

COUNTERING A COLONIAL FANTASY OF FILIPINOS HIGHLANDERS:  
ETHNIC VERSUS ETHICAL TOURISM

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## ABSTRACT

### COUNTERING A COLONIAL FANTASY OF FILIPINOS HIGHLANDERS: ETHNIC VERSUS ETHICAL TOURISM

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This thesis is based on work undertaken in the province of Ifugao located in the northern region of the Philippines islands. I examined how community members in Kiangan Ifugao utilize tourism to revive and preserve their traditions and protest against the ethnic tourism industry in Banaue Ifugao. I also investigated the false representations of indigenous people in the ethnic tourism industry. This research consists of interviews, focus groups and the analysis of over 40 ethnic tourism ads. Social movements of grassroots organizations among indigenous populations of various regions of the world may attempt to counter legacies of colonial racism and continuing culture exploitation, which are significant aspects of the contemporary ethnic tourism industry. The goal of this thesis is to raise consciousness about the colonial legacy of ethnic tourism and how it tends to frame indigenous people into romantic historical stereotypes. The era of enslavement and oppression is being carried forward into an era of commercial exploitation by some in the tourism industry. By raising the consciousness of those who travel, this author hopes to encourage tourists to seek ethical methods to learn about other cultures in ways that are respectful and empowering.

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Ang nanay ko ay ang aking guro, bayani at inspirasyon.

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of my research is to examine how host community members utilize tourism to revive and preserve their traditions as a social movement, protest against the ethnic tourism industry and investigate the false representations of indigenous people in the ethnic tourism industry. This thesis is based on work undertaken in the province of Ifugao, which is located in the northern regions of the Philippines islands. Figure 1 highlights the location of the province of Ifugao within the Philippines. My fieldwork took place in two Municipalities, which are Kiangan and Banaue.



Figure 1: Map of Philippines

In addition to fieldwork in Ifugao, I examined 40 tourism websites about Banaue Ifugao on the internet. I investigated the available information because tourism websites play a significant role in providing information that attract would-be travelers.

I chose Banaue as the main context of my ethnography because the ethnic tourism

industry is the main support of Banaue economy. In fact, tourism is one of the largest sources of employment in the Philippines and the Banaue rice terraces are the most popular tourist attraction. I also conducted fieldwork in Kiangan because this is the location of the NGO Save the Rice Terrace Movement referred hereafter as SITMo. SITMo utilizes a different kind of tourism to protest against the exploitive ethnic tourism industry and revive their traditional religious practices related to rice terracing.

Rice terraces represent a significant role in the communities of Ifugao.



Figure 10: Image of the Banaue Rice Terraces (taken by author).

Rice terraces resemble a dialectic relationship between farmers and their land. These unique lands are living food production sites that people continuously create, destroy, expand, and alter. In agriculture, terraces are sloped planes that have been cut into a series of receding flat platforms, which resemble steps. Terracing consists of intricate



systems of irrigation techniques and seasonal cycles. In Ifugao, rice terraces are constructed on hillsides to grow rice and various crops on a mountainous terrain. Figure 2 is an image of the famous tourism attraction, the Banaue rice terraces. As the Philippines' most successful tourist attraction and a large employer of Filipinos living in Ifugao, the Banaue rice terraces located In Banaue Ifugao are the premier destination to experience the Ifugao culture. Tourist look to these attractions to fulfill their expectations for native people with whom they have become vaguely familiar through mass produced colonial narratives (Bunten 2015).

The popular colonial narratives of the Banaue Rice Terraces inspire people from all over the world to visit Ifugao. These narratives originated from the efforts of anthropologists studying the Ifugaos during the American colonial era during early twentieth century. Beyer's (1955) and Barton's (1915) suggestions that the rice terraces are over 2,000 years old currently dominates the general public's and mass media's understanding of the age of the rice terraces (Acabado, 2012). Numerous sources including history textbooks, museums and the tourism industry support the Beyer (1955) and Barton (1915) colonial narratives (Acabado, 2012). However, these well-known popular myths have been repeatedly discredited by local community members, oral tradition and archaeological investigations of the area (Lambrecht, 1967; Acabado, 2010, 2015).

Lambrecht's (1967) ethnographic reconstruction as well as Acabado's (2009) recent radio carbon determinations suggests that the Ifugao rice terrace may not be older than 1585 and they have continued to expand (Acabado, Martin, and Lauer 2015;

Lambrechts, 1967). The debate of the age of the rice terraces is controversial because public awareness of the more recent date could result in a major decline in tourism in the Philippines (SITMo, 2008). On the other hand, the popular colonial narratives have increasingly made it difficult for local community members because it resulted in policies that pressure farmers to keep the rice terraces in their original 2,000-year-old form. In Banaue, farmers that maintain the rice terraces do not benefit from tourism at all (SITMo, 2008; Guimbatan, 2006, 2009).

The rice terraces play a significant role in tourism activities throughout the province, but the tourism industry's interest in the rice terraces conflicts with the necessities for local communities (Guimbatan, 2006, 2009). Local community members have claimed that a focus on preserving a living landscape as a 2,000-year-old ancient monument causes government agencies such as UNESCO-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to disregard serious problems affecting communities in Ifugao (Guimbatan, 2006, 2009). For the past couple of decades there has been a struggle to combat strange weather patterns, climate change and unregulated development (SITMo, 2008). There has been a lack of funding or involvement from federal agencies and a dearth of valuable and accessible information available to visitors for the purpose of educating them on the actual situation, and the effects of harmful behaviors affecting the rice terraces and surrounding communities (Personal letter to author from a participant, 2016).

Tourism takes different forms within the Philippines. For example, the available opportunities for tourists in Ifugao are high-end resorts, recreational activities, tourist

towns owned by outsiders or community-led tourism activities (Cacho, Geraldine, and Carling, Joan 2002). The commonality of all of the available tourist attractions in Ifugao is that they all highlight the opportunity to experience indigenous people and their culture. There is a significant distinction between a host community utilizing tourism as a social movement and community members working a minimum wage job in a tourism attraction that is owned by an outside company.

In recent decades, community-led tourism has been recognized as an ethical way for tourists to travel and learn about another culture (Salazar, 2012; SITMo, 2008). Community-led tourism is intended to empower rural communities and make a contribution to sustainable development and the eradication of poverty (Salazar, 2012). Although community-led tourism is designed to be community-centered, it is hindered because of commercial mass produced ethnic tourism narratives (Salazar, 2012). Tourism activities that focus on displaying local culture that are not controlled by community members can be best understood as ethnic tourism and follows a similar pattern in most indigenous regions throughout the world (Bruner, 2012).

This ethnography explores the differences between a host community utilizing tourism as a way to preserve their traditions and present accurate information about their heritage to the public and the ethnic tourism industry. In this thesis “community” refers to the farmers, teachers, nurses, fathers, mothers, sari sari store owners, home-stay owners, grocery owners, jeepney drivers, tricycle drivers, weavers, politicians, lawyers, NGO director, dancers, tour guides and volunteers who participate in a tourism program they work hard to manage and maintain.

The data retrieved from the community interviews focuses on the significance of the rice terraces to the Ifugaos and how community members utilize tourism to advocate for themselves and against the ethnic tourism industry. The data retrieved from analyzing the published narratives of the tourism industry helped me understand what was being said and what information needs to be said about the Ifugaos and their land. To give back to the people that participated in this project, I worked with several community members to construct and design a website for the non-government organization that leads the community tourism program. The purpose of the site is to provide accurate information about the communities in Ifugaos. Figure 3 is a snapshot of the website designed as part of this research project.



Figure 18: Snapshot of SITMo.org.

### *Significance*

Social movements and grassroots organizations in indigenous regions of the world may attempt to counter legacies of colonial racism and ongoing cultural misappropriation, both which are major aspects of contemporary global ethnic tourists' attraction. Ethnic tourism narratives tend to misconstrue the understanding of indigenous communities. Ethnic tourism tends to feature cultural images of ethnic minorities with captions suggesting that a tourists' attraction is an authentic observance of the daily lives of the local community (Bruner, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Yang, 2011). Although ethnic tourism industries are marketed as beneficial to the community and their environment, the industry tends to exploit the land and the local population. To many tourists, an image of an indigenous individual dressed in loincloth advertised as "exotic" may seem harmless or inviting to the viewer, but the hidden message is misleading and demands scrutiny and critical thinking. The relationship between tourists and local communities is much more ambiguous than it appears in tourism ads (Torres, 2009).

Tourism consist of a complex network of relationships, and there is a need to examine competing interests and conflicting social meanings within the discourse of the travel industry. This thesis provides substantial knowledge regarding exploitive tourism because it explores the issues that occur with the commercialization of indigenous communities. This work attempts to validate the opinions, experiences and narratives of the stakeholders of indigenous community-led tourism programs. For those who can afford to travel, it is important to be responsible and to seek ethical ways to learn about

another culture and engage with people living in different areas around the world. Ethical tourism can be much more than purchasing the opportunity to explore and enjoy; it can contribute to cultural competence in relating to people in other parts of the world.

## ETHICAL VERSUS ETHNIC TOURISM

Tourism is a complex and dynamic phenomenon, present all over the world affecting people in variety ways (Salazar, 2012). There are various types of tourism which anthropologist Valene Smith, identifies as environmental, cultural, historical, ethnic and recreational (Smith, 2012). Putting the different kinds of tourism activities into specific categories can limit our understanding of how tourism can be exploitive and challenging for host communities, because these activities often overlap. For instance, ecotourism, recreational tourism and even historical tourism can all still be ethnic tourism. This work focuses on the differences between community-led tourism and tourism programs owned by outside investors that employ local people for a minimal wage.

This section describes community-led tourism programs, or what Bunten (2010) refers to as Indigenous capitalism through tourism, as an ethically sound alternative while ethnic tourism refers to a way a colonizing tourism industry exploits indigenous people. Community-led or ethical tourism can be understood to reveal emic perspective of tourism because it comes from within; the people who are a part of the culture manages how their culture is presented to tourists. Ethnic tourism reveals an etic perspective because the industry is typically owned by an outside investor and the framework caters the outsider with a top-down approach.

*Ethical Tourism: Community Empowerment*

The definition of ethical tourism is often in dispute. Here, ethical tourism is presented as a tourism program that empowers the local host community. Tourism is often described as a relationship between host and guest (Smith, 1977). On the internet, numerous travel websites advertise that their tour package benefits the host community; therefore, it is an ethical way to travel (Salazar, 2012). Although the term “host” refers to an authoritative role to receive guests, the term “host community” is vague and may apply to the local community surrounding the tourism attractions, or the national government, wealthy foreigners who own resorts or even the entire national population (Salazar, 2012). When travel websites combine images of native people with captions suggesting that staying in a luxurious resort is beneficial to the host community, it can be misleading, especially when local workers who provide the labor for such resorts work for low wages and live in poverty (Salazar, 2012).

Scholars often describe the concept of community as a unified social unit with some form of collective decision-making; a community can also have multiple hierarchies, be a site of violence or a political struggle (Amit & Rapport, 2002; Salazar, 2012). Every organization or group of people have various opinions, a hierarchy and may disagree with numerous things, but the collective purpose and goal of a community-led tourism program is something worthwhile to pay attention to when learning about cultural tourism (Salazar, 2012; Buntin, 2010).

As Buntin (2010) notes, most indigenous rural communities, sustainable tourism is presented as an economic panacea for societies whose ways of life may have been compromised by the dominant cultures to which they belong. Indigenous people have



been involved with tourism through early colonial encounters, yet locally-owned cultural tourism programs are relatively new phenomena. Tourism itself is a colonial vestige, but there are innovative solutions that indigenous leaders have developed to participate in Western capitalistic economies on their own terms. Influenced by decolonization theory, Bunten uses indigenous-led tourism programs as a framework of ethically sound businesses that are responsive to local value systems.

According to Bunten, developing a business model for indigenous tourism that is competitive within the global economy while serving the needs of the native group is not an easy task. Bunten describes her challenges as an indigenous tourism professional feeling pressured to deliver “a competitive product that appeals to perceived consumer desires for the other while confronting stereotypes that persist in popular culture” (2010: 288). Not only do indigenous tourism professionals have to maintain government regulations for licensing and operation, they also engage in numerous forms of agreements with tribal councils, cultural committees, and partnerships with education programs, dance groups, and other sources of cultural production.

The indigenous tourism movement began in the late 1990s. Rather than modeling Western frameworks for exhibiting “the Other” within a capitalist system, the inclusion of value systems in a tourism program is what sets apart Indigenous-owned tourism from non-Indigenous tourism. Bunten indicates that Indigenous tourism programs are “collectively owned by recognized group members, young, old, deceased and the unborn, who have directly or indirectly endowed cultural and spiritual capital to the tourism enterprise (2010: 297). Indigenous tourism tends to utilize tourism as a way to employ

identity politics in arenas of concern for aboriginal communities such as retaining or reclaiming history, asserting control over representation, land rights, and exercising political sovereignty.

Bunten mentions that indigenous tourism can be empowering by providing a space for stewardship of land and natural resources, culture perpetuation and building an understanding through education. Promoting the well-being of indigenous peoples encompasses various factors, including economic stability, education, cultural continuation, preservation, political autonomy, physical and mental health, self-determination, and their relation to their land (2010: 297)

Indigenous Eco-Tourism may be well suited to the values associated with the stewardship of ancestral lands (Bunten, 2010). Many indigenous communities continue to maintain traditional relations with their lands through subsistence, cultural and spiritual activities (Bunten, 2010; SITMo, 2008). In Kiangnan Ifugao, community members have begun to view tourism as a way to manage their natural resources in ways that uphold their values and worldviews concerning the environment. Ecotourism activities tend to be low impact compared to the other types of tourism and extraction based industries (Honey, 2008; Bunten, 2010). Indigenous ecotourism has the potential to be lucrative because tourists seeking these experiences tend to spend more money to learn from home-grown world views rather than visiting commercialized tourist sites. Ecotourism activities consist of outdoor opportunities while focusing on conservation of wildlife (SITMo, 2010 Honey, 2008). Ecotourism also provides a space for local guides to convey interpretation of their land.

Cultural perpetuation is a major aspect of Indigenous tourism programs and often functions as a feedback loop continuously circulating cultural knowledge (SITMo, 2008; Bunten, 2010). Individuals who are already interested in maintaining their culture take leadership roles in developing tourism, elders and cultural specialists are sought out for guidance and the youth are able to learn about their cultures by working in tourism as administrative assistants, guides, dancers, and apprentices (Bunten, 2010).

Building an understanding through education is a key component of Indigenous tourism models (SITMo, 2008; Bunten, 2010). Products developed for tourism can also be used to develop curriculum for school systems. By interacting with outsiders, tourism workers often dispel negative stereotypes and address historical inaccuracies. Indigenous-run tourism programs are powerful movements, showing outsiders that they can and will control their representation on their own terms and are capable of succeeding within a global economy.

