

ATI MIGRATION AND TRADE IN ETHNOMEDICINES IN CEBU

Bonifacio M. Amper, Jr.

This paper focuses on how migration and exposure to cultures of major ethnic groups in urban centers has affected the ethnomedicinal knowledge and trade of the Ati in Cebu. This knowledge includes the identification of specific plants/trees and their parts that are medicinal, the location of such plants and gathering of specific plant parts, preparation and combination of various plant parts as well as other ingredients; and, the types of conditions and/or ailments for which these preparations are used. Generally such knowledge has been passed on from one generation to the next. Engaging in trade in traditional medicines is one of the factors that led the Ati to urban centers such as Cebu. They share this knowledge with their customers, and this knowledge is likewise influenced by other forms of knowledge and practices of those whom they do business with. The ethnomedicinal knowledge of the Ati has persisted in spite of migration to a highly urbanized center like Cebu. It is this knowledge which is part of their identity as Ati that has created income opportunities for them: engaging in the ethnomedicinal trade with customers from cultures other than their own. Their ethnomedicinal knowledge has also been enriched by other knowledges from the cultures that they have encountered over the years as they seek opportunities and transfer from one place to another through the process of “*molangyaw*” and “*paningpalad*”.

Keywords: *Ethnomedicine, indigenous knowledge, Ati, migration*

Introduction

The Ati of Cebu are considered to be the descendants of the original settlers of the Panay island in the Visayas (who arrived some 30,000 years ago through land bridges as one migration theory suggests [CCP *Encyclopedia of Philippine Art: Peoples of the Philippines* 1994:24]). One of the Negrito groups in the Philippines (relatively shorter in height, having dark skin and curly hair and having similar physical characteristics with that of the Aetas of

AghamTao, 2014, Volume 23:80-94

Luzon), the Ati are nomads and are adept at hunting, fishing, and food gathering for survival (Rahmann and Maceda 1963), the band is the basic unit of organization of the group (CCP *Encyclopedia* 1994:26). Anthropological studies suggest that the original settlers lived in the lowlands and gradually retreated to the hills and mountains as succeeding settlers pushed them deeper into the hinterlands, as argued by Robert Fox in his study of the useful plants and material culture of the Pinatubo Negritos (1952). Nowadays, the Ati have been constantly on the move as bands (*panun*) or "*panun-panun*". They are now scattered all over the provinces of the Visayas, namely: Antique, Aklan, Capiz, Iloilo, Guimaras, Negros Occidental, and Negros Oriental (Noval-Morales 2011). Based on data from the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities their total population was 63,654 in 1987 (NCIP 2000). In the same year, the biggest concentration of Ati was in Lipata, Barotac Viejo, Iloilo.

Years of living in the forest have made them experts in making indigenous medicinal concoctions out of available flora and minerals. Nowadays, for economic survival, most of the Ati depend on the sale of the medicinal products (Dela Pena 2009). They move from one place to another to sell their products. Often they target a specific area where they think their "*paningpalad*" or 'seeking their luck' will meet with great success. The Ati refer to this activity of going out of their place of origin to visit another as "*molangyaw*". The search for better opportunities is geared towards supporting their needs and having a continuous source of livelihood also having in mind the possibility of permanently settling.

The movements of the Ati to populated locations and their motivation to settle has exposed them to other cultures of major ethnic groups in the places of destination, such as Cebu. Even as they continue engaging in the ethnomedicinal trade, their knowledge and practices have been affected by their exposure to other cultures. As they continue engaging in the ethnomedicinal trade these other knowledges have diffused to the Ati thereby adding to their rich knowledge on medicinal plants.

Given the assimilation and acculturation of the Ati to mainstream Cebuano culture, there is a need to continue documenting Ati ethnomedicinal knowledge and take note of changes over time, as well as the factors causing such changes. This study is a step towards this endeavor.

