



INDIGENOUS GAMES OF PALAWAN TRIBES: ENHANCING CULTURAL DIVERSITY

DAVID R. PEREZ

Associate Professor, College of Education
Western Philippines University
Puerto Princesa Campus
Puerto Princesa City, Philippines

Article history:	Abstract:
<p>Received: April 7th 2021 Accepted: April 22th 2021 Published: May 21st 2021</p>	<p>The study on "Indigenous Games of Palawan Tribes: Enhancing Cultural Diversity" was conducted at the selected barangays of the Municipality of Quezon, Rizal and Aborlan and Puerto Princesa City. This study was only focused on Indigenous games of Palawan tribes.</p> <p>The respondents of the study were the selected tribe members who are knowledgeable in their indigenous games.</p> <p>Data were collected from respondents through informal interview from the older members of the tribe, believed to possess the hands on knowledge and skills.</p> <p>Results shows that there a lot of indigenous games of Palawan tribes. The Tagbanua games were Angad Dado, Hodyon Kadang-Kadang, Kardang Kaskas, Limpako Liyad, Luwas-Luwas. Pasil, Pusod-Pusod Simban, Supok, Trumpo.</p> <p>The Palaw'an games were classified into individual-dual and team game. The Age-Aged, Babel Tankilay, Baka-Bakaan, Basil, Kardang, Kardang-Kardang, Magdaramdam, Mamayu, and Pasil were Individual-Dual Games. The Hitting ball is only the team game.</p> <p>The Tau't Batu used games as form of recreation for fun, relaxation and companionship. These games were presented and classified as follows: Individual game- Pating, Talubid-Talubid. Dual game- Banis and Kosti. The Batak games were Bugsak Busog-Ugyong Langko Pangturan Pasil and Supok.</p>

Keywords: Indigenous Games of Palawan Tribes, Individual game- Pating, Talubid-Talubid. Dual game- Banis and Kosti.

INTRODUCTION

Twenty five thousand years ago, a land bridge connected the island of Palawan to the main land of South East Asia. Through this land bridge, a dark skinned people with kinky hair and short stature were able to trek across and settle in the island. These early settlers were the ancestors of some of the local tribes people living in Palawan today like the Bataks, Tagbanuas and the Palaw'an.

The same land bridge, was now completely washed away, accounts for the distinction of the flora and fauna found in the island contrast to those found in the other parts of the Philippines and their similarity to the botanical and zoological species in Malaysia and Indonesia.

The province has eight major ethnic tribe, each with its own indigenous folkways and folklore, dance, songs, games, arts and crafts and language. Visitors to the tribe community sites gain acquaintance with intricately mad cultural artifacts as the rarong (Knapsack made of fine bamboo slats), buckias and sedsedan (baskets), sopokan and karban (below gun and dart container), biday (mat made of split rattan) bullul (wooden statue of Goddess of planting).

These tribes practice games in which retain all part of their original character or purpose. They are integrated with activities of daily life and religion impelled by a desire to communicate with supernatural beings, to control the spirits world in which they live in.

Palaw'an and Tabanuas practice games shows gratitude to the spirit for success of domestic affair, to give thanks for a harvest, to celebrate a religious festival and to find relief from monotony of having the same activity in their daily life. Playing as a form of recreation have long been providing a form of relaxation and companionship to people especially the ethnic tribe.

At present they still practice, specially, those who are living in the rural communities that could be documented before it is too late. The efforts of countless Filipinos who have taken interest in the preservation of our cultural heritage have to be appreciated.

Bataks are one of the most primitive tribes found in Northern Palawan and in several settlements. In Roxas, Palawan they could be found in Abaruan, Caramay and Tagnipa. In Puerto Princesa City, they could be found in Langogan, Tagnaya, Calacuasan and Babuyan.

These Bataks are nomadic with dark brown complexion, sturdy with curly hair featuring like the tribesmen of Malaysia. They are stripped to the waist, using G-string garments of pounded barks of trees, called *salongon*, *embalod masicaen*, *namuan* and others.

Batak hunters employ a variety of method for obtaining forest animals. Traditionally, both the bow and arrow and the spear are employed to take wild pigs. For the Batak wild pigs was the most important culturally and economically. They consider themselves, first and foremost, to be pig hunters. Therefore many of the Batak games are originated from earliest war.

