we can earn from joining the Lang-ay Festival would indeed go to us"), he complained, revealing that monetary awards go to the municipal government, not solely to the specific villages that represent Sagada. The award would have funded the building of basic local infrastructure and facilities, food and supplies for community gatherings, and served as an emergency resource for locals in need.[274] Further indicating disinterest, Polon mentioned that he would not be around for most of festival preparations as he had personal business to conduct in Baguio. Indeed, only during the final rehearsals did he observe the delegates. Moreover, the event's scale and competitiveness tend to marginalize some communities. Daniel Cuyo, a 25-year-old tailor who performed with and helped instruct Sagada delegates, explained how intimidating it is to join the Lang-ay Festival. Delegates are encouraged to outshine others and compete against them for public appreciation.[275] Because of this and other reasons, he prefers the local Etag Festival. *"At least dito, tayo-tayo lang"* ("At least it's just us here"), he said.[276] Cuyo's statement may be taken as individual opinion, but it speaks to why other municipalities launched

[274] This is based on conversations with locals, in the absence of any paper documentation.
[275] Because of these and other reasons, Cuyo prefers the Etag Festival. Local to Sagada, it is absent of the Lang-ay Festivals pressures and affords better representation of Sagada Igorots.
[276] Daniel Cuyo, interview by author, Sagada, Mountain Province. March 28, 2018.

local festivals following the Lang-ay. Natonin celebrates the Sas-aliwa Festival; Sadanga has the Fvegnash Festival; Bontoc celebrates the Amamong Festival; Bauko holds the Ubaya Festival; Sadanga has the Begnas di Bauko; Sabangan celebrates the Gagayam Festival, and; Tadian has the Ayyoweng di Lambak di Tadian. Barlig's three festivals exhibit a stronger emphasis for localism among its diverse ethnolinguistic groups: Fortan for its central area, Menaliyam for Kadaclan, and Changyasan for Lias. These symbolize the desire of Mountain Province towns to focus cultural commemorations and recognition at the local level.

Further, issues of proximity reinforce Balugan's localism. Located 5.9 kilometers from Poblacion or Patay, Sagada's administrative and commercial center, Balugan is insulated from the urgency of engaging with an outsider public. Travel conditions hinder people from traveling to and from the village. Long waiting periods, limited schedules, potential trip cancellations, and endless road repairs due to continuing road sinkage, impede public transport systems from frequent operations. Available rides prioritize the needs of village members, like teachers, students, merchants, and other professionals who leave Balugan in the morning to return only in the late afternoon. Walking is an alternative, but it involves a downhill, rough terrain trek that can last for more than an hour; uphill return trips take even longer. As a result, tourists and other outsiders are rare in the village, unlike in other areas of Sagada; locals are not used to having them. At a private birthday dinner, a resident asked me, *"Bakit niyo naman naisipang pumunta dito?"* ("Why did you even think of visiting this place?") Before I answered by telling him about my research on Lang-ay Festival preparations, he was baffled as to why I took interest and lodged in the village. He portrayed Balugan as uninteresting, poverty-stricken, and thus an unpleasurable stay for outsiders.

Indeed, Balugan's distance and inaccessibility from Sagada's central areas created a domino-effect of obstacles to Lang-ay Festival preparations. Sibayan, a resident of barangay Dagdag in Central Sagada felt discouraged from going to the village. The arduous, time-consuming trek, among others, prevented him from regularly attending to Balugan performers.[277] To address this problem, Sibayan reassigned instruction and rehearsal supervision to schoolteachers and authority figures among Balugan participants, like Cuyo. Sibayan only visited the village four times, twice during early rehearsals and on the days right before the delegates were scheduled to perform in Bontoc. This decision was logical and practical, since a large portion of Balugan delegates' routines dramatized ritual and expressive cultures unique to the village. Yet, this went against the expected role of a coordinator as it was fulfilled in the past. This disappointed festival participants, who had time and again relied on municipal coordinators for instruction and coaching. Teachers who were left to monitor rehearsals felt reluctant to take charge.

Autonomy, indifference, and localism hinder commitment to the Lang-ay Festival, yet Sagada residents ultimately choose to take part in them. In a contemporary postcolonial context, festivals serve a vital importance in their daily lives as indigenous people. The Lang-ay Festival creates a rare and powerful medium for Igorot affirmation toward non-Igorot audiences and belonging in contemporary spaces. It provides a rich, productive Igorot-led context for the intercultural understanding of Igorot difference as it creates decolonial possibilities.

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[277] Sibayan was also helping Sagada's beauty contestant for the Ms. Mountain Province Beauty Pageant. Sibayan appeared to have been officially assigned to the task, but he did not mention this explicitly.

Constricting Self-Expression

Yet, to what extent does the Lang-ay Festival empower its Igorot constituency? An answer to this question lies in the significance of one of the core values that the festival promotes: *ob-obbu* or *og-ogfu,* which equates to volunteerism, collectivism, and cooperation. Through its activities, the festival encourages peaceful coexistence among its municipal delegations, which is crucial to the functioning and development of its communities. Civil community relationships help reduce crime rates that often stem from local conflict on resources. It also facilitates the resolution of conflict through the success of intercommunity mediation and coalitions. Tribal wars involving Mountain Province persist, the most recently reported taking place on July 20, 2020, between Betwagan in Sadanga and Tinglayan in Kalinga Province. The war had been brewing for four years.[278] Moreover, unity among municipalities creates a stronger front that guards ancestral domains against corporate and national intruders and mitigates locals' access to resources. Additionally, cooperation among communities aids a consolidation of provincial interests that is necessary for lawmakers who represent the Cordillera in larger government bodies, and consequently, reaps maximum gains from representation and assimilation to the national body politic.[279]

Further, the Lang-ay Festival aids its delegates by foregrounding an authentic Mountain Province Igorot indigeneity.[280] Such emphasis instills and reinforces a formalized sense of indigenousness that allows delegates to benefit from laws, organizations, and programs that cater to indigenous communities. For instance, establishing difference allows indigenous groups to

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[278] Frank Cimatu, "One dead in Cordillera tribal war." *Rappler,* July 25, 2020. https://www.rappler.com/nation/dead-cordillera-tribal-war-july-2020. Accessed January 12, 2021.
[279] Annie Grail F. Ekid, "Impacts of the Peace Building Initiatives to Rural Development in Mountain Province" in *Asian Rural Sociology IV: The Multidimensionality of Economy, Energy, and Environmental Crises and their Implications for Rural Livelihoods,* edited by Lutgarda T. Tolentino and Leila D. Landicho (Laguna: University of the Philippines Los Baños College of Architecture, 2010), 329-335.
[280] Roger Sacyaten. Interview by author. Bontoc, Mountain Province. May 22, 2018. Digital audio format.

claim unique rights indicated in the Philippine Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA). Built from international fora like the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Peoples, the IPRA defines indigenous people as those who are "historically differentiated on the majority of Filipinos" and who possess "distinctive cultural traits."[281] Of its many stipulations, writes Titia Schippers, these two grant indigenous peoples the most crucial gains: the IPRA allows indigenous people to secure tenure of land that, through the foundations of the Spanish Regalian doctrine, are considered as "public forest lands" officially owned by the state. In addition, the law establishes the "Free, Prior, and Informed Consent" process, which requires logging, mining, and other corporations to consult with indigenous people alone, that is, without the necessary intervention of local government officials.[282] Further, performances of indigenousness in the Lang-ay Festival provide proofs of historical identity that qualify indigenous people to apply for funding from government agencies like the Philippine Department of Agriculture, National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, and the International Labor Organization.[283] Engagement

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[281] See FN 21.

[282] Titia Schippers, "Securing Land Rights through Indigenousness: A Case from the Cordillera Highlands," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 38 (2010): 223.

In Chapter 2, Section 3g of IPRA 1997, "Free, Prior, and Informed Consent" is defined as: "The consensus of all members of the ICCs/IPs to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference and coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of the activity, in a language and process understandable to the community."

[283] See FN 21.