The Ati

This study looked into the Ati community of Sitio Buyo, South Poblacion, Naga, Cebu. The total population of Ati in Naga is 193 based on the 2013

Census of National Commission of Indigenous People - Cebu. In Sitio Buyo, there are around forty eight households of Ati in the area which is more or less 8,000 square meters in size and considered a public land under the Department of Environment and Natural Resources area of jurisdiction. The Ati community settlement receives support from the Local Government Unit of Naga (LGU-Naga) and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). The area is near the sea and the river delta. During high tide and rainy season, flooding is a common occurrence. Most of the houses are elevated for about a meter and are made of light materials. These are situated around the lot perimeter, partly enclosing the community. Some houses are made of concrete materials, such as that of their current leader. There is an open space in the middle of the community where a basketball court is located. The community has a Christian chapel constructed through the contribution of the Ati members and a tribal hall constructed through the assistance of the Cebu Doctors College Community Extension Services. There is no water facility available in the community and water is sourced from a Cebuano neighbor's water pump. Drinking water has to be procured at around 10-20 pesos per 5-gallon container. The high cost is due to the condition of the road where access is difficult especially during rainy season. Electricity is available in the community. A *videoke* machine owned by the tribal leader is available for rent. The average household size is four. In terms of ethnicity, there are 32 households where the parents are both Ati; while 16 households are a mixture of Ati and non-Ati parents; while four households are non-Ati. These non-Ati households have been allowed to live with them by the previous chieftain provided they will not fight with the Ati. Expulsion from the community is the penalty once they will violate this internal agreement, which the new chieftain honors.



Figure 1. Common houses of Cebu Ati (left) and the Ati Community Chapel (right)

Some Ati are hired as construction laborers while others work as *trisikad* (pedaled tricycle) drivers. However, the Ati's main source of living is peddling their local ethnomedicinal products and other indigenous medicines.

