



## Investing in Social Capital: The Ifugao Cultural Practices Builds Bonding, Bridging, and Linking amidst Pandemic

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PUMIHIC, Moraya Caclini<sup>(\*)</sup>;

<sup>(\*)</sup> 0000-0002-4881-1342; Ifugao State University. Lagawe, Ifugao, Philippines. caclinimoraya@gmail.com

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#### ABSTRACT

Social capital is akin to actual capital in that people with more money are typically better off and have easier access to investment opportunities. The purpose of the study is to determine how and why communities in Ifugao continue to invest in social capital in their cultural practices. Ethnography as a qualitative design, is the inquiry used in this study. Participant's observation, along with interviews and coupled with focus group discussion are the tools used in collecting data. The data gathered were analyzed using thematic analysis. Findings revealed that majority of the performers and participants are above 55 years old, male, married, college graduates, government employees, and have a monthly salary of over 40,000 Php. Most of the attendees to Ifugao birthdays, engagements, weddings, and death wakes perceived that non-monetary benefits were achieved such as strengthening bonds between families and close friends, bridging links with faraway friends, and connecting relationships with other participants. In terms of investment, the wedding has a high cost, high return, and high return monetary value, while death has a low cost and high return monetary value. Ifugao (Tuwali) cultural community invest in social capital strengthen their families, friends, and communities' bonds, connections, trust, and reciprocity.

#### RESUME

O capital social é semelhante ao capital real no sentido de que as pessoas com mais dinheiro geralmente estão em melhor situação e têm acesso mais fácil a oportunidades de investimento. O objetivo do estudo é determinar como e por que as comunidades de Ifugao continuam a investir em capital social em suas práticas culturais. A etnografia como um projeto qualitativo é a investigação utilizada neste estudo. A observação do participante, juntamente com as entrevistas e juntamente com a discussão do grupo focal são as ferramentas usadas na coleta de dados. Os dados coletados foram analisados por meio da análise temática. Os resultados revelaram que a maioria dos artistas e participantes tem mais de 55 anos, são homens, casados, com nível universitário, funcionários do governo e têm um salário mensal de mais de 40.000 Php. A maioria dos participantes dos aniversários, noivados, casamentos e velórios de Ifugao perceberam que benefícios não monetários foram alcançados, como fortalecer os laços entre famílias e amigos próximos, estreitar laços com amigos distantes e conectar relacionamentos com outros participantes. Em termos de investimento, o casamento tem alto custo, alto retorno e alto valor monetário de retorno, enquanto a morte tem baixo custo e alto valor monetário de retorno. A comunidade cultural Ifugao (Tuwali) investe em capital social para fortalecer seus laços, conexões, confiança e reciprocidade de suas famílias, amigos e comunidades.

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## Introduction

Social capital can be likened to other forms of capital in the sense that it is a resource into which other resources can be invested with the anticipation of a future benefit. Increasing social capital by investing in worthy relationships with other people in the community can lead individual and collective actors to gain access to important knowledge, power, encourage collective behavior and strengthen collective identity. Repeated interaction will lead transacting partners to discover who to trust and how their actions affect each other. Shared norms and patterns of behavior due to their localized setting develop social capital build-up over time. This can be drawn from later to resolve conflicts at community level (Ostrom & Ahn, 2001). In this study agreed that social capital is a lot like real capital where the more money a person or a society has, the easier it is to do things and better off people are. On the other hand, the fewer money people or society has the more difficult things become and the worse people feel.

Trust, networks, and racial ties are advantageous and essential for economic growth and the general improvement of social welfare. There are, however, some drawbacks to social capital, including the potential for exclusion of others from the network, which would make it sparse and exclusive, the development of social pressure on some individuals, and the emergence of conflicts between members of various networks with strong distinct social capital in the case of competing ethnic groups. Negative social capital may also have detrimental effects on vital networks that the local tribes depend on for their survival (Grootaert, 2002).

