

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

PALCON, MICHELLE ENNGEG APRIL 2010. Communicative Value of Indigenous Tattoos of Elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province. Benguet State University, La Trinidad, Benguet

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study aimed to identify the communicative value of indigenous tattoos of elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province. Specifically, it aimed to characterize the respondents, identify the reasons of respondents for having tattoos, to characterize the tattoos of the respondents, identify the generated meanings of tattoos and determine the perceptions of youth towards tattooing.

The researcher conducted the study on December 2009-January 2010.

Traditional tattoos means bravery for men and also presumed to make ladies more beautiful.

The key informants said that their tattoos are for protection, bravery, guidance, life, self-confidence, respect, victory and beautification. However, the individual designs do not mean anything.

As for men elders their tattoos were located on their chest and for women elders their tattoos were located on their hands.

Moreover, the youth perceived that tattoos symbolized bravery, power and authority for the elders but not beneficial nowadays.

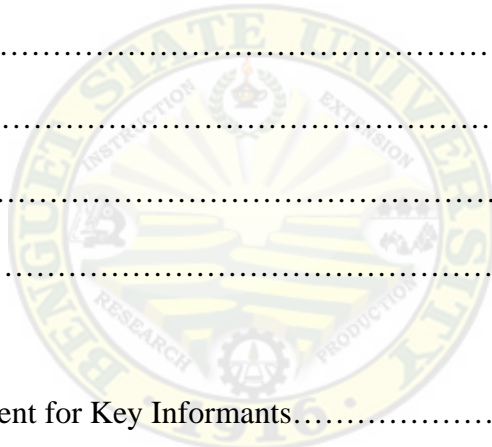
The following recommendations were drawn: other researchers may want to consider tracing the descendants of the tattoo artist to be able that the meaning of tattoos be generated, other researchers may want to make a comparative analysis between the communicative value, meanings and designs of Kalinga and Bontoc designs, and findings of this study should be written in a monograph to be shared to community development workers.



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## INTRODUCTION

### Rationale

Symbolism as a means of interpreting reality is considered to be a communicative tool.

The symbol that carries the tattoos of indigenous people recognizes the attempt to create and maintain their owned culture. These symbols embody the bases for social relations, they are visible expressions of cultural identity which enable the people to identify and know their society.

Tattoo art exemplifies the later style of symbolism. The history of tattoo began over 5, 000 years ago and is diverse as the people who wear them. A part from its decorative purpose, tattooing has been practiced for a variety of reasons. To the Polynesians it is a mark of wealth and social prestige (Norwich, 1990). For religious tattoos it serves as a devotion to their beliefs, and is very commendable (Straeten, 2007).

In some communities and regions, tattooing has been part of their culture. Culture as a symbolic medium of communication is neither static nor homogeneous. But it is shared, that is to say, it is intersubjective in character and this intersubjectivity must be understood from two perspectives: the anthropological and the psychological. From an anthropological perspective, culture is the sum total of society's symbolic operating systems and the basis for its ecological adaptation to the environment (Ortega, 1957).

According to Anonymous (2009) in the previous time in Cordillera, the most distinctive and great permanent decoration of the Igorot was the tattoo. Igorot tattooing was considered a serious religious experience.



In Bontoc, Mountain Province, tattoo is common to elders especially to men. Tattoos constituted a record of engagement in tribal warfare. These were symbols of male valor: which were applied only after a man had performed well in battle with fitting courage. Warriors accumulated tattoos with each act of bravery, somewhat like modern military decorations. Headhunting was the only known reason for tattooing and to this day, no one knows exactly what tattoos signify. For many elders in the area, tattoos are the vestiges of a valuable culture and tradition. (De Raedt 1989; Scott 1969; Salvador-Amores, 2002)

Tattoo was already a part of the culture of the Bontoc people. The tattoos reveal an individual's social standing in the community. Jenks (1905) further elaborated its importance in the following statements:

“The qualification that entitles a warrior to a chest tattoo is the taking of at least three heads to complete the symbol of the *chalikan* or the three cooking stones- a triangle symbol.

Tattooing with specific designs is based on the internalization and transformation of prior experience to specialist knowledge. Moreover, tattooing serves not only as an indication of social standing but also as an equalizing factor in the context of painful rites passage. Anyone can get tattooed, whether they belong to the rich or to the poorest class. Being tattooed is a concrete realization of the sense of social unity of the members of the group.”