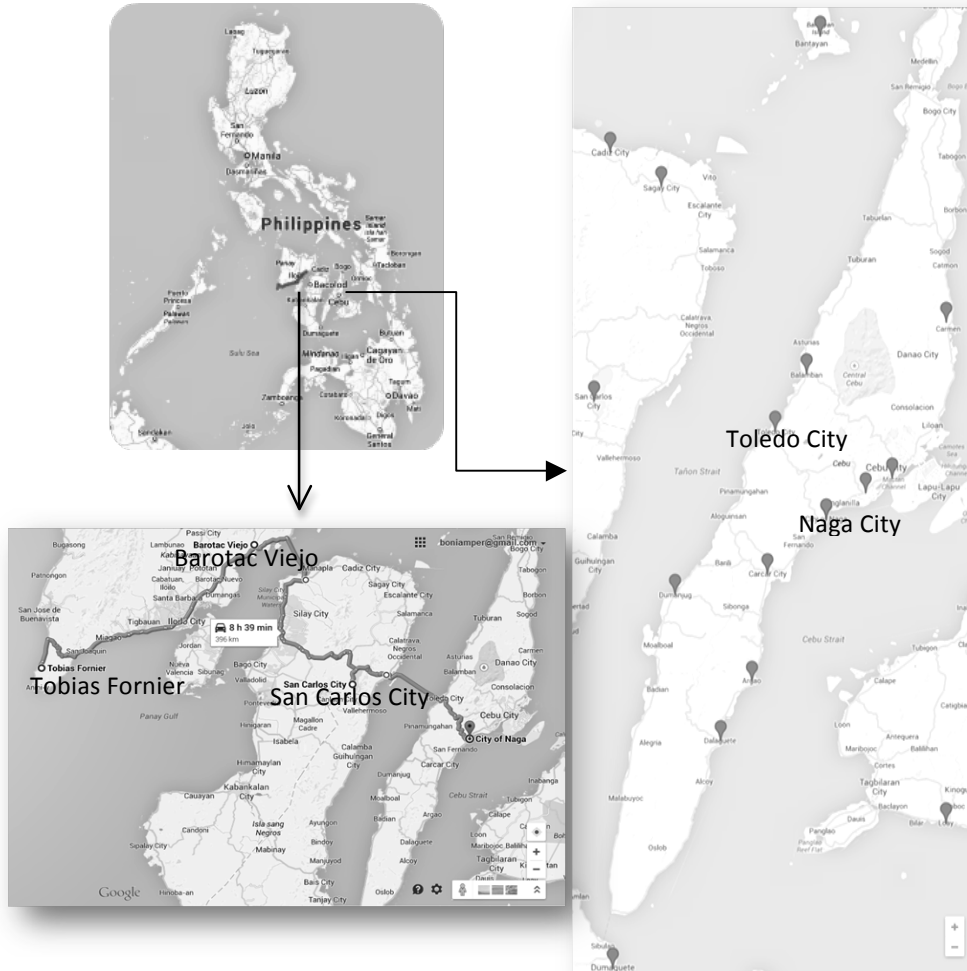


Figure 2. Map of Cebu showing the research site and other places where Cebu Ati conduct economic activities, Map on the right traces the Cebu Ati's place of origin before settling in Naga City, Cebu

Historical memories and migration patterns

A key informant vividly narrated the popular story of how Datu Marikudo sold the plains of Panay to Datu Sumakwel in exchange for a golden *salakot* (wide-brimmed sun hat) and gold necklace. The story she narrated is the popular story regarding the 10 Datus of Borneo and the Barter of Panay known as the legend of Maragtas. But she added that the rivers and mountains remained with the Ati. She explained that most Ati settlements are found either near the rivers or in the forests because for them the river is the source of food like fish and crabs while the forest is where they plant staple rootcrops like cassava and sweet potatoes. Her forefathers came from Antique specifically within the areas of Dao, Astibias, and Villapon. Dao is the former name of Tobias Fornier, a municipality in Antique where the Ati are found until today. In the 1940s, her forefathers left Antique to avoid harassment. They were being forced to sell their lands. If they refused they were harassed violently by lowlanders. From Antique, different bands composed of related households went to different destinations. Some went to Mindanao while others like her forefathers went to Iloilo particularly Nagpana, Lipata in the municipality of Barotac Viejo. They chose to settle there since the place is near the river delta, and the sea, and far from many people. They continued making medicinal products and peddled them to neighboring areas. My key informant was born and got married in Nagpana. Her husband was an expert in medicinal products and he was in the lineage of *babaylan* on his father's side.

In the later part of the 1980s, her husband's band, composed of six families, reached San Carlos City in the province of Negros Occidental. They were offered work there as fishpond laborers by a relative who married a Visayan. The Ati settled there and continued to make and sell medicinal products for 10 years until they lost their jobs. The group decided then to come to Naga City, Cebu and stayed at the pier area at first. One day an NCIP staff saw them and the Local Government Unit of Naga City offered them to stay in Sitio Buyo, Naga City, Cebu.

In Antique, the Ati were pushed to migrate to other parts of the Visayas and Mindanao due to experiences of land grabbing and violent harassment by the lowlanders. They were also pushed to migrate by the environmental policies prohibiting cutting of trees and clearing of lands. Absence of job opportunities pushed them to search for better opportunities. The job opportunities in San Carlos City pulled them to settle and work there. However, the loss of jobs pushed them to continue "*paningpalad*" in Cebu.

The offer of permanent settlement in Cebu, coupled with the support of government entities, the job opportunities and the increased sale of their products pulled them to settle in Naga City, Cebu. From there, the news of better opportunities in Cebu spread among Ati and the dominant migration stream happened in 2000. The information first spread among family relatives and friends. Succeeding mobility after year 2000 are relatives of the first settlers. In 2012, a family of Ati was murdered in their home by unknown assailants. Because of this incident, some families started to temporarily move to another location and later permanently pushed to move to a more peaceful location by 2013. Eight families permanently transferred to Toledo, Cebu in 2013. The place is also near the river delta.

Table 1. The Migration Stream of the Ati in Naga, Cebu

Year	IN # of House- holds	Migrants' ORIGIN	OUT # of House- holds	Migrants' DESTINATION	Push/Pull Factor
2000	19	San Carlos City			Economic
	1	Dumanjug, Cebu			Economic
	1	Balamban, Cebu			Economic
	1	Iloilo			Economic
Subtotal : 22					
2001	2	Sagay, Negros			Economic
	3	San Carlos City			Economic
	1	Carcar, Cebu			Economic
Subtotal: 6					
2002	0				
2003	2	Sagay, Negros			Economic
2004	0				
2005	2	Loay, Bohol			Economic
2006	1	San Carlos City			Economic
2007	1	Cadiz			Economic
	1	Iloilo			Economic
	1	San Carlos City			Economic

