

WORKING PAPER

Philippines' Sweat Equity in a History of Freedom Rationalized

Jillian Jocelyn S. Somera, EnP

*University Researcher II
National College of Public
Administration and Governance
University of the Philippines*

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Abstract

World War II ended 75 years ago in the Philippines. The yearly homage hosted by Kiangnan, Ifugao Province honors this global historical landmark with the network and resources of the local government. Prospects to nationally observe the event with more engaged stakeholders and resources inspired this research. Primary data gathered during the 2016 commemoration shows a number of attendees providing stakeholder demographics with appreciation for history, turning the national and military shrine as a living memorial. These data guided policy recommendations to honor a Philippine contribution to the history of human emancipation. These findings were revisited through the lens of the locals during the 2019 celebration.



Historical Merit and Enshrinement

Every September 2nd, the Kiangnan National Shrine holds the commemoration of the events on that same day in 1945. Officially, World War II ended in the Philippines on 2 September 1945 with the surrender of the last of the Imperial Japanese Forces, which was led by General Tomuyuki Yamashita, in Kiangnan, Ifugao Province. The international community hailed it as the Victory in the Pacific Day, which transpired months after victory was declared by the Allied Forces in Europe in May 1945.

The outlay for the construction of the Kiangnan War Memorial came from the auspices of the Philippine Tourism Authority (now Tourism Infrastructure and Enterprise Zone Authority) under the Department of Tourism (DOT). By virtue of Presidential Proclamation 1682, s. 1972, the Kiangnan War Memorial, which memorialized the site where the Japanese Imperial Forces surrendered, became the Kiangnan National Shrine.

The same policy transferred oversight to the present Philippine Veterans Affairs Office, Department of National Defense (PVAO, DND), recognizing the military and national features of the shrine. Through the signing of Presidential Proclamation 653 in 1993, the "Surrender of General Yamashita, Kiangnan, Ifugao" annual celebration was included among the 43 mandated local commemorations related to the liberation of the Philippines during World War II. The transfer of the administration of the Kiangnan National Shrine infrastructure and the institutionalization of commemoration from national to local level reflects the decentralization policies of the government in the early 1990s with the enactment of the Local Government Code of 1991.

Related Literature

Monuments are established by those in power to "inscribe their specific narrative about the past... [to justify] its authority in the present" (Eross, 2018, p. 21). The site of the Kiangnan Shrine materializes the historical narrative behind the monument. Apart from establishing historical markers and monuments, the passing down of accurate and truthful historical accounts to the future generation is all the more significant with the ever-present danger of historical revision. The neoliberal Gramscian connotations on "crisis of authority" explain the threats to hegemony in recognizing the facts that history tells about how the oppressed class and the world once under the powerful and violent regime of the Axis powers became free. This is when the instrumentality of the state, in the form of monuments alone, fails and needs the alternative of discourse. As Foucault suggests, other associations are formed through civic action (Watkins, 2017). Rationalizing history as power emanating from the government is manifested by the people who share the culture in Kiangnan and the events that unfolded leading to 02 September 1945.

The community, despite being a major stakeholder, has no monetary contribution to the shrine construction. What it contributes instead in keeping history alive is what Watkins (2017) termed as "sweat equity." Sweat equity is investing with labor in lieu of capital in an economic activity to determine eventual ownership and share (Krishna et al., 2013, p. 105). Applying the concept of sweat equity in monument building and administration assumes that the state views the construction of monuments as public good expenditure. The concept also provides a framework in which to view the relationships between and among the stakeholders, in particular the government and the community, as regards sustaining a public good. While the government provides the capital to establish a monument as a public good, it



is through the efforts of the community that a memorial shrine is sustained through their regular commemoration activities.

Sweat equity is applied in a study by Spellberg and Woll (2013) on generational changes in long-established communities/neighborhoods in estates in Germany built after World War I and World War II. Those estates have owners with an average age of 69 years old, located in inaccessible parts of the country, and with owners' associations that had been active only during the distant heydays. When the current German authorities revive these estates, their goal was to involve the owner communities with the perspective of adopting sweat equity as a strategy in future developments. This was culled from surviving estates with the presence of owner associations or civic awareness, which proves conducive to sweat equity. Another finding reveals that houses maintained in the estates belong to families/ groups that had hands-on experience in the actual construction. It confirms that this "hands-on experience" known as the sweat equity factors in: (1) keeping the structure in good condition and; (2) in passing it on to the next generation to include the way of life in the community (Spellberg & Woll, 2013).