Today, very few of the tattooed people remain; many have died with their hard-earned tattoos buried with them. Literatures would attest that traditional tattoos are starting to be a dying art form since people does not like to put them anymore due to the painful process. With this scenario, the need to study the communicative value of this indigenous tattoo is of importance.



This study then aims to help people in understanding the communicative value of indigenous tattoos in the lives of the Bontoc people.

### Statement of the Problem

This study endeavors to answer the following questions:

1. What is the profile of the respondents?
2. What are the respondents reasons for having tattoos?
3. What are the characteristics of tattoos?
4. What are the generated meanings of tattoos of elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province?
5. What are the perceptions of youth towards tattooing?

### Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to determine the communicative value of indigenous tattoos.

The specific objectives of the study are:

1. To characterize the respondents.
2. To identify the reasons of respondents for having tattoos.
3. To characterize the tattoos of respondents.
4. To identify the generated meanings of tattoos of elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province.
5. To determine the perceptions of Bontoc youth towards tattooing.



### Importance of the Study

This study is an attempt to help the readers have a deeper understanding on the communicative value of indigenous tattoos of the Bontoc culture.

The result of the study may be helpful for policy makers to understand the situations, social classes and comprehension brought by the symbols of tattoos.

This study is also important for organizations catering in the protection and preservation of cultural identity such as NCIP and other related organizations.

Results will also serve as documentation of a part of the Bontoc culture.

### Scope and Limitations

The study limited only to the identification of the communicative value of indigenous tattoo and its value to the cultural identity of Bontoc people.

This study focused on qualitative importance of indigenous tattoo and primarily will use open-ended questions to gather information from key informants on the different barangays of Bontoc, specifically Barangay Samoki, Bontoc Ili and Can-oo, from December 2009 to January 2010.

Also, the perception of the youth identified regarding their awareness on the function of tattooing for Bontoc elders.





## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### The Ibontocs

The *Ibontocs* live on the banks of the Chico River. They were once well known because of their headhunting practices in the olden days but not today.

At present, *Ibontocs* are a peaceful agricultural people who have by choice retained most of their traditional culture despite frequent contacts with other groups. They are very aware of their own way of life and are not overly eager to change (Keesing, 1962).

### The Igorot Tattoos

The material culture found on the body is physical evidence of human experience, an indication of the physical body's designation as the site for constructing identities through the use of distinct markers of difference and similarity. It provides a reified object for analysis that captures the markings in the work of identity construction and representation (Salvador-Amores, 2002).

Any visible markers or investments on the body may be interpreted as carriers of a system of signs that stand for and express relations to power (Salvador-Amores, 2002).

Processes that involve making changes in the body play an essential role in representing identity and knowledge, and provide an important basis for understanding various aspects of the past as well as contemporary culture. Nash (1989), as cited by Salvador-Amores, (2002), contends that body decorations are boundary mechanisms and cultural markers of difference. The differences among groups are index features that are



easily seen, grasped, understood, and reacted to in social situations where there are minimal cultural items involved in the membership of the group.

For Igorot tattoos, the markers on the body when regarded on the context of the culture itself provide a clear notion of the Igorot sense of logic and beauty; however, in most of the literature, these markers are frequently interpreted as deviations associated with the themes of otherness and difference (Salvador-Amores, 2002).

The German scientist Hans Meyer as cited by Salvador-Amores (2002) was perhaps the first to provide a detailed drawing of Igorot tattoos in the late 1890's. His tattoo drawings are accompanied by his description of the tattoos among Igorots of Benguet. The custom of tattooing the whole body with decorations exactly like a coat of mail with breastplate and back plates was widespread in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century and confirmed that tattooing did exist and was extensively practiced during the pre-historic period. Meyer's drawings show designs that are identical with tattoo patterns which date back to an earlier period, as they appear on the mummy Appo Anno. The mummy is clad in body tattoos: from fingers to buttocks, chest, back and legs.

In addition there are also mummies in some Benguet areas that bear tattoos very similar to those in Hans Meyer's drawings and the photographs of tattoos and symbols of the tattoos found on the mummies have been largely speculative. These cases in Benguet support Thiel's (1984) as cited by Salvador-Amores (2002) archaeological discovery of tattoo instruments in the Arku cave in Cagayan province, an indication of the widespread practice of tattooing. In this case, past and current archaeological evidence serve as the "explanatory bridges" in understanding people and culture (Salvador-Amores, 2002).