In recent decades' indigenous programs began to develop around the world to enable tourism to benefit the local community on a grass root level (Houde, 2007). Grass root level refers to when an organization or programs is directed by the community members with a bottom up approach rather than a top-down approach. Within these community-led tourism programs, community members utilize tourism by directing the activities to fit their needs (Honey, 2008). One famous example is the Hauorani Eco lodge located in the Amazon forests within Ecuador.

The Amazon forest is one of the greatest natural resources and home to various communities and cultures but many parts have been deforested and communities are

often displaced, marginalized with limited job opportunities in mining, lodging, and ethnic tourism, forcing many into prostitution and drug trafficking (Honey, 2008). However, for some local communities, community-led tourism has been a successful alternative to participating in the competitive global market while being able to keep and maintain their land (Honey, 2008).

The Huaorani community members are the owners of the Huaorani Eco lodge. For about a week, tourists can live within the community and interact with people living around the eco lodge. Since only a small number of people are allowed per season, the costs of this trip is high and visitors are restricted to traveling light. The Huaorani community began this project because they refuse to leave their land or participate in the oil production. Due to political tension and their inability to succeed in the national economy without leaving, they were marginalized in a remote area surrounded by undergoing oil extraction and fracking projects.

Huaorani Eco lodge began in 2007 as a protest movement to fight against oil exploitation by sharing their narratives about environmental damage and political corruption through interacting with tourists and sharing their own tourism narratives online. Figure 4 is an example of how the Huaorani utilizes social media to advertise an

Indigenous tourism program to protest against the disruptive oil companies.



Figure 22: Huarani Ecolodge Advertisement: [facebook.com/huaorani/](https://facebook.com/huaorani/)

The Huaorani also used their program to teach visitors about their traditions and their connection to their land. The Huaorani program was successful because tourists were willing to spend thousands of dollars to stay with the Huaorani community for one week. Unfortunately, the Huaorani Eco lodge was forced to temporarily close down due to government threats and oil exploration pressures from Chinese oil companies coming closer to the Eco-lodge. There are many political and institutional barriers to local communities managing tourism by incorporating and supporting the continued application of indigenous knowledge and practices (Houde, 2007; SITMo, 2008).

A tourism industry can be hegemonic when the host communities are not in control of the tourism narratives or directing the activities available for tourists and are pressured to obtain the lowest paying positions within the industry (Bruner, 2001; Salazar, 2012). The distinction between ethnic tourism and communities that utilize

tourism to preserve traditional practices needs to be addressed. The relationship between a host community and their traditions and intimate knowledge they have developed about their resources and land should serve as the basis for any cultural tourism development (Houde, 2007).

Social movements and grass roots organizations in indigenous regions of the world may attempt to counter legacies of colonial racism and ongoing cultural appropriation, which are major aspects of contemporary global ethnic tourism. One of the main goals of this thesis is to counter the ethnic tourism narratives of Ifugao. To be able to critique ethnic tourism industries, it is crucial to understand the colonial history of ethnic tourism.

#### *Ethnic Tourism: Colonial Legacy*

Ethnic tourism refers to the opportunity to experience ethnic groups through tourist attractions such as visiting villages, cultural museums, heritage sites and cultural theme parks, watching performances and ceremonies, and buying handmade crafts (Wood, 1997). Ethnic tourism is distinct from other forms of tourism because it features people as a type of tourist attraction. The concept of ethnic tourism was first introduced in anthropology by Valene who defined it as tourism "marketed to the public regarding the quaint customs of indigenous peoples" (1997: 2). Ethnic tourism is motivated by the tourist's search to authentically experience indigenous cultures and occurs today all over the world (Smith, 1977; Nash & Smith, 1991; Bruner, 1994, 2005; Yang, 2011; Smith, 2012).

Ethnic tourism is used by many governments for economic development in

remote regions throughout the world. Many government officials claim that ethnic tourism can benefit indigenous people by assisting them in reviving their traditions while allowing them to participate in a global economy (Honey, 2008). However, a main problem of ethnic tourism is the tendency of the industry commercializing native cultures to produce narratives that misconstrue the livelihoods of native communities. Indigenous cultures promoted in a commercialized tourist context is a product of Western ontologies (Bunten, 2015). Commercializing and romanticizing tribal-ness began during the colonial era and continues to play a huge role within tourism.

During the colonial era, portraying indigenous people as an inferior aspect of humanity was done in a variety of ways to increase the legitimacy and power of the colonizers (Said 1978; Young, 2003). Not only did policymakers enact policies to restrict or kill indigenous people, scientists were used to validate the colonizer's agenda (Cove, 1995; Steckley, 2008) and the traditions, wardrobe and designs from indigenous communities became fashion trends, or an imaginative lifestyle for the colonists (Young, 2003; Suzara, 2014). Consequently, the colonizer's interpretation or the ethnocentric view on indigenous people became the legitimate, mass produced representation of indigenous communities (Said, 1978; Young, 2003). In the text *Orientalism*, Said (1978) referred to the mass production of colonial narratives of communities as othering. The term othering refers to the processes by which people will exclude those whom they want to subordinate (Said, 1978; Kidd, 2009; Suzara, 2014).

Othering creates contrasting differences by producing narratives, stereotypes, and images about communities that often dehumanizes them (Said, 1978; Kidd, 2009).

Othering provides justification to treat certain groups as inferior and usually results in harmful consequences. Othering is a reoccurring historical phenomenon and has adversely affected peoples' lives throughout history (Young, 2003). For instance, in the United States, portraying Native Americans as savages, incapable of being civilized provided Anglo settlers the rationale to steal their land, herding them into uninhabitable lands and murdering them. There was also the portrayal of African Americans as an inferior race, which provided Anglo Americans the rationale to justify segregation and slavery. In a similar vein the portrayals of Filipino highlanders as a primitive race were used to justify the living human exhibits where groups of people were forced to live in a cage as part of a zoo (Young, 2003; Valientes, 2008; Kidd, 2009; Suzara, 2014). It is critical for people to constantly be able to recognize the common modes of othering within the context of a commercialized, mass produced colonial narrative about a group of people (Said, 1978).

Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, authors of the book titled *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media*, describe three common modes of Othering which are animalization, naturalization and infantilization (Shohat & Stam 2014). Animalization represents the other as animal like, wild, primitive in their dress, sexuality, and lifestyle. Naturalization showcases the other as less cultured, unaffected by globalization, passive and therefore being closer to nature than the rest of the modern world. Infantilization depicts the other as innocent, child-like, uncivilized. These three common modes of othering constantly intertwine with each other within the framework of ethnic tourism.





Figure 23: Ad from 1904 World Fair. Filipino American Center SFPL

Figure 5 is an example of how these three modes of othering are used in a form of an advertisement. Figure 5 is an image used to advertise for the Igorot exhibit during the St Louis World Fair. This image portrays Filipinos living in the Cordilleras, north of the Philippines as a wild head hunting species that eat dogs. In figure 5, three men are being depicted as a wild inferior form of humanity. The images combined with the text are typically used as a form of authority for the visitors seeking to learn about Filipino highlanders (Valientes, 2008). Much of the framework for ethnic tourism such as the cultural stage performances, the cultural theme parks and even the staged villages were inspired by these types of colonial narratives (Young, 2003).

Ethnic tourism began throughout Europe and the United States during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Valientes, 2008) This event was the spark of ethnic tourism to American and European colonies, inviting the general public to explore the supposedly uncharted regions where previously only soldiers, colonists, adventurers, explorers, and researchers

dared to set foot (Young, 2003). During this era, the Philippine highlanders were extensively studied by anthropologists and were used for anthropological exhibits. (Valientes, 2008; Suzara, 2014).

At the 1904 St. Louis World Fair, an estimate of 20 million people gathered to gaze at the anthropological exhibits of people resembling the missing link between ape and humankind (Suzara, 2014). The purpose of the fair was to educate the public about the Western discoveries of the world (Kidd, 2009; Suzara, 2014). These exhibits featured the Inuit, Filipino highlanders, the Zulus and the Pygmies from Central African forests (Kidd, 2009). Within these exhibits, people were forced to live in small enclosures while repeatedly performing dances resembling warfare and sacred ceremonies (Castro, 2008). Filipino highlanders were forced fed dogs in front of a live audience to portray them as the savage other that feast on the best friends of American men (Suzara, 2014).



Figure 32: St Louis World Fair 1904: Image from the Ifugao Hut Healing Project.

This event along with many similar expositions demonstrates racism and human exploitation (Castro, 2008; Young, 2008; Kidd, 2009). Figure 6 is a snap shot of the St World Louis Fair that demonstrates the segregation between the white, civilized free people and the colored, indigenous people of color portrayed as the uncivilized, caged, and captured other (Kidd, 2009). Although the St. Louis World Fair was an event of human torture and exploitation, about 20 million people made their way to the exposition because they believed they were obtaining a valuable experience to learn about the other (Kidd, 2009; Castro, 2008; Suzara, 2014).

The general public has been indoctrinated to view as truth the accessible information about non-western cultures that is written by western scholars (Said, 1978, 1995; Young, 2003). Within the colonial context and the ongoing ethnic tourism scene, cultural representation is misconstrued within the western projection of non-western people. Edward Said defines orientalism as exaggerating and distorting differences between western and non-western cultures while placing non-western cultures as backwards, child-like, uncivilized, and inferior to westerners (Said, 1978).

Traveling to foreign lands is valued and sometimes even viewed as a rite of passage or transformative experience but interacting with strangers is fraught with uncertainty, anxiety, and fear (Said, 1978; Kincaid, 1988; Young, 2003). Therefore, tourism industries seek to make the interaction between hosts and guests smooth, comfortable, pleasant and friendly by producing a western projection of the host community and representing the other as wild, pure, innocent and inferior (Kincaid, 1988;

Young, 2003; Bruner, 2005).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

This section explores the relation between the ethnic tourism industry and hegemony by providing examples of ethnic tourism attractions. Anthropologist Edward Bruner was an early critic of the framework of ethnic tourism attractions. The following section focuses on Bruner's ethnographic investigations of the Kichwa Tembo and the Mayer's Ranch. The Kichwa Tembo and the Mayer's Ranch both feature the Massai and are directed by outsiders (Bruner, 2001, 2005). Outside investors claim that the Kichwa Tembo and the Mayer's Ranch can provide a way for indigenous communities to revive their traditions and participate in the national economy (Bruner, 2005). However, these tourist attractions amplify colonial narratives that misconstrue the cultures of the communities

It is important to recognize that host community members participating in ethnic tourism attractions are not passively performing for outsiders, they choose to participate because sometimes tourism is one of the only ways to generate income. This literature review also covers the how ethnic tourism industries can be exploitative to local community members. It is critical to learn how the process of othering occurs within popular activities so we can make smarter choices in the ways we seek knowledge about another culture.

### *Ethnic Tourism Attractions Examples*

During Bruner's investigation at the Out of Africa Sundowner Party at Kichwa

Tembo he describes how tourists can enjoy the American pop culture image of African Culture as the Massai sing songs from Disney's Lion King with a reggae twist and dance as warriors with spears in a luxury resort (2001:883-885). At Kichwa Tembo, American cultural expressions of African blackness are presented to American tourists by Africans in Africa for tourists to feel safe with a familiar representation of Africans (Bruner, 2001:890-894). The Out of Africa Sundowner Party at Kichwa Tembo protects visitors from encountering the darker side of Africa, the civil wars, poverty, government corruption, postcolonial trauma, and marginalization. Kichwa Tembos demonstrates the way a tourism industry will purposely cater to the tourist's expectations to make it more comfortable and inviting for the visitors. The ethnic tourism industry is a business that prospers by marketing a desirable image of a community as a product (Bruner, 2001).

Tourism attractions like The Kichwa Tembo raise the key narrative question of who has the right to tell the story of a host community. These ethnic tourist attractions are not passive for they offer meaning subsumed by the narratives (Bruner, 2005). Tourists should be careful about assuming that the narratives of ethnic tourist attractions are accepted by all parties and recognize the complex situations that are involved in a single ethnic tourist attraction. An ethnic tourist attraction consists of a complex network of relationships and historical experiences between locals, non-profits governments, foreign investors, colonists, outsiders, and corporations (Salazer, 2012). Ethnic tourism is not just a current trend set out to create an opportunity for local development or preserve a local culture. Rather, ethnic tourism is part of a larger project for marginalized communities to participate in a post-capitalist global economy.

Since the 1980s, tourism is one of the ways for the Massai to earn a stable income in Kenya (Bruner, 2005). The Maasai are traditionally pastoralists and practice an elaborate age-grade system known as the institution of Moranism (junior warriors). According to Bruner's *Culture on Tour*, state efforts to weaken Massai autonomy focus on insisting the Massai youth to participate in the national educational system. Going to Kenyan schools takes time away from the Massai to engage their Moran institution. As a result, the Massai's traditions such as pastoralism became difficult to sustain due to various limitations.

Many Massai protested that their traditional way of life is being threatened by political conflicts, creation of game parks for tourists, disease, drought, overgrazing and urban expansion (Bruner, 2005). Mayer's Ranch was established as the unemployment for the Massai began to increase. An ethnic tourist attraction at Mayer's Ranch was originally created by British owners for two reasons: 1) to provide themselves with a better income for featuring the Massai, and, 2) to provide Massais with a source of income by building a set of villages as a stage for the Massai to live in and perform for tourists (2005: 40-41).

Tourists were unaware that the Mayer's Ranch established numerous rules and regulations on how the Massai were to present themselves to tourists (Bruner, 2005). During visiting hours at Mayer's ranch, the Massai were not allowed to show any signs of modernization, including using phones, radios, non-traditional jewelry or clothing. If they broke any of the rules they were kicked out of the Mayer's Ranch (Bruner, 2005). For the Massai to live and work at the Mayer's' ranch they were to follow a daily routine of

greeting tourists by the huts, performing warrior dances, selling their handmade crafts and then telling them good-bye. After each tour, tourists described their experiences to be authentic observations of the Massai everyday life.

Mayer's Ranch presented a colonial narrative by portraying the Massai living in huts in the backyard of a colonial mansion (Bruner, 2005). Tourists were not aware of the brutal complex history of colonialism in Kenya and truly believed that these warrior performances were authentic. On the "ranch" there was no truthful information available regarding the Massai. Similar to any ethnic tourism attraction, the ability to learn about the host community is typically restricted to the activities offered at the site (Salazar, 2012). Tourists should be cautious about monolithic interpretations that are ahistorical, static and dehumanize the host community. Eventually Mayer's Ranch closed down due to issues of human exploitation and pressure from local Kenyans protesting against the colonial narratives.