Although no previous studies have been done on this, it is possible that there are similar experiences in the Philippines in which sweat equity can be observed in the re/building of historical sites, markers, monuments, and other forms of memorial. This study argues that along with the construction of physical structures, commemorations performed by shrine visitors and attendees of commemoration activities can be treated as community counterpart, which can be seen as sweat equity, in sustaining memorial shrines and in ensuring that their historical significance is passed on to the future generation.

Problem Description

Until today, World War II is mainly remembered in the Philippines through the commemoration every 9th of April of the Fall of Bataan, which was the last stand of Filipino and American resistance against the Japanese forces. On the other hand, the victory of the Filipino freedom fighters in Kiangnan, Ifugao that resulted in the surrender of the last Japanese forces has yet to be honored and recognized as a national historical event.

This research aims to propose the national observance of the Surrender of General Yamashita in Kiangnan, Ifugao as the Philippines' proud contribution to ending World War II and a symbol of its commitment to preserving justice and peace throughout the world. Considerations on arriving at a policy proposal for national commemoration are hinged on these two issues:

1. Despite having the same significance as the end of World War II, the celebration of the Surrender of Yamashita or the Victory in the Pacific Day every 2 September pales in comparison with the Axis surrender called the Victory in Europe Day every 7 May.

France commemorates "Victoire 1945" or "La Fête de la Victoire" in honor of this historical event. The formal surrender of Nazi Germany is nationally celebrated not only in France but also in other European countries such as the United Kingdom (8 May). On the other hand, the latest development in the Philippines involves the scaling-up of the municipal event in Kiangnan into a regional celebration with the enactment in 2018 of Republic Act 11216 or "An Act Declaring September 3 of Every Year a Special Working Public Holiday throughout the Country, in Commemoration of the Surrender of the Japanese Military Forces Led by General Tomoyuki Yamashita in Baguio City."



2. There is no study on the profile of the visitors and attendees of the "Surrender of General Yamashita, Kiangnan, Ifugao" that would be a basis to show that the commemoration can be observed on a national scale.

A survey was conducted during the commemoration of the Surrender of Yamashita held at the Kiangnan National Shrine on 02 September 2016. The survey was administered to the attendees of the commemoration activities to be able to get their profile as well as their perceptions regarding the historical event being commemorated. The survey was conducted on the day of the commemoration of the Surrender of Yamashita. The annual celebration draws a flock of visitors to the Kiangnan National Shrine when its historical significance is given most highlight.

The Survey Results: Who Cares to Appreciate?

The survey was participated by a total of 185 respondents. To facilitate analysis, they are grouped according to age, occupation and affiliation they indicated when they completed the survey questionnaire. Survey respondents groupings were as follows:

- 18 y.o. & above & veterans organization member (relative)
- 18 y.o. & above w/ membership in a civic organization
- 18 y.o. & above w/o membership in a civic organization
- below 18 y.o. w/ membership in a civic organization
- below 18 y.o. w/o membership in a civic organization
- government employee (armed)/veteran
- government employee (civilian)

Chart 1 shows that most of the respondents are civilian government employees (45), closely followed by those 18 years old and above who did not identify themselves with any organization (44). Of note is the two biggest groups of respondents are extremes in terms of civic-mindedness/civic orientation. Profiling by civic orientation gives insight on how the authority in holding the historical event around a government infrastructure is transformed by civic action as manifested in attendance during the commemoration.