### Reasons for Having Tattoos

In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, traditional tattooing is widespread in the Philippines but very little is known or written about the practice. Until today, tattooing and tattoo designs in the Cordilleras are best understood with the context of headhunting. Headhunting was the only known reason for tattooing and to this day, no one knows what tattoos signify (Salvador-Amores, 2002).

### Characteristics of Tattoos

The Igorot body as portrayed in colonial writings and photographs calls in notions of an inferior culture. However, rather than markers of difference and otherness as projected by those who are not accustomed to Igorot forms of body embellishment, the markings found on the bodies of the Igorots can be seen as a visually powerful rendering of their sense of symmetry and unity. More than this, they represent the social practices of the group and serve as a means of conveying significant information to people within and outside the communities (Salvador-Amores, 2002).

The role and function of tattoos as cultural symbols are related to the intricate social and cultural relations of the people (Salvador-Amores 2002). The tattoos reveal an individual's social standing in the community.

### Meanings of Tattoo

“*Fatek*” on the arms is a sign of membership in the affluent class and purportedly serve to memorialize the land properties that the family holds. A tattoo marking of “x” found on the upper arm of a woman is called “*pinapanga*”, a term that refers to the



jawbones of the water buffalo butchered during the community feasts. This animal is a status symbol that only the affluent class could afford in the past (Worcester, Willcox, 1912, Keesing, 1962).

The tattoos of a Bontoc warrior is a record of engagement in tribal warfare, they are accumulated like “medals of valor” for acts of bravery (Jenks, 1905).

The elaborateness of the body tattoo expresses an aesthetic component of “*fatek*”. More importantly, it articulates “*ambaru*”, (the Lubo, Tanuda, Kalinga concept of beauty). Young men and women become “*ambaru*” (beautiful) when their bodies are tattooed. Tattoos make the males “*mangkusdor*” (handsome and strong) and the females “*bumaru*” (beautiful). The bluish-black tattoo pattern against the brown skin incited fear among people of the villages and make women attractive. The “*dinuras*” or people without tattoos are regarded as weak beings and considered as a bad omen for the community.

The Igorots consistently maintains that the other entire are put on simply at the whim of the wearer. The face markings, those on the arms, the stomach and elsewhere on the body are believed to be purely aesthetic. Often a cross-hatched marking is put over goiter, varicose veins and other permanent swellings or enlargements. Evidently they are believed to have some therapeutic virtue, but no statement could be obtained to substantiate their opinion (Salvador-Amores, 2002).

### Art and Value of Tattooing

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, tattooing was already a common practice among the major warrior groups in the Cordillera- Bontoc, Ifugao and the Kalinga (Worcester 1912, Willcox 1912, Keesing 1962).



The word “*fatek*” (Bontoc term for traditional tattoo) was derived from the sound of the tapping of the stick to the tattoo instrument which pierces the skin. It is characterized by the marking, decorating and designing on a material permanently (Salvador-Amores 2002).

The tattooed body continues to present a distinctive record of the organized set of social practices that are relevant to the articulation of Igorot identities (Jenks, 1905). Tattoo was an important means of identification.

For the Bontoc men, tattoos constituted a record of engagement in tribal warfare. Tattoos were symbols of male valor: these were applied only after a man had performed in battle with fitting courage. Warriors accumulated tattoos with each act of bravery, somewhat like modern military decorations (De Raedt 1989, Scott 1969).



## **METHODOLOGY**

### Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted in Bontoc, the capital of Mountain Province with a total land area approximately 36,160 hectares. It is located in the heart of the Cordillera Range. Bontoc is bounded in the east by Barlig; in the west by Sagada, in the north by Sadanga, in the south by Banaue, Ifugao and Sabangan; in the northeast by Tinglayan, Kalinga; and in the northwest by Tubo, Abra.

Bontoc is a highland municipality and generally mountainous with the highest elevation of 2,028 meters above sea level at Mainit and the lowest at Tocucan with an elevation of 900 meters above sea level.