Ethnic tourism still remains popular throughout the world. For example, the Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park located in Cairns North Queensland Australia is one of the largest employer for Aborigines in this industry. It is a theme park featuring aboriginal people living in staged villages as the main attraction (Bulinan, 2007; Buntin, 2015). Ethnic tourism attractions highlight the opportunity to experience indigenous cultures and ancient traditions. There tends to be a lack of any mentioning that culture is not static and continues to change and evolve (Bulinan, 2007). Although narratives of noble primitives are famous amongst tourists, these tourism narratives should encourage us to ask why people have to visit a fenced park or a stage to experience and learn about



the daily lives of aboriginal people.

Like the colonial world fairs, ethnic tourism was founded on interpersonal and institutional racism by encouraging peoples to participate in fenced enclosures to exhibiting their indigenous self while refusing to give them equal human rights on a National level. These ethnic tourist attractions enable visitors to believe the host community members are intrinsically different. Since ethnic tourism industries have a top-bottom approach, local indigenous people who are displayed within the attractions tend to benefit the least while outside investors benefit the most (Salazar, 2012).

#### *Tourism and Hegemony in the Philippines*

As the global economy began to emerge, many communities in developing nations were facing a lack of available jobs, poverty, and insufficient available resources due to mining, deforestation, and urban development (Honey, 2008). Ethnic tourism started to give communities an incentive for protecting their environment and cultural traditions. However, many problems soon arose given the rigid framework of the corporate tourism industry. This section discusses the relationship between the ethnic tourism industry and the host community by providing examples of how a tourism industry can be detrimental to the host communities' economy, environment, and their privacy.

One of the current phenomena in rural indigenous communities is that the younger generations tend to migrate to urban areas (Cacho & Carling, 2002). The youth tend to migrate out of their home communities to find economic opportunities that they perceive as more profitable. Ethnic tourism is often described as a panacea for poverty in

indigenous rural communities. However, when ethnic tourism opportunities increase in rural indigenous communities, outmigration of the younger generation also increases (Cacho & Carling, 2002). These common migration patterns can indicate serious issues of marginalization, poverty, and lack of economic opportunities in indigenous rural communities.

An issue of tourism is leakage of profits or when profits do not stay within the local economy (Honey, 2008; SITMo, 2008). The ethnic tourism industry has the tendency to be directed by wealthy foreign investors while leaving the minimum wage jobs for the locals (Salazar, 2012). Many community members have rarely any other choice but to work within the tourism industry (SITMo, 2008). But in popular tourists' areas jobs are competitive and require an educational background and local businesses are replaced with imported cheaper goods and outside corporations (Sernau, 2005). Many local community members find that they can only receive a minimum wage job with no opportunity to advance (Cacho & Carlin, 2002; Honey, 2008).

Poor families typically need to incorporate a variety of ways to generate income. For instance, in Ifugao, Philippines men who migrate to the city from rural communities can find temporary jobs on construction sites, mining, house repairs, and stonewalling during the dry season (Cacho & Carling, 2002). However, job opportunities are limited for women and the elderly. Moreover, many children are taken out of school to help their families make a living. They usually work illegally in street vending or posing and performing for tourists. Also, prostitution and human trafficking of women and children is a major problem within the tourism oriented cities of the Philippines. Because of the

insufficient income, poor families in rural areas where there is high tourist activity cannot cope with the prices of essential commodities and services such as electricity, water, education, and healthcare.

The health of the host's environment is also significant in the overall wellbeing of a host community, especially if they live in rural areas where they obtain resources directly from their land (SITMo, 2008). Tourism can leave the area worse off than before it was a tourism destination (Honey, 2008). The demands of tourism with waste, food, and water takes a toll upon the community. One of the problems of a popular tourist areas is visitor overcapacity. This means too many people are staying in a tourist destination and the location cannot support the number of people.

There are several things that go into facilitating a tourist attraction. These include importing food and water, accumulating waste, increasing the number of vehicles which increases pollution, adding more roads and tourist friendly walk ways in natural areas (SITMo 2008). Another issue is unregulated development. Unregulated development refers to constantly building commercial or residential areas without acknowledging the impact it has on local resources or even asking permission from the local leaders (Honey 2008). Places with popular tourist attractions attract many people including tourists, investors, entrepreneurs, artisans, and job seekers; increasing the congestion of the area while more residential and commercial places are being built (SITMo 2008).

Another problem of ethnic tourism is the invasion of privacy. In many ethnic tourism attractions, tourists may not understand the limits and boundaries of what is appropriate or inappropriate in a host community (Bulinan 2007). For an example, in

Bulinan's ethnography of tourism in Banaue Ifugao, he explains how tourists would constantly arrive to observe funeral ceremonies or weddings uninvited. Bulinan includes quotes of the host community members explaining that they often feel annoyed and angry when tourists just walk in their houses to take photos of them without their permission. Paying to attend an ethnic tourism attraction may offer tourist the illusion that everything is a display and they have free range to interact with the community without taking the time to consider how they would personally feel if strangers were to barge in their own homes just to take photographs.

Tourism industries rarely reveal how tourism impacts local communities (Salazar, 2012). Tourists may assume and imagine that tourist attractions are either spoiling the pristine nature of local communities or create beneficial opportunities given by a corporate power (Smith 2015). But the economic relation between tourists and the host community tends to be inadequate. Commercialized tourism industries tend to be on a corporate level that thrives on corruption with a top-down approach (Young, 2003; Sernau, 2005; Smith 2016). The commercialization of the tourism industries restricts local communities by diffusing ownership, leadership and responsibilities on their own land (Smith 2016; Cacho and Carling 2002). While it is true that many countries depend on tourism as a vital economic source, the local host community typically benefits the least from tourism (SITMO 2008).

Proponents of Ethnic tourism proclaim their purpose is to engage with people from different cultures while allowing a space for ethnic groups to revive or continue their traditions. However, the interactions between the host community and tourists are

often commercialized, awkward, and staged and ethnic tourism rarely allows a community to revive or continue their traditions because there is a demand to perform it in a certain way to please audience members (Bruner 2005). Also, community members may not want to openly share traditions that are sacred or private. The narratives presented at ethnic tourism parks are problematic because they convert human interactions into a commodity by limiting the tourist's opportunity to understand, interact, and learn about people living in different regions of the world.

## IFUGAO

I now turn to discussion of the field-sites, this chapter summarizes the current political boundaries of Ifugao. The Philippines consists of over seven thousand islands and eighty-one provinces which were outlined and mapped during the Spanish and American colonial eras. Most of the provinces are organized into regions. Ifugao is part of the Cordillera regions north of the country within the mountain terrain. The Cordillera region consists of six provinces which are: Abra, Benguet, Kalinga, Mountain Province, Apayao, and Ifugao. The Cordillera region is significant in the Philippines because it use to be a location of a major empire that actively resisted and fought against the Spanish Colonists.

Indigenous people of the Cordilleras are also referred to as the Filipino Highlanders but people often mistakenly refer to all Filipino Highlanders as one tribe known as the Igorots. Referring to every Filipino Highlander as one tribe is highly offensive and disrespectful. It is like assuming every Native American tribe in the US is the same tribe or has the same culture and language. The six provinces consist of a diversity of cultures, languages and it is critical to recognize who you are addressing, Ifugao alone has about 11 subdivisions known as municipalities. A municipality is a city

or a town that contains a local government. These municipalities are Aguineldo, Alfonso, Lista Asipulo, Banaue, Hingyon, Hungduan, Kiangan, Lamit, Mayoyao, Tinoc, and the

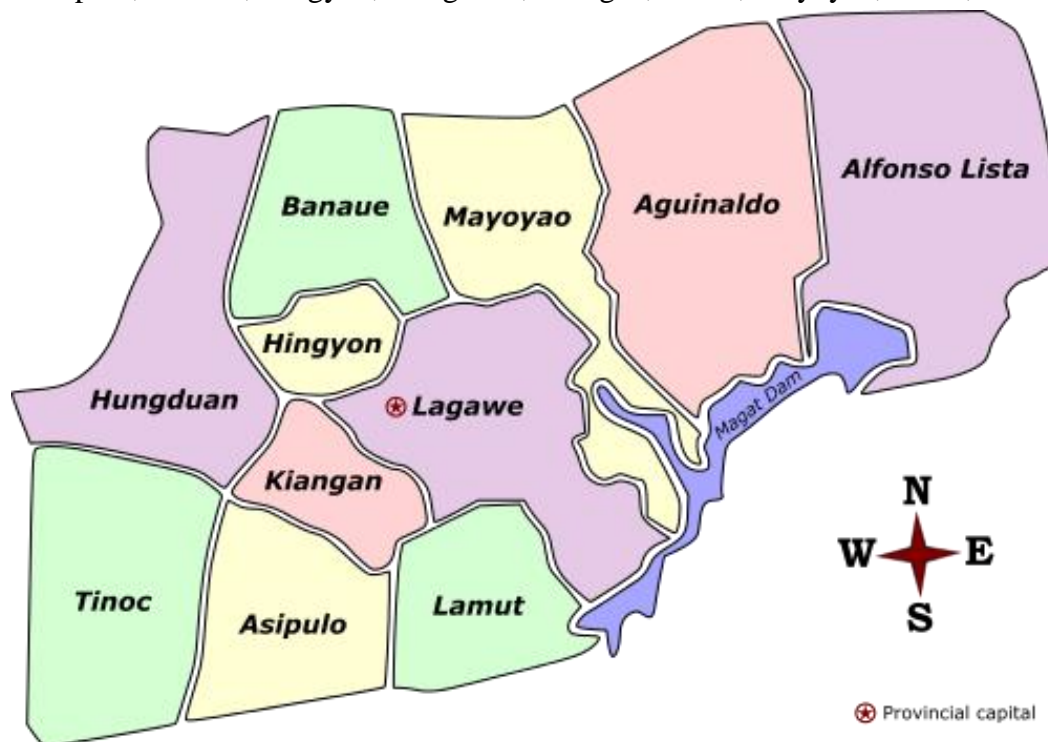


Figure 41: Map of Municipalities of Ifugao capital, Lagawe. Figure 7 is a map of the 11 municipalities of Ifugao.

This ethnography focuses on Kiangan and Banaue because Kiangan is referred as the heritage center and is the location of the origin of Ifugaos. Kiangan is also the location of the community-led tourism program. Banaue is the location of the major ethnic tourism attractions of the Philippines. Traditions and language vary from one community to another. There are four Ifugao languages. These languages are Batad Ifugao, Amganad Ifugao, Mayoyao Ifugao, and Tawali Ifugao. These languages are considered separate tongues by the native speakers. The majority of the participants in this study are Tawali speakers, from Kiangan. The majority of the community members

in Kiangan also speak English, Tagalog, and Ilocano. Ifugao's diverse communities are all united by being Ifugao, which translates to "people of the hill or mountain."



## METHODS

My project examines the distinction between how community members utilize tourism to combat the ethnic tourism industry, and revive indigenous knowledge and preserve their heritage. My project is a mixed methods approach that incorporates visual analysis, discourse analysis, snowballing, qualitative interviewing, and ethnographic methods such as observation and participation focus groups. The data contributed to designing a website for the community-led tourism program.

### *Visual Methodologies and Discourse Analysis*

Studying the visual aspects of culture and society has been significant in the fields of anthropology and other social sciences (Ali, 2012). It is critical to consider some forms of representation as “textual”. For instance, in a tourism industry, images are consistently used to deliver information about a place or culture. People are naturally visual learners, and it is important to investigate the images that serve as an important source of information Ali, 2012. Therefore, for this study, visual images in the forms of an advertisement, postcard, tourism logo and a photograph have all come to be regarded as texts and worth analyzing as cultural artifacts that can be read Ali, 2012.

I investigated five aspects of the presentation of the image. I first examined what the picture is presenting. For instance, is it a photo of a landscape or a person or a group of individuals? Secondly, for the photos featuring people, I examined what they are wearing, who they are, how they are posing, and the backdrop of the image. Thirdly, I

considered how the landscape or the backdrop was framed within the picture. Fourthly I examined how the image was positioned on the website. Finally, I investigated the relation between the image, the caption, and the text on the website. Just analyzing images can be too broad or narrow of an approach when investigating the ethnic tourism industry. Although the images are a significant aspect of my data, it is critical to also pay attention to the captions, text, statements, or blogs written to accompany these images. A caption can affect how people interpret the image.

Discourse analysis relates to the analysis of images as well as the text by investigating the intentions of the image or text producers as well as the multiple readings and interpretation made by different audience members (Ali, 2012). The language and images from advertisements tourism guides and tourism websites are the objects of inquiry because it reveals how people establish social norms, identities, and facts about a culture (Tonkiss, 2012) such as Ifugao. Discourse is the production of meaning through text, image, and talk and is also the way of presenting knowledge about a topic. It is the way language works to organize fields of knowledge and practice (Tonkiss, 2012; Ali 2012). Since discourse analysis depends on my data, there is no rigid system on how to conduct a discourse analysis. The analysis slightly differs depending on the data. However, the analysis of one source affects the interpretation of another.

Critical Discourse Analysis is concerned with the political, historical, and social context of discourse (Tonkiss, 2012). My goal with investigating the text in tourism websites was to go beyond the rhetorical and technical process of language to explore its political, historical and social context. I examined the representation of the Ifugaos in the

popular tourism discourse. I focused on what are the industries are marketing, what is the standard narrative that is selling, how do the travel writers describe Ifugao, the host community and their rice terraces and what are the silences. I also investigated where the information was coming from. I included a historical and political background on the information that was published in the tourism websites.

After examining the cultural guides, tourist ads, and travel blogs, I interviewed several community members involved in a social movement against the commercialized ethnic tourism industry. The data I retrieved from the tourism websites helped me shape my questions for the participants of this study. I could use the data to understand what I could do for the community members participating in a community-led tourism program.

### *Snowballing*

Qualitative research is known to be unpredictable by nature. Therefore, it is critical to have a concise plan before going into a field to conduct research. Every researcher must respect the boundaries of the community where they seek to do research because most communities may be wary of strangers randomly approaching with research questions. Snowballing or network sampling is a significant way to reach out to community members to participate in a research project (Seale 2012). Snowballing is a non-probability sampling technique where participants recruit future participants from among their acquaintances.

I began networking in the initial planning process of this research project. I contacted authors of articles that inspired my research. They referred me to another expert in their community, who referred me to another and so on. I also took the

opportunity to include people whom my family has very close relations with. The participants were referred to me by people whom I met through this project and not through my family. Snowballing is also a significant way in understanding the interconnectedness of a small community by learning the diverse roles and relationships between community members. When conducting research on rural social movements, snowballing can be an advantage of understanding how community members are connected and interact with each other.

