The Tuba Culture in Leyte, Philippines

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Abstract

This research work centers on the culture of tuba, a fermented drink primarily composed of coconut sap and barok. This drink is commonly found in the province of Leyte, Philippines. Utilizing oral history coupled with related studies from reputable journals, this paper presents tuba as a beverage common and perfected in the province of Leyte, hence forms part Leyte's tangible culture. Further, this liquor, being a commodity, can be a source of income on the part of the mananggiti, the alpor, and anyone who wishes to sell it. This paper also narrates how tuba is valued as part of Leyte's culture, and tries to understand how tuba nurtures certain Filipino values. This paper concludes that this liquor is essential to the province's culture, hence, worthy to be documented and perpetuated by highlighting the need to elevate the value of the mananggiti.

Keywords: tuba culture, fermented wine, values formation, oral history

1.0 Introduction

Wine and winemaking can be found in many parts of the world. It is a work of art and at the same time an economic commodity (Hulkower, 2020). It is an art because it requires precision and mastery to achieve the perfection that a winemaker has in mind with the desire of pleasing its partakers. Wines are sold at a variety of pricing. Regardless of the price and even legal barriers for some age groups, consumers continue to patronize these products (Ritchie, 2009). Although it used to have an identity only for the rich and the elite, and while beer and other cheaper alcoholic brands were reserved for the masses, the conception has already changed through the years and socio-economic disparities no longer hinder a person from buying the liquor of his choice. The passage of time and the ingenuity of the human mind have changed this conception and production of alcoholic drinks. Many of these alcoholic drinks are now made more accessible to consumers. Yet these wines must have their humble beginnings once upon a time.

Wines can facilitate an increase in the output of the tourism industry and the cultural value of a certain locality. Tourists are not only interested in the sites and artifacts of a place but also its food, delicacies, and even wine (Conto et al., 2014). At the day's end, visitors look for a place to rest, eat a sumptuous meal, and of course, close it with a bottle or two of wine. This is an avenue for winemakers to take advantage of these tourists in showcasing their products (C1). In fact, offering the best product to a visitor that resulted from ingenuity and distinct style is a form of hospitality and socialization (Hulkower, 2020).

Leyte is one of the provinces in the Philippines located in the eastern part. Its capital city is Tacloban City, the site of ground zero of Typhoon Haiyan, the world's strongest typhoon in history to ever make landfall (Pletcher, & Rafferty, 2021). This province showcases several indigenous products and delicacies distinct from other parts of the country. Specific products are exclusively identifiable with Leyte. *Moron* for instance, made up of coconut milk,

glutinous rice, and chocolate powder, is from the town of Abuyog, Leyte. *Binagol*, another delicacy that is made up of cassava is proudly introduced by Dagami, another town in Leyte. There are other towns from this province that can showcase their original product and the two mentioned are just to name a few (Villafuerte, 2022). *Tuba* is not however, produced exclusively by a specific town in Leyte, but can be found in many parts of the province. No particular town in the province can rightfully claim that they have the best *tuba* because almost all of these places produce a better version. The difference lies on the fermentation process.

There are three gaps that this research intends to determine. Firstly, this research work will discuss and document the essence of tuba and its process of fermentation to consumption. It is one of Leyte's better and beloved products, hence part of the province's tangible culture. Secondly, since tuba can be sold, it may be a source of income. This work will establish the monetary benefit that tuba can give to both the mananggiti and the alpor. Thirdly, this part will delve into the relevance of tuba as part of Leyte's intangible culture. I will attempt to intertwine how tuba nourishes certain Filipino values when Leyteños gather to celebrate or entertain guests. The connection between tuba as tangible culture and certain Filipino values as intangible culture will be beautifully displayed resulting in the enhancement of Leyte's cultural perspective.

2.0 Methodology

This study utilizes the oral history method. Oral history employs interviews in obtaining information from persons who know the subject matter being studied. It is the process of recording historical events or practices which have been transferred from one generation to the next by word of mouth (Foronda, 1978). This method allows researchers to document or record these historical gems (Starr, n.d.). The three parts of this research

work relied mainly on this method. However, several books, journal articles, and other texts have been used to acquire insights that discuss the nature of *tuba* itself, wines and winemaking, and the socio-cultural aspect of these types of commodities. The convergence of data acquired through oral history method coupled with these books and articles gave eloquence and coherence to this research paper.