The Bakun Indigenous Tribal Organization used the funds awarded to them as chosen applicants of the Inter-Regional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Communities through Cooperatives and Other Self-Help Organizations, which was created by the International Labor Organization, to produce the following requirements for the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title:

1. Written accounts of the ICCs/IPs customs and traditions;
2. Written accounts of the ICCs/IPs political structure and institution;
3. Pictures showing long-term occupation such as those of old improvements, burial grounds, sacred places, and old villages;
4. Historical accounts, including pacts and agreements concerning bounded boundaries entered into by the ICCs concerned with other ICCs;
5. Survey plans and sketch maps;
6. Anthropological data;
7. Genealogical surveys;
8. Pictures and descriptive histories of traditional communal forests and hunting grounds;

with these institutions manifests the pluralistic legal ventures that Cordillera communities pursue for survival. Advocacy groups invoke human rights discourses and laws in customary and international fields to attract funding and moral support from sympathetic organizations and the global media.[284]

The Lang-ay Festival emphasizes the indigenousness of its delegates through mandates on authenticity applied to street-dancing and cultural presentation routines. Guidelines state that performances shall be based "on folktales, legends, fables, songs, and dances, within the tribe's domain," that delegates must "strictly use ethnic or indigenous costumes, which can be enhanced with nature, artifacts, other indigenous woven cloth or pendants to identify the role of dancers in the dance drama," and that "cultural performances shall adhere to authenticity and originality."[285] Thus, while performances for the two events appear as spectacular showcases, they draw from the trappings of native life. In 2018, Sagada delegates staged rituals of the life cycle and the origin story of their home village of Balugan. Legend has it that the village finds its beginnings in the journey of a man named Denga-an, who, in search of new land, brought his family from Mount Data in Benguet Province to the area now known as Balugan. Upon their arrival, Denga-

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9. Pictures and descriptive histories of traditional landmarks such as mountains, rivers, creeks, ridges, hills, terraces, and the like, and;
10. Writeups of names and places derived from the native dialect of the community.

[284] Prill-Brett, "Indigenous Land Rights," 694.

[285] According to a handout for municipal coordinators that Sibayan showed to me, other guidelines for the street dance drama and cultural presentation include:

1. "*Wanes* (g-string) and *gaboy* (tapis) must be paired with a traditional upper attire. Except for males who may be naked at the upper part. Use ethnic upper costumes if possible to avoid using leotards, t-shirts, and the like;
2. Dance steps, songs, chants, and costumes, and instrumentation must be inspired by local or municipal cultural traditions, the theme centralizing on each municipal festival;
3. Rituals may be presented with a mere representation, not real ones;
4. Cultural dance-drama at the Eyeb Open Gym will be 5-6 minutes including entrance and exit. Excess will be subject to penalty;
5. A simple float decorated with nature and artifacts to depict production design is required of all contingents where a title or theme of performance shall be attached."

an lost his pregnant pig and sent his son, Lictoban, to look for it. Out in the distance, Lictoban found the animal and saw that it had given birth in a sprawling valley abundant with flowing water and fertile soil. Far from his family, yet supplied with his needs, Lictoban decided to live there, building his own house and a dap-ay called *da-owan* from trees that still stand in Balugan to this day. Later, Lictoban's siblings would find him and join him in his newfound home he discovered and build their own houses from the same resources.

Sagada's street-dancing routine began with the arrival of six tall young men in bahag and bright red *bedbed* headbands holding bright, yellow-painted woven trays on which the letters S-A-G-A-D-A were written. After a brief pause in front of the thick crowds that flanked the street, they moved close to the sidewalk, creating a backdrop for the drama, which consisted of a few scenes. In the first, young women dancers dressed in their white school uniform blouse, beaded accessories, bright red bandanas, and *kinayan* tapis advanced to the performance area carrying baskets full of fruits and vegetables like bananas, *sayote,* and tomatoes, executing an entrance that depicted the arrival of Denga-an's family in Balugan. Next, they huddled together while holding branches from the trees that Lictoban used for his home. Two young men performers danced around the young women. One played Lictoban, while the other played the family pig, wearing porcine snout and ears fashioned from black cardboard. Toward the routine's conclusion, the women dropped the branches and regrouped in tableaus that resembled the houses that Lictoban and his siblings built. The pattong was performed throughout the number—as they entered, exited, and moved around during and in-between scenes. An ensemble of seven male performers led the dance, snaking around other performers. Sagada delegates executed the routine for each of the event's three performance pit stops located in Bontoc's main thoroughfare in the village of Poblacion. Sustaining action throughout the event, they danced the

pattong as they paraded to each station and on their way to the Eyeb covered basketball court where they would perform for the cultural presentation category. By the time they arrived, crowds had already gathered at the gym's bleachers and perimeter.

Sagada delegates' cultural presentation routine reenacted rituals that featured the partaking of etag, smoked salted pork from pigs that was slaughtered as ritual offerings. The etag is a signature commercial product of Sagada and serves as a core element in many Sagadan affairs, like rituals for newborn babies called *"gubbao"* and for weddings. Traditionally, wedding ceremonies begin with a *"dawak,"* the couple's declaration of their intentions in front of the community through the presiding authority of elders. Performances of the pattong and courtship dances follow the ceremony in a celebration that can last for days. Meanwhile, the gubbao is performed after a newborn's umbilical cord falls off. It involves the ritual naming of the child as well as the declaration of their native name and familial and community roots.

Following a pattong-propelled entrance, Sagada delegates spread in various formations across the approximate 60-foot length of the gym floor. Projecting and, at times, straining their un-mic-ed voices for hundreds of spectators, three male performers each recited for the dawak, which others punctuated with hoots of affirmation. The dawak was followed by a rendition of a liwliwa by the male performers, the round, warm, bass frequencies of their unison singing reverberating on the gym's high ceiling and swelling out to listeners. Afterward came the dancing of the fast-paced pallakis and bugi-bugi courtship dances, which with its strident gangsa tones and sexual nature excited audiences. Stage-blocking and additional choreography further intensified the display. As three male and female pairs perform the courtship dances, the other female performers surrounded them in a large semi-circle while stationarily executing pallakis stationary choreography. Behind the semi-circle, young men lined up in two rows with their arms

clasping each other's shoulders. As if distracting attention from other simultaneous acts, they swung their bodies rhythmically forward and back, embellishing the vibrant, S-A-G-A-D-A signage held high by others dancing behind them. While ostentatious, performance enhancements attest to the primacy of heritage, reinforcing a sense of value that a dynamic village life cannot always afford.

However, the festival's emphasis on native identity impedes autonomous Igorot self-expression. As the festival controls dominant cultural, corporate, and political structures for its execution, success, and legitimation, its vivid, affective celebrations of difference fall prey to their capture, valorization, and control.[286] Displays in the Lang-ay Festival are entrenched in tourist economies that help sustain the livelihood of Mountain Province economies. However, absent of any space for a real understanding of their cultural lives, such entrenchment risks Igorot commodification. The festival attracts funding from large-scale mining and logging companies, like Philex Mining Corporation and Lepanto Consolidated, Inc. that seek philanthropic gestures in order to deflect criticism of their normative exploitation of Cordillera ancestral lands. Similarly, state politicians maneuver the event in projecting a restored, hospitable postcolonial image for cultural diplomacy and tourism. As Richter and Peterson write, community festivals in the country served this purpose during the dictatorship of ex-president Ferdinand Marcos.[287] Imee Marcos's presence at the 2018 Lang-ay Festival, which I described in

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[286] This chapter leans toward the constraints that festivals place on indigenous participants and uses the particular situation of Mountain Province and Sagada as an illustration, but, as the previous one suggests, this is just one aspect of the impact of indigenous displays. In many cases, participants themselves benefit from the practice, and even emerge as more powerful negotiators than national or corporate stakeholders. Cathrine Baglo challenges the common "trope of victimization" that many scholars deploy to describe the politics of such displays by writing a complex history of living exhibitions. Baglo focuses on the Sami people and how they exploited the commercial enterprise for their own ends, especially in times of difficulty.

[287] See Linda Richter, *The Politics of Tourism in Asia* and William Peterson, *Places of Happiness: Community, Self, and Performance in the Philippines* and William Peterson, *Places of Happiness: Community, Self, and Performance in the Philippines,* 101-26.

the introduction to this chapter, eerily preserves this history. Official adoption ceremonies also entice political leveraging. Politician guests of honor are declared adopted Igorot children, as in the case of Joseph "JV" Estrada Ejercito, the son of President Joseph Estrada who was ousted and found guilty of plunder in 2007, in the Lang-ay Festival 2018. These tense reciprocities authorize an Igorot authenticity that offers a ticket to recognition yet creates hegemonies that, to borrow from Stephanie Nohelani Teves, can bind and disempower the Igorot person.[288] Desiring affirmation but trapped in these structures, Igorots are forced to portray themselves in ways that reduce their real-life circumstances.

