The Effects of Tourism on Culture and the Environment in Asia and the Pacific

IMPACT

Sustainable Tourism and the Preservation of the World Heritage Site of the Ifugao Rice Terraces

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# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements iii  
Foreword vi

Introduction to the Ifugao Rice Terraces

## A. About Ifugao
- Geographical Facts  2  
- Economic Base  3  
- The People  5

## B. History and Tourism
- The Spanish Period  7  
- The American Regime  7  
- Japanese Ancestor Worship and the Search for Hidden Treasures  10  
- The Philippine Government’s Attempts at Tourism Development in the IRT  10

### Part I: Ifugao Rice Terraces Situation

## A. Understanding the Heritage of the Ifugao Rice Terraces
- Contentious Points  15  
- World Heritage Recognition  17  
- Cultural Assets  18  
- The Value of the IRT to the Ifugaos  27

## B. Tourism in Ifugao: A Situational Analysis
- Tourist Arrivals  30  
- Occupancy Rates  33  
- Tourist Length of Stay  34  
- Tourism Resources  34  
- Tourism Organizations  43

## C. Heritage Preservation Efforts
- Government Initiatives for IRT Management  45  
- Non-Government Organization (NGO) Initiatives  47

### Part II: Tourism Impacts and Issues

## A. Impacts on the Physical Environment  53

## B. Socio-Cultural Impacts  54
- Positive Socio-Cultural Impact  55  
- Negative Socio-Cultural Impact  56

## C. Economic Impacts  58
- Visitor Arrivals and Receipts  59  
- Employment Generation  61  
- Income  62  
- Development of Tourism Infrastructure that Benefits Residents  63  
- Negative Economic Impacts  63

## D. Government Expenditure for Tourism  64
Part III: Community-Based Tourism in Ifugao

A. Background

B. Community-Based Tourism Activities
   Community-Based Land Use and Zoning Project
   Revival of Rice Harvest Thanksgiving Festival
   Eco-cultural Rice Cycle Tours
   Other Eco-Cultural Tourism Products

C. Roles of the Various Stakeholders

D. Benefits to the Community

E. Results and Outputs
   An Enthusiastic Corps of Volunteers
   Increasing Quantity and Quality of Tourists
   Improving the Product

F. Lessons Learned
   Community Participation
   Challenges of Community Involvement
   Tourism Product Development
   Tourist Interaction with Local Communities

Part IV: Future Directions

A. Preserving the Living Rice Culture

B. Developing a Sustainable Tourism Framework

C. Marketing the Ifugao Rice Terraces

D. Sustaining Tourism Growth

References
The Asia-Pacific region is replete with heritage sites worth preserving. These places help us understand our past, enrich our present lives and lay the foundation for future generations. The inhabitants continue to practice their indigenous beliefs, social practices and rituals and to use traditional management regimes to sustain the monuments and surrounding landscape that have nurtured them for generations.

However, these heritage sites are under threat from the passage of time, the forces of nature, modernization, uncontrolled development and population growth. They have also become powerful magnets for tourists who are in search of a rich cultural experience far removed from their own lives.

As one of the world’s most profitable and fastest growing industries, tourism, if properly managed, can be an effective tool for the conservation of culture and environment. It offers unlimited economic benefits to communities living in or near heritage sites in terms of employment opportunities, revitalization of traditional crafts and cultural practices and opportunities for the inhabitants to express pride in their culture. However, uncontrolled tourism can also cause irreversible damage to the physical and intangible heritage resources, the very resources on which tourism is based.

This publication focuses on the impact of tourism on the rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras, an outstanding model of sustainable use of limited land resources using traditional knowledge-based technology that has evolved over the last two millennia. In 1995, the site was inscribed on the World Heritage List in recognition of the organically-evolved cultural landscape that has been shaped by sacred traditions and the ingenuity of the Ifugao people who have transformed the difficult terrain of the Cordillera Mountains. Their religious beliefs, customary laws and traditional practices are embodied in the Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao People which were later recognized in 2001 by UNESCO as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity.

The living rice culture that maintains the terraced fields is under grave threat from a host of powerful man-induced forces. Traditional resource management practices have been disrupted by the introduction of an open-market economy which has caused out-migration of young people and the loss of the traditional co-operative labour required to maintain the irrigation system and terrace walls. The imposition of national policies of local governance and the pressure exerted by Western religions have marginalized the traditional role of indigenous knowledge holders
in managing the daily lives of the community and the environment. The introduction of new high-yield rice varieties, non-endemic flora and fauna has disrupted the fragile ecosystem and traditional agricultural practices. Government interventions have been focused on infrastructure development that has led to site degradation.

Uncontrolled tourism has also caused irreversible damage to the cultural landscape. It has spawned urban sprawl that has encroached on the most spectacular rice terrace clusters in the main town of Banaue. The increasing demand for wood crafts by tourists and the export market has caused watershed deforestation, thus diminishing water supply to the rice fields. The economic benefits of tourism have not filtered down to the farmers who maintain the rice terraces on which tourism is based.

Experts estimate that up to 30 percent of the rice terraces have been abandoned and left to erode. As a result, the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras was added to the List of World Heritage Sites in Danger in 2001.

Local and international experts involved in the UNESCO emergency technical assistance programme to enhance the conservation and management of the World Heritage Site in Danger (2003-2004) were of one mind that to reverse site degradation, traditional resource management practices and land use systems must be revived and revitalized. Concerned professionals and local stakeholders banded together to form the Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo), which aims is to revive traditional management practices through the transmission of indigenous knowledge systems to the younger generation and to assist ethnic communities to develop pro-poor tourism industries that benefit all stakeholders and revive disappearing cultural practices.

This publication was researched and written by SITMo so that their experience and strategies can be shared. We hope that this book will inspire readers to be more aware of the fragile ecosystem of cultural landscapes, the threats that heritage sites face, the need to empower vulnerable ethnic communities and the factors that can help sustain the environment.

Richard A. Engelhardt
UNESCO Regional Advisor for Culture in Asia and the Pacific
Introduction to Ifugao
Ifugao Province
A. About Ifugao

Geographical Facts

Ifugao is one of the six provinces of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), situated in the Philippines’ North Central Luzon. It is a landlocked watershed province bounded by a mountain range to the north and west that tempers into undulating hills towards the south and the east. The highest elevation is 2,523 meters above sea level (masl) with the rice terraces lying above 500 masl. The Magat River forms the south-eastern border that separates this hilly region from the lowland provinces. The climate is classified as temperate. The months of November to February are very cold. The rainy season starts in the latter part of May and ends in February the following year.

The province has a total land area of 251,778 hectares distributed in eleven municipalities. About 81.77 percent of the land has a slope of over 18 degrees. Under the Revised Forestry Code of the Philippines, these areas are public forest lands, forest reserves and watershed reservations that are not disposable for agricultural use, thus placing nine municipalities under tenurial restrictions. More than three-quarters of the aggregate land area is in an environmentally critical state. The uplands are host to dipterocarp, pine and mossy
The traditional economy was characterized by terrace agriculture, woodlot maintenance and swidden farming which developed in response to the natural landscape and have given it its distinctive character over the centuries. However, these systems are now placed under intense pressure by both subsistence and market demands. As a result, the traditional forms of subsistence are being eaten away by changing cultural values and the pressing economic needs of the local population.

Ifugao today is one of the poorest provinces in the country. More than 90 percent of its income comes from its share of the Internal Revenue Allotment, while less than 10 percent is generated from local sources. Its total income in year 2000 was PHP 201,218,543.90 or roughly US$5 million.

About 69 percent of the labour force is involved in agriculture. Rice produced by the terraced paddies can only feed a regular family for a little over five months.

**Economic Base**

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About 69 percent of the labour force is involved in agriculture. Rice produced by the terraced paddies can only feed a regular family for a little over five months.
Because of increasing needs, some have ventured into producing fruit and vegetables while others are involved with industries like handicrafts, construction and quarrying. In areas where the rice terrace walls are earthen, such as those found in Kiangan and Asipulo, some portions are converted into vegetable gardens.

The income from trade and industry comes from the manufacture of gifts, toys and houseware, inclusive of woodcarving, basketry, novelties and fashion accessories. Other manufacturing industries include furniture, concrete hollow block and garments. There is also a thriving number of wholesale and retail establishments that are found in the municipalities of Lagawe and Banaue. Community, social and personal services comprise the highest investment in the province (Figure 2).
The People

They call themselves Ipugo, meaning “from the earth”. The Spaniards changed the name to “Ifugaw” and the Americans revised it to “Ifugao”. An intransigent people, they are among the communities who refused to be subjugated when the country was colonized by Spain for almost four centuries. In this regard, they were able to retain patrimony over the land that they inherited, according to custom. However, a long history of assimilation and integration into the dominant culture which started during the American occupation has left indelible marks on the political, economic and cultural landscape.

Many theories abound on their origin. The first American anthropologist to set foot on Philippine soil and in Ifugao, H. Otley Beyer, popularized the “three-wave migration” theory which posited that three groups of peoples populated the Philippines in successive waves. First to arrive were the Negritos with their dark constitution, curly hair and short stature. They were pushed inland by the tall and lean Indonesians. Third were the stocky Malays who in turn pushed the Indonesians into the mountains. Beyer believed that the Ifugaos descended from the Malays and theoretically pegged the age of their rice terraces at three to five thousand years.

Another theory advanced by Henry Keesing (1962) states that the Ifugaos were pushed by the Spanish in the seventeenth century from their original dwellings along the banks of the Magat River to their present location. Thus the rice terraces would never have been built before their exodus. Extant archaeological evidence puts the age of the rice terraces somewhere in between Beyer’s and Keesing’s proposals (Maher, 1972).

When the pioneer Western explorers, particularly the Spanish, stumbled into Ifugao land, there was no centralized political organization. The Ifugaos were organized in village-level kinship groups. Each household was a socio-political force to reckon with, counting on close relatives and cousins as allies. Disputes were settled with a go-between, the munkalun, who with his oral prowess exerted all efforts towards their peaceful resolution (Barton, 1969).

In the census year 2000, the province registered a total population of 161,623 persons with an average household size of six. It is believed, however, that more than half of the actual population of Ifugaos is found outside the province, which means that they number more than 300,000 in total. Due to the demands of formal education and limited economic opportunities, residents have migrated to urban areas and other parts of the globe. Most of the rice terraces are now managed by family members who are employed in the province or who have no other livelihood options but to cultivate the land.
Ifugao rice terraces follow the contours of land
(Photo courtesy of the Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao by Harold Conklin)

Ifugao have an oral literature. For countless generations, experts have transferred and transmitted indigenous knowledge, cultural practices, and historical events. These advanced oral practices facilitated the recording of Ifugao lore in modern times. The *mumbaki* or native priests, with their specializations in genealogy and folk traditions, are the main repositories of indigenous knowledge and culture.

B. **History and Tourism**

Forbidding and wild, pre-colonial Ifugao land had no material value for foreign interests except for the man-made terraces hand-carved out of the harsh landscape. This drew both scholars and missionaries to begin a history of visits that continue to this day.

The arrival of the first Westerners in the eighteenth century, the entry of Americans in the early 1900s, the panoply of nationalities who came to proselytize Christianity and even the brief stay of the Japanese during World War II marked periods that influenced the development of tourism in Ifugao.

One of the earliest foreign impressions of the rice terraces revealed a deep respect for this human achievement that effectively modified plans to integrate the unhispanized Ifugaos as mandated by a policy known as the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes Act No. 253 in 1903. The purpose of this policy was to ensure “their advancement in civilization and prosperity” by assimilating them into the dominant culture. Its strict enforcement could have changed Ifugao history. However, in his reconnaissance report, the bureau chief David P. Barrows stressed:

“. . . They do not like the plains, and they have utilized, and by very laborious labor developed the productive capacity of the mountains to a degree which I fancy cannot be equalled anywhere else in the world [. . .] to bring him down to the plains is simply to depopulate those wonderful hills and to press him toward inevitable extinction.”

(Jenista, 1987)

Over the centuries, as Ifugao was opened to foreign culture, tourism developed as a consequence from this foreign exposure.
The Spanish Period

The Spanish colonial rule did not directly impact on the future of tourism in Ifugao. However, indirectly, colonial rule opened Ifugao up to both foreign and Filipino curiosity as the Dominican missionaries wrote the first articles and books on Ifugao, its people, customs and traditions (Antolin, 1837). In the El Correo Sino-Anamita, journal of the Dominican Order, Fr. Juan Villaverde, founder of the Kiangan mission, wrote at least 73 “official mission” letters with 32 replies from superiors and other people. He also produced ten reports which ranged in topic from local geography, mountain tribes and way of life to comments on the Spanish government policy of hamletting, missions, politico-military organizations, communications, commerce and trade, among others. Villaverde’s charismatic appeal and prestige among the locals enabled him to chronicle legends and myths of the Kiangan Ifugaos. Additionally, Villaverde also drew some Ifugao maps (Tejon, 1982). His pioneering role in the documentation and study of Ifugao mythology has earned him accolades from later scholars like Ferdinand Blumentritt (1895), H. Otley Beyer (1918), and William Scott (1974).

The American Regime

The Americans had a larger impact on tourism in Ifugao. When Lt. Levi Case opened up his headquarters in Banaue in 1902, it also opened the way for American soldiers and lowland Filipino conscripts, scholars and academicians, mercenaries and adventurers. These people influenced the physical, socio-cultural and economic way of life of the locals.

Anthropological Studies and Ethnographies

Otley H. Beyer (1911, 1918), Roy F. Barton (1919, 1922, 1930, 1946,1963), Henry Conklin (1967, 1980), Fr. Francis Lambrecht, the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM) (1929, 1941, 1957, 1967, 2001), Leonard Newell (1956) undertook investigations and studies that popularized the Ifugao and their way of life. Through them, the existence of the rice terraces and their uniqueness was revealed to the outside world. Barton writes in The Halfway Sun (1930): “Descending through terracing far grander than any I had yet seen […] some terraces are sixty feet high”. In Ifugao Economics (1922), Barton states that “Ifugao rice fields are worthy of high rank among the wonders of the world”. The theories these scholars postulated on the Ifugaos brought Ifugao studies to the attention of other social scientists and their students, the media, business entrepreneurs and culture enthusiasts.
The St. Louis World’s Fair of 1904

This fair included the display of “primitive societies” in human zoos. For a fee, the interested and the curious visited the human circus which displayed tribespeople living in “real” villages showcasing their songs and dances, displaying traditional wares, crafts and gastronomy.

While this was exploitative, the exposition may also have aroused greater curiosity among the American people and other foreigners, some of whom later visited the Philippines.

The Belgian CICM Missionaries

The pacification work carried out by the Americans paved the way for other foreigners of varying interests and persuasion to come to Ifugao and establish themselves. One such group was the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (CICM), a Roman Catholic Order composed of priests, nuns and “brothers” (volunteer lay workers) from Belgium. One of the Order’s most famous priests was Fr. Francis Lambrecht who conducted many studies on the Ifugao hudhud and the Ifugao dialects, and wrote many articles and books on Ifugao cultural practices and traditions. Apart from studying the Ifugao, which drew the attention of foreign scholars and cultural voyeurs, the CICM also channelled the entry and stay of Belgians in the villages which created a lasting relationship between the two sides.

