### Programme of Events

**Day 1 Friday, 13th July 2018 (Khalili Lecture Theatre)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>9:00 - 10:00</td>
<td>Registration/ Introductions</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00-11:00</td>
<td>Keynote 1&lt;br&gt;<strong>Dr Analyn Salvador-Amores</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:00 -11:15</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<tr>
<td>11:15 - 11:45</td>
<td>The Origins Of The Word “Igorot” (1575-2018)&lt;br&gt;<strong>Maria Carmen Domingo-Kirk</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>11:45 - 12:15</td>
<td>Of Two Minds: Mainstream and Indigenous Elite Representation of the Igorots in the Philippines&lt;br&gt;<strong>Villia Jefremovas</strong></td>
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<td>12:15- 12:45</td>
<td>Gazing Upon the Other: The Politics of Representing the Igorot in Philippine Modernism&lt;br&gt;<strong>Caroline Rose Tacata Baicy</strong></td>
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<td>12:45-1:45</td>
<td>Lunch</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:45-2:15</td>
<td>Traces of the Hudhud Epic of the Itkak people in Ifugao, Philippines&lt;br&gt;<strong>Sergei B. Klimenko</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>2:15-2:45</td>
<td>Contact-induced Linguistic Change in the Cordilleras: Languages of Prestige&lt;br&gt;<strong>Anthony Grant</strong></td>
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*Paper Readers (numbered in sequence from 1-15) are given 30 minutes each. Ideally, the presentation should be a maximum of 20 minutes with 10 minutes for responses and questions. There are no break-out sessions.*
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
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| 2:45-3:15    | Miscellaneous Assemblages: An overview of the Philippine collections in the Horniman Museum  
Fiona Kerlogue |
| 3:15-4:00    | Networking/ Brief Intro to Philippine Studies at SOAS/Coffee Break  
Session 3 |
| 3:15-4:00    | Revisiting Ethno-historical Events and Issues in Benguet Cordillera History  
June Chayapan Prill-Brett |
| 4:30-4:30    | Head-hunters Under The Stars And Stripes: Revisiting Colonial Historiography  
Richard G. Scheerer, M.D. |
| 5:00-6:00    | Short Films  
"Dugo at Tinta" (Blood + Ink) Jill Damatca Futter (15 minutes)  
"Am-Amma" (The Heirloom) Dexter Macaraeg (20 minutes)  
Music in the Life of Balbalasang Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes (annotated 16 minutes) |
| 6:00-7:30    | Book launch and panel on Appropriating the Igorot in Fiction  
Candy Gourlay |
| 7:30-9:00    | Wine Reception and Nibbles |

**DAY 2 | Saturday, 14th July 2018 (Khalili Lecture Theatre/Precinct)**

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<th>Time</th>
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| 10:00-11:00  | Keynote 2  
Dr Deirdre McKay |
| 11:00-11:15  | Coffee break |
| 11:15-11:45  | The Creation of Igorot Identity by Episcopalian Missionaries, 1901-1918  
Jason Ratcliffe |
| 11:45-12:15  | Erasures in History: Bakla and Minamagkit Narratives and the anti-Chico River Dam Struggle  
Jennifer C. Josef |
| 12:15-12:45  | Spaces of Resistance: Exploring the Socio-Economic Dimension of the Mt.Data Peace Accord through Cordillera’s Binudngan Communities  
Maria Carmen (Ica) Fernandez |
| 12:45-1:45   | Lunch  
(Re)Situating Representation in Ifugao Material Culture: Performing Cordillera Identity Across Media  
B. Lynne Milgram |
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<td>Ruth M. Tindaan</td>
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<td>2:45-3:00</td>
<td>Coffee Break</td>
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<td>Session 6</td>
<td>Short Films</td>
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<tr>
<td>3:00 - 4:30</td>
<td>Baki Paul Nicholas Soriano and Krizza Pacleb (20 minutes)</td>
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<td>A Kalinga Wedding Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes (2015, 26 minutes)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Annotated Screening of Walang Rape sa Bontoc (20 minutes) with Panel Respondents Dr Analyn Amores and Dr Deirdre Mackay</td>
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<tr>
<td>4:30 - 5:30</td>
<td>Workshop: The Igorot Dance: Principles and Concepts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mark Sapaen Watan (KLT/ Room L67 for Hands-on Session)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:30 - 6:30</td>
<td>Book Launch of Ili</td>
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<td>Tommy Hafalla and RJ Fernandez</td>
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<td>6:30 - 9:30</td>
<td>Cordillera traditional dances and songs</td>
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<td>By: IGOROT UK Dance Troupe</td>
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<td>Dinner at the Precinct</td>
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**ONGOING EXHIBITS (2 days) KLT Foyer**
Curated Objects on loan from the Diaspora

