BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

The culture of a community is their identity and material culture is the most apparent form of it. 'Divit' for instance is one example amongst the Ibaloi tribe material culture. 'Divit' is the native Ibaloi garment of women since time memorial. But with the advent of modernization in the textile industry, different garments is being introduced and acknowledged by the mass. It even extended to the modernization, innovation and modification of the native garment. These changes may have an effect to the real value of the native garments' position and sacredness to the Ibaloi culture.

This study was conducted to chronicle the evolution of the 'Divit', specifically to determine the socio-demographic profiles of the key informants; determine the original style and design of the 'divit'; determine the innovations and/or modifications in the 'divit'; determine weaving materials used in weaving the 'divit' and from where the materials are; determine the considerations and reasons of the weaver in designing and using different colors in weaving the 'divit' and identify the commercial weaving industries and store outlets in Baguio- Benguet selling the 'divit'.



The study was conducted from November 2012- January 2013 in Baguio- Benguet. The respondents were weavers, elders, industry/organization owners and, production manager. Data were gathered through personal and key informant interview.

It was found that the 'divit' is a two (2) piece garment having an upper garment locally termed as 'kambal' and a wrap-around lower garment (which is also termed as 'divit'). Aside from the pair, an inner long-sleeved blouse is worn under the 'kambal' during cold seasons. Moreover, the study found that some of the modernizations being done to the 'divit' are; it is being sewn into a dress; removal of the 'manta'; addition of other culture's accent to the 'kambayacho' of the garment; and, addition of glitters, laces and 'patda' to garment. On the other hand, the reason of these innovations is their customers' preferences, demand and request. It may also be possible that their customers designed the 'divit' and the weavers make it.

Moreover, weaver's reasons in continuing weaving the native cloth were for family and business and as their way of culture preservation.

The study concluded that the weavers of the Ibaloi cloth and the sewers of the 'divit' were predominantly women which had been presented by most of the indigenous tribes of Benguet; the 'divit' is a two-piece garment which has been used by the Ibaloi women and reflects the social status of the person wearing it depending upon the colors; and embroidery, laces, darts, change of colors, narrowing the height of the black stripe, and the removal of the manta are the predominant changes on the 'divit'. These slight changes do not have considerable huge impact on the original design of the 'divit' because the weavers and sewers maintained it and commercial products and cotton threads are used by the



lowlanders in weaving the Benguet cloths which easily fades that may affect the quality of the product. This makes the Benguet cloths coming Benguet seem the best quality for making the 'divit'. Moreover, it was concluded that the modernization, modification and innovation on the use of the Benguet cloths depend upon the discernment of the weaver withstanding the requests or demands of the customer; the innovations and modifications to the 'divit' were based on the demand, request, preference, suggestion or demand of the customers; and, only Easter Weaving Room is the existing weaving industry in Baguio-Benguet. Most weaving businesses are operated by women associations. They sell their products through trade fairs and personal customers.

Based on the conclusions, it is recommended that trainings may be conducted locally to teach the younger generations about weaving for the preservation and continuity of the culture. And since women are predominantly the Benguet cloth weavers and sewers, they shall be led by women. The original design of the 'divit' should be retained, although embellishments may be added, so its value as a part of the Ibaloi culture will remain. In addition, Benguet cloths to be used in making the 'divit' should come from the Benguet weavers because their products are of better quality, business shouldn't be the main reasons of the weavers and sewers in weaving Benguet cloths but, more importantly for the preservation of the Ibaloi culture; and, the Local Government Units should support the weaving industry so the Ibaloi will continue the practice.



INTRODUCTION

<u>Rationale</u>

Culture refers to the complex way of living of a certain group of individuals including their social life, material things, know-how, politics and other distinct characteristics they have in common.

For the experts, culture refers to the patterned ways of thinking, feeling and behaving shared by a certain population (Harris, 1993). It can also be viewed as the fabric meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their actions (Sakili, 2003), because culture come out in answer to the demands of a certain place and event (Ginn and Company, 1983).

As an answer to their needs, humans were able to create material things that help them in their daily living, which is collectively known as material culture. Material culture is the physical evidences of a culture which includes buildings, tools, and means of production of a society. It is the most evident manifestation of culture.

Cloth and clothing constitute the widest imaginable category of material culture because cloth and clothing is mainly used for self- enhancement which loosely refers to energizing the self or even others or perhaps as an act of affirmation or obedience to practices and rituals of a certain group of individual (Schneider, 2006). An example is the woven native wraparound of the Ibalois called the 'divit' that has clothed the Ibaloi women for centuries and kept them an epitome of modesty and beauty (Kollin, 2012). In the past, the colors used in 'divit' symbolize the purpose or the status of a person in the community she belongs (Department of Tourism, 2012).

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Weaving, on the other hand, is the interlacing of two or more threads or pieces of material in order to create a joined structure that is most often used to make cloth, the technique is also common in other crafts such as basket-making. It is one of the oldest and valued ways of crafting materials, because it has existed for thousands of years, and remains as popular and useful in the modern world as it did in ancient civilizations (Ellis, 2012).

Ibalois inhabit the south and southeastern of the province of Benguet (Angelo and de Los Reyes, 1987) though not sociable, they are kind, hospitable, and sincere and humble, and generally their occupation is farming and gardening (Benguet Provincial Office, 2012) but they are also renowned weavers because of their distinctive motifs.

These days, the wearing of 'divit' and other 'tapis' is more evident for both igorot and non-igorots, especially during special gatherings. Also, innovations and enhancement are sometimes added into the original style of the wraparound. Sometimes the 'divit' is paired with short- sleeves, 'kimona' and others to make it appear more "chic" and stylish. The enhancement and renovations in the native clothes of the Igorots in the present generation is maybe due to modernization, westernization or lack of understanding on the value of these native garments which in extent decrease the significance and value of these native garments. The dynamism of the use and description of the 'divit' varies depending on the generation. Also, the interests of the younger generation shifted to technology and what it offers.

The dynamism and unstableness of culture and the undisputable importance and contribution of material culture and the process of making it in the development of a culture are the main reasons why this study will be conducted. This study will document



and try to understand the considerations and reasons of the weaver in designing and choosing colors in weaving the 'divit' to understand the reasons to the innovations of the 'divit'. The documentation of the procedure and materials in weaving can be a venue of appreciation to the value of the 'divit' and to preserve the position of weaving and the 'divit' in the Ibaloi Culture.

Statement of the Problem

The study aimed to know the evolution of the native clothing of the Ibalois in Baguio-Benguet.

Specifically this study aimed to answer the following questions:

- 1. What is the socio-demographic profile of the key informants?
- 2. What is the original style and design of the 'divit'?
- 3. What are the materials used in weaving 'divit' and where do the materials come from?
- 4. What are the considerations and reasons of the weaver in designing and using different colors in weaving the 'divit'?
- 5. What are the innovations in designs made by the weavers? and
- 6. What are the commercial weaving industries and store outlets in Baguio-Benguet selling 'divit'?



