

Accommodation of Indigenous Dances in Higher Education Institutions in Northern Philippines

STANLEY F. ANONGOS

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ABSTRACT

Philippine schools have become a home for the nation's dances, either through specific programs in the arts or as part of Physical Education courses. Indigenous dances are, however, marginalized in these platforms. The paper looks at the case of how government tertiary schools in a predominantly indigenous peoples' region adjust to a growing visibility of traditional dances within their sphere. This paper demonstrates that the schools have attained some levels of accommodation of indigenous dances but for reasons external to the schools. Traditional dances are used by the schools to entertain visitors and to mark important events. These are also performed as contest pieces in school-sanctioned dance competitions. As such, the accommodation of traditional dances in schools is largely extra-curricular, and efforts at incorporating these to academic programs are weak. Given the nature of the performance and use of these dances on campus, tertiary schools are becoming another venue for alterations. In effect, while tertiary schools in predominantly IP communities perceive traditional dances as entertainment, and contribute to their modifications, these schools are also opening up as refuge for Cordillera traditional dances.

Introduction

This paper looks at the indigenization experience of government tertiary schools in the Cordillera, Philippines, particularly in their treatment and accommodation of Cordillera traditional dances and student cultural performances. The Cordillera region is populated mainly by Indigenous Peoples (IP) except for the multi-ethnic city of Baguio and the Ilokano-dominated lowland province of Abra (Versola 2007). Six of the seven state tertiary schools in this region, distributed in each of the six provinces, cater mostly to IP students.

I propose that government tertiary schools in the Cordillera are slowly serving as sanctuaries for Cordillera cultural dances, even as these schools continue to perceive traditional dance performances as mere entertainment and extra-curricular. I further contend that the schools' accommodation of dance performances locates traditional dances in an inevitable position of alterations.

The importance of dance as reflective of history and cultural identity has already gained ground in many nations around the world. One can find this in the effort of some countries to integrate indigenous, traditional, or local dances in the school curricula. The Philippine campaign for this integration occurred early. Soon after World War II, Filipino folk dances were introduced in schools. This means that all schoolchildren and students were exposed to some of these Filipino folk dances. Francisca Reyes Aquino's works on Filipino ethnic dances were eventually incorporated in the dance education curriculum and would have lasting influence.¹ While Aquino did not distinguish folk from ethnic dances, the type of folk dances that were adopted in schools were Tagalog and lowland dances. This implies the exclusion of the many and varied dances of Indigenous Peoples that are conveniently classified as ethnic instead of folk. In addition, the folk dances in the country continued to be in the domain of the physical, leading to its administrative association to Physical Education.

The struggle for dance inclusion in the school curriculum continues in other countries. In Tanzania, for instance, local dances remain to be part of extra-curricular activities and dependent on students interested to take part in the activity. Efforts at integration grew in the 1990s and were partly successful in the setting up of dance training programs in schools. Integration collapsed in 2000 because of the absence of dance teachers. As a result, local dances are learned outside of the school setting.

An ideal model for dance integration in school could be drawn from New Zealand's program of the Ngā Toi (Arts), which asserted the inclusion of Maori aboriginal dances in the curriculum. Art is one of the seven learning areas for New Zealand students; art includes music, drama, visual arts, and dance. This applies to the youth's first 13 years of education. In schools using the Maori language as medium of instruction in education, students are required to study Maori arts. Dance, including Maori dances, became a compulsory subject from years 1 to 8 and as an elective from years 9 to 13. As designed, dance "assume(d) conventional school subject status," which meant that it is "equal to other subjects in the school curriculum" (Hong 2002, 9). Through the curriculum, Maori dance gets into the mainstream not only as part of a festival menu but also imbibed as a skill and knowledge, and understood and valued as a Maori cultural treasure.

But when schools use traditional dances, they tend to be modified. Like any transfer of cultural practices, dances are subject to innovation, hybridity, and syncretism. The transfer of a dance from its original context into the schools could be a journey of alterations. As Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (in Desmond 1994, 42) observed in the borrowing of African arts and culture, "borrowing (is) never achieved without resultant change in whatever was borrowed, and in addition, without incorporating elements which originated in the new habitat that... give the new form its distinctive quality." A clear example would be a lesson from the case of the *baakisimba* dance in Uganda. According to Nannyong-Tamusuza (2003, 105) the school-sponsored competition of the dance greatly transformed its steps, roles, and costumes. The school and the competition involved in the performance of the *baakisimba* reinvented the dance itself to become a creative, theatrical art, which is a far cry from its traditional nature as a female dance embedded in festivities of the Baganda (Uganda) people.