#### *Qualitative Interviews and Narrative Analysis*

In anthropology, interviews can be the most important form of data collection, a means of producing a variety of forms of information with community members (Byrne, 2012). Interviews are natural, informal, and sometimes planned discussions between a community member and a researcher. Qualitative interviews offer access to attitudes, values, and feelings, flexibility, and exploration of suppressed views. Qualitative interviews can allow respondents to answer in their own words or languages, achieve an in-depth understanding of a situation, and reflect the complexity of a social problem. Using qualitative interviews with community members in Ifugao was an important aspect of my research because it offers information that is not accessible within the tourism discourse about Ifugao. To examine how host community members, utilize tourism and want tourists to understand, I interviewed people who took part in the community-led tourism program in Kiangang Ifugao.

The participants of this study are the most important narrators of this project. Their responses to my questions were either recorded by hand or with a recording device

with their permission. I chose narrative analysis to analyze the data from the interviews because it is important to keep participant's stories intact, rather than breaking them up into bits to fit in a code categories. Their stories about the ethnic tourism industry reflect how they view and experience the ethnic tourism industry. I focused on the content of what is said and how it is said.

During my interviews, I analyzed what participants were saying about certain topics such as their identity, heritage, tourism, rice terraces, history, colonialism, politics, spirituality, etc. My questions were open-ended so participants can answer with an in-depth first account on how they express, feel, experience, value a certain topic (Byrne, 2012). I mainly focused on how participants explained their views and their attitudes regarding the ethnic tourism industry, their experiences with tourism, what is needed and what needs to be prevented within their community.

In the discussion section, I included their narratives on tourism, rice terracing, struggles with eroding rice terraces, rituals, traditions, and community identity but their names are all kept anonymous. Interviews, in general, are useful but can be limiting because it may pressure community members to say what they believe is expected out of them (Byrne, 2012). Therefore, apart from the interviews I also participated, observed a variety of community events which was supplemented with focus groups.

#### *Ethnographic Methods and Focus Groups.*

Many of the participants of my research expressed that it was critical f to engage with this project as an ethnographer to fully understand the research problem. What

makes ethnographic methods distinct from other kinds of scientific methods is the ability for the researcher to engage with the project as a participant and observer (Walsh, 2012). Ethnographic research methods come largely from the field of anthropology and emphasize on studying different cultures. However, my approach with this ethnography was not to just study the culture of Ifugao but to examine how community members utilize tourism as a social movement to revive their traditions, preserve their heritage, and advocate against the ethnic tourism industry. Having a basic understanding of the traditions, heritage and history of Ifugaos is crucial in understanding how they utilize tourism to revive their traditions, preserve their heritage and present accurate information on their history. For my ethnography, I was involved in participating overtly in people's daily lives for the summer of 2016. I participated in religious ceremonies, community-led tourism activities, and various other social events. But most the information I obtained from these social events came from the discussions I had with community members during these social events.

Focus groups are guided conversations between a researcher and a group of people (Tonkiss, 2012). Usually, the researcher guides the conversation, or a member of the group will guide the discussion base on their understanding of what kind of information the researcher is seeking. Although focus groups and ethnographic methods such as participation and observation are different from each other, they are both interactive and emphasize collective dynamics (Tonkiss, 2012). Focused group discussions can supplement observation methods by allowing the researcher to explore attitudes or values and elicit information that is not accessible by observing as a bystander. Focus groups is a

significant addition to an ethnography that emphasizes social interaction and collective meanings. I found that they offered a valuable method for social movement research and allowed me to examine how collective identities are formed and reproduced through interaction and communication. While observing, and participating in social events can reveal how social movements are organized, focus groups can reveal how community members articulate and reinforce group identities.

## DATA

The following information has been processed and approved by IRB with an exempt status. I divided my data into two parts the first part consists of visual data and the second part is from interviews, focus group discussions, observation, the participation of community events.

### *Visual Archives*

The first type of data includes 40 tourism ads. 3 tourism ads are from three different bureaucratic industries, which are National Geographic Travel; it's More Fun in the Philippines and Uncharted Philippines. The remaining 37 tourism ads are travel blogs and reviews in s form of a blog. The travel blogs advertise the bureaucratic industry and particular excursions in the form of a do it yourself guide-DIY guide.

### Qualitative Interviews, Participation and Observation

The participants are members from a variety of communities in Ifugao. Most participants are the members of the non-profit organization called Save the Rice Terraces Movement or SITMo. However, the members of SITMo consists of more than 60

members with a variety of community roles. Some are politicians, farmers, teachers, and others are store owners, home stay owners, performers, eco-tourism volunteers, tour guides, tricycle drivers, and weavers. The individual identity of the participants will be kept anonymous.

The interviews are semi-formal and open-ended. A majority of my Interviews held in Kiangan were in English. Some interviews were in English and Tagalog. Before June 20, 2016 interviews were held by email. I chose emails because the participants expressed to me that it is most convenient for them. After June 20, 2016, interviews and focus group discussion were held in person in multiple places in Kiangan and Banaue Ifugao. Some locations include a local grocery store, the Ifugao heritage center, the Kiangan tourism office, the Open-air museum, a café, and some of the participant's households. Participant observation and focus group discussion occurred during a variety of social events. Some of these social events include hiking a cave with community members in my age group, participating in the farmers-led tour at the Nagacadan rice terraces in Kiagan, participating at an agricultural religious ceremony, and numerous social gatherings and road trips.

#### *Data Sharing*

On May 1, 2016, I received approval from the Intuitional Review Board-IRB at Humboldt State University. All the visual data are copyrighted. Therefore, without permission I do not have the right to extract any of the data from its webpage without citing the author or the industry. Interviews conducted online before and after June 20,



2016 were permanently deleted after they were transcribed in August 2016. From June 20, 2016 – July 25, 2016, I participated in an Archaeology field school and the SITMo's Ethno-archaeological program titled The Ifugao Archaeological Project in Kiangan Ifugao, Philippines. As a student, my project is a part of the Ifugao Archaeological Project and is under their permit for the Indigenous Rights Act. My project in the program was to construct an ethical tourism guide for SITMo's community-led tourism program.

With permission of the participants, interviews were held in person. About eight interviews were recorded with an ALS portable 8GB professional digital recorder. The recordings were transferred to a separate file on an external hard drive. The recordings were deleted from the recording device. Some of the participants either refused to be recorded or recording didn't seem appropriate. With permission, I recorded their answers by writing in my field notebook during the interviews. To protect the privacy rights of the participants, the transcripts and recordings were officially discarded after being transcribed before March 2017. For all the formal interviews that were recorded by hand or a device, every participant signed a typed and printed consent form.

Apart from the interviews, I also retrieved data from informal conversations, focus group discussion, observations, and participating in community events. These events include community-led eco tours at Nagadacan, working with some of the eco-tourism volunteers at cave Pangaggawan, and participating at the Harvest ceremony at St Joseph's Catholic Church and the Ifugao Harvest Ritual in Asipulo, Ifugao.

## ANALYSIS

I analyzed all my data by the use of discourse analysis and visual analysis for the images. I collected the 40 tourism ads using the Google search engine. My terminologies became more precise as I learned what to research from the available data. To collect the data, I googled “Philippines Travel, Philippine rice terraces, UNESCO Philippines and Igorot, Native tourism.

The terminologies lead to an overlap of the 40 travel websites. I selected the most common links within the four different search words. Amongst the 40 tourism ads, websites, and blogs, I recorded the words they used to describe the people and the rice terraces within the Cordilleras. I focused on how old the writer was claiming the rice terraces to be.

Since images play a significant role in tourism ads, I focused on the images that are being used to accompany the text. I investigated five aspects of the presentation of the picture. I first examined what the picture is presenting. Is it a photo of a landscape, a person or a group of people? Secondly, for the photos featuring people, I examined what they are wearing, how they are posing, and the backdrop of the image. Thirdly if the photo featured the landscape, I examined what the landscape was of. Fourthly I investigate if the photos were professional quality or not or did it have an artistic presentation of the subject. Finally, I investigated the relationship between the image, the caption and the text.

For the interviews, I focused on four things. First I examine how the individual

discusses tourism in Ifugao. Secondly, I focused on their narratives regarding the repercussions of mass tourism. Thirdly I focused on how the individual presents the rice terraces. Finally, I recorded what the individual wants tourists to understand when traveling in Ifugao.

After analyzing each type of data separately, I connected all the data together for a final analysis. First I examined the origin of the information presented in the tourism ads, travel blogs, and tourism guides. Then I compared the results of the tourism ads to the results of the colonial archives to understand how tourism ads maintain colonial stereotypes. Afterward, I compare the dominant narrative of the Cordilleras to tourists' diaries. At last, I continued to compare the results from the interviews and the tourism ads to investigate the difference between what the tourism ads claims about the people, culture, and landscape of the Highlanders and the narratives from the local community members about their culture and their rice terraces and their experiences with tourism.

## DISCUSSION

The rice terraces became famous around the world in 1995 when UNESCO-The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization declared the Banaue rice terraces as the Eighth World Wonder and the surrounding terraces as World Heritage sites. UNESCO is an international organization based in Paris. One of UNESCO objectives is to protect historical sites around the world that resemble a significant historical aspect of humanity. UNESCO works with governments to set aside funding and plans for preservation efforts and enact policies and regulations to ensure these sites are not destroyed for any reason.

Tourists may be confused when they learn that the rice terraces in Ifugao are considered a UNESCO World Wonder because the other seven world wonders are ruins from past civilizations. These sites include the Great Wall of China, the Great Pyramids of Giza, Machu Picchu, Chichen Itza, the Colosseum, Taj Mahal, and Petra. Since these seven world wonders resembles ruins left behind from series of historical events, people tend to assume that the rice terraces are also monuments from a past civilization. UNESCO's designation, in combination with the popular narrative that depicts the Ifugaos as a dying ancient culture, creates an impression that Ifugao is a site in urgent need of being saved and preserved as a living monument.

Despite being a UNESCO site, the rice terraces are also an existing and vital food production site. Rice terraces are common throughout the world and may vary in shape, structure, harvesting system, type of rice, techniques, and seasonal practices. All rice

terraces, in general, resemble a harmonious and complex relationship between humankind and the environment. What makes Ifugao rice terraces unique is the belief that these terraces have been maintained the same for over two millennia. The claims that the Ifugao Banaue rice terraces are a 2,000-year-old monument is the main reason why it is a UNESCO world wonder site.

### *Ethnic Tourism Discourse*

Over a million of people visit the Ifugao Banaue rice terraces expecting to experience a 2,000-year-old monument. At the same time, many host community members expressed that the booming tourism industry in Ifugao can cause detrimental issues for the community members and their environment. However, before we can understand the problems that derive from mass tourism, it is important to investigate how Ifugaos, and their rice terraces, are explained and understood within the current ethnic tourism industry. Examining how people make sense of this reality in various and often conflicting ways may indicate a complex hierarchy within the ethnic tourism industry that is deeply rooted in colonialism, and those tourism narratives may influence an outsider's understanding of a community.

It is necessary to investigate the available popular information about a community to understand the complex process of tourism narratives because traveling to a destination actually begins at home where potential tourist can research about an area. The primary research on a culture or location can influence the tourist's experience by allowing them to have certain expectations about a group of people. For this section of my study my

goal was to imagine the role of a tourist by examining the available information about Ifugao before traveling to Ifugao. I investigated the available information about Ifugao online while giving a background context to the available information. I investigated several aspects of the ethnic tourism discourse which includes the way I searched for the tourism websites, the images on the tourism websites and the text itself.

The very first thing I recorded was the way I collected the data. I collected about 40 tourism websites with the Google Search engine. My terminologies for Ifugao became more precise as I learned what to research from the available data. To collect the data, I first googled key terms such as Philippines, Travel to Philippines, Philippines Travel, and Philippine Tourism. From the available information from the results of the first set of keywords I began to google popular keywords such as Philippine rice terraces, UNESCO Philippines, Igorot, Ifugao, and Native, Uncharted Philippines, and Primitive Philippine tourism. The terminologies lead to an overlap of 40 travel websites. I selected the most common links within the variety of keywords that I used.

The first keywords were standard and the Banaue Rice terraces in Ifugao was one of the many tourism attractions that popped up during the Google search. Base on the first search, Ifugao seems to be a popular location compared to any other locations in the Philippines. As I examined the first couple of websites I began to use the terms that were commonly used to describe Ifugao. The keywords such as Igorot, Primitive, Uncharted, or even Native reveals the problematic way Ifugaos are being described in the ethnic tourism operations. These terminologies are offensive to many community members in Ifugao. Igorot is more of a derogatory word towards people living in Ifugao however

there are provinces outside of Ifugao who use that term as part of their identity. Also, terms such as Primitive, Uncharted or Native have a negative connotation because those terms describe people who are backward and unevolved. With these key terms, I was able to connect to about 40 websites that overlapped.

After collecting 40 different tourism websites about Ifugao, I began to analyze the visual images. Most of us can agree that the images in advertisements play a significant role in attracting us to buy an item or visit a place. Digital tourism narrators are fully aware that most people tend to be attracted to visuals and as a result, the majority of tourism websites are mainly composed of images accompanied with captions and short texts.

There are two types of photos being used throughout all 40 websites. The first type is an elaborate professional quality photo of the rice terraces. The second type are



Figure 50: Banaue Rice Terraces Tourism Ad: Image from

images of host community members in front of natural landscape. Within the images of the landscape, the massive structure of the rice terraces appears majestic as it sits in the continuous lush green valley amongst the clouds. Figure 8 is an example of professional photography capturing the rice terraces with the manipulation of lighting and editing techniques to portray rice terraces as a beautiful or mystical, landscape. Most of us can possibly agree that when we see images like Figure 8 we can be mesmerized by the image without having to understand where the image comes from or what the image portrays.

