BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Transmitting 'Cañao' Rites and Practices: The Case of the Laoyan Clan. Benguet State

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to identify the major actors in transmitting the information on

'cañao', to identify the communication media used in transmitting 'cañao', and to have

an inventory of the documentations made on 'cañao'.

The needed information was obtained through in-depth interviews with the

members of the Laoyan clan, using guide questionnaires and a tape recorder.

The findings revealed that the Laoyan clan still believes in the practice's

authenticity of appeasing the spirits to bring cure, blessings, prestige, and good luck.

However, some factors such as education, economy, and Christianity hold backs the clan

to perform the highest level of 'cañao' ('peshit') hence, they just perform the smaller

scale during reunions.

Being a participant-observer was the clan members' way of learning the practice.

Elders of the clan orient the younger generation on the rites and ceremonies however,

major actors in transmitting the practices and rites may soon be gone from this life, thus,

it is recommended that 'cañao' rites and practices be institutionalized and put into

writings and other means of documentations.

It is further recommended that the Department of Education should use the school curriculum as a means of transmission of information on Cordillera cultures.



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INTRODUCTION

Rationale

The Philippines is known worldwide for its rich and diverse cultural heritage. It has a whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize the society or societal group.

Culture is the accumulation of material objects, patterns of social organization, learned modes of behavior, knowledge, beliefs, and all other activities, which are developed in human association (Andres, 1994). Culture identifies a group of people clearly showing their uniqueness from other groups. It includes creative expression, oral history, language, literature, performing arts, fine arts and crafts, community practice, traditional healing methods, traditional natural resource management, celebration and patterns of social interaction that contributes to groups and individual welfare and of course, material or built forms such as sites, buildings, historic city centers, landscape, arts and objects.

Cordillera's beliefs and practices, specifically their way of appealing to the 'anitus' or unseen spirits have long been embedded in their culture. Some of these practices have been handed down from generation to generation and remained resilient in spite of the pressures from changing times. 'Cañao', for one, is a ritual that Cordillerans' still uphold today. The term 'cañao' or 'kanyaw' is not identified with any of the Montañosa dialects. It is a term coined and popularized by lowlanders to refer to the feast or ritual which may be held on occasions such as marriage, death, curing a sickness, and at several stages during the planting and harvesting cycle of a highland crop. It is

generally celebrated with prayers of the elders ('Mambunong') and performing the traditional dances called 'Tayao' and 'Bendian', food offering, eating, and rounds of traditional wine ('Tapey'). Some 'Cañao' may last for two to three days, depending on the occasion. To the Ibaloys, 'cañao' is referred to as 'kedot', 'chilus', or 'kechang'.

There is now, however marked changes in the observance of the 'cañao' as shown by the waning observance and/or modifications of the rituals involved. It has undergone considerable transformation, discarding some aspects and adopting new things. Some aspects of this practice are slowly slipping from our grip and if this is not attended to, this important socio-religious celebration may face total extinction.

Many concerned writers, educators, elders, documentators, and others strive to relay to the younger generations the needed information just to preserve the mother-culture. In present-day celebrations of the ritual, the youth are given major roles as they will be the ones to inherit whatever will happen to the land and its resources.

To further preserve 'cañao', there is then a need to identify the best medium of communicating and handing it down to the younger generations and to identify the changes wrought down to it by the modern times.

The study then focuses on the Laoyan clan residing at Betag, La Trinidad, Benguet, since they are one among the oldest clans who is still practicing 'cañao' ('Ibaloi cañao') purposively for anniversaries, thanksgiving and reunions. They also have a written documentation (published) on their family history, which includes some data on how they perform the 'cañao'.

Statement of the Problem

This study primarily aims to identify the major actors in communicating or handing down the practice of 'cañao' and how the medium of communication has affected the tradition. Specifically, it answers the following questions:

- 1. Who are the persons involved in disseminating the information about 'cañao'?
 - 2. What are the communication media used in conserving 'cañao'?
 - 3. What are the documentations made on 'cañao'?

