

Padugo and Roar: Rebuffing and Side Tracking Performances in APEC Philippines 2015¹

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to describe and analyze selected social performances during the Philippines' hosting of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 2015 Summit in Manila, particularly the staging of "Padugo" (bloodletting) ritual by Lumads anti-APEC protesters and the deploying of Katy Perry's "Roar" by the Civil Disturbance Management (CDM) Unit of the Philippine National Police (PNP). By applying social performance theory, I argued here that rebuffing and sidetracking performances of Padugo and Roar are ultimately socio-political acts, which are both always performative. These social performances represent competing versions of the social order, attempting to find resonance beyond the actual performances, as such could possibly influence public opinion and transform the socio-cultural, economic, and/or political status quo.

Keywords: Social Performance, Performance Theory, Protest Ritual, Public Order Policing.

INTRODUCTION

The Philippines became the world's biggest stage in the hosting of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit, after two decades; which culminated with the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting conducted on 18–19 November 2015. These are the exact same dates which will be the center of attention of this paper. However, the descriptions did not deal with performances such as: The Walk of Powers -- referring to the walk to the reception by the Leaders of 21-member APEC group, while wearing clothing/garments typical or associated to the host country (for the Philippines - the traditional *Barong Tagalog* designed by Paul Cabral; nor the APEC "Family" Photo -- the group picture of attending APEC leaders, who are heads of state/government of their respective APEC member-country. Moreover, this essay did not dwell on cultural performances showcased at the APEC Gala Dinner, which was characterized as presentation of the Philippines with a fusion of the traditional, modern, edgy, and tropic (RTVM Malacanang, 2015). The paper did not discuss about the shadow play by El Gamma Penumbra, neither the traditional

ethnic dance of the Igorots rendered by the Ramon Obusan Folkloric Group, not even Ballet Manila's interpretation of 'Anting-Anting' or amulet.

Although the *Anting-Anting* performance is somehow related; being a performance depicting how the Philippines is a land where modernity strives with folk beliefs. This specific belief refers to the Power of the *Anting-Anting* which is extolled and believed to ward off evil spirits. Similarly, this power of the *Anting-Anting* is somehow comparable with the purpose of the *Padugo* ritual performed by Lumads, a group of non-Muslim indigenous people in the southern part of the Philippines (Mindanao), which is one of the two performances, which are subject matter of this paper.

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Mendiola's Peace Arch (GMA News, 2015). As a background in the conduct of this

performance, tribes from both ends of the Philippines joined forces to hold ritual against APEC Leaders' Summit. The tribe folk from Northern Luzon and the Lumad from Mindanao gathered in a "Salubungan," meet-up or convergence; before marching together toward Malacanang Presidential Palace. Protesters, *Amianan Salakniban* "Defend the North", composed of indigenous people of Cordillera from the North Luzon marched from Nicanor Reyes Street (Morayta), Manila; while members of the Lumad proceeded from Recto Avenue, Manila as their entry point.

These two assemblies of demonstrators made Recto Avenue corner Nicanor Reyes Street as their Convergence Point for their *Salubungan*; then, altogether advanced to Mendiola in order to protest against APEC (Pamintuan, 2015); and to perform the ritual protest of Padugo. This protest ritual and other anti-APEC rallies are under the umbrella of People's Caravan against Imperialist Globalization (PCAIG) which is a broad network of various organizations, institutions, sectors and marginalized communities; all against imperialist globalization of APEC. With adverse implications of neoliberal economic policies especially mining, energy, and agriculture; plunder and militarization, state sponsored terrorism, as concrete impacts of APEC, affecting indigenous people in their ancestral domain.