Throughout the 40 websites these professional landscape images are typically

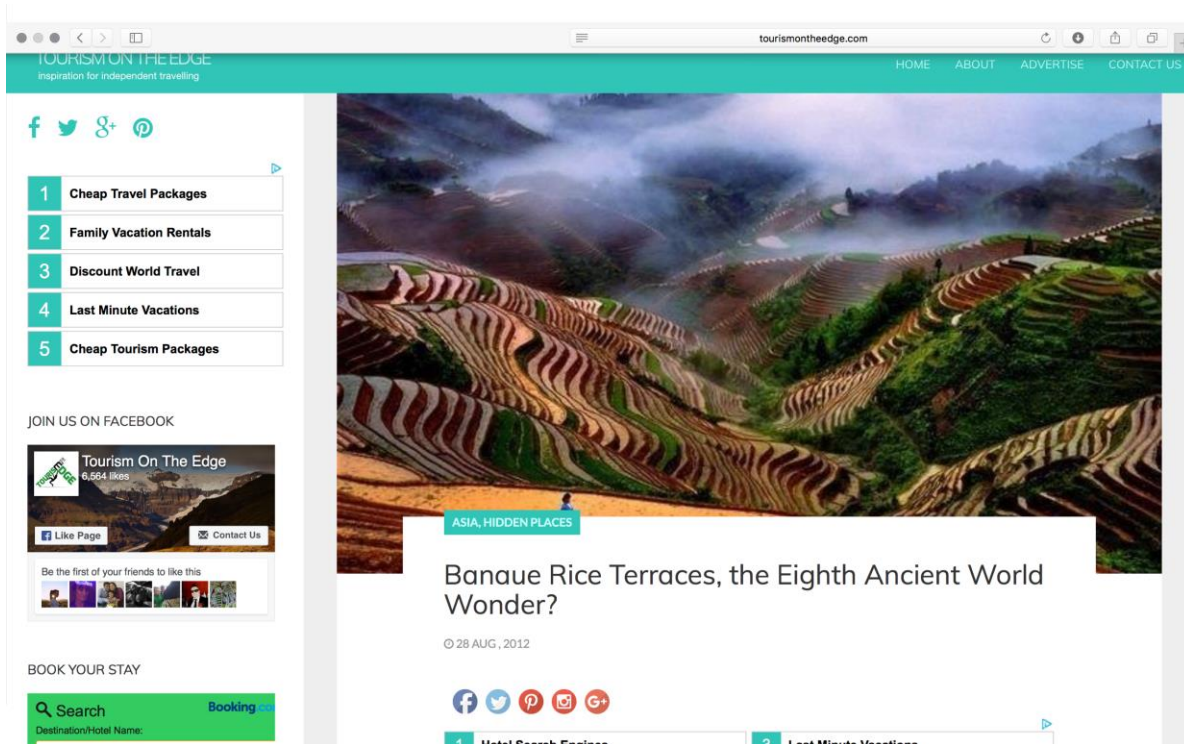


Figure 59: Snap shot from tourism ad: Image from Tourism on Edge, Asia, Hidden Places. centered or on top of the entire text. Figure 9 is an example of how the landscape images are positioned in a typical tourism website. The positioning of these images shows the



importance of using a professional quality of a landscape visual as the initial bait to attract visitors to stay on the website, read the information, look at the other images and maybe book a tour. But within the ethnic tourism industry, an image of a landscape is not merely enough to attract visitors. What separates ethnic tourism from other forms of tourism is the focus on portraying the host community members as type of tourist attraction.

The second type are images of people portrayed to be the host community members living amongst the rice terraces. These types of images are used to inform potential visitors how the locals look like and live like. Almost all of the 40 websites features elders wearing traditional garments. The elders are typically sitting in front of the backdrop of the Banaue rice terraces. Figure 10 is an example of this type of image that

was commonly used throughout the 40 websites. The elders featured in the images are usually in front of the rice terraces. Most are sitting, smiling and some are smoking from a pipe or playing a flute.

Only a couple of photos featured young people wearing their traditional garments such a G-strings for men and woven textiles with elaborate jewelry for the women. Although woven textiles are a significant part of traditional Ifugao practices and g strings are also worn by men during rituals and ceremonies, there is no clarification regarding everyday clothing in Ifugao. For tourists visiting these websites, they may disregard community members as part of the host community unless they are wearing the images posted on the tourism websites.

The images of the young community members are pictures that were taken from various ceremonies throughout the Philippines and one from an entirely different country. Some images were from various places throughout Ifugao. However, some images depicted people wearing non-Ifugao textiles while being portrayed as an Ifugao participating in a ceremony or a social event. For these images, there is no information saying who they are, how they live, what they are wearing, or even their consent to the images being published. Instead, captions accompanying the image explain their utility for ethnic tourism.

Captions can influence a tourist to interpret an image. For an example, in 1

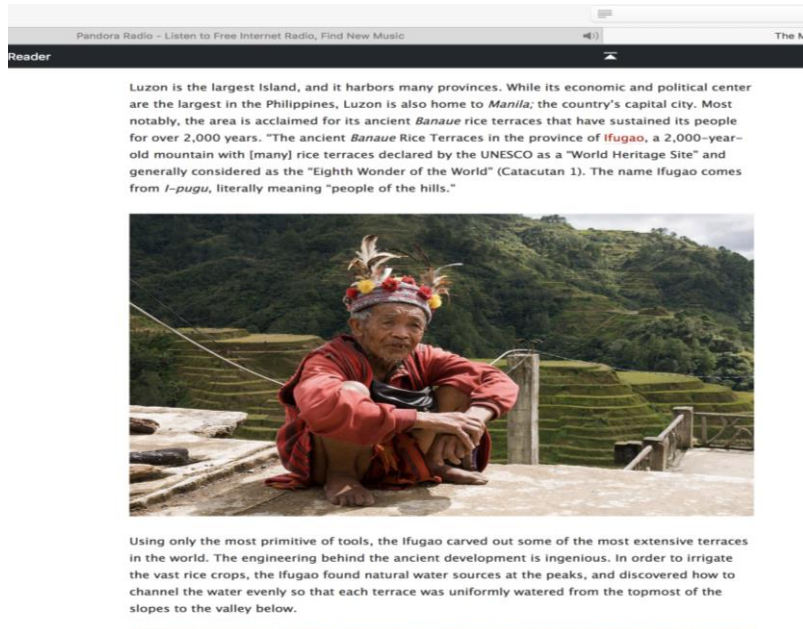


Figure 68: Snap shot from tourism website. Image from National Geographic. professional photo there was an image of a group of young men and women with a caption that read: *These are the Ifugao natives living amongst the famous ancient UNESCO rice terraces*. However, the garments the people were wearing seemed to be

non-Filipino. When I investigate further, I found out that the image was lifted from another website and was a picture of a rural community in Malaysia not Ifugao Philippines. For people who do not know the difference, this can be dangerous because provides false information about a community.

The main purpose of captions is to provide a brief explanation for an illustration or photo but most tourists are unaware that sometimes captions can be just slogans to sell a product or a tour. For an example, Figure 11 is an advertisement used by the National



Figure 77: Snapshot from tourism website: [Itmorefuninthephilippines.com](http://Itmorefuninthephilippines.com)

Philippine tourism industry. *It's more fun in the Philippines* is a campaign sponsored by the National tourism industry to increase visits to over a million tourists each year. Many activists have expressed their concerns with the National Tourism Industry efforts to increase tourism while environmental hazards, drought, and human trafficking remains a major issue in the Philippines. Interestingly during the published recorded YouTube

interviews of executive directors and investors of the campaign *Its More Fun in the Philippines*, they said that they aim to mask any notions of poverty within the Philippines by posting photos of places like the Banaue rice terraces with the catchy slogans.

These slogans are published to make the Philippines seem inevitable to tourists while ensuring the tourism industry does not decline due to any sort of crisis in the Philippines. However, many tourists usually go beyond the images and captions to read about a culture and place before traveling. Also, most travelers who participate in the ethnic tourism industry may be interested in learning about a culture and thus may actually read the available information about that culture. Although visuals with captions or slogans are presented in almost every source of information for tourists, examining the actual texts and descriptions can be critical when examining how a group of people is explained and understood within the ethnic tourism discourse.

#### *Critically Analyzing the Ethnic Tourism Discourse of Ifugao.*

This section unravels the popular ethnic tourism discourse of Ifugao into three parts. To critically analyze the ethnic tourism discourse of Ifugao, I first examined how the discourse of the Banaue rice terraces and the host communities are exercised within the ethnic tourism industry. Secondly, I examined how the information was legitimated by providing a historical, political and social background to the text that was published throughout the 40 tourism websites. At last I examined what is not being said about Ifugao to help me frame my questions for my interviews with several community members from Kiangan Ifugao.

For the first part, I recorded the frequency or consistency of terms, associations or metaphors that was used to describe Ifugao, the people and their rice terraces. Literally all of the websites mentions the importance of the rice terraces being a UNESCO site and that the rice terraces are over 2,000 years old. About four sources claimed that the rice terraces could be as old as 12,000 years. 30 of the sources cited UNESCO as they mentioned that the rice terraces are somewhere between 2,000 – 12,000 years old. UNESCO seems to be the ultimate authoritative organization that can legitimize a claim about the rice terraces.

Throughout the 40 sources the rice terraces are described to be ancient monuments built by the ancestors of Ifugaos by hand or with primitive tools. Here is an example of a description of the Banaue Rice Terraces taken from the National Geographic website:

*For 2,000 years, the mountains of Ifugao province in the Philippines have been carefully hand carved and cultivated with a seemingly endless series of terraced fields that climb thousands of feet. The Ifugao Rice Terraces, which follow the natural contours of the mountains, only enhance the region's rugged natural beauty. They also epitomize a harmonic, sustainable relationship between humans and their environment. These fields, and the knowledge to farm and sustain them, have been passed down from generation to generation for centuries. -National Geographic Travel.*

The UNESCO page on Ifugao also said something very similar that is slightly rephrased throughout the 40 tourism websites. The UNESCO page states:

*For 2,000 years, the high rice fields of the Ifugao have followed the contours of the mountains. The fruit of knowledge handed down from one generation to the next, and the expression of sacred traditions and a delicate social balance, they have helped to create a landscape of great beauty that expressed the harmony between humankind and the environment.*

It appears the writers for the various 40 websites mainly reference the UNESCO website page on the Banaue Ifugao rice terraces. It is as if the excerpt on the UNESCO page is slightly rephrased about 40 different times. Many people who read texts like the National Geographic example or the excerpt from the UNESCO page would be amazed especially if the text is accompanied with professional photographic images of the Banaue rice terraces and host community. Most travelers including myself can agree that tourism narratives whether it is displayed digitally, by a tour guide or even in a tourist handbook has been a key channel to seek knowledge about a community.

Throughout the websites most of the tourism writers feature Ifugao as a nature reserve where people can step away from modernity and technology. For an example, several sources describe Ifugao as “The Land that Time Forgot.” Realistically, Ifugao is a province located within the mountains that can offer hiking or camping opportunities. But these writers seem to confuse rural areas and poverty as a life style from the past. Depicting people as if they live in in the past can be dangerous because it may cause outsiders to view them as inferior compared to themselves. However, it seems as though that the rural and the antiquity of Ifugao is what truly sells.

Writers commonly refer to Ifugao as wild, unique, pristine, native-like, and head

hunters. They also advertise that traveling to Ifugao is an opportunity to explore the uncharted regions of the Philippines. Some of the descriptions even features these provinces as a different world. For an example one travel writer focuses his entire blog on Ifugao by comparing it to the fiction movie and novel series *The Lord of the Rings*. Overall, the Ifugao rice terraces especially the Banaue rice terraces were genuinely understood as an ancient monument in the wild that needs to be preserved for the humanity to see and experience. But the investigation came to a surprising turn. Although every single source describes the Banaue rice terraces as a breathtaking ancient monument in the wild, majority of the text throughout 35 websites mentions that the rice terraces are being destroyed by its own host community.

You would assume that a tourism website would only publish positive information about the place and the people. It is striking, then, that a majority of the tourism websites actually focus on complaining about Ifugao, the host community, and how they treat their rice terraces. For an example, here is what one sources said:

*Ifugao farmers face modern threats: UNESCO praises the Ifugao people for having remained in harmony with nature for so long, such as by using herbs instead of pesticides, eschewing fertilizers and generally showing great care for limited natural resources. But the stepped paddy fields, built 2,000 years ago and the highest in Asia, as well as the Ifugao's traditional lifestyles, are facing unprecedented threats amid the relentless forces of modernity*

Throughout these complaints there is a tone of anger about the current conditions that Banaue Ifugao is in. For an example one travel writer wrote:

*This place is an ancient national treasure. However, I am worried about the future of these terraces since the locals no longer care to maintain them...*

Some travel writers even wrote about how upset they are about not seeing as many men wearing the G strings or women wearing the traditional textiles as they expected. Other writers ranted about how host community members are abandoning their rice terraces to obtain a job in other cities. Some even concluded that the natives are actually

disappearing because all they can see are modern people. For instance, one writer wrote:

*The people who are dressed as natives and charge visitor's money to take pictures of them in tourist shops are impostors. It is a pity that westernization caused the eradication of the culture of the Ifugaos.*

Several websites pressure the reader to visit the Banaue rice terraces before its gone. The descriptions of Banaue being a wild uncharted area conflicts with the reality of Banaue. For an example one writer said:

*“There is danger that these beautiful terraces are turning into urban jungles, we are hoping that increasing tourism can allow locals to thrive and preserve their rice terraces instead of leaving or building on the terraces to make money”.*

The complaints about Ifugao could possibly be the result of the unavoidable impacts of mass tourism and unregulated development in Banaue Ifugao.

Banaue is a crowded tourist town filled with buildings mainly catering to tourists such as hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops and resorts. There are also several hotels, restaurants and stores that have names such as “primitive souvenirs, primitive crafts,



uncharted jungle tours, native hotel, or indigenous café”. Ifugao is understood and explained in various and often conflicting ways and the issues of mass tourism are explained to be the fault of the host community members. Throughout the 40 sources the Banaue rice terraces was described to be an ancient monument that stills needs to be maintain, but is located in the wild that may also be tourist trap suffering from the threat of modernity and cultural change.

Indigenous people are often perceived as an endangered race and there is a demand from the national tourism industry to preserve and capture an authentic tribal image of the culture and landscape (Yang, 2011). The tourism industry is portraying the host community as the people in the historical colonial photos and at the same time tourists are expecting and sometimes demanding to see the people in the colonial photos. Realistically the narrative of Ifugao reflects the issues of depicting an entire group of people as passive inhabitants of the past, while tourists see them as willfully self-destructive.

When observers view a native community as a “culture”, they may conclude that a traditional culture is a set of behavioral patterns, structures, and rituals that are relatively unchanging (Schultz, 1999). In Ifugao, tourists may be expecting to see the people in the old photographs or postcards and descriptions during the early years of American colonization (Vailentes, 2008; Gonzalez, 2009). For tourists, the Banaue ethnic tourism attractions lose its “authenticity” if it does not match up to the colonist’s narratives (Gonzalez 2009). Tourism narrators fail to recognize that the rice terraces are living cultural landscapes that continue to evolve and change (SITMo, 2008; Acabado

,2012).

*The Background of the Ethnic Tourism Discourse on Ifugao*

Throughout the 40 tourism websites all of the writers explained the ultimate human accomplishment of maintaining the rice terraces for 2,000 years. They also referred to the Ifugaos as people living an ancient native like culture. But they all cited UNESCO without any sort of scientific information or input from people actually living in Ifugao.

The narratives of the Ifugao rice terraces being over 2,000 years old originated from anthropologist named Henry Otley Beyer (Acabado, Marlon & Lauer 2015). Beyer was a prominent anthropologist during the American colonial era of the Philippines and today he is referred as the father of Philippine anthropology. He came to his conclusion without any scientific investigation (Acabado, Marlon & Lauer 2015). It was merely based on his biases and assumptions about how long it must have taken for the Ifugaos to build the massive rice terraces (Acabado, Martin & Lauer 2015). Beyer used the 2000-year old claim to support his other theories regarding the evolution of how different races of people populated the Philippines (Acabado, Martin & Lauer 2014). He referred to his Philippine race theory as the “waves of migration.”