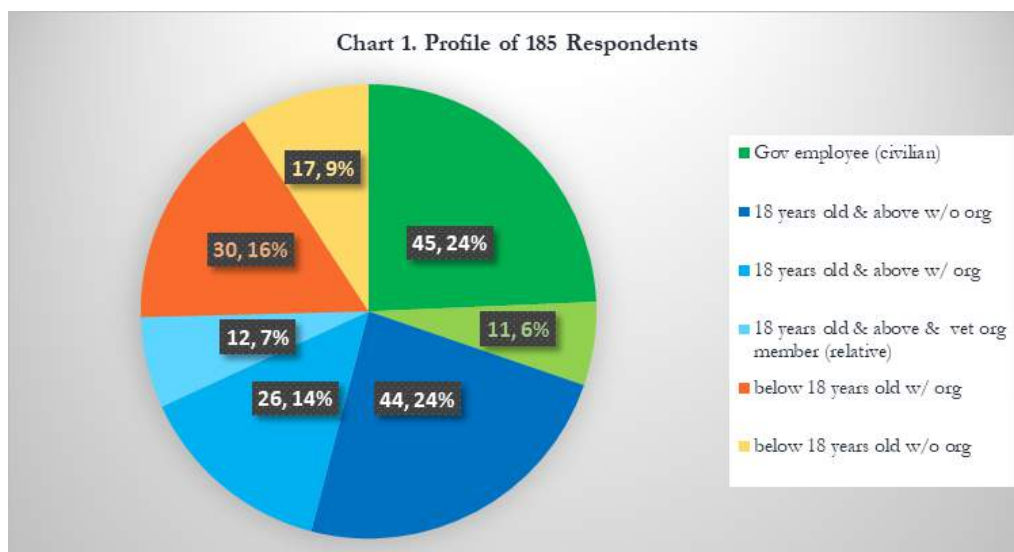


Table 1. Organizations/ Affiliations of Attendees of 2016 Commemoration Activities

Provincial Local Government Unit	USAFIP-NL Baguio Benguet
Municipal Local Government Unit	Navy Base Post Baguio
Women's Organization	SBCMT
Bureau of Jail Management and Penology	Veterans Federation of the Philippines
Sons and Daughters Association, Inc.	Girl Scouts of the Philippines
Don Bosco High School	Army Reserve Command
Local Government Unit	National Museum
SBMT	A youth org
205th CDC	1st Ifugao Ready Reserve Batallion
ROTC	Department of Education Ifugao
Ifugao Academy	LGU
Supreme Court	Philippine Army

The adult group (shaded in greens and blues in Chart 1) represents 75% of the respondents while the youth (shaded in yellow and orange in Chart 1) takes the smaller share with 25%. Out of the 138 respondents comprising the adult group, 44 (32%) do not identify themselves as members of an organization. In the youth group with a total of 47 respondents, 17 (36%) do not identify themselves as members of an organization. Meanwhile, Table 1 shows the names of organizations identified.

Locale of Origin

As expected, majority came from Ifugao as the host province of the Kiangnan National Shrine, with 75% of the respondents indicating Ifugao Province as their place of residents. Based on the responses, these respondents came from the nine municipalities of Ifugao, namely, Kiangnan, Lagawe, A. Lista, Mayoyao, Lamut, Hungduan, Hingyon, Banaue, and Asipulo.

Incentives for Attendance

The respondents were also asked to rate their incentives for attending the commemoration activities, with 1 as the lowest incentive and 5

the highest. Overall, 43% of the respondents had the most compelling incentive to attend.

The particular group with the most compelling incentive to attend the commemoration is the group of government employees in the armed profession, including veterans at 73%. This shows that the commemoration has the highest value to the veterans who witnessed the struggle during World War II.

Those with the least incentive to attend are the youth who are below 18 years old and affiliated with an organization at 23%.

Frequency of Attendance

The respondents were also asked about the number of times they have attended the commemoration. Among the 185 respondents, 29% said that they have been attending the commemoration for at least five times.

The most regular attendees to the commemoration are those who belong to the group of the civilian government employees at 49%, followed by those who are 18 years old and above without a particular affiliation. Interestingly, only 9% of government employees armed professionals/veterans have attended the commemoration

Table 2. Intensity of Incentive to Attend

	I	II	III	IV	V
Over all incentive	3%	23%	5%	25%	43%
Incentive across groups					
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	0	0	8%	58%	33%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	4%	23%	4%	19%	50%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	7%	11%	11%	11%	59%
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	0	33%	0	43%	23%
below 18 y.o. w/o org.	0	12%	0	59%	29%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	0	27%	0	0	73%
gov. employee (civilian)	4%	38%	4%	16%	36%

activities for more than five times. Two interesting observations can be gathered from these findings: (1) government employees both armed/veterans (least frequent) and civilian (most frequent), which take both ends on the frequency of attendance, may mean that being employed by the government does not influence attendance in the commemoration activities; and (2) a significant number of adults with (23%) or without affiliation (34%) have attended the commemoration for more than five times, which suggests the appeal of the commemoration activities to a general audience regardless of affiliation.