Bontoc has a very favorable climate, generally not so cold during December up to February and not too hot during summer time. There are two pronounced seasons, dry from November to April and wet during the rest of the year.

Bontoc is subdivided into 16 barangays namely: Alab Proper, Alab Oriente, Balili, Bayyo, Bontoc Ili, Caneo, Dalican, Gonogon, Guinaang, Mainit, Maligcong, Samoki, Talubin, Tocucan, Poblacion and Calutit.

The study was conducted on December 2009-January 2010.

### Respondents of the Study

Twenty five respondents from Bontoc was purposively selected.





Figure1. Map of Bontoc, Mountain Province

Five elders were selected as key informants of the study. The criteria for the key informants will be a bonafide resident of Bontoc, Mountain Province, he or she should have a tattoo, sixty years old and above, male or female.

On the other hand, Bontoc youth respondents should be a bonafide resident of Bontoc, Mountain province, eighteen to twenty four years old, male or female.

### Data Collection

The study collected data from key informants that correspond to the set criteria. The information that was collected will be of outmost significant to identify the communicative value of the Bontoc tattoos and its significant effect to their community relations. The researcher utilized key informant interviews using guide questions.

At first, the researcher collected data from secondary sources to have also impact on the research and was validated to the respondents-beneficiaries.

### Data Gathered

The data gathered focused on the communicative value of indigenous tattoos specifically on the reasons for having tattoos, what are the characteristics of the tattoos, what are the meanings of tattoos of elders and perceptions of youth towards indigenous tattoos. Photos of the different tattoos will also be taken for analysis with regard to its meaning and interpretation.





## Data Analysis

The information gathered was tabulated and analyzed through statistical frequency, descriptive presentation and qualitative data.



## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### Respondents' Profile

*Bontoc Youth Respondents' Profile.* Table 1 shows the Bontoc youth respondents' profile. Based on the table, it can be noted that the highest numbers of Bontoc Youths' respondents were ranging from the ages 20-21 years old. Next to that were the ages 22-23 years old, followed by 18-19 years old.

As to their place of origin, almost all of the respondents were from Poblacion, Bontoc while the others were representatives of Bontoc Tocucan, Talubin and Samoki. Most of the respondents stayed in Bontoc for 20-25 years. Others stayed in the community for 12-18 years and some only stayed for 2-3 years.

*Key Informants' Profile.* The oldest among the Key Informants is 79 years of age, followed by 78, 75, 72 and 68 years old. All of them reached their age staying in Bontoc. Three out of them are staying in Can-oo, Bontoc, Mt. Province and one of them is staying in Bontoc Ili, Bontoc and the other in Samoki, Bontoc .

### Reasons for Having Tattoos

Table 2 shows the reasons and specific instances for having tattoos. According to the key informants, acquiring traditional tattoos is a very painful process. One should be brave enough to endure the pain that the needles bring when acquiring their tattoo. They added that acquiring these traditional tattoos during their early 20's of age had their own personal and cultural reasons. Some of the key informants' tattoos were not completed especially on the case of women because they could not endure the painful process.



Table 1. Bontoc youth respondents' age range and place of origin

CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
N=25		
<b>Age Bracket</b>		
18-19 years old	3	12
20-21 years old	14	56
22-23 years old	6	24
24-25 years old	2	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Place of Origin</b>		
Poblacion	15	60
Samoki	7	28
Tocucan	2	8
Talubin	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>



Table 2. Reasons and specific instances for having tattoo

REASONS FOR HAVING TATTOO	SPECIFIC INSTANCES
'Usu' or ins for their generation	- Having tattoo were very common during the key informants' generation
Needed	- Tattoos signify their inheritance or how many lands they own. They were called ' <i>kachangyan</i> ' or rich. - For the ladies, it is needed to avoid shame.
Bravery	- This is for the men who killed someone from their rival tribes.
Belief	- It is believed that having tattoos keeps them young and protect them from 'an-anitos' or bad spirits.

Key Informant Teresa Cobsilen stated that aside from the reason that tattoos were the "in" thing (usu) during their generation, tattoos were also presumed to make ladies more beautiful and it is like their item to boast of. She also said that tattoos before were considered to be a fashion. They see tattoos to be beautiful decorations for the body.

Rosita Afawag, 75 years old, gave another reason of having tattoos during their time. According to Afawag tattoos did not only serve as decorations but they also can



represent their inheritance from their parents. The acres of land they possess were the basis for their wealth and they were called in local term '*kachangyan*' or rich.