Most of the traditional games and sports, are expressions of indigenous cultures and ways of life contributing to the common identity of humanity, have already disappeared and those that are surviving are threatened of imminent disappearance and extinction under the combined effect of globalization and harmonization of the rich diversity of world sport heritage. Indigenous Games and Sports then become an added value in terms of cultural comprehension and mutual tolerance both within the community of nations and between them, and therefore contribute to the edification of a culture of Peace.

METHODOLOGY

Locale and time of the Study

The study was conducted at the selected Barangays of the Municipality of Quezon, Rizal and Aborlan and Puerto Princesa City.

Respondents of the Study

The respondents of the study belongs to the older member of the tribe, who are knowledgeable and familiar about the indigenous games .

Procedures for Data Collection

Data from respondents were gathered through informal interview from the older members of the tribe, believed to possess the hands-on, knowledge and skills.

This enabled the researchers to accurately take needed data in the study.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

TAGBANUA GAMES

The Tagbanua games are being played by young children during leisure hours. These games were Angad Dado, Hodyon Kadang-Kadang , Kardang Kaskas, Limpako Liyad, Luwas-Luwas. Pasil, Pusod-Pusod Simban, Supok, Trumpo. The games were grouped into individual, dual and team game.

Individual and Dual Game

ANGAD

The game is played by young Tagbanua children during their leisure time. This game maybe played by individual or dual.

Materials: coconut shell

Mechanics of the game:

The player is going to the opponent's court to touch the opponent's coconut shell. His head should be raised slightly with his eyes closed.

DADO

This is a simple and funny game. The players make a bet or *pustahan* and it is played by two persons.

Materials: two pairs of clams

Mechanics of the game

Each player has one pair of clam's shells. If the clam shells of one player is in the upside-down position, it means that the corresponding count number is nine. And if the clam shells laid the flat on its back the corresponding number is eight. If one piece of the shell is laying flat and the other one is upside-down position, the corresponding number is seven. It means that the first person to pay is winner.

KADANG-KADANG

This is a racing game of Tagbanua children with the use of bamboo. Two pieces of bamboo with equal length and two pieces of shot bamboos (12 inches long) will be used. Each of the short bamboo will be attached vertically to the longer one at the lower part to serve as platform during the race.

Material Bamboo

Mechanics of the game

Each player should stand on the starting line with their kadang-kadang. There will be a signal to start the race. After the signal, the player will run using kadang-kadang as fast as they could. The first player who will arrive at the finish line will be the winner

KARDANG

It is also a racing game similar to kadang-kadang with the use of pair of coconut shell and a string attached to it.

Materials: a pair of coconut shell
Rattan/yantok

Mechanics of the game

Each player should step on the starting line. There will be a signal before they will start the race. After the go signal, the first one who will arrived at the finish line will be the winner.

LIMPAKO

This is an individual game played by young children. The game develops skill of legs strength.

Materials: Coconut shell

Mechanics of the game:

The coconut shell is kept between one's leg in the knee region and player hits coconut shell of the opponent's court.

LUWAS-LUWAS

This game is like a magic. The game is performed by one or two persons who have knowledge and skills in playing the "Luwas-Luwas. The game maybe played in two ways: The first game is performed by one person and the other game is played by two persons.

Mechanics of the game

One player: One-meter of rope is tied on one's leg of the player in x-position of the knee. After that he is going to stretch his legs to pull the rope hands towards oneself.

Two players: Two players are going to make different shapes using the one-meter rope. Each player should make different shapes as many as they can.

PASIL

Pasil means to throw. This is a usual game played by Tagbanua children. It is played by means of using strength or might in throwing. It is performed by one person.

Materials: A piece of circular and diamond shaped wood, rope, at least 1 m long.

Mechanics of the game

To start the game, the first player should tie the Tampil with a rope from the bottom part before stepping or standing into the throwing line. After throwing, the other end of the rope must remain clipped within the two fingers. The rest of the players will do the same. The player who had thrown the **Tampil** with the farthest distance will be the winner.

PUSOD-PUSOD

Another funny game of the tribes is a guessing game. The five pieces of coconut midrib is called "pusod". It is played by two persons.

Materials: 5 pieces of coconut midrib

Formation of coconut midrib

1 2 3 4 5 4 3 2 1

Mechanics of the game

The game is played by two persons. One player is in setting position and facing back on the other player. The player who is in the face back position will guess the number of midribs the other player had taken out in each net. If the first player is not able to guess right, he will be replaced by another player.