School dancing, especially of traditional, ethnic dances, relocates performance outside of the dance's original contexts, earning critiques from dance scholars. As choreographed dances, these are viewed as "second existence" (Hoerburger 1968, 31), "new choreographies" (Sutton 1998, 9–12), "de-traditionalized" (Harnish 2007), and "reflective" or changed performance as a result of "self-consciousness" among dancers (Nahachewsky 2001, 20, 22). All of this raise the issue of authenticity of dance performances. Transferring a dance from its traditional context into the school stage opens it to questions of genuineness.

Most of the data for this essay were gathered in 2018 and 2019 but my involvement in this field began earlier. I closely worked with the Benguet State University's (BSU) Center for Culture and the Arts, as member of its advisory group and later as director. It was in the performance of such functions that I accompanied the BSU indigenous dance group in local and national cultural competitions as well as in performances within and close to the school. These immersions allowed me to observe and to make quick, informal, but substantial conversations with persons involved in the performance of indigenous dances.

The more formal data gathering combined group interview, dance participation, and observation. I took opportunity of our participation in the 2018 Cordillera Administrative Region Association of State Universities and Colleges cultural competition in Kalinga province to draw information from coaches of school dance groups and to observe preparations and performances of the participants. I was also part of those who accompanied the BSU dancers to the Philippine Association of State Universities and Colleges competition in Davao in the same year and experienced the shock of dance competitions

dictated by dance literatures. We revisited the different participating schools in early 2019, interacted with the performers and coaches, and interviewed administrators.

Emergence of Dance in Schools in the Cordillera

Student performance of highland dances in schools began as early as the 1920s in the region. Trinidad Agricultural School (TAS) students were often asked to entertain tourists and visitors in nearby Baguio City. A decade later, interschool cultural dances were sponsored in Baguio, where TAS students figured prominently. The competitions were followed by open "Igorot tribal dances" with the TAS students as lead performers (Finin 2005, 85–86). Such kind of performances persisted up to the 1950s when Trinidad students became frequent performers at Camp John Hay, Pines Hotel, Baguio City Auditorium, and Manila.² From the beginning then, school-based cultural dance performances were organized for and sustained by the interest of visitors and tourists. TAS's proximity to a colonial center like Baguio allowed for constant requests for this kind of dance shows.

In 1950, a student organization called BIBAK was organized by Igorot students in Baguio. It gathered highlander students from the five sub-provinces of the region and provided an organization that facilitated closer interaction among them. BIBAK became more significant at a time of perceived prejudices and discriminations against the Igorots of this period. Separate chapters of the BIBAK were put up in the major tertiary schools in Baguio: Baguio Colleges, Baguio Technical and Commercial Institute, Centro Industrial Academy, and Saint Louis (Finin 2005, 156). The organization served as venue for the expression of highlander identity and confidence in such identity. Dance presentations became a manifestation of the highlander-students' enthusiasm and pride, so much so that BIBAK members retained a good memory of dancing in annual dance festivals organized in each chapter (Finin 2005, 204–5). Cultural dance performances became a defining feature of BIBAK members around Baguio, and the members constituted the de facto cultural dance group in their respective schools.

Dance Accommodation

While the performance of cultural dances in tertiary schools goes back many years, dances and dance groups were never formally integrated in the academic institutions. It was only in 2003 that these schools were compelled to formalize the accommodation of highland dances and dance performers. This was a result of the holding of cultural contests by the Philippine Association of State Universities and Colleges (PASUC), in addition to the usual sports competition.³ Part of the areas for cultural competition is an "Indigenous dance" category,

apparently referring to the dances of Indigenous Peoples. The need for representation and participation in the cultural event compelled tertiary schools to activate or reorganize dance groups, including cultural dance groups. The national competition, dubbed as "PASUC National Culture and the Arts Festival," had regional screening competitions. Six SUCs in the CAR compete among themselves in the "CARASUC Culture and the Arts Festival" as a preliminary screening for regional winners, and the winners represented their school and region at the national level.⁴

Cultural dance groups have always been very autonomous and very ad hoc prior to the PASUC organization of cultural competitions. Dance performances as intermission numbers during school programs were provided by skilled and willing students, who dispersed after each performance, and summoned again to regroup for another occasion. A number of tertiary schools maintained core groups of performers through recognized student organizations such as Abra State Institute of Science and Technology's WAWAGI⁵ and BSU's Kontad, while the rest had no formal identities.