I witnessed how these constrictions affected participants from the municipality of Sagada. They enjoyed performing their routines, but they were limited by festival guidelines that placed prime importance on authenticity and the rendering of practices in their "original" version. Sole attention to reenactment essentializes their identities as Igorots whose home community appreciates radical innovations on some Igorot traditions. Regardless, they obliged with a sentimental investment in the event's core values.

Rehearsals were crucial in navigating Sagada delegates' circumstances. Held for roughly two months in secluded areas within the village, rehearsals offered an escape from the pressures of preparation. But rehearsals also served as spaces for spontaneous, unrestrained music-making that served to respond to the competitions' conservativism. One such instance took place on March 28, 2018, about a week before the festival. Cuyo led a performance of the Christian song "This is the Day" on the gangsa during rehearsals together with a few other performers (Fig. 6.6). Cuyo initiated the performance to teach others new musical acts that they could stage in cultural activities within the village. But shaped by its surrounding context and the opinions he

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[288] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 1-20.

formed from conversations with others, this instance of transmission spoke to the group's collective sentiments about the festival.

Figure 6.6. Balugan residents learning "This is the Day" during rehearsals, March 28, 2018.

The musical moment affirmed their real-life experiences of exchange and encounter. A Christian Bible verse that Les Garrett set musically to the melody of a Fijian folksong in 1967 and that broadly pertains to redemption, "This is the Day" fits in any type of celebratory church service. This versatility attests to its immense popularity in various parts of the world, especially in countries like the Philippines that are heavily steeped in Christian religions. Igorot populations, which have been strongly targeted by Protestant missions introduced by US colonizers, are no exception from this phenomenon. Although Igorots have embraced Christian forms of worship, as Susan Russell and my interlocutors argued, many have retained a number of

their precolonial practices, seeing minimal conflict between newly introduced religions and their own sacred customs.[289]

The arrangement's hybridity manifests this notion. (Fig. 6.7) "This is the Day" is one of a few church songs that Cuyo arranged for gangsa ensemble. Although it veered away from typical gong repertoires through a melodic emphasis, an absence of ritual association, and structured choreography (though they were dancing out of habit), Cuyo adapted the song based on gangsa playing and pitch conventions. Using a padded wooden mallet, each player strikes the gong to sound their assigned pitch and alternately dampens the instrument to produce constant rhythmic fills. Players produce the melody by interlocking with one another. Further, the performance also demonstrates pitch flexibilities in Cordillera traditional music. The song's pitches are adapted to the gangsa's pentatonic tunings and to the availability of players and gongs. In the second phrase, as seen in the footage, gangsa 1 stands in for the leading tone, and gangsa 2 for the tonic and supertonic. In the third phrase, additionally, the song's two highest notes are played on gongs of a lower register. These adjustments make the arrangement initially unrecognizable. But overall, the gangsa's graduated pitches, configured into the song's familiar rhythm, evoke its melodic contours.

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[289] Russell, 252.
I learned from pre-graduate school fieldwork in 2013, and later, fieldwork for this current project, that some Igorots believe that religions worship a single, universal supreme being. "Kabunian is the same with the Christian, Muslim and Jewish gods," one consultant said in 2013. Referring to gods in multiple religions, one of my collaborators said, "They are all the same." Research into Christian church hymns that utilize a hybridities in language and scale, which I heard from attending church weddings in Sagada, reveal more about this sense of confluence.
However, there are cases where Christian beliefs have hindered communities from fully embracing indigenous practices. In Balugan, as Cuyo explained, local members of a Christian church denomination called Freedom Believers in Christ discourage the playing of gongs. Runas, in a similar vein, told me that they would say things like, "gongs are evil instruments." Balugan residents continue debates on the matter.

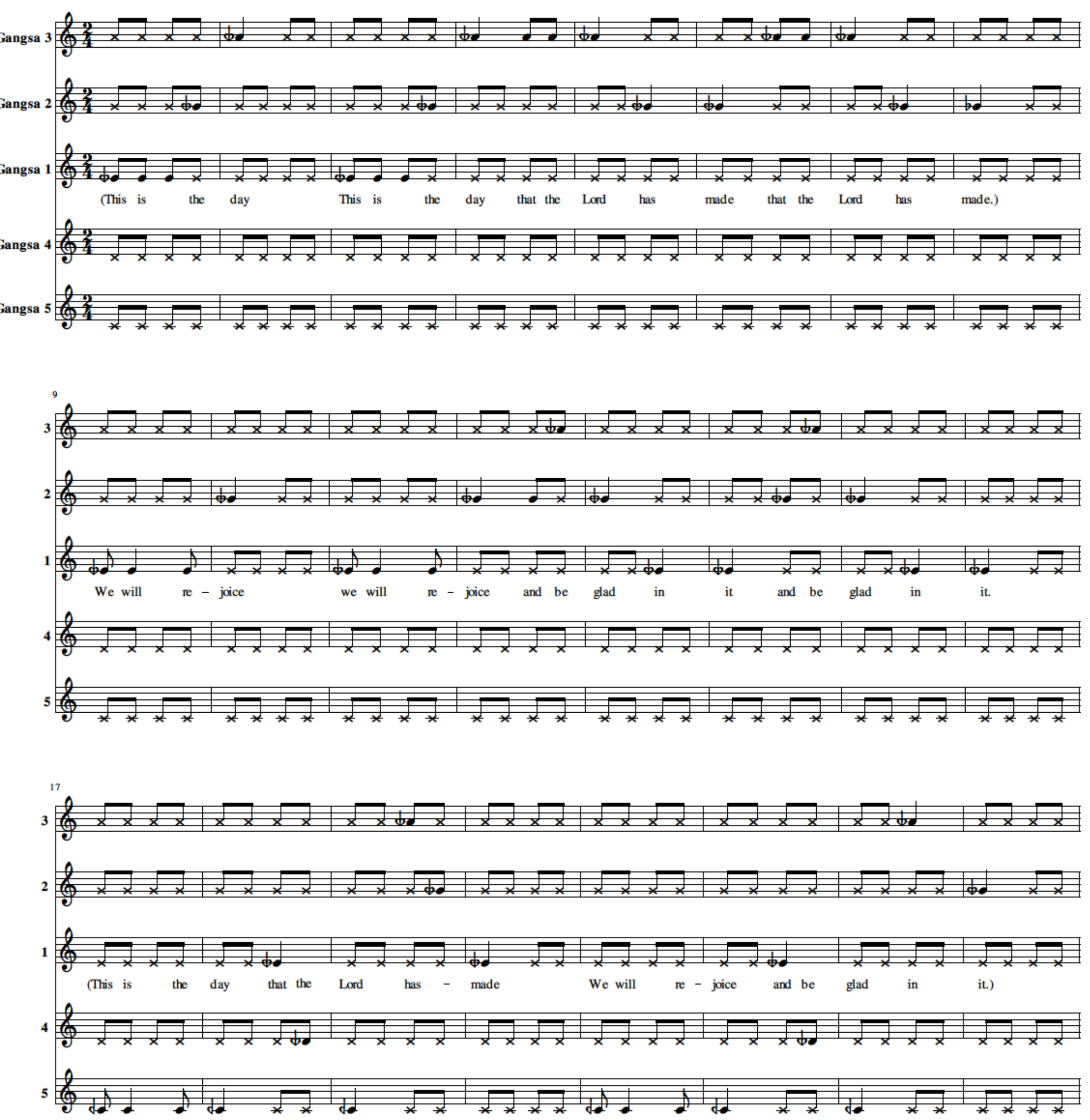

Figure 6.7. Daniel Cuyo's impromptu arrangement for "This is the Day."