**TABLE EXHIBITS**

1) Tattoo (Museo Kordilyera)
2) Bone Talk (Candy Gourlay’s new book)
3) Iglot (Modern Fabric)
4) Ili (Tom Hafalla and RJ Fernandez)
5) DIFFERENCE and DEERENCE: Referencing Philippine Cordillera Material Culture in the Contemporary Articulation of Lowland Crafts
6) Archipelago of Care plus Curating exhibit (Deirdre McKay)
7) Igorot UK
Speaker Bios

Dr Analyn Salvador-Amores is a social anthropologist and associate professor at the College of Social Sciences, University of the Philippines Baguio, and currently the Director of the Museo Kordilyera, UP Baguio's Ethnographic Museum. She earned her masters and doctorate in Social and Cultural Anthropology from Oxford University. Dr. Salvador-Amores' research interests include non-western aesthetics, endangered languages, material culture and visual anthropology. She has published journal articles on the material culture of the Igorots that breaks new ground in the study of Philippine indigenous culture. Included in her work is the comprehensive and significant work on Kalinga tattooing published by the University of the Philippines Press, Tapping Ink, Tattooing Identities: Tradition and Modernity in Contemporary Kalinga Society (2013). The book is the 2014 Elfen S. Cruz Price for Best Book in the Social Sciences in the 33rd National Book Awards conferred by National Book Development Board and the Manila Critics Circle and the 2016 Outstanding Book in the Social Sciences by the National Academy of Science and Technology (NAST).

Dr Maria Carmen Domingo-Kirk is a Research Affiliate at the Research Affiliate Cordillera Studies Center. She has an MA American Cultural Anthropology and Folklore from the University of California Berkeley and a Doctorate in Bilingual Multicultural Education from the University of the Philippines Diliman. She was a Fulbright Grantee for Curriculum Development in India and was a US Federal Government Title VII Fellow at the University of San Francisco.

Dr Villia Jefremovas is the Canada Research Chair in Development and Social Change at the Development Studies Program, Queen's University. She is a graduate of the York University (1980), and received her M.A. and Ph.D. in Social Anthropology from University of Toronto (1980, 1993). During her academic career, Dr. Jefremovas has carried out four major fieldwork projects, one in Rwanda in Africa and three with an indigenous community, the Igorots, in Southeast Asia, publishing extensively on this work, most notable is her book, Brickyards to Graveyards: From Production to Genocide in Rwanda (SUNY, 2003).

Caroline Tacata Baicy is an incoming PhD student at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. She received the Master’s degree in Art History from the same institution, in which her thesis focussed on the development of the Philippine “Other” and its relationship to the introduction of Modernism and Primitivist visual language in the Philippines. She has previously worked at the Centre of Philippine Studies, assisting a faculty specialist in a USIP funded grant; as well as the Honolulu Museum of Art, in which she researched the Philippine collection. Her research interests predominantly focuses on the politics of representation and ethnic identity within the Philippines as well as the de-centring of the narrative of Philippine art and culture.

Sergei Borisovich Klimenko graduated with BA in Oriental and African Studies (Tagalog Philology) from Saint Petersburg State University in 2009 and with MA in Linguistics from the College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines, Diliman in 2012. In September, 2017, he defended his PhD thesis "The Voice Category in Philippine Languages (A Case Study of the Yattuka Language)". Currently, he is a junior researcher at the Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg since October, 2016, focusing on morphosyntax and semantics of Philippine languages (mainly Tagalog and Cordilleran languages), and Ifugao epic language studies.