An interview guide was created. The questionnaire was both in English and vernacular so interviewees can select the one which they feel is easier to understand. Permissions from local government officials were secured since it is a necessity.

During the interview, voice recorders and video cameras were used in storing information. The clips were transcribed, and the same was used as a primary source of information in connection with the topic of the research.

Locale of the Study

Leyte was the primary research locale of this work. Specifically, the researchers visited the municipalities of Barugo, Abuyog, Palo, Baybay, Dulag, Burauen, and Tanauan. *Tuba* is abundant in these places. Tacloban City, being the capital of Region VIII where Leyte is located, is also included but more on the aspect of consumerism.

Research Informants

Table 1 shows the summary of informants. For the purpose of clarity, I have classified the respondents into three groups namely, mananggiti, alpor, and consumer. I used the term consumer to signify neither mananggiti nor alpor but merely those who love to drink tuba, although both mananggiti and alpor also love to drink tuba. In the in-text citation process quoting this participants, I use A to mean Alpor, M for mananngiti, and C for consumers. This will give clarity on which group gives the information. Beside the letter, a

number will be used depending on the order of interviewees. The informants of this research work are summarized as follows:

Table 1. Profile of Informants

Address	Number of Mananggiti	Number of <i>Alpor</i>	Interviewed Consumer
Tanauan	6	1	0
Abuyog	6	1	0
Baybay	6	0	0
Burauen	2	1	1
Palo	3	1	2
Barugo	4	0	0
Dulag	5	0	1
Tacloban	0	0	12

Ethical Consideration

This study observed ethical practice with regard to the identities of the interviewees. Before the conduct of interviews or focus group discussions, the interviewees were informed that this work will have no adverse effect on them as this is just an oral history showcasing one of Leyte's finer products, and to this they agreed.

3.0 Results and Discussion

The flow of this work will follow the three gaps I mentioned in the introduction. It will begin firstly with a discussion and documentation on the nature or essence of *tuba* and its process from fermentation to consumption. The economic consideration follows to emphasize the monetary benefits of this product. It will delve into the situation of the *mananggiti* compared to the *alpor* concerning the price equilibrium of the commodity. Then, the discussion will proceed to the cultural implication of *tuba* that is twofold. The first consideration tackles *tuba* as part of the province of Leyte's better produce. The perfect fermentation of it is proudly claimed by the people

of this province. It is arguably the best locally made product of this province, and as such, it has become one of its better tangible cultures. The second connotation is on the effect of this product as it cultivates values among *Leyteños* through the aid of this beverage. Values form part of culture, and as they are nourished, a culture of a locality is likewise strengthened.

The Essence of Tuba and Tuba-Making

Every kind of wine undergoes a certain process before it becomes the type of alcoholic beverage that a person or winemaker wants it to be. Without the steps or the process being faithfully followed, the wine will never reach its aromatic and perfect stage. Some would turn into vinegar. It is not wasted since vinegar is still consumable. It can be used for cooking meat, fish, vegetables, and even pastries.

From Fermentation to Consumption

The production of *Tuba* begins with the *mananggiti* and the coconut tree. The person who takes charge in making the process faithfully executed especially the one who does the first step is the wine-gatherer or locally known as *Mananggiti* or *Manangguete* or *Manaranggot*. Without this skilled worker, there will be no *Tuba*. In all parts of Leyte where *Tuba* can be located, it all starts with this person. Basically, they are called *Mananggiti/s* from the Lineyte-Samarnon root word *Sanggot*. *Sanggot* means to extract juice from the coconut spathe. A *mananggiti* prepares his knife, *kawit¹*, *barok*, and a number of smaller containers normally 1 liter in size (M6).

¹ A kawit is a large container normally made of bamboo. The mananggiti uses it to store the coconut sap he took from the smaller container he attached to a number coconut spathe. It is termed as kawit (hook) because a hook is attached to the bamboo enabling the mananggiti to carry it in his shoulder.

These smaller containers² are those that are attached to the coconut spathe to drain the dripping coconut sap. Prior to proceeding to the site where coconut trees are located, the barok is chopped into smaller pieces using his knife, puts it in a container preferably a cellophane, and attaches it to his waist. He climbs up a coconut tree, chops a portion of the coconut spathe, inserts the smaller container, then ties it up securely. Properly securing the container will disable some insects to penetrate. Sometimes, however, when these containers are not properly attached and secured, lizards, cockroaches, and other insects contaminate the sap.