This explanation of Afawag could mean that tattoos during their times represent their richness. This is supported by Jenks (1905), in his statement that tattoos reveal an individual's social standing. Also Worcester, Willcox (1912), Keesing (1962) added that tattoos on the arms is a sign of a membership in the affluent class and purportedly serve to memorialize the land properties that the family holds. But the number of figures of their tattoos does not represent the number of lands of water buffalo they own. This contradicted the statement of Worcester, Willcox (1912) and Keesing (1962) that the tattoo marking of "x" found on the upper arm of a woman refers to the jawbones of the water buffalo, a symbol that only the affluent class could afford in the past.

Aside from the reasons stated by Cobsilen and Afawag, Vicenta Te-elan added a more interesting reason why tattooing were a rampant practice for ladies during the olden times. As far as Te-elan can remember, avoiding shame was another instance for the ladies that tattoos were badly needed before.

According to the stories of Te-elan, ladies before who do not have '*fatek*' or tattoos on their arms and shoulders were considered shameful and often were the laughing stock for the young men. During the '*sagsagni*' (Igorot dance), '*babaros*' or the young men will rub '*uging*' or charcoal on women if they do not have tattoos on their arms. Ladies therefore seek to have tattoos to avoid those shameful instances. They would rather endure the pain of the tattoo session for the sense of belongingness rather than feeling the shame of not having tattoos.



According to key informant Osseg Fukasan, he said that tattoos for men represent their bravery. Earning their tattoos was not easy unless they killed or head hunt somebody from their rival tribe. Tattoos which they earned symbolize that they were a great-feared warrior and were respected in their society (Figure 3).

Osseg Fuksasan, Key Informant from Can-ee, Bontoc, added to these reasons that belief is another instance where people of Bontoc have their tattoos before. During the World War II, it was believed that having tattoos prevent them from aging and tattoos keep them young for ages.

This only shows that tattoos were not only decorations but because it is the lifestyle of Bontoc people years ago, but it also encircles the culture, belief and traditions of the Bontoc Community. Figure 2 shows the picture of key informants with their tattoos.



Figure 2. Elders showing their traditional tattoo

### Generated Meanings of Tattoos of Elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province

According to the stories of all the key informants, the figures of their tattoo designs were enumerated but their meanings were not defined. Three of the female key informants had the Bontoc tattoo designs and one had the Kalinga design. Bontoc designs were the “agdan” or stairs, “al-alam-am” or fern, “fab-alamatong” or bean, “fab-a” or teeth, and “tat-alaw” or star. On the other hand the common Kalinga designs were the “tik-tiko” or zigzag line, “sinaksakaw” or diamond shape and “binakuwa” or horizontal line.

Furthermore, based on interview with all the elders, their tattoo designs were just tattooed on them by the tattoo artist before but the artist did not give the figure’s personal meaning. According to key informant Theresa Cobsilen her tattoo artist was Khayapun from Bontoc and furthermore stated that during the process the tattoo artist did not mention the meaning of the figures. It was just tattooed on her because she requested for it for her beautification.

The general tattoo on their body signifies protection, bravery, guidance, life, self confidence, respect, victory, and beautification. However, the individual designs do not mean anything. This was supported by De Raedt (1989) and Scott (1969) in their statement that tattoos for men were symbols of male valor. Salvador-Amores (2002) also said that the bluish-black pattern against the brown skin incited fear among people of the villages. (Figure 3).