Objectives of the Study

With the general objective of preserving this specific traditional culture, the study specifically aimed:

- 1. to identify major actors in transmitting information about 'cañao';
- 2. to identify the communication media used in transmitting 'cañao';
- 3. to have an inventory of the documentations made on 'cañao'.

<u>Importance of the Study</u>

The study serves as a tool or reference in conserving 'cañao' as one of the living cultures of La Trinidad. It also provides an insight for the many, especially the young to reflect and appreciate the importance and relevance of their traditional background. The study is not just for Benguet people but for those whose traditional beliefs and practices have undergone or are undergoing considerable transformations. This study also

provides a basis for communication practitioners in assessing the importance of communication media.

Scope and Limitation

The study focuses on the performance of 'cañao' by the Laoyan clan. It considered three members of the clan representing two generations.



REVIEW OF LITERATURE

'Cañao'

Legend has it that long ago, the first family had so many pigs, the man did not know what to do with the pigs, and was complaining at the bother of having to take care of them.

Now 'Kabunian' in the sky heard his complaints and so came down as a man and spoke, "If you do not know what to do with the pigs, you make 'tapey'. I shall return in eight days and explain to you what to do."

According to his promise, 'Kabunian' returned on the eighth day and explained how to use the pigs and 'tapey' in performing 'cafey', 'sabeng', and 'pechit'. The performance of these is a 'mangdaoat', popularly known as 'Canao' (Tiotioen, n.d.).

A 'cañao' is a socio-religious celebration in which a chicken, pig, or carabao is sacrificed and feasted upon. For some, such as the 'Ibalois', this ('cañao') is a term for communal wedding feast hosted by and celebrated for rich families.

Some ethno-linguistic group in the Cordillera region may term 'cañao' as 'pechit', 'cafey', 'keyad', 'kosdey', 'tchungas', 'batbat', or 'kafe'.

A 'cañao' may take place at an 'ato', on sacred mountains, or in home according to purpose.

According to Face (2005) a 'cañao' may be performed with in the family or involving the whole community depending on the purpose. Depending on the occasion, a cañao may last for two to three days, or even months, such as the funeral of known and rich personalities which may last for as long as five months.

Cultural Beliefs and Practices

The Benguet people believed in the existence of unseen beings (spirits) that emanate from the sky world and the underworld. It is further believed that these unseen beings can be manipulated by men to his advantage. With this, the people strive to win the favors of the spirits using prayers and material offerings in a ritual.

Kinds of cañao. Before any of the kind of 'cañao' is celebrated such as the 'pechit'/'pedit', 'kape'/'cafey', 'batbat', 'keyad', 'sabeng', 'kosdey' and 'tchungas', a 'mambunong' is first requested to determine the kind of 'cañao' to offer to 'Kabunian' (Tiotioen, n.d.).

The performance of 'cañao; depends on the cause of an event, depending on what spirit has touched.

Kape. There are several situations where this ritual 'kape' or 'cafey' is sponsored - when a wedding ceremony is performed, after the burial of the dead, when a lightning struck a house, and after entering a new house (Baucas, 2003). If any of the family dreamed of a good omen after the celebration, the host will sacrifice again a life of a small pig to offer to 'Kabunian' as a thanksgiving for the good omen he has expressed through dreams by any of the family members that performed the 'kape' (Tiotioen, n.d.).

Batbat. 'Batbat' is the kind of cañao to be performed by the sick person. This 'cañao' last for about one day and one night. 'Tapey' is served mostly to old men and women while singing and dancing. After the 'cañao' is performed, the sick person gets well in few days or weeks by somewhat a miracle cure through healing by native superstitious beliefs (Tiotioen, n.d.).

Keyad. This is performed voluntarily or compulsory. When a rich family has several heads of animals and wants to maintain his leadership in his barrio as a headman, he performs the 'keyad' voluntarily or the compulsory class. A carabao or cow is butchered for the 'keyad', but to add more volume of meat for the food of the people gathered and distributed to all neighbors and neighboring barrios, at least five to ten animals or more are butchered which may be bought or produced by the performer (Tiotioen, n.d.).

Sabeng. 'Sabeng' is a Benguet festival 'cañao' celebrated or performed without consulting the 'mambunong' by a native young couple. It is the beginning of the 'peshit'. This kind of festival 'cañao' is to be performed by all married persons but due to financial means, only the well to do class of people celebrates it (Tiotioen, n.d.).