Objectives of the Study

Generally, the study aimed to know the evolution of the native clothing of the Ibalois in Baguio- Benguet. Specifically, it aims to:

- 1. Determine the original style and design of the 'divit';
- 2. Determine the innovations and/or modifications in the 'divit';
- 3. Determine weaving materials in weaving the 'divit' and from where the materials are;
- Determine the considerations and reasons of the weaver in designing and using different colors in weaving the 'divit' and
- 5. Identify the commercial weaving industries and store outlets in Baguio- Benguet selling the 'divit'.

Importance of the Study

The findings of this study may help in the enlightenment and appreciation of the value of the 'divit' in the Ibaloi culture. Its documentation may serve as an Information Education Campaign Material to educate the younger generation who are not aware of the traditional garments original appearance and its evolution and, may serve as a documentary for the preservation of the 'divit' in the Ibaloi culture.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on the evolution of the design and colors used in weaving the 'divit' of the Baguio- Benguet weavers. It did not include the communicative values of the designs of the divit and the traditional weaving economic aspects.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Culture and Clothing

Hofstede (1997) explained that culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving. This was approved by the definition of Sakili (2003), which is, culture is a body of knowledge and a model of perceiving, relating, and interpreting realities and the explanation of Ginn and Company (1983), that culture includes ideas, actions, the objects made, their government, exchange system, language, tools and the ways that members of a group get along with one another which is acquired through a membership in a group.

Culture can also be referred as the rudimentarily learned and socially acquired patterned ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving of certain members of a population (Harris, 1993), because culture has three qualities; 1. Culture falls into patterns, or regularities of form and style, and significance, 2. embodies values, which may be formulated, or felt by the society carrying the culture and, 3. shall at least contain channeled or selected forms, norms and values which make up the stream of related ideas and expressible patterns (Kroeber, 1952).

On the other hand, culture is a process too (Beals, 1967) because it is transmitted and continued though communication (Kroeber, 1952) and comes out in answer to the demand of a certain place, event or generation (Ginn and Company, 1983). It furthermore elaborated that culture is always changing, both simple and complex, learned and spreads from one group to the other. In addition, changes because the elements of culture are closely bound up with each other through many ties of association (Bose et al., 1963).

Meanwhile, material culture according National Park Service (2011) is not culture, but a product of culture. It refers to the physical environment that the people belonging to a culture modify through culturally determined behavior. It is because material culture reflects the social, political, and economic pasts of a region, the technology of the time, the intrinsic traditions and rituals of the people which indeed are treasures of a society and of a region's cultural and historical heritage (Gilchrist, 2001). Clothing is a part of material culture that reflects many variables; they are in some respect utilized to indicate sex, age, occupation or class.

Culture is represented by the symbols attached to the material culture because symbols are words, gestures, pictures, or object that carry a particular meaning which is only recognized by those who share a particular culture (Hofstede, 1997).

Artifacts are an example of symbol. These are things which act as triggers to remind people in the culture of its rules, beliefs- as a shorthand way to keep people aligned. Symbols can also be used to indicate status within a culture. This includes clothing, decorations, and others. Status symbols signal others to help them behave correctly towards other members of the society behave correctly towards other members of the society in the hierarchy. They also lock in the users of the symbols into prescribed behaviors that are appropriate for their status and position (Brown, 1995).



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Sources of Materials for Weaving Indigenous Clothes

In the study of Batoon, G., (N.I), he discussed and identified the natural dyes used by hand cloth weavers in Namarabar, Peñarubia, Abra. He identified 'achuate' as the coloring agent for maroon, Bangkoro/apatot, Duhat, Mahogany, Mala acle/kariskis and, Binunga for brown, Kamachile for brownish color, Karimboboa for yellow, Kotakot for light red, Pandakaki for white, Sapang for violet, Tayum-tayum and Tinta-tintahan for blue and others. He also emphasized that these materials have other agricultural economic value and uses.

Pineapple fibers are as well used in weaving, especially for the Filipino Barong and Filipiniana dress (Oijiala, 2012). While in the Ilocos Region, the well-known "Abel" which is closely similar to the "inabels" of Benguet (Rumsua, 2012) is weaving that involves the use of a wooden handloom and a cotton yarn (sagut) made from local cottons (Caoayan, 2012).

The 'Divit'

'Divit' is the native lower garment wraparound of the Ibaloi women and is usually paired with a loose fitting jacket called 'kambal'. This dress is generally worn during festivals and other special occasions or maybe used as an ordinary clothe (Alcantara, 1966).

The 'divit' is a loom-woven material with colored stripes of red, green, black, yellow and white because the Ibaloi's favorite colors are green and yellow, and the rest are just added. In most cases, the colors run horizontally in parallel lines when the clothes are worn, producing a plaid effect that gives a pleasant impression of stability, solidity and serenity. Sometimes the women wear the 'balkes', a kind of belt used to hold the 'divit' in place (Baguio City Office, 2009).



On the other hand Dimas *et.al* (2007) said that the Benguet female wears the wraparound 'divit' paired with a Chinese collared short sleeved blouse, 'kambal', and during cold months an inner sports collared long-sleeved blouse with two large pockets in front, 'sambra', is worn. These pockets are used to keep their tobacco and other things that the wearer may bring. She also said that black/dark blue and white was the original colors of the 'divit'. It was also explained that the back cloth and the band accent of the 'divit' go according to the main cloth. She further explained that as brightly colored cloth became available, reds, yellow and, greens soon became evident. Furthermore, the redstripped 'divit' became associated with the rich who can afford to buy the cloth. The black stripes were interrupted by narrower red stripes and by even narrower white stripes or white and yellow or green stripes. Dimas et.al added that the red, black and white was worn by the Ibalois and the one with yellow and green stripes was worn by the Kankanaeys.

Ibaloi children were naked until they turn four to five years old, from five years old to 12, the Ibaloi children wear skirts, and at age 12 and above they wear a loosefitting jacket and a skirt (Moss, 1920). She further explained in her book, Nabaloi Ritual and Law that the skirts are made of ordinarily sewed three thicknesses in such a way as to suggest the weatherboarding of the house.

In her book she also stated that during the 1520's the garment of Ibaloi women was made out of bark, soaked, flattened, and sewn into a clothing using a crude wooden needle and fiber from the same bark as the thread. In the 1660, women wore a 'kulebaw' wrap- around, which is a blanket used by young men in the 1600's. It is a white cloth with black/blue stripes or narrow yellow strip lining the edges and sometimes having blue



bands traversing the ends of its length and width. According to her this clothing was influenced by lowlands.

Moreover, Moss said that in 1700's Ibaloi women wore predominantly black and white striped blouse paired to a wraparound having four black stripes near the hemline which eventually became a modern 'kulebaw divit' with black and white stripes and a turban. In the early American Era, specifically on 1912, the early 'sambra' was a checkered long-sleeved shirt paired with a blue, red and white wraparound, 'divit'. This was worn together with 'unno' or coin necklace with white turban.