The following day, on 19 November 2015, US pop star Katy Perry roared as anti-riot police deployed music to disperse protesters near the venue of the 2015 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Leaders' Summit. The police pulled out their secret weapon: the hit song "Roar" of pop princess Katy Perry on giant loudspeakers. Perry's hit song was played at full volume, the top of a demonstration disco playlist aimed at distracting the protesters and drowning out their chants (Malm, 2015). To add a street bass beat, some of the police tapped their batons against their shields in time with the music. This tactic performance of the Philippine government police force enraged some demonstrators but also amused others. Aside for Katy Perry's Roar, the anti-riot police force also played other songs to distract the activists were Dolly Parton's "Islands in the Stream," David Guetta's "Sexy B*tch" featuring Akon, The Temptations' "My Girl," and the Bee Gee's "How Deep Is Your Love" (Oswald, 2015). Metro Manila Police Spokesperson Chief Inspector Kimberly Gonzales commented that

the music was aimed at de-escalating tensions. Gonzales further explained that the music was not meant to diminish the protesters' rally, but to de-escalate any hostility that could have occurred (ibid). The police spokesperson also added that "*Filipinos in general love music and it has a calming effect for everyone. This goes well with our maximum tolerance policy during protests.*" According to *Batas Pambansa Bilang 880* or The Public Assembly Act of 1985, maximum tolerance is defined by the law as the highest degree of restraint that the military, police and other peace keeping authorities shall observe during a public assembly or in the dispersal of the same. For the Philippine police force, using music at protests was not an unusual tactic, and there was no intent to trivialize the rally. The police spokesperson further noted that they understand the seriousness of the issues and they don't mean to insult people (Rappler, 2015).

THE PERFORMANCE OF PADUGO PROTEST RITUAL

In the anti-APEC Protest in November 2015, the *Padugo* ritual (literally, to let blood --- animal sacrifice) began with the Lumad *datus* (tribal chieftains / local community leaders) dancing around the live animal sacrifice, a black boar tied at the center. Circumnavigating the creature, the *datus* from Southern Philippines pounded their feet on the ground and waved their hands in the air while holding on to pieces of cloth. For the Lumads, dancing is a way to pay gratitude to *anitos* (spirits of their ancestors). Then, with the use of *irab*, a type of *bolo* (knife), one of the *datus* slit a white Leghorn chicken's neck and poured some of its blood over the black native pig. Thereafter, with the assistance of other *datus*, they struck the *irab* into the chest of the black boar.

When a live animal sacrifice is offered to the gods or spirits, it is the life-blood that is really given; the carcass is left for the worshipper to consume afterward. When a large animal is sacrificed, the division of the carcass is made according to ancient traditions, wherein the officiating *datu* gets the choicest cut, followed by the sponsor, and then the guests in order of their respective ranks. In the Lumad's culture, a white chicken is sacrificed to ask God to listen to their prayers, while the offering of a black boar symbolizes protection from threats of enemies. Brazal (2009) in her article titled "Redeeming the Vernacular Doing Postcolonial-Intercultural Theological Ethics," discussed

Padugo in the discourse analysis of vernacular. She pointed out that the vernacular remains to be an important source of energy for marginalized communities toward solidarity. Brazal also further made description about Padugo as a vernacular concept and practice: Padugo literally means bloodletting referring to the animal sacrifice made to ward off evil spirits and to honor Ginoo (a traditional way of addressing God).

She further provided descriptions about the Padugo, more specifically, this ritual is performed at the start of a construction for the safety of the workers in the duration of the project. Among indigenous groups as the Subanons, the ritual is solemnized by a baliyan, a native priest or a shaman (TVI Resource Development Philippines Inc., 2007). Padugo is also performed by fisher folks in Bohol to bless a new boat. The blood of an animal is sprinkled at the helm of the boat to assure a bountiful catch and to protect the owner from bad weather. The family and friends of the owner then share the cooked animal after the padugo ceremony (FISH Project, 2000).

Many architects even in the cities also perform the ritual of padugo (bloodletting) or sacrificing an animal to ask permission and appease the spirit inhabitant in the site of construction. Padugo or bloodletting ritual is also being practiced prior to start of construction in order to appease elemental spirit beliefs for peaceful co-existence in a place (Dalumpines, 2015). Ritual blood-letting performed before the construction of a house involves slitting the throat of a white chicken and allowing the blood to drip around the building site. Careful attention is paid to the animal's dying gestures, which can determine the site's prosperity (Paman, 2010).