Pechit. This marks the elevation of the status of the feast giver to the wealthy class (Lucky, 2005). The 'pechit' celebration lasts from one to three days or even up to five days. Once it is completely performed by a wealthy man, then he is automatically become a member of a headman to have command power and respect by the people in his territory or the entire residents of the municipality (Tiotioen, n.d.).

Kosdey. This is a rite performed at dusk just as the moon rises over a blooming rice field to invoke the fertility of the soil. It is held during the month of May (Lucky, 2005).

Tchungas. It is a purification rite, with a ceremony held to avenge the ghosts of the enemies who killed their people in the past and whose heads were cut off and brought home as trophies. This ritual also signifies the purification of those whom they have avenged.

Instruments used. The basic musical instruments which are played during 'cañao' and the feasts are the gongs and drums, and a pair of iron bars. These instruments are generally played by elder men who are well-versed on the definite musical sequence. Both instruments are beaten with wooden sticks called 'pitog'. The drums always come in pairs. The smaller one, which is the main instrument, is called 'solibao' and the slightly bigger one is the 'kimbal'. The last pair of instrument is the 'palas or tiktik'. It consists of two pieces of iron which are struck together by a dancer.

When the pigs are to be killed one by one, the performer thrust a sharpened stick ('ohwik') into its heart.

Persons involved. The key person in the ritual is the 'mambunong', chosen as spiritual leader and counsel for members of the community. The members involved in the celebration depend on the purpose of 'cañao'. For family 'cañao', only the family members and relatives have to attend. A grand 'cañao' involve the participation of the community people for it has the focus of entertainment, cultural shows and festivities.

At most, 'cañao' is not only for the performance of the culture, not only for the appearing of spirits, not only to obey the beliefs and practices of our great forefathers, but also to unify a tribe.

According to Domogan (2005) a 'cañao' does not only to unify a tribe, it was also a way for everybody to catch up with the news about the community.

Communication Media

Benguet province, since the early days, followed unwritten customs and law. The word of the wealthy ('baknang'), who performs the most feasts, and the council of elders prevail in the community. Though the practices are unwritten, it is followed because of its

attachment to the belief systems. Although those belief systems are unwritten, it was passed from one generation to another until this day (Sacla, 1987).

However, a lot of materials and buildings are produced to sustain the young generation's mind. One of these is the museum. It is an area to accommodate display of artifacts and exhibits, including local artistic crafts and paintings, as well as historical writings, pictorials and documents (Keith, 1994).

Even the traditional printed material - the book – is still a powerful tool. It can transmit ideas and symbols, and images. The book has its advantages – it is of low cost and portable, students or researchers use it at any place they choose, they can return to any point at any time, they can stop at any point, take it home or to the park and even use it during their travel or at school.

Computers are being more and more used in many different experimental programs. In many cases, they are just a more complex form of programmed instruction texts, with higher levels of branching.

Sound tapes may find their role in some special applications. There are some tapes containing data of physical experiments or events.

The spoken word is the most traditional teaching tool and a perfect weapon for encouraging researcher or student passivity (Raw, n.d.).

These communication media's purpose is to lead in the study, preservation and promotion of the province's rich artistic, historic, and cultural heritage, reconstruction and rebuilding the province's glorious past (Keith, 1994).

Cultural Change

It is quite commonly believed in the public world that traditional arts are facing the danger of extinction and therefore, need to be preserved (Reyes, n.d.).

All cultures are inherently predisposed to change and, at the same time, to resist change. There are factors and processes that encourage the acceptance of new ideas and things while there are others that encourage changeless stability. These include forces of work within a society, contact between societies and changes in the natural environment. Within a society, processes leading to change include invention and culture loss. Religion also often provides strong moral justification and support for maintaining traditional ways.

Western influences also such as religion, education, and commercialization decreased the practice of some cultural ritual.

Igorot culture through time will assume various forms, simple because unlike cultural artifacts, traditional events cannot be preserved in museums. These cultures can die unless continually performed (Malanes, 2003).