The performance enabled a reflexive process that helped Cuyo construct, reiterate, and contend with his sense of self, one that is anchored on defining elements of Igorotness, yet is also cognizant of encounter and its influence on identity (Fig. 6.8). He described his musical innovations as expressions of rootedness, regardless of how different they are from conventional

Figure 6.8. Daniel Cuyo during our interview, March 28, 2018.

gangsa practices. To begin with, playing the gangsa, he told me, allows him to freely express who he is. *"Masasabi ko na rin na Igorot ako, ganun. Yung ba ay, magaan sa sa aking loob-looban"* ("It helps me realize that I am an Igorot, like that. It's as if it feels light and freeing [to be able to express who you are]").[290] Cuyo also recognized the importance of knowing traditional gong playing. *"…Kahit magbago is 'di mawawala yung gangsa na instrument. Hindi naman maaalis yung dating tugtog na nakasanayan…. Kung hindi ka marunong, ay para kang hindi Igorot"* ("Even if things change, we will never lose touch with gangsa. I don't think we will ever forget something that we've grown accustomed to…. And if you don't know how to play the

[290] Carmen Runas and Daniel Cuyo, interview by author, March 28, 2018, Sagada, Mountain Province.

gangsa, you're not an Igorot").[291] However, Cuyo also emphasized how new repertoires, like his arrangement for "This is the Day," draw the youth closer to the instrument, which many elderly Igorots in Balugan and throughout Sagada would welcome. *"Sa totoo lang po sa aming mga youth mas exciting 'yung 'This is the Day' na pinapatugtog kasi parang na-momodernize [ang gangsa]. Kung baga, parang bago siya kasi talagang kumakanta siya, parang tumutugtog ng piano, guitar, at iba pa. Hindi gaya dati na traditional na gangsa na tunog lang siya na sinasayawan"* ("Honestly, among the younger generation, playing songs like "This is the Day" is more exciting because it modernizes the gangsa. It's as if it's a new instrument altogether because it sings through the song, like we're playing on the piano, guitar, or other similar instruments, unlike when we perform old, traditional gangsa patterns that are meant more for dancing.")[292] Indeed, coupled with laughter and teasing, the performers began at dusk, and persisted for over an hour into the evening in an unlit area of the village. Cuyo wanted to include the song for their street-dancing routine and cultural presentation numbers, but their routines were already finalized and conceived in adherence to competition rules. *"Nasayangan ako talaga…. Maganda kasi 'yung mensahe ng kantang 'yun. Hindi pa napapakinggan ng iba 'yung tugtog na ganon' gamit ang gangsa"* ("I really regretted it… The song would have conveyed a meaningful message. People rarely hear this kind of music"), he later explained in a text message, alluding to how the song would have given greater significance to their presentation.

In an illuminating parallel, Liliana Carrizo writes that private song-making allows amateur Iraqi Jewish singers to constantly process their personal experiences with cultural exile and helps sustain the relevance of a practice whose existence is refuted in public. These practices take place within what she calls "spheres of intimacy," tense sites where performers elaborate on

[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid.

their displacement, uncertainties about official notions of modern Israel, and how they fit into these notions.[293] Sagada delegates' impromptu performance was evidently informed by different circumstances, but Carrizo's theorization provides a useful point of comparison. The moment described above may seem small and inconsequential. But, I contend, it impels consideration of the Lang-ay Festival's impingement on Igorot expression. A rendering of a song that, despite its associations with the violence of colonial encounter, has been localized through a core instrument of Cordillera musical life, the performance afforded an aesthetic experience that helped constitute Sagada delegates' self-awareness of their undeniable heterogeneity. Deemed unsuitable for the festival's highlight events, and staged impulsively, intimately, and away from the public eye, the performance materialized as a liberating moment that allowed the delegates to elide black-and-white judgements about what is and is not considered Igorot. It tugs at complex histories to sound an identity that is at once rooted, engaged, and emergent. As such, the performance unsettles the festival's formalizations, and unveils how a purportedly empowering occasion can constrain and even alienate its celebrants.

I later learned, however, that the festival's portrayal of Igorot identity is contested even at the organizers' level. About two weeks after the event, organizers and coordinators for the different municipal delegations gathered for an assessment. The meeting was intense, as Sibayan disclosed to me. Attendees debated the lack of clarity in the festival's guidelines. They disagreed over the balance between performance innovations and conservatism, and the favorability of enhancements in routines. Sibayan was among those who raised these concerns; to his chagrin, Sagada scored among the lowest, while those on the top-most ranks executed numbers that were

[293] Liliana Carrizo, "Exiled Nostalgia and Musical Remembrance: Songs of Grief, Joy, and Tragedy among Iraqi Jews," PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2018.

much more sensational. Had he known that he could be more adventurous, Sibayan reflected, he would have come up with something more spectacular. In fact, "I [had already] invited some friends who are knowledgeable on [how to conceive a] bombastic *na* performance," he said.[294] Sibayan's disclosure, as well as the contestations in the meeting it exemplifies the processes of negotiation that representation entails as much as it speaks to a tendency to deviate from tradition. More importantly, it conveyed the urgency of recognizing the nuances of Igorot performance and demonstrated the problematics of formalizing traditions, especially through official policies. Further, Balugan residents' rehearsal performance comments on this debate. Their experiences, complemented by organizers' disagreements, warrants dialogues about what festivals should highlight, whether it be Igorots' heritage, their dynamic experiences, or both.[295]

Yet how much room do festivals like the Lang-ay have for both? Most Igorot communities rely on state-sponsorship to assert their legitimacy in contemporary spaces. But such legitimacy serves the continuity of structures and imaginaries that do not reflect the complexity of Igorot social, political, and cultural realities. Perhaps, state-sponsored festivals are meant to celebrate identities through an official mandate that relentlessly includes, yet constrains, Igorot people.

[294] Denver "Baguilat" Sibayan, interview by author, April 19, 2018, Sagada, Mountain Province.
[295] This issue exemplifies what Paredes identifies as the internal disagreements that take place due to the formalization of tradition through legal frames like the IPRA and through the policies and practices of cultural institutions like the NCCA and the NCIP.

Conclusion

Refusing Categorizations in an Igorot Becoming

> *In our ethnographic work, we are drawn to human efforts to live with, subvert, or elude knowledge and power, and to express desires that might be world altering.*
>
> —João Biehl and Peter Locke, "The Anthropology of Becoming"

The musical performance of Igorot indigeneity is a *human* endeavor. To realize it more fully, one must resist the urge to categorize and, following Biehl and Locke's provocative statement, attend to Igorot indigeneity's subtleties, instability, and radicalism, even if doing so entails embracing contradictions and altogether breaking conceptual understandings that have been established as foundational to Igorot and indigenous identification. After all, as I have shown in this study, Igorots are more versatile, clever, and resourceful than what convenient epistemologies, artificial binaries, and other rigid determinations can capture.

One must also dismantle the structures that have entangled Igorots in these limiting frames. The difficulty of recognizing Igorotness as a processual, emergent condition brought about by human inventiveness stems from a deep, historically inherited prejudice in representation. Ethnologists of the Spanish and US colonial periods emphasized racial Otherness as a defining element of Igorot identity…witnessing sound phenomena in leisure and ritual contexts ~~and coerced public displays,~~ late-nineteenth century Spanish chroniclers framed Igorot music as an extension of bodily manifestations of native inferiority that supported imperial

conquest and colonial assimilation. The Spanish viewed Igorot music as marginal to their administrative and religious priorities, and due to an inability to clinch control over the Cordillera region, they could not produce detailed writings about Igorot musical practices or lifeways. Yet, through local distinctions and the forging of tactical alliances between Spanish officials and non-Cordilleran Philippine natives that would help conquer the uplands, this lack of contact birthed imaginings of the Igorot as a Philippine internal Other. This conception crystalized at the hands of US colonial-era ethnologists amid a growing consciousness about race as a measure of superiority at the turn of the twentieth century. With the advantage of colonial takeover, access, and research technology came up-close examinations of Igorot practices that yielded theorizations about music as an indicator of human development. Detailed writings about Igorot music supported bold empiricist claims about white superiority as scientific truth. At the same time, these demonstrated a preservationist ethic and a sense of sympathy that functioned as a corrective to punitive colonial practices. Frances Densmore, who classified Igorot music in her developmental theories, drew close attention to a marginal Philippine population. Albert Jenks, who wrote thoroughly about the Igorots he lived with for months in Bontoc, spoke optimistically of Igorot music's aesthetic potential while acknowledging his limits in appreciating it more fully.

Colonial biases extend even in the postcolonial need for nationalistic self-discovery, particularly through the authority of "non-indigenous" Filipino elite scholars and artists. In the early twentieth century, Francisca Reyes-Aquino documented music from remote areas of the country and applied gathered data in designing cultural programs, producing musical knowledge that was understood to represent a pure, non-Western Philippine imaginary. These efforts would only gain momentum after World War II in a dogged pursuit of musical decolonization. Institutions like the UP College of Music Department of Music Research prescribed systematized

research practices in building an archive that prioritized non-Western musics, and classically trained composers like Lucresia Kasilag and Jose Maceda explored the aesthetic potential of the sounds of chanting, gongs, and bamboo instruments. Because of its undeniable urgency, decolonization nurtured a complacency that deterred scrutiny of its enabling power structures and its binding impact on the people who function as its emblems and who, in doing so, reprised their role as internal Others in a postcolonial Philippines. Later, a younger generation of music scholars responded to these discourses, warning about the fetishizing tendencies of decolonization and foregrounding social exchanges with the "outside world" as vital to the formation of musical repertoire and indigeneity. Yet, there remain many other arenas for exploring the complexities of Igorot musical identity beyond theoretical musings, "traditional" repertoires, and village contexts.