Dr Anthony P. Grant has been Professor of Historical Linguistics and Language Contact at Edge Hill University since 2008, and is editor of the forthcoming Oxford Handbook of Language Contact. His research
specialises in cases of intimate language contact, with special attention paid to cases within Austronesian, and in issues in genealogical linguistics, with an allied interest in the ethics and techniques of documentary linguistics.

**Dr Fiona Kerlogue** is the Deputy Keeper of Anthropology at the Horniman Museum with responsibility for the Asian and European collections. She has a doctorate in anthropology at the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at the University of Hull. She has undertaken research in Cambodia, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia and is the author of ‘The Arts of Southeast Asia’ (Thames and Hudson 2004). She is currently working on a joint research project exploring Indonesian collections at the National Museum, Prague.

**Dr June Chayapan Prill-Brett** is Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of the Philippines Baguio. She wrote Pechen: The Bontok Peace Pact Institution in 1987. She was also the Director the Cordillera Studies Center, the research arm of UP Baguio, from 1988 to 1990.

**Richard G Scheerer, M.D.** is a Research Affiliate at the Cordillera Studies Center, University of the Philippines Baguio. He is a Doctor of Medicine but has research interests in the Cordilleras. He is writing a biography of his grandfather, Otto Johns Scheerer, who was a resident of Baguio during the transition between Spanish, briefly Philippine then American rule. His research output on the Cordillera includes the paper “Participant Observation in Linguistics: Otto Scheerer and The Nabaloi Dialect” presented at the 2nd International Conference on Cordillera Studies, 2017.

**Candy Gourlay** is a Filipino author based in London. Her novels – all set in the Philippines – have been listed for many prizes including the Waterstones, Blue Peter, the Carnegie and the Guardian Prize. Bone Talk, set in the Cordillera in 1899, is her third novel.

**Dr Deirdre McKay** is Reader in Social Geography and Environmental Politics at Keele University. Her research draws on both social/cultural geography and social anthropology to explore people's place-based experiences of globalisation and development. Much of her work has been conducted with people who originate in indigenous villages in the northern Philippines. Empirically, she is interested in the long-distance relations that connect out migrants to their sending communities, changes in local livelihoods and the possibilities for locally sustainable, alternative economic development, and environmental degradation linked to migration as well as the kinds of social networks and relationships they build through migration. To explore these empirical themes, she engages theories of personhood, subjectivity, and cultural economic approaches to understanding economic development.

**Jason Ratcliffe** is a doctoral candidate in history at Florida State University in Tallahassee, Florida, USA. He studies U.S.-Philippine relations, especially in terms of religion, war, and diplomacy. His master’s thesis highlighted Bishop Brent and his sixteen-year career in the Philippines, including his work among the Igorots. His doctoral dissertation is focused on World War II in the Philippines. Before pursuing his degree, he lived for two years in the Philippines. He is fluent in Tagalog, Bisaya, and Waray Waray.

**Jennifer Curry Josef** earned her MA in Sociology at University of the Philippines Diliman. Her MA thesis which was the first academic study on Filipino lesbians/tomboys was awarded the Lourdes Lontok-Cruz award for graduate thesis. Her advocacy and research interests include gender and sexuality studies, women and indigenous peoples’ studies. She is a PhD candidate at the Anthropology Department, University of the Philippines. Her dissertation, Bontok and northern Kankana-ey Bakla and Tomboy Desires and Identities:
Intimate Bodies, Spaces, Histories and Memories, which is scheduled for oral defense on May 18, 2018, is the first academic study on LGTs among Philippine indigenous peoples.

**Ica Fernandez** holds an MA in Urban and Regional Planning and a BA in Comparative Literature, both from the University of the Philippines. She finished her M.Phil in Planning, Growth, and Regeneration at Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge as a Chevening and Cambridge Trust scholar. She writes occasionally at icafernandez.com.

**Dr B. Lynne Milgram** is professor of anthropology at OCAD University, Toronto. Her research on gender and development in the northern Philippines analyzes the cultural politics of social change regarding women’s work in crafts and the Hong Kong-Philippine second hand clothing trade. Milgram currently investigates transformations in governmentality and issues of “informality” and “illegality” regarding tourism and arts, street vending, and public market redevelopment. Milgram has co-edited (with Grimes, 2000), Artisans and Cooperatives; (with Hamilton, 2007), Refashioning Bast and Leaf Fibers in Asia-Pacific; (with Browne, 2009), Economics and Morality; (with Hansen/Little, 2013), Street Economies; “Aklan Craft Commodity Flow” (Chapter in Critical Craft, 2016).