The waves of migration hypothesis states that people in the Philippines resemble different stages of evolution. His categories were the Dawn Man, Negritos, the Indonesians and the Malay. He categorized the different races from primitive to advance base on who was living in the Philippines for the longest. According to Beyer, the most

advance group was the Malay because they collaborated with the Spanish and arrived in the Philippines the latest. He placed the Ifugaos under the Indonesian category since the Ifugaos did not seem to have any sort of Spanish influence in his view. The reality was that the Ifugaos were part of a successful and thriving empire that actively resisted the Spanish colonists. His migration theories were based on his own racist ideas and contain no scientific evidence.

Beyer used social Darwinism to describe the different cultures of the Philippines. Social Darwinism refers to the practice of misapplying the biological evolutionary language of Charles Darwin to social-cultural behavioral patterns such as politics, religion, food practices economic practices, and society. Beyer's publications on Ifugao was part of the colonizing process of the Philippines and his work continues to influence the educational curriculum and the tourism discourse throughout the world. Beyer's anthropological publications played a crucial role in legitimizing the American occupation by depicting Filipinos as an inferior human race in need of American intervention (Hofilena & Vergara, 1997). The living exhibits like the St Louis Fair along with colonial anthropological publications portrayed the Philippine Highlanders as wild, primitive or even savage like and produced a perception of a positive relationship between American colonists and Filipino natives (SITMo, 2008). Though largely mythical, this encouraged foreigners to visit villages looking for Filipino natives, which continue to this day (SITMo, 2008).

There is no actual scientific evidence that the rice terraces are 2,000 years old. In fact, archaeological studies conducted by Dr. Stephan Acabado confirmed that the

Banaue rice terraces cannot be dated earlier than 1565, the beginning of the Spanish colonial period (Acabado, 2015). Today, UNESCO and the national tourism industry refuse to change the dating of the rice terraces within the tourism narrative despite the recent scientific evidence. Dr. Acabado's archaeological investigation of rice terraces throughout Ifugao is not just about finding out the exact age of the terraces, rather it is to pinpoint the problems of hegemony and the usage of colonial narratives to advertise and describe Ifugaos in the tourism industry.

The way Ifugao is explained and understood within the tourism discourse is evidence that there is a bigger problem in the way the host communities are treated by the ethnic tourism industry. Tourism in Ifugao began in the 1970s, when Marcos declared the Ifugao rice terraces as a national monument under the Presidential Decree 260. The Presidential Decree 260 forbids any sort of alteration or modification of the Banaue rice terraces. Within the past couple decades, there has been much media attention towards the erosion of the rice terraces. In 2001, UNESCO listed the rice terraces as endangered, but the endangerment mainly referred to it losing the title of being an 8<sup>th</sup> world wonder rather than functioning as a vital agricultural site that feeds the local communities (SITMo, 2008). In a recent UNESCO journal, a reporter claims that the Philippines's majestic ancient Banaue Rice Terraces are unofficially endangered and demanded the farmers to maintain an ancient treasure (UNESCO 2016: pg50).

Tourism policymakers may neglect to acknowledge the issues that result when famous tourism attractions are the enclave of indigenous people (Guimbatan, 2006; SITMo, 2008). The national tourism industry consistently pressures the farmers to

preserve their rice terraces to its original 2,000-year-old form so that they would remain a legacy for generations (SITMo, 2008). Unfortunately, farmers do not make money from mass tourism amongst the famous rice terraces (SITMo 2008). The rice terraces have been eroding because of nearby development projects, mass tourism, climate change and outmigration and Ifugao remains the fourth poorest provinces in the entire country (Guimbatan, 2006; SITMo, 2008). There is a lack of valuable and accessible information available to visitors for the purpose of educating them on the realistic situation and the effects of harmful behaviors affecting the rice terraces and surrounding communities (Personal letter to author).

*Silences within the Ethnic Tourism Discourse of Ifugao.*

Among the 40 sources, writers do not mention the reasons why the rice terraces are eroding. The writers mainly blame the host community members for moving away and simply referred to the common migration patterns as abandoning the rice terraces. There was no explanation to why the younger generation is migrating to the cities. Yet common migration patterns from rural communities to urban areas may be evident of a larger and complex issue of lack of economic opportunities.

There were no informative descriptions about Ifugao, their diverse cultures, languages, traditions, and the significance of the rice terraces for the Ifugaos. Instead the writers referred to the Ifugaos as an ancient culture struggling with the temptation of modernity. None of the writers even mentioned the possible issues from tourism or the possibility of climate change, inequality, marginalization and poverty in Ifugao. Rather

the writers describe the problems in Ifugao as a form of corruption by westernization. Overall, the writers describe the farmers as incapable of taking care of the rice terraces yet they offer no information regarding the struggles the farmers have to undergo because of the ethnic tourism industry.

### *Narratives from Ifugao*

None of the 40 websites were written by host community members. The reasons why the information about Ifugao published throughout the ethnic tourism industry is misleading may be because the information is written by strangers and outsiders. A majority of the host community members did not agree with the information about them that was being published in the ethnic tourism industry. The writers throughout the 40 tourism websites do not have experience or any in-depth understanding of what it means to be Ifugao or the significance of the rice terraces. For this section I will be retelling the stories several host community members in Kiangan Ifugao told me by weaving their narratives and some of their quotes.

To protect their privacy, all of their names will be kept anonymous as I reconstruct and interpret the information they shared with me. My questions to them focused on how they view and experience the ethnic tourism industry and how they utilize tourism to preserve their heritage and provide benefits that the ethnic tourism industry lacks to do. Their narratives will be divided into eight sections that focus upon topics such as the Indigenous rice and heritage, shortage of water, unregulated

development in Banaue, youth migration, marginalization, commercialized tourism versus community led tourism and my product to the community.

The informants of this project all participate in a community led tourism program and a non -government organization-NGO called Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement-SITMo. The informants occupy various and diverse roles within their community and their tourism program. They are teachers, farmers, home stay owners, store owners, business people, volunteers, tricycle drivers, fathers, mothers, dancers, dance teachers, weavers, artists, wood carvers, knife makers, tour guides, politicians, and the like.

SITMo was formed in 2001 by a few people from Kiangan Ifugao. The members and activities of SITMo has grown tremendously for the last 15 years. SITMo is a social movement to advocate for the rights of farmers and other community members to manage their lands so they can survive. Their main project is an ecotourism program that consists of community led activities for tourists. Their eco-tourism program is economically and environmentally sustainable. The community-led tourism program began in 2004 and was developed to protest against the ethnic tourism industry and utilize tourism to benefit the host community, as two informants explain,

*In 2004, we revisited the organization's mission and programs and highlighted the World Heritage Status of the Rice Terraces (which was on the "In Danger List" at that time). With the reality that Ifugao is one of the poorest provinces of the country, and yet a host to natural and cultural resources that are of significant value from the point of view of the Ifugaos and the outside world, our programs focused on heritage value-based development projects. That is where our Eco-cultural tourism activities came in. This was*

*a conscious response to what mass tourism did to Banaue, a heritage town of the province which became an established tourism site destination when the Banaue rice terraces was declared a national landmark through Presidential Decree 260.*

*SITMO's tourism program aims at protecting the continuity of the rice terracing culture and its other inherent values through educational tours and participation in the agricultural activities that revolves around the indigenous rice cultivation. In the course of its implementation, the local youth and elders have been tapped as tour guides and educators. Today, there is active participation among the women. Income is directly earned by the host community. Overall It is a work in progress that will continue to change and adapt to the ongoing situations.*

SITMo aims to minimize the gap between the indigenous communities and bureaucratic policy makers (Guimbatan 2006 2009). SITMo also aims to provide accurate information about Ifugao to the public. As another informant explains, *There is a lack of valuable and accessible information available to visitors for the purpose of educating them on the realistic situation and the effects of harmful behaviors affecting the rice terraces and surrounding communities. The business situation/development projects with respect to mass tourism also reached a level of irreversibility especially in the most exposed town of the province. Our environment there is fragile in terms of food security and terrain stability and the reactive development to mass tourism made this worse*



*“Our Indigenous Rice, Tinawon”*

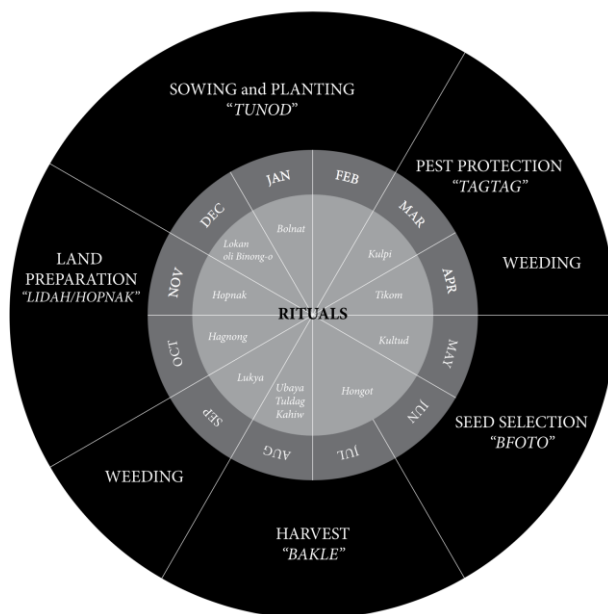
The Ifugaos are the masters of their land and the custodians of their rice terraces (SITMo 2008). The rice terraces are very significant to being Ifugao, as one person explains, *it does not matter if the rice terraces are 2,000 years old or even 200 years old*



Figure 85: Tinawon rice, image taken by author.

*as long as it can produce rice.* Tinawon rice is the indigenous rice in Ifugao. Figure 12 is an image of Tinawon rice in Kiangnan Ifugao (Photo taken by the author, 2016). Rice farming and harvesting Tinawon is integrated within the identity, religious beliefs, oral stories of Ifugao. Ifugao rituals and ceremonies highly depend on the rice cycles.

Figure 13 is a chart created by Rachel Guimbatan of the different Ifugao rituals base on the rice cycles. Every step taken to harvest and weed Tinawon rice is supplemented by chants known as the Ifugao Hud Hud. Hud Huds are also chanted during funeral wakes and washing of the bones of their deceased loved ones. For the



Source: Rachel Guimbatan

Figure 13: Image from SITMo, Rachel Guimbatan.

people of Ifguao, continuing the traditions of their ancestors is one of the significant aspects that makes these practices meaningful.

Tinawon rice is harvested only once a year. Harvesting rice once year allows the land to breathe. However, Tinawon rice is not currently the main source of food for the entire province of Ifguao. Tinawon rice can only feed about 10 percent of the community for a couple of months. Tinawon rice is mainly consumed by the farmers and for special events. Since Tinawon rice can only feed a minimal number of people for short amount of time, there is not enough rice to sell and earn a living to keep up with the expenses of utilities, water, education, and healthcare. Some families have opted to farm, sell or buy low land rice because low land rice can be harvested three times a year or even imported. Low land rice is rice grown and cultivated in the Luzon Region in the Philippines.

Community members who are not farmers usually eat low land rice or imported rice daily. Figure 14 is an image I took during a Thanksgiving Ifugao ceremony syncretized with a catholic mass. I took this photo because I was asked by an informant to show that the farmers are using imported rice as part of a ceremony. This image is to



Figure 95: Image taken by author

show how certain indigenous practices may include using low land rice or imported rice. During my stay in Kiangnan, several community members expressed that they were against the farming of the low land rice in Ifugao. Their reasons were not just because it wasn't tradition but the fact that it can be detrimental and exploitive to their environment especially with water.

#### *Walang Tubig (No Water)*

Shortage of water is another major issue in Ifugao. As one farmer explains, *Shortage of water has been a big struggle for us. First we had to deal with the big 3ft long earth worms. The big earthworms burrow deep into the soil creating holes and leakages of water within the rice terraces. The big earthworms have been a problem for a*

*while but now we have a very intense El Nino. There have been strange weather patterns, such as a hotter climate, major increase in rainfall intensities, destructive typhoons, a much longer dry season and drought. These climate changes make it very hard for us farmers.*

The Philippines in general has been experiencing abnormal weather patterns some refer to as El Nino. El Nino refers to a complex series of climate change that causes unusual warming of temperatures in the Pacific region such as the Philippines. El Nino makes it harder for farmers by drying up the agricultural sites during the dry season or flooding the agriculture sites during the rainy season. Although El Nino is said to occur every 2-9

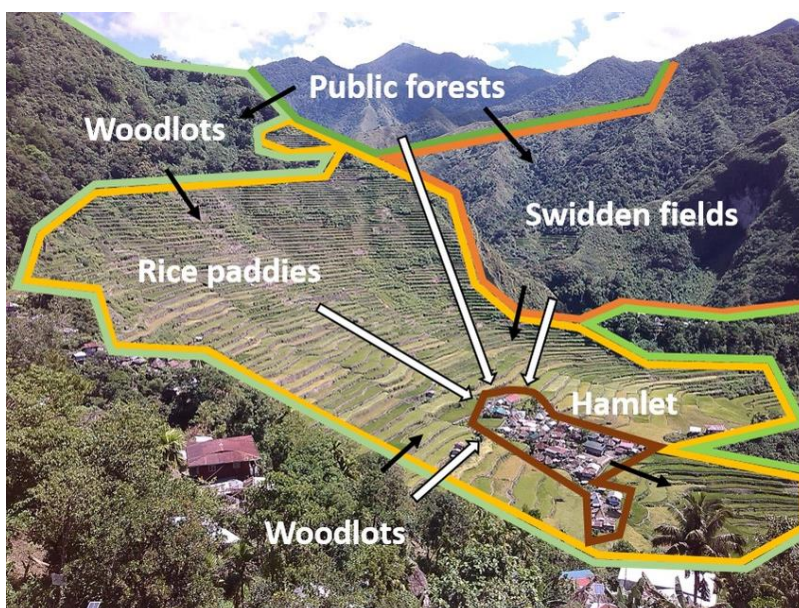


Figure 104: Boundaries of the Ifugao rice terraces: Image

years, community members have expressed that this one in particular seems to be abnormal.

Rural villages that depend on farming are the most vulnerable towards global climate change. Water is imported by trucks to residential areas in Kiangan and there are some days where water is scarce that people have to strategically plan how much water to use in their daily activities. Also, one of the most dangerous situations for people living in Ifugao are the intense rainfalls causing landslides which can make the roads and the terraces collapse. Several community members have said that the land of Ifugao cannot physically support mass tourism. Rice terracing in Ifugao consist of a very elaborate system that divides each part of the land base on the altitude for specific purposes (SITMo 2008). These divisions include a communal forest, the swidden fields known as the Muyung, terraces and a buffer zone known as the hamlet.