During 1920, the 'sambra' and 'divit' evolved from 'sambra' paired with a blue, red and, white wraparound into a blue, red and, white 'divit' (now termed as 'kambal' or sahdey) over a blue, red and, white wraparound (now termed as 'divit'). Moreover in 1958, patda or hand embroidery and laces is being added to the modern 'divit'. And as early as 1978, Moss observed that the 'divit' extended into a gown length.

The Ibaloi Tribe

The Ibaloi tribe dominates the province of Benguet and historically is the native inhabitants of Benguet Province (Benguet Provincial Office, 2012). They inhabit the southern part of Benguet including Baguio City; the principal towns are Itogon, Tuba, La Trinidad, Bokod, Tublay, Sablan, Kapangan and Kabayan. (Alcantara, 1966).

According to Nakate (2011), the Ibalois are in an agricultural community, which cultivates rice in terraced fields and currently have a number of 55,000 today.

The Ibalois are one of the most advanced tribal groups in the country today because of their acceptance of innovations and new technologies.

Traditional Weaving

Weaving is the interlacing of two or more threads or pieces of material in order to create a joined structure that is most often used to make cloth. The technique is also common in other crafts such as basket-making. It is one of the oldest and valued ways of crafting materials because it has existed for thousands of years, and remains as popular and useful in the modern world as it did in ancient civilizations (Ellis, 2012). The weaving process is a social process; undertaken communally with different generations (Women in the World History Curriculum, 2011).

Moreover, the possible materials used to make weaved products were gathered from animals and vegetables, such as rabbit, dog, bison, human, insect larvae, cotton, flax, hemp, palm, willow, yucca, and grasses (Weber, 1999). The processes are bleaching, mercerizing, dyeing, printing (Textile Printing) and finishing. These contribute almost as much to the character and effect of the resultant product as do the incorporation in one fabric of threads spun in different ways, and from fibers of different origin, with paper, metal, beads or even precious stones (Women in the World History Curriculum, 2011).

Importance of Weaving

Women in the World History Curriculum (2011) explained that the motifs and color combinations used in weaving are identifiers of ethnic groups and as the weavers of the cloth. Weavers carry the cultural language that reflects the birth place of a whole community. Through weaving, the cultural language is expressed and weavers play a collective role in maintaining place-based identity. While through the medium of weaved traditional cloth of a region, weavers have the chance to improve their quality of life and uphold the customs and traditions that shape their community's identity. By applying skills



that are steeped in the old ways, weavers weave new opportunities and culture and commerce merge for development. A traditional weaved cloth plays a key role in social

and ritual life.

Also, weaving is an expression of culture and identity and an activity "frozen in time", that expresses local processes, and that rooted undeniably in the past. This contributes to the identity and thus illustrates culture, experiences within a specific social, political, and historical contexts (Martin, 2011).

Aside from the above-mentioned importance, Lake Sebu Women Weavers Association Inc. (2012) also view weaving as a source of significant income to a family and also plays as a preserver, protector and promoter of indigenous culture. The clear patterns indicated in its product makes a clear vision in a region's weaving designs and patterns (De Leon, 2012) and culture (Caluza, 2005).

Modern Developments in Weaving

In the past decades, hand-weaving and manual looms are used in weaving, especially in the remote areas. But with the advancement of today's generation, things easily change and diminish to make life easier and lighter. Weaving machines of today are mostly electrically operated and works according to computer programming. One example is the shuttleless weaving machine.

Jahday (2007) said that in the field of weaving, shuttle less weaving is making a name on the textile industry. The changeover to shuttle less involves both new technology and shift from labor intensive to capital intensive, mode of production. It can weave materials from the lightest to the heaviest of fabrics and diversified products using materials

like spun, jute, woolen, worsted, metal wire, glass fire, mono and multifilament, with good quality.

Another is the "Adaptive Relay Valve Drive (ARVD) which has an automatic feature that adapts the closing timing of the relay nozzle valves to the behavior of the filling yarn. Instead of applying one setting for all the different picks, ARVD applies the best relay valve timing for each individual pick, thus reducing the overall air consumption (Textile World Asia, 2010).

<u>Industry</u>

Investowords (2013) explained that industry is a basic category of business activity which is sometimes used to describe a very precise business activity or a more generic business activity. Moreover, Farflex (2013) defined industry as a branch of commercial enterprise concerned with the output of a specified product or service. It added that industry maybe defined as a commercial production and sale of goods. Having a specific branch of manufacture and trade i.e the textile industry.

Operational Definition of Terms

Benguet Cloth. It is the term used in this study to refer to the bak'ket and bangkuro as one.

Divit'. It is the term used in this study to refer to the Ibaloi native garment as a whole.

Wrap-around is referred as the lower part of the divit.



'Kankana-ey bangkuro' is the term used to red, black, green and yellow Benguet cloth.

'Ibaloi bangkuro' is the term used to the red, black and white Benguet cloth.

Commercial cloth is the term used to refer to the unwoven materials sewn in the 'Divit'.



METHODOLOGY

Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted in Baguio- Benguet as the areas of settlement of the Ibaloi natives. It was conducted in the known Ibaloi native settlement which is the southern part of Benguet. This included the municipalities of Itogon, Tuba, La Trinidad, Tublay, Kapangan and Kabayan, and Baguio City (see Figure 1). These are where commercial weaving organizations or industries selling 'divit' are present. The study was conducted from November 2012 to January 2013.

Respondents of the Study

There were seventeen (17) key informants comprised of elders and the owners of commercial weaving industries or organizations that weave and sell 'divit'.

The key informants must have woven or sewn a 'divit' or uses a 'divit' or knows on what 'divit' is. Ten weavers of the weaving industry or organization that weave, sew and sell 'divit' were taken as respondents.

Data Collection Method

Key informant and personal interviews were used to gather information on the procedures of weaving the 'divit', information on how the 'divit' looked like and the recent innovations and modifications on the 'divit' in Baguio-Benguet.

Further questions were asked to the key informants and respondents to clarify data and facts. And as a part of documentation, photos were taken.