Dance Groups in Higher Education Organizations

The representation of universities and colleges in the PASUC competition necessitated the creation of an office that would facilitate school participation. This is the beginning of "socio-cultural" offices composed of the various performing arts and dance groups. Lodged under the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs (OVPA), the socio-cultural office is coordinative in nature as its primary function is to facilitate the school's participation in the cultural competition.

While all these are under the VPAA, the line of supervision from the VPAA to the performers is limited to administrative matters. Instead, the operation of the office is, more or less, in the hands of the director and advisers/coaches, and the choreographies of performances are left to the creative agency of the performers.

Part of the formal accommodation of cultural dances and dance groups in SUCs is the provision of scholarships to the student performers. Some schools give 100% while others provide tuition fee discounts. At BSU (before the free college tuition law), Kontad members enjoy 50%, 75%, and 100% discounts, depending on the length of their membership in the troupe. At Ifugao State University, student performers are granted a 50% discount on their tuition fees. They also get monetary reimbursement of their tuition if their performances reached the national level.

Dance performers also have opportunities for travel. All dance groups have at one time or another moved out of their provinces and the region for performances elsewhere. Some even journeyed out-

side of the country. For example, some Student Cultural Arts Group (SCAG) members of the Mountain Province State Polytechnic College were able to travel to Bali, Indonesia in 2017. Some BSU dancers also visited and performed in Macau, Thailand, Hongkong, and Vietnam for performances.

PASUC's cultural competition, therefore, caused the formal establishment of dance groups. Such formalization attached such groups to an office and provided funding support and other privileges, and, in effect, the performing groups earned further recognition.

Dance Accommodation as Extra-curricular

Despite the accommodation of ethnic/indigenous dances in state higher education, the status remains extra-curricular. Student performers consistently participate in special events especially when there are school visitors. They are summoned to participate in community parades, celebration of foundation days or anniversaries, Indigenous Peoples' Month in October, *Linggo ng Wika*, etc. In some instances, these groups are invited to perform in town fiestas, provincial foundations and other important local government events in their respective host communities. Clearly, indigenous dances are treated as entertainment.

In school contexts, dance groups are practically on their own. They learn and practice cultural dances in their own extra time and scheme. The norm among these dance groups is that senior members coach new ones, even if the new recruits were qualified based on dance skills displayed during the screening process. This relation privileges the senior members to impose their own style and routine, thus nourishing an "institutional" dance regime.⁶ Recruits to the group come from a common dance background, as festival dancers, but with community dancing exposure. While their festival dance training may have standardized dancing for them, these recruits' dance skill become further toned along the school dance pattern. Dance coaches only intervene or position themselves in instances when they are also familiar with the dance, which is seldom. Clearly, cultural dance education in schools is largely left to the combined efforts of faculty-coaches and senior dance group members. There are occasional opportunities, however, when dance groups deliberately seek the validation of their dance routines by communities and community dancers. These encounters either confirm or correct their dances and the corrections are adopted along the bounds of school dance performances.

The entertainment nature of the dancing and the autonomy in which student performers arrange their choreography underscore the confusion in attaching socio-cultural offices to the Office of Academic Affairs. Even after its formal integration in the school organizational

structure, the performance of school-based indigenous dances today are largely a mirror of the earlier traditions of pre-PASUC performances as being tourist- and visitor-oriented.

There is also a vague link between cultural dance performances to other cultural programs of these schools. A Special Cultural Office in BSU, for example, did not integrate the popular *Kontad* dance group when it was organized in 1987. In the same manner, Ifugao State University's (IFSU) School of Living Traditions sidelined active performance of Ifugao dances by students. Instead, BSU's Special Cultural Office paid attention to the establishment of an ethnographic museum and library while the IFSU's SLT took an academic platform of importing elders who shared their knowledge on rice production, land management, and house construction (Keith 1987, 5; Bulayungan 2007; Gonzales 2015; Baguilat 2008). There are also novel academic programs related to Cordillera culture but are not directly linked to the cultural dance program. The Mountain Province State Polytechnic College (MPSPC), for example, has integrated Indigenous Cuisine in their Hotel and Restaurant Management curriculum, Indigenous Justice System in the Criminology curriculum, and Indigenous Peoples' Education in the Teacher Education curriculum.⁷ BSU and IFSU also offer Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices (IKSP) at the undergraduate level. Apayao State College (ASC) has an ethnographic museum at Conner, and in 2015 an Apayao Center for Historical and Cultural Studies, and a Biodiversity Center for food and culture.⁸ None of these were explicitly tied to cultural dance programs, so that cultural dancing on campus remained independent and segregated.