Definition of Terms

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anito – malevolent spirit
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ap-apo – spirits of the ancestors that lived in the sky world and maybe summonedby the native priest to come to earth to render blessing to the living kin

Kabunyan – a term for the Cordillerans to refer to God the Creator

kadangyan – a rich man, materially well-off, a person having performed the most feasts in the locality

mambunong – a native priest that administers the prescribed ritual cure or healing ritual

mankotom/ama/lalakay – council of elders

pechit/peshit - rich man's feast

solibao – drum made of logs by the natives themselves played with the gongs to produce music during feast

tapey/tapuy – a fermented rice wine used as wine offering in rituals

tayaw/tayao – the native dance performed during feast

communication media – materials used in information dissemination

major actors – people who are well-versed on the practice of cañao

first generation – Clemente Laoyan I

second generation – children of Clemente Laoyan I

third generation – grand children of Clemente Laoyan I

fourth generation – great grand children of Clemente Laoyan I

METHODOLOGY

Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted from November 2006 to January 2007 at La Trinidad, the capital town of Benguet Province (Figure 1). La Trinidad has its own interesting contributions to the colorful history of the Cordilleras and is known for having a strong hold of the practice of 'cañao'. It has become a melting pot of different cultures with not only the Ibalois, Kankanaeys and Kalanguyas as residents but also with a sizeable lowlander population.

Respondents of the Study

The specific respondents of the study are members of the Laoyan clan since they are among the oldest clans in La Trinidad who are still performing the 'cañao'. It covered two generations (the third and fourth generation), since the first and second generation are deceased and some have migrated to another country. The researcher took three representatives from each generation.

Data Collection

Purposive sampling and the snowball technique was used to identify the key informants in the study. Further, guide questions were used during the interviews which were recorded on cassette tapes.

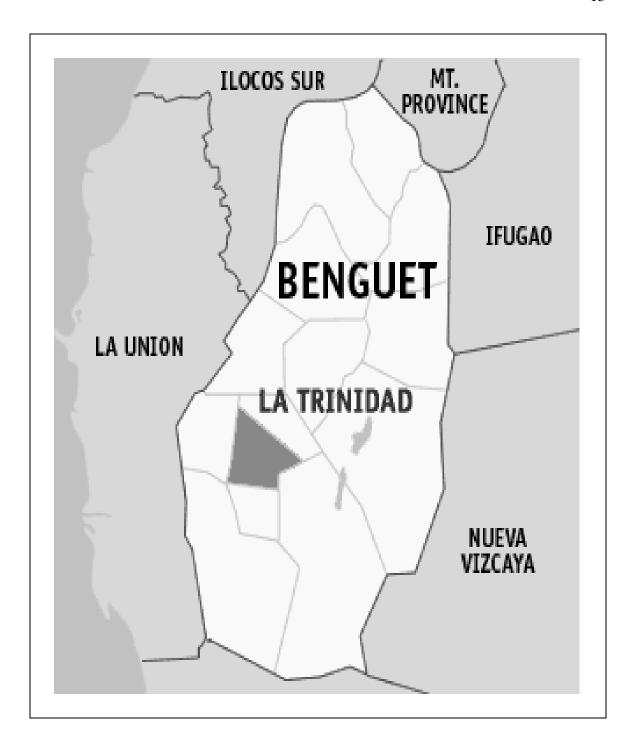


Figure 1. Map of Benguet showing the locale of the study

The study relied on personal interviews using Ilokano as the language medium because most of the interviewee prefers to speak in Ilokano. A personal interview with the key informants was conducted as facilitated by the interview schedule.

Data Gathered

The data gathered were on the communication media used in the preservation of the Igorot 'cañao' and the changes in the execution of the tradition. It also includes the changes in the practice and other perceived factors affecting the changes. In addition, data on where else can one have access to reliable information about 'cañao' were also included.

Data Analysis

Data gathered were organized, summarized, and presented in narrative form.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Laoyan Clan and the 'Cañao'

Clemente Laoyan was the oldest Laoyan who lived in La Trinidad, Benguet. Following the wishes of his parents, Clemente at 16 married Albin Martini (14) from Tabangaoen, where the Farm School buildings now stand. Of Albin's 20 pregnancies, seven were miscarriages while one was a set of twins.