The *mananggiti* is not critical about the type of coconut tree to harvest the sap, as long as the spathe is available (M1). But focus group discussion revealed that the eastern part of Leyte produces the better sap compared to the western part, "aanhi gud nga parti hiton Leyte iton marasa nga tuba" (A2). The coconut spathe is the same part of the coconut tree where its fruit comes out. However, while the spathe does not produce fruit yet, the sap can be extracted from it by slicing its tip. This spathe will not be deprived of bearing fruit despite the extraction of sap. They may opt to stop extracting from the spathe to give way to the bearing of coconut fruits.



Mananggiti doing his daily chore

The gathered coconut sap is transferred to the kawit and at the same time mixes the barok with it. The more barok, the redder the sap becomes. The quality and amount of barok mixed to the sap is critical because it affects the quality of tuba, "iton pagbutang hiton barok ginsusukol gihapon, kay magsobra ngani mapait, magkulang liwat lapsaw" (M3). They are critical with choosing the barok. The fresher the better. They are very specific with the right amount of barok because putting too much into the sap results to very bitter taste, and putting a lesser barok results to an imperfect mixture of tuba. The barok is an essential part in the aging process of tuba. The tuba is then placed in a bigger container normally a plastic jug then the mananggiti can either sell it to the alpor or keep it to himself for consumption.



Interview with some Mananggiti and Alpor in Tanauan, Leyte

Modern Innovations

These tuba-gatherers did not introduce modern techniques to age the wine. They only stuck to the old method since there was nothing wrong with the old system, "waray namon ginbago han kadaan nga sistema kay maupay man hiya" (M7). It was already aromatic, healthy, and appealing, that is why there is no need for them to innovate. One can appreciate the historical tact that their forefathers have devoted to initiating and perpetuating any type of wine from any part of the globe (Hulkower, 2020). The inclusion of a new strategy might just alter or defeat the good taste of Tuba. Recently, there is a newer aging process of tuba using certain

² These smaller containers were originally made from bamboo although smaller in size compared to the kawit. Recently, a number of mananggiti have already resorted to using plastic containers.

chemicals and machines to hasten the process but several *Alpor*³ and *Mananggiti* had negative outlook on the advent of this method because it is not natural anymore (M4). The real ingredients of *Tuba* are only *Tuba* and *Barok* or *Tungog*⁴. The bark of this mangrove plant is dried up, chopped into pieces, and then mixed with coconut sap to constitute *tuba* (Polistico, 2011). Its reddish appearance makes *tuba* red as well.



Samples of Tuba The one on the left is only in its first few days but the one in the right has been aged for months or years.

The aging process of *tuba* begins in this phase. The *alpor*, *mananggiti*, or anybody who opts to age it either chooses plastic or glass containers. Glass containers are the best when aging *tuba*, "pinakamaupay iton glass nga surudlan kay maupay iton pagbahal" (A2). Plastic containers being as such can sometimes affect the taste of *tuba* especially new containers. The plastic-like taste most often is added to the *tuba*. But this is not the case for glass containers.

In the past, *alpor* would really use the dama juana in aging *tuba* but recently, many have resorted to plastic containers due to glass'

vulnerability and adhering to the plastic's strength despite continuous transport and handling. In Palo, Leyte some would bury tuba underground to assist the aging process, "nagtesting la an akon tatay paglubong hin tuba para magpabahal, alagad kay maupay an resulta" (A3), while some would put raisins to add aroma to it, "mas mahamot iton mayda pasas" (C5). During the aging process, it should not be exposed to direct sunlight, otherwise it will turn to vinegar. The containers must be filled fully, otherwise, it will not age well or might even turn to vinegar.