In most cases, the dance groups' formal creation preceded any school-based cultural program. At Benguet State University, the *Kontad* dance troupe was organized in 1969 but the first concrete cultural program of the school was crafted in 1986 with the creation of the Special Cultural Office. The Ifugao State University (IFSU) dance group was also already active years before the establishment of a School of Living Tradition in 2004. Cultural dance groups in all the other public tertiary schools were formed and reformed way ahead of other culture-related curricular and non-curricular programs.

Being extra-curricular, cultural dance experiences in schools remain voluntary, attracting only a few passionate performers to form dance groups and to engage in cultural dancing. Being extra-curricular, the school is even perceived by dance members as supportive only because they are accommodated through the excuse letters signed for the classes missed.⁹

Dancing in School and Dance Alterations

Traditional dancing in the Cordillera may be described as "commu-

nity participation,” a social interaction that does not see dance as a show but as an involvement. These are performed mostly in the context of community ceremonies such as thanksgiving and wedding events (Fiar-od 2014). It is “participational” where “anyone who feels like participating in the dance does so, and in so doing, establishes a cultural and social connection to the collectivity” (Gilmore 2000, 527–28). When these dances were transported to the schools or into the city, and out of the community contexts, the value and meaning of the dances changed entirely. The alteration of cultural dances is, of course, a result of historical changes that the region underwent, such as Christianization, tourism, education, as well as what Peterson (2010, 248) noted as “diminished spiritual power of those who were the keepers of traditional spiritual practices.” Tourism has also forced local governments to exhibit culture mostly in the form of dances, in the belief that this shall bring in additional income for the local people. Tourism also engendered dance performances in schools, as seen in the case of BSU and other tertiary schools in Baguio. When cultural dance groups became mainstays in schools, the schools also became a venue for dance alterations. In all of these, what is left in off-context performances are merely the movements and the steps.

Intermissions and Dance Competitions: Institutions of Dance Modification

Dance movements, figures and steps are standardized in most school dance contexts, similar to tourist shows. Performers move in unison and in identical steps guided by an understanding that the elegance of the dance heavily depended on such homogeneity (cadence). This is how “school intermissions” conditioned ethnic dance, taming individualized, motley community dances into restrained movements. In community performances of these dances in the Cordillera, individual deviations are actually the norm as dancing is a “spontaneous expression” by performers allowing what Georgios (2018, 108) calls a “continuous differentiation and constant transformation.” It is neither fixed nor unchangeable and “steadiness and continuity” can only be observed in the general style, which provides a framework for improvisations in the performance (Hoerburger 1967, 31).

The alteration from heterogenous styles into a uniformed march is often ignored even by dance coaches and performers interviewed. This attitude reflects a sense of tolerance to “minor changes,” which are perceived to do no serious modification of the dances.¹⁰ They, in fact, declare that they go through continuous consultation with other dance keepers, learn from actual community dance performances, and rehearse these to no end. In these interactions, community members also sanction homogenous dance movements of student performers even as they also assert “proper” position and movement of hands,

elevation of legs, and pace of execution.¹¹ This toleration is not surprising though, and is a consistent manifestation of how community dances allow for variations in dances. Other ethnic dance coaches, however, acknowledge this transformation, claiming that stage performances are indeed rehearsed along uniformity. In reality, dance variations are a constant debate among some performers in their rehearsals. Banaue and Mayaoyao students of IFSU, for example, exhibit some variations in dance movements for ethnic dances shared by the two groups, even if such differences are reconciled only when they perform on stage. “Uniformity in dance is for stage shows,” admits one dance teacher, but loosens when the same students perform off stage.¹² School dancing is organized to satisfy visitors and even insiders who become part of the crowd as audience. In other words, dancing became “presentational” in the school context, “in a clearly defined transactional performer-audience or producer-consumer relationships” (Gilmore 2018, 529).