Preferred Involvement

The respondents were also asked of their current involvement in the commemoration

activities as well as their preferred engagement should they be involved in the future conduct of the commemoration activities. They were asked to rate their actual involvement and preferred involvement, with the following scale: 1 (sightseeing), 2 (spectator), 3 (performance during the program), 4 (documentation in the form of writeups and photodocumentation), and 5 (involved in the preparation of the activities). These ratings on preferred involvement of the respondents were meant to gauge their involvement and participation as stakeholders of local commemoration activities in their respective localities. This dimension of the survey illustrates a higher level of civic action, which reflects the sweat equity of the participant/stakeholder in the commemoration activities.

Table 3. Frequency of Attendance

	I	II	III	IV	V
Over all frequency	21%	24%	21%	4%	29%
Frequency across groups					
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	50%	25%	8%	0	17%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	8%	31%	38%	0	23%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	14%	27%	18%	7%	34%
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	37%	30%	13%	3%	17%
below 18 y.o. w/o org.	41%	35%	12%	0	12%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	9%	27%	55%	0	9%
gov. employee (civilian)	13%	9%	18%	7%	49%



Across all groups, 23% of the respondents prefer to have the most involvement. However, Table 4 shows the percentage of respondents who do not want to have any involvement at all in the conduct of the commemoration activities.

As shown in Table 5, 44% of civilian government employees, the highest among the groupings, prefer to be involved in the preparation of the commemoration activities. The least number of respondents with the highest preferred involvement are those below 18 years old without any affiliation. Tables 4 and 5 show that the youth has the least preference to be involved.

Rating on Commemoration

A zero rating baseline for commemorations at 6% has been noted from some groups (See Table 6).

The researcher devised a 5-point rating scale to measure the respondents' perception of the

commemoration activities. The respondents' rating in this dimension approximates their appreciation of the efforts of the government hosting the commemoration activities, including the infrastructure that was built (i.e., the Shrine). The highest rating was from the 18 years old and above who are members of veterans organizations/relatives of veterans.

As shown in Table 7, the group of 18 years old and above not affiliated with an organization poorly rated the commemoration activities. What could be inferred from this finding is that this group is more heterogeneous in composition compared with the respondents in other categories.

Comparing the findings in Tables 6 and 7, looking at the groups that gave the lowest ratings provides a more telling observation than when looking at the percentages of the ratings. One has a tight profile or background (18 years old and above and veterans organization member/relatives) while the other is a diverse group

Table 4. Percentage of Respondents Who Prefer No Involvement

Overall, preference for no involvement	6%
Preference for no involvement across (applicable) groups	
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	2%
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	3%
gov. employee (civilian)	9%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	19%

Table 5. Preferred Involvement

	I	II	III	IV	V
Over all involvement	5%	23%	32%	11%	23%
Preferred involvement across groups					
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	0	8%	58%	8%	25%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	8%	15%	42%	4%	12%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	2%	34%	32%	14%	16%
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	13%	27%	43%	0	13%
below 18 y.o. w/o org.	6%	53%	12%	24	6%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	0	9%	36%	18%	36%
gov. employee (civilian)	4%	9%	20%	13%	44%



Table 6. Percentage of Respondents Who Rated the Commemorations Very Poorly

Over all, lowest rating on commemorations	6%
Lowest rating on commemorations across (applicable) groups	
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	3%
gov. employee (civilian)	4%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	7%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	8%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	9%
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	17%

(18 years old and above not affiliated with an organization).

Rating on Infrastructure

Almost half of the total respondents (46%) highly rated the facilities, which significantly leans to a positive regard for infrastructure considering the other half is between somewhat acceptable rating (IVs and IIIs) and unsatisfactory ratings (IIs and Is).

On the other hand, as shown in Table 8, a significant number of respondents have rated the infrastructure poor. At least 18% of veterans and armed professionals gave zero satisfaction with the facilities. This means that almost one-fifth of

the respondent-group behind the infrastructure and the commemoration are themselves dissatisfied with the shrine and its facilities.

The highest rating mostly came from the group of below 18 years old without any affiliation (76%); it is also the group that did not give a zero rating for infrastructure. In addition, most of respondents (60%) below 18 years old but with affiliation gave the next highest rating. Consistently, the youngest demographic among the respondents has above average regard for facilities. At the bottom end of the scale with the lowest rating on infrastructure (29%) is the most heterogeneous group of the respondents—those who are 18 year old and above without any affiliation.