	Subtotal: 3				
2008	1	Sulu / Cebu			Economic
	1	Dumaguete, Negros Oriental			Economic
	1	Loay, Bohol			Economic
	1	Bato, Leyte			Economic
	Subtotal: 4				
2009	1	Iloilo			Economic
	1	San Carlos City			Economic
	Subtotal: 2				
2010	2	Toledo City, Cebu			Economic
	1	San Carlos City			Economic
	Subtotal: 3				
2011	1	Tabunok, Talisay City, Cebu			Economic
2012	0				Economic
2013	2	Iloilo	1	Balamban, Cebu	Business
			8	Toledo City, Cebu	Harassment
			1	Iloilo	Marriage
			1	Iloilo	Work
	48		11		

Source: NCIP 2013 Census, Key informant Interviews

Various push and pull factors have been instrumental in their decisions to migrate from one place to another, and one of these is related to their engagement in the ethnomedicinal trade, selling wares that are believed to either be preventive or curative of certain ailments. This activity is closely linked with the Ati world view on ailments and diseases which they believe to be largely caused by unseen forces in the environment. The Ati settling in Naga City, Cebu continued making medicinal products and sold them to the Cebuano in various locations, usually in market places and sidewalks near Catholic churches.

Ati Ethnomedicinal Knowledge

The Ati ethnomedicinal knowledge includes: (1) the identification of specific plants/trees and parts that are medicinal; (2) the location of such plants and gathering of specific parts; (3) preparation and combination of various plant parts as well as other ingredients; and (4) the types of conditions and/or ailments for which these preparations are used. According to their current chieftain¹, the Ati traditionally had a healer who performed healing rituals for those who have specific ailments. Her husband's father was a *babaylan* back in Iloilo and her husband learned some of the healing rituals through observation. Upon reaching Cebu, her husband continued these rituals for healing purposes. Currently, however, no one among their children has acquired healing prowess. Thus, healing practices are now limited to applying their medicinal preparations on the person with an ailment, without the ritual. She mentioned that their current religions have prevented them from practicing such healing rituals. If the illness continues after the application of the herbal medicine, the Ati now bring the patient to a hospital.

According to the chieftain, collecting plants for medicinal purposes is done only on Good Friday from forests where they would go to collect roots, barks, leaves, branches and other parts of trees that have medicinal value. This activity is referred to as 'gathering' (*pangalap*). The collected plant parts are then taken to their community for segregation, preparation and combination with other plants and ingredients. However, since they are now residing in Cebu where some of such plants are not available in the limited forested areas of the province, they have to procure some of their medicines from their Ati networks back in Iloilo because there are more forested areas there. Ati medicine vendors mentioned Dalaguete, Argao and Carcar in the southeastern part of Cebu as some of the places where they go to gather some available medicinal plant parts and minerals, which they utilize in their products. Common plant parts utilized are roots, stems, barks and leaves. Most of the preparations are combinations of plant parts of various plants as well as other ingredients such as *tawas tapol* (alum), different types of stones, incense and coconut oil. There are specific plants or plant parts that are gathered only when needed for specific ailments such as wounds, swelling or stomachache. Some plants which they traditionally utilize but are

¹ The current chieftain assumed the position in 2011 after her husband died. She won the election by topping two other candidates. The election process was conducted and recognized by the NCIP-Cebu. NCIP has been instrumental in organizing the political structure of the Cebu Ati.

not readily available have been dropped from the line of medicinal products the Ati sell.²