In the context of economic growth and development, the World Bank recognized some significant sources of social capital. Families, communities, businesses, civic society, the governmental sector, and ethnicity and gender are among them. The list is able to indicate significant sources of social capital that academics should concentrate on, despite being admittedly broad and non-exhaustive. Too much social capital in the public sphere might encourage corruption. Strong social capital at the top of the political system makes it simple for top officials to assist corruption and cover up each other's actions while making it difficult for lower level officials to obtain state authority (Grootaert, & Bastelaer, 2002; Woolcock & Narayan, 2006).

Investment in social capital through different cultural practices is associated with each other. Social and cultural relationships have productive benefits in society. Research defines social capital as a form of economic (e.g., money and property) and cultural (e.g., norms, fellowship, trust) assets central to a social network (Putnam, 2000). The social networks people create and maintain with each other enable society to function. However, the work of Bourdieu (1985) found social capital produces and reproduces inequality when examining how people gain powerful positions through direct and indirect social connections. Social capital or a social network can help or hinder someone personally and socially. For example, strong and supportive social connections can facilitate job opportunities and promotion that are beneficial

to the individual and social network. Weak and unsupportive social ties can jeopardize employment or advancement that are harmful to the individual and social group as well. People make cultural objects meaningful (Griswold, 2013). Interactions and reasoning develop cultural perspectives and understanding.

Incoming signals are processed by a group's "social mind," which affects culture within the social structure as well as members' social characteristics and position (Zerubavel, 1997). A person's status in society and the expectations attached to it are expressed through language and symbols. People's attire and vehicles, for instance, are symbols of affluence, elegance, and taste. Owning fashionable apparel or a fast sports car shows that a person has access to money and is worth something. The use of formal language and titles, such as your majesty, your highness, president, director, chief executive officer, and doctor, also denote social standing (Woolcock, 2001).

Social capital is defined as networks of relationships among people who live and work in a particular society enabling that society to function effectively. However, different authors have varied definitions of social capital. According to Putnam (1993), social capital is defined as the characteristics of social institutions, such as networks, norms, and trust, that encourage action and collaboration for mutual gain. According to Bourdieu (1983), social capital is the sum of the existing or potential resources connected to ownership of a long-lasting network of more or less formalized connections of mutual recognition and acquaintance. The purpose of social capital is to serve a range of diverse entities, all of which share two things in common: they all contain elements of a social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure (Coleman, 1994).

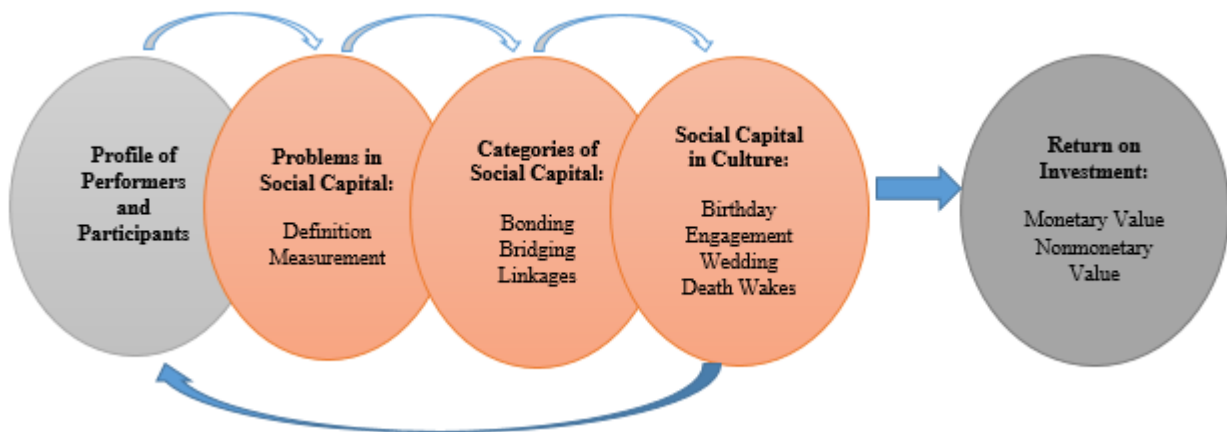
Why is it challenging to quantify social capital? One is that opinions about social capital are often individualized. It is quite challenging to boil down a population's nuanced characteristics and quantify the importance of a community's sense of belonging to a single number. People also have different perspectives on whether the community and its institutions are reliable or not depending on their prior experiences and the information they have learned from those around them. As a result, it is very difficult to accurately record the opinions of the entire populace during a given time. Second, social capital is very volatile and dynamic. As was mentioned previously, social capital, which takes the shape of networks, reciprocity, and trust, needs to be maintained and employed; otherwise, its stock will fall. In relation to networks, it was mentioned that social capital instantly disappears after the participants have severed their relationships with one another. In this circumstance, measuring the growth and deterioration of social capital is a methodological problem. Thirdly, no formal written agreement can ever be made based on social networks, common standards, or shared ideas. It is very challenging to measure social capital because it is non-contractable and intangible (Ostrom, 2000; Dasgupta 1988).