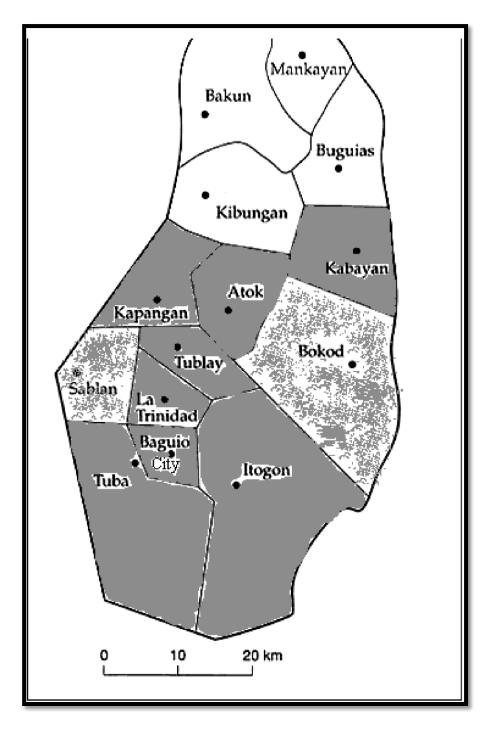


Figure 1. Map of Benguet. Fully highlighting the Ibaloi municipalities and Baguio City which are the areas of the study and partially highlighting the other Ibaloi municipalities

Data Gathered

The original design of the 'divit' was identified and the procedure and weaving materials needed in weaving the 'divit' were documented through pictures. It included the modifications and innovations and considerations and reasons of the weavers and sewers in designing the 'divit' and the different materials. Their challenges encoutered in weaving the 'divit' were also asked.

Trade names of the interviewed organizations and businesses were presented in a table. Moreover, the business profile and history of the existing weaving industry that weaves and sells 'divit' in Baguio- Benguet were narrated.

Data Analysis

The history and profile of the weaving industries in Baguio-Benguet weaving, sewing and selling the 'divit' the original style and design of the 'divit', the weavers' reasons and considerations in designing the 'divit' and their challenges in weaving the native garment were narrated. Also, the weavers' and sewers' innovations, modifications and considerations in choosing colors and designing the 'divit' were tabulated and described accordingly.

Tables were used to show the different innovations of the respondents according to color, design, embellishments and cut of 'divit', address, store outlets and trade names.



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Socio-demographic Profile of the Key Informants

Seventeen key informants were identified and purposely chosen as key informants based on the given qualifications that they should have worn or sewn or have an idea about what the 'divit' is. The respondents were drawn from the municipalities of La Trinidad, Tuba, Tublay, Kapangan, Atok and, Kabayan, and Baguio City.

Table 1 presents the key informants' socio- demographic profiles. They were categorized according to age, sex, characteristic and address. Further, it shows that only two out of 17 key informants were male and the rest were females. Sixteen were all elders and two (2) were weaving business/organization owners and one (1) is a representative of the owner.

Eight key informants came from Itogon, four from La Trinidad, two from Kabayan, and one each from Tuba, Kapangan and, Baguio City.

Characteristic description of the key informants

There were seventeen key informants interviewed for the study. They were referred and identified by the respondents and key informants. Eight came from Itogon, Benguet and they were Paulina Mulang, 98 years old, one of the known oldest 'divit' sewers in Tinongdan and Dalupirip, Itogon; Loreta A. Albino, 88 years old; Espirita N. Carpio, 81 years old; Leona Capsula, 72 years old; Odsaya Capsula, 83 years old; and Mercedes Claudio, 72 years old. All are members of their senior citizen organization and wear a 'divit'. On the other hand, Miguela



Table 1. Socio-Demographic p	profile of the Key Informants
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Name	Age	Sex	Characteristic	Address
1. Paulina Mulang	98	Female	Elder	Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet
2. Loreta A. Albino	88	Female	Elder	Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet
3. Espirita N. Carpio	81	Female	Elder	Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet
	72	Female	Elder	Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet
4. Leona Capsula	83	Female	Elder	Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet
5. OdsayaCapsula	72	Female	Elder	Tinongdan, Itogon, Benguet
	89	Female	Elder	Dalupirip, Itogon, Benguet
6. Mercedes Claudio	86	Female	Elder	Dalupirip, Itogon, Benguet
7. MiguelaMaingpis	73	Female	Elder	Pico, La Trinidad, Benguet
8. Patricia T. Canite	66	Female	Elder	Pico, La Trinidad, Benguet
	79	Female	Elder	Pico, La Trinidad, Benguet
9. PuritaSaley	62	Male	Elder/ owner	Betag, La Trinidad, Benguet
10. Virginia L. Fianza	55	Female	Elder	Kabayan, Benguet
11. Hilda O. Lubos	60	Female	Elder/owner	Kabayan, Benguet
12. Jamede La Cruz	55	Female	Elder	Tuba, Benguet
13. Bernadette Sado	84	Female	Elder	Datakan, Kapangan, Benguet
	29	Male	Owner representative	Baguio City
14. MaxenxiaPili			-	
15. Norma Banaňa				
1.6				

16. Rosa B. Fianza

17. Yasser Buting

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Maingpis, 89 years old, a farmer, and Patricia T. Canite, 86 years old, a retired teacher were the key informants from Dalupirip Itogon. Canite is related to the husband of a Tagudin, La Union native, who according to her, brought the cloth to Dalupirip and Tinongdan. They wear the 'divit' and are among the elders in their community.

Moreover, four were from La Trinidad. They are Purita Saley, 73 years old, member of Pico Sarong Troop (PST), and Virginia L. Fianza, 66 years old, PST adviser; both wear a 'divit'. Another key informant from La Trinidad is Hilda O. Lubos, 79 years old who wears the garment. She also organizes and coordinates activities with different organizations to teach the different 'caňao' dances and the garments being used during the cultural dance. Another key informant is Jame de La Cruz, 62 year old business man,

'divit' sewer and has a weaver for the ethnic Ibaloi cloths which he uses to make a 'divit'. From Kabayan is Bernadette Sado, 55 years old, a 'divit' sewer, and a high school teacher who teaches Ibaloi culture-related topics at the same time. Maxenxia Pili, on the other hand, is a 60 year-old weaver and sewer of 'divit'. She is the owner of Kabayan Weaving.

Norma Banaňa, conversely, was a weaver and wears a 'divit'. She is also a college instructor. Rosa B. Fianza, is an 84 year-old key informant, and the cultural master in sewing and hand embroidery ('patda') in Datakan, Kapangan, Benguet. Lastly, Yasser Buting, a 29 year-old production manager of Easter Weaving Room and is knowledgeable on the 'divit'.



Original Design of the 'Divit'

Eight out of 17 key informants said that there were two original Benguet cloths used for the women native Ibaloi garment. These two Benguet cloths were the 'bak'ket' (black and white Benguet cloth) and 'Ibaloi 'bangkuro' (red, black and white Benguet cloth) as shown in Figure 2. The black color stripes of the 'bak'ket' and 'bangkuro' were thicker than the red stripes and the red stripes are half the rise of the black stripes. A thin white horizontal stripes is also in between the red and black stripes (this is for the case of the 'bangkuro'), but for the 'bak'ket', the black is replaced with white stripes and the thin white horizontal stripes is replaced with black because only black and white colors are used to the 'bak'ket'.