During the early stages of the process, fermentation results in distillation that sediments are formed at the bottom of the container. After a week, one needs to transfer the distilled part to another container, so a further round of distillation can happen. After another week, the distilled part is transferred again to another container, so another round of distillation happens. This process will go on until no more sediments are formed at the bottom of the container. From there, the tuba will stay in the container until it reaches the bahalina level, "ginbuburubasya iton tuba hin senemana. Paglabay hiton usa ka semana nga mayda largo ha ubos, igbabasya ha iba nga surudlan, hasta ngada nga waray na largo" (M3). Tuba is termed as bahal when aged until its 6th month. It is termed as bahalina when aged until 1 year or more (A1). The more it ages the more alcohol contents it develops (Sanchez, 2008). Hence, the terms bahal and bahalina refer to the age, taste, and alcohol content of tuba. At any stage of the fermentation process, it is already consumable. Some would prefer to drink it at the outset of the process because it is sweet, while some others would prefer to take it when it has turned into bahal or bahalina.

Based on the interviews and personal communications cited, learning how to make *tuba* will continue as long as there are coconut trees. There will always be new generations of

³ An Alpor is a person who buys and gathers coconut sap from various mananggiti. He transfers all the tuba that he bought to a better and bigger container to monitor meticulously the aging process.

⁴ A barok or tungog is a type of mangrove plant found in Tawi-Tawi, Philippines, and Malaysia. For the waray-waray speaking people in Leyte, they call it barok, but for the Bisaya speaking, they call it tungog.

mananggiti who are either inclined or forced to engage in this activity. These pronouncements will result in the perpetuation of this liquor. The people of Leyte have been acquainted so much with this type of wine. They love this product, and this reciprocates the mananggiti's willingness to continuously produce tuba. These realities have resulted in solidifying tuba as one of Leyte's better tangible cultural icons.



Dama Juana (Gil, n.d.)





Plastic Jug

Glass gallon & Plastic gallon

Economic Considerations of Tuba

The *Mananggiti* engages in *tuba* gathering because there is money in it. He can gather *tuba* in the morning and then sell it in the afternoon. This is the primary reason why these people love to gather *tuba*. As soon as he secures the container into the coconut spathe early in the morning, he can proceed to another kind of work like farming, carpentry, and masonry. At the day's end, he can get back to gather the sap from the containers

he secured earlier in the day and then sells it to the *Alpor*. They earned on sap gathering and likewise earned on another job during the day. They professed that they resort to other means to earn more for the sake of their respective families. None of them said that they will just wait for the container to be filled.



Mananggiti/s during their leisure time

The Nature of the Job – Price and Benefits

Tuba gathering is a livelihood. It is an avenue to earn money. Sadly, these people only considered the amount purchased for barok/ tungog when selling to the alpor, "iton barok iton amon ginkikwenta kun nabaligya kami" (M10). The rest is decided by the latter which is oftentimes one-sided and favorable to the alpor (M9). Other matters like the risk in climbing the coconut tree, insurance, and implements used like knives, containers, and labor were not considered. There is a need for government intervention to safeguard these laborers. Institutionalizing them through laws and policies will protect their livelihood and families. Some politicians in the Philippines have used the farmers' plight as a battle cry in their political campaigns. This strategy has been working on the part of the politicians as many Filipinos are engaged in farming and these promises to them have been attractive. Unfortunately, farmers continue to be exploited by some greedy political leaders leaving the former unprotected.

During the conduct of this study, very few among the sap-gatherers were well-off, but all alpor were financially stable. The alpor buys it at a low price but sells it to the market at a higher rate. The mananagiti only has the alpor for a market, but the alpor can sell this product locally, nationally, and internationally. For instance, a mananggiti sells one jug of tuba to an alpor for 100 Philippine pesos, but an alpor, after aging the tuba for a few months or year, can sell it for 1000 Philippine pesos. This is however fair considering that aging tuba takes time and dedication. Hence, these mananggiti may have been in the job for forty to fifty years yet their financial capacity has not improved. While these alpors, even if they have just been in the business for five to ten years, they have already reached the height of their expected economic progression. Besides, some of them are now expanding their business outside the region and even exporting outside the country. There should be equilibrium between these two players. As revealed by one of the alpors, few alpors engage in coconut sap gathering because they are dependent on the mananggiti (M10). An intervention from the government might settle this issue by stipulating a specific price for every jug or gallon of coconut sap that a mananggiti sells to an alpor. If this happens, there is a tendency for an increase in the price of this commodity once it reaches the market. However, this scenario will give justice and dignity to the mananggiti's important role as the person who makes the first step of the entire process of tuba making. One of the interviewed consumers opined that if the price of the tuba in the market increases, Leyteños will still patronize this product because of their simple love for it (C2).