The Adventurers and Cowboys

The Cordilleras, including Ifugao, offered a way for adventurous Americans to relive or reconstruct their memories of the Native Americans. Enlisted servicemen and former soldiers conducted forays into local territory either as neutral, passive spectators or as active participants in the affairs of the natives. The power of the gun over the more primitive bladed weapons drew the respect of the locals who endeavoured to have these free-wheeling Americans on their side. Samuel Kane, a colonel in the U.S. Army, and his party once assisted the Sabangan people of Mountain Province in their age-old conflict against the Hapao people in Ifugao. Various villages, always in a state of belligerence because of head-hunting, thus began to send requests of aid to Kane for military assistance against their enemies. Kane later wrote a book which described his adventures in the highlands of Cordillera which would have sparked the interest and curiosity of people in the West.
The Pensionados and Pensionadas

Some Ifugao village leaders and their sons were sent to the United States to study in its universities. Upon returning back home, they would have brought home tales of Western living, resulting in increased openness and acceptance of American culture. Moreover, these Ifugao scholars would have gone to great lengths in aiding and sponsoring Americans in their studies and visits to Ifugao.

American Education

The building of schools, the use of American English as the medium of instruction replacing Spanish and a conscious effort to expose the natives to American culture and history led to lasting legacies among the Ifugaos. Of greatest importance was the mastery of the English language which facilitated easier communication between Western travellers and natives. Secondly, it produced the perception of a relationship between the American public, government and the natives. Though largely mythical, this facilitated visits of foreigners to villages, which continues to this day.

Masferre: Father of Philippine Photography

Eduardo Masferre played a big role in the popularization of the Ifugao rice terraces through his photographs. A Spanish soldier-turned-photographer, he married a Kankanai woman and devoted his life to capturing the beauty of the Cordilleras. From 1937 to 1955, he produced portraits, both magnificent and faithful to the rugged Cordilleran landscape, its colourful people and the grand rice terraces.

At first, only foreigners appreciated his work as the lowland Filipinos, because of their Spanish and American colonial upbringing, disdained association with the “uncivilized” and “pagan” peoples of the mountains. It was not until in the late 1980s, after a series of exhibitions in Europe and the Philippines, that the Filipino lowlanders began to take pride in his photographic endeavours.
Japanese Ancestor Worship and the Search for Hidden Treasures

The outbreak of World War II ushered in another era in Ifugao history, which would later have reverberating effects on tourism. For more than three years, from 1942 to 1945, Japanese soldiers, engineers, scholars, government officials and nurses, among others, cohabitated and interacted with the native villagers peacefully. Like the historic colonizers, they introduced their own language, culture and history via formal education, sometimes using force to compel the young natives to attend classes. While their occupation was cut short by an Allied victory and their local legacies were largely negative, they had forged a lasting link to Ifugao. At least two decades after the war and continuing well until the 1990s, Japanese veterans and their families came in droves to visit their former territory, pray on the burial grounds of their fallen comrades, dig for their bones and, according to native accounts, hunt for treasures of gold and precious stones looted in mainland South-East Asia which they left behind in their hasty retreat. For at least thirty years, native Ifugaos grew accustomed to these Japanese tourists who gave away used clothes, trinkets, candy and 10-peso bills when they visited. They still come today, but in lesser numbers than they did in the 1970s to the 1990s.

The Philippine Government’s Attempts at Tourism Development in the IRT

While foreign scholars and enthusiasts made extensive forays into Ifugao to see its people and rice terraces before and after the war, lowland Filipinos shunned them. When the Filipinos were granted their independence in 1946, these new rulers continued colonial policies towards the un-Christianized peoples.

It was only in 1973, after more than two decades of independence, that the Ifugao rice terraces (IRT) was given due recognition by then President, Ferdinand Marcos. He issued Presidential Decree (PD) No. 260 declaring the rice terraces as a "national landmark having a high value of world culture and are considered irreplaceable treasures of the country". Five years later in 1978, PD No. 1501 strengthened PD 260 with an inserted provision that "penalizes the modification, alteration, repair or destruction of the original features of the national landmark".

This declaration led to the construction of the Banaue Hotel and Youth Hostel in the municipality of Banaue, a government-owned and managed establishment which aimed to serve tourists visiting the rice terraces. It is the opinion of people from Banaue that the building of the hotel was a major breakthrough in tourism, not only
for their municipality, but for the whole of Ifugao as well (FGD, 2007). Conscious of the attention given by foreigners to the IRT because of the presidential mandate, the government celebrated in 1979 the first Banaue Imbayah festival which has been held every two years since then.

Banaue eventually emerged as the tourism centre of the province in the late 1980s as tourism-related construction, which included accommodation facilities, rose sharply. The initial physical infrastructure was supplied by the private sector following the popularization of the area by Americans which led to an influx of tourists. The Banaue rice terraces became the most popular rice terrace cluster in Ifugao even though similar terraces can also be found across nine of the eleven municipalities of the province. Aside from Banaue, the municipalities of Hungduan, Kiangan and Mayoyao, where other rice terrace clusters were inscribed by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites, are currently emerging as tourist destinations in the province.
Part 1
Ifugao Rice Terraces Situation
A. Understanding the Heritage of the Ifugao Rice Terraces

To understand the Ifugao Rice Terraces site (IRT) is to understand heritage conservation in its simplest form. It is a system of conservation bequeathed from one generation to the next, valued as a source of livelihood for its present stewards.

For a typical Ifugao farmer who owns and tends a terrace parcel, it is a family estate, cultivated to produce food and sustained by the maintenance of water distribution channels that feed the terrace paddies. Aesthetics, anthropological and ecological significance to the rest of the world are secondary and remote, if indeed they are concerns at all, to the managers of the landscape.

The terraces are composed of clusters of inherited properties built and developed over the centuries to maximize the production of the staple food of the Ifugao people, tinawon rice, literally, “once-a-year” rice.

Through the dictates of the nature of the rice crop, amid an environment that results in meagre yields at the cost of much labour, the landscape has evolved as a system where belief and knowledge are one and the same. Rituals were performed and terraces were maintained for only one purpose: to increase the rice yield.

Yet the reason for the existence of the IRT is often missed by discourses on its outstanding significance to the rest of humanity. Most dwell on the famous beauty of the IRT while some focus on the significant natural and cultural resources that it harbours. Now challenged by inevitable changes and differing perspectives, different measures are considered to safeguard the site’s continuing existence.

Contentious Points

Like many other sites that are conserved because of their importance to food security, climate change and contribution to knowledge, the IRT is facing the same development challenges that confront protected agricultural sites, watersheds, biodiversity hosts, cultural heritage sites and indigenous peoples’ enclaves. Global problems such as poverty, out-migration, dispossession of property rights, diminishing diversity and resource management conflicts are major problems that the stakeholders of the IRT is struggling to solve. In this sense, the IRT problem is also outstanding because it is experiencing all the different conservation management issues in one site. Whether international recognition of its outstanding value
made a positive impact on the site is still debatable. Meanwhile, the site itself is making an impact on conservation authorities, academia, site managers and tourists through the knowledge that it provides and the challenges it presents concerning its deteriorating condition and responses by the site managers.

The most critical issue facing the IRT is its battle with conservation and development. As one of the most marginalized provinces in the country, it is in real need of development, especially in terms of transportation and communications. Such infrastructure upgrades target the improvement of health and education in the far-flung villages. Not surprisingly, these are communities living in areas where cultural resources are intact. Progress, it is feared, is expected to adversely affect the local culture.

The recognition of the IRT as both a World Heritage site and a protected area occupied by an indigenous group of people is another policy issue in need of attention. As a World Heritage site, it is judged according to international conservation standards. Yet, as an indigenous heritage, it is an ancestral domain lived in by the Ifugaos who are accorded the right to manage their own resources on their own terms by the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (Republic Act 8371). To date, the conflict is slowly being resolved by land use planning processes.

However, the sustainable management of the site in the long term requires the fundamental acceptance of the fact that IRT management is all about safeguarding a conservation culture which has evolved through centuries of trial and error by a people who have continuously responded to the ever-changing challenges over time. As such, it has to be managed to meet the changing needs of the twenty-first century. As a living culture imperiled by global trends, its existence depends heavily on the survival of the living repositories of indigenous knowledge. Therefore, safe-guarding and sustaining these knowledge resources has become an urgent priority.

Any conservation effort of the IRT has to understand these conditions. Safeguarding the culture that built the IRT means sustaining the well-being of the direct managers of the landscape.
World Heritage Recognition

The Ifugao Rice Terraces (IRT) were placed on the World Heritage List in 1995 in recognition of its Outstanding Universal Value under criteria (iii), (iv) and (v). According to the Operational Guidelines of the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, cultural landscapes “are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal. They should be selected on the basis both of their outstanding universal value and of their representativity in terms of a clearly defined geo-cultural region and also for their capacity to illustrate the essential and distinct cultural elements of such regions” (para. 36).

While officially referred to in the World Heritage List as the “Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras”, the five inscribed terrace clusters are all found in four municipalities of Ifugao province.

Map 2. Location of Communities Hosting the Five Representative World Heritage Site Clusters in the IRT

Source: Rachel Guimbatan
These are the Nagacadan terrace cluster of Kiangan, the Hungduan terrace cluster, the central Mayoyao terrace cluster, the Bangaan terrace cluster and the Batad terrace cluster. The last two are found in the municipality of Banaue.

### Box 1. World Heritage Inscription Criteria

**Criterion (iii):** The rice terraces are a dramatic testimony to a community's sustainable and primarily communal system of rice production, based on harvesting water from the forest clad mountain tops and creating stone terraces and ponds, a system that has survived for two millennia.

**Criterion (iv):** The rice terraces are a memorial to the history and labour of more than a thousand generations of small-scale farmers who, working together as a community, have created a landscape based on a delicate and sustainable use of natural resources.

**Criterion (v):** The rice terraces are an outstanding example of land-use resulting from a harmonious interaction between people and their environment which has produced a steep terraced landscape of great aesthetic beauty, now vulnerable to social and economic changes.

In 2001, the World Heritage Committee placed the site on the World Heritage in Danger list after an IUCN/ICOMOS mission took place and at the request of the Philippine State Party “in recognition of the human induced threats to the site and the need to concentrate national and international energies on short-term and long-term remedial and protective actions” (IUCN, 2002).

### Cultural Assets

The Ifugaos, as custodians of the rice terraces, are also masters of their land. Physically, technologically, culturally and supernaturally, they have eeked out an existence, merging day-to-day experience collected for centuries with belief systems which aid them in coping with the harshness of their environment. As such, they have become experts in managing the limited natural resources granted by their mountain forest abodes by combining their physical, mental and spiritual energies. Their struggle for existence has created a unique landscape and, at the same time, an attendant lifestyle that is distinctive. This synergy of the hearts, minds and souls of a people is reflected in the indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) of the Ifugao Rice Terraces.
Natural Resource Management

Ifugao is a watershed area, easily supplying one of the largest dams in South-East Asia, the Magat dam. As a tropical rainforest area, soil nutrients are well-dispersed, as evidenced by the thickness of its forests.

These forests capture water and hold the soil in place. To maintain this set-up, the locals follow a set of principles hinged on sustainability. First and foremost is land zoning. Land is divided according to altitude yet is also treated as part of a totality, the pu-gu (hill). From the peaks to the mid-lower parts of mountains, the area is treated as a watershed with human activity limited to hunting and the gathering of honey, wild fruits, and other non-timber forest products (NTFPs). Wood-cutting is especially prohibited here, with superstitions and taboos warning of dangers wrought by the “unseen”, e.g. deities, fairies, soul-drinkers, etc., should people disregard these customary laws.

From the lower areas of the mountains down to the terraces are the muyong or private/clan woodlots. This is a forest zone where people can gather firewood and lumber for their house-building needs through selective harvesting. Replanting and aided growth
are practiced to ensure the continuity and vigour of the *muyong* forest. The *muyong* acts as a buffer between settlements and the communal forests. It limits human activity in the upper reaches.

Immediately below it are the rice terraces maintained for food production, specifically, rice, vegetables, snails, fish and other edible aqua life. The terraces portion is governed by a set of complicated rules and routines calendared according to the peculiarities of the native rice variety and the seasonal behaviour of wildlife. Annual agricultural activities led by agricultural priests are accompanied by rituals invoking bountiful yield. Pest infestation has been managed by these synchronized schedules.

On the lower parts, removed from the forests and the rice terraces are clustered hamlets fenced in by buffer *dolya* or greenbelt areas. The latter are planted with fruit trees such as citrus, guava, coffee and the omnipresent areca tree. Like the *muyong*, the *dolya* acts as buffer zone, limiting the build-up of houses and encroachment on the rice terraces. The indigenous zoning systems for settlements and terraces vary among the different ethnogroups represented by the five WHS clusters.

Land-locked tenure and primogeniture customary laws govern private land ownership and transfer. The majority of land is bequeathed to the firstborn regardless of sex. The rest is distributed in a decreasing measure according to order of birth. As the owner of most of the clan's *muyong* woodlots and rice fields, the firstborn has the responsibility of ensuring that these are transferred whole and intact to a successor.

### Soil Conservation Technology

Ifugao is a mountainous rainforest area. Rains wash away the topsoil and cause erosion, especially during the increasingly unpredictable typhoon season. The Ifugaos have come up with practical ways to minimize the wastage of soil minerals caused by incessant rains. The first technique is the construction of stair-like paddies which follow the contours of the mountain. Mountain soil is trapped in the maze-like structure, allowing only heavier stone particles to end up in the rivers. By making terrace ponds, the collected water creates a seal that prevents the formation of cracks in the sub-structure which would otherwise lead to landslides. Aside from conserving the humus-rich soil from the mountaintops, this system also minimizes siltation as the paddies act as mud- and sand-traps. Secondly, the ancient practice of planting *camotes* (sweet potatoes) in steep, unirrigated areas minimizes soil erosion and degradation, with the grass planted in between helping to stop eroded portions from collapsing.
Agricultural Cycle

Ifugao practicing ancient traditions follow an annual cycle of farming and related rituals. The Ifugao traditional rice cycle consists of five major stages.

The first stage is weeding, which starts in early September. This is the time when rice stalks in the terraces are beginning to rot and decay. The farmers uproot the stalks, pile them up and shape them into pingkol (dome-like mounds) measuring about two feet in diameter and two feet in height. On these mounds, a variety of vegetables like pechay (Napa cabbage), cabbage, spring onions, garlic and other legumes are grown.
The second stage is land preparation, which starts in October. Eroded portions of the rice terraces are fixed and rebuilt, with the farmers applying skills in rock walling and building wood supports. In addition, irrigation systems are also stabilized. Pingkol mounds which have now been harvested of vegetables are levelled and spread onto the floor of the rice paddies as compost.

The soil is ploughed and softened for the third stage, planting, which commences from December at the earliest to February.

Afterwards, the plants need protection from pests, including rodents, sparrows, domesticated fowl, worms and also from nutritional deficiencies. A variety of measures for protection and cure are deployed, categorized into physical and spiritual. The first includes setting up traps and scarecrows and hunting the destructive pests. The latter involves elaborate rituals such as the tag-tag/dog-al (driving away) wherein ritual participants exorcise pests and bad luck from house to house, across rice fields and in neighbouring villages. Tikom (closing) is another ritual performed by the mumbaki which serves to “close” the beaks of chicken and other fowl and the mouths of rodents so that these animals may not feed on the rice crop. Apart from pest protection, the growing rice will also need weeding.