For a gangster cult in Sampaloc, Manila, though, padugo refers to the "sacrificial lamb" or the victim of the gangster cult. Before the padugo or blood-letting, the gang members would get high on shabu (hydrochloride methamphetamine) after which they look for their sacrificial lamb (Lozada, 2008).

Drawing on the element of "sacrifice" involved in bloodletting, Gawad Kalinga (GK), a Philippine-based non-government organization that builds housing projects for the poor, creatively reinvented padugo to express bleeding for the cause or bleeding to give life (Brazal, 2009; Villanueva, 2010). Bleeding for the cause may mean volunteering to build a

house with the poor or donating money or land where the houses can be built. At other times, it is expressed in overcoming great odds and danger as in the case of volunteers who dare to go to conflict-ridden Moslem areas to build houses for the poorest of the poor (Brazal, 2009). Ronald Villanueva (2010) in his doctoral dissertation further threshed out the GK movement's adherence to the value of "padugo" that emerges out of a passion for something purposive and for organizational development. The movement grows brought about by the passion being shared by many who are willing to sacrifice or in the case of Gawad Kalinga, Padugo, which means, "to bleed for the cause." In so far as GK is concerned, padugo enables initial success, builds character, provides leeway for experimentation and recoverable failure, and importantly, generates credibility. Credibility borne out of padugo attracts partners. Once partnerships reach a critical mass the movement snowballs. The GK movement is then nurtured by creativity and innovation in its organizational and mobilization aspects (Villanueva, 2010).

Villanueva also detailed about the strategy of resource mobilization of GK, which is three-fold and culture based incorporating the padugo. Firstly, the Filipino cultural precept of padugo, literally bleeding for the cause, was viewed as enabling factor to generate resources internally, specifically from Couples for Christ, a charismatic, lay, Roman Catholic faith-based social movement supportive to the cause of GK. Its internal resources enabled it to start up operations quickly, scale up, and replicate operations to a point that attracted the attention of external supports, eventually leading to significant logistical support. Second, the concept of padugo is supported and complemented by messages and symbols of nation building, the possibility of anyone being able to provide heroic and servant leadership, the call for community, and the need to share one's resources, time, and talents.

Third, these symbols and messages of padugo are anchored by the need and rationale for the massive mobilization of volunteers and resources, not only in the Philippines, but worldwide in implementing GK's model of poverty eradication and community development (ibid). Padugo ritual is also one of the preventive practices observed by the Talaandig of Bukidnon in Mindanao; so that they can maintain good health and avoid illness. Ritual for maintaining and enhancing bravery involves an offering of red chicken and two

bottles of wine, among others. Other rituals performed by the Talaandigs were stated by Julius to maintain good health for females called “kalambai” and for men the ritual is “palendatu”. These rituals are performed with “padugo” of white chickens which is done simultaneously with a prayer recited by the faith healers or elders imploring the spirits to provide good health (Aguado C. & Labadisos R., 2014).

Padugo has also been used in protests. In Bacolod City, in 2008, angry farmers sacrificed a chicken to drive away the evil spirits that were manipulating against the proposed extension of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (Mindanao Examiner, 2008). Also, Mamanwa Tribe from Siana, Surigao

del Norte (in Southern Philippines) performed the Padugo ritual by slaughtering a native pig, reciting incantations, playing of traditional musical instruments (gongs), and drinking of pig's blood with a local wine. The ritual of Padugo was performed to cast away "evil" spirits clouding the judgment of officials of Department of Environment and Natural Resources, as well as the Mines and Geosciences Bureau with regard to the lifting of the cease-and-desist order (CDO) imposed on Greenstone Resources Corporation, a gold mining company that used to operate in their ancestral domain. Mamanwa tribe in the performance of Padugo ritual ask for the lifting of mine suspension order, which affected their lives, particularly loss of livelihood, and financial assistance from the mining company for education, health, and infrastructure programs for the local community (Ranada, 2013).