**Ruth M. Tindaan** is a faculty member at the College of Arts and Communication, University of the Philippines Baguio and PhD Candidate at the Department of Media and Communication, Goldsmiths, University of London.

**Mark Sapaen Watan** is a second generation Igorot Filipino-American, born in the United States of America. He holds a Bachelors of Science in Health Education with a Minor in Asian American Studies, a Masters in Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM) and is a Licensed Acupuncturist. Mark is an avid practitioner of martial arts, as well as a musician who loves all styles of music. He currently lives in London, England with his wife and two young daughters. With a thirst to learn more about his culture, his experience in traditional Igorot music and dance comes from his family and local Igorot community; learning from as many Igorot practitioners as he could. He brings this unique experience and shares it with anyone who wants to learn more about indigenous traditional Igorot music and dance.

**Bartolome ‘Tommy’ Haffalla** is a Baguio-based photographer. Originally trained as an airplane mechanic, Haffalla volunteered on medical missions to the most isolated areas of the Cordillera, where he was introduced to the people and their ritual way of life. The scarcity of film and processing chemicals in the mountains made the photographer resourceful in his alchemy, using x-ray developers sourced from hospitals as well as home concocted formularies resulting in his signature, heavy-black look. Haffalla incorporates himself and his camera in the rituals that he documents, moving away from the grand narrative towards the local and particular. Many of the rituals documented are not open to the public – Haffalla’s photos thus provide a glimpse of traditions not usually seen. Recognising that tradition is alive, creative and constantly shifting, his practice is to go back to the ili time and again to photograph the same ritual unfolding in its many iterations.

**RJ Fernandez** is the founder of MAPA Books, an independent publishing house based in London. She is a photographic printer, photographer and colourist. Her work as a printer can be seen in publications such as Prestel, Aperture, Rizzoli, Assouline, MACK, as well as various magazines and exhibitions worldwide. Mapa comes from the Tagalog word for map and is also a prefix, loosely translated to ‘it makes you want to’. MAPA focuses on photography from The Philippines and other South East Asian countries.
Abstracts
Paper Presentations

The Origins of the Word Igorot (1575-2018)
Maria Carmen Domingo-Kirk
The word Igorot was coined by the colonizing Spaniards in northern Luzon, Philippines meaning a savage and backward tribe. According to Dr. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera, eminent Tagalog scholar at the turn of the century (1900) the word Igorot is composed of the root word “golot” meaning “mountain chain and the prefix “i” meaning “people of.” In the 18th century Antonio Mozo, a Spanish national, in his 1763 Noticia Historico Natural spelled the word “igolot” and commented: “Corrupting the letters they are wont to call it Igorot. Of course there is no (evidence that) the subject people ever called themselves Igolots - but then they did not call themselves by any other word either” (Scott 1962, 236). By 1590 the word was already in common usage when various Spanish expeditions were sent to locate the source of gold. With the coming of the Americans in the beginning of the twentieth century, both the word Igorot and to the people to whom it was applied came into a new meaning. The derogatory application of the word Igorot took a turn when inhabitants of the Cordillera proved politically astute, showed valour during the Second World War, and a beginning appreciation of their stand against the colonizing Spaniards for three decades. Their academic achievement was recognized when an Igorot topped the English proficiency test given to 3,000 entering students at the University of the Philippines.