Finally, the fifth stage occurs in May-June, when the rice is harvested, thoroughly dried and transported to nearby granaries for storage. Prime seeds are selected for the next agricultural year. For two months, the rice fields are left fallow until September, the beginning of the next cycle of activities.

### Box 2. Pingkol: A Best Practice in Agriculture Among the Tuwali Ifugaos

One of the often overlooked aspects of the IRT is the pingkol which literally means “rounded”. These are mounds of decaying plant material, primarily rice stalks, rice field water weed (*Najas graminea*), floating fern (*Azolla pinnata*), water hyacinths, duckweed and other leafy succulent plants, that are made by farmers during the rice cycle’s fallow season (about two months after harvest) and planted with an assortment of vegetables.

The pingkol practice is “as old as the rice terraces themselves”, according to Helen Nicodam, a sprightly local woman in her 80s. It is a way in which the Ifugao traditional farmers make good use of the fallow season. It has two benefits for farmers: as an additional source of vegetables and as organic fertilizer, as it is ploughed back into the terraces after the vegetables are harvested. Culhi (1999) provides an in-depth analysis of the
The farming activities in the annual agricultural cycle are accompanied by the *hongan di page* to appease gods and other unseen beings so that the rice fields will yield plenty. According to indigenous knowledge holder and former *mumbaki* Gumangan Dulnuan of Ungol, the rituals are performed to enable the rice crops to grow healthy and robust until harvest.

The *pingkol* practice is endangered at present. Once prevalent in most of the Tuwali municipalities, it is now found only in the few remotest barangays where modern agricultural practices have not yet taken root. It is under threat by: (i) changes in farming practices and (ii) the introduction of exotic species to the Ifugao ecosystem. Contemporary farming practices like the two-cropping system have dealt a death-blow in the more modern areas of Ifugao because there is no fallow period any more. Moreover, the introduction of non-indigenous plant and animal species to the Ifugao ecosystem, such as lowland high-yielding varieties (HYVs) of rice, have led to the entry of pesticides and inorganic fertilizers. Both have impacted upon the plant and animal life in the rice terraces, exterminating species of native fish (e.g. mudfish) and other plant and animal life-support components for the *pingkol*, including the rice field waterweed and the floating fern.

So far, the most destructive pest wreaking havoc on the *pingkol*, the IRT, and the Ifugao ecosystem as a whole is the golden apple snail (*Pomacea canaliculata*). The *kuhol* (or “golden” in the Ifugao vernacular), is perhaps the perfect pest. It devours almost everything in its path, including smaller snail species, fish and frog eggs, many insect species and plant life in the terraces including rice stalks and the components for the *pingkol*. It is also prolific, producing eggs at a rapid rate, rendering pesticides ineffective and useless.

This pest was unleashed into Ifugao’s farming areas by enterprising groups, with the knowledge and even active participation of the government (Cagauan and Joshi, 2002), supposedly to improve locals’ protein dietary intake. However, this did not consider the fact that the Ifugaoos already had native species of snail and fish, apart from livestock and poultry, which they added to their diet.

The *Hongan di Page* (Agricultural Cycle Rituals)

The farming activities in the annual agricultural cycle are accompanied by the *hongan di page* to appease gods and other unseen beings so that the rice fields will yield plenty. According to indigenous knowledge holder and former *mumbaki* Gumangan Dulnuan of Ungol, the rituals are performed to enable the rice crops to grow healthy and robust until harvest.
Upon invitation of the *kombale* (male household head, literally “owner of the house”), the *mumbaki* proceeds to the granary of the former during the daytime and performs the rituals intended for that specific exercise. One *mumbaki* can suffice but in the bigger rituals like the *kulpi* and the *hongot*, he may be accompanied by others. In between sips of home-grown *baya* (rice wine), the native priest/performer. Invited guests may partake in the drinking provided an aura of solemnity is observed.

Various animals are sacrificed in the rituals, depending on the specific rite. It may range from an *impa* (young chick) in the *kultud* ritual, to three or four mature chickens, to a pig or two for the longer ceremonies. The rituals all serve to appease several gods and spirits which are as follows: (i) *Nabugbugan di Paged Kabunyan* (the Rice-Giver God from the Skyworld), (ii) *Nabugbugan di Paged Dalom* (the Rice-Giver God from the Underworld), (iii) the *umamo* (jealous deities) and (iv) *bibiyo* (roughly “fairies”).

According to myth, the *Nabugbugan di Paged Kabunyan* and *Dalom* are the two gods which gave rice to the Ifugaos. The Rice-Giver God from the Skyworld gave the variety which is known today as the *ipugo*, or the rice of the *kadangyan* (affluent). The Rice-Giver God from the Underworld provided the hairy variety called *buukan*, the main staple of the *nawotwot* (poor). The *umamo* are gods which, because of their jealous nature, cast bad spells and generally try to harm the rice and farmers from the pre-planting activities until harvest and storage. This also holds true for the *bibiyo*, unseen beings which, due to their sensitive nature, tend to get whimsical.

For each of these spiritual beings, except in the *kahiw* ritual which only requires the ceremonial pig jaw skin, a chicken is offered. One goes to the Rice-Giver God of the Skyworld, another to the Rice-Giver God of the Underworld, one to the jealous deities and another to the fairies. However, the jealous deities and the fairies may be included together and offered only just one chicken. The offering to the latter may only be eaten by the *mumbaki* while the meat offered to the Rice-Giver gods goes to the owner of the granary and those working in his rice field, except in a few cases when the community may partake in the feast.
The following are the rituals performed in the annual agricultural cycle:

Lukya (“To clear/open”)

This is the first of the fourteen rice rituals done in September when farmers start weeding and clearing their rice fields prior to land preparation. It is performed as a ritual of supplication or prayer to the Rice-Giver Gods and the jealous deities as a pre-emptive action against bitil (starvation). The lukya is performed to give word to unseen spirits that farming activities will begin shortly. Two to three full-grown chickens are sacrificed in this rite.

Hagnong

Performed during October, this ritual placates the gods who might get disturbed or displeased with the land preparation activities. Two to four chickens are offered to the Rice-Giver Gods and the jealous deities.

In-apuy (“Firing up”)

This ritual serves to “fire up” or magically increase the rice in the granaries from the previous agricultural year. This is the time when rice harvested two agricultural years ago has been used up, hence the new harvest from the previous agricultural year is taken out for pounding. Four chickens are killed in this ritual. It is at this particular stage of the Hongan di Page that animal offerings to the jealous deities are crucial until the kulpi in March.

Hopnak/Panal (“Seed-bedding”)

In November, this is done to announce to the gods the start of seed-bedding activities. Three to four chickens are sacrificed.

Lokan di Binong-o an Datag

The fifth ritual serves to appease spirits as the binong-o (stored seeds), previously selected in the preceding harvest, are laid in the seedbeds. The ritual is performed to ensure that the seedlings will sprout and grow and that rats and birds will leave them be. One chicken is sacrificed to the gods and served to the mangipatang (seed-bedder).
Bolnat

This rite is performed before transplanting to magically increase the seedlings in the seedbeds. It is hoped that the quantity of the seedlings will match the needs of the supplicant, and if possible, an excess will be given to those whose seedlings fall short of their needs. Two to three chickens are offered.

Kulpi

The kulpi is one of the most important rice rituals, performed usually in March when all of the rice fields are planted. It is designed to protect the newly-planted rice from a host of rice diseases, like yagyagona (literally “to shake”). Two to three chickens are sacrificed. Its relevance is highlighted by the fact that it starts the five-month abstinence for the mumbaki which ends in August. The following are the most common diseases which the priest hopes to prevent with the sacrifices and prayers to the gods and spirits:

- Danal: The young rice plants turn red and then die
- Kulung: Leaves of the young plants harbour worms which lay eggs, killing the plant
- Udhok: Suckers are eaten by worms and the plants die
- Dolpop: Stunting of plants
- Lanu: Zinc deficiency

Tikom (“The closing”)

Done after the kulpi around April-May, it is equally important as the mumbaki calls on the gods to “close” the tikomon da (mouths and beaks of rice predators like rats, chicken and sparrows) so that instead of attacking the maturing rice plants, these animals will feed on runo shoots. Two to three chickens are offered.

Kultud

This ninth ritual in the Ifugao agricultural calendar is done in May, when the rice grains are maturing, to hasten ripening. A young chick is sacrificed.

Hongot

This is a rice prestige ritual, carried out during the harvest season from June to July. It lasts up to five hours. While harvesting is on-going and the sonorous lubbit or dipdipu (drum of deerskin and wood) is continuously beaten, ritual performers gather under a granary to pray to the gods and deities. A pig and eight fully-grown chickens or two pigs are butchered.
In August, after everybody is done harvesting, this ritual is performed so that the jealous deities and fairies may “return” the rice they have “stolen” during harvest time. For those who performed the hongot ritual, a pig is butchered. Otherwise, two to three chickens are sacrificed.

In this ritual, woven leaves of a ritual plant called dongla and a giant fern are deployed around the boundaries of a village. Done in August, the purpose is to ask blessings from the gods for fuller harvests in the camote swidden patches and the rice fields and for good health of livestock and poultry.

Here, a chicken or duck is sacrificed. One of the shortest rituals lasting for about an hour, this serves to bless the household after the tuldag or ubaya rituals.

This ritual, done in August, ends the agricultural year. Here, no animals are killed. Instead, the mumbaki uses the tangtang or ceremonial pig jaw skin. For the mun-batawil (transporters of newly-harvested rice from the rice fields to the private granaries using the batawil or wooden stick carrier), the mamong-o (selector/s of the best grains for planting the next agricultural year), and the mumpuntu (gatherers of misplaced rice bundles and stalks in the chaos of the harvesting activities), it is the end of abstinence from bathing which started during the harvest season in June. For the mum pangat (ritual master) or the native priest, this ends five long months of abstinence which started from the kulpi ritual in March forbidding the consumption of rice field aquatic products (snails and mudfish), certain kinds of vegetables, meat served during a dead person’s wake, meat offered in the hagoho and the pahang human blessing rituals, sex and bathing. It is believed that one who breaks the rules of abstinence experiences unpleasant diseases and misfortune, even death in the extreme cases.

Up to the American occupation in the 1920s, Ifugaos put a premium on their rice fields as it was the sine qua non of wealth. The more rice fields one had, the richer one was, which equated to power. As proof, the most powerful person in an Ifugao village who dictated the flow of the yearly agricultural cycle was the one with the widest rice fields, the ton-ak/tumon-ak.
The entry of Western culture and its emphasis on formal education and a monetized economy upstaged the rice fields. With a good education, one could now support his family without needing to “get dirty” working in the rice fields. Money, not rice fields, was now the measure of wealth. Furthermore, money opened easy access to other goods.

Perhaps, the “discovery” of the IRT by outsiders saved it from total abandonment. As foreign eyes beheld and probed its beauty and grandeur, locals realized they had a treasure worth conserving. Yet, Ifugaos value it differently.

For the native custodians, the farmers, the terraces are their main source of living. Year in and year out, they struggle to make the rugged mountain lands productive to feed their families. They do not share the tourists’ aesthetic appreciations for the IRT. For them, as long as they work daily in their rice fields to maximize its output, they are content enough. For as long as the stone walls are sturdy and free of weeds, the irrigation systems work properly and pests are under control, they are content.

In the municipalities where the rice terrace clusters are inscribed as World Heritage Sites, there is a dichotomy of perceptions regarding the rice terraces. In Banaue, the first area to be developed as a tourism site, the farmers are aware that their rice fields draw in tourists, but they have yet to benefit from it. They have feelings of enmity against tourism establishments that are reaping the economic benefits from tourism. Indeed, they may get part-time employment servicing tourists as guides and selling their woodcarvings and weaving products, but they are aware these are minuscule in comparison to what the tourism-related establishments earn daily. In the other three municipalities which are yet to increase tourism services, farmers are more optimistic as their sites are being developed in a more responsible manner, aimed at a more equitable distribution of economic and social benefits from the tourism industry.

For Ifugaos who work and live outside the province or abroad, the rice terraces constitute their identity and a badge of pride.
B. Tourism in Ifugao: A Situational Analysis

The rice terraces constitute the core of the tourism industry in the province of Ifugao. For this reason, the extinction of the rice terraces will essentially spell the demise of tourism in the province.

The local tourism industry in Ifugao is analyzed here using Kotler’s concept of product life cycles. This concept mainly states that a product follows a certain pattern of life cycle. Typically, the pattern commences with an introduction phase, followed by the growth period, maturity stage and then a period of decline. However, there are other instances wherein a product demonstrates a different pattern. The IRT as a tourist destination or tourism product has passed through different successive stages following a certain cycle over time (Kotler and Keller, 2006).

The beginnings of tourism in the province can be traced back to the colonial era in the mid-1700s continuing to the early part of the post-colonial period (late 1940s to the 1960s). The turning point of tourism in Ifugao took place in 1973 with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 260. The decree declared the IRT as one of the national cultural treasures of the country. Issued by then President Ferdinand E. Marcos, the decree aimed to preserve, restore and develop the sites for the furtherance of Filipino cultural and national identity, as well as for the promotion of tourism. The decree demonstrated an expressed intent of the Philippine government to promote tourism in the province of Ifugao.

The mid-1970s marked the start of the period of growth of the local tourism industry. Tourist arrivals in Banaue sparked the establishment of small-scale tourism enterprises and the construction of tourism-related infrastructure. Tourist inns and restaurants started to be built along the upgraded national road leading to the town centre. The Philippines Tourism Authority built the Banaue Hotel and Youth Hostel with a capacity of about 500 people to provide the main accommodation base for visitors.

In 1978, the first grand municipal cultural festival called the Banaue Imbayah was held. This festival was organized to draw more tourists to Banaue and to revive cultural awareness among the locals. The 1980s marked the peak of the construction boom of tourism-related establishments in Ifugao. The volume of domestic and foreign travellers to Ifugao swelled.

The 1990s saw the maturity of the local tourism industry as there was a slowdown in the construction of tourism-related establishments and tourism support infrastructure. Interestingly, however,
Ifugao exhibited a rise and fall pattern in terms of new tourists establishments and tourist arrivals in the 1990s up to 2006.

**Tourist Arrivals**

![Graph showing annual tourist arrival growth rate in Ifugao from 1991 to 2006.](image)

Source: DOT-CAR and the Ifugao Provincial Tourism Profile (2006)

Like any other tourist destination, Ifugao province is not isolated from international and domestic states of affairs. Figure 5 indicates a variable pattern or fluctuation of tourist arrivals in Ifugao from 1990 to 2006. Very low or even negative growth rates are evident during the years 1992, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2002 and 2005. These low periods can be attributed to the impact of the Persian Gulf War, the Asian financial crisis, the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks and the meningococcemia outbreak in nearby Baguio City.