Dance modifications for dance competitions where school performers participate in are more drastic and discernible. This is so because competitions usually impose a written standard, or a notated literature usually authored by non-natives, for the evaluation of the dances. In the experience of CAR SUCs, such literature, with its radically altered form, offended some coaches and performers. In the 2015 CARASUC cultural competition, the IFSU dance troupe walked out during the announcement of winners after it learned that it was disqualified due to some insertions in the dance piece that were not present in the judges’ literature but were “originally” part of the Ifugao dance. While the judges were correct as they relied on the PASUC choice of a published dance literature, the IFSU dancers stuck to their perceived “correctness” of the dance.¹³ The 2018 CARASUC, held in Kalinga, became a *déjà vu* experience for IFSU. They lost the cultural dance contest, again because they did not adhere to the letter of the dance literature for the Ifugao *Uyaoy*. Their coach insisted very strongly that the literature did not capture the true Ifugao *Uyaoy*. In frustration, she justified that between respecting their own dance and winning the contest, they would rather stand for the former. Other coaches and advisers shared IFSU’s sentiment but none so strongly expressed it as the IFSU performers, mainly because it so happened that the dance piece chosen in the contests were Ifugao dances.

The notation of dance steps prescribes standards, transforming community dancing into physical expression of steps and grace. Such notation would also fall into what Trillimos (in Gilmore 2018, 529) calls the “professionalization of the art” that changed the observance of dancing from community expressions to performance of formally trained dancers, and consequently changing the meanings attached to dancing.

The PASUC cultural competition, and its regional screening levels, therefore, became a venue for Cordillera dance alterations characterized by impositions of appropriated ethnic dance literature lifted from eminent Philippine dance authors such as Ramon Obusan and Francisca Reyes Aquino. For 2018, four Cordillera dances were selected from Ramon Obusan's work from which schools chose one to perform for the competition. BSU represented the Cordillera Administrative Region and brought its own interpretation of Obusan's Ifugao Uyaoy¹⁴ to the national competition in Davao. It got disqualified because it mixed females and males in the dance. The judges pointed out that Obusan's Uyaoy only included male performers. The PASUC-sponsored cultural dance competition is a continuing practice of popularizing dances as interpreted by dance ethnologists whose background are everything but ethnic. These dance interpretations already altered the performances of these traditional dances but being imposed on the Cordilleran school dance groups themselves adds to the distortion of already muddled indigenous dances, approximating the history of migration and return of tango when Argentina elites adopted the European "refined" and "polished" interpretation of the dance that originated from dockside Buenos Aires (Desmond 1995, 38–39).

Inter-school ethnic dance competitions are somehow tricky in their repercussions, so that while it brings the academe closer to the traditional dance (Nannyonga-Tamusuza 2003, 109–11), they also bring unwanted changes (Desjarlait 1997).

Signs of "Curricularity"

Curricularity is defined here to connote the integration of traditional dances into appropriate fields within the academe. It approaches the same idea of indigenizing the curriculum, or locating indigenous knowledge in the intellectual and epistemological platform of schools (Mabingo 2015, 144). IFSU provides an encouraging diversion out of the extra-curricular character of the school cultural dance. In 2014, an indigenous knowledge-related course was offered as a mandatory elective. This is part of IFSU's involvement in the NIKE project, which envisioned the offering of IK in Ifugao schools. The course is entitled Ifugao Indigenous Knowledge Systems and a reference material for the course was earlier crafted for use (Ngohayon 2011; Baguilat 2008, 14). The reference book, "Ifugao Indigenous Knowledge Workbook," covers indigenous approaches in land and water use and management, rice production practices, stone works, house construction, justice system, rituals, biodiversity conservation practices, and dances (Alcayna 2011). Which topic is emphasized depends on the discretion of the course facilitator, but conveniently rests on the facili-

tator's fields, so that a political science teacher may place more importance to the Ifugao justice system while an arts teacher, like Lydia de Castro (who was the director of socio-cultural affairs) puts premium on dance. In fact, the course provided a chance for cultural dance enthusiasts like her to push an agenda for a focused teaching of Ifugao dances. The IKSP class also became a venue for her, as director of the socio-cultural office, to recruit performers for the dance group.¹⁵ The Ifugao Indigenous Knowledge course, in effect, opened an opportunity for the integration of such dances in academic subjects and a wider participation in cultural dancing.