Against this backdrop, the Padugo ritual is appropriated as a strategic political tool for mass mobilization and solidification by indigenous essentialism for socio-cultural, economic, and political purposes. As such, Padugo protest ritual is clearly a form of civil resistance movement which presents a cultural framework of traditional repertoires of antiquated folk cultural practices. Concomitantly, James Brophy (2017) observed that “*customs and rites enabled face-to-face communities to build consensus and legitimize their discontent through practices valorized by historical convention.*” And, in a recent study, Rachel Watson-Jones and Cristine Legare (2016) proposed that rituals serve four core functions that address the adaptive problems of group living, specifically to: (a) provide reliable markers of group membership, (b) demonstrate commitment to the group, (c)

facilitate cooperation with social coalitions, and (d) increase social group cohesion. Moreover, it was also suggested in this journal article that the capacity to engage in ritual is a psychologically prepared, culturally inherited behavior geared toward facilitating social group dynamics (Watson-Jones & Legare, 2016). Hence, this social performance of Padugo ritual in an anti-APEC demonstration clearly attempts to consolidate communal unity amongst the indigenous Lumads and also seeks for the extension of this solidarity with other protesters particularly the non-Lumads; non-indigenous participants; and more importantly, to express their strong dissent, their grievances, and their anti-globalization sentiments against APEC.

However, the danger is in the variation in the symbols and meanings in performance of this ritual, depending on its actors (the people performing the ritual), on the purpose, on the venue, on the audiences of the ritual and/or on the purpose of the ritual performance. Varying in use from region to region, the blood is splattered about the grounds to drive off evil spirits, as well as to prevent accidents from occurring during the construction (Paman, 2010). This can be a potential reason of failure in the successful projection of high and official meanings. Such possible conflict/s over interpretation of cultural significance and shared values attached with Padugo ritual will result to de-fusion and the inability to refuse by clearly conveying the real meanings of the symbolic action of Padugo ritual protest will make it more difficult to achieve authenticity and verisimilitude in the cultural narrative. The social differentiation, with reference to the pluralistic perspectives and interests, in the case of Padugo ritual, has created opportunities for interrogation and also demanded the clarity of message, specifically, the symbolic meaning of such performance highly inspired by traditions, being called for as due. Thus, there is crucial necessity for further mediations to increase if not fully ensure performative success (Alexander, Giesen, & Mast, 2006).

THE PERFORMANCE OF ROAR

Tahira Asgher, et. al (2016) analyzed the song "Roar" by Katy Perry from stylistic perspective, whereby the literary discourse is analyzed from linguistic point of view. The research work attempted to analyze the literary piece “Roar” from the point of view of linguistics. This type of work comes under the area of stylistics which is usually defined as the systematic and scientific

study of styles. It is one of major areas of linguistics. Stylistics has become an interdisciplinary field within linguistics because of the rapid progress in this field in the second half of the twentieth century. It includes subfields such as literary stylistics, pragmatic stylistics, cognitive stylistics, corpus stylistics, critical stylistics etc. As a result of this research work, the song Roar by Katy Perry was analyzed in different levels --- phonological, figurative, and thematic.

The song contains powerful sensuous imagery. Rhyme, alliteration, consonance, assonance and aphaeresis are the main phonological devices used in the said song, whereas anaphora, metaphor, simile and hyperbole are figurative devices exploited by the songwriter (Asgher T., Amjad M., & Parveen S., 2016). Some of the findings in the Phonological Analysis of the song Roar are as follows:

Onomatopoeia - the phonological element "onomatopoeia" referring to the words that create the sound what they mean--word that mimics the sound that it creates; which was utilized in the title "Roar" itself as the best example. The word "Roar" was used to deal with the expression of anger in the first half of the song and then with the expression of amusement in the second half of the song.