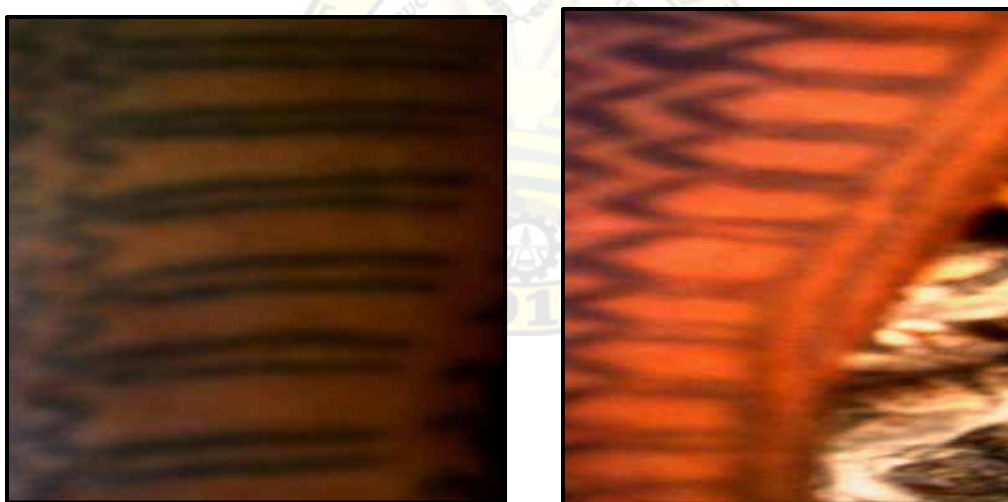


Figure 3. Common figures found in the elders' tattoo (a. "Agdan" or stairs, b. "Al-alam-am" or fern, c. "Binakuwa" or horizontal line, d. "sinaksakaw" or diamond shape)





Figure 4. Common figures found in the elders' tattoo (e. "Fab-a" or teeth, f. "Fab-alamatong" or bean, g. "tat-alaw" or star, h. "Tik-tiko" or zigzag line)

### Perceptions of Bontoc Youths Towards Tattooing

For the youths of Bontoc, they have their different and own views and perceptions regarding traditional tattooing. Some of them recognized these tattoos to be the symbol of the elders' economic and social status at the time. They also recognized that tattoos also symbolized bravery, power and authority for their elders. They saw the tradition that these tattoos keep and they value and respect it.

Although they valued the respected the tattooing in the olden days, the youth respondents however perceived that tattoos were not that beneficial anymore at present. Twenty eight percent of the respondents said that tattoos were only beneficial nowadays for the sake of preserving the culture of Bontoc and the practices of tattooing and art.

Furthermore, 72% of them said otherwise. For them, in these modern days, tattoos do not look neat and cannot benefit a person at all. They see tattoos were only for people who have gone to jail (Figure 4).

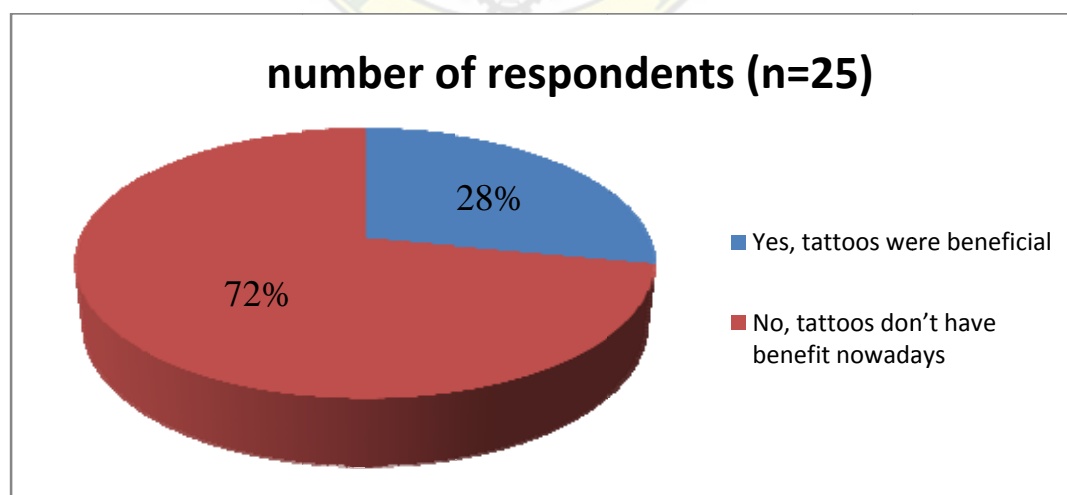


Figure 5. Youth's perception on tattoos benefit nowadays

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Summary

The study was conducted to determine the communicative value of indigenous tattoos of elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province. Specifically, it aimed to characterize the profile of the respondents; to identify the reasons of respondents for having tattoos; to characterize the tattoos of respondents; to identify the generated meanings of tattoos and determine the perceptions of Bontoc youth towards tattooing. Photos were also taken.