Other key informants said that aside from the colors mentioned above, a red, black and yellow and green type of 'bangkuro' was also an original 'divit' whicht is the Kankanaey 'bangkuro'. In this type of 'bangkuro', the thin white horizontal stripes is replaced with colors yellow and green. According to V. Fianza, Maingpis, Banaňa, La

Cruz and Claudio, this was worn by Kankana-eys. This validates Dimas's et.al (2007) description that the 'bangkuro' with yellow and green was worn by the Kankanaeys of Benguet. Further, R. Fianza, Banaňa, Sado, Pili, and La Cruz said that this type of 'divit' was being worn by those who have performed or completed the steps of 'caňao'. While the Ibaloi 'bangkuro' was for the middle class for the areas that wears a 'divit' made of the 'Kankana-ey bangkuro'.





Figure 2. Two types of Benguet Cloth, the 'bangkuro' (left) and 'bak'ket' (middle) and the Kankana-eybangkuro' (upper right).

Also, according to Banaňa and V. Fianza, indigo blue (Figure 3) can substitute the color black (big stripes) on the 'bangkuro' (not the Kankana-eys'). This is when the black color is not available and, according to Banaňa, it is because the color indigo blue was earlier available than the black. But La Cruz, on the other hand does not consider this type of 'divit' as an original 'divit' color because according to him, this color came from the lowlands.

Moreover, only two of the key informants said that a gray 'divit' (Figure 4) was used before by the lower class. The same number said that 'bak'ket' came first before the

'bangkuro'. The 'bak'ket', according to twelve (12) key informants was for the old and the widowed before, while the 'bangkuro' was for the higher class.





Figure 3. The indigo blue 'divit' as explained by Banaňa and V. Fianza can substitute the black stripe of the 'bangkuro' of the Ibalois



Figure 4. The gray colored 'divit'



Parts of the 'Divit'. There are four (4) main parts of the 'divit': 'kambal', wraparound (Figure 5) 'sambra', and the 'shenget' (Figure 7); whereas both the 'kambal' and wrap-around have different parts which is the 'kambayacho', 'manta/katcha', and 'bangkuro/bak'ket'. The 'kambal' has a 'takpa', an extra cloth sewn at the back, and the wraparound has 'balkes' (Figure 6).

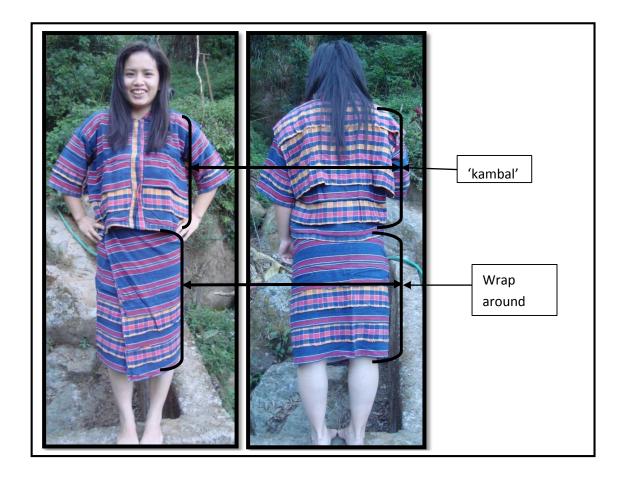


Figure 5. Parts of the 'Divit'



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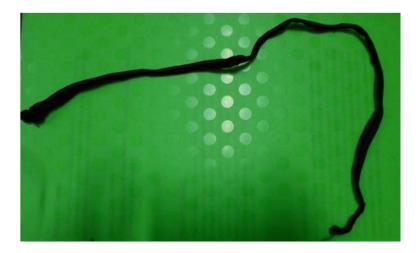


Figure 6. The 'Balkes'

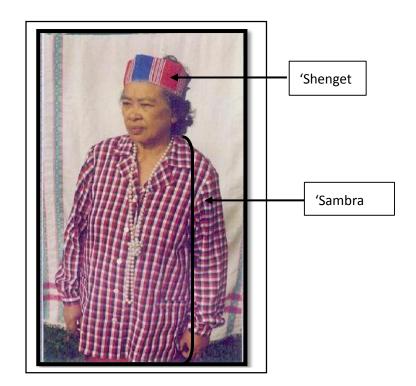


Figure 7. The 'Kambal' and 'Shenget' (Photo Courtesy of Dimas)



The 'kambal'(Figure 8) is the upper part of the 'divit' that has alternating layered flaps around the waist and arm but does not go up to the arm hole. These flaps are checkered weaved cloth locally termed 'kambayacho'. It also has a two layered flap at the back which is locally termed as 'takpa'. The longer flap is from the shoulder line down to the top of the last flap of the 'kambal'. The smaller layer is at least two to three (2-3) inches from the shoulder line. The 'kambayacho' is the horizontal checkered cloth on the 'divit' which is of the same color as the color of the Benguet cloth, i.e, 'bangkuro',

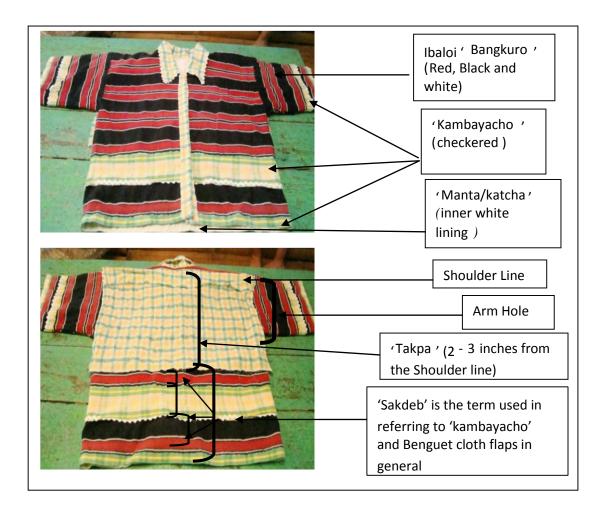


Figure 8. The 'kambal' of Bernanda Nabaysans' mother (1950's) and its parts; it is Boxlike and straight cut blouse. It also has a sports collar 'bangkuro' have a black, white, yellow and green 'kambayacho' while the 'bak'ket' have black and white 'kambayacho'. These (Benguet cloths and 'kamabayacho') overlap each other and



are sewn alternatively on the 'manta', the white lining inside the 'divit'. The main cloth of the whole garment is the Benguet cloth.

Another upper garment that may be worn as an inner over the 'kambal' is the 'sambra' (Figure 9). A long-sleeved checkered blouse which may and may not have front pockets has a sheering over the bust and around the bust. Its color goes with the 'divits' 'kambayacho'. This, according to Lubos and Banaňa, was used during the cold seasons as supported by the statement of Dimas *et al.* that the 'sambra' was worn for warmth during the cold seasons.