On the other hand, the years 1994, 1997 and 2004 illustrate the peaks in the growth rate of tourist arrivals in the province. These rebounds can be attributed to the joint responses of both private and public sectors to cope with the crises. Over the past 16 years, the highest growth rate in the visitor arrivals of Ifugao was achieved in 2004. This may be the result of the intensified efforts of the Department of Tourism in collaboration with the local government units in promoting the best of the regions in the Philippines. In 2003, the national government’s tourism programme “WOW Philippines” featuring various tourist attractions in the country was launched. The programme provided the opportunity for Ifugao province to
aggressively showcase and promote its outstanding natural and cultural assets at the national and international levels.

Being the first site to be visited by tourists and the first to develop tourism-oriented facilities and services, Banaue emerged as the tourism centre of Ifugao. However, tourism development, not only in Banaue but in the entire province, has generally been more of a reactive than a proactive process. There has been a lack of proper and appropriate planning for the advancement of sustainable tourism in the locality. Initiatives to develop the province's tourism industry were primarily private sector-led as a natural response to the influx of tourists. At present, Banaue still has the most number of tourist arrivals in Ifugao.

Figure 6. Tourist Arrival Contribution by Municipality (2006)

![Tourist Arrival Contribution by Municipality (2006)](image)

Source: Ifugao Provincial Tourism Profile (2006)

Compared with other regions in the Philippines, the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) usually ranks third or fourth among the 15 regions in promoting tourism. Of the six provinces and one city in CAR, Ifugao province has ranked a far second to Baguio City over the past decade. In 2006, CAR registered 992,577 tourist arrivals, compared with Ifugao province which recorded 90,874 or 11 percent of the total arrivals to the region.

In 2006, tourist arrivals in Ifugao comprised domestic travellers (63.88 percent), foreign tourists (32.09 percent), and Filipinos working overseas called balikbayan (4 percent). One of the indicators of the positive impact of tourism is the generation of jobs. According to the Department of Tourism, jobs generated by the industry can be measured through the categorization of tourists as either foreign or domestic. It is estimated that one job is created for every three foreign tourists or for every nine domestic tourists. Figure 7 shows the categorized tourist arrivals in Ifugao.
Figure 7. Ifugao Tourist Arrivals by Category (2006)

- Overseas Filipinos: 4%
- Foreign Tourists: 32%
- Domestic Tourists: 64%

Source: Ifugao Provincial Tourism Profile (2006)

Figure 8. Top Ten Foreign Tourist Arrivals (2006)

- Israel
- Netherlands
- Germany
- U.S.A.
- France
- U.K.
- Korea
- Japan
- Australia
- Canada

Source: Ifugao Provincial Tourism Profile (2006)
The top ten markets of Ifugao by nationality is shown in Figure 8. The province has yet to establish a comprehensive marketing strategy to increase its market share. Developing and marketing Ifugao as a tourism product would require tailoring of the tourism development plan to the needs of target markets, while at the same giving emphasis to the protection and preservation of the fragile cultural landscape which is the very resource that attracts tourists. To balance development with site conservation would be a challenging task to undertake.

Over the past five years, a general pattern in the tourism seasonal variations can be observed. The peak season for tourism arrivals is during March and April, the summer months in the country. During this period, the rice terraces are at their most picturesque since the rice fields are at their greenest. These months are also suitable for family excursions to the site since it is vacation time for students.

**Occupancy Rates**

Both the annual tourist arrival growth rate and the annual average occupancy rate illustrate a similar pattern. The impact of the September 11 incident caused the slump in 2002. This was followed by the growth of tourist arrivals and occupancy rates in 2003, peaking in 2004 as a result of intensified tourism promotion by the public and private sectors. However, the disease outbreak in nearby Baguio City in 2005 caused a dramatic fall in occupancy rates in Ifugao.
Tourist Length of Stay

The average length of stay of tourists in Ifugao is 2.5 days (Ifugao Tourism Profile, 2007). Data on the length of tourist’s stay in Ifugao prior to 2007 is not available. However, the Ifugao Provincial Tourism Office is now in the process of developing a system of gathering tourism statistics and establishing a data bank.

Tourism Resources

Cultural Landscape

As the main attraction in Ifugao Province, the Banaue rice terraces are being promoted by the Department of Tourism as one of the seven banner tourism sites in the Philippines.

As noted earlier, the rice terraces are not only confined within Banaue, but are spread over nine of the eleven municipalities in the province. Five rice terrace clusters are located in four municipalities of Ifugao. These terrace clusters include the Bangaan and Batad terrace clusters in Banaue, the Nagacadan cluster in Kiangan, the Hungduan cluster and the central Mayoyao cluster.

Aside from the rice terraces, Ifugao province abounds with a wide variety of natural resources catering to adventure tourism. Majestic mountains, winding rivers, cascading waterfalls, breathtaking caves and hot springs are being developed for tourist activities such as mountain trekking, camping, spelunking and white water rafting.

The rich and distinctive cultural heritage of the Ifugao people complements the natural beauty of the place. Anchored on the traditional rice production cycle, the province offers 14 major annual cultural festivals in which tourists can participate. These festivals are not only intended for tourists but are also aimed at reviving and revitalizing the cultural heritage of the Ifugaos.

Aside from the rice terraces, a significant number of other natural and cultural resources remain untapped but can be developed for tourism purposes.
Natural and Cultural Tourism Assets as Tourist Attractions

**Banaue**

Three major terrace clusters are situated in the municipality of Banaue: the main terrace cluster encompassing the town of Banaue and the terrace clusters in the villages of Batad and Bangaan.

**Banaue Rice Terraces**

Best seen at the viewpoint in Banaue, the rice terraces rise steeply from the base of the mountain range to a height of a few thousand feet. The viewpoint is a short 15-minute drive from the Banaue town centre. Unlike other rice terraces that are stone-walled found elsewhere in Ifugao, the Banaue rice terraces are walled with plain soil.

**Bangaan Village and Rice Terraces**

Surrounded by scenic terraced rice fields is a picturesque village whose inhabitants continue to preserve their traditional way of life. Unfortunately, the indigenous architectural assembly of traditional Ifugao huts is undergoing a transformation with the construction of new houses using modern materials and designs.

**Batad Rice Terraces and Village**

An amphitheatre-like rice terrace cluster that resembles a stairway to the sky, the Batad rice terraces have suffered damage from natural calamities, but are being restored by the joint efforts of the local community and the provincial government. Traditional lifestyles and cultural practices are still maintained by the local community.

**Tappiyah Waterfall**

This spectacular waterfall drops to a natural swimming pool. A visit to Batad would not be complete without enjoying a dip in the cool and refreshing waters of the Tappiyah waterfall.

**Hungduan**

**Hapao Rice Terraces**

This terrace cluster is one of the few stone-walled terraces of the province that date back to 650 A.D. The stone walls protect the rice terraces from erosion caused by the meandering Hapao River.

**Bakung “Spider Web” Rice Terraces**

This rice terrace cluster is located in Poblacion, Hungduan. From an aerial view, the Bakung rice terraces appear like a spider web. However, many parts were damaged from bombing during World War II while other portions were abandoned due to erosion caused by natural calamities.
Mount Napulawan

This historic mountain is believed to be the last refuge of General Tomoyuki Yamashita, the commander of the Japanese imperial army during World War II. Towering at 2,642 meters above sea level, Mount Napulawan is the highest mountain peak in the municipality and the second-highest in the province. It is the habitat of indigenous flora and fauna. The mountain has become a popular destination for trekkers and campers.

Dakkitan Rice Terraces and Natural Pool

Situated beside the road at Poblacion, Hungduan is the Dakkitan Rice Terraces where tourists can participate in agricultural activities, such as planting or harvesting rice. Near the terraces is a natural pool with water flowing from the foot of Mount Napulawan.

Maggok Rice Terraces

Popularly known as one of the last refuges of Japanese forces during World War II and a possible repository of treasures hidden by the Japanese, the Maggok rice terrace cluster is unique for the continuing practice of traditional organic agricultural practices, such as the pingkol (mulch-mounding) and inado (terrace slope gardening). These traditional methods represent best practices in the sustainable use of very limited land resources and should therefore be preserved.

Mayoyao

Mayoyao Rice Terraces

Interspersed with the rice terraces are traditional farmers’ hamlets. Traditional Ifugao architecture is still evident in the farmers’ huts. However, the traditional thatch roofing is gradually being replaced by galvanized iron sheets.

Afo-or Burial Tombs

The tombs are stone mausoleums containing the bones of the town’s ancient elites and warriors of the Mayoyao ethno-linguistic group. These stone catacombs were built without the use of cement, reflecting the ingenuity of the Ifugaos.

O’phaw Mahencha Falls

Also known as the Leap of Mahencha, the falls is comprised of a series of three waterfalls. Legend tells that each waterfall represents a leap of the maiden Mahencha as she tried to retrieve her native necklace that fell while she was bathing.
Mount Amuyao

Situated within the juncture of the boundaries of Banaue, Mayoyao and Barlig (Mountain Province), Mount Amuyao is the highest mountain in the province and the eighth-highest mountain in the Philippines. Towering at an elevation of 2,702 meters above sea level, the mountain summit provides an unobstructed view of the Cordillera mountain range and the provinces of Isabela, Nueva Vizcaya, Mountain Province and Ifugao. According to folklore, the first Ifugao couple, Bugan and Wigan, took refuge on this mountain during a 40-day flood that inundated the province.

Kiangan

Philippine War Memorial Shrine

Following the architectural design of the native Ifugao hut, the memorial shrine was built to commemorate the end of World War II and the beginning of peace. From its rooftop, one can view nearby villages and the pastoral scenery of the municipalities of Kiangan and Lagawe.

Ifugao Museum

Within the same vicinity as the Philippine War Memorial Shrine is the Ifugao Museum, which showcases native artefacts ranging from farming and hunting equipment, household utensils, weaving and war implements of the olden days. The museum also displays an illustrated genealogy of the Ifugao ancestry.

Nagacadan and Julungan Rice Terraces

Bisected by a river, the rice terraces appear as two distinct ascending rows. A significant portion of these terrace clusters have been converted into vegetable gardens due to extensive damage of the traditional irrigation canal systems.

Pangaggawan Caves

This cave system with fascinating stone formations is composed of seven caves located at the Pangaggawan Mountain in Bolog, Kiangan. To enter the caves, one has to climb down a rope for about 30 to 60 meters to reach the mouth of the cave system.
Intangible Cultural Assets

Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) are under threat from several related factors. Formal education in the Philippines, patterned after Western education models, tends to discourage the use of indigenous knowledge and the practice of local traditions. Thus, Ifugao are inclined to set aside their indigenous knowledge systems as they gain more education. Ifugao cultural practices have also been weakened by the indigenous inhabitants’ acceptance and adaptation to Western culture and religious beliefs, which were first introduced during the Spanish and American colonial eras. Western culture is now regarded as superior to the local culture. Traditional attire is now worn only during special traditional occasions. Native songs have been replaced by popular music. Youth no longer know how to dance native dances such as the tayo (eagle dance) properly. Likewise, Christianity has incessantly fought against the practice of paganistic beliefs and practices, resulting in the near extinction of the mumbaki, the custodians of Ifugao IKSP.

To revive vanishing Ifugao cultural traditions while at the same time promoting tourism, the provincial and municipal governments have started to organize cultural festivals within the context of the traditional rice agricultural cycle. Cultural practices are being revived through major cultural events, as follows:

Tungoh ad Hungduan

In the olden days, tungoh was a non-working holiday for rice-farming villages. When the first thunder was heard or when it rained after a long dry spell, the tumon-ak/ton-ak (local knowledge holder of traditional agricultural practices) would shout early the following morning to announce that nobody should work in the rice fields on that special day.

To revive the practice, the municipality of Hungduan celebrates Tungoh ad Hungduan, a week-long festivity held during the third week of April in Namugong village or in the town centre of Hungduan. Members of the local community participate in activities featuring authentic Ifugao costumes, ethnic sports and a night of traditional songs and dances.
Kulpi ad Asipulo

Every year during the third week of the month of April beginning on a Tuesday is the Kulpi ad Asipulo.

Traditionally, kulpi is performed when rice planting in an agricultural area is completed. The native priest or mumbaki conducts the ritual invoking the souls of dead ancestors, calling upon the gods and deities to accept the sacrificial offerings and bless the growing plants for a good harvest. Villagers contribute chickens as offerings during the main ritual which culminates in the agricultural chief’s granary where a public feast is held. The kulpi marks the end of work in the rice fields.

Kulpi ad Asipulo is a three-day festival featuring indigenous games and performing arts. The festival culminates on the third day with jovial community dancing, public drinking of rice wine and a sumptuous lunch of native delicacies.

Kulpi ad Lagawe

The capital town of Lagawe celebrates kulpi from Wednesday to Friday during the last week of April each year. Highlights of the festival are ethnic-inspired street dancing, float contests, indigenous games and ethnic chants.

Gotad ad Kiangan

Originally, gotad was one of the phases of the uya-uy, a prestige rite performed by Tuwali Ifugaos before they can be considered kadangyan (wealthy aristocrats). The uya-uy was a big event participated by nobility and commoners alike from nearby villages. Before a gotad was celebrated, a member of the host community was tasked to go from village to village, beating a gong, to invite the nobles. Although not invited, commoners were also welcome to attend. A whole day was spent drinking rice wine, dancing, chanting and feasting.

Everybody attending a gotad would come in their best attire, bedecked with their precious ornaments. The event provided the opportunity to distinguish the rich and powerful from the poor through the costumes and ornaments that they wore.

In 1996, the gotad was integrated into the activities of Kiangan’s town fiesta held annually on the first day of May. The Gotad ad Kiangan evolved into a four-day festival featuring gottadan (ethnic parade), liwliwa (chanting of love songs), tayo (native dancing), rice wine drinking and a public lunch. It has become a provincial event as other municipalities participate in competitive events.
Gotad ad Hingyon

Gotad is part of a nine-day celebration a married couple hosts before they can be considered kadangyan (wealthy aristocrats). It consists of elaborate rituals, feasting and rice wine drinking.

The first Gotad ad Hingyon was organized in April 1994. It aimed to strengthen camaraderie among community members and to preserve cultural identity through ethnic sports and cultural events.

Today, Gotad ad Hingyon is a three-day celebration during the last week of April, marked with cultural parades, songs, dances and ethno-modern games. An agro-industrial fair showcasing a wide variety of Ifugao handicrafts has become a part of the celebration.

Gotad ad Ifugao

This week-long provincial-wide festival is the culminating celebration of all the municipal festivals. Main activities include the gottadan (ethnic parade), traditional sports, hudhud chanting (see insert), ethnic dances and songs, gong beating and wine making, among others. The province-wide event attracts the best athletes and performers from all municipalities. The Gotad ad Ifugao takes place during the third week of June to coincide with the provincial Foundation Day celebrated on June 18.

Igkhumtad ad Majawjaw

The Igkhumtad ad Majawjaw, held every third week of April in Mayoyao, features ethnic and modern-day sports, street dancing and agro-industrial fairs. The event is loosely based on a mythical tale of Aliguyon, the Ifugao literary/folk hero who one time in a festival displayed extraordinary skills in ethnic sports, beating other competitors. Hence, the festival is celebrated to showcase the best of Ifugao talent, strength and skills.