In terms of types of situations or ailments where these preparations are utilized, most of the Ati preparations are for prevention of ailments—they have preparations for protection against ‘being cursed’ (*buyag*); they also have *panagang* (shield) or amulets to protect against illnesses; and preparations to burn for their medicinal smoke (*palina*) also as protection against bad luck and evil forces. A common product of the Ati which is popular even among Cebuanos is the amulet-bracelet to be worn by babies made from a clear plastic tube in which is put a small amount of moss, *tawas tapol*, and other stones. This is said to be effective against the situation wherein a stranger gives a positive comment about a baby or a person which may lead to a condition or ailment (*buyag*). Another popular product of the Ati is the *panagang* or protection against illness, composed of a combination of plants, minerals and other ingredients that are placed in a small pouch that is worn on a string tied around the waist, and locally called *habak*. A pack composed of *kugang-kugang* leaves, *pangamay* (hand-shaped) stems, combined with *tawas*, and *kamangyan* (almaciga resin) is to be burned (*palina*) and the individual (baby, pregnant woman) or place (house or store) is exposed to the smoke to drive away bad luck. Aside from these, they also have some roots or other plant parts, which they say could be placed in water to prevent fever for babies who are teething. Aside from the preventive preparations, they also have curative medicinal preparations for asthma, fever, food poisoning, stomachache, and diarrhea, to name a few. The Ati focus more on producing in big quantity the products that are popular or in demand.

The Ati vendors have acquired knowledge about their medicinal products from their parents, who acquired this knowledge also from their parents and so on. On the other hand, the Ati have likewise learned about other ethnomedicinal products such as mahogany seeds, sibukaw barks and stems

²The ethnopharmacological study made by Madulid, et al. (1989) on the Ati tribe of Nagpana, Barotac Viejo, Iloilo where the Cebu Ati trace their roots, lists 46 medicinal plants used by Ati. Only 11 of these plants are confirmed to be present in Cebu as stated by two experienced foresters. These plants are *bita* or *dita* (*Alstonia scholaris*) in Cebu, *sibukaw* (*Caesalpinia sappan* Linn), *palotsina* or *bitaog* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) in Cebu, *kaningag* (*Cinnamomum cebuense* Kost), *pitogo* (*Cycas circinalis*), *bahay*, *kawayan* (*Bambusa spinosa*), *kanumay* (*Ebenaceae Diospyros* sp.), *tawa-tawa* (*Epidendrum scriptum* Linn), *nipay* (*Mucuna pruriens*) and *anagas* or *anugas* (*Leucosyke capitellata*) in Cebu.

sold by Cebuano vendors (Dela Pena 2009), which they have also adopted and began to produce and sell together with their original Ati medicinal products.



Figure 3. A common product of the Ati is the amulet-bracelet made from a clear plastic tube in which a small amount of moss, *tawas tapol*, and other stones are

The Cebu Ati ethnomedicinal trade

Through the selling of such products, the Ati have shared their knowledge to people from major ethnic groups in the places where they sell these wares such as Cebu, a highly urbanized city.

Most Ati sell their ethnomedicinal products in locations where a lot of people converge or pass such as public markets and sidewalks on main thoroughfares of the city. The *materia medica* of the Ati has spread around the Visayan archipelago and other parts of the Philippines (Zayas 2008). Zayas' study on the trade and patronage of Ati material medica reveals the widespread patronage of Ati healing system and trade of their ethnomedicines which implies the perceived potency of their products.

For their ethnomedicine trade, the Ati procure most of their products from outside Cebu. The major source is Nagpana, Barotac Viejo in Iloilo where they have maintained links with relatives and other fellow Ati who are also producing ethnomedicinal products. A member of the household is sent to Iloilo to procure the material requirements for making bracelets, *habak* and other popular products, which are ordered by sacks. The bracelets are assembled in their respective homes in Naga, Cebu Ati settlement. Sometimes the products coming from Iloilo are already assembled and ready to sell. Advance notice is normally given through mobile communication.

When urgently needed, other Ati will go to the two major wholesalers of Visayan ethnomedicinal products whose market stalls are located at Freedom Park in the Carbon market in Cebu City near the University of San Jose Recoletos to procure their products, since these wholesalers have major trade links with the Ati in other areas on Panay Island. To add to the products which they get from their networks in Iloilo, the Ati in Cebu likewise go to the limited forested areas of Cebu to get some medicinal materials such as flying lizards, *kinamay*, and local stones which are found in the southern part of Cebu.