The use of another word "oh" many times in the text enhances this expression of amusement and gives the real description of feelings. Rhyme, generally created by using the same codas in the last words of the successive lines in poetry:

"You hear my voice, you hear that **sound**
Like thunder, gonna shake the **ground**"

Also,

"So I sat **quietly**, agreed **politely**"
"I stood for **nothing**, so I fell for **everything**"
"I got the eye of the **tiger**, a **fighter**"
"I went from **zero**, to my own **hero**"

Alliteration or head rhyme or front rhyme:

"Scared to rock the boat and **make a mess**"
"I let you **push me past** the breaking point"

The words make/mess and pushed/past/point are repeating /m/ and /p/ sounds respectively, enhances the musicality of the song.

Some of observations in the Figurative Analysis of the song Roar are as follows:

Metaphor - description of one thing as another thing, without the usage of "like" or "as" with it for comparison:

"I got the eye of the tiger, a fighter, dancing through the fire"

Simile - figure of speech that compares two or more unlike things by using such words as "like" or "as":

"Now I'm **floating like a butterfly**

Stinging like a bee I earned my stripes"

Hyperbole - use of exaggeration:

"And **you're gonna hear me roar**

Louder, louder than a lion"

In their exploration of the thematic significance of the song, the dominant theme of the song is Feminism, along with other embedded themes such as empowerment, freedom and rebellion. Primarily, Roar deals with the "Feministic Aspect," from this subject matter reveals a reality that how women face different problems in the male chauvinistic society where women are inculcated to such extent that they forget that whether they have any choice or they are just "yes women". These problems were more dominant in the past when women were considered to be remained in the homes, and were bound in the stripes of rope that are held by the males.

Theme of empowerment further leads towards another universal theme that is "the theme of Freedom". The theme of empowerment leads towards the theme of rebellion (ibid).

Despite the dominance of Feminism in the thematic analysis of Roar, this song of Katy Perry was still deployed by the Philippine National Police as crowd control tactic at the anti-APEC Protest. Perhaps, because of the popularity of the song, of lively musical beat, and of the fierce mode, in general sense.

It can also be argued that playing of the Roar of Katy Perry is empowering for the police force while under maximum tolerance as rule of engagement with the protesters. Thus, the concept of empowerment prevailed as thematic importance of the song.

The performance of Roar in connection with Philippines' hosting of APEC 2015 commenced when police force pulled out their secret weapon: pop princess Katy Perry on giant loudspeakers, with the hit song 'Roar' being played at full volume, aimed at distracting the protesters and drowning out their chants (The Philippine Star, 2015). Seemingly, it is as if the crowd control tactics deploying Katy Perry's

“Roar” by the CDM Unit of the PNP are sound cannons. On top of the street bass beat, some of the police tapped their batons against their shields in time with the sound of music.

This act of the police force of the Philippine government is tantamount to giving their own performance using sound, displaying techniques of crowd control, in a way that is both performative and purposive; providing a spectacle of order, control and authority. This shows that policemen assigned for Civil Disturbance Management (CDM) presented their capability of theatrical display, in a simple collection action and be “on Stage.”

This performance can be described as flamboyant – attracting a lot of attention, in locally termed as “*Agaw Eksena*” or a scene-stealing stunt. Given the utilization of verbal and gestural exaggerations and gimmicks, the police force was able to (1) design to make a good impression --- bolster police image; (2) strengthen internal morale and solidarity, and (3) achieve political goal (crowd control). The playing of Roar as a crowd control tactic is a performance, a social drama using theatrical gimmickry, which is an experimental counter performance in response to anti-APEC demonstration.

In the Revised Police Operational Procedures - PNP Handbook (2013), there is detailed section about how the police force of the Philippine government should handle rallies and demonstrations. Accordingly, maximum tolerance shall be exercised in the conduct of dispersal operations. The PNP shall exhaust all peace remedies to persuade the demonstrators to disperse. As a standard procedure, CDM contingents hold the line to prevent any possible disturbance, to prevent demonstrators from proceeding to other areas where the holding of a public assembly is prohibited. In the actual execution, the police force cordoned off the certain area of Senator Gil Puyat Avenue (Buendia), Pasay City and blocked off the leading to the venues of APEC Leaders’ Meetings and related events located in Philippine International Convention Center (PICC), Pasay City and SM Mall of Asia (MOA) Arena, Pasay City. During the confrontational stage, truncheon or baton may be utilized only to push back demonstrators and not as an instrument to strike individuals. However, when the demonstration escalates to civil disturbance or riot and when demonstrators become aggressive, truncheon shall be the

principal non-lethal weapon for dispersal. Other acceptable non-lethal weapons include: tear gas, smoke grenades and water cannons (PNP Handbook, 2013).