SIMBAN

This is a funny and mathematical ability game. The game is played by two persons facing each other in a "circular flat basket or bilao" Fifty pieces of the coconut midribs is required in the game.

Materials: a circular flat basket or bilao
50 pieces of coconut midrib.

Mechanics of the game

The game is played by holding the coconut midrib in the forehand and into the palm. Then they will count the number of pieces caught. For example, if the player caught 27 pieces, three pieces will be taken out, therefore he is considered the winner

TURUMPO

Turumpo is played by using strength in breaking the turumpo of the other player. Turumpo is also a piece of wood shaped into circular or diamond with a nail at the bottom part. It is played by two persons

Materials: Turumpo, rope, at least 1 meter long

Mechanics of the game

Each player must have his own turumpo. They will mark a circle on the ground. The second player will have to put his turumpo at the center of the circle while the first player will hit it.

If he will not be able to break it, he will replace the turumpo of the second player with his turumpo for his turn. He will do the same. The one who first breaks the turumpo will be the owner.

HODYON

This is a group game, played by young children for their enjoyment during their free time.

Materials: coconut shell

Mechanics of the game

The player is going to hit the coconut shell of the opponent's team, the coconut shell should be in an upside-down position and the player goes back to his proper place with one-foot jumping.

KASKAS

The game is played by young children as for their enjoyment during leisure time.

Materials: coconut shell

Mechanics of the game:

In this game, the player is going to put a coconut shell on the ball of his feet and he is going to push forward the coconut shell to the opponent's court.

LIYAD

Materials: coconut shell

Mechanics of the game:

The coconut shell is thrown away near the coconut shell of the opponent's team. The player is going to bend his body backward to touch the coconut shell of the opponent's team.

SUPOK

This is a game of Tagbanua children originated from earliest war. This is a team game.

Materials a piece of small buho

Mechanics of the game

Supok is a similar to a pipe where the seeds stocked from the mouth will pass through by blowing upon hitting the enemy. The players hide themselves from enemy to protect from being hit by the wild seeds. This is an endless game unless the players get tired. So, the first team who will surrender will be the loser.

PALAW'AN GAMES

The Palawan games were classified into individual-dual and team game. The Age- Aged, Babel Tankilay, Baka-Bakaan, Basil, Kardang, Kardang-Kardang, Magdaramdam, Mamayu, and Pasil were Individual-Dual Games. The Hitting ball is only the team game. These games were being played by young children during leisure hours.

AGE-AGED

The game develops skill of Running and leg strengthening. This game is played in the field. Players must be ready to the signal of the "it" (budi) This game is played in the field.

Mechanics of the game

1. The players will have to get "umpyang" to know who will be the "budi"
2. After they heard the signal, the players will start to scatter on the field, while the "budi" will aim to touch anybody.
3. When the "budi" will be able to touch someone the player who touch will become a "budi"
4. The process of the game will continue.
5. The "budi" which a highest score will be punished.

BABEL-TANKI-LAY

The game develops skills of Agility, balance and flexibility. This game usually played by young children for their enjoyment.

Materials: a piece cloth or handkerchief

Mechanics of the game

The player in line while there is a cover in their eyes.

1. The players who are blindfolded will form a line, on hearing in the signal they will race (skipping) towards the finish line.
2. The players who come first to the finish line will be declared a winner.

BAKA-BAKAAN

The game develops skills of Agility and leg strengthening and commonly played by Palaw'an boys

Materials :A piece of rope

Mechanics of the game:

The two players facing each other, the player who is designated as cow, with the rope on his hip attached or tied on the opposite player.

1. The rope will be tied on the hip of each player, each on the opposite line.
2. On the signal, each of them will pull the player who overlaps to the designated line.
3. The player who can pull his opposite to his line will be declared as a winner.

BASIL

The game develops skills of Throwing and strengthening of muscles

Materials:Bamboo pole

Mechanics of the game

The players should be in starting line

1. The players will throw the bamboo at the same time.
2. Then, the player who's thrown farthest will be declared as a winner.

KARDANG

The game develops skill of Leg strengthening

Materials: Pair of Coconut shells (bao) and rope

Mechanics of the game

The players at the starting line while holding their kardang.