Almost all the Ati families are engaged in the production and selling of ethnomedicinal products. There are some who have semi-permanent spaces in downtown Cebu City where they display their products. The NCIP Region VII in response to livelihood needs of the Ati in Naga City, Cebu had arranged and facilitated with the Cebu City Government four one square meter sidewalk spaces for them to sell their wares. However now there is only one. The three other Ati gave up their space to other vendors who also sell herbal medicine, explaining loss of income now that the place is already saturated with non-Ati sellers. Only one Ati seller remains along Osmena Boulevard near the Basilica Minore del Santo Nino where Church-goers pass. The most popular products are the bracelets and the *habak*. Their product prices range from 10 to 150 pesos. The most expensive products are the *panagang*, while the cheapest one which is also the most popular is the bracelet for the infants. But the Ati vendor there cited that her daily sales were quite low. Sometimes, the income from sale is not enough to defray her transportation expenses (“*Usahay kulang pa ang halin sa plete pauli*”).

Most of the Ati therefore sell their wares in the different towns of Cebu during fiesta celebrations. According to my informants, they have a list of all the fiestas and *tabo* (market day) in all cities and towns of Cebu. Based on the event dates, a group of Ati numbering from 4 to 6 related individuals mostly women would undertake a trade expedition (*molangyaw*) to visit these places for a few days. With a bag each of medicinal products, they would go to the fiesta or *tabo* a day or two before the actual event bringing only enough money for their food and transportation for the first location. Their target is to sell as much as they can so that they can move on to another location. They use the sale from the previous location to finance their trip to the next location. Sometimes, they can't transfer to another location if their money is not enough. Based on experience, they can accomplish their sales target especially when the people are not familiar with their products. They normally stay for 3 to 5 five days. They make temporary makeshift shelters near the church or market for them to sleep in, also depending on kindness

from others. ‘People will take pity on us and will give us some food’, said one (“*maluoy man ang uban, nya mohatag man og pagkaon*”). They have to budget their food expenses especially when the sales are not good. There are times when the sale is brisk, so they have to send one member to go back to Naga and get more products. The *molangyaw* experience would depend on the itinerary of the group and the distance they will cover. Sometimes, it will only take a week or two, other times it will take from one month to two months especially if outside Cebu. After the travel and trading, the net income is divided among the group according to the contribution of each member.

In Bantayan Island, there are two major occasions when the Ati go there to sell their wares: the town fiestas and Holy Week. Because the area is well-populated and a tourist spot, they would aim to be there a week before the event and stay there for almost a month.

The Ati share among themselves information on places they visit. Based on this information, some families are encouraged to try their luck in those places—such “*paningpalad*” to find jobs and better livelihood opportunities is embarked on when a group of related families agree to take the journey. Supported by the income from selling medicinal products, the group is usually composed of 5-6 households, with more than half the members of each household coming along. They usually target a specific location where good reviews were heard from other Ati. If their money cannot cover the travelling expenses to directly reach the destination, they do ‘step migration’, selling the medicinal materials to finance their movement until they reach their ultimate destination. This is how the first five Ati households reached Cebu.

Concluding discussion

On the whole, an important part of Ati culture that has persisted over time despite constant exposure to and influence by mainstream cultures, is their ethnomedicinal knowledge, practices and trade that identify them as Ati up to the present times.

A number of factors have affected Ati ethnomedicinal knowledge and trade especially that they are now in an urbanized setting in Cebu, different from the rural forested places they have come from in Barotac Viejo, Iloilo and Antique. These factors include both the physical as well as the social environments the Ati are now in. The limited forested areas of Cebu have provided a limit to the types of plants accessed by the Ati, that they have to procure some of their medicinal products from Iloilo. Likewise, the Ati are

slowly being integrated into mainstream Cebuano culture through intermarriages, religious affiliation, information exchanges, as well as different types of assistance provided by government, non-government as well as academic institutions.

The Ati knowledge of trade opportunities is shared among themselves as an open resource; their exposure to different settings with extensive information about where they have been is shared to every possible Ati they encounter. Their other sources of information are those Ati married to non-Ati and settling with the non-Ati partners. Before the major migration of Ati to Naga, single families of Ati were already scattered in different parts of Cebu from Pardo, Carcar, Balamban, Toledo and as far as Camotes Island. With these migration experiences, the Ati are slowly being integrated into the mainstream, as manifested in the intermarriages of Ati and non-Ati within their community, as well as their accommodation of non-Ati in their community.