Igkhumtad ad Aguinaldo

As in Mayoyao, the municipality of Aguinaldo celebrates a town fiesta called igkhumtad to commemorate Aliguyon’s extraordinary strength and skills in ethnic games. During the second week of April, community members of this Ayangan town enjoy a whole week of ethno-modern games, songs, dances and cultural performances.
Ammung Ad Alfonso Lista

In Ifugao, ammung (a gathering or assembly of people) is a ritual performed within the first three days of the birth of a child. The mumbaki offers prayers for the good of the newborn. A dinner of duck, crabs and fish are served to the participants.

Alfonso Lista, the biggest and most populous municipality in the province, hosts the yearly celebration of the Ammung Ad Alfonso Lista on May 11 every year. As the melting pot of different ethnic cultures (Tuwali, Ayangan, Kalanguya, Kalinga, Ilokano, Bontoc and others), Alfonso Lista is an appropriate location of the ammung festival, which features ethnic games and performing arts from different ethnic groups.

Keleng ad Tinoc

Keleng is a prestige rite performed by the Kalanguyas of Tinoc to mark a villager’s entry to the village elite. It involves a lot of merrymaking, wine drinking and feasting on meat and sweet potatoes amidst dancing and singing.

Today, the Keleng ad Tinoc, a three-day festival based on this tradition, is celebrated during the second week of April in Tinoc. The festival showcases the customs and traditions of the Kalanguy tribe through ethnic games, songs, dances and an agro-industrial fair.

Rambakan ad Lamut

Rambakan is a contemporary Ilokano (a lowland ethnic group) term for a place where sporting events are held amidst a festive atmosphere. The Rambakan ad Lamut festival, hosted by the municipality of Lamut during the second week of April, showcases ethnic games and cultural shows from different tribes.

Imbayah Festival and Urpih ad Banaue

Imbayah is traditionally a prestige rite performed by the elite of Banaue to announce their ascendancy to the village aristocracy. Urpih, on the other hand is a thanksgiving festival to celebrate the work completed in the rice fields. Both festivities are marked with merrymaking, like rice wine drinking, chanting and feasting on sacrificed animals.

The municipality of Banaue alternately celebrates these two Ifugao festivities during the third week of April. The three-day cultural festival highlights ethnic games, sports and traditional crafts.
Box 3. The Hudhud Chants of the Ifugao

On 18 May 2001, UNESCO proclaimed 19 of the world’s most remarkable examples of the oral and intangible heritage. Selected by an 18-member jury, they were chosen for their outstanding value as Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. The proclamation emphasizes the importance of protecting this outstanding but endangered heritage (cultural spaces and forms of popular and traditional expression) and of preserving cultural diversity.

One of the 19 outstanding oral and intangible heritage included in the First Proclamation of Masterpieces in 2001 are the Hudhud Chants of Ifugao.

The Hudhud consists of narrative chants traditionally performed by the Ifugao community. It is practised during the rice sowing season, at harvest time and at funeral wakes and rituals. Thought to have originated before the seventh century, the Hudhud comprises more than 200 chants, each divided into 40 episodes. A complete recitation may last several days.

Since the Ifugao’s culture is matrilineal, the wife generally takes the main part in the chants and her brother occupies a higher position than her husband. The language of the stories abounds in figurative expressions and repetitions and employs metonymy, metaphor and onomatopoeia, rendering transcription very difficult. Thus, there are very few written expressions of this tradition. The chant tells about ancestral heroes, customary law, religious beliefs and traditional practices, and reflects the importance of rice cultivation. The narrators, mainly elderly women, hold a key position in the community, both as historians and preachers. The Hudhud epic is chanted alternately by the first narrator and a choir, employing a single melody for all the verses.

The conversion of the Ifugao to Catholicism has weakened their traditional culture. Furthermore, the Hudhud is linked to the manual harvesting of rice, which is now mechanized. Although the rice terraces are listed as a World Heritage site, the number of growers has been in constant decline. The few remaining narrators, who are already very old, need to be supported in their efforts to transmit their knowledge and to raise awareness among young people.

Tourism Organizations

Local Government-Led Organizations

Provincial Tourism Council (PTC)

Led by the Provincial Governor as Honorary Chairman, the Provincial Tourism Council is a multi-sectoral body composed of the different tourism stakeholders in the province. The Council is responsible for promoting and marketing provincial tourism products and services, developing policy recommendations and monitoring and enforcing tourism policies and regulations.

Municipal Tourism Councils (MTCs)

At the municipal level, the Municipal Tourism Councils are the municipal extensions of the Provincial Tourism Council. The local government units of the municipalities (Banaue, Hungduan, Mayoyao and Kiangan) have organized their Municipal Tourism Councils to provide advice, enforce tourism policies, and undertake tourism promotion and marketing. The Council in Banaue is most active since that is where tourism activities in the province are concentrated.

Private Sector-Led Organizations in Banaue

Banaue Association of Food and Lodging Establishments (BAFLE)

As its name implies, the organization was created to advance the interests of the owner-operators and to foster cooperation.

Banaue Handicraft and Sellers Association (BHSA)

The association coordinates the activities of both the producers and the sellers of local handicrafts.

Banaue Operators and Drivers Association (BODA)

The transport sector is a vital part of the tourism business. In Banaue, separate groups are responsible for the two vehicle types: public utility jeeps (PUJ) and tricycles. The association makes arrangements for the transportation needs of tourists and locals anywhere in Luzon.

Eight Wonder Tri Wheels Association

The organization of tricycle owners and drivers ensures the orderly transport of visitors to any tourist destination within Banaue and nearby Hungduan using the popular mode of local transportation.
Banaue Trekkers and Tour Guides Association

This association provides tour guide services to tourists. All members are trained as tour guides by the Department of Tourism.

Batad Environmental Tour Guides Association (BETGA)

This association facilitates upgrading of the quality services offered by tourism-related establishments in Batad and promotes healthy competition among them.

Private Sector-Led Organizations in Emerging Tourism Sites

In Hungduan and Mayoyao, there are peoples’ organizations that were not purposely established to cater to tourism activities. However, the increasing awareness among both the public and private sectors of the need to conserve the rice terraces and the momentum generated by conservation programmes particularly the Save Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo), provided new direction and a role for the following organizations, including the provision of services to the increasing number of visitors to the two municipalities. They have been assisted by SITMo, which recognizes the need to build up the capacity of people’s organizations in managing tourism-related activities in their communities.

Bayninan Farmers Association (BFA)

The tiny village of Bayninan in the Kiangan municipality is home to a proud group of farmers, indigenous knowledge holders and cultural performing artists. Bayninan is also host to a popular rice cake-making tour called Bakle’d Kiangan and a land preparation tour called Lodah. From an obscure farmers’ organization, the association has been mainstreamed into cultural programmes and tourism activities.

Ujah Heritage Village

The Ujah Heritage Village, located between Banaue and Hungduan, was established to implement livelihood and reforestation projects with local and Japanese assistance. Its activities expanded to the development of a community-led tourism industry with the construction of spacious native huts under a home-stay programme for tourists and the mobilization of young members of the community to provide cultural performances. Ujah has become a popular destination for tourists.
Pochon Group

The Pochon Group is responsible for developing community-based tourism in Mayoyao and for organizing *B'Foto*, special tours that enable participants to experience harvesting activities, which have effectively placed the municipality on the ecotourism map.

C. Heritage Preservation Efforts

Government Initiatives for IRT Management

Ifugao Terraces Commission (ITC)

The first special body tasked to manage the Ifugao Rice Terraces (IRT) was created on 18 February 1994 under the Executive Order (EO) No. 158 of then President Fidel Ramos. The Ifugao Terraces Commission (ITC) was responsible for advising the President on matters pertaining to the IRT. Initially, the Commission was created to cover the affairs of the four municipalities where rice terrace clusters inscribed on the World Heritage List are located (Banaue, Hungduan, Kiangan and Mayoyao). Later, its jurisdiction was expanded to cover the other municipalities of Asipulo, Aguinaldo, Hingyon, Lagawe and Tinoc, under Executive Order 178 dated 23 May 1994. Chaired by the Secretary of the Department of Tourism (DOT), ITC’s membership included the Secretaries of the Departments of Agriculture (DA); Public Works and Highways (DPWH); Environment and Natural Resources (DENR); Education, Culture, and Sports (DECS); Interior and Local Government (DILG); Trade and Industry (DTI); Agrarian Reform (DA); the Head of the Presidential Management Staff; the Congressman of Ifugao; the Provincial Governor; mayors of the nine municipalities; Chairman of the then Cordillera Regional Assembly (CRA) and Executive Director of the then Cordillera Executive Board (CEB).

The ITC formulated two conservation Master Plans – a three-year plan and a six-year plan – which were approved by President Ramos on 2 September 1995, exactly three months before the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras were inscribed on the World Heritage List.
Banaue Rice Terraces Task Force (BRTTF)

With the change of national leadership in 1998, the new President Joseph Estrada, under Executive Order No. 77 dated 4 March 1999, abolished the Ifugao Terraces Commission and replaced it with the Banaue Rice Terraces Task Force (BRTTF). The Task Force had a mandate similar to that of its predecessor, but with a reduced budget. The Secretary of the Department of Tourism retained his Chairmanship of the Task Force, though the Department of Agriculture (DA), Department of Energy and Natural Resources (DENR), and the Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) were represented by their Undersecretaries. Among the municipal mayors, only the President of the League of Municipal Mayors retained a seat on the Task Force.

Ifugao Rice Terraces and Cultural Heritage Office (IRTHCO)

Under Executive Order No. 72 dated 11 February 2002 of President Gloria M. Arroyo, and the devolution of local governance under the 1991 Local Government Code, the Banaue Rice Terraces Task Force was abolished, and its functions devolved to the Provincial Government of Ifugao. To support activities pertaining to the development and conservation of the rice terraces, the President authorized the release of a PHP 50-million grant through the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA). Implementation of the grant was covered under a Memorandum of Agreement signed by the provincial government and the NCCA. To act as the Secretariat and coordinating body, the Ifugao Rice Terraces Cultural and Heritage Office (IRTHCO) was created under Legislative Resolution No. 2002-679. Under the grant, an Ifugao Rice Terraces Master Plan (2003-2012) covering conservation policies for the Ifugao Rice Terraces was formulated.

Ifugao Cultural Heritage Office (ICHO)

When the NCCA grant was exhausted in 2006, the Provincial Government issued Provincial Ordinance No. 2006-032 and abolished and replaced IRTCHO with the Ifugao Cultural Heritage Office (ICHO). The new office is mandated to: (i) safeguard the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of the Ifugao people, (ii) ensure the protection, preservation and conservation of the local cultural and historical heritage of the Ifugao people, (iii) guarantee the implementation of activities for the promotion, development, protection, transmission and conservation of local culture and arts, including the transmission of intangible heritage within the local communities in Ifugao and (iv) encouraging the development of culture and arts down to the grassroots level.
At present, the head of ICHO and all other personnel are hired on a contractual basis. However, with the release of the initial PHP 29 million franchise tax from the revenue of the Magat Dam project, the Provincial Government plans to regularize the employment of the staff members of ICHO.

**Non-Government Organization (NGO) Initiatives**

To date, the only non-government organization in the Philippines that is focusing its energies to safeguard the culture that nurtures the IRT is the Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (SITMo). It was established in 2001 as a federation of individuals and local civil society groups that share the same vision for the Ifugao. In recent years, the organization worked as an initiator and coordinator of actions that complement local government’s programmes on sustainable development. SITMo’s initiatives cover ecotourism, the rejuvenation of indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP), renewable energy and the enhancement of indigenous rice production.

On farming, SITMo’s efforts are geared towards increasing rice production by enhancing indigenous agricultural practices with sustainable farming technologies from other places. Current rice production levels in heritage areas are relatively low which is the main reason for the abandonment of rice farms. Yet the conservation of the IRT depends on the continued planting of the indigenous varieties of organic *tinawon* rice which can be planted and harvested once a year. Some farmers have resorted to planting non-indigenous high-yield rice varieties which can be planted and harvested twice a year. This new system has proven to be destructive to the indigenous rice culture and has accelerated poisoning of the rice terraces by the use of highly toxic pesticides and inorganic chemical fertilizers. In response, SITMo has embarked on studies designed to increase the annual *tinawon* rice yield in the IRT without compromising the fields’ organic and environmentally-friendly nature. This would discourage a shift to double cropping using high-yield rice varieties. Initial experiments using enhanced farming systems are promising.

Under its renewable energy programme, SITMo is providing micro-hydro dams that enable remote villages in Hungduan and Kiangan to generate cheap and affordable electricity from their rivers. The low-impact and environmentally-friendly generators have uplifted the quality of life for the villagers, providing them with an incentive to stay and nurture their rice fields instead of migrating to places where such services are available.
To encourage the development of pro-poor, community-led tourism industry in Ifugao, SITMo has initiated programmes and activities in heritage sites utilizing readily-available indigenous knowledge and oral traditions to attract visitors. This is in response to the inequitable distribution of economic benefits derived from tourism in the Philippines. Only those who are directly involved in tourism activities profit. In Ifugao, tourism revenue does not filter down to the farmers, who are the custodians of the rice terraces, the main tourist attraction in the province.

Since 2005, SITMo began to organize special tour packages that are timed to coincide with the planting, harvesting and other agricultural activities that occur in accordance with the traditional agricultural cycle so that visitors can participate in agricultural activities and rituals.

For the last two years, the “rice cycle” tours have attracted hundreds of domestic and foreign tourists, creating awareness of the need to preserve the Ifugao rice culture. The challenge is to maintain momentum and to capture a larger share of the tourism market. To achieve this, ownership of these ecotourism ventures is gradually being transferred to the custodians of the rice terraces themselves, the farmers, who in turn are encouraged to work harder to sustain their rice terraces, thereby increasing tourist inflow.

Aligned with the programmes of the ten-year IRT Master Plan, SITMo had initiated an indigenous knowledge transfer project supported by the National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan (NFUAJ). The initiative, titled “Nurturing Indigenous Knowledge among the Young Generation of Ifugao (NIKE)”, was designed to respond to the discontinuity of traditional knowledge from the elders to the youth, particularly on land management, watershed protection, construction technology and related belief systems, through the institutionalization of informal and formal indigenous transmission mechanisms. In order to sustain actions on informal education, the project capitalizes on IKSP as a product of education tourism in the IRT. It has initiated cultural mapping of knowledge systems and their practitioners, collating written literature on ethnic practices and the establishment of a pilot school where farmers act as indigenous knowledge “professors” to transmit traditional resource management systems to their youth. The project also lobbied local government units for budget allocations and advocated for the mainstreaming of indigenous knowledge systems and practices into the curricula of local schools.

Through a series of advocacy campaigns and workshops, policymakers and civil servants in the government and education sectors are gradually appreciating the relevance of transmitting Ifugao traditional knowledge from a handful of remaining experts.
and holders to the youth who are ignorant of the skills required to nurture the rice terraces. The youth, through the pilot school and school exhibits, have started to rediscover the skills of their forefathers. Even young professionals involved in the transmission efforts have acquired a deeper level of knowledge, understanding and respect for things once considered mundane and unimportant in today’s modern world. The rice farmers and custodians of the mayong involved in the initial stages of the pilot programme have realized the importance of their skills and knowledge with the attention and appreciation given to them by the students. The concern of the international community for the need to conserve the Ifugao rice terraces have added another dimension to the consciousness of the Ifugao people that the rice terraces do not only provide food for them, but are also of exceptional beauty and universal value, and can provide economic benefits from sustainable, community-based tourism. Unfortunately, some segments of the local communities, particularly the well-educated, are still not convinced of the need to “return” to the old ways in order to preserve the rice terraces. At the time of this writing, the provincial government is making progress in adopting the initiative as a government program.