In his lifetime, never did Clemente turn his back to the cultural traditions of his ancestors although he was baptized as a Catholic. He sustained the patriarchal teachings and faith of his ancestors by performing 'cañao'.

To this day, his performance of 'cañao' is known among old men in the Ibaloi and Kankana-ey tribes of Benguet. Laoyan I performed the prestigious 'Peshit', the highest degree in the ladder of 'cañao' achieved only by the wealthy in Benguet. He performed the 'peshit' four times (as thanksgiving). And during his death in 1947, the 'aramag' was done in his honor. The 'aramag' is a 40 day burial rite that entails of butchering of a number of cows, pigs, horses, and chickens. People who attend the burial are fed with different kinds of meat, heaps of pancakes, vegetable fare, and 'camote' and 'gabi' with jars of 'tapuy' and other liquors.

Performing 'cañao' is believed to appease malevolent spirits to bring good luck, cure sickness, bring blessings, and to bring prestige to the host. A 'cañao' is performed according to the purpose the 'manbunong' requires. The kinds of cañao being performed in the Cordillera are 'batbat', 'kosdey', 'sabeng', 'kape', 'keyad', 'tchungas' and 'peshit'.

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The 'peshit' as the highest degree of cañao, was performed by the first and second

generation of the Laoyan clan.

Informants state that the excerpts from the clan book were the portrayal of

Elvira's 'sedpang' (a rite of appeasing the spirits).

Figure 2 shows that offerings (clothes) are spread on the cement before any rite

can take place. Rolled tobacco and cigarette, coins in a bag, 'tapuy' and beer, are also

served as offerings. Some members of the clan hold a rope to symbolically lead the

sacrificial pig before it is slaughtered.

After the slaughtering of the pig, Elvira and her family sit around the food,

including all the garments offered for the meal as the 'mambunong' blesses it as shown in

Figure 8 and 9.

Then the bones of Clemente I are cleaned and pieced back together, and placed on

clean blankets and clothes. The members then clean the bones of Clemente's wife, and

placed in her coffin after. The bones were finally laid beside Clemente I.

Finally, after all bones were cleansed, Clemente's bones are returned to his tomb

in Betag, while the bones of their three sons were brought to Buyagan Heroes Hill for re-

interment.

Major Actors in Transmitting 'Cañao'

Rites and Practices

Informants pointed out that old folks or the elders who know the rite and practice

be the ones to teach or transmit to younger generation the information on 'cañao'.

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Figure 2. Offerings during the 'sedpang' performed by ElviraLaoyan (2001)



Figure 3. Angeline Laoyan-Pawid clan members hold the rope to symbolically lead the sacrificial pig before it is slaughtered





Figure 4. The slaughtering of the pig



Figure 5. The cooked pork is cut up, and served with lots of sili labuyo and soy





Figure 6. After the bones are cleaned, they are placed on clean blankets and clothes



Figure 7. Rolled tobacco and cigarette, coins in bag, tapey and beer, among others are served as offerings. The 'mambunong' speaks to the spirits while Elvira listens





Figure 8. The 'mambunong' blesses the food offered before the family and guests eat



Figure 9. The hostess and her family sit around the food, includining all the garments offered for the meal



Figure 10.The 'mambunong' prays and offers the feast to the spirits of the dead relatives.



Figure 11. After the meal is eaten by everyone, the traditional 'tayao' and 'sarong' dance starts

*Photo credits: Clemente Laoyan I-His Life, His Family (Clan Book)



The Laoyan elders relayed that while the practice is proceeding, the clan elders or the parents would give details or stories on the practice. They added that it is better to acquaint youngsters of the practice with an actual demonstration.

There is no specific age as to when the old folks orient the younger ones. The Laoyans greatly recommend that while today's generations are young, it would be better for them to be acquainted with their own traditions, and consequently to further preserve the traditions. During Clemente Laoyan's time, his parents were instrumental in informing him about the rite and practice of the 'cañao'. Among Clemente I's children, two of them, the third and the fourth child (Oraja and Savel) were identified to carry on the tradition. For the third and fourth generations, major actors in transmitting the tradition are not identified though the elders oriented the members of the clan during 'cañao'. Of the three daughters of Oraja, one of them (Rosaline) have performed the prestigious 'cañao'. Aside from Rosaline, none in her generation and the generation after have performed the 'peshit'.