1. The players are in a starting line and they have to put their feet to the upper part of bao. The rope will be placed in between of his fingers in feet while holding the rope which is connected in bao
2. On signals, the players move forward until he/she reach the finish line.
3. The player who will come first in the finish line will be declared as winner.

KARDANG-KARDANG

The game develops skill of Flexibility and balance

Materials : A pole made of bamboo or wood.

Mechanics of the game:

The players in the line while holding their "KARDANG-KARDANG"

1. The players are in the starting line together with their kardang-kardang when the signal was heard at the same time they will move forward up to the finish line.
2. The Players who will come first in the finish line will be declared as a winner.

MAGDARAMDAM

The game develops skill of Agility. This game is the same as *tagu-tagan*, usually played by young children now a days.

Mechanics of the game:

The players will be ready to find a place where they cover themselves while waiting a signal of "budi"

1. The players will select first a "budi" by means of "umpyang" of their hands.
2. The "budi" will cover her/his eyes and face to the area which the players can hidden.
3. The "budi" are going to shout "GAME"! Then he/she will go to find his/her other playmates
4. The first players who are found the "budi" will be the "budi" again
5. At the end of the game the player who got the many chance to be a "budi" will be the loser while the player who will not be able to attempt or had a less chance of being "budi" will be declared a winner.

MAMAYU

Players are back in the river which is the area where the stone will be thrown. One person or let us say "Taya" will find a place where the stone will be thrown. The game develops skill of agility

Materials :White Stone

Mechanics of the game

1. While the players face back, the "taya" will throw the white stone.
2. The players will face front and the "taya" will start counting 1...2...3...go!
3. The players are going to dive in the river at the same time to find a white stone.
4. Among players the one who searches it or finds it (the stone) will get a score.
5. The person who got a highest score will be the winner.

PASIL

The game develops skill of throwing

Materials: (Turumpo) wood with round shape at the top with pointed edge.

Mechanics of the game

The players will stand formation.

1. The player will hold the pasil (each of them) rounded by rope.
2. At the same time they will throw their pasil.
3. the player who has a pasil which stop first will be the loser while the owner of the pasil which role longer will be the winner.

Group Games

HITTING BALL (Bato bola)

The game develops skill of running and throwing

Materials: A ball made of coconut leaves

Mechanics of the game

The players will be divided into two groups:

- a. One groups will act as "budi" depending on their arrangement.
- b. The other group will also divide themselves in two groups to stand at both opposite ends of the play area.

1. Group 1 will enter the playing area while the other group will act as "budi" standing on the both sides of the playing area. The player outside tries to hit or touch the player inside by throwing the ball continuously. If the player inside was hit, then, he will be out on the playing area. Continuous throwing and hitting will be done until one player remains.
2. The ball which is thrown above the head Is not counted to the throws. Only 3 throws will be given the group 2.
3. 3. If the remaining players avoids the throws, his group are entitled to play again. This is called "home". Three (3) homes are needed to be declared a winner.

If the remaining player is touched or hit by the ball thrown by group 2, the team will be declared out. If that the cases, then group 2 will now play.

NOTE: This game is three times to play by each group, whoever earns a home's first, then the team will declared a winner.

TAU'T BATU GAME

The Tau't Batu used games as form of recreation for fun, relaxation and companionship. Their games are mostly intended for physical development and depict their daily activities. Tau't batu games maybe called as "games of law organization" Their games are such that it can quickly be organized because they make use of the basic loco motor movements and have simple rules. These games were presented and classified as follows:

Individual game

PATING

This game is done in the forest area with many tall trees having huge vines. The game develops skills of running leaping and climbing

Mechanics of the game

Players are in line formation. Every player stands one after the other. The first player will run towards the trees with vine, Then leap and climb through the vine and transfer himself to other trees using the vines. If a player failed in transferring himself through the vines, he would stop from climbing up all the trees with vines will be declared as the winner.

TALUBID-TALUBID

This game is also done in the forest area in a hilly land information. Every player has a "bakal" to be used in spearing the "Kapang-Kapang."

Mechanics of the game:

A Kapang-Kapang will be placed at the hilly area in the forest and allow it to roll down, then the hunters or players will try to run after the "Kapang-Kapang" and spear it. The player who successfully speared the "Kapang-Kapang" will be declared as the winner.