Crowd control is not a simple and easy task for the police force, most especially when the demonstrators have targeted to occupy prohibited areas in holding their protest and/or about to initiate public disturbance or riot. Stott (2009) observed that the complexity of the relationship between police tactics and crowd behavior, particularly, in terms of crowd participants’ view of the legitimacy of police tactics and the appropriate junctures for police use of force. Perceptions of police legitimacy are critical because they affect the crowd’s internal dynamics, facilitating or undermining the ability of those seeking conflict to exert social influence upon others in the crowd. Thus, tactics, like deployment of music like Roar of Katy Perry side by side with “Hold the Line” strategy, and Shield and Truncheon, can be viable options serving as non-violent juncture – preliminary approach in public order policing and civil disturbance management.

However, police authority must also take caution, as Cecile Malaspina (2018) highlighted that sound, when utilize with the intent to disturb or harm, is not equivalent with the acoustic characteristic of noise, and the core conceptualization of noise limited to the auditory range, comprising of sound pressure levels and frequencies above and below hearing confines which could have impact on health and cognitive performance of affected individuals. In the specific context of defining the toxicity of noise, however, it still makes sense to labelling as “noise” rather than using the generic term “sound” (Malaspina, 2018).

SOCIAL PERFORMANCE THEORY

Performing Ritual Protest and Public Order Policing/Performing

The Padugo ritual is a rebuffing protest performance -- shooing the “evil spirits” as an anti-APEC demonstration, with the presentation of its meaning with abrupt repulse of the APEC offer in “Building Inclusive Economies, Building a Better World.” The Padugo ritual protest also sidetracked the regional economic platform on their cause, and underscored abuses and negative implications of globalization through APEC. According RatLiff (2011), all protests are social performances — the ways people perform the role of protester, counter-

protester, or police officer are of utmost importance for understanding the emergence of conflict/clash/violence. Moreover, these roles are performed on a stage.

In the case of protest events, we know that social spaces are the platforms of protest performance and the dynamics of particular places greatly influence the interpretation of protest events. The interpretations of these role performances in their historical context lead to perceived threat or weakness of certain claims-making groups, the volatility of authority-citizen engagement, and the spectrum of violence that may result from these symbolic interactions. Ratliff further posited that:

“Protest event actors do indeed bring their culture with them, but both in their heads and in their actions. What is truly fundamental to utilizing this approach is that behaviors are symbolic and evoke emotions given one’s cultural background; patterns of reaction and provocation may provide us with the evidence necessary to mitigate violence by more adequately providing training to safely control or express dissent, whether police or protester, respectively, while reducing the likelihood that harm will befall individuals in that process. Moreover, as the lifeblood of democracy, the free expression of dissent — though in a sometimes confrontational but peaceful manner — must be preserved.” (RatLiff, 2011).

The performance of ritual protest of Padugo in APEC 2015 further entails *“territorializing of ethnicity”* which tends to be driven more by the cultural ethnic affiliation of some protesters – the Lumads. This ritual demonstration also strategically put leverage and renews public attention on ethnic traditions in the conduct of social movement participation together with the rest of anti-APEC protesters. Corollary to this, Jesus Casquete (2003) argued that rituals are not merely forces of “being,” but of “becoming,” that is, of the transformation of a group of individuals into a mutually recognized social unity. He further concluded that:

"For this dynamic process to enjoy some success and culminate in the formation of a recognizable social actor, regular ceremonies of gathering around shared symbols and taking a stance in favor of the same cause appear to be an inescapable precondition. Otherwise, a social group endowed with a set of symbols and willing to put forward a demand in society, but without regular public reaffirmation, lacks the decisive feature for overcoming the test of time.