Of Two Minds: Mainstream and Indigenous Elite Representation of the Igorots in the Philippines
Vllia Jefremovas
Fanon, in Black Skin, White Masks, laments that his identity has been “woven out of a thousand details, anecdotes, and stories” created by the colonial master, regretting that his understanding of himself can only be seen through this lens. In the Philippines, elite representation of the Igorots has been fraught with colonial stereotypes, orientalization and self-orientalization. Igorots have been long represented as racialized groups separate from the mainstream society, and as remnants of a primitive past, rather than as groups that “are . . .constituted in each other’s shadow, both reciprocal and contemporaneous” (Scott 2009, The Art of Not Being Governed, p28). This orientalization of the Igorot has led to the construction of an ambivalent, racialized Other by the mainstream, which is seen as foil for mainstream superiority and also as a source of symbols and artifacts for the construction of a post-colonial national identity. Mainstream racism and representation have also shaped Igorot elite discourses, which is used in both transgressive ways, and in ways that illustrate internalized racism. Indigenous elite representation also often turns on racist categories, skewed understandings of history, and the internalization of ideas of inferiority. Moreover, this way of characterising Igorots creates a discourse in which mainstream elites are the arbiters of ‘authenticity,’ thereby creating a new neo-colonial lens, and a local variation of the ‘white gaze.’ But both forms of elite representation do not reflect the significant differences in elite and non-elite understanding, consciousness and action in history and identity, nor does it highlight the unique processes of self-creation that have formed the Igorot identity and continuity. This flies in the face of elite representation of Igorots in the Philippines, in which many authors inadvertently minimise or ignore the role of Igorots in constructing their position in modern Philippine society.

Gazing Upon the Other: The Politics of Representing the Igorot in Philippine Modernism
Caroline Rose Tacata Baicy
Philippine modernism and the artwork of Victorio Edades, Galo Ocampo, and Carlos Francisco, known collectively as the Triumvirate of Philippine modernism, are often discussed in terms of formal artistic aspects. The formalist analysis of modernist paintings does not consider the contributions of American colonialism and
collaborating elites to the symbolic politics of Philippine painting during the American colonial period and well as the incipient sovereign period of post WWII. The purpose of this presentation is to analyse the polyvalent nature of the gaze in the paintings of the Triumvirate of modern Philippine art in relation to the image of the ethnic, Philippine “Other,” also known as the Igorot. Emphasised in this research are the development and use of American colonial racial formations that allowed Philippine cultural and political elites to deploy the discourse of “Othering” to refine, perform, and perpetuate the presumed characteristics of civilisation associated with Hispanic-Catholic Philippine culture. This presentation will focus on three specific gazes: the colonial gaze, the colonised collaborator gaze, and the nationalist gaze; due to the nature and power of the gaze as it shifts, depending on the historical and cultural context in which it is created and deployed in the Philippines.

Traces of hudhud epic of the Itkak people in Ifugao, Philippines
Sergei B. Klimenko

Hudhud, proclaimed as a remarkable example of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO in 2001 (UNESCO 2014), is an endangered epic chant performed in a limited number of central and southern municipalities of Ifugao province in Northern Luzon, Philippines (Stanyukovich 2013: 170). The tradition has very strong ritual connections (Stanyukovich 1982). Hudhud is mostly known in two closely related languages, Tuwali Ifugao and Amganad Ifugao, both belonging to Central Cordilleran languages of the Philippine group. Apart from the Ifugao languages, the province is also inhabited by speakers of three Southern Cordilleran languages: Yattuka, Keley-i, and Kalanguya. The Yattuka (about 2,700 speakers) and Keley-i (also about 2,700 speakers) reside in Asipulo municipality of the same province. The Kalanguya (about 100,000 speakers) reside in Asipulo and Tinoc municipalities, as well as outside Ifugao. Hudhud is also sung by the Yattuka and Keley-i, who perform it only in the Yattuka language. Kalanguya are almost universally believed not to be part of the hudhud performing cultures. However, there is some evidence of existence of a hudhud soloist from a group of Kalanguya - Itkak, who, reportedly, used to perform hudhud in her native language. The accounts of hearing a hudhud in Itkak come from three elderly residents of the Yattuka and Keley-i speaking areas, all interviewed in April-September, 2016. All three related witnessing the same old female Itkak speaker, whose name was Indayu, singing hudhud in the Kalanguya language sometime in the 1940s-1960s. The two hudhud soloists also sang a sample of the hudhud they heard from her, which had a melody distinctly different from other known hudhud records in other languages. The presentation will focus on the available evidence of this most probably extinct hudhud of the Itkak.