Tuba, Culture, and Values

Wine and culture are related concepts in various countries. There were times when wine was an elitist social construct but later on became part of the human lifestyle (Ritchie, 2009).

Tuba and Culture

Culture is the totality of the human spirit (Montemayor, 1992). It refers to the entirety of the human person's achievements and activities, both tangible and intangible, and practically everything about society. It may also include humanities, philosophy, and language (Panopio et al., 2004). Culture refers to the past, present, and future of everything that forms parts of the human person and the society he is into. It refers to the total and distinctive way of human life and achievements whether the material or non-material aspects of society. From these ideas emanate the notions of goods, products, and services to attract the human person. Tuba is produced in other parts of the country, but no ethnic group does the fermentation process better than the Leyteños. Even the tuba-gatherers (mananagiti) of Baybay City, Leyte admit that the eastern part of Leyte produces better. This was unanimously agreed on by the managgiti during the first FGD session. They have already mastered the fermentation process. Besides, in (Pacho, 2010), the study conducted focused on the marketability of tuba in Tacloban City, Leyte showing among others, that Leyte, is indeed at the forefront of tuba-making. Hence, a tangible culture of the province.

Tuba is alcoholic just like most wines, and excessive intake of it will intoxicate a person. A coconut sap without barok normally has 2 – 4% alcohol, while sap combined with barok and aged further may contain 10 – 14% alcohol (Sanchez, 2008). As an alcoholic beverage, moderation must be exercised since intoxication sometimes leads to unpleasant behavior. Since it is relatively low in alcohol, it may take a while before a person gets drunk, and this helps prolong and reminisce stories and laughter among peers (C3). A simple gathering of two or three people would best be enjoyable and memorable when there is *tuba* to drink. Wine facilitates social gatherings and camaraderie. It makes get-togethers fun, lively, and interactive. It

gives meaning to culture and connection among peers drawing from it a sense of identity and closeness (Hulkower, 2020).

Tuba being a product of Leyte, which has been part of the life of the Leyteños, is part of Leyte's culture. It has been part of Leyte's tradition and heritage. Through the years, it has been associated with Leyteños and other people earnestly identify the product with Leyte. During celebrations, visitors would normally ask for it, "tuba gud iton kasagaran ginaaro hiton bisita" (C5). Household owners or guests may prepare other hard liquors but the primary beverage that is being requested by their visitors is tuba.

Tuba and Filipino Values

Filipinos love to gather and celebrate. During the entire year, gatherings are rampant like birthdays, death anniversaries, and especially reunions during the Christmas season. In Leyte, people have a local term called dinominggo which is loosely translated as simple and unprepared gatherings every Sunday. Sunday is a day of rest, especially among Christians, and drinking *tuba* is a form of rest or recreation. Older folks and middleaged persons appreciate this, "ma lagas o mabatanon, naruruyag gud hiton tuba" (C3). After a long week of work, they intend to relax and culminate the week with a simple but lively get-together even just in a small group or among family members.

Values are ideas and norms men consider relevant and desirable (Panopio et al., 2004). Values are those guiding principles that man should know and understand to achieve a character which true, good, and wanted (Jocano, 1997). The values in a given society can be deducted from ordinary conversations and works of travelers, missionaries, folklorists, novelists, social scientists, such as educators, social workers, and community development workers (Panopio et al., 2004). Ordinary conversations, for instance, can be the start of a friendship or renewal of a tarnished relationship.

Some values can be formed and nourished with the aid of Tuba. First, hospitality is an act shown by a person towards another who needs food or shelter. It is like a warm acceptance of a person into one's house as well as its amenities. Filipinos are known to be hospitable and friendly. When a family member or close relative from remote towns or provinces visits or has a business call in a city or metropolis, more often they would prefer to stay with a relative rather than spend the night in a hotel. Filipinos value close family ties and love to rekindle closeness and love. The night or nights spent normally begins with a meal then culminates over a liter or more of. Conversations, reminiscing of many experiences, and sharing of ideas comprise a memorable moment with another person. In Leyte, these gestures of goodwill and kindness are better served with *Tuba*. Some interviewees prefer tuba over other alcoholic beverages because of its minimal alcohol content. It takes time before a person gets intoxicated, "maiha makahuboq iton tuba" (C3).