These findings on infrastructure are expected in a way. The respondents who expressed dissatisfaction are mostly those who are of advanced age—the group of veterans and armed personnel.

Comparing the respondents' ratings on their satisfaction on commemoration activities as well as the shrine facilities help gauge their appreciation of the activities conducted during the commemoration of the Surrender of Yamashita in Kiangnan, Ifugao on 2 September 2016. The respondents' appreciation of both the shrine facilities and the commemoration activities

Table 7. Rating on Commemorations

	I	II	III	IV	V
Over all, rating on commemorations	1%	3%	12%	31%	47%
Rating on commemorations across groups					
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	0	0	0%	8%	75%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	0	0	15%	31%	46%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	2%	5%	23%	25%	36%
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	0	3%	13%	40%	40%
below 18 y.o. w/o org.	0	0	6%	35%	59%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	0	0	0	27%	64%
gov. employee (civilian)	0	4%	9%	36%	47%

Table 8. Zero Baseline, Rating on Infrastructure

Over all, lowest rating on infrastructure	5%
Lowest rating on infrastructure across (applicable) groups	
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	3%
gov. employee (civilian)	4%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	4%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	7%
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	8%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	18%

are within the same range. The spread of the acceptable (IVs and IIIs) and unacceptable (IIs and Is) ratings could also be assumed in Table 10, where the lowest ratings have been registered in almost half of the respondent-groups for infrastructure even at low percentages.

Based on the survey results shown in Table 10, intervention is needed to improve the shrine infrastructure to address the dissatisfaction. The respondents belonging to the 18 years old and above without affiliation gave the lowest rating to both the commemoration activities and the shrine infrastructure. This finding on this particular group is consistent with the previous observation that this particular demographic of respondents is the most diverse and might be more reflective

of what the general public's perception might be.

Findings

The survey results offer insights on the importance of the commemoration to the survey respondents. Here are some highlights:

- Age seems to be a definitive factor with regard to attendees' perception of the Kiangnan National Shrine. The veterans' and armed personnel's high perception rating of the Shrine reflect the Shrine's value to them as stakeholders who have sweat equity in its creation. On the other hand, affiliated young respondents have the least incentive in attending the commemoration.
- The potential of making the commemoration as a national public event can appeal to a broader audience. Strong perceptions came from groups that are more diverse and are therefore more representative of the general public's heterogeneity.

Policy Option and Recommendations

A single policy option can address the two problems stated earlier in the paper—recognizing the national importance of Surrender of Yamashita and the potential of transforming the commemoration into a national event. As

Table 9. Rating on Infrastructure

	I	II	III	IV	V
Over all, rating on commemorations	3%	4%	18%	24%	46%
Rating on commemorations across groups					
18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	17%	0	8%	17%	50%
18 y.o. & above w/ org.	0	0	38%	19%	38%
18 y.o. & above w/o org.	7%	5%	23%	30%	29%
below 18 y.o. w/ org.	0	0	13%	23%	60%
below 18 y.o. w/o org.	0	6%	6%	12%	76%
gov. employee (armed)/veteran	0	0	9%	18%	55%
gov. employee (civilian)	2%	9%	16%	29%	40%

Table 10. The Kiangnan Experience: Commemoration vs. Infrastructure Ratings

Commemoration		MEASURES	Infrastructure	
I	V	Lowest vs. Highest	I	V
1%	47%	Overall Ratings	3%	46%
RATING ACROSS ALL GROUPS				
0	75%	18 y.o. & above & vet. org. member (relative)	17%	50%
0	46%	18 y.o. & above w/ org.	0	38%
2%	36%	18 y.o. & above w/o org.	7%	29%
0	40%	below 18 y.o. w/ org.	0	60%
0	59%	below 18 y.o. w/o org.	0	76%
0	64%	gov. employee (armed)/veteran	0	55%
0	47%	gov. employee (civilian)	2%	40%

argued in the beginning, celebrating the Victory in the Pacific is of equal importance to, if not surpassing, the value of commemorating the Day of Valor (9 April). Consider the following arguments:

(1) Recognizing September 2 as the National Observance of the Victory in the Pacific Day

More than following the Western standard of commemorating the end of World War II, celebrating victories rather than the struggles, hardships, and sacrifices during the war addresses the “crisis of authority” by highlighting the positive outcome of history and upholding civic action. Mere recognition of the fallen soldiers’ valor perpetuates a hegemonic narrative that do not necessarily take into account the lives and properties that were squandered. On the other hand, commemorating its end is celebrating the emancipation of those the War oppressed.