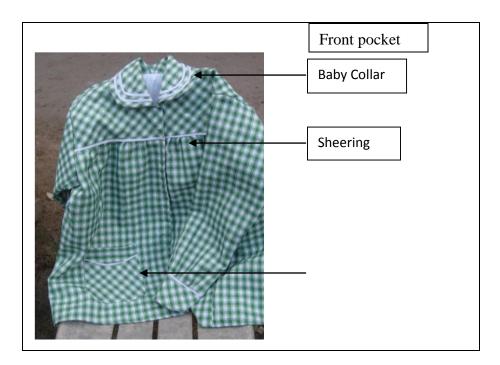


Figure 9.Paulina Mulang's sambra. 'Sambras' may or may have a Chinese, sports or baby collar. It goes with 'kambals' collar



The wrap-around (Figure10) is of the same design as the 'kambal. It also has a 'manta/katcha' where the 'kambayacho' and Benguet cloth are sewn overlapping each other. These flap that overlaps each other is also called 'sakdeb' (Figure 8). However, the lower garment has an overlapping 'manta' over the wrap-around. This is used in wrapping it around the waist. This overlapping 'manta' is also the reason why the outer cloth is slightly vertical when worn. Unlike the 'kambal', the wrap-around has broader flaps attached where it can be reversed when the color of the exposed cloth fades. This is according to R. Fianza. A 'balkes' was also being used by some before as a belt. 'Balkes' (Figure 6) is any piece of cloth that may be utilized as a belt to keep the wrap-around on place, according to Sado. All of the cloths used in the original 'divit' are woven.



Figure 10. The pair of Nabayan's 1950's 'kambal'. The wrap-around, it has alternating overlapping flaps attached on the manta



According to Sado, the first 'shenget' (Figure 11) is a white cloth and was of the same material as the manta, folded diagonally to make a roll. It is then tied around the head and the extending cloth at the back is tucked back in front of the tied cloth. It may also be used as a hair band, according to O. Capsula and Pa-ang. This was also being utilized as a pocket to keep the wearer's tobacco and money as explained by Lubos. This is supported by Dimas *et al.* (2007), saying that the 'shenget' is where they keep anything that the wearer wants to bring with her.



Figur e 11. The oldest type of 'shenget' (top), followed by a cloth of the same cloth as the 'divit's kambayacho' (middle), then by a readily folded 'shenget' (bottom) <u>Innovations to the 'Divit'</u>



Embellishments added. During the 1960's, it was believed that 'patda', hand embroidery, started in Datakan, Kapangan, Benguet, according to R. Fianza. She further explained that the idea was triggered when an Ibaloi woman attended a gathering and noticed that the 'divit' of the Ibalois was simple having no embellishments at all. Because of this, the woman (not identified) added three types of hand embroidery on the Benguet cloth of her 'divit'. These are star shapes, mountain shapes (Figure 12) and mountain shapes (Illustrated in Figure 13) having a horn figure in the middle. According to V. Fianza, this maybe because the Ibalois live in the mountains and they are near the heavens, and that there were numerous carabaos in the mountains.

In addition, laces (Figure 12) were also believed to be added on the same decade to add beauty to the 'divit'. This confirms the statement of Moss (1920) that in 1958,

'patda' and laces were added to the 'divit'.

Moreover, as shown in Figure 14, glitters recently are being added to the Benguet cloths. However, there were no glitters added to the 'kambayacho'. The innovation being done to the 'kambayacho' is the addition of more colors like blue, orange, gold and other types of weaved cloth having different style i.e. Bontoc accent (Figure 15). The

'kambayacho' of the 'bak'ket' is also being paired with different colors (Figure 10).

Pa-ang's weaving as well, replaces the white or green and yellow stripes with orange and gold whenever the original colors are not available. (Refer to Appendix H for the table listing the name of the weaver and their innovations).



Figure 12. The' Patda' (Hand Embroidery)



Figure 13. An illustration of the mountain-shaped 'patda' with horns





Figure 14. 'Bangkuro' embellished with glitters



Figur e 15.A 'kambal' having Bontoc cloth as 'kambayacho' with Chinese collar





Figur e 16.Legawen's innovated 'bak'ket' (black and white Banguet cloth) paired with colored 'kambayacho'

Cut and size. All of the key informants said that the whole garment was straight cut or box-like. It is a pair of a top blouse and wrap-around. Currently, however, some weavers and sewers are making dresses that look like a pair of 'divit' (Figure 17). Majority of the key informants said that the original collar of the 'kambal' was Chinese collar (as shown in Figure 15) and currently, though the Chinese collar still exists, sports and Chinese collar are being used (as shown in Figure 8 and 9). Darts are also being added to go with the body shape. The black stripes became narrower than usual (Figure 15), which makes it of the same size as the red stripes.





Figure 17. A dress 'divit', only the 'kambayacho' and the cut was modified.

As shown in Figure 18, the narrowed black stripe type of 'bangkuro' is used to make a skirt which looks like an office skirt having slits paired with a blouse which is of the same style as the original but differs from the stripe style. Instead of changing the stripe size, some weavers and sewers prefer to make a dress out of the original style and design of the 'divit'. One of the most common innovations to the 'divit' today is the removal of



the 'manta' and magic tape, buttons, zippers, hook and eye or snaps serve as its alternative to hold the 'divit' in place.



Figure 18. Modified skirt and blouse of Capuyan.



As well, slits are being added to the skirt and the horizontal 'kambayacho' can either be diagonal or vertical. This is to make it look beautiful and a form of designing as explained by Pili.

Modern designs and change in use

At the Ground Floor of Maharlika Building in Baguio City, 'divits' are being sold. According to JL Garcia's Dry Goods Stall, their products came from Ilocos. It was also observed that unwoven cloths are being sewn on the 'divit' to replace the woven 'kambayacho' (Figure 16). According to Mayo's Hand Woven products, most products are not of the same quality as the other upland woven products because of the material. Woven products from Benguet have finer threads and are intact. The thread used in the Cordillera does not easily fade. On the other hand, 'divits' sold in the Ground Floor of Maharlika uses commercial 'Kambayacho'. This makes the finished products sold in the area cheaper. According to the respondents, polyester and mercerized threads are being used to weave the native garment because these don't easily fade unlike the cotton which according to Buting, lightens easily. Banaňa, Legawen, Capuyan, Sado, Pa-ang and Pili said that early mercerize threads are shinier and is much brighter than today's mercerize thread.

On the other hand, the 'divit' is the everyday wear of the natives and its different types are worn depending upon the community status of the wearer. At the present time, anyone can wear a 'divit' in their own preferences; and it is only worn during special occasions and celebrations. Moreover, the 'bangkuro' is also being used to make gowns for wedding and other special occasions (Figure 24). Some also uses it to make vest, blazers, curtains, bags and table runners.





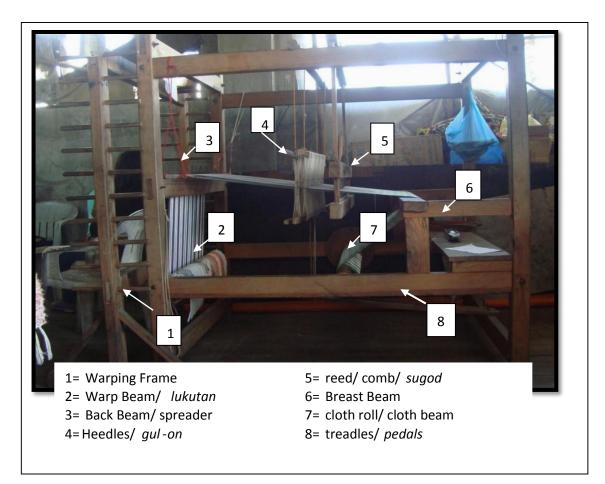
Figure 19. 'Divit' with commercial 'kambayacho' sold at Maharlika Ground Floor.