Contrary to understandings that colonialists and postcolonial cultural nationalists tend to favor, Igorot musical practice also takes shape from dialogic engagements with provincial and national politics and cultural memory, as vividly illustrated by repertoires of protest music developed by leftwing Igorot cultural workers. These activists advocated for the foundational practice of protecting the Cordillera ili and against destructive development projects like the Chico River Dam Basin Project and those by the Cellophil Resources Corporation in the 1970s and 1980s. Strategically forming a regionwide alliance, they expanded the scope of customary bodong peace pacts to unite larger swaths of the Cordillera population. In the process, they also adopted the National Democratic ideology of the Philippine Left, which gained traction from revolutionary sentiment that had been brewing elsewhere in the country, and to which many Igorots gained exposure through migration. National Democratic ideology acknowledged the systemic roots of corporate and national intrusion into Igorot ancestral lands and thus provided

Igorots perspective on resisting development aggression. Applying the Left's teachings about revolutionary art and native musics as a mediator of life cycle milestones and everyday experiences, Igorot cultural workers created repertoires that channeled their grievances, conveyed elements of progressivism, and that appealed to broad, grassroots sectors to act for social change. These musical practices, then, evince an unabashedly political Igorot syncretism. Tonal guitar accompanied songs like "Entay Ganaganasen" and "Daga a Nagtaudan" signify Igorot experiences of belonging in broader social arenas as much as the desire to spread word about Igorot struggles in a more relatable musical language. The pattong's symbolic melding of diverse identifications in protest gatherings and street demonstrations enact a transcendence of the tribal mindset and an assertion of a pan-Cordilleran Kaigorotan identity. Renditions of the war dance in protest settings cast a sobering note on displays of Igorotness in these same settings as the closest references to deeply regarded practices of territorial defense in the Cordillera ili.

Igorot musical practice also emerges from specific circumstances that compel performers to strategize and act in inventive ways beyond the boundaries of ideology. A close examination of Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera's experiences in Lakbayan 2017 and Cordillera Day 2018 complicate the prescribed musical practices of Igorot leftwing activists. The legitimacy of tying Igorot experience with political struggle is not immune to the prejudice of mainstream audiences who, by default, expect indigenous people to exhibit markers of difference, and to the conservatism of other members of the Igorot community at large who disapprove of politicizing Igorot customs. DKK's case shows that Igorots adapt to these tendencies. Singing the protest song "Tumuréd" in Hugpungan, Lakbayan 2017's highlight concert, enabled DKK to subvert exoticization through its tonal quality, use of mainstream popular music instruments, and by foregrounding relatable political grievances in multiple local Filipino languages—and through an

avoidance of any Igorot mother tongue. Subjected to internal disagreements about cultural propriety within the general Igorot population, DKK performer Gerald Chupchupen staged a solo act. Because of its understated and uncontrived qualities, the act appeared antithetical to his stagings of the war dance in street protests. But it reiterated the earnestness of his political convictions through bridging the gaps between leftwing activism and what many regard as an Igorot authenticity. These two strategies may seem untenable as they are contradictory expressions of cultural identity and militant politics, yet such oppositions are rather fundamental to activist practitioners of Igorot music who need to persuade diverse audiences. These complexities are not, in other words, signs of weakness or a lack of conviction. They demonstrate fortitude for constant adaptation and reinvention that heed the demands of inclusion, survival, and individual earnestness at the risk of being misjudged in ways that are often hurtful.

Contradictions in Igorot musical practice also manifest from shifts in power that conceived Igorot-led indigenous community festivals. As state occasions that celebrate Igorot self-governance, these festivals culminate a decades-long struggle for Igorot ascendancy. Ironically, this aim was achieved through the colonial programs of the US that were premised on the perceived inferiority of Cordillera natives and the need to civilize them. US colonial officials reorganized the region through educational, political, and economic policies that facilitated administration and allowed them to benefit from the region's resources. US officials created an Igorot population that would serve colonial modes of production and land resource extraction. These policies displaced many Igorots from their ancestral homes but forged new social networks and helped build Igorots' eligibility for success in the new colonial order. To reinforce these measures, US officials tactically co-opted cañao rituals into large-scale gatherings intended to foster intertribal diplomacy, convey a tolerance for Igorot difference, and ultimately,

demonstrate colonial authority. "Americanized cañao" featured sporting events, ceremonial parades that featured performances of military band music, ritual reenactments, and the playing of a multitude of gangsa. Yet, the need for Igorot self-identification was never entirely lost among Cordillera natives. As they reaped the rewards of social mobility after independence, they emerged as a newfound workforce, with some intellectuals rising to prominence as cultural luminaries and leaders of local governments. With these credentials, they grew empowered to lead the reclaiming and celebration native Igorot roots. This complex of continuity and resistance finds expression in the parallels and contrasts between Americanized cañao and present-day Igorot community festivals, which showcase marching bands performing anthems like the "Panagbenga Festival Theme" and the "Cordillera Hymn" as well as elaborate dance dramas that reenact various traditions as an homage to Igorot heritage. State-sponsored festivals celebrate Igorot self-rule and an assimilation into the national body politic.

A deeper examination of the politics and grassroots involvement in the Lang-ay Festival of Mountain Province unveils how festivals idealize—rather than merely represent—Cordillera identity by promoting specific social, economic, and political aims that do not necessarily mirror the interests of its constituency. A symptom of a conflict between village social structures and government politics, the Lang-ay Festival forges provincial unity even as its ten municipal delegations are known to have a deep history of intervillage antagonism. Campaigns for unity along with assertions about having a single heritage challenges indigenous notions of village autonomy that have served as a basis for community distinction. Indeed, Mountain Province owes its diversity to each community's capacity to variate customs, beliefs, and expressive traditions common across the Cordilleras, and to cultivate their own practical and aesthetic sensibilities. The distinct pattong that dominate the festival's signature street-dancing events and

cultural presentations provide musical evidence to these distinctions. Further, autonomy nurtures a strong sense of localism among communities within the festival's participating municipalities. Issues surrounding the participation of Sagada delegates from the village of Balugan revealed how localism creates divisions that impede the coordination of locals-in-charge. Harmonious relationships among local organizers would have facilitated preparation, fostered community support, and helped motivate the event's participants. The Lang-ay Festival's campaigns for heritage preservation remains its most laudable aim, yet an emphasis on authenticity also hinders its participants from acknowledging their complex realities. Sagada delegates' break from rehearsals, where they impulsively learned and performed "This is the Day" on the gangsa, spoke to this contention. It demonstrated an embrace of beliefs that are broadly understood as foreign, a penchant for creativity and innovation, and the renewed relevance of a highly regarded Cordillera instrument among Igorot youth.

By drawing attention to how agency lends Igorotness its necessarily imperfect, "real" manifestations, I do not presume to think that I have succeeded in undoing the privileges that enable scholarly representation. Yet, my work attempts to get as close as possible to writing an honest *translation* of Igorot experiences. Continuing this project may entail further examinations of other Igorot contestations that I have witnessed in the field, of which practices that complicate the endurance of cultural memory are among the most salient. I have seen how women public school teachers have assumed the role of officially designated cultural transmitters through the Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum, yet they continue consulting with the elderly in the planning of school lessons. A similar paradox informs Igorots' high regard for patriarchal customs and values and reliance on queer cultural experts for their invaluable intervention in spreading native knowledge. Further illuminating the precarity of social roles, value systems, and

practices that formal discourses conceived as foundational to Igorot identity would expand this present narrative on Igorot becoming.