Contact-induced linguistic change in the Cordilleras: languages of prestige and the reevaluation of histories and lexica of endangered languages in Northern Luzon
Anthony Grant

Linguists such as Reid (1971) and Blust (1991) have shown that languages of the Cordillera and neighbouring regions have complex histories which are marked by the effects of contact-induced linguistic change. This is clearly evident in the realm of everyday vocabulary, in which large number of concepts which previously had indigenous referents have had these replaced by elements from more prestigious languages, especially Ilokano and nowadays also Pilipino. This traffic is largely one-way: the impact of (say) Gaddang on Ilokano is minimal. In the case of some of these languages there is also well-publicised evidence for pre-Austronesian substrate influence (Reid 1994). These considerations have led a number of scholars, such as Jason Lobel and Laura C. Robinson (Lobel 2012; Robinson 2011), to produce fresh and solidly-evidenced narratives of linguistic interrelationship. In this paper I examine the issues which matters concerning language contact in the historical linguistics of some Cordilleran languages raise, and suggest that there are lessons here from which the wider linguistic community and others could profitably learn.
**Miscellaneous assemblages: An overview of the Philippine collections in the Horniman Museum**

Fiona Kerloque

The collections of Philippine items in the Horniman Museum have been assembled over a period of more than a century, and came through a variety of donors and vendors. Records of the origins are sparse, but an examination of the scope and type of object reveals the absence of a clear pattern in the nature or motivations of the collectors. Some items seem to have been regarded as specimens of object type, to take their place amongst items of similar type from other parts of the world. Many items were brought to Britain by travellers to the Philippines, some clearly as souvenirs, some collected perhaps for their visual appeal or because of admiration for the skill of the maker. Some had perhaps excited the collector’s curiosity. Purchases are rare: it seems that for many decades the Museum was not offered or did not actively seek material from the Philippines to complement its displays. This presentation explores the items themselves and what evidence there is concerning the original collectors and their motivations. It considers what this can tell us about the role of the museum collection in mediating cultures.

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**Revisiting Some Ethnohistorical Events and Issues in Benguet Cordillera History**

June Chapayan Prill-Brett

This paper reviews two important events in Benguet ethnohistory which include: The “Tonglo Massacre” of 1759; and the supposed naming of La Trinidad after the wife of Comandante Guillermo Galvey. The former revisits the 1759 Spanish punitive expedition at Tonglo. Spanish accounts state that while Don Manuel’s forces were burning the last two villages en route to Tonglo, they were attacked, and a major battle began. Finally, on the 18th, Don Manuel marched into a deserted Tonglo and razed the place to the ground (Scott 1974; Keesing 1962). Some current writers of Benguet history have referred to this event as the “Tonglo massacre.” However, the promotion of the “Tonglo massacre”- an alleged event - is being contested by some writers who consider this as a ‘myth’ (see Paw 2015). This paper attempts to address the problem: Was there indeed a massacre that occurred on March 18, 1759, at Tonglo? Is it valid to interpret and promote as factual the so-called “Tonglo massacre”? This inquiry takes into account the issues and arguments set forth in the light of historical documents, ethnohistorical accounts, and oral tradition. The latter deals with the naming of La Trinidad, Benguet. For more than a hundred years it has been taken for granted that the town of La Trinidad was named in honor of comandante Galvey’s wife. In a recent research, (see Paw 2015) this conventional thinking has since been challenged. This paper will address the counterpoints.

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**Headhunters Under The Stars And Stripes: Revisiting Colonial Historiography**

Richard G Scheerer

In 1908 Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior for the Philippine colonial government, published an article in the New York Times lauding the results of the American government’s efforts to advance the conditions of the Philippine “wild tribes”. Titled “Headhunters Under the Stars and Stripes”, Worcester’s article summarized the colonial government’s “civilizing efforts” and the “astonishing” progress which in just a few years led to a “degree of self-government” for the non-Christian tribes of the Cordillera.

This paper revisits that article and the historical basis for Worcester’s claims. Criticism of colonial historiography has, with justification, centered on the colonizers’ attempts at embellishing their accomplishments while hiding the less laudatory means and results of the colonization. We analyze, with the gift of hindsight, Worcester’s narrative for both its accuracy and intent. We find that, while imperfect, his narration is generally accurate as history and most of his self-congratulation was warranted based on a significant improvement in the living conditions of the indigenous people of the Cordillera. His intent, however, remains controversial. We will discuss his espousal of a Christian/non-Christian animus as the basis for denying Philippine independence. We will also examine the writings of two of Worcester’s collaborators in the early American administration of the Cordillera, Otto Johns Scheerer and David Prescott Barrows, for insight on Worcester’s pronouncements.
The Creation of Igorot Identity by Episcopal Missionaries, 1901-1918