This feature is no other than the building of a strong group identity capable of defending itself against a hostile environment.” (Casquete, 2003).

On the other hand, the Roar performance of the PNP in APEC 2015 is also rebuffing action of the public order policing with a blunt refusal for entry or passage of anti-APEC protesters in the no rally zones that are closer to the holding venues of APEC events. In addition, the Roar performance is obviously a sidetracking crowd control action to counter anti-APEC demonstration - drowned out their chants with loud Katy Perry's Roar on giant loudspeakers, and tapped their batons against their shields.

At this point, I will relate the Roar Performance with the performance sequences of the great apes. In his studies of the mountain gorilla of central Africa, Schaller (1963) says the functions of the chest-beating sequence include the discharge of excitement and showing off. The chest-beating display also repels intruders and maintains group hierarchy.

It thereby combines efficacy and entertainment; but so does “anti-riot police officers” with their combination of music (Katy Perry's Roar), baton beating, and holding the line. Schaller posited that “the primary causation of the chest-beating sequence appears to be the build-up of tension (excitement) above a certain threshold. After the display, the level of excitement temporarily drops below the threshold, and the animals behave calmly until a new accumulation of tension erupts in display” (Schaller 1963: 233). The build-up of tension does not lead to fighting but to display; potential disruption is transformed into entertainment.

This outcome is very much like human theatrical performances. There too violence is present in both themes and gestures; but the process of the atricalization renders this violence less harmful than it would be if actualized “in life” (Schechner, 2003). Such actualization is probable to occur in confrontation scenario between protesters and public order police forces.

The result of this performance is indeed entertaining. The chest-beating sequence, and other displays among primates, use drumming and dancing: making and then moving to self-made rhythms. In the case of Roar Performance, this chest-beating sequence is comparable to the action of police in tapping their batons against their shields in time with the music. Among the

many functions of these displays, fun appears to be the connecting link. I can't define fun, except to say that it's related to entertainment, to showing off, playing around, exploring, and pretending (becoming bigger than the other). Fun happens when the energy released by an action is more than the anxiety, fear, or effort spent either on making the action or on overcoming the obstacles inhibiting it (ibid).

In addition, Roar performance is also experimental in great sense. We can also relate this social performance of public order policing/performing with improvisation techniques. This is somehow related to choreography of much postmodern dance that is invented through improvisations and perfected through repetition: the emotional core of a work is not known in advance and then "expressed," it is uncovered through action (ibid). It is possible that the CDM of the PNP in engaging with anti-APEC conducted a trial or pilot test of crowd control tactics, which resulted to another attention-seeking social performance.

Interestingly, according to Nathan Jurgenson (2011) in his article about Wall Street protests, the police force has also engaged in the war of sounds, wherein they attempted to counter the sounds produced by the protesters with a new, louder, and more destructive noise.

He asserted that the potential of sound to be used for politics is fully abused both by protesters as well as by police against them (Jurgenson, 2011). The political power struggle in the public sphere manifests itself as tactics in the battle of sounds between protesters and police forces of the government through various clash of noises. Sounds evoke the feeling of inclusion or exclusion depending on how and where these mechanisms are adopted and functionally linked with the positioning of power. In that regard, the combat for such positioning is due the inherent power of sound that could shift both to the authority and to the protesting crowds (Saher & Cetin, 2016). In the case of the performance of Roar, the police force of the Philippine government successfully deployed the sound of music as a political tool -- "*territorializing of sound*" against the anti-APEC protesters, hence, positioning of power shifted to their favor because of such tactics.