Materials in Weaving

Loom weaving. All of the weaver respondents were loom weavers and only Easter Weaving used back strap weaving and shifted to loom weaving. Loom (Figure 20) weaving has seven major course of action according to Vilma Capuyan and Buting. These are winding, warping, beaming, heedling, slaying or reeding, tying and weaving. In addition, the loom has several parts which include the warp beam ('lukutan'), back beam (spreader), heedless ('gul-on'), reed (comb/'sugod'), breast beam, cloth roll (cloth beam), and treadles (pedal).



Eight of the respondents use the warping frame in warping their threads. On the other hand, Easter Weaving uses a big square structure where the threads are arranged and are being connected to the Warping Reel or Mill (Figure 21). This is a rotating frame used in winding the warped thread. Vilma Capuyan, conversely, uses a modified hardware bobbin winder which may be manually or mechanically operated. She also uses a hook made out of an umbrella skeleton.



Figur e 20. The Loom



Thread used in weaving. Thread is a strand being intertwined to make a cloth. Cotton, acrylic and, vonel are the oldest thread used in weaving the 'divit' by the respondents, but through time, mercerize and polyester came out. These threads are also used by majority of the respondents. According to the respondents, a cloth made out of mercerized thread does not easily fade. Moreover, Legawen, Capuyan, and Pa-ang said that the old early mercerizes were shinier and brighter than the recent. Most of the weavers use mercerized and polyester. This depends upon the availability of the thread in the market. Bulk orders are bought in Manila. For small orders, they are bought in Baguio City. However, R. Fianza said during an interview that the thread used in weaving the

'divit' was termed as 'sag-ot'. This, according to Caoayan (2012), was a cotton yarn made from local terms in Ilocos.



Figure 21. The Warping Reel at Easter Weaving Room



Low lands as the origin of 'divit'

According to Banaňa, the first 'divit' does not have flaps. The first color was gray and dirty white, followed by the indigo blue, then the black and white cloth. The black and white looks like the 'kulebaw' (Figure 22). 'Kulebaw' is a black and white blanket used during the performance of 'tayaw' as explained by Lubos during an interview. This was also supported by Banaňa, R. Fianza and Pa-ang. Some respondents and key informants also said that the first clothes of the Ibalois came from the lowlands. Tagudin, La Union, Nueva Ecija, and Ilocos were the mentioned origins of 'divit'. This is supported by Moss (1920) saying that aside from the Ibaloi clothes made out of tree barks, a white cloth with black/blue stripes or narrow yellow strip lining the edges locally termed as 'kulebaw', was worn by the Ibaloi women in 1600's. She also said that it eventually evolved to a layered 'divit' paired with 'sambra' then with a blouse over it

('Kambal').



Figure 22. An example of a 'kulebaw' that was first used as a wrap-around (Photo of Lubos)



Considerations and Reasons in Designing the 'Divit'

Eight of the respondents' reason on why they innovate or modify the 'divit' is because of their customers' preference and request. The removal of the lining for instance is because the presence of the lining makes the 'divit' warm and uncomfortable to wear, as claimed by Easter Waving Room and Kabayan Weaving customers. The change of the 'kambayacho' style and color is because of the customer's request, suggestion, demand or preference. The modification of overlapping flaps into a direct sewed flap on the 'manta' is their customers' preferences too. All of the respondents make a 'divit' that has straight sewn flaps into the manta because according to Pilis' customers, the layered 'divit' is warm when worn and is heavy for travels. But for some of the weavers, they sew it in a way that it does not overlap each other for cost-cutting. This is because the raw weaved cloth materials of the 'divit' is expensive.

On the other hand, most of the respondents' reason why they continue to weave and sew 'divit' is for their business and family. But three (Pa-ang, Pili and Capuyan) of the respondents said that they continue designing the 'divit' because it is a way for them to continue the tradition or to keep the culture alive. Through their passion in weaving and sharing their expertise in weaving the native woven cloths, they were able to contribute to development and carry the cultural language that reflects the place-based identity of a community or region as explained by Women in the World History Curriculum (2011).

Pili, the owner of Kabayan Weaving, teaches the young children of her weavers on how to weave the native garment. This makes the weaving process a social process and a process undertaken communally with different generations as explained by Women in the World History Curriculum (2011). They (in Kabayan Weaving) as well make small



'divits' for small children "so they may not forget the native garment," according to Pili. She also encourages the community elders that they should tell stories to the younger generation about the Ibaloi culture so they may know, understand, and not forget their unique culture, and at the same time preserve their identity. Pa-ang on the other hand, teaches the interested youths in their community and believes that "an uninterested individual cannot be forced to learn something out of her passion." Moreover, Capuyan encourages the women in their organization to continue weaving and hand it on to their daughters if they are interested.

However, regardless of these enthusiasms, Capuyan found it hard to convince their organization members in continuing and learning how to weave the 'divit' due to lack of profit. Pa-ang conversely said that only a few are interested in learning how to weave the native garment.

Aside from being a source of family income, weaving also plays as a preserver, protector and promoter of indigenous culture according to Lake Sebu Women Weavers

Association Inc. (2012). This is supported by the Brian Camhit, Benguet Provincial Tourism Officer II, during an interview, explaining that aside from the tourist spots, tourism may also refer to cultural tourism. He defined cultural tourisms as the culture and traditions being preserved in a place. Camhit added that some tourists come to the province to observe the people's culture such as traditional weaving. This makes the local weaving a promoter of indigenous culture. Further, it helps in protecting and preserving it. This makes the local weaving g a promoter of indigenous culture. Further, it helps in protecting and preserving it.



Moreover, the weavers have the freewill to make designs they want to add on the native cloth. It is because the designing, modification and modernization of the native cloths use come from the personal discernment of the weaver and sewers as stated by Camilo Alumit, Community Officer II of Benguet Province during an interview. He added that he encourages some weavers not to use the native cloth into something that does not justify the cloth's value, i.e a full 'bangkuro' curtain.

Commercial Weaving Industry and Store Outlets

Table 2 shows the six trade organizations included in the study. The respondents work for these trade organizations. Only Easter Weaving room and Eren's Faith weaving are registered in the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) under Textile Industry in Baguio-Benguet. However, Eren's Faith Weaving stopped its operation since 2010.

This makes the Easter Weaving Room as the only existing Weaving Industry in Baguio-Benguet because it commercially produces and sells textiles as stated by Yasser Buting during an interview. This corroborates the definition of Farflex (2013) that industry maybe defined as a commercial production and sale of goods.