Figure 15 is an image that marks where each part is in Banaue Ifugao (Castonguay, Burkhaerd & et al 2016).

At the highest altitude, there is a communal or public forest where locals view wood cutting as taboo described with superstitions and warnings of unseen deities, fairies or soul drinkers (SITMO, 2008). The communal forest holds the water and soil in place. Lower down from the communal or public forests is the Muyung or also known as the private family forest or clan forest (SITMo, 2008). The Muyung is in the lower areas of the mountains down to the rice terraces. Locals tend to use the Muyung for gathering lumber and wood to build housing. Immediately below the Muyung are the terraces used for food production These terraces grow mainly rice and vegetables. Below the Muyung are the cluster hamlets where they plant fruit trees such as citrus fruits, guava, coffee, and the omnipresent areca tree. The cluster hamlets are where the housing is located and acts

like the buffer zone to limit the buildup of housing and encroachment towards the terraces (SITMo, 2008). The Ifugao land management system varies from one community to another in Ifugao. However, in Banaue, for reasons described below, there are structures randomly built all over the rice terraces even in areas that cannot support commercial development.

Mass tourism is disruptive to the indigenous land management system for the rice terraces. Families and outside investors often convert rice paddies to tourist spots which tend to divert water ways and obstruct the rice growth cycle. In Banaue, community members have to share water from the growing number of tourism spots, which causes a major shortage of water for farmers to use for rice terracing. Large areas of the Muyung have been destroyed, causing erosion and the water sources has been polluted with industrial waste (SITMo 2008). Many trees are cut down from the communal forests to supplement wood carving souvenirs. Since the Banaue rice terraces became famous, Banaue provides an example of the major problems that result from unregulated development.

*Please, Not Like Banaue*

Every time I asked about Banaue, people in Kiangnan expressed that Banaue messed up or is a place they want to avoid becoming like. Many responses to my questions included various responses stating *“I don’t want our town to become like Banaue or please not like Banaue.* They resent Banaue for several reasons, as an informant explains:

*Banaue is a tourist trap and a classic example of unregulated land development where commercial establishments replaced rice terraces to accommodate tourist influx. Tourism income also does not diffuse to the farmers who are themselves the builders of the scenic view, and the rice terraces was reduced only to its aesthetic value.*

Several informants described the ethnic tourism industry in Banaue as commercialized tourism and some informants refer to commercialized tourism in Banaue as an exploitative virus with a lack of respect for the environment and the cultural values of being Ifugao. Although several community members resent Banaue for becoming the center of the ethnic tourism industry, many farmers and their families have turned to tourism in Banaue to obtain a more stable income. But the type of jobs they can acquire are limited due to restricted access to higher education as farmers. Therefore, they mainly make souvenirs like wooden crafts, pose for pictures with tourists for money, work in restaurants, hotels, and other tourist attractions for a minimum wage. Limited job opportunities have caused the younger generation to move to the urban areas of the Philippines.

#### *Youth and Migration.*

In most rural communities around the world including Ifugao, the common perception is that economic opportunities are located only in the urban areas. Several informants express their disappointment in the generation gap and work on ways to continue traditions and teaching amongst the younger generation. One farmer explained his frustration with the youth by saying, *the youth become educated and then move to the*

*cities and never look back.* One informant explained that they believe that Education should encourage students to embrace who they are and contribute to their family and succeed in their community, society, and the global economy. But until recently accurate information regarding Ifugao heritage, history, traditions and values are not part of the educational curriculum.

SITMo is currently working on various ways to include Indigenous knowledge as a part of the curriculum for Ifugao students. The current curriculum is seen as problematic by some informants because in the Philippines it was mainly constructed by American colonists and educators who developed a nation-wide broad educational plan that includes Henry Beyer's theories on waves of migration, and the Banaue rice terraces being 2,000 years old. An informant blamed the educational curriculum for the loss of interests and lack of understanding of Ifugao traditions amongst the younger generations.

It is important to pay attention to the migration patterns of Ifugao youth because when the younger generation choose to migrate away it leaves fewer people to farm. One person explains that; *the rice terraces are rapidly being eroded not only by the tourism industry but also by the loss of interest among the young Ifugaos in their own heritage.* The younger generation are not simply migrating because of loss of interests. The relation between the exploitive ethnic tourism industry and the migration pattern could possibly be a dialectical one. Secondly, the educational curriculum that was constructed by Americans could be discouraging by teaching information that depicts the Ifugaos as passive or stuck in the past.



One of the biggest issues in Ifugao is that cultivating rice does not prosper and can only feed a family for a couple months out of an entire year. In Banaue most farmers spend a lot of time maintaining the terraces for tourism without getting paid. Three elders among several other community members in Kiangan express that they were worried because as more people migrate to the cities, less people are able to transfer traditional knowledge to future generations.

Several informants said that people tend to open up more tourism attractions to increase economic opportunities in Ifugao. As one informant living Banaue explained, *I don't understand why they keep building tourist attractions here. The more they build, the more people move away and the less the tourist visit. The more they build, the harder it is to produce food and the more they block the view for tourists to see.*

As this person was explaining her views regarding unregulated development, she wanted to show me the view of the rice terraces from her friend's balcony that she has not seen for a while. As we went up the stairs she threw her hands in disappointment because there was a French café for tourists and other random tourist shops in the distance that was blocking the view. One elder in Kiangan mentioned that opening more tourism jobs can harm the farmers. He asked me to include his thoughts on how to help the farmers by raising consciousness about the exploitive ethnic tourism industry.

#### *How to Help the Farmers*

*As I was volunteering to rebuild the terraces in Banaue, I realized that commercialized tourism is detrimental to the farmer's well-being and health.*

Access to adequate health is a serious concern in Ifugao. Community members often must drive far to urban areas to receive adequate and affordable health care. One informant explains that they must travel about 50 miles to Baguio to refill their medication for a chronic condition. Some community members expressed that they must drive for several hours to Manila to visit doctor's offices and obtain affordable medicine and treatment. Since Ifugao is a province located in the mountains, sometimes the roads can be too congested or unsafe due to landslides. But as for farmers, they are among the lowest wage earners and may not be able to afford health care or even transportation to the nearest city every time they need medical attention.

Rice terracing amongst a famous tourism attraction entails a lot of time and labor. People often drop out of school at a young age. The average grade is usually before high school. In the Philippines, there is no middle school or any transitional school between grade school and high school. Thus, most people who drop out because they have to help their families farm end up not learning English, which may be a requirement to obtain a higher position in a global economy. Farming does not make much money because farmers often have to compete with cheaper imports including rice, vegetables, fruits, and meat.

*The Philippine government should be responsible to fill in the gap between the rich and the farmers. Since the tourism industry exploits the farmers they must be able to fund them and help them so that they can survive while being used as a tourist attraction.*

Farmers are often marginalized with unequal access to adequate health care, education and economic opportunities. They also must struggle with infrastructure, and

dangerous roads that can isolate them from basic needs such as electricity. In Ifugao the farmers are considered the most important people because they maintain the rice terraces and hold the traditional knowledge that is significant to being Ifugao. Although, the ethnic tourism industry caters to over a million tourists each year, majority of the funding goes to outside investors. *To help the farmers, we must give them and their families more access to good quality health care, education, and make sure they never go hungry.*

Preventing marginalization amongst the farmers is complicated because the main focus of the government is to find ways to improve the ethnic tourism industry and not actually help the farmers. Some of the ways SITMo aims to minimize the gap between the government and the local community is to utilize tourism as a way to preserve Ifugao traditional practices while ensuring the funds goes towards the community including the farmers. A major part of SITMo's tourism program is to include the farmers in the tourism activities and have them led tours and educate outsiders.

#### *Community-Led Tourism in Kiangon Ifugao*

The problem with ethnic tourism is that you don't really learn about the Ifugaos. As one farmer and teacher mentioned, *to learn something you must hear, see it and actually do it (participate)*. Throughout the year SITMo takes in groups of people from all over to world to learn and participate in rice farming, exchange cultural dances, participate in the ceremonies, and engage in various community volunteer work. Depending on the time of the year invited visitors are expected to participate in community events as a priority out of respect. Community members in Kiangon often

explained that everything they offer to tourist comes from the community. In other words, the activities available for tourist are either beneficial for community members or originally a part of their daily lives.

Tourism in Kiangang is restricted to keep the activities ensuring to the interests of the community members. For example, in Kiangang, residents forbid any commercial hotel development. The building of hotels and resorts can not only be detrimental to the surrounding environment but can also be exclusive to locals. Therefore, SITMo organized a home stay organization that allows visitors to reside in the homes of locals. Members of the Kiangang home stay organizations explains that the home stay option allows the visitors to communicate with community members, learn about their culture. Also, having a certain amount of home stays can limit how many tourists can visit.

SITMo emphasizes the importance of exchanging cultural traditions. One branch from the nonprofit is the Ifugao performing arts group. This group is led by a woman who has choreograph traditional dances and chants that she remembers from her childhood. Her main focus is to ensure that the Ifugao traditions can be passed on from one generation to another and shared with other cultural groups. Usually organizations from various countries, including South Korea, and Taiwan exchange dances and songs with Ifugaos. The interaction from the tourists and the host community is focused on developing friendships, exchanging cultural knowledge and finding ways to stay in touch and visit each other.

The SITMo ecotourism program highlights the importance of farmers being able to teach visitors about the Ifugao culture while being able to earn a fair amount for their

participation with tourists. The Open-Air museum is located on the Nagacadan rice clusters in the municipality of Kiangon and farmers currently reside within Nagacadan. Nagacadan is also claimed to be a UNESCO heritage site. A few years ago, SITMo and farmers paired up to convert traditional Ifugao houses (which are typically used to store rice) into museums units. A member from SITMo placed their own traditional Ifugao cultural material into these exhibits with descriptions on what each item means. The funds from tourists are divided equally amongst the maintainers of the Open-Air museum, the farmers that live in the area and the farmer that gave the tour.

Most tourism critics or even anthropologists who critique tourism tend to claim that host communities would be better off without tourism. However, an informant explained that

*tourism is about interacting with people from different places therefore we must continue to ensure that interaction is not commercialized and not one sided.*

A major part SITMO's ecotourism program was to revive certain traditions that have become too expensive to maintain. One informant explains,

*"I use to not want tourism in Kiangon at all. But tourism is inevitable. I grew up practicing these rituals but in recent years our rituals have become too expensive to practice. Depending on the ritual or celebration, we have to sacrifice pigs, chickens and even a caribou. For a while we didn't have a Ifugao priest or a Baklah anymore because of the influence of Christianity in our community and the commercialization of our cultural practices. But there was one man who wanted to relearn his traditions to be able to ignite and lead the rituals However to do that we needed to raise funds and get people*

*to join us. Since its tradition to invite people from neighboring communities to watch our rituals, what different does it make if the audience is Korean or even an American? That's when we created a tourism program for the purpose of raising fund for our rituals, supporting farmers and educating people about Ifugao.*

Aside from the ecotourism program there are three small shops that sell souvenirs from Banaue, handmade crafts and specialty foods made by community members. One of the stores was opened to sell textiles, wooden crafts, ceremonial jewelry, farming tools, and knives made by and for farmers and other community members. The main purpose of this store is to offer crafters an additional income. This store is mainly for local community members because it contains sacred specific culture items such as the death



Figure 16: Marlon's Store, Image from author.

blanket. The death blanket is a very intricate, decorative, white, woven blanket used to cover the deceased when they part into the afterworld. However, this store is also open to visitors. Several informants expressed that this store was more respectful than other souvenir shops in Banaue. In Banaue sometimes they sell random things and call it Ifugao crafts such as dream catchers, Native American statues, fake designs on textiles, and random wood carvings. Some stores in Banaue are actually titled primitive crafts or Native crafts

The hosts community members made a clear distinction between the ethnic tourism industry or commercialized tourism and opening beneficial ways for visitors to engage with their community. Community members described the obsession over tribal expression in ethnic tourism to be creepy and disrespectful. In Banaue, people perform because they know that tourists are expecting to see natives dancing, singing and doing some form of magical ritual.

These performers are sophisticated cultural brokers taking advantage of tourist's ethnocentrism and ignorance. But in Kiangan community members who struggle to keep their traditions alive often feel offended by the tribal performances in Banaue. Tourists often go to Banaue to see ceremonies and the demand has been so high that performers often perform an act by sacrificing wooden pigs. In Ifugao it is a major insult to expect to see a ritual out of context as one informant member explains,

*“They come here and they want to see a harvesting ritual in January. But that is nowhere near when we even harvest our rice! We can't just perform a ritual out*

*of context, this is not a show or a play. It is like going up to a Catholic priest demanding him to hold a mass for your entertainment”.*

. Informants often explained to me that they feel uncomfortable when strangers are in their community taking pictures of them, their houses, their hangouts, or their work spaces while not introducing themselves to local community members. Ethnic tourism is the commercialization of the interaction between outsiders and visitors. Host community members tend to be placed on the bottom of the hierarchy. It is a form of control to display a culture with a narrative that is not written nor approved by the host community members. Community led tourism program in Kiangang Ifugao uses their ecotourism to counter marginalization and legacies of colonial racism and ongoing culture appropriation, which are major aspects of contemporary global ethnic tourism.

#### *My Product for the Community-Applied Anthropology*

I asked several informants what could I possibly do to help their eco-tourism program. Although a thesis documentation would probably inform several students who have access to the institution of Humboldt State University, I wanted to actually take action to work with and for the community members that provided me with information. They told me that they needed a website because the original web developer from 2001 disappeared and they had no way of accessing the data that the web designer used. Also, internet connection tends to be limited in Kiangang Ifugao compared to urban areas. We discussed the data that I retrieved from analyzing the 40 websites on Ifugao to examine how Ifugao is being explained and understood within the ethnic tourism discourse. As an



applied anthropologist, I decided to utilize my web and graphic design skills to develop an educational website they can use for their eco-tourism program.

Each informant had something for me to write about and published on the website. The website contains the data from the interviews but formatted for a non-academic setting. The website utilizes the technique of posting professional quality photos of images that were taken by community members themselves. The website also features several sections describing the home stays, the indigenous land management system, accurate information about the Ifugaos, the different project SITMo is involved in, a blog updating readers about SITMo's activities, and links to the current Ifugao Archaeology Project lead by Dr. Stephan Acabado. The website may not receive as much attention or traffic as the commercialized ethnic tourism websites like *It More Fun in The Philippines* but it has received about 700 visits throughout the past couple of months.