(2) Multi-agency and stakeholder coordination for national observance

To commit to a national commemoration, resources of involved agencies and instrumentalities of the national government must be able to support hosting an annual and international historical event. Therefore, the

policy hailing the National Observance of the Victory in the Pacific Day shall be able to provide for the full implementation of the event not only with tasking national government agencies but also by appropriating funds and resources fitting for such a commemoration.

(3) Wreath-laying ceremonies participated by the governments of the Philippines, United States of America, and Japan

The ceremony involving the host and the actors in World War II shows acknowledgement of the people’s sweat equity in the post-war rebuilding. The President, GOP as the host shall lead the ambassadors of the USA and Japan in honoring the contribution of the Philippines in ending World War II and restoring peace through justice.

(4) Simultaneous commemorations all over the country and Filipino-Japanese-American communities elsewhere

Under Presidential Proclamation 653, the mandated commemoration of the Surrender of General Yamashita is centered in Kiangnan, Ifugao. RA 11216 widened the celebrations throughout the Ifugao Province and Benguet Province with annual commemoration in Baguio City starting in 2018. It is envisioned that other LGUs



throughout the archipelago will annually hold a simultaneous commemoration of the proposed Victory in the Pacific Day every 2 September. A similar commemoration among the international community of Filipinos, Japanese, and Americans could potentially reinforce the sweat equity in peace-building in their respective nations, whose histories are inextricably linked by the event.

Conclusion: An Invitation from Kiangnan

Currently, the still regional celebration at the Kiangnan National Shrine of the Surrender of General Yamashita follows the 'localized phenomenon' perspective on Maurice Halbwachs' pioneering concept of collective memory (as cited in Roudometof, 2003, p. 16). Halbwachs' perspective on memorials highlights the importance of spatial and social components of commemoration. It also underscores the key role of people's participation in public memorials such in the case of the Kiangnan commemoration.

Five respondents were purposely chosen to take a still photo of what they want to capture as an important moment during the commemoration on 2 September 2019 that non-spectators must know about. Each was also asked an explanation. This community-based participatory research tool is called photovoice that allows participants to tell their stories with the photos they take, which 'identify and represent issues of importance to them' (Ronzi, 2016, p. 733). Of note and perhaps, the embodiment of the ideals of the Victory in the Pacific Day, is the story retold by Ms. Ayeza Cabbigat through her photo. She imparted: "I chose the moment when everyone joined in the program for the Dinuyya dance. For us in Ifugao, anyone could enter wherever in the circle to dance because equality that the Dinuyya promotes is for everybody. And as the sound of the gong invites all to dance, everyone is called upon to unite."

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Above: Photo of the Dinuyya dance by Ms. Ayeza G. Cabbigat, 28.

Right: The photographer (leftmost) is the Troop Leader of Ayangan and a Lagawe native. Ms. Cabbigat was only two years old when the commemoration of the Victory in the Pacific Day started in 1993 with the Girl Scouts of the Philippines leading the organizing.





Above: Staff Sergeant Joel T Campilis, 40, of the Philippine Army finds his photo of the wreath-laying ceremony as the highest gesture of respect for the veterans.

Right: Sergeant Campilis (rightmost), who hails from the Kalinga Province, regards honoring as an important part of remembering.





Above: Kiangnan Police Station's Police Senior Master Sergeant Maldrid H. Liwayan, 34, took this photo during the keynote speech.

Right: She recognizes the veterans as the main audience of the commemoration and whose sacrifices led to our victory as a nation.





Above: One of the cultural numbers presented during the commemoration on 02 September 2019.

Right: Frinz Bayong, 10, was sitting on the grass near the stage when he took this photograph. He was with his mom, Ms. Felina Bayong. Frinz thinks that people from other places other than Ifugao should particularly see this part of the commemoration.





Welcoming smiles from the GSP members under Ms. Cabbigat. The little misses took their group selfie at the viewing deck of the Kiangnan National Shrine.