But perhaps capturing becoming lies in attending to musical experience in the elusive realm of the ordinary—in candid, everyday settings isolated from the pressures of public performance and representation. I allude to these settings with these ethnographic fragments:

> *At an old Tagalog couple's wedding anniversary in Manila, a Sagada migrant in her thirties hesitates to join others on the dancefloor to the music of a mainstream pop song. Eventually, she runs to the center to dance the takik. Some non-Igorot attendees pause at her sight, while others join her, to her enjoyment, executing haphazard versions of Igorot dances.*
>
> *An Ifugao elder performs jerky movements that appear to have been adapted from the dinnuya community dance, unknowingly intruding an impulsive, yet serious jam session for a protest song meant to fill a late afternoon lull. His intervention soon triggers character slips and uncontrollable laughter among the amateur Igorot singers.*
>
> *After a nine-to-five workday, a public performer of traditional music expresses excitement about overseas migration, while contemplating on how to maintain his ancestral ties through displaced performances of locality.*

In these interstitial spaces, actions are unavoidably shifty, ambiguous, and unpredictable. What would initially strike one as a performance of difference shows, instead, a blurring of the gaps between sincerity and irony. Musical identity collapses and transforms from rapid states of flux and sharp, internalized frictions, conceiving concepts and the experiences from which they are formed, to use the words of Veena Das, as "mutually vulnerable," and strained to their boundaries.[296] Nonetheless, they remain tethered to Igorot selves. Attending to the quotidian foregrounds the unseen violence of the burden of identification, refuses an observer's impulse to pursue simplistic difference under the guise of conventional scholarship. It affords a radical, yet intimate understanding of the intricacies of Igorot musical life.

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[296] Veena Das, *Textures of the Ordinary: Doing Anthropology after Wittgenstein* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020), 7.

Appendix A

Audio and Video Resources

Title	**Media**	**Composer/ Performer / Artist / Creator / Producer**	**Year**
Bontoc Eulogy	Film	Marlon Fuentes	1995
Hudhud: UNESCO proclaimed masterpiece of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity	Film	National Commission for Culture and the Arts Intangible Heritage Committee	2005
Gangeh di Montanyosa: a collection of Cordillera traditional rhythm	Sound recording	Momfaco Cultural Guild / Alexander Tumapang	2009
Gangsa	Sound Recording	Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera / Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines College Baguio	1997
Gifts from the past: Philippine music of the Kalinga, Maranao, and Yakan.	Sound recording	Benicio Sokkong, Sinda Banisil, Assadil Insung, Darna Insung	1992
Ang Musika ng mga Kalinga	Sound recording	Musika Filipina	1978
Salidummay/Diway	Sound recording	Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera	2000
Salidummay Album Collection. Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera.	Sound recording	Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera	?
Ugnayan: Music for 20 Radio Stations	Sound recording	Jose Maceda / Tzadik	2009

Appendix B

Lakbayan 2017, Cordillera Day 2018, and Lang-ay Festival 2018 Paraphernalia

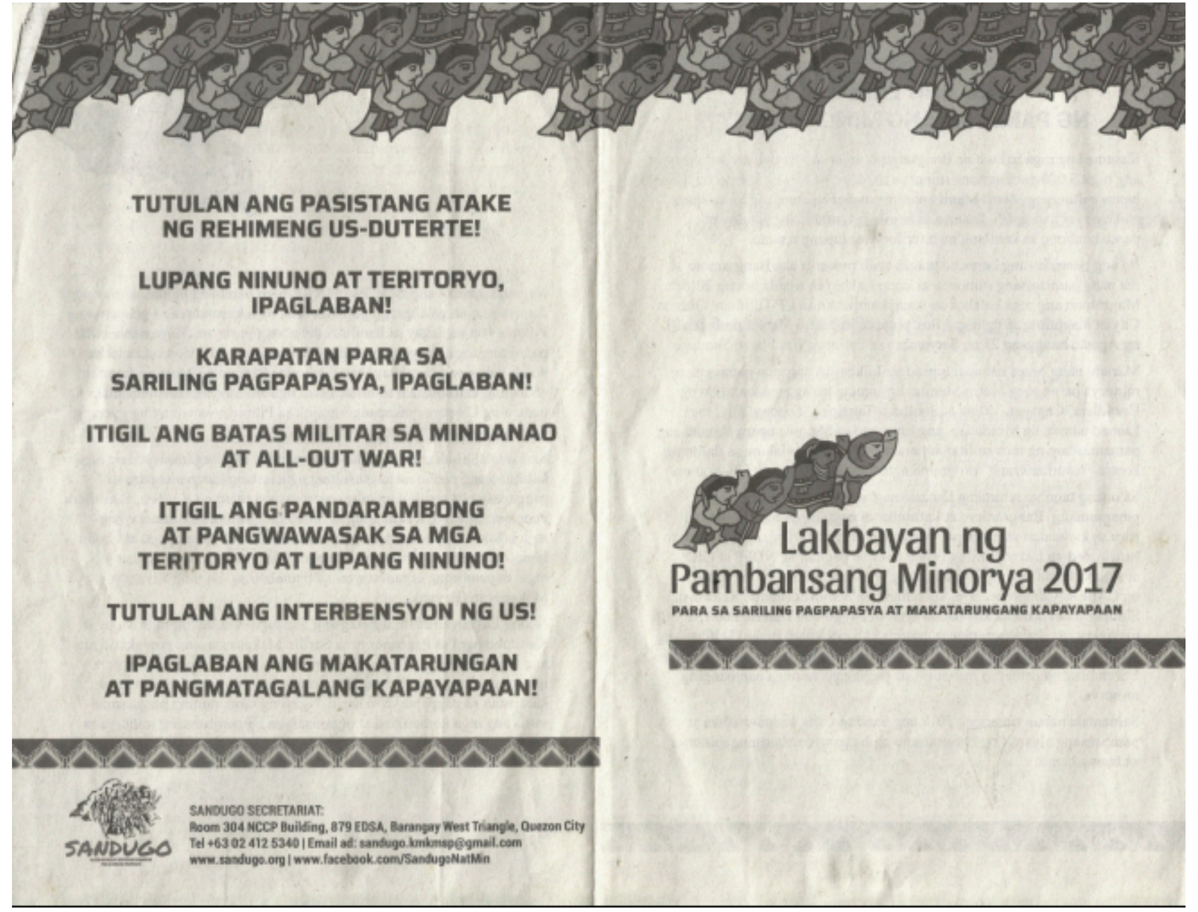


Figure 7.1. Brochure and primer for Lakbayan 2017 containing background information about the event: its objectives, delegations, and campaigns.