On land management, SITMo had facilitated the finalization of land use plans in the Nagacadan cluster which is part of the World Heritage site. As a result, zoning regulations have defined site development areas that have been hosting tourism activities in the last three years.

Through resource mobilization and networking with international funding agencies, SITMo has made appreciable progress though there is still a lot to be accomplished. Linkages with both the government and the local private sector have provided valuable assistance for its programmes and advocacy. Close interaction with communities at the grassroots level has contributed much to the success of the programmes, as manifested in the numerous national and international awards these initiatives have garnered in the field of community empowerment.
IMPACT: Ifugao Rice Terraces, Philippines
Part 2
Tourism Impacts and Issues
A. Impacts on the Physical Environment

Tourism attracts people into an area of exceptional history, beauty and grandeur. Hence, it means an inflow of people that includes (i) tourists, (ii) investors/entrepreneurs, (iii) artisans and (iv) job-seekers. As a result, there is increased congestion as more residential and commercial establishments are built. An area limited in size then struggles to support the ever-increasing number of people. With increased population and infrastructure, a settlement once pristine and fresh starts to become degraded. Aside from increased visitor numbers, tourism leads to development projects impinging upon the area. Improperly-built infrastructure affects land stability and impacts on water resources. Unplanned construction pollutes and destroys food and water sources, ultimately degrading the liveability of the community. Rivers once teeming with fish are transformed into sewage dumpsites. The crisp, clean air becomes polluted with noxious gases spewed by transport vehicles and industries. The once tranquil environment starts to be overwhelmed with traffic noise and raucous entertainment.

These effects can be witnessed in Baguio City. The summer retreat of the Americans during the American Occupation (1898-1946) was established in the early 1920s on Ibaloi (highland ethnic group) pastureland to support a maximum of 30,000 people. Its cool climate attracted droves of locals and foreigners. Baguio’s population today is more than ten times its capacity, resulting in increased pollution, land degradation, water scarcity, among others problems.

Banaue, the first tourist destination area to be developed in Ifugao, also manifests the negative impact of tourism on both its cultural and environmental setting. From a pristine valley of rice terraces, healthy muyongs and clustered hamlets bisected by a clean river, Banaue has been transformed into an unattractive town blighted by spontaneous and uncontrolled development. Structures have been built randomly everywhere. Large areas of muyongs have been destroyed, causing erosion, and the river has been polluted with industrial and household waste. Modern music blares from most houses and the noise and pollution from vehicles has made the place less liveable.

The top image to the left is an undated picture taken by the American anthropologist H. Otley Beyer during the early 1900s. Today, the area and its neighbouring sites have become a hodgepodge with a marketplace, private homes, government buildings, hotels, lodges and restaurants. The sudden economic boom in the 1980s led to the opening of roads to Banaue, causing unbridled construction of buildings without proper zoning.
In a workshop attended by various stakeholders, tourism was singled out as the main reason for the degradation of Banaue’s physical environment. Construction of inappropriate structures remains unchecked, due to lack of or non-implementation of zoning regulations, and fear of electoral reprisal from those who have become rich and powerful from the tourism industry. The uncontrolled development has significantly degraded the attractiveness of the cultural landscape.

The watersheds that supply water to the rice fields are also being degraded by increased demand from the tourism industry for carved wooden souvenirs. The high demand for wood has accelerated deforestation not only in Banaue, but also other municipalities like Hungduan, Kiangan and Lamut. With the depletion of the watersheds, less water reaches the rice terraces, causing erosion in rice fields that can no longer be supplied with water.

In turn, increased erosion and siltation pollutes the rivers, which is compounded by the lack of proper sewage systems in Banaue and other communities.

The lack or non-implementation of zoning and construction regulations has resulted in the erection of buildings not complementary to the unique beauty, style and grandeur of the tourism area. The gaudy-looking buildings destroy the scenery and give it a run-down appearance. The haphazard mixture of ethnic-inspired domiciles in concrete and galvanized iron sheets with pseudo-American structures cheapen the idyllic setting of the native Ifugao huts.

B. Socio-Cultural Impacts

The tourism industry is a very potent agent of change in the lifestyle of the host communities. As tourists come from diverse cultural backgrounds, they bring with them their socio-cultural traits which are different from those of the host communities. Thus, interaction between differing cultures can result in either positive or negative socio-cultural impacts. Other factors that impact on ethnic communities are formal education and religion that have been introduced from outside.

Assessing the socio-cultural impacts of tourism and other factors on the lifestyle of ethnic communities in Ifugao is a challenging task. It requires a study of the wide range of cultural changes that take place in host communities. Another challenge is how each sector in host communities perceive what is a positive or negative change, what is culturally beneficial or detrimental.
For instance, stakeholders have differing views on whether commercialization of cultural songs, dances and rituals is positive or negative. For some stakeholders, the commercialization of culture is beneficial as it provides economic benefits to the cultural performers. Moreover, staged cultural performances are instrumental in reviving cultural practices that are about to become extinct and helping to educate tourists about the local culture. Other stakeholders argue that staged cultural performances misrepresent and desecrate the local culture. Some rituals that are considered sacred by the elders are now being inappropriately performed to cater to the demands of tourism. Clearly, those who derive economic benefits from tourism are in favour of staged cultural performances. Host communities must therefore decide which practices can be staged for tourists and which rituals should be performed within their proper cultural context.

The socio-cultural impact of tourism is most evident in Banaue, which has interacted with tourists for more than three decades. The impact of tourism in Hungduan, Mayoyao and Kiangan is insignificant since these municipalities are still emerging as tourist destinations. Learning from the case of Banaue, stakeholders in these emerging tourist destinations are fully aware of the possible negative and positive impacts of tourism on their local culture. Below are the major socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Ifugao.

**Positive Socio-Cultural Impact**

**Revitalization of Diminishing Ifugao Culture and Traditions**

For various reasons, cultural practices such as festivals and rituals are rarely performed in ethnic villages today. The decline in the performance of cultural practices can be ascribed to the introduction of Christianity, adoption of a Western educational system and the high cost of conducting rituals and festivities. With the arrival of tourists who want to experience local culture, many aspects of the Ifugao culture are being revived, especially the performing arts. The Provincial Government of Ifugao and the Municipal Governments of the four areas included in the World Heritage site are now organizing annual cultural festivals featuring Ifugao arts, crafts, rituals, ethnic sports and other aspects of ethnic culture. In Banaue, the grand imbayah is held every three years and the urpíḥ held yearly in April. In the same month, the Tungoh ad Hungduan and the Igkhumtad ad Majawjaw are celebrated in Hungduan and Mayoyao respectively. Kiangan follows with its Gotad ad Kiangan on the first of May every year and the bakle festival every August. These festivals are initiated by government units to promote tourism and to revive and revitalize vanishing local cultural practices. These festivals provide tourists with the opportunity to experience the rich cultural traditions of Ifugao. They also enable the present generations of Ifugaos to re-learn their cultural values.
Transmission of Cultural Knowledge to Younger Ifugao Generations

More important than the revival of the Ifugao cultural practices is the transfer of cultural knowledge and skills to younger generations. Elderly members of local communities, the indigenous knowledge holders, have formed cultural performing groups among the young people to perform for tourists, and in the process, indigenous knowledge is transmitted to the younger generations. In Hungduan, three cultural performing groups composed of young Ifugaos meet regularly with village elders to learn traditional dances, songs and chants and to practice ethnic musical instruments. Cultural revival is also occurring in Banaue, Kiangan and Mayoyao, where the elderly are passing on to the young their knowledge and skills. Furthermore, elderly Ifugaos are passing on their traditional skills of wood carving, loom weaving and the production of local crafts to capitalize on the growing market for ethnic products and souvenir items. These skills would have become extinct, if not for the entry of tourists into Ifugao.

Within the tourism industry, tourism personnel working as tour guides and in hotels are being trained by the Department of Tourism on local Ifugao culture so that they may impart local knowledge effectively to visitors and tourists.

Negative Socio-Cultural Impact

Commodification of Culture

To attract more tourists and generate additional income, cultural performances including sacred rituals are increasingly performed to satisfy the need for “authentic” experiences by tourists. Although entertaining visitors with cultural performances and rituals is not entirely bad, some performances are presented out of context. For staged cultural performances of ethnic songs and dances, themes are often changed and abridged to suit tourists’ expectations, thereby conveying a false message to visitors. In effect, cultural performances are losing their authenticity. Moreover, cultural performances are staged even when there are no appropriate occasions to justify their performances. Agricultural rituals, for instance, are staged at the wrong times of the year, just for tourist consumption. Even though local villagers are aware of this cultural travesty, they are encouraged to perform because of the financial
incentives offered to them by tourists, tour operators and even academic researchers.

Another negative impact of tourism in Ifugao is the loss of valuable artefacts, ancestral heirlooms and other movable tangible cultural heritage. From the onset of outsiders’ arrival in Ifugao in the early 1700’s up to its boom in the later 1900’s, rampant buying and selling of ritual paraphernalia, icons and priceless heirlooms took place in Banaue and other municipalities. Aged rice wine jars (buhi), rice granary gods (bulul), glass and plastic beads (pango), gold pendants (linglingo), gold and brass earrings, brass armlets and leglets (padang) that were handed down through many generations were sold not only to tourists, but also to private and public collectors, curators and museums. While the proceeds from the sale of heirlooms were used to procure sacrificial animals for rituals, to take care of medical needs of villagers and to send children to school, their loss has impacted on the deterioration of the Ifugao culture. With the loss of a significant part of the movable tangible cultural heritage of Ifugao, younger generations are no longer able to appreciate and learn from this important aspect of their heritage. Local community members have started to realize the importance of their material culture, resulting in an increased effort to retrieve lost artefacts and to preserve what is left.

Related to the commodification of material culture is the mass production of wood carvings that used to have cultural significance among the local folk. Perceived as profitable merchandise for trade, wood carvings are massively produced and sold as souvenirs to tourists and for the export market. The bulul (religious icon), for example, which were considered sacred for many generations, have been reproduced to satisfy the demands of tourism. More often than not, reproductions of the bulul are done in bad taste. This commodification of cultural goods has degraded the cultural and religious significance of the bulul, an important aspect of Ifugao culture.

Inappropriate Behaviour of Tourists

The influx of tourists in the small and traditional villages of Banaue, particularly in Batad, has started to irritate local residents. Local folk feel that their private lives are being invaded, particularly when tourists take their photograph without consent. In some cases, their photographs are used commercially, on postcards for example, or posted on the internet without their knowledge. As such, villagers suspect tourists of making a profit out of their photos, which they resent very much.
Generally, tourists are either negligent or ignorant about local customs and moral values. As such, tourists’ behaviour, from the standpoint of the local community, is disrespectful and offensive, particularly in their mode of dressing, for example, female tourists wearing bikinis while taking a dip in the rivers and waterfalls. Other offensive behaviour includes overt displays of affection between partners in public places and snooping into the houses of local folk without permission from the owners. Members of the local community do not want their children exposed to such behaviour, which is against their moral and traditional values.

Conflicts with Traditional Land Use

Traditionally, the land use system of Ifugao villages comprises of: (i) a watershed area which can be communally or family-owned; (ii) an agricultural area, where the rice terraces and swidden farms are situated; and (iii) a residential area, where private houses and public buildings are located. With the entry of tourism, compounded by population increase, the traditional land use system is being altered to accommodate the construction of tourist-oriented facilities and residential houses. Some portions of the watersheds and the rice terraces have been cleared and converted into residential and tourism-related commercial areas.

In the open market economy where tourism brings more economic benefits than traditional land use systems, local community members are tempted to convert their private lots for commercial purposes. Although this has already happened, local community members still recognize the significance of the rice terraces as an enduring source of their livelihood, as well as their heritage.

C. Economic Impacts

The tourism industry brings both positive economic benefits as well as negative impacts to host communities. On the positive side, the industry creates jobs for the local communities, provides additional income for local stakeholders and attracts investment for tourism-oriented enterprises. However, the jobs created are usually seasonal in nature, which highlights the issue of job security and sustainability. The industry, likewise, encourages the local economy to be dependent on tourism, which is a very fragile industry as it is vulnerable to national and global factors and events. In addition, the influx of tourists has artificially increased the cost of goods and services to the detriment of the local people who no longer have access to some commodities due to high prices.
In order to arrive at a more holistic economic impact assessment, it is necessary to look into both the positive and negative aspects of the tourism industry. Assessment of the economic impact of tourism in Ifugao is a difficult task, given the lack of information and statistics on tourism receipts and other economic indicators at the provincial level. Despite this limitation, the contribution of tourism to the provincial economy can be partially assessed from the number of visitor arrivals, tourism-oriented enterprises and jobs created by the industry. In recognition of the problem, the Provincial Government plans to develop a data-capture system to better record these tourism statistics.

Visitor Arrivals and Receipts

At the national level, the tourism industry generated US$2.7 billion from 2.84 million international visitors to the country in 2006. In the same year, a total of 3.7 million workers were employed in the tourism industry, an increase of 300,000 from the 3.4 million of 2005. The national average visitor daily expenditure was estimated at US$90 (Makati Business Club, 2000-2006). The Department of Tourism is projecting US$3.12 billion in tourism receipts in 2007 and US$4.59 billion by 2010.

An idea of the economic impact of the industry in Ifugao can be derived from the province’s share of tourist arrivals. In 2006, tourist arrivals in Ifugao (both domestic and international) were estimated at 93,037, representing a small 0.57 percent share of the country’s overall tourist arrivals of 16.26 million. For international tourist arrivals, Ifugao province got a minimal share of 1.81 percent of the 2.84 million Philippine international arrivals. The visitor arrival figures translate into relatively low tourism receipts in the province. In 2002, the Department of Tourism reported that tourists spent an average of PHP 100.92 or an equivalent of about US$2 per day in the Cordillera region. The bulk of tourist expenditure (39.71 percent) went to accommodation expenses, 17.23 percent for food and beverage, 14.81 percent for shopping, 9.49 percent for entertainment and recreation, 6.04 percent for local transport, 0.10 percent for tour guiding and 13.54 percent for miscellaneous expenses.
With the minimal tourism receipts in the province, the bulk of tourism expenditure was in Banaue, which is the most visited destination. Banaue is a small town that has a lot of tourism facilities. Hence, it is an area where tourist expenditures are concentrated, in contrast to the rest of the CAR, which has very limited tourism facilities and services. In 2006, Banaue accounted for 85 percent of the province’s visitor arrivals. Similarly, Banaue had 50 percent of the total number of accommodation facilities in the province, with the balance located in six other municipalities. In terms of number of rooms, Banaue accounts for 74 percent of the total. Souvenir shops are also mostly located in Banaue. Accordingly, Banaue gets the most economic benefit from tourism in the province, both in terms of net tourism receipts and per capita expenditure.