Jason Ratcliffe
While ninety percent of the inhabitants of the Philippines converted to Catholicism during the nearly four hundred years of Spanish rule, the geographically secluded Igorots of the Cordillera continued to practice an animistic form of indigenous religion. Today, some Igorots still adhere to these religious traditions, many others are members of the Episcopal Church in the Philippines. The conversion of Igorots to Episcopalianism can be traced to the period of American imperialism in the Philippines. Some of the first people of European descent to interact with the Igorots were missionaries from the Episcopal Church. Bishop Charles Brent, as the first Episcopal Bishop to the Philippine Islands, quickly became a prominent figure throughout Europe and in the United States. Through their many books and speeches, and especially through the Spirit of Missions—the official periodical of the missions of the Episcopal Church—Brent and those missionaries under his direction used text, images, and allusions to introduce the previously isolated Igorots to the West. This paper, as an interdisciplinary effort in the realms of history, religion, and literary analysis, will examine and discuss these efforts at representing the Igorots. The Episcopalian missionaries presented the Igorots as morally pure, but also ignorant and without a strong work ethic—like Adam and Eve before the Fall—in order to gain support for proselytization. Brent and his missionaries constructed this Igorot identity and sold it to potential benefactors. This paper will explore this constructed identity and the ways in which it is still relevant. It will also be argued that Brent effectively wielded this representation, befriending and seeking funding from many prominent Americans, including business magnates such as J. P. Morgan and American presidents such as William Howard Taft.

Erasures in History: Bakla and Minamagkit Narratives and the anti-Chico River Dam Struggle

Jennifer C. Josef
This paper focuses on the hegemonic and counter-narratives on the Chico River dam struggle in the 1970s and 1980s, and on the personal narratives of the pioneer Bontok bakla and minamagkit in the 1980s. There were canonical narratives deployed regarding the struggle against the Chico River dam project in the 1970s and 1980s. The government’s hegemonic narratives included development, electrification, and modernization. For the indigenous peoples (IP), activists and advocates, the counter-narratives included ancestral domain, human rights, development aggression, etc. On gender and sexual identities, the narratives included sex/gender binaries and heteronormativity, vis-à-vis the bakla/tomboys’ gender and sexual diversities. Aside from these canonical narratives, there were ‘overlooked’ or ‘silenced’ personal narratives of the Bontok bakla and minamagkit. This paper analyzes two cases of historical revisionism. The first case is the hidden or silenced personal narratives of the Bontok minamagkit and bakla and their intimate relationships with the government soldiers deployed in the region in the 1980s to 1990s. My inclusion of the personal narratives of the bakla and minamagkit is a legitimate form of historical revisionism. This paper is the first documentation and public disclosure of the homoerotic relationships and practices between the pioneer Bontok bakla/minamagkit and the government soldiers. The second case is an attempt at historical negationism regarding the indigenous peoples’ struggle against the dam project, through a memorial marker in one of the proposed dam sites. This marker presents ‘alternative’ information and favorable views regarding Marcos anent the Chico river dam project.

Spaces of Resistance: Exploring the Socio-Economic Dimension of the Mt. Data Peace Accord through Cordilleran’s Binudngan Communities