Dual game

KOSTI

The game develops skill of Arm Strength. Two players sit facing each other

Mechanics of the game

Both players will clasp their fingers either right or left to left. The thumb of a player will clasp against the thumb of the other player. The both raised their clasped fingers and try to defeat each other by their fingers. After the one hand had been defeated, the other one will be next to clasp against the other.

In case of tie, for example, the one layer on first encounter defeated his partner by a right fingers and was defeated in turn by the other player with his left fingers on their second encounter, they will continue the game by clasping the fingers alternately until the one player defeat this partner with his two hands and will be declared as the winner. The defeated one is considered the loser.

BANIS

In this game the leg strength is required

Mechanics of the game

Two players sit facing each other. Both players will bend slightly their leg, either the right or left at the front crossed with his partner's leg. Their hands will be place on their knee for support. Then, they will try to make each other to lay down through their leg alternately. Same rule will follow as in "Kosti" for breaking the tie, whoever, make first his partner to lay down will be declared the winner.

BATAK GAMES

Most of the Batak games were originated from earliest war. These game were being played as for their relaxation, enjoyment and bonding during leisure time. Some of their games serve as their training to mold a strong and skilled individual to be capable and ready in any kind of activity

BUGSAK

Bugsak means to drop down. It is kind of games which strength and power are needed. This game is for boys only which compose of two players. Players must wear their tribe attire with rope around their waist.

Mechanics of the game:

To start the game the facilitator will count 1, 2, 3 go! Then this is the time the players will hold the rope around the waistline of his opponent and try to lift up and drop it down into the ground. The player who can do this will be declared as winner.

BUSOG-UGYONG

Busog and Ugyong were used for hunting and as a weapon for war. This is a shooting game wherein the player is needed to shoot the ugyong into target board. The board is made of flattened and square shaped wood with circle marked in the center. Busog and ugyong are made of sumbiling (kind of buho) and the string is made of bark of tree. This game can be played by two or more persons.

Materials: Busog and Ugyong (made of sumbiling (kind of buho) and the string is made of bark of tree.

MECHANICS OF THE GAME:

Players must shoot the ugyong into circle on the board. The first player who can do this will be the winner.

LANGKO

The game is played during harvest time and for girls only. This is a fun and purposeful game for girls while doing "binabayo ang palay". The game needs proper timing to produce correct sound. In this game the alo of each player must not bump to other alo while "binabayo ang palay" Four players are required in this game.

Materials: Lusong and alo. Lusong is like a boat in shaped with hole in the center. The alo is vertical in shaped and made of wood.

MECHANICS OF THE GAME:

Each player must have alo. The Langko is played by holding the alo while binabayo ang palay." The player is out of the game if her alo bump to others alo. The player who cannot commit mistake while doing "binabayo ang palay" will be the winner.

PANGTURAN

This is a racing game of Batak children with the use of yantok in climbing the tree and two persons in every game In this game, children train to be good in climbing the tree. This game develops skills of speed and balance.

Materials: Two pieces of yantok with equal length

MECHANICS OF THE GAME:

Each player should stand on the starting line. There will be a signal to start the race. After the signal, the player will start to climb using yantok as fast as they could. The first player who can climb until the top of tree will be the winner.

PASIL

The usually game played by Batak children. The game is played by using strength in breaking the pasil of the other player. The game is composing of two players. The game develops skill of strength and throwing.

Materials: The materials are made of wood shaped into oblong or diamond which is pointed at the bottom part and round shape at the top and 1 or more-meter-long rope made of bark of tree.

MECHANICS OF THE GAME:

To start the game, each player must have his own pasil. Second player will throw his pasil into the ground and the first player will try to hit and break it. Just in case that the first player did not succeed in his attempt to break the pasil; it is a time for the second player to hit the pasil of first player. He will do the same as what first player did. The one who **first breaks the pasil will be the winner**

SUPOK

This game is usually played by group of children specifically the boys. This game is originated from earliest war. Supok is made of Sumbiling(kind of buho). They called the bullet as *bal'a-ba'* made of bukliid and the bala'ba are keep and stored in Ku'ruban.

Materials:

Supok Made of sumbiling(kind of buho)

Bal'a'ba (made of bukliid)

MECHANICS OF THE GAME:

Supok is a blowgun where the bala'ba' stocked from the mouth will pass through by blowing upon hitting the enemy. The players hide themselves from enemy to protect from being hit by the bala'ba' This is an endless game unless the players get tired. So, the first team who will surrender will be the looser.