A culture or region's social and political hierarchy also denotes social rank. Think about the social categories associated with class, race, ethnicity, gender, age, family, education, and occupation. A person's place within the wider group is determined by the labels that describe their personal traits. People in the majority or dominating group typically have higher status than those in the minority or subordinate group (e.g., are more likely to be wealthy, white, male, doctors, etc.). (e.g., poor, black, female, housekeeper, etc.). In general, a person's position in the social hierarchy affects their social influence and engagement (Griswold, 2013). People with less power have less social and material resources available to them, such as lack of power, lack of ability to influence people, weak networks, capital, and financial resources.

The study alluded that Filipinos associate many aspects of their lives with self-interests. The prevailing attitude of “family first” shows that the Filipinos are more family- than nation oriented - unlike Japan or Korea. Moreover, because of its archipelagic-structure, nation-wide technology and knowledge transfer is difficult. The Philippines is also composed of several ethnic groups who speak different dialects. Two of the biggest ethnic groups in the country are the predominantly agricultural Ibalois and Kankaneys in Cordillera, northern Philippines (Hampel, 2007).

The concept of social capital is building bonds, bridges and linkages as these are three categories. Bonding social capital refers to the links to people based on sense of common identity such as family, close friends, and people who share our culture or ethnicity (Schuller, Baron & Field, 2000 and Woolcock, 2001). Bridging social capital can be referred as building of connections between heterogeneous groups, which are likely to be more fragile, but more likely also to foster social inclusion (Schuller, Baron & Field, 2000) and covers distant ties of like persons, such as workmates and fast friends (Woolcock, 2001). Linking social capital which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who entirely outside of the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available in the community (Woolcock, 2001).

Social capital investment is a business concept where Glaeser, (2001) developed an investment model that suggests that social capital is like a stock variable that yields “market” for social skills and connections that can help one with employment and “non-market” for something like happiness as returns. Also, the author developed an economic model of social capital investments suggests that as the expected duration of an investment declines, the amount of investment will also decline. Individuals who works in jobs where people contact is emphasized will value these connections more and invest their time in supporting social connections in their work life and outside of it. However, even culture in the Philippines is very expensive they still invest in social capital. As a result, the social capital investment framework is presented as follows:

**Figure 1.***Schematic diagram of conceptual framework**Source: Own authorship.*

In Ifugao, their culture has been preserved and practiced until now but there has been limitation on measuring its social capital. These culture were birthday (hongga), engagement (moma), marriage (kasal) and death (kate). Ifugao has been practicing the social capital investment on their cultural practices but there is limited study on it. This research study would like to determine how and why do the Ifugao invest in social capital on the different cultural practices. The study will have in-depth research to know why do Ifugao keeps on investing in social capital whether for monetary return or non-monetary return on their cultural experiences. This study would like to know the state of social capital and what ways do social capital both help and hinder the Ifugao community.

## Materials and Methods

Ethnographic research is a qualitative method in which researchers watch and interact with study participants in their natural surroundings. This is a qualitative research design in the sense that it focuses on characterizing a groups' culture and aims to answer questions about why and how individuals think, behave, and interact the way they do by providing detailed information.