The researcher used interview schedule as the research tool. Data gathering was conducted on December 2009- January 2010.

Traditional tattoos means bravery for men and also presumed to make ladies more beautiful. It was also said that tattoos were needed during their times.

Tattoos of elders include figures, values, societal use, designs and location.

For figures, the tattoos were ‘agdan’ or stairs; ‘al-alam-am’ or fern; ‘binakuwa’ or horizontal lines; ‘fab-alatong’ or bean; ‘sinaksakaw’ or diamond shape; ‘tat-alaw’ or star; ‘fab-a’ or teeth; ‘tik-tiko’ or zigzag line.

As for the values attached and the meaning of tattoos are for protection, bravery, guidance, life, self confidence, respect, victory, and beautification. However, the individual designs do not mean anything. The tattoos represents their richness during their times.

For men elders those tattoos are located on their chest and for women elders tattoos were located on their hands.

On the other hand, youth perceived that tattoos symbolize bravery, power, and authority for the elders. Some of them recognize these tattoos to be the symbol of the



elders' economic and social status before. However, its significance to present times cannot be seen by the youths.

### Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions were drawn.

1. Elders possessed tattoo because historically it has something to do with being involved in the warfare for men. On the other hand, women elders had tattoos for aesthetic value.

2. The common Bontoc tattoos were figures adopted from the environment. For some, it signifies richness of the person possessing the tattoo.

3. Bontoc tattoos did not signify any meanings; however, it is believed that the tattoo artist has the discretion to put the designs.

4. Youth still see traditional tattooing as a sign of bravery, power and authority but not beneficial anymore on the modern times.

### Recommendations

The following are recommended.

1. Other researchers may want to consider tracing the descendants of the tattoo artists to be able that the meaning of the tattoos will be generated and identified.

2. Other researchers may want to make a comparative analysis between the communicative value, meanings and designs of Kalinga and Bontoc tattoos.

3. Findings of this study should be written in a monograph to be shared to community development workers.



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### RESEARCH INSTRUMENT FOR KEY INFORMANTS

Benguet State University  
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION  
College of Agriculture

#### COMMUNICATIVE VALUE OF INDIGENOUS TATTOOS OF ELDERS IN BONTOC, MOUNTAIN PROVINCE

#### RESEARCH INSTRUMENT FOR KEY INFORMANTS

##### I. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: ( ) Male ( ) Female

Place of Origin:

Ethno-linguistic

Group: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of stay in the community: \_\_\_\_\_

##### II. REASONS FOR HAVING TATTOO.

1. What age did you have your first tattoo?

2. What are your reasons for having tattoos?



### III. CHARACTERISTICS OF TATTOOS OF THE RESPONDENTS

1. What figures does your tattoo illustrate? Please check more than one.

- |                                 |                                    |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> human  | <input type="checkbox"/> butterfly | <input type="checkbox"/> mountains |
| <input type="checkbox"/> star   | <input type="checkbox"/> shield    | <input type="checkbox"/> house     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> lizard | <input type="checkbox"/> spear     | <input type="checkbox"/> others    |
| (please                         |                                    |                                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> snake  | <input type="checkbox"/> eye       | specify)                           |

2. What is the value of your tattoo? Please check more than one.

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> protection | <input type="checkbox"/> aesthetic value         |
| <input type="checkbox"/> bravery    | <input type="checkbox"/> others (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> guidance   |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> life       |  |