While the $2 mentioned above is the average regionwide figure of tourism expenditure, the figures for Banaue are significantly higher. In a recent survey (July 2007) of 40 tourists conducted in Banaue, 44.44 percent spent less than US$50, 52.78 percent indicated that they spent US$51-100 per day and 2.78 percent spent US$101-150. Transportation costs and expenditures on souvenir items accounted for 71 percent of their total expenditures. Accommodation expenses ranked next, followed by food.

Although Ifugao still accounts for a marginal share of tourist receipts compared to more accessible parts of the country, tourism is still a significant contributor to the provincial economy.
Furthermore, the province has several potential tourism resources which are as yet untapped. Developing and capitalizing on these assets will help boost the tourism industry in the province. These assets include natural, cultural and built attractions not only in the World Heritage zone but also at other sites.

**Employment Generation**

Over the years, tourism has continuously generated employment in the province, particularly in Banaue, although there is no record yet on how many members of the community are currently employed in the tourism industry. Jobs range from tour guiding and providing local transport services, to hospitality, catering and selling souvenirs. These are among the primary (direct) jobs created by the industry. There are now about 50 active tour guides in the province, but their job is seasonal. The secondary (indirect) jobs generated by the industry include wood carving, loom weaving and handicrafts making. Locally-produced wood carved products are now being exported to other countries. Other economic activities spurred by tourism include the commercial production of rice wine, which was traditionally produced on a limited scale, mainly for rituals, festivities and local consumption. Homestay programmes are emerging in some villages. Likewise, cultural performances featuring ethnic songs and dances are being organized to satisfy the demands of tourists.

However, local farmers who are maintaining the rice terraces do not derive any economic benefit from the tourism industry. The farmers are mainly engaged in traditional rice production, with minimal yields that are not even adequate to sustain their families until the next cropping season. Because their direct involvement with tourists is very limited, they generally do not provide guide services, handicrafts or homestay accommodation. Even agricultural products like locally-grown vegetables are mostly for local consumption; most of the produce supplied to local restaurants comes from outside the province. This issue has repeatedly been discussed during community consultation meetings conducted during the preparation of this publication. The challenge, therefore, is to develop a strategy that will allow farmers to be directly involved in tourism development initiatives and share in the economic gains from the industry.

When questioned whether tourism translates into economic progress in the locality, the farmers had the lowest rate of agreement, although most of them are optimistic that the industry can be instrumental for the economic development of their sites.
Among the industry sectors, workers in food- and beverage-related industries regard most highly the beneficial impact of tourism on the general economic development of the community. The table below illustrates the net agreement scores by industry sub-sector on the impact of tourism on local economic development.

### Table 1. Net Agreement Scores by Industry Sub-sector on the Impact of Tourism on Local Economic Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry Sub-sector</th>
<th>Net Agreement Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transportation (n= 42)</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming (n= 65 )</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation (n= 55)</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Souvenir shops (n= 30)</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food- and beverage-related industries (n= 25)</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist assistance (n= 50)</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, 76 percent of the respondents perceive that tourism is instrumental to the economic progress of their sites (with 50 percent agreeing and 26 percent strongly agreeing). At the other end, 10 percent of the respondents disagree that tourism is beneficial (with 1.9 percent strongly disagreeing and 7.9 percent disagreeing). Fourteen percent of the respondents are skeptical about the economic benefits from tourism.

### Income

In terms of income from tourism, 74.4 percent of the respondents indicated an average daily income that is below PHP 250 (about US$6) while 21.6 percent reported an income above PHP 250 (about US$7 and up) and 4.1 percent of the respondents provided no response. This indicates that most of the average daily wage from tourism lies below the minimum prescribed daily wage of PHP 350 (about US$8). However, during peak tourist season (March, April, May and December), around 57.3 percent of the respondents reported that they earn more than PHP 250 daily, an increase of 35.7 percent compared to the percentage during the tourist off-season (21.6 percent). Illustrated below is the respondents' average income in Philippine Pesos by sub-sector and by type of destination.
Development of Tourism Infrastructure that Benefits Residents

In Banaue, local residents also make use of the infrastructure purposely built to support the tourism industry. Tourist infrastructure, particularly improved transportation facilities and services, has enhanced the living standards of the local communities. The accommodation facilities, restaurants and facilities for meetings and conventions intended for tourists are also being used by the locals.

Negative Economic Impacts

Among the negative economic impacts of tourism identified by the respondents is the substantial increase in the prices of goods and services in tourist destination areas. This was more emphatically pointed out by stakeholders in emerging tourist sites. In contrast, respondents in the Banaue area generally claim that there is no significant increase in the prices of goods and services. This is probably due to the fact that they are already accustomed to the prices of goods and services in their town which has been a popular tourist destination for a long time.

Local residents also pointed out that there has been a shift from traditional economic activities like agriculture to tourism-oriented activities. People who are now service providers to tourists no longer work in the rice fields, which, to some extent, led to the abandonment of some rice fields. Furthermore, the increased opportunities in the tourism industry have encouraged farm owners to convert their farm lots to commercial purposes. In turn, land conversion has caused land disputes among residents.

![Table 2. Average Income from Tourism (2007)](image)
D. Government Expenditure for Tourism

The Ifugao provincial government’s expenditure for tourism promotion and development programmes has always been marginal, given the limited overall provincial revenue. The tourism budget accounts for a very small portion of the provincial government’s budget. The table below illustrates the percentage of tourism budget allocated from the annual provincial development fund.

Table 3. Budget Allocation for Tourism Development

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Annual Development Fund</th>
<th>Annual Tourism Development Budget</th>
<th>Annual Tourism Development Budget</th>
<th>Percentage of Annual Budget Allocated for Tourism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>PHP 45,563,788</td>
<td>PHP 1,190,000</td>
<td>US$ 27,045</td>
<td>2.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>PHP 45,570,112</td>
<td>PHP 680,000</td>
<td>US$ 15,454</td>
<td>1.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>PHP 48,796,040</td>
<td>PHP 505,000</td>
<td>US$ 11,477</td>
<td>1.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>PHP 56,876,531</td>
<td>PHP 590,000</td>
<td>US$ 13,409</td>
<td>1.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>PHP 57,779,812</td>
<td>PHP 450,000</td>
<td>US$ 10,227</td>
<td>0.78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Ifugao Provincial Government*

The bulk of the budget allocation for tourism is primarily spent on tourism promotion projects, such as production of tourism literature and participation in regional and national tourism promotion activities. A minimal budget is allocated for site development projects and assistance for municipal cultural festivals. Tourism skills training, usually funded by the Department of Tourism, is conducted once a year or even once every two years.

Local government units in Ifugao are mainly dependent on their limited share of the provincial development fund to finance their tourism and conservation endeavours, due to the inadequacy of locally-generated revenues. For public expenditure, priority is given to address basic social needs, such as health services and education, considering that the province is among the most marginalized in the country. Though a minimal budget is allocated for tourism projects, the provincial and municipal government units, particularly where the World Heritage rice terrace clusters are located, invest much of their annual development fund on road construction, repairs to irrigation systems in the terraced areas, and enhancement of watersheds, among others, which support tourism development.
Part 3
Community-Based Tourism in Ifugao
IMPACT: Ifugao Rice Terraces, Philippines
A. **Background**

The development of the Ifugao tourism industry is a reactive process. Over the years, tourism developed slowly in response to the influx of tourists. As such, no proper planning has been undertaken to maximize the potential benefits from tourism, mitigate the industry's negative impacts and define the future path of tourism development in Ifugao.

An examination of the history of tourism in the province shows no evidence of an established direct link between tourism and rice terrace conservation. Tourism promotion has been a “stand-alone” endeavour designed only to generate profits for those involved in the industry, not to contribute to the conservation of Ifugao's natural and cultural heritage.

Typically, tourism in Ifugao can be characterized as the “shoot and leave” kind. Tourists visit the host communities simply to catch a glimpse of the village people's lifestyle and the panoramic rice terraces. After taking some photos and shopping for souvenir items, tourists return to their hotels and prepare for their itinerary the following day.

This type of tourism fails to deliver the enormous opportunities and benefits that could be derived from tourism. It does not provide a deeper understanding and appreciation of the place, people and its culture, nor the authentic experience for which visitors are looking. For local residents, this type of tourism limits their chances of providing additional products and services to tourists that would have been possible if tourists stayed longer in their communities.

For this reason, heritage tour programmes have been initiated in order to better benefit the custodians of the rice terraces themselves.
B. Community-Based Tourism Activities

Community-Based Land Use and Zoning Project

The community-based land use and zoning project started in late July 2003 as a special initiative by the provincial government in response to the major issues raised during the first stakeholders’ workshop conducted to review plans to reverse the deteriorating condition of the IRT which had resulted in the site being placed on the “World Heritage in Danger List” in 2001.

The project was designed to galvanize the local community living in heritage sites to think back in time and revisit their past, examine their present conditions and visualize their future as a community. Workshops at the community level were organized, focusing on the past, present and future state of the site’s physical environment, culture and local economy. During the workshops, the members of the local community identified the factors that caused both positive and negative changes over time to the physical and cultural environment. At the conclusion of the workshops, local residents came up with a shared vision for the present and the future, along with a plan of action to realize the vision.

The community workshops were structured to encourage stakeholders to determine the value and importance of the rice terraces in their lives, considering economic, cultural, environmental or political aspects. A major concern expressed by villagers was the need for additional funds on top of their earnings from the rice fields, which are not enough to support their families.

Among the outputs of the project included the formulation of community land use maps, detailing how land is to be used and managed by the communities themselves. Another significant output was the enactment of local ordinances setting regulations and guidelines on the use of heritage properties and the development of appropriate activities, including eco-cultural tourism. The legislation focused on a variety of concerns, including watershed and wildlife protection, restrictions on infrastructure development and chemical farming within the core rice terrace areas and identification of potential tourism assets for promotion and development.
Revival of Rice Harvest Thanksgiving Festival

One of the most important provisions of the new local ordinances is the community’s resolve to celebrate and revive their annual rice harvest thanksgiving festival (bakle) every August. The bakle is one of the most anticipated community activities among the Ifugaos. It is a celebration of the spirit and unity of the community as manifested in their collaborative efforts and the collective rituals associated with their farm activities. It also provides the opportunity to thank the heavens and the spirits of the ancestors for a bountiful harvest.

However, the practice of bakle in Kiangan was discontinued in the 1990s due to several factors. The adoption of modern farming methods and the introduction of double cropping high-yield varieties of rice, did not conform to the traditional agricultural cycle. The high cost of living forced local folk to migrate outside the province, leading to the abandonment of rice fields in the terraces. Those left behind were so concerned about earning enough to survive that they neglected to celebrate bakle and other traditional festivals.

With the encouragement of SITMo, local community members have decided to revive bakle in Kiangan. In recognition of the community’s interest to revive their traditions and the need to start an economic intervention to support the project, SITMo conceptualized eco-cultural heritage tours with the bakle tour as an initial offering.

With the local community assuming ownership of the programme, and the strong collaboration of the Municipal Government of Kiangan in promoting the event, the bakle tour has succeeded beyond expectations, drawing great interest from both visitors and locals alike.

Eco-Cultural Rice Cycle Tours

The traditional agricultural cycle of the Ifugaos begins with land preparation (removal of weeds, repair of terraces walls and communal irrigation systems) from October to mid-December. Planting the traditional tinawon rice takes place from late December to early February. The rice crops are harvested in June and July.

As part of the eco-cultural tourism programme initiated in 2006, five heritage tours have been organized to take place on an annual basis, linked to the agricultural calendar, as follows.
The rice cycle tours are participatory in nature. They provide a mixture of adventure tourism, a dose of local cultural heritage and immersion in the rice farming practices of the community. Each tour offers the best in the locality’s natural and built wonders in an upland mountainous setting. Activities include camping, spelunking and trekking through historic trails traversing rice terraces, community villages, rainforests and waterfalls.

Aside from ethnic cultural shows performed by young cultural artists who are trained by village elders, visitors are also treated to rice wine-making, handloom weaving and other crafts demonstrations by elderly master craftsmen from the local communities.

To maximize visitor’s experience during rice cycle tours, they join the farmers in field work, such as weeding the rice fields, restoring eroded rice terrace walls and traditional drainage canals, ploughing rice fields and transplanting rice seedlings. Alternating between frolicking and toiling in the mud under the merciless sun, visitors learn much about the daily lives of the rice farmers for at least half a day of their tour.

Feedback from visitors has been very positive and encouraging. To spread the benefits of tourism throughout the entire year, rice cycle tours are not organized during the peak tourist season from April to May. Moreover, the programme aims to encourage tourists to visit rice terrace clusters and ethnic villages located in other municipalities as a way of developing community-based eco-cultural tourism programmes in other heritage sites. This facilitates distribution of the socio-economic benefits from tourism to other heritage sites. However, as the provincial centre of tourist activities, Banaue is always included as part of the package tour for tourists to shop and take photographs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Heritage Tour</th>
<th>Schedule</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakle’d Kiangan</td>
<td>August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loda’d Bayninan, Kiangan</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunod ad Hungduan</td>
<td>January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagtag ad Asipulo</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bfo’o ad Mayoyao</td>
<td>June</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Cultural Heritage Tour Schedule
Other Eco-Cultural Tourism Products

Aside from the regular rice cycle tours, SITMo has also packaged special eco-cultural tours for families, mountaineering groups, students and other interest groups. The more popular tours involve visits to the rice terrace clusters in Batad, Banaue and the mystic town of Sagada in Mountain Province, where the famous hanging coffins can be seen. Other popular tours include spelunking, trekking to the top of Ifugao’s mountains and tree planting in critical watersheds. Various tour packages are geared toward other tourism niche markets.

The private sector has also developed river rafting activities along the Ibulao River traversing the municipalities of Kiangan, Lagawe and Lamut during the rainy season. An initial river-rafting venture was piloted for enthusiasts during the bakle festival. This activity can provide additional thrills for action-oriented visitors.

C. Roles of the Various Stakeholders

The stakeholders involved in these community-based tourism development initiatives include municipal and barangay (village) government units, host communities and the tourism private sector (travel agencies, public transport operators and other tourism service providers).

SITMo, which conceptualized the rice cycle tours, is responsible for promoting and packaging the tours, including advertising the events on the internet. It receives a small share of the profit generated by the tours to help defray administrative expenses. The bulk of the visitors’ expenditures go directly to the host communities which provide local transport and meals for the visitors.

Local peoples’ organizations such as the farmers’ group and youth associations are active partners in the management of these tour packages. Unlike the regular mass tourism products, the local community provides meals and snacks for visitors, giving them an opportunity to promote local delicacies, an important part of their intangible cultural heritage. Local farmers provide the vegetables and livestock for the meals, thereby generating their own income from the tourist activity. Other local stakeholders participate in the event by producing and selling handicrafts, such as the carved walking sticks for trekking. At this stage however, it is too early to tell to what extent farmers really benefit financially from these small business ventures.
The municipal government units where the special tours are being organized provide the local marketing support and logistic support for the tours. They organize village assemblies to discuss the tours and sponsor media coverage of the events. The barangay government units are responsible for providing peace and order during the events and for making the necessary arrangements for the participation of cultural performers and local knowledge holders of traditional trades and crafts. Realizing the social and economic benefits of organizing these tours in their communities, local government units are enacting legislation to support community-led tourism development and to allocate funds for tourism infrastructure and community training programmes.