Contextual interviews were undertaken as the researcher observes and interacts with the performers and participants on the four Ifugao cultural activities such as birthdays (hongga), engagements (moma), weddings (kasal), and death wakes (kate). Interview was done with selected key informants both from the performers and participants to the cultural events. Focus group discussion was carried out among a group from representatives in the selected municipality of Ifugao.

**Table 1.**  
*Distribution of the Respondents' Profile*

<b>Profile</b>	<b>Performers</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Participants</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Age</b>				
36-55 years	6	55%	1	8%
above 55 years	5	45%	11	92%
Total	11	100%	12	100%
<b>Gender</b>				
Male	6	55%	6	50%
Female	5	45%	6	50%
Total	11	100%	12	100%
<b>Marital Status</b>				
Single	1	9%	1	9%
Married	8	73%	8	73%
Widowed	2	18%	3	27%
Total	11	100%	11	100%
<b>Educational Attainment</b>				
Elementary	2	18%	1	8%
High School	2	18%	1	8%
College	5	45%	7	58%
Post Graduate	2	18%	3	25%
Total	11	100%	12	100%
<b>Occupation</b>				
Government Employee	4	36%	6	50%
Teacher/Professor	2	18%	4	33%
Self-employed	2	18%	2	17%
Private Employee	1	9%		
Farmer	2	18%		
Total	11	100%	12	100%
<b>Monthly Income</b>				
Below 5,000	2	18%	2	17%
5,000 - 10,000	1	9%		
10,001 - 20,000	1	9%	1	8%
20,001 - 30,000	2	18%	2	17%
30,001 - 40,000	2	18%	2	17%
Above 40,000	3	27%	5	42%
Total	11	100%	12	100%

Source: Own authorship.

The research was conducted in Ifugao selected towns with Tuwali tribe members that have been practicing birthday (hongga), engagements (moma), wedding (kasal), and death wakes (kate). The towns include Lagawe, Hingyon, Kiangan, and Banaue. Two sets of respondents were chosen from the performers and the participants of the cultural practices. Non-probability sampling was employed in choosing the respondents. Snow-ball technique is utilized by choosing a respondent per municipality who in turn find other respondents to inform the researcher during the occurrence of the cultural events. The sample size follows the principle of data saturation in qualitative research.

The processes listed below were used in collecting data. The researcher was on the lookout for vital sources of information of performers of the cultural activities where the researcher was able to seek respondent's permission to conduct the study. Following approval, the researcher conducted observation, interview, and focus group discussion using an interview guide prepared by the researcher. The importance of independence and confidentiality were emphasized.

The data was analyzed applying the frequency counts, and percentage used to describe the profile of the respondents. Thematic analysis is used as narrative report on the findings of this study.

## **Results and Discussions**

### **How Do Ifugao Performers Invest in Social Capital Based on their Cultural Practices**

**Birthday** (Honga). This cultural practice is usually perform for the elderly or to people for wellness purposes. Most performers allocate and spend the amount ranging from 2,000 to 102,000 in the Philippine peso currency with the source of funds coming from earnings of the celebrant, donations, loans, and contributions from immediate family members. In return, performers earn an amount ranging from 30,000 to 60,000 in Philippine peso and the rest are in the form of donations from the participants. The assistance called baddang usually comes in kind such as chickens, pigs, rice grains, alcoholic drinks, and ducks. The performer regards reciprocity called humablag in which he gives and he receives, although it is not required that the participants contribute or donate the same amount that commensurate to what the performer gives.

**Engagement** (Moma). This is a pre-marriage cultural practice performed when the family of the groom brings a pig or pigs to the family of the bride to be butchered in the festivity. The allocated budget and expenses range from 14,000 to 120,000 Philippine peso. Sources of funds comes from earnings, saving and loans of the parents' groom, or from donations and contributions of family members. In terms of return, there is no return or earnings because participants to this event do not give back any amount or donation even after receiving a slice of meat.

**Wedding** (Kasal). This is the most expensive cultural practice with a budget allocation ranging from 20,000 to 350,000 Philippine peso. Parents' earning and/or loans, donations and contribution of family members are the source of fund for this event. As to its return, it ranges from 60,000 to 100,000 Philippine peso. Aside from money, donations in-kind such as gifts, rice, ingredients, and pigs are given. In many cases, the collection is lower than the expenses in weddings.