<u>Communication Media Used in Transmitting</u> 'Cañao' Rites and Practices

During Clemente Laoyan I's time, his parents or the elders of the clan relay the meanings behind each rite of the 'cañao' whenever they or a host in the community perform a 'cañao'.

Part of the 'cañao' is the performance of the 'badiw' where the elders would relate the life story of the host. Clemente took note of the rhythm of the 'badiw' which he, in time taught to his children and grandchildren. The 'badiw' is sung with the

'pakkong', a native bamboo instrument. Clemente I often led in the singing of the 'badiw' during a 'cañao'. He was able to perform three 'peshit' when he was still alive. And a 'peshit' was also performed during his death.

Cordillerans then believed in the sacredness of the practice that is why the materials and actions are so selected to truly signify their intent and purpose. Some materials or actions are prohibited because this may affect the sacredness of the practice.

Clemente Laoyan I loved the fields and gardens too. However, it was his wife Albin, who took charge of the agricultural concerns. To help Albin with the family activities, the old man Laoyan designated two of his daughters to tend to the fields and gardens. As a consequence, the two were not sent to school because of their daily responsibilities in the farm. These two daughters, Oraja and Savel, schooled in the native culture and customs, eventually were to carry on the 'cañao' tradition – each one performing the 'peshit' thrice during their thanksgiving. Being a participant-observer during a 'cañao' was their way of learning it.

Certainly, it was Oraja and her sister Savel who received the mandate from their father to keep alive the required observation of the 'cañao' to honor and keep the memory of the family and relatives who had gone ahead into the afterlife. During those 'cañao', Clemente's son, Mathew sang the 'badiw' and was always playing the gongs and dancing around with the group. This he learned in always participating in all family or community 'cañao'.

The performance of 'peshit' had stopped in the third and fourth generation. Though they practice 'cañao', it is not anymore on the grand scale of a 'peshit' wherein they have to feed the entire community. They recalled that during their childhood years,

they just go along with their parents when someone performs 'cañao', may it be the prestigious or the least kind of 'cañao'. It is through actual observation and participation that these generations learned the practice. Out of curiosity, some of the clan members would ask about the performance of 'cañao' at any time and some had first hand experience on the practice.

The Laoyan clan still practices 'cañao' up to this time, however, some changes have occurred due to the onset of Christianity. Also, due to economic reasons, clan members share with the expenses for holding a 'cañao', instead of designating only one host family. The clan members talk over the expenses and assign who will be in-charge of the animal offerings, the gathering place, the materials to be use, and others. Some of the clan members or families do not have also enough time to talk over the practice with their children because most of them have to attend to academic activities, or to the demands of their professions. Thus, they have made some changes in the practice to suit their present situation and needs.

In addition, with the increasing prices of goods and services, the clan only performs their 'cañao' in reunion gatherings every after 2 or 3 years. That is why their children do not often witness the actual practice. 'Cañao' is sometimes held for thanksgiving but they do not already perform the 'peshit' as what their parents and grandparents did.

This limits the chance for the younger generation to learn more about their tradition. Nevertheless, oral transmission and actual observation is the clan's way of transmitting their own traditions to their descendants and to other peoples. However,

doing this contributes to the fading play of the 'cañao'. The meaning and the laws of the practice is lost and some ideas are included as people talk about it.

The clan has also produced a clan book (Clemente Laoyan I – His life, His Family) which includes excerpts from the book of Wasing Sacla (The treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet) about the performance of the *cañao*. They also video documented the practice during Elvira's 'sedpang' for the old man Clemente and his wife Albin together with their three sons Juanito, Jose and Domingo in 2001 and of Warren Laoyan in 2004.

Evira Laoyan performed several 'cañao' during her time. Her 'sedpang' in 2001 was the very first 'cañao' to be video documented by the clan. She comes home every 2 or 3 years to perform the party called 'sedpang'.