3. Does your tattoo express your status/class in the society? How?

4. Do your tattoos follow a certain design? How?



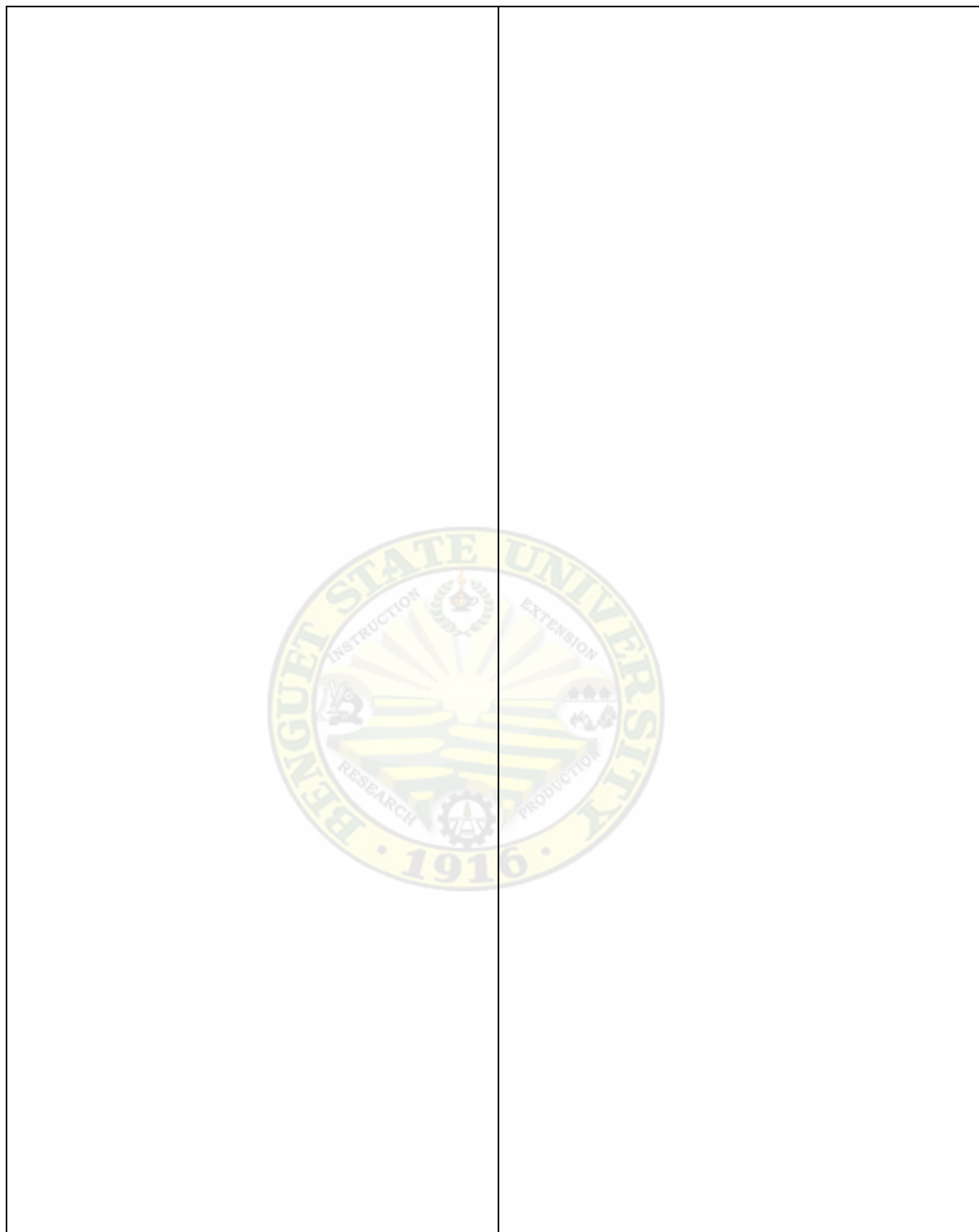
5. Where is your tattoo located?

#### IV. MEANINGS OF TATTOOS

Symbol/Figure	Meaning
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APPENDIX B

RESEARCH INSTRUMENT FOR YOUTH RESPONDENTS

*Communicative Value of Indigenous Tattoos of Elders in Bontoc, Mountain Province. / MICHELLE E. PALCON.2010*



Benguet State University  
DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION  
College of Agriculture

COMMUNICATIVE VALUE OF INDIGENOUS TATTOOS OF ELDERS IN BONTOC,  
MOUNTAIN PROVINCE

*PERCEPTIONS OF BONTOC YOUTH TOWARDS TATTOOING*

I. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Gender: \_\_\_\_\_

Place of Origin: \_\_\_\_\_

Years of stay in the community: \_\_\_\_\_

II. PERCEPTIONS OF BONTOC YOUTH TOWARDS TATTOOING.

1. What is traditional tattooing for you?

2. How do you see elders with tattoo?

3. Do you see tattooing beneficial nowadays?



4. Can you see the importance of having traditional tattoos?

5. If ever, do you want to have a tattoo through the traditional way? Why?

6. What are the figures you want to be included? Which part of your body your tattoo you want to place in? Why?