**Death Wakes** (Kate). Majority of the respondents do not set aside funds for this cultural activity because it is unexpected and the performers are usually unprepared. Expenses

in this activity range from 10,000 to 300,000 Philippine peso with the source of fund coming from loans of the bereaved family, donations, and contributions among family relatives and friends. Non-cash helps are usually given like pigs, chicken, ducks, rice, snacks. As to returns, the collections range from 50,000 to 90,000 Philippine peso. There are instances when collections exceed the expenses or vice versa.

### **How Do Ifugao Participants Invest in Social Capital Based on their Cultural Practices**

**Birthday** (Honga). Majority of the participants attended birthday or hongga many times. Participants' donations vary, some are cash worth range from 200 to 500 in Philippine peso. Other participants donated pigs worth range from 11,000 to 20,000 in Philippine peso, chickens, and the other performer said that she donated a case of gin. According to the participants, most donations are from their salaries while the other two said that it came from loans and contributions of family members. The return is that most of them received means a sliced of meat (wannah or pahhing) or slice of meat given to a close relative (bolwa).

**Engagement** (Moma). Most participants were able to attend the engagement once while others attended 4 to 5 times, and twice. According to the interviewee, there are no donations needed for engagement however, they will be there to witness and either received slice of meat (pahhing or wannah) or to eat when there is no enough slice of meat (pahhing) anymore.

**Wedding** (Kasal). Participants were able to attend marriage many times. The donations were ranging from 300 to 1000 in Philippine peso. Some participants did not donate cash, however, some of them donated pigs and rendered service (baddang). Token, food to eat, and slice of meat (pahhing) given to those who rendered service (baddang) in return to the participants who helped in the event.

**Death Wakes** (Kate). All of the participants were able to attend the wake many times. Participants donated either cash or in-kind, for the cash ranging from 200 to 500 in Philippine peso and for the in-kind donations, donations are pigs, a half sack of rice, duck, and services rendered (baddang) as well. According to most participants, the salary was the main source for donations. Most of them said that slice of meat (pahhing or wannah) was given to them in return as well-cooked food to eat.

Social gatherings, which support social capital, can have both positive and negative effects. Families sometimes spend a lot of money on christenings, birthdays, marriages, funerals, and the opening of newly built homes. When planning these feasts, which are difficult for low-income families to maintain, reciprocity is demanded. As a result, some people take out loans and accumulate debt, others sell animals and reduce their capacity to withstand shocks, and other young people are compelled to emigrate in order to pay off family debt. Based on these findings, policy recommendations are made, including encouraging public discourse



on migration risks and risk reduction, group-based insurance to help cover feast expenses, and broadening the purview of PSNP transfers to take into account the significance of idiosyncratic shocks (Woldehanna, et. al., 2022).

In relation to pandemic, social capital was both positively and negatively correlated with COVID-19 deaths. Family ties and security were linked to fewer COVID-19 deaths, but community attachment and social trust were linked to more deaths. Population density, population aging, and interactions between four dimensions of social capital-related characteristics and the aging population were all positively correlated with COVID-19 deaths. Additionally, early lockout policy and the quantity of hospital beds were unfavorably related to COVID-19 mortality (Imbulana & Managi, 2021).

### Reasons Why Ifugao Performers Invest in Social Capital Based on their Cultural Practices

**Table 2.**

*Matrix of Non-Monetary Value Why Ifugao Performers Invest in Social Capital Through Cultural Practices*