A promising field for further integration of indigenous dances is in Physical Education. IFSU, Kalinga State University (KSU), and BSU have intermittently experimented on the inclusion of ethnic dances in their rhythmic dance classes, a course they claim Commission on Higher Education (CHED) allows for institutional courses.¹⁶ PE teachers of IFSU, in particular, made great strides in their integration through their notations of Ifugao dances. These are the bases for teaching Ifugao dances to their students.¹⁷

Other teachers in the different schools under study also incorporated IKS, and dancing, in their own fields but only on a very individual initiative. Cultural dancing, for example, is an essential component in Philippine History classes handled by some faculty members at BSU. Students are assigned particular highland dances to learn and perform for a final evaluation at a pre-selected time of the semester. Each group seeks coaches for the dances, filled in usually by members of the BSU dance group.

All these attempts at integration allowed the experience of cultural dance in the classroom for students, within the bounds of "curricular." Nevertheless, aligning cultural dances to the curriculum remains a struggle for most of the schools. Aside from being isolated and tentative, these initiatives are not anchored on well-planned institutional cultural programs that would have defined all these assertive expressions of dance incorporations into the curricular.

Conclusion

State universities and colleges in the region are opening platforms where indigenous Cordillera dances could be performed and sustained. With scholarships/allowances, a formal office to manage it, and the opportunities for students to showcase the dance in and outside the school, ethnic dance might have found a new home in schools.

Nevertheless, dance alterations are inevitable in the migration of dances from communities to the schools. The detachment of dances from their ceremonial/ritual contexts certainly opened the dances to further modifications. The nature of school-sanctioned performances, in the form of program "intermissions," visitors' entertainment, and

competitions, reworks the dance steps, music, duration, and heterogeneity. Also, the cultural competitions conceived by PASUC, while instrumental in formally integrating cultural dance groups in the structure of state higher education, contributed to dance alteration. By insisting on the use of ethnic dance choreographies from flawed reinterpretations, PASUC condones the revision course of Cordillera dances.

The Author

STANLEY F. ANONGOS JR. is a member of the faculty of Benguet State University. This paper was a result of his involvement as director from 2016 to 2017 of the school's Center for Culture and the Arts. He earned his Ph.D in History at UP Diliman. His research interests include local and institutional history, as well as Cordillera culture.

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Notes

1. "Order of National Artists: Francisca Reyes Aquino" <https://ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/culture-profile/national-artists-of-the-philippines/francisca-reyes-aquino/>
2. Severino Dagacan, interview, 24 September 2010.
3. <https://www.tpb.gov.ph/alpha-listing/philippine-association-of-state-universities-and-colleges/>
4. CARASUC is an acronym for Cordillera Administrative Region Association of State Universities and Colleges.
5. Wanwan Agad-adal Waday ASIST Gameng Itneg.
6. Tourism Officer of Benguet, Clarita Prudencio, for example, described BSU's dance style as "Kinonkontad," which literally means "dance in a Kontad way," referring to how Kontad sometimes mixes various dances in one performance. Personal Communication, March 2016. There are few instances, though, when new members assert "correctness" of their styles and successfully breach existing forms.
7. Nieves Dacyon, interview, 10 September 2019.
8. Dacyon, 10 September 2019.

9. Reynaldo Islao, Interview, 4 April 2019. Browsing through BSU's brochures throughout the years, there appears to be an unconscious projection of ethnic dances and dancers if one is to observe the photographs embedded in these brochures. One can be tempted to think that BSU has seriously absorbed culture and ethnic dances in its programs. This could be possible, but another possible explanation for this is because students in their colorful ethnic attire or in their nakedness are attractive in these types of brochures.
10. Interviews with Dinah Licayao, Adela Bantasan, Julie Mi-ing, Noel Begnalen, various dates, 2019.
11. Claire Saguiyod, et al., group interview, MPSPC, February 28, 2019. For others, dance uniformity in movement is not questioned, and instead accepted to some extent as traditional and authentic.
12. Martina Labhat and Esmerlyn Bayangan, personal communications, 3 October 2019.
13. Vicky Madangeng, personal communication, 27 August 2019. We also witnessed this walk-out as participants during the competition.
14. Uyaoy is an Ifugao wedding ceremony and the dance performed during this period is *Pagaddut*. Obusan popularized it as Uyaoy dance.
15. De Castro, Lydia, interview, 27 February 2019.
16. Personal Communications with Martina Labhat and Esmerlyn Bayangan, 3 October 2019.
17. Personal communications with Vicky Madangeng and Martina Labhat. I also sat in two IFSU in-house reviews where their researches were presented.

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