## CONCLUSION

There has been an increasing number of communities throughout the world who decide to utilize tourism as a social movement, to gain back their rights as human beings, humanize the interaction between them and visitors, control their land, preserve their traditions and maintain their own well-being. It is important for every traveler seeking to meet people from different cultures to be able to distinguish a commercialized ethnic tourism attraction and depicts people as passive and a community-led tourism program that includes the voices, views, attitudes, beliefs, and values of the host community. Community-led tourism is a social movement that may humanize the interaction between the local community members and the tourists.

Ethnic tourism is commonly perceived as a beneficial and exciting way to interact with people from other cultures. The ethnic tourism industry is the commercialization of human interaction between outsiders and local communities who tend to live in marginalized rural areas. As travelers, it is important to continuously question the popular narratives of a host community in the ethnic tourism industry because majority of the information may not be accurate.

As we discussed, Kichwa Tembo, Mayer's Ranch and Banaue tourism attractions provided narratives that depict human beings as passive, inferior, less human, or even primitive. The misuse of social Darwinism can be problematic because of the tendency to promote and sell the image of primitives regarding an indigenous community. Thus, most tourists may actually conclude and complain that an entire "race of people" is going

to extinction or disappearing because they cannot spot anyone that looks like the images on the websites or in the colonial photos.

In tourism, there has been a recent trend to explore uncharted areas, discover cultures that are off grid, and find villages that are not connected to the rest of the world. Some tourists try hard to look for the authentic experiences and opportunities and do not recognize the complex struggle that locals have to undergo to make the tourists experience pleasant. Some tourists would even disregard the hotel staff as a host community members while searching for villages to meet the host community while not realizing that the villagers they take pictures of are performers who also go home after work.

Ethnic tourism uses the process of othering to market host communities as different from the visitors. Othering creates contrasting differences that is often dehumanizing. Throughout the 40 websites about the Ifugaos, the writers portrayed the Ifugaos and the visitors as opposites. The three modes of othering, animalization, naturalization and infantilization weaves through the ethnic tourism discourse. Within the ethnic tourism discourse of Ifugao, visitors may resemble an advance human being that is modern and up to date with technology. However, the host community is portrayed as animal like, wild, primitive in their lifestyle, less cultured, passive to globalization, innocent, child-like and uncivilized (Shoshat & Stam 2014).

Othering provides justification to treat certain groups as an inferior and usually results in harmful consequences. In Banaue, farmers are not being paid for maintaining the UNESCO heritage sites and during the same time, farmers are often blamed for the

erosion of the terraces throughout the ethnic tourism discourse. Lately there has been a lack of information for tourists to understand the complexity of the ethnic tourism industry.

Since ethnic tourism may resemble one of the only ways or the preferable way most tourists can learn about indigenous communities, it is significant to teach visitors to seek knowledge beyond the commercialized narratives that is being sold to them. Host communities often have contrasting views and attitudes towards the ethnic tourism. Yet their voices tend to be ignored or pushed aside to prevent the ethnic tourism industry from declining.

Social movements of grassroots organizations among indigenous populations of various regions of the world attempt to counter legacies of colonial racism and continuing culture exploitation, which are significant aspects of the contemporary ethnic tourism industry. Community-led tourism is an emic perspective of tourism because it comes from within; with the members of the indigenous population managing how their culture is being represented to tourists. It is important to learn about the colonial legacy of ethnic tourism and how it tends to frame indigenous people into romantic historical stereotypes. The era of enslavement and oppression is being carried forward into an era of commercial exploitation by some in the tourism industry. By raising the consciousness of those who travel, this author hopes to encourage tourists to seek ethical methods to learn about other cultures in ways that are respectful and empowering

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## APPENDICES

### *Filipino Terminology*

1. G-string: Loin cloth, a long piece of cloth woven on a back-strap loom. It is wrapped on the lower part of the body; worn only by men during traditional ceremonies.
2. Jeepney: Colorful Jeeps that are commonly used for public transportation in the Philippines.
3. Tricycle: A side car that is attached to a motorcycle; commonly used for public transportation in the Philippines
4. Tinawon: Rice native to Ifugao.

*IRB Application Spring 2016***Coordination Data****IRB Number:**

IRB 15-158

**Was this protocol registered as part of a grant submission?**

No

**Proposed Start Date:**

Monday, February 15, 2016

**Principal Investigator:**

Student

**Responsible Faculty or Staff Name:**

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**Responsible Faculty or Staff Department:**

Anthropology

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**CITI Training Date of Completion:**

Wednesday, January 27, 2016

**Student or External Name:**

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9495625596

**Qualifications:**

BA in Behavioral Science and emphasis in Anthropology. Masters Student in Applied Anthropology

**Responsibilities:**

This qualitative project fulfills the requirements for course ANTH 680. The project will be completed by the end of this semester (Spring 2016).

**CITI Training Complete:**

Yes

**CITI Training Date of Completion:**

Sunday, February 14, 2016

**Contact Name:****Purpose of Project:**

Graduate Research

**Do you or anyone else plan on disseminating the information acquired from this project outside of the specified course classroom or the University? (Please check “yes” for dissemination if you are conducting research for a thesis that will be published on Digital Scholar.):**

Yes

**If Yes, please explain:**

The information from this project will be used to create an ethical tourism guide for Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces STIMO educational community-led tourism program.

**Assurances:**

Ensuring the quality and accuracy of the written materials included in the Application for Review;

Ensuring Human Subjects in Research Training for all personnel who may interact with human subjects or have access to subjects' information or responses;

Supervising the conduct of research protocols submitted under their direction;

Ensuring compliance with all federal, state and local regulations, as well as Humboldt State University policies regarding the protection of human subjects in research;

Adhering to any stipulations imposed by the Humboldt State University IRB;

Ensuring that permission from outside institutions (e.g., tribes, hospitals, prisons, or schools) is obtained, if applicable;

Retaining all research data, including informed consent documentation of participants, in accordance with institutional, local, state and federal regulations;

Reporting to the Humboldt State University IRB immediately if there are any adverse events and/or unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others.

Interview

Secondary/Existing Data or Records

**Sources for data or records:**

Tourism Advertisements on Its More Fun in The Philippines Website, Facebook, Internet.

**Type of Subjects:**

Members of STIMO Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces Movement Non-Profit

Former indigenous governor of Ifugao and heritage conservationist

Current governor of Ifugao.

Directors for Its More Fun in the Philippines Tourism Campaign.

Indigenous heritage conservationists and community developers in Ifugao outside of STIMO

Tourists blogging about traveling to the Cordillera region and Ifugao.

Advertisers and Developers for Its More Fun in the Philippines Tourism Campaign.

**Estimated Number of Subjects:**

Minimum is five and maximum is twenty.

**Expected Age of Subjects:**

Ages range from 18-60+

**Approximate total time commitment required from subjects:**

Between 1-2 hours for each participant.

**Will subjects be Compensated?**

Yes

**Compensation and Influence:**

After this project, I will be attending the Institute of Field Research Program in Kiangan, Ifugao from June 20, 2016 - July 25, 2016. This field program is led by UCLA archeologist Dr. Stephan Acabado and the director of STIMO. I will be working with members of Save the Rice Terraces Movement-STIMO to construct an ethical, educational and effective tourism guide for STIMO community-led tourism program. The guide will be available for tourists online, phone app and printed on paper. This project will help me construct the tourism guide for STIMO because I will be able to understand and compare what the tourism industries advertise about Ifugao, Tourists expectations and what STIMO's goal for their community-led tourism program.

**Recruitment and Selection:**

From June 20, 2016 - July 25, 2016 I am participating in the Institute for Field Research School Program in Ifugao. The program is led by archeologist Dr. Stephan Acabado. He is a member of the non-profit Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces Movement-STIMO. For this program, I will be working with STIMO to construct an ethical tourism guide. For recruitment in interviews, after receiving approval, I will first contact the director of STIMO. After speaking with the director, I will ask him to connect me with other members by email. For recruitment, I will email the former indigenous governor of Ifugao/heritage conservationist, Indigenous heritage conservationists and community developers in Ifugao outside of STIMO, current community leader of Ifugao, and the current governor of Ifugao. I will not email any of the potential participants until after I receive approval. After receiving approval, I will contact travel writers and tourism bloggers. As for travel writers and tourist's bloggers, I will only seek tourists who publish blogs about their experiences traveling in the Cordillera region of the Philippines. I will contact them by messaging them by email or Facebook messenger.

**Types of Vulnerable Subjects:**

Not applicable to this project

**Documentation Type:**

[Informed Consent](#): is written in language that is understandable to the subject or the legally authorized representative.

**Consent Process:**

The Consent process will begin as soon as there is an approval for the project. The consent will be done by email and in person. As of now potential participants from the non-profit, Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces-STIMO are aware of my project. The interviews will be conducted only after the signed consent form is obtained.

**Methods:**

. I will conduct an ethnographic analysis of tourism advertisements, cultural guides and documentation by tourists of their travels in Ifugao. I will also conduct an interview with the members of the STIMO for the purpose of exploring issues of tourism. For the first half, I will be investigating the representation of Indigenous Philippine cultures in the Cordillera region in tourism advertisements and travel guides. The advertisements come from a variety of bureaucratic tourism campaign including the 2015-2016 tourism

campaign Its More Fun in the Philippines. For the second portion, I will conduct an ethnographic analysis of tourism advertisements, cultural guides and documentation by tourists of their travels. I will interview tourists to examine where they are obtaining information about a Cordillera region. I will also conduct an interview with the members of the STIMO for the purpose of exploring issues of tourism. The targeted end result is the construction or creation of an educational and accurate travel information/guide for the community-led tourism program. The emphasis of this information will be the type of tourist behavior that has a negative impact on the local communities. I will begin by searching for the most popular tourism industries in the Philippines. I will base this off by reviews and publicity. One of the industries I will be using is the 2015-2016 More Fun Campaign. I will then collect forty still and twenty moving ads on tourism websites and their Facebook page. All of the ads must feature anything about the Cordillera region or Colonial history. For the still ads, I will record how many times the ads uses the words: ancient, ancestor culture, mythical, mystical, exotic landscape, exotic, colonial, tribal, indigenous, ethnic, heritage, a national landmark, UNESCO, 8th world wonder site, and tourism; to describe the people and their rice terraces. For the twenty moving ads, I will focus how the scenes, costumes, language, and interaction between actors demonstrate the Ifugao rice terraces, Indigenous cultures, and Colonial history. I will then focus on how the ads by Its More Fun in the Philippines are defining these concepts. For instance, how are rice terraces being described or portrayed? How is the use of the word colonialism being used? Is it seen as an advantage to the Filipinos? How is the use of culture being defined in the ad? What is the age of the rice terraces on the ad? With permission of the potential participants, I will record their narratives. I will focus on how they express common themes as the advertisements. I will focus how they are defining heritage, rice terraces, development, tourism, and culture. I will not be counting how often they use similar words because my questions will be directly using those words. I will also focus on the words they use to describe their rice terraces, their heritage, and culture. I will be analyzing how is the use of the word colonialism being used? Is it seen as an advantage? How are they defining culture and heritage conservation? How do they view tourism? What do they want tourists to know about their heritage? With permission of the potential participants, I will analyze how they describe their experiences in the Cordillera region. With permission, I will record their narratives. I will focus on how they express common themes as the advertisements. I will focus how they are defining heritage, rice terraces, development, tourism, and culture. I chose to conduct my ethnography this way because it will allow me to compare the differences of how the same words are being defined between the participants. I am fully confident that comparing the use of language between the tourism ads, tourists, and the indigenous people represented in the tourism ads will show that there are competing interests.

Interview Questions For Host Community

1. Can you please tell me the history of how and why STIMO began?
2. What does it mean for you're to have a community-led tourism program?
3. In your experience, what are the consequences of tourism? What are the benefits of tourism?
4. How do you see this program benefiting your community?
5. What are the complications of leading a tourism program?
6. . What is your ideal vision

of the tourist activity in your community? 7. What do tourist does that is harmful for your community? 8. What does tourist do that is beneficial for your community? 9. How do you seek to prevent complications from tourism? 10. What do you want tourists to learn when visiting your community? 11. How often do you want tourist to visit? Why? 12. How many tourist do you seek to visit? 13. What is the capacity of tourism in Ifugao? 14. How do tourists obtain their food while visiting Ifugao? 15. When do you want tourist to visit and why? 16. What do you expect tourists to eat while visiting? 17. How do you want tourists to act while traveling through Ifugao? 18. What is the relationship between the communities led tourism program and bureaucratic tourism industries? Interview Questions for Tourists 1. Can you please describe your experience when traveling to Ifugao/ Corderilla region? 2. Where did you obtain information about Ifugao? 3. How was tourism websites able to benefit your understanding of Ifugao/Corderilla region? 4. What did you know about the Ifugaos before visiting? 5. When did you visit and why? 6. Why did you visit Ifugao? 7. How did you obtain food when visiting Ifugao? 8. How has your experience in Ifugao change expand your view on the culture in Ifugao? 9. Did you notice any issue from tourism while traveling within the Corderilla region?

#### **Benefits:**

**BENEFITS** • This research will serve as the platform for my main thesis project for my master degree. The information gathered from this project will be used for the advantage of the community led tourism program. After this project, in the summer of 2016, I plan work with STIMo in Ifugao Philippines to construct a ethical tourism guide. The information gathered by this project will be used to make the ethical tourism guide for STIMo. • This research will demonstrate a valid critique on the anthropological value of heritage preservation versus local indigenous communities. Also, as a Filipino I recognize the dearth of available information about the Philippines in Academia. Therefore, this research will also add to the growing information from academic research on the Philippines. • For the sake of humanity, this research will open a valuable discussion on the consequences of mass tourism. This research will demonstrate the issues of appropriating culture on advertisements.

#### **Potential Risks:**

**RISKS** Possible risks include: • Exposure of information from members of STIMo. • Damaging the reputation of Its More Fun In The Philippine bureaucratic tourism campaign. • Furthering the gap between bureaucratic tourism industries and STIMo

#### **Risk Management Procedures:**

To ensure that I am not misinterpreting any information from the interviews or analysis I will have the participants review my analysis of the information they give me. I will not present my study unless I have approval from memembers of STIMo.

#### **Anonymity and Confidentiality:**

The results of the study will be used for a project I will be working on for the participants. Names and personal information will be kept confidential unless they want their name to be written with direct quotes. I will be constructing an ethical tourism website for Ifugao. The website will be for STIMo to use for their community-led educational tourism program.

**Data Storage, Security and Destruction:**

• I will be holding interviews on Skype or Facebook whenever you are available. • I will record the interviews by a recorder. • The record of the interviews will be given to you for your own use. • I will destroy my copy of the interviews unless you suggests me not to. • I will give you a copy of my interpretations and analysis. • I will not publish this information or allow it to be seen by anyone within or outside my class until you approve it.

**Informed Consent Storage:**

Faculty or staff are required to retain Consent Documentation. I will retain a copy of the consent documentation. The participants will each have a copy of the Consent Documentation

**Supplement:**