<b>Culture</b>	<b>Theme 1: Bonding</b>	<b>Theme 2: Bridging</b>	<b>Theme 3: Linking</b>
<b>Birthday (Honga).</b>	<p>Reunion of family lineage and connection ties to know unknown relatives or new family members.</p> <p>Build a stronger and closer relationship with each other through getting to know each other better.</p> <p>For blessings, healing, sharing of stories, acquiring knowledge from the preacher.</p> <p>For prestige that they were acknowledged and honored by the community. Bayanihan and reciprocity are expected.</p>	<p>Feel the presence of distant friends and workmates, consider themselves as blessed and cared.</p> <p>For concern, share joy or happiness as well as sharing stories, a day to rejoice as well as a day to renew friendship.</p> <p>Build close and stronger relationships and connection ties. One said that she felt honored for having many visitors since having many visitors means that you are good to other people. Gain words of wisdom through preaching, tributes, and testimonies.</p>	<p>Know more about their relationship and established a closer and stronger relationship with the visitors who are considered as the outsider of the community through connection with each other.</p> <p>Feel satisfied, loved, cared for, acknowledge, and feeling of belongingness to the visitors' outside the community. Through the visitor's curiosity, it leads them to know, be aware, and be influenced by our culture and were able to share and replicate the good benefits of our culture.</p>

<p><b>Engagement</b> (<i>Moma</i>)</p>	<p>Share joy / happiness, felt loved and cared for, built of trust, shared words of wisdom (<i>panagbagbaga</i>) within family members, close friends, and neighbors serve as a witness. Recognize the new family ties whom they have connected with (<i>nihyapuan</i>) and vice versa since there is a family getting to know each other (<i>punpa in nilaan</i>).</p> <p>Built new connection or relation ties, more family or relation ties.</p>	<p>Feel the support, concern, love, care, and happiness from the presence of the distant friends and workmates who serve as the witnesses. Strengthen and establish closer relationships or friendships. The culture was acknowledged.</p>	<p>Feel the support, effort, concern, and shared happiness through the presence of the visitors. Exchange of knowledge since they were able to acquire and widen their knowledge from the visitors' cultures and vice versa. Develop stronger relationships or friendships through sharing and exchanging knowledge about one's culture they.</p>
<p><b>Wedding</b> (<i>Kasal</i>)</p>	<p>Covers a wider scope of family ties or connection ties or relation ties. Build bonding, socialization, and introduction of the family side of both parties (bride and groom) during the community dance as it mentioned from what side are they and where they come from. Develop closer ties in sharing stories, learn from experiences, and serve as a witness. Feel the support, concern, trust, and respect from them. Helping one another (<i>baddang</i>) is observe.</p>	<p>Felt the support, effort, trust, respect, joy, happiness for joining them in the couple merrymaking and belongingness for considering them as part of the family. Wider scope of knowing and developing connection or relation ties to families of families, and friends of friends as well as tracing of family roots. Having bonding, sharing, or influencing ideas and experience through community dance among Distant friends and workmates serve as a witness. Helping one another (<i>baddang</i>) is observe.</p>	<p>Presence signifies support, concern, trust, respect, cooperation, and sharing of happiness among visitors from outside the community. Through socialization and community dance, performers were able to know some of their connection or relation ties whom they did not know, develop and establish close relation or family ties, and able to acquire knowledge, words of wisdom, learn experiences, sharing of ideas or inputs or concepts or skills or styles or methods or process and/or steps from their culture which is good to replicate or follow and vice versa.</p>

<p><b>Death (Kate)</b></p>	<p><b>Wakes</b></p> <p>Presence of visitors made them feel loved, cared for, comforted or consoled, sympathize, encourage, energized, and able to share their burden.</p> <p>Build and establish a closer relationship with each other.</p> <p>Reunion able them to know some unknown relatives and have bonding and sharing with each other.</p> <p>Acquire wisdom words from the pastors or preacher who were invited to share the word of God.</p> <p>Joyful moment for them since the dead person serves a long life before dying.</p> <p>Helping one another (baddang) is observe during this time to serve and prepare foods.</p>	<p>Presence of visitors for concern, care, comfort or console, sympathy, strengthen, and enlighten emotionally, physically, mentally, and financially.</p> <p>Honor for having many visitors to share with her burden, to console and sympathize with her during those wakes.</p> <p>Share joy for the dead having long life before dying through playing cards and drinking alcohol.</p> <p>Renew experiences, build and establish closer relation or friendship ties.</p> <p>Helping one another (baddang) is observe.</p>	<p>Receive comfort, console, support, sympathy and feel joy by the presence of other people from outside the community.</p> <p>Develop and establish connections, and build ties.</p> <p>Serve as a bonding, socialization, and way to acquire knowledge, ideas, and wisdom from the testimonies, preaching, and the sharing of other people outside the community who share their culture and vice versa.</p> <p>Baddang is being observed during wakes according to some performers.</p>
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Source: Own authorship.