Documentations on 'Cañao'

Table 1 presents the different documentations made on 'cañao'.

Electronic instruments such as computers may find their way in documenting the tradition, however, some information are not that reliable because of lack of validation from the old folks who know the culture. 'The Bontoc Igorot' of Albert Ernest Jenks research output as an example includes the Igorot culture as a group, the Bontoc culture as a group, their general social life, their economic life, political life, aesthetic life, religion, language, and folktales. But it is observed that the study doesn't go in depth in the roots of history of such culture.

Table 1. Documentations made on 'cañao'

TYPE OF MED	DIA TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE OF
			PUBLICATION/
			PRODUCTION
Print media	The treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals Of Benguet	Wasing D. Sacla	1987
	Traditional Beliefs and Cultural Practices in Benguet	Biano L. Baucas	2003
	Clemente Laoyan I – His life, His Family	The Laoyan clan	2002
Audio visual Media-video documentation	The performance of 'cañao' by the Laoyan clan	The Laoyan clan	2001, 2004
Internet	Benguet 'cañao'		
-	http://www.benguet.gov.ph/index.php?option=com_conte	Province of Benguet	2005
	Philippines: Irony of "Dying	Michiyo Yoneno Reyes	n.d.
	Tradition" http://www.twnside.org.sg/title2/ttcd/CU-o5.doc		
	The Bontoc Igorot http://www.gutenburg.org/etext/	Albert Ernest	
	3308	Jenks	2005

Joel Fagsao's Mountainonline though includes the Mountain Province hometown, its history, culture, tourism, people, and news; it doesn't still have the full in-depth information on the Province's cultures and norms.

Clippings on the net also abound though it still represents only a little insight or overview of the culture. One of which is by Michiyo Yoneno Reyes on his Irony of "Dying Tradition" which presented the dying chant of the Ifugaos and a little bit of culture as a whole.

The Benguet website as well has posted an overview of the Benguet's culture and tradition such as the Grand Cañao and a summary on how the practice was conducted.

In addition, institutions, and even private sectors, find their way to go place to place to cover physical events and interviews. Every municipality has their own copy of the practice of 'cañao' every time they have their foundation day celebration. However, it is just for personal copies on the account that they still believe in the sacredness of the ritual, hence, the government or municipality prohibits the selling of the footages.

This same reason goes with private or family copies. One private sector in La Trinidad (Researchmate), together with the Kabayan LGU (ONKASKA) had produced a documentary on the practice of 'cañao'. However, it's not for sale, but for future reference purpose only.

According to Frances Laoyan, the clan had also produced video documentaries on the practice of 'cañao', with the very first documentation by her Aunt Elvira Laoyan followed by the 'sedpang' of Warren Laoyan in 2004.

There are some books which have been passed on to present generation which could be judged as very satisfactory or being an excellent portrayal of the culture they are

talking about. One of which is the first book of Sacla in 1987, the Treasury of Beliefs and Home Rituals of Benguet which focuses on the Benguet traditions and beliefs that Cordillerans still practice up to these times and one of which is the practice of 'cañao', its kinds and how it is done. Moreover, some rites and practices also are believed to have been degraded but still put into writing for future references.

Another is the latest book by Baucas (2003) – Traditional Beliefs and Cultural Practices in Benguet that encompasses the same concerns as Sacla's.

Furthermore, the Laoyan clan had produced their own clan book presenting the descendants of Clemente Laoyan I as the oldest Laoyan in La Trinidad. Who practiced the 'cañao' among his descendants was briefly discussed in the book.



SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The study was conducted to identify the communication media used in transmitting the information on 'cañao' by the Laoyan clan. Major actors in the study who disseminate information on the rites of 'cañao' were identified as the elders of the family or the community. Data were gathered through in-depth interviews with the Laoyan clan which was represented by three informants of the clan's two generations. A tape recorder was used to document the interview sessions.

Several communication media were identified in disseminating the knowledge on the practice of the tradition. These include books, clippings, computer-based information, and the word of the mouth which were gathered in interview sessions. The spoken word and actual observation however, were the traditional and most prevalent ways of transmitting the rites during Clemente's time down to his descendants.