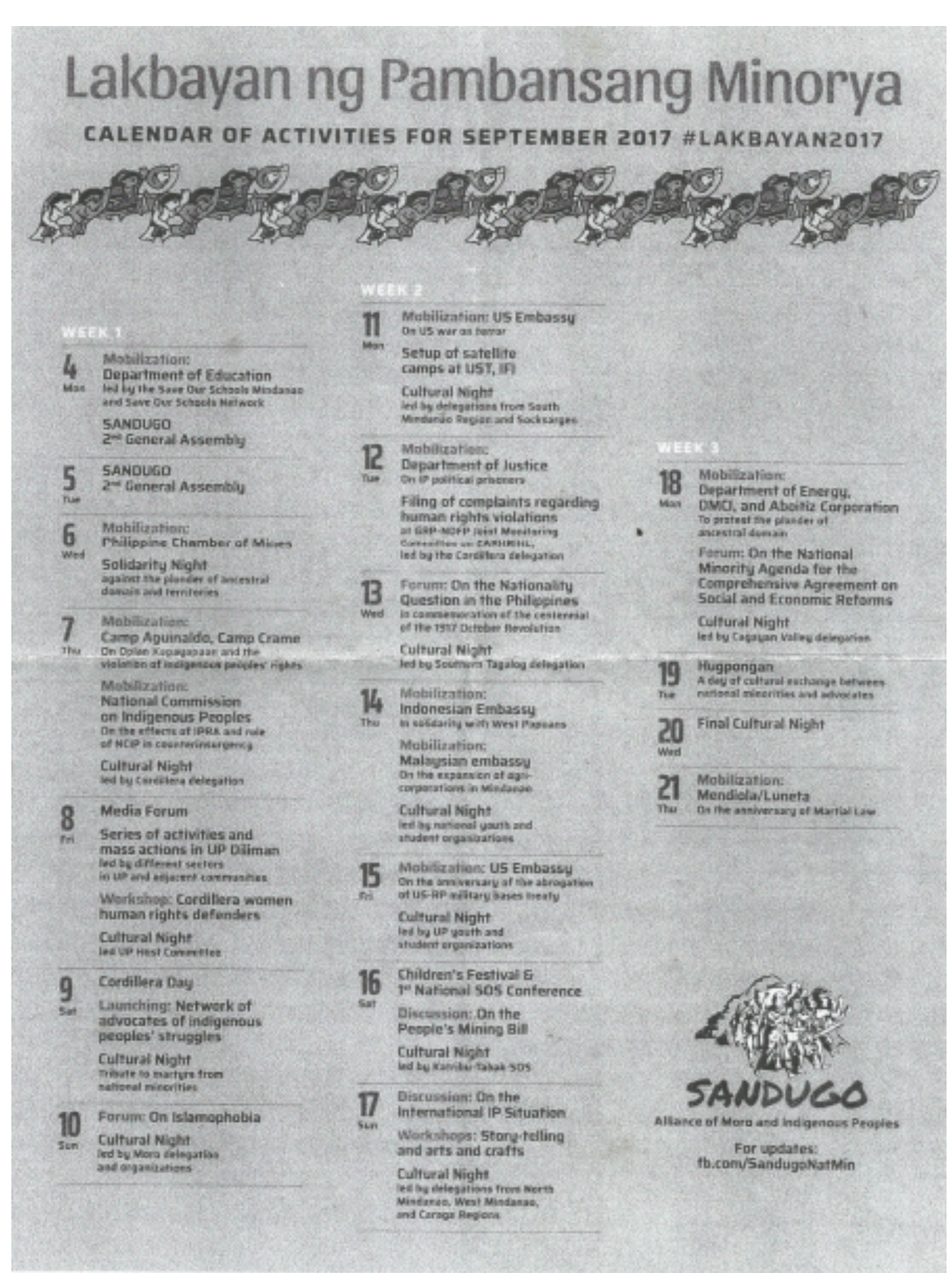
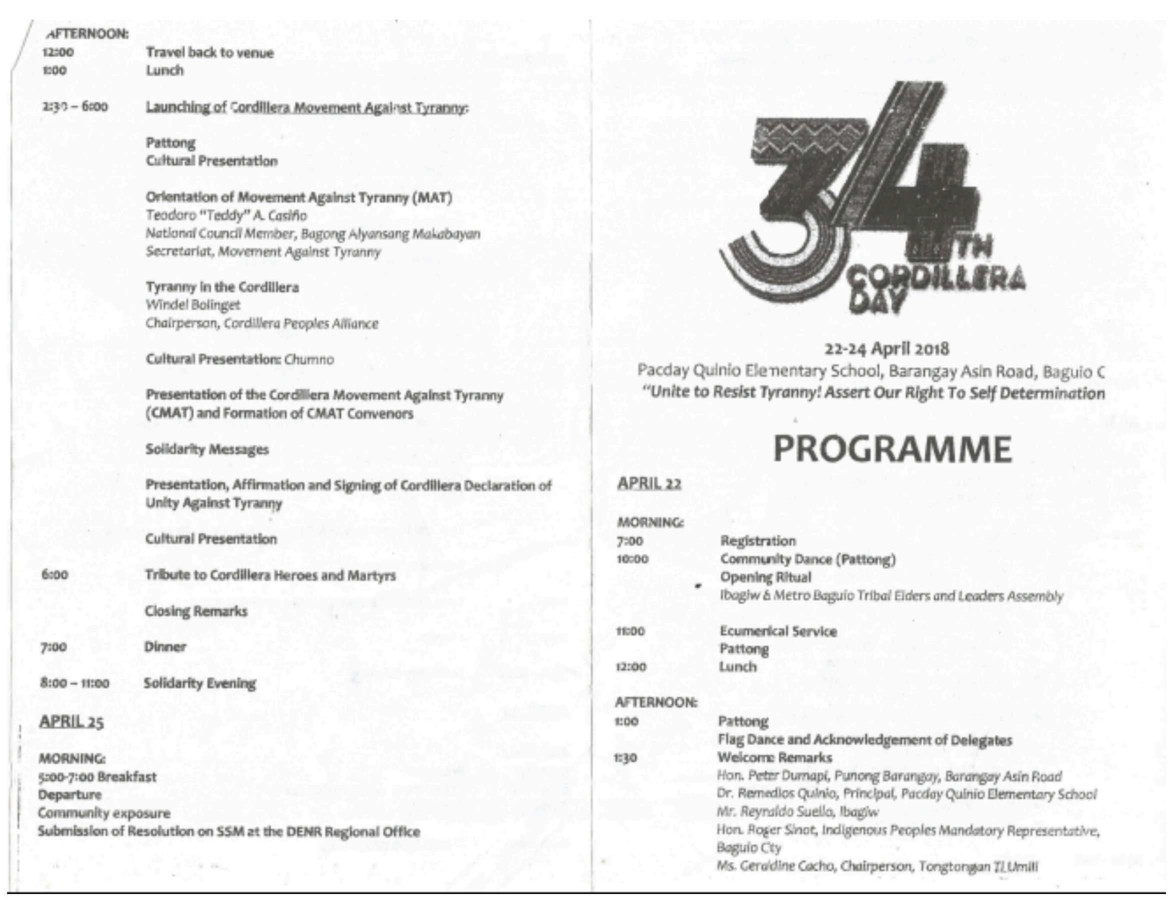


Figure 7.2. Lakbayan 2017 schedule of activities. Some activities have been cancelled and rescheduled.

Figure 7.3. Map of Sitio Sandugo.

Figure 7.4. Lakbayan 2017 visitors were asked to collect stamps from delegates using these cards as a strategy to encourage immersions.



AFTERNOON:
12:00 Travel back to venue
1:00 Lunch

2:30 – 6:00 Launching of Cordillera Movement Against Tyranny:

Pattong
Cultural Presentation

Orientation of Movement Against Tyranny (MAT)
Teodoro "Teddy" A. Casiño
National Council Member, Bagong Alyansang Makabayan
Secretariat, Movement Against Tyranny

Tyranny in the Cordillera
Windel Bolinget
Chairperson, Cordillera Peoples Alliance

Cultural Presentation: *Chumno*

Presentation of the Cordillera Movement Against Tyranny (CMAT) and Formation of CMAT Convenors

Solidarity Messages

Presentation, Affirmation and Signing of Cordillera Declaration of Unity Against Tyranny

Cultural Presentation

6:00 Tribute to Cordillera Heroes and Martyrs

Closing Remarks

7:00 Dinner

8:00 – 11:00 Solidarity Evening

APRIL 25

MORNING:
5:00-7:00 Breakfast
Departure
Community exposure
Submission of Resolution on SSM at the DENR Regional Office

34TH CORDILLERA DAY

22-24 April 2018
Pacday Quinio Elementary School, Barangay Asin Road, Baguio C
"Unite to Resist Tyranny! Assert Our Right To Self Determination

PROGRAMME

APRIL 22

MORNING:
7:00 Registration
10:00 Community Dance (Pattong)
Opening Ritual
Ibagiw & Metro Baguio Tribal Elders and Leaders Assembly

11:00 Ecumenical Service
Pattong
12:00 Lunch

AFTERNOON:
1:00 Pattong
Flag Dance and Acknowledgement of Delegates
1:30 Welcome Remarks
Hon. Peter Dumapi, Punong Barangay, Barangay Asin Road
Dr. Remedios Quinio, Principal, Pacday Quinio Elementary School
Mr. Reynaldo Suello, Ibagiw
Hon. Roger Sinot, Indigenous Peoples Mandatory Representative, Baguio City
Ms. Geraldine Cacho, Chairperson, Tongtongan Ti Umili

Figure 7.5. A booklet for the Cordillera Day 2018 schedule of activities. Some activities were cancelled and rescheduled.

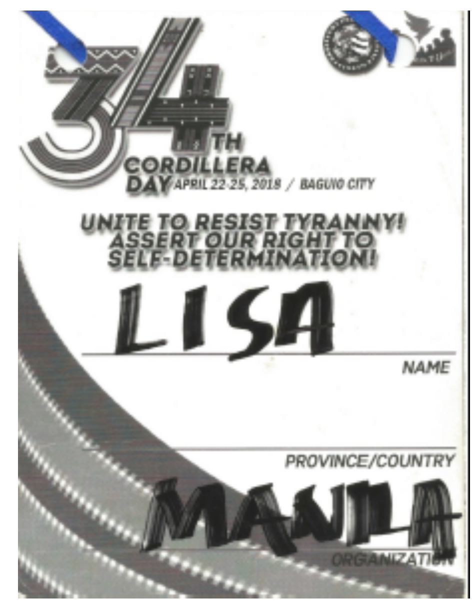


Figure 7.6. Cordillera Day 2018 identification tags for security purposes.