### Reasons Why Ifugao Participants Invest in Social Capital Based on their Cultural Practices

**Table 3.**

*Matrix of Non-Monetary Value Why Ifugao Participants Invest in Social Capital Through Cultural Practices*

Culture	Theme 1: Bonding	Theme 2: Bridging	Theme 3: Linking
<p><b>Birthday (Honga).</b></p>	<p>Family reunion where they will be able to know their family connections or family relations on how they are connected with</p>	<p>Connection to each other was build and stronger wherein through socialization, knowing each other,</p>	<p>Value of presence is very much appreciated considering that they sacrifice they time and came from far</p>

	<p>each other, meet new members of the clan or relatives you didn't meet for a long time, and know updates about their lifestyle.</p> <p>Build stronger bonds with each other.</p> <p>Presence was acknowledged and was able to gain respect.</p> <p>A give and take relationship is being observed either in cash or in-kind (you attend then I will attend, you help then I'll help).</p>	<p>bonding like sharing stories and getting updates or knowledge about their lifestyle, work, and promotion.</p> <p>Build good connections or relationships, gain new friends that became part of their peer circle.</p> <p>Discover that aside from being friends or workmates he was able to discover that they are connected to each other, they are relatives.</p>	<p>places just to attend the said occasion even though they were not able to give cash donations.</p> <p>Exchange knowledge about one's culture, gain knowledge from the preaching and tributes, time to build linkages or connections to each other like gaining new friends, comradery, acquaintances, and knowing each other relation/ family ties on how are they interconnected with each other.</p>
<b>Engagement (Moma)</b>	<p>Serve as a witness during the engagement to inform that the girl was (<i>namomaan</i>).</p> <p>Know from both sides their connection/relations, backgrounds, and from what family they came from, share stories, build connection ties, and able to know each other as well that serve as their bonding during the engagement rites.</p>	<p>Presence was recognized wherein they serve as a witness.</p> <p>Share stories, updates, family introduction/ know family ties, and know the connection of both sides.</p> <p>Create stronger relationships or connections with each other.</p> <p>There are slice of meats (<i>wannah</i>) serves as proof that they attended and witness the engagement of the couple.</p> <p>Claim the feeling of belongingness although they were not relative.</p>	<p>Feel the presence was acknowledged as they were able to gain knowledge through the exchange of information about their' culture.</p> <p>Amaze by the experience they encountered.</p> <p>Know relatives or cousins or how the couples are interconnected, as well as to know each other and build relationships or connection ties.</p> <p>Socialize with each other and gain words of wisdom from the of the adults (<i>panagbagbaga</i>).</p>
<b>Wedding (Kasal)</b>	<p>Socialize relative or family members or neighbors through community dance and have bonding with each other that</p>	<p>Reciprocity of distant friends and workmates wherein there is a give and take relationships with the performer.</p>	<p>Build links among the participants and performers wherein although they have the different cultures they were able to</p>