SUMMARY

The study of the indigenous games of Tabaganua, Tau't Batu, Pala'wan and Batak was conducted mainly to identify the indigenous games practiced by these tribes.

The study was conducted at the selected Barangays of the Municipality of Quezon, Rizal and Aborlan and Puerto Princesa City.

This study was conducted with the following objectives; to identify the games performed/played by the selected tribes in Palawan, to classify the games being played, to identify materials and equipment used in each game; to identify the implication of these indigenous games to our present educational program, to find ways and means to preserve, conserve, protect and develop theses indigenous games;

The result of the interview reveals that the Tabanua, Pala'wan Tau't Batu and Batak had games as a sort of enjoyment, fun and for recreational activities. These games were classified into individual, dual, and group game. The Tagbanua games were Pasil, Trumpo, Kadang-Kadang, Kardang, Supok Kaskas, Limpako, Hodyon Liyad Angad, Simban, Dado, Pusod-Pusod, Luwas-luwas. These games were being played by young children during leisure hours. The games were grouped into dual and team game. The Palaw'an games were Mamayu, Aged-aged, Pasil, Kardang, Baka-bakaan. Babel-tanki-lay. Kardang-kardang. Magdamdaramdam. Basil and hitting ball.

The tau't Batu used games as form of recreation for fun, relaxation and companionship. Their games are mostly intended for physical development and depict their daily activities. Tau't batu games maybe called as "games of law organization "

Their games are such that it can quickly be organized because they make use of the basic locomotors movements and have simple rules. These games were presented and classified as follows: Individual game- Pating, Talubid-talubid. Dual game- Kosti and Banis. Most of the Batak games were originated from earliest war. These game were being played as for their relaxation, enjoyment and bonding during leisure time. Some of their games serve as their training to mold a strong and skilled individual to be capable and ready in any kind of activities. Among the games played by the Batak are pasil, supok, pangturan, bugsak, busog-ugyong and langko,

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the interview, the researchers concluded that Tabanua Palaw'an Tau't Batu and Batak had their own different kinds of games with distinct procedures.

We further conclude that games are played as a sort of enjoyment, fun and for recreational activities of the Tagbanua, Palaw'an, Taut Batu and Batak.

RECOMMENDATION:

Some of the indigenous games of Palawan tribes can be modified and included in the School Sports Competition or even in National Competition

Furthermore, a program can be designed to incorporate this indigenous games of the Palawan indigenous people into the circular mainstream of Physical Education, Health, and Music Majors. To give muscles to this study a task force could be organized by the institute and a definite time frame be implicitly instructed to the group sot that output can be raised to the Board of Trustees for approval.

Government and private sector policy makers can be aided to implement of a constitutional-mandated obligation regarding the promotion and preservation of the games of indigenous group.

REFERENCES:

1. Dressler, Wolfram. "Disentangling Tagbanua lifeways, swidden and conservation on Palawan Island." *Human Ecology Review* (2005): 21-29.
2. Matias, Denise Margaret S., et al. "Commercializing traditional non-timber forest products: An integrated value chain analysis of honey from giant honey bees in Palawan, Philippines." *Forest Policy and Economics* 97 (2018): 223-231
3. Lacuna-Richman, Celeste. "Subsistence strategies of an indigenous minority in the Philippines: nonwood forest product use by the Tagbanua of Narra, Palawan." *Economic Botany* 58.2 (2004): 266-285.
4. Pondorfer, Andreas, Toman Barsbai, and Ulrich Schmidt. "Gender differences in stereotypes of risk preferences: Experimental evidence from a matrilineal and a patrilineal society." *Management Science* 63.10 (2017): 3268-3284.
5. Novellino, Dario. "From Indigenous Customary Practices to Policy Intervention: The Ecological and Sociocultural Underpinnings of the NTFP Trade on Palawan Island, Philippines." SA Laird, RJ McLain, RP Wynberg: *Wild Product Governance: Finding Policies That Work for Non-Timber Forest (People and Plants Conservation)*. London (2010): 183-197.
6. Eder, James F. *On the road to tribal extinction: depopulation, deculturation, and adaptive well-being among the Batak of the Philippines*. Univ of California Press, 1987.