The Department of Tourism at its headquarters in Manila and its regional office in Baguio City has supported the rice cycle tours by aggressively promoting the products and encouraging foreign and domestic tourists to participate in the tour packages.

The chart below illustrates the set-up of the community-based tourism programme initiated by SITMo.

Figure 11. Community-Based Tourism Programme in the IRT
D. Benefits to the Community

Aside from the usual economic benefits, such as sales of souvenirs, tour guiding fees and provision of meals by the local communities, the tourism revenue that is captured during the special tours is shared equitably by all participating stakeholders and key players.

Significantly, in order to link tourism with conservation, a percentage of the profits accrues to a trust fund for use by the host communities for projects aimed at conserving the rice terraces.

The tours are designed in such a way that they are not invasive of farmers’ activities. Consent of the host community and farmers is first secured before the tours are developed and tourists flock to the fields for their immersion in local culture. Activities that the tourists can engage in are well defined to prevent hostile reaction from villagers.

Tour guiding and other services are mainly provided by the host communities to ensure maximum economic benefits to the local stakeholders. Meals and snacks of local delicacies are provided by the local community, using locally-grown vegetables and livestock.

Activities are also diversified to cater to a wide variety of interests. Sites chosen as host communities are heritage areas and upland communities that do not regularly receive tourists, but have heritage resources that can be developed for tourism purposes. Adventure tourism, for instance, spelunking and river rafting, are incorporated with other activities to maximize visitors’ experience and immersion in the local cultural and natural setting.

E. Results and Outputs

Since its initiation in 2006, the eco-cultural heritage programme has yielded promising results, but much still needs to be accomplished and improved.

As a contribution to help farmers overcome their structural poverty, the overall financial contribution of the rice cycle tours to the host communities is still insignificant. The number of visitors to heritage sites other than Banaue is still relatively low. Thus the economic impact of tourism on the host communities is not yet felt. Nevertheless, the increasing number of visitors participating in the heritage tours is a good sign. With the right local government policies, continued collaboration of all stakeholders and continued investment from both the public and private sectors, the heritage tours may eventually be a significant contributor the local economy and a tool for the conservation of the rice terraces.
An Enthusiastic Corps of Volunteers

A corps of volunteers composed mainly of out-of-school youth has proven to be effective in managing aspects of the heritage tours, under the guidance of SITMo’s staff. Despite their interest and enthusiasm, the volunteers still lack cohesion and professional expertise, hence their continuing on-the-job training.

Increasing Quantity and Quality of Tourists

Promoting the rice cycle tours through the internet has resulted in an increasing number of visitors. As of June 2007, five regular tours and six special tours have brought in 300 eco-cultural tourists to the target heritage sites in Ifugao. Most of the tourists are Ifugaos who have resettled elsewhere in the Philippines, students and teachers, young professionals and development workers. They also include returning Filipino expatriates and families.

International tourists have also patronized the rice cycle tours. Most learned about the tours from diplomats based in Manila.

Improving the Product

Most members of the local communities derive satisfaction from hosting visitors, preparing local delicacies for tourists and sharing their indigenous knowledge systems and practices with the visitors. In the village of Nagacadan in Kiangan, the local community is upbeat about preserving their festivals and traditional ways in order to bring in more visitors. Many local stakeholders have expressed their interest in promoting their traditional villages as tourist destinations. Alongside this desire is their commitment to improve the services that their communities can offer to visitors, such as production of traditional crafts, better guiding skills, accommodation in traditional Ifugao huts, provision of local delicacies and organization of cultural performances to showcase their local culture. All these activities contribute to their vision for eco-cultural tours to help improve their community-led, pro-poor tourism programmes.
F. Lessons Learned

Community Participation

The effectiveness of community-led tourism depends on the active involvement of all sectors in the locality. Local stakeholders—the farmers, businessmen, government officials, indigenous knowledge holders and practitioners, youth and peoples’ organizations—must participate in planning, policy-making and implementing tourism activities. By engaging in the planning and policy-formulation processes, local community members develop a sense of ownership which motivates them to support the tourism programme. Before the heritage tourism programme was implemented in the IRT, a series of consultative meetings and planning workshops involving all community stakeholders was conducted to formulate an effective implementation strategy.

Involving all sectors of the community encouraged local knowledge holders and practitioners to share their expertise, an essential component in developing a site as a tourist destination. Local legends, folklore and cultural practices complement the natural environment as the core assets of a community-led eco-cultural tourism industry.

More importantly, through community participation in the planning stage, local residents are able to define the extent of acceptable environmental and socio-cultural changes that tourism can bring. For instance, community members living in the World Heritage rice terrace clusters have decided not to conduct staged performances of rituals outside their proper context for the consumption of tourists. For them, it would desecrate their culture and local beliefs, and as such, should not be encouraged. Likewise, in the rice terrace communities of Nagacadan and Julongan of Kiangan, the local communities have enacted village ordinances prohibiting the construction of inappropriate buildings that would block the view of their rice terrace clusters and the conversion of rice fields to residential lots. These ordinances were enacted in anticipation of physical changes to their built environment caused by tourism.
**Challenges of Community Involvement**

Involving all sectors of the local community in planning and decision-making requires lots of time and effort before an activity can be implemented. First, the local community must be made to realize that developing community-based tourism does not happen overnight. They need to be made aware of the possible impact, both positive and negative, that tourism can have in their local community. After raising the awareness level of community members, the next step would be to plan what tourism activity(s) can be implemented in their local communities, how each stakeholders can benefit from the initiatives and what kind of support each sector can provide to ensure the success of the activity. Given the various interest groups within a community, reaching a consensus among all sectors can be difficult.

Another challenge is how to balance various participants during community consultation meetings. Dominant personalities tend to insist on their views and to disregard other views that conflict with theirs. Others will not voice their opinions in the presence of dominant members of the community. This requires expert facilitation during the meetings to draw out ideas from all parties.

Going through the long village consultation process entails significant financial resources. To minimize costs, facilitators of the community consultation meetings have to prepare well in advance the logistics required for the meetings and the strategy to be used to facilitate consensus-building and collective decision-making.

Despite the challenges, the results and outputs of a well-planned tourism initiative, formulated with maximum participation of all sectors in the local community, can be very positive and rewarding.

**Tourism Product Development**

The rice cycle tours have been improved with feedback from tourists and various local stakeholders over time. For instance, the organizers have learned that the optimum number of tourist per group is 25. However, other opportunities for product improvement remain. At the moment, tour packages are limited only to the Ifugao rice cycle tours with fixed itineraries and activities. More innovative tour packages are needed to attract more tourists and other niche markets. Special tour packages need to be flexible enough and easily customized to appeal to different interest groups. Although tour packages may have to be expanded to include other itineraries and activities (such as adventure tourism), they still have to be structured in such a way that maximum tourism revenue is retained in the host communities.
Tourists are encouraged to send their suggestions via a web-board. Almost all respondents report a very high satisfaction rating, particularly the opportunity to interact closely with and learn from the local communities. Second, respondents report a high sense of satisfaction in helping in their small way with the conservation of the heritage sites while at the same time enjoying their time with the local folk. With the web-based tourist feedback system, tourist-community interaction has been improved. The local communities are pleased to learn how much visitors enjoy working with and learning from them, and how much tourists appreciate their living rice culture.
Part 4
Future Directions
IMPACT: Ifugao Rice Terraces, Philippines
Since 2001, when the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras World Heritage property was included on the List of World Heritage in Danger, progress has been made towards improving the preservation and sustainable development of this cultural landscape.

Most importantly, in 2004, a conservation and management plan was developed to rectify the earlier lack of a systematic monitoring programme or a comprehensive management plan. This provides measures for zoning, land-use plans and guidelines for appropriate control procedures for development projects within the property. Concrete projects like the restoration of 42 communal irrigation systems also contribute to reviving the holistic functioning of the rice terraces agro-ecosystem. International cooperation has been sought through a twinning programme of exchange with the Cinque Terre World Heritage property in Italy, also an organically-evolved agricultural landscape. As part of the efforts to remove the property from the List in Danger, a specific plan for the promotion of community-based tourism at the property has also been articulated, building on the existing efforts by NGOs, local government units and the private sector.

While the World Heritage Committee at its 32nd session in Quebec, Canada in 2008 decided to retain the property on the List in Danger, it also noted the positive steps that have been taken. In this way, the Danger listing has become an essential tool for mobilizing effective, decisive and rapid intervention for addressing the threats facing the site, including those from tourism.

A. Preserving the Living Rice Culture

The only way to conserve the cultural landscape – the core resource that attracts visitors – is to preserve the living rice culture that has sustained the Rice Terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras for the past two millennia. As explained earlier, the rice culture and traditional resource management systems have been disrupted by the introduction of national regimes of resource management, new systems of local governance which have shifted leadership roles from the indigenous knowledge holders to elected officials, new rice varieties that disturbed the rice agricultural cycle, along with non-endemic flora and fauna that now threaten the fragile ecosystem of the cultural landscape. As young Ifugaos are lured out of the rice fields to pursue higher education and to take advantage of the economic benefits provided by the growing tourism industry in the urban centre of Banaue, the elder generation is left to tend the rice terraces, which are being abandoned at an alarming rate. These external factors have disrupted the transmission of indigenous knowledge systems to the younger generation.
Further degradation of the rice terraces can be prevented by reviving and revitalizing traditional resource management systems. To facilitate the transmission of indigenous knowledge systems to the younger generations, the Ifugao Provincial Government, the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA) and the Ifugao State College of Agriculture and Forestry (ISCAF) have established several Schools of Living Traditions, in close collaboration with local ethnic communities. The project aims to facilitate the transmission of indigenous knowledge systems to the younger generation. A similar initiative is the “Indigenous Knowledge Transfer” project funded by the National Federation of UNESCO Associations in Japan (NFUAJ) which focuses on the transmission of indigenous sciences associated with environment and natural resources management, rice agricultural cycles and terrace construction and maintenance methodologies. The project includes curricula development to integrate indigenous knowledge systems into mainstream education, the establishment of community learning centres which also act as tourist assistance centres in the villages and the development of community-managed “indigenous knowledge” tourism targeting the academic sector as their primary market.

More dynamic involvement of local government units in the two initiatives in the future will help to ensure that the next generation of indigenous knowledge holders will become active partners in the preservation of the rice culture and the development of sustainable, community-based tourism heritage sites in Ifugao.

B. Developing a Sustainable Tourism Framework

Due to the absence of a tourism master plan, the implementation of tourism programmes by both the public and private sectors has been conducted within an established sustainable tourism development framework. As a result, many tourism activities have had an adverse impact on the local cultural and natural environment.

Therefore, a sustainable community-based tourism development programme should be formulated to provide a framework for tourism development and management that focuses on mitigating the negative impact of tourism and maximizing socio-economic benefits to the host communities. Within this framework, any tourism undertaking should balance the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts of the industry on the host destination (Swarbrooke, 2004). Mechanisms for monitoring tourism arrivals and impacts should be put in place and baseline data should be collected to use as a future reference.
All local stakeholders (particularly the farmers who are the custodians of the rice terraces) should be strongly encouraged to participate in the planning, policy formulation and implementation processes so that the interests of all concerned sectors are taken into account.

Since the development of tourism is market-driven and some tourist activities may be detrimental to the local culture and environment, local communities should clearly identify which tourist activities and behaviour are permitted. This can be accomplished with the cooperation of tour operators by arranging pre-departure tourist orientation and provision of brochures describing what is acceptable behaviour and what is not. All important information should be included in the destination’s website so that tourists can learn in advance not only about where they are going, but also about the cultural sensitivities and environmental concerns at their destination.

The impact of tourism-related development on the built environment should be carefully controlled. Though the municipalities of Banaue, Mayoyao, Hungduan and Kiangan have enacted their local land use and zoning ordinances, the implementation and enforcement of the ordinances have been weak and flawed. As a result, inappropriate structures have been built, even within the rice terraces, thus degrading their aesthetic value. Strong political will is therefore necessary to enforce the ordinances which are essential for preserving the authenticity and integrity of the cultural landscape.

C. Marketing the Ifugao Rice Terraces

In the past, tourism marketing and product development were carried out in a reactive manner to the influx of tourists. A clear marketing strategy was not in place to guide and coordinate the individual initiatives of various local tourism stakeholders. Public and private sector initiatives were implemented separately without proper coordination. Tourism promotion activities were aimed at general tourists without considering specific segments of the tourist market. Hence, the development of tourism products and services was not tailored to satisfy the requirements of specific target markets, resulting in unplanned tourism activities with negative impacts.

To raise the level of tourist satisfaction, a critical element for sustaining the tourism industry in Ifugao, the provincial and municipal government units, particularly in the municipalities where the rice terrace clusters inscribed in the World Heritage List are located, should formulate and adopt marketing strategies that
clearly define the target markets, their needs and expectations. At the same time, strategies on how the public and private sectors within their communities can satisfy the target markets’ needs and expectations should also be developed. These strategies should also seek to develop secondary attractions, in addition to the rice terraces that are the main destinations. The policies should maximize the experience of tourists without degrading the local culture and environment.

With the increasing use of the Internet by prospective travelers in planning their trips, a marketing strategy for the Ifugao Rice Terraces should include the development of an interactive website and weblog where photos, videos, commentaries and personal impressions of visitors can be openly shared with others. Promoting the site online, especially through the candid comments of visitors, is often more far-reaching and influential than more traditional media such as printed guidebooks and other promotional materials.

**D. Sustaining Tourism Growth**

In the annual budgets of the provincial and municipal government units, allocations for tourism programmes, promotion and development are relatively insignificant despite the economic potential of tourism. To maximize socio-economic benefits, it is necessary for local government units to invest more on research, development and promotion of tourism products and services, and to collaborate closely with the private sector in promoting their communities as tourist destinations.

Given the potential of the World Heritage rice terrace clusters to be developed as major tourist destinations, local government units should give priority to tourism as an integral part of their local development policies. To ensure proper implementation of tourism programmes, the public sector should take the lead in developing an evaluation and monitoring system to continuously monitor, not only the economic benefits, but also the impact of tourism on the local culture and environment. This in turn will provide the justification for spending taxpayers’ money for tourism development.

In particular, the Department of Tourism must continue to be a major partner of the provincial and municipal units in actively promoting and marketing the local destinations to both domestic and international tourist markets, and in ensuring that industry standards are maintained. The Department should likewise provide technical guidance in tourism planning, policymaking and resource generation.
To provide an effective forum for all concerned stakeholders for discussing tourism concerns and formulating industry policies and programmes, the Provincial Tourism Council needs to be revitalized to enable proper coordination of public-private tourism initiatives and assist local tourism organizations in the implementation of activities at the grassroots level.

Locally-available financial resources and technical expertise are limited in the province of Ifugao. External support is therefore necessary to develop mechanisms to ensure environment-friendly and culturally-sound tourism in the province. International organizations such as UNESCO, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) and other national and international organizations are therefore encouraged to assist in monitoring the implementation of tourism programmes in the World Heritage Site, help in resource mobilization and provide technical assistance that cannot be sourced locally.

Through these collective efforts, the Ifugao Rice Terraces will continue to be a testament to the history, labour and indigenous knowledge of generations of small-scale farmers who have created a living cultural landscape of great aesthetic beauty.
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