CONCLUSION

Rebuffing and Sidetracking Performances of Padugo and Roar are ultimately socio-political acts, which are both always performative. These

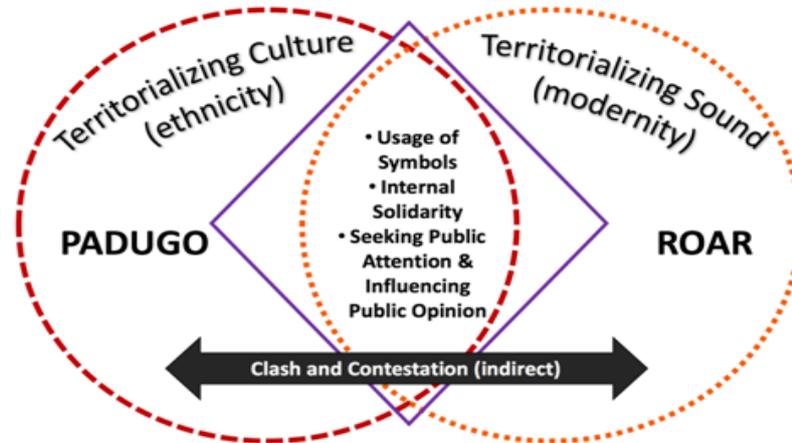
social performances represent competing versions of the social order, attempting to find resonance beyond the actual performances, as such could possibly influence public opinion and transform the socio-cultural, economic, and/or political status quo. Juxtaposing these two social performances presents clash and contestation, though indirect, for political, economic, and socio-cultural influences. These two performances are collective actions with symbolic meanings aimed raising awareness and effect societal change. For analysis and integration, both social performances, the Padugo and the Roar, creatively utilized symbols, effectively enhanced internal solidarity, and successfully attracted public attention and/or influence public opinion. Each performance attempted to territorialize certain field of strength: Padugo performance pulled out ethnicity in territorializing culture; and Roar performance manifested modernity by territorializing sound.

For Jeffrey Alexander (2014) emphasized the power of symbol in modern times, saying that: "*Society needs symbols, myths, narratives... and modernity cannot just be rationalization. We need to understand the power, the energy, and the glue that keeps civil society together and motivates people.*"

"Alexander further explained how plots in social narratives are constructed to have emotional and moral effects on their audiences; if effective and powerful, "the audience experiences catharsis, which allows new moral judgments to form and new lines of social action to emerge. By looking at these drama of democracy not only as material struggles, but also symbolic actions, deeper understanding will flourish in the realms of possibility that is central to the nuances about civil society and government actions wherein the generation of intense solidarity, dramaturgical quality of the social mobilization, and performative social actions are all taken into account and are given due appreciation. Performance of protest event does not limit social protests to the superficial, manipulative, or even the artistic, but redirects the focus of research to how social performances are enacted with awareness that others are aware of our actions—notwithstanding the watchful eye of the media (RatLiff, 2011). Thus, it is critical that reporters from both local and international media, as well as other media platforms even social media are all have access to information, empowered to record, and distribute its interpretations (meanings) whether balance, critical

or constructive, which will allow socio-cultural, economic and political extensions for protest events like Padugo ritual and its causes. The crucial point of reference is the context whereby ritual as an identified intangible heritage is being mobilized as cultural resource; and being strategically set in motion by protesters. Padugo protest ritual was able to make their dissents and

demands publicized, and to politically advance their stand point determined to rally their call to junk APEC; undeniably in a way, performative in manner. It is certainly a performance that rose out of resistance of marginalized sectors of society, inspired social activism and grassroots movements, attempting to shape public opinion and public policy.



On the other hand, the performance of Roar as crowd control tactic was able to enhance and actively create perceptions of police legitimacy among activists or demonstration participants. It exhibited the sense of unity and solidarity of the CDM police force in opposition to the demonstrators; that subsequently increased the influence of and empowered morale of public order policing force. Because policemen were -- at least in their own view --- able to control both the territory and the movement of people, police actions against the backdrop of sound of music (Roar of Katy Perry) were guided by something like an achieved legitimacy, determined superiority, and maintained authority; through their dramaturgical performance for effective crowd control. For the police leadership, policing through the utilization of music had been a successful social experiment in crowd control and civil disturbance management.

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