Maria Carmen Fernandez
This paper explores issues of Cordilleran identity, resistance, and autonomy by discussing the socioeconomic dimension of the peace agreements between the Government of the Philippines and the Cordillera Bodong Association-Cordillera Peoples Liberation Army (CBA-CPLA). It interrogates socioeconomic development efforts targeted at so-called binudngan communities, or areas that practice the bodong or petchen indigenous conflict management system. Binudngan as a term is being popularized by leaders within the CBA-CPLA to refer not only to the peace pact mechanism used to settle conflict between warring tribes, but also an indigenous governance system that pre-dates the modern Philippine nation-state. As a political construct, it is
a useful tool for statecraft that transcends individual tribal ili (village) and bugis (ancestral domain) lines towards a regional panCordilleran identity. It has also been linked as a place-anchored metaphor for traditional values, practices, and aspirations such as collective decision-making and direct democracy. The binudngan narrative has yet to gain full acceptance across the major Igorot ethno-linguistic groups. However, it is a useful entry-point for interrogating the socio-economic elements of the GPH-CBA-CPLA Mt. Data Sipat of 1986 and the 2011 “closure” Memorandum of Agreement (MOA). How do binudngan rhetoric and expectations match up with the reality of implementation of “counter-insurgent” peace dividend programs such as Kalayaan sa Barangay (KBP) and Payapa at Masaganang Pamayanan (PAMANA)? This includes support for individual combatants and their families as part of traditional disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR), as well as accelerated local economic development packages for identified areas. More broadly, how is the discourse of peace and economic development used in imagining the Cordilleras? This has implications on the peace processes, but takes on a regional bent given the resurgence of the Cordilleran autonomy bill and the Duterte Administration’s push for federalism. Keywords: Cordillera, CBA-CPLA, bodong, binudngan, development, peace, autonomy

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(Re)Situating Representation in Ifugao Material Culture: Performing Cordillera Identity Across Media

B. Lynne Milgram

The current framework exploring flows of persons and things questions whether national “mainstream” symbols (e.g., flags, monuments) remain the preeminent entity around which people shape their identity. These reified markers, while relevant, only partially capture the broad cultural matrix people use to represent themselves. My long-term Philippine research suggests that Cordillera residents especially, are notably unattached to such “imaginary nation” portrayals – associations often recalling a “lowland” history. Focusing on Banaue, Ifugao, I argue that people recraft personalized identities by making, transforming, and consuming everyday material culture (textiles, baskets) and communicating these objects’ meanings across multiple media. Using Ifugao artisans’ production of woven ikat textiles and rattan and wood constructions – quotidian expressive forms – I analyze the channels through which producers fashion local-to-global representations that are contested, multiple, and fluid. Textiles and baskets continue to play seminal roles in Ifugao’s dynamic ritual calendar. Since the 1990s, however, with increased tourism amid vacillating economic conditions, makers have refashioned selected production to enhance their livelihoods. Artists introduced locally-relevant narrative motifs (local architecture, cultivation activities) into woven textiles while maintaining the cloth’s “traditional” biaxial symmetrical striped format; and makers developed functional rattan and wood products that remain anchored in Ifugao indigenous forms while simultaneously speaking of contemporary home décor design. By distributing products via local sales and global social media platforms, contemporary Ifugao cultural representation thus emerges as an elastic entity rooted both in the local production of meaning and in the “dialogic interaction” between maker and interpreter (Bruner 2005). Such a co-production of significance underlies understanding Ifugao material culture’s performance of nationalism and locality, the everyday and the extraordinary, and authenticity and modernity. I thus suggest Ifugao residents’ use of everyday objects to represent themselves enables innumerable points of interconnection and dissemination to challenge the exclusion of things on-the-edge from analyses of global forces.
Igorotak ed UK: Indigenous Identity Performance in Diaspora
Ruth Tindaan

This paper uses social semiotics to examine the body of self-representative works produced by Igorot migrants in the United Kingdom. I discuss how these migrants perform what they claim as indigenous Igorot identity and explore their investments in constructing these particular self-representations. In this way, I treat the claim of Igorotness as creative production rather than an innate quality that diasporic Igorots bring with them wherever they go. I focus on the activities of Igorot Organisation-UK, the regional organisation of Igorot migrants in the UK founded in London in 1995.

As I will describe in this paper, Igorot Organisation-UK has a heterogeneous composition and the level of participation among members is varied. My aim is not to describe the actions of a unified, homogeneous collective but to show the attempts of a diasporic Igorot organisation in constituting a sense of belonging as the members seek to manage the challenges and utilise the opportunities of their displacement. I discuss the ways in which the members of this organisation mobilise to produce images and narratives about themselves and how they employ these productions to speak of their selfhood not only as Igorot migrants but as members of the Igorot people in general.

The analysis thus departs from studies which highlight the disenfranchisement that diasporas suffer in host communities or which point to the ambivalences that arise as a consequence of attempts at cultural preservation. It also shifts the focus away from celebratory aspects of diasporic condition to point instead to creative processes involved in the reconstitution of identities and solidarities which link migrants and their communities of origin.