On the other hand, one of the trade organizations is privately owned (Kabayan Weaving). Three are operated by women associations. These are Tublay Weavers, Dawey Weaving and Pa-ang's Weaving.While Weavers Shop is privately owned. Kabayan Weaving is the only registered women association in the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI). According to DTI, only associations or private-owned businesses coordinating their products with DTI are being recognized by their office. However, although Tublay



Weavers, Pa-ang Weaving and Dawey Weavings are not registered in DTI, they are registered in the Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR).

These private-owned trade organizations or women associations sell their products through trade fairs, personal customers, pre - orders and referrals. Two store outlets are located in Baguio City while Kabayan, Tublay and Atok have one store outlet each.

Table 2. The Respondents trade names and store outlets

Trade Name	Address	Store Outlet	DTI Registration
Kabayan Weaving Arts and Crafts	Kabayan, Benguet	Kabayan, Weaving overseas orders and loca orders.	g, DTI registered al (Women association)
Pa-ang's weaving	Paoay, Sayangan, Atok, Benguet	They sell their product through orders and trad fares. They don't have store outlet.	e (Private owned)
Tublay Weavers	Capongga, Tublay, Benguet	Capongga, Tublay Benguet, trade fairs an through order.	y, Not registered d (Womens Association)
Plans: Weaver Garments Shop	Bayabas, Pico, La Trinidad,	Bayabas, Pico, La Trinidad and 2 nd Floor 1A Hanger	Not registered (Private owned)
Dawey Weaving	Pilot Project, Baguio City	Dawey Weaving Store, Pilot Projeect Baguio City	Not registered (Private owned)
Easter Weaving Room	Guisad, Baguio City	Easter Weaving, Guisad Baguio City	DTI registered (Industry)





SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

<u>Summary</u>

This study was conducted in Baguio City and in the municipalities of Tuba, La Trinidad, Tublay, Kapangan, Atok, and Kabayan, Benguet and it aimed to discover the evolution of the Ibaloi native garment. It was conducted in November 2012 to January 2013.

Specifically, it aimed to determine the socio-demographic profiles of the key informants, determine the original style and design of the 'divit', determine the weaving materials used in weaving the 'divit', determine the reasons and considerations of the weaver in designing it, determine the innovations and modifications in the materials used, and identify the commercial weaving industry and store outlets in Baguio - Benguet weaving, sewing and selling 'divit'.

The data were gathered through key informant interview and personal interview. In addition, photos were taken as part of the documentation.

'Divit' is a part of the Ibaloi material culture; it has clothed and protected the Ibaloi women for decades. It is a two piece garment that has a ³/₄ sleeved top ('kambal') and a wrap-around skirt. The 'divit' is box-like or straight cut in all angles. Aside from the top and the wrap-around, there is also the 'sambra', a woven long sleeved blouse which may or may not have front pockets.

The 'kambal' is composed of the following parts: 1. 'Bak'ket' (black and white) or 'bangkuro' (red, black and white) are Benguet cloths and the main cloth of the whole garment; 2. kambayacho' (horizontally checkered flap in between the 'bak'ket' or 'bangkuro' and of the same color as the Benguet cloths); 3. 'takpa' (the cape at the back);

4. 'Manta' or 'katcha' (white lining) and; 5. 'sakdebs' (a local term for the flaps).

On the other hand, the wrap-around is composed of the following parts: 1. 'Bak'ket' or 'Bangkuro'; 2. 'Kambayacho'; 3. 'Sakdebs'; and 4. 'Manta' or 'Katcha'.

Red, black and white is the identified colors of the original 'divit'. 'Bangkuro' and 'bak'ket' are the two Benguet cloths used as the main cloths for the 'divit'. The 'bangkuro' have two types, the 'Ibaloi bangkuro' which has red, black and white stripes, and the subsequent type which is the 'kankana-ey bangkuro' having red, black, yellow and green stripes. Colors black and white are the colors utilized for the 'bak'ket'. The stripe is broadest stripe in the Benguet cloths, and the red stripe is half the rise of the black stripe for the 'bangkuro'. Thin white or green and yellow stripes are also put in between the red and black colors. For the 'bak'ket', the red is replaced with color white since only two colors are involved in the cloth. The 'bak'ket' was for the old and widowed, while the 'bangkuros' are for the upper class.

During the 1960's, patda (hand embroidery), simultaneous to laces are being added on the 'divit'. Presently, the broad black stripes of the Benguet cloth was narrowed and of the same size as the red stripe. The horizontal 'kambayacho' is also modified into a vertical or diagonal weaved or not weaved 'kambayacho'. The 'kambayacho' may also be accented with different motifs, i.e. Bontoc accent.

Also, the manta is also being removed and is being substituted with hook and eyes, zipper, buttons, magic tapes or snaps to wrap the 'divit' around the waist. Darts and slits

are also being added to add shape to the garment. Dress and skirts are also made out of the 'divit'. The innovations to the 'divit' are mostly due to the request, suggestion, preference, recommendation, or demand of the customers being catered to.

Loom weaving is the method used in weaving the 'divit' and the threads used to make the cloths are polyester and mercerized because the color does not fade easily.

Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions are drawn:

1. The weavers of the Ibaloi cloth and the sewers of the 'divit' are predominantly women which have been presented by most of the indigenous tribes of Benguet;

2. The 'divit' is a two-piece garment which has been used by the Ibaloi women and reflects the social status of the person wearing it depending upon the colors;

3. Embroidery, laces, darts, change of colors, narrowing the height of the black stripe, and the removal of the manta are the predominant changes on the 'divit. These slight changes don't have considerable huge impact on the original design of the 'divit' because the weavers and sewers maintained it;

4. Benguet cloths coming from Benguet is the best quality for making the 'divit'.

Because the materials used the lowland in weaving the 'divit' which easily fades and commercial products;

5. The modernization, modification and innovation on the use of the Benguet cloths depend upon the discernment of the weaver withstanding the requests or demands of the customer;



6. The innovations and modifications to the 'divit' were based on the demand, request, preference, suggestion or demand of the customers;

 Only Easter Weaving Room is the existing weaving industry in Baguio Benguet.

8. Most weaving businesses are operated by women associations.

Recommendations

Based on the study, the following recommendations were derived:

1. Training may be conducted locally to teach the younger generations about weaving for the preservation and continuity of the culture. Since women are predominantly the Benguet cloth weavers and sewers, they shall be led by women;

2. The original design of the 'divit' should be retained although embellishments may be added so its value as a part of the material culture will remain;

3. Benguet cloths to be used in making the 'divit' should come from the Benguet weavers because their products are of better quality;

4. Business shouldn't be the main reasons of the weavers and sewers in weaving Benguet cloths but more importantly for the preservation of the Ibaloi culture; and,

5. The Local Government Units should support the weaving industry so the Ibaloi will continue the culture.



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