The gradual cultural integration of the Ati is significant. Currently there is only a selective performance of traditional Ati practices, and modifications have been introduced. This can be seen through their practice of religion. Although most Ati have not been baptized, still they consider themselves to be practicing 'Catholics'. In terms of ethnomedicinal knowledge, the Ati's membership in mainstream formal religions (e.g., Catholic, Bible Baptist) has prevented them from performing healing rituals. The belief that Good Friday is the most effective day to search for and gather medicinal plants is also largely influenced by Catholic beliefs on the "holiness" of this day. Ati vendors have also exchanged ethnomedicinal knowledge as well as products with Cebuano vendors as they now sell other medicinal products which are not originally based on their own indigenous knowledge. They also have products which integrate certain non-Ati beliefs, such as putting in a crucifix in a mixture of oil, plant roots and stones; or putting in a bullet in their "*panagang*". Mainstream western medicinal practices in health centers as well as hospitals have likewise provided an alternative to Ati ethnomedicinal practices which they have accessed through the assistance of government and other institutions.

Migration is part of the Ati way of life. It is considered a necessity for them to move and sell their wares in order to survive. This trade has led them to migrate to various places while maintaining their links to their fellow Ati in their places of origin. Their networks have enabled them to continue engaging in this trade and supported their economic needs. The Ati can be considered expert urban nomads. Their ability to adjust and adapt to

different locations in various different environmental and social conditions and survive is noteworthy. Their small average household size could be a product of their mobility. Such mobility is however guided by the prevailing economic and political conditions around them. Given the availability of job opportunities, coupled with government agencies' support, the vision of the leader of the Ati in Naga is to 'permanently' settle in the area, as they have grown tired of being displaced.

References

- CCP (Cultural Center of the Philippines). (1994). *Encyclopedia of Philippine Art: Peoples of the Philippines*, "Aeta". Pp. 22-39. Manila: Vera-Reyes, Inc.
- de la Pena, Lilian C. (2009). "Life Here and Elsewhere: Mobility and Landlessness of the Visayan Ati" *MIND Ayawan Capitol University Journal of Culture and Society*, 3(1):85-106
- Madulid D.A.; Gaerlan F.J.M.; Romero E.M.; Agoo E.M.G., (1990). Ethnopharmacological study of the Ati tribe in Nagpana barotac viejo iloilo philippines. *Acta Manilana*. 38:25-40
- National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) Census data (2013). NCIP-Region VII Office.
- National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). "The Ati". [Retrieved March 24, 2014 from http://www.ncip.gov.ph/resources/ethno_detail.php?ethnoid=85].
- Noval-Morales, Daisy. (c2011). "The Ati of Negros and Panay". *National Commission for Culture and the Arts*. [Retrieved March 24, 2014 from <http://www.ncca.gov.ph/about-culture-and-arts/articles-on-c-n-a/article.php?igm=4&i=257>].
- Rahmann, Rudolf and Marcelino N. Maceda. (1963). "Ethnographic Field trip to the Negritos in the North of the Island of Negros". *The Carolinian*, pp. 36-37.
- Robert B. Fox, "The Pinatubo Negritos, Their Useful Plants and Material Culture." *The Philippine Journal of Sciences*, 81(Sept. to Dec. 1952):173-414

“The Legend of Maragtas”. In *AboutPhilippines.ph - CatholicChurch.ph - PhilippineCulture.ph* [Pdf file retrieved March 24, 2014 from <http://philippineculture.ph/filer/The-Maragtas-Legend.pdf>]

Zayas, Cynthia Neri. 2008. Trade and Patronage of Ati Materia Medica in the Visayas. In: Consuelo J. Paz’s (editor) *Ginhawa, Kapalaran, Dalamhati (Essays on Well-being, Opportunity/Destiny and Anguish)*. Quezon City: University of the Philipines Press. pp.66-86.

Bonifacio M. Amper Jr., MA Anthropology Candidate, Department of Anthropology, Sociology and History, University of San Carlos, Cebu City
Email: boniamper@gmail.com