	<p>helps us know our connection or family ties from both sides (couple).</p> <p>Help them to realize that as part of the family one should have a sense of responsibility to help in the preparation of the occasion even without prior notice.</p> <p>A give and take relationship is being observed in Ifugao.</p> <p>Create bonding or socialization through dances (sweet music, rock music, and native dance) among people who attended especially the single ladies and gentleman, the night before the wedding.</p>	<p>Build bridges among attendees wherein they donate, sponsor some needs of the couple.</p> <p>Share joy and bonding they had, and in return they were able to fill their stomach, receive tokens, meet new friends of friends and workmates of workmates among the participants present.</p> <p>Create friendship or sometimes a way to meet their better half.</p> <p>Meet and know the relation and build connection ties of the couple.</p> <p>Develop social obligation as it requires responsibility for the couple to attend in the future wedding events</p>	<p>share and explain their own culture, learn their language and culture, comparison of culture, giving of tokens as remembrance for them to remember each other.</p> <p>Know and meet friends, know the relation or connection of the couples and among families through the introduction during socialization or community dances.</p> <p>Presence of participants was acknowledged and were welcomed during the introduction or mentioning to which side and from where did they came from.</p>
<p><b>Death Wakes</b> (Kate)</p>	<p>More beneficial during these occasions since they were the ones to received condolences, sympathy, concern, care, we became a listener for the performer and love.</p> <p>Feel satisfied since they were able to help them in lifting up their burdens, their presence was acknowledged.</p> <p>Build reciprocity where give and take relationship among attendees as they give</p>	<p>Build a stronger connection to the performer and to each wherein through their little ways like being a listener, for showing concern or care, giving sympathy, and consoling them would be a big help to the family who lost a loved one that makes the participants felt self-satisfaction, happiness and acknowledgment.</p> <p>Know the connection or relation ties</p>	<p>Share their burden and presence was acknowledged as the participants were able to learn and gain new experiences or knowledge about our cultures and others cultures.</p> <p>Feel dismayed after knowing the culture of Ifugao.</p> <p>Benefited participants from outside the community were able to know the lineage/family members through</p>

	<p>help, condolences, care, concern, love, sympathy today, they knew they will receive soon in the future maybe not the same as what have they given but will receive something in return.</p> <p>Build bonding through the stories, singing of songs, sharing of the word of God, and tributes or eulogy.</p> <p>Able to know their connection or relation ties with each other and were able to know what happens to the dead.</p> <p>Meet relatives you did not meet for a long time and able to meet a new family members of the clan.</p> <p>Bayanihan system is one of the way wherein among relatives, close friends, and neighbors were able to build stronger bond with each other.</p>	<p>wherein sometimes you thought you attend because you're a friend or workmate but not knowing you have a connection to the family</p>	<p>the tarpaulin posted in front without asking other people present during the wake.</p>
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Source: Own authorship.

## Conclusion

Based on the practices of both performers and participants, the Ifugao weddings (kasal) is the most expensive in terms of cost in performing but it has a higher return in terms of cash donation among participants. The second highest cost and return is Ifugao death wakes (kate), the third highest cost and return is Ifugao birthdays (hongga) and the last highest cost yet no return in Ifugao engagements (moma).

In Ifugao birthdays (hongga), people exert efforts for these occasions in order to please the elders and people, give due respect to them, and to fulfill their duty as children. In Ifugao engagements (moma), must between two parties (couple) to give their efforts to celebrate this kind of occasion in order to inform the people that they are called husband and wife. In Ifugao weddings (kasal), both parties exert efforts including larger groups from both sides of the

community where they can do help (baddang or bayanihan). In Ifugao death wakes (kate), greater efforts were exerted where people from the family clan and from the community will help each other (baddang).

As to time, it took one day performing the birthday, six hours or depends on the decision of the couple in performing engagement, one night socialization and one day celebration in performing the wedding and three to seven days depends on the decision of family in performing death wakes. As to return, performers received cash donations, in-kind donations, property and other kinds of benefits e.g. social acceptance, social obligation and social networks when performing the different cultural practices.

This revealed that performing cultural practices have its corresponding cost or outflow of money. It proved that social capital is a form of economic that entails money thus money is a cost of investment as one important input variable in this study. Efforts or labors of the people who helped received slice of meat (pahhing) in return for their services. Time is an essential factor also because the more time they perform the more people will be engaged. There is also a corresponding return on investment e.g. money, in-kind donations, and property when performing the different cultural practices.

Cultures among indigenous peoples like Ifugao has been already part of their lives. This has been beneficial to them where they invest and earn social capital among their families, friends and relatives in terms of trust, reciprocity, linkages and connections. High cost, time, and effort has not hinder the conduct of the culture despite of the COVID-19 pandemic because they strong believed of the monetary and non-monetary returns of performing and allowing more attendees to come.

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