Figure 7.7. Lang-ay Festival 2018 schedule of activities brochure.

Figure 7.8. A DVD of the official coverage for Lang-ay Festival 2017. One was also produced for Lang-ay Festival 2015, but none for 2018.

Figure 7.9. A promotional coffee table book produced for Lang-ay Festival 2015. Other similar print materials were produced for the previous years, though not for every single year.

Appendix C

Elusive Personas and In-between Spaces: Photographs and Field Notes on Indigenous Ambiguity

This is a collection of selected photos I took while on dissertation fieldwork. The images portray my Igorot collaborators from a largely behind-the-scenes perspective that captures how their human complexities, which manifest off-stage, inflect their Igorot self-awareness and sense of value for Igorot performance. This kind of documentation is often excluded from archives. Tangential to the current work, yet still attendant to my case studies, I present them here as an intervention in canonical research practices on indigenous people and as materials that have been vital to my contemplations on becoming. These photos and captions evoke narratives that I will center for a future project

Figure 8.1. September 1, 2017—at the Cordillera camp site in Sitio Sandugo, DKK members rehearse while looking at typed-up song texts stored on a laptop. Not all of them know the repertoire by memory. In the top photo, Eric Carreon plays the guitar, while gong and bamboo instruments lay idle beside him.

Figure 8.2. Later that evening, they would perform in front of a large crowd at the sitio. Alma Sinumlag (center) made sure to change into her tapis for the stage, but also, like her co-performers, she wore a tubaw scarf. Commonly sold in Southern Philippines, the tubaw references Lakbakanis who hail from Mindanao.

Figure 8.3. Members of a local hip-hop dance group perform with young Lakbayanis in an event called "Hip-Hop Unity Jam" on September 17, 2017. Only a few Lakbayanis attended the activity.

Figure 8.4. A percussion ensemble (along with a bass player not visible in the photo) provides music for the event.

Figure 8.5. April 22, 2018—a large gangsa set is elegantly assembled on the floor of the 2018 Cordillera Day Commemorations' stage area at the Pacday Quinio Elementary School in Baguio City. Performers can just pick them up when they want to perform the pattong and other gangsa-accompanied dances and need not return it in the same placement.

Figure 8.6. The gangsa is also used in music workshops for young boys and, remarkably, young girls, who attended the Cordillera Day Commemorations on April 23, 2018, and as a convenient container for a chicken struck to death during the occasion's culminating street demonstration on the following day.

Figure 8.7. March 23, 2018 - in a classroom at the Balugan National High School, Denver "Baguilat" Sibayan and Marlyn Anaban leads students in one of the first rehearsals for the 2018 Lang-ay Festival. Classes were cancelled that afternoon to make room for the activity, as well as preparations for the school graduation and moving-up ceremony, in which students will also perform ancestral repertoires.

Figure 8.8. On March 28, 2018, Remy Joy Walisan (foreground, dancing) and Daniel Cuyo (background, dancing) perform the bugi-bugi courtship dance at an empty lot in Balugan. Rehearsals lasted until the evening as it took hours before it started. Only a few participants showed up at the agreed upon time for the activity and many of them had to leave time and again to attend to their other tasks at home.

Figure 8.9. Earlier that day, Balugan participants stand next to each other according to assigned stage-blocking while listening to instructions while waiting for when they can start dancing again. They are blocked based on the performance of the courtship song Balbalasibasem, where a group of women and a group of men sing to each other while standing in line.

Figure 8.10. Most of the time, the participants are relaxed during rehearsal breaks. They enjoy each other's company and playing the instruments as they wish, as shown in these photos taken on April 1, 2018. Bottom photo: Noticing the lull, an elderly local takes interest in teaching a participant how to play the solibao.

Figure 8.11. Top: On the afternoon of March 28, 2018, high school teacher Marlyn Anaban leads Lang-ay Festival rehearsals. While not (yet) recognized as cultural experts, teachers have been tasked to oversee rehearsals, which aligns with their implementation of the Indigenous Peoples Education curriculum and suggests their imminent role as crucial cultural transmitters. Bottom: Teachers also significantly contributed their time and energy for the 2018 Lang-ay Festival by preparing props and costumes for the participants on the morning of a performance on April 7, 2018.

Figure 8.12. April 5, 2018—Before they perform, participants pose for serious and "wacky" photos, as is typical when taking pictures during important celebratory, and not-so-formal events.

Figure 8.13. Just like other performers, Sagada participants pray in a circle before they take the stage on April 5, 2018, in a school classroom in Bontoc that served as performers' "green room."

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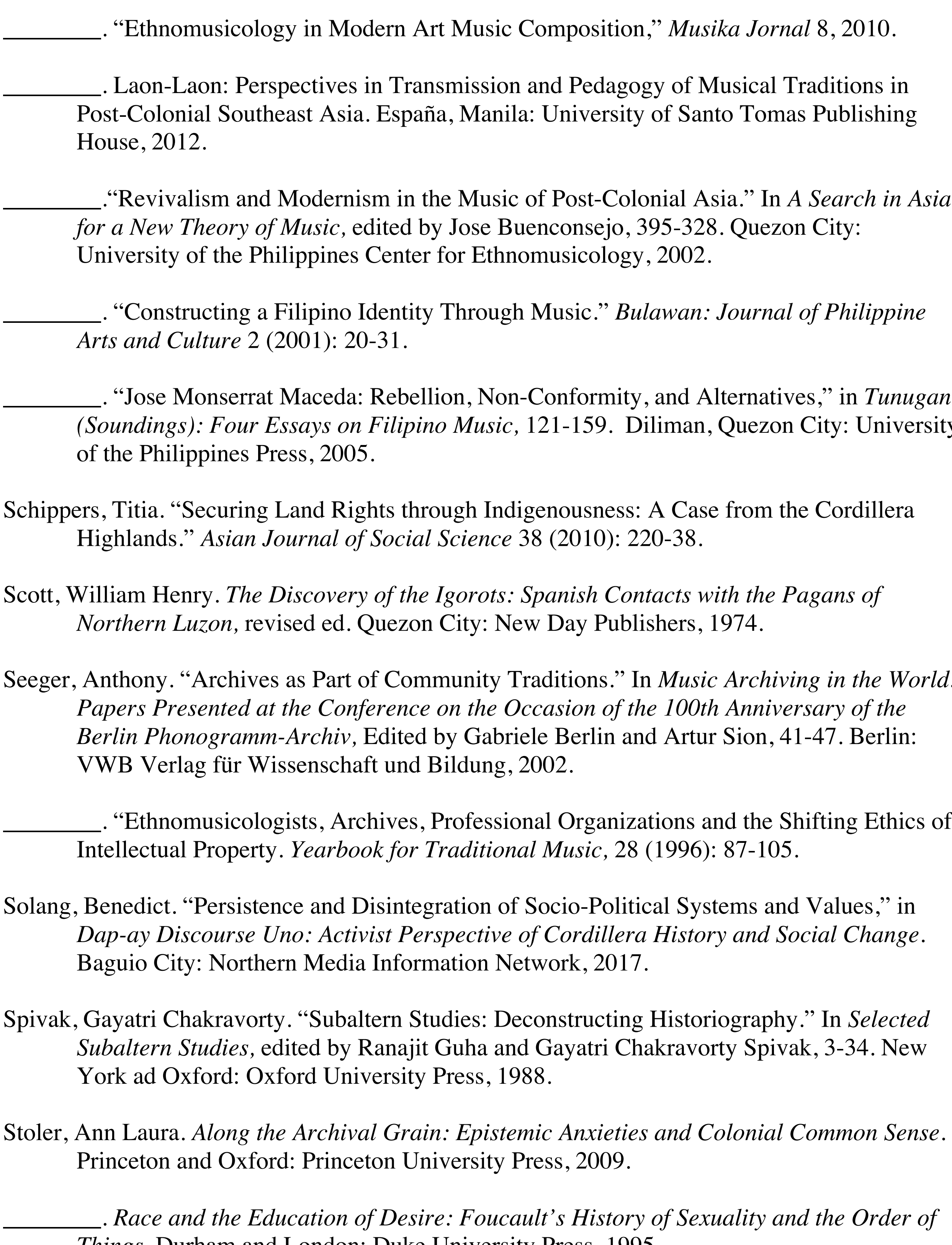

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