Reasons of changes or modifications in the practice of 'cañao' by the Laoyan clan are because of religion, modern education, increasing economy, and intermarriages of different tribes and immigration, and not due to the communication media used.

Conclusions

The findings of the study proved that 'cañao' is believed to be the reflection of every Igorot. It is a tradition of the Cordillerans that is still practiced until these modern days. The Laoyan clan still believes in its authenticity of appearing the spirits to bring cure, blessings, prestige, and good luck.

However, the Laoyan clan, because of education, economy, and mainly on Christianity, performs the smaller scale of 'cañao' only during reunions. It is during these times that elders have the chance to orient their children on the rites and materials to be used in a 'cañao'. They have limitations in informing their children about the other kinds of 'cañao' due to non-observance anymore.

On the other hand, some books are published recently to show the practices and verses of the Cordillera culture to somehow help in preserving it. The clan also has their family book and had produced video documentations on the practice.

Although the discussion shows that the word of mouth is the traditional way of transmitting the practice, it is still helpful to put into writing and other means of documentations such as in electronic format about the culture, the artifacts, and detailed process because old folks who know the original performance of the ritual may soon be gone from this life. There is however a need to validate these documentations whether they really reflect how the Igorots do it.

Recommendations

Since 'cañao' reflects the life of every Igorot, it is therefore recommended that its preservation be a role to be seriously taken by the younger generations.

- The Provincial Government, Municipalities and educational institutions should support other communication means like museums and documentations, as well as the production of printed materials
- 2. The Department of Education should use the school curriculum as a means of transmission of information on Cordillera cultures.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Interview Schedule

INTEF	RVIEWEE:
POSIT	TION:
OCCU	PATION:
GENE	RATION:
	1 st 3 rd
DATE	:
QUES'	TIONS:
1.	How did you learn the practice of cañao?
2.	Who is in-charge of transferring/teaching the practice of cañao to the younger
	generation?
3.	How is cañao communicated to the younger generation?
	through books
	through the museum
	through computers
	through sound tapes
	through spoken word
	others
4.	How far back was cañao performed?
	*How did cañao become a part of the Igorot traditions?
	*Why is cañao performed?
	*On what occasions should cañao be held?

- 5. How should cañao be performed?
 - a. What are the steps in preparing for a cañao?
 - b. What are done during a cañao?
 - c. What are the animals to be offered?

Is it necessary to offer such?

Why not other animals?

- d. How long should it be done?
- e. Who should perform the cañao?
- 6. What are the differences of cañao in the past and now:
 - *as to the practices/rites?
 - * as to the participants involved?
 - * as to the proper time/occasion to perform?
 - * as to the length of time to perform?
 - * as to the (number of) offerings given?
 - *as to the materials used in the practice/rite?
 - *others
- 7. What are the possible reasons for the changes in the ceremonies for cañao?
 - *as to the practices/rites?
 - * as to the participants involved?
 - * as to the proper time/occasion to perform?
 - * as to the length of time to perform?
 - * as to the (number of) offerings given?
 - *as to the materials used in the practice/rite?



*others

- 8. In what way do you think we could preserve the authenticity of cañao?
- 9. Where else (or how?) can we access reliable information to the practice of cañao?



Appendix B. Letter to the respondents

Benguet State University College of Agriculture DEPARTMENT OF EXTENSION EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION La Trinidad, Benguet

February 20, 2007

MRS. URSULA DAOEY Brent School Baguio City

Madame:

Warm Greetings!

I am Laarni F. Faba-an, a fourth year student of Bachelor of Science in Development Communication majoring in Educational Communication at Benguet State University. I am presently conducting my Undergraduate Thesis on "Retaining a Heritage: Communication Media Used in Transmitting Canao Rites and Practices".

In line, I would like to ask for your time for an interview on the issues that will answer my objectives. I would be very thankful if you could inform me your most convenient time for the interview.

Your participation in the study will be very much appreciated.

Thank you very much and God bless!

Respectfully yours,

LAARNI F. FABA-AN Researcher

NOTED BY:

MARIFE D. CARPIO Adviser