Second, Amor Propio is sensitivity towards another person especially his feelings and emotions to maintain social acceptance (Andres, 1981). This Filipino value is manifested in hiya, utang na loob, and smooth interpersonal relationships. Utang na Loob is also known as the debt of gratitude. It is best portrayed when a person has been extended with help by another person which is impossible to quantify for repayment (Agaton, 2017). Hiya may occur when a person fails to repay another. While SIR is shown by a person who is hesitant to say no or has difficulty showing frankness for fear of retaliatory anger from another (Jocano, 1997). The bond of friendship is susceptible to misunderstanding or shortcomings, but these situations can be settled through SIR which most Filipinos employ to settle controversies. Some interviewees said that, when differences are settled, it culminates with a rekindling of relationship over a pitcher or even a gallon of tuba, or when a group

is composed of several persons, they may end up consuming even a jug. Normally, when a person needs help, he visits his relatives or friends to seek assistance. There are times when he gets rejected, but there are also instances when is abetted. This is a normal scenario considering that there are also times when relatives and friends are also needy. When a person is abetted, the meeting sometimes ends up with a sharing of *tuba*, "iton pakigurusa, mas marasa kun mayda tuba" (C3). Aside from the illustration of amor propio, hospitality also played a role in the meeting.

Third, Pakikisama means good public relations either with his family, friends, or workmates. A Filipino must try to avoid openly hurting another person, instead, he must possess goodwill and companionship with his fellow (Jocano, 2000). This value is again one of the traits that one can find in a Filipino or Leyteño for that matter. Filipinos do not want to disappoint their fellow by ignoring his person or offers in public for this will result in insult and disagreement. In normal circumstances, when a person is tired from work or other human activity, he rests, for it is the best way to replenish lost energy. In Leyte, a day's hard work can end with a shot or shots of tuba with family or friends, "kasagaran, basta kahuhuman hiton adlaw nga makapoy, maupay imnan hin tuba" (C1). It becomes difficult for him to refuse the offer because of pakikisama. He is not, however, obliged to consume numerous glasses of it. A simple gesture of pakikisama coupled with a glass or two or even five of tuba is enough to show that he accepted and enjoyed the offer. The better part of this beverage compared to other liquors is its minimal alcohol content which means that hangover is also less. Even if one is tired and has taken some glasses of tuba, he is not impaired from reporting to work the next day. Friday is the last day of work and Saturday for some. Leyteños love to end the long week of work with tuba sessions, "labina katapos

hiton semana nga trabaho, maupay gud imnan" (C5). Some love to go to bars, restaurants, and resorts, but some prefer to have it at home. The drinking session is better with family or friends, and those who desire to hold it at home end up with *tuba* as the liquor of preference.



Old folks sharing stories over a pitcher of Tuba



Some Leyteños chat and share a jug of Tuba after a day's work

Yearly Spectacle

Just like in the thirteenth century when French king Phillip II hosted a wine-tasting competition in Europe (Shapin, 2012), every year for three years now and counting, a political party list in the Philippines has been hosting the *Oktubafest* featuring competitions like Best Bahalina, Best Kawit, Best Photo Essay, Best Dish with *Tuba* and among others. All cities and municipalities in Leyte and even Samar and Biliran islands would join in this spectacle showcasing Leyte's best product – *Tuba*.



A picture of Bahalina that won in 2008 for Best Tuba sponsored by a political party list



One of the Entries in Photo Essay during the Oktubafest in 2010

The festivity is meant to highlight *tuba* itself by inviting municipalities to bring in their finest product and compete with each other. A panel of judges is organized who will personally taste all the entries present. At the end of the contest, the finest *tuba* will be judged as the winner with corresponding prizes. Further, there are also other contests relating to *tuba* as well as the devices a *mananggiti* uses in making *tuba*. It is not only an alcoholic drink but can also be used in cooking food and local pastry. These are all contests with prizes. There are also lectures and research presentations about it which make up the educational aspect of the product.

4.0 Conclusion

The *Tuba* in Leyte has become a standout tangible culture that has existed for many centuries owing its origin from the forefathers of these

Leyteños. The love for this commodity has resulted into its perpetual production in many areas of the province. On one aspect, it is a liquor that helps economically both the *Mananggiti* and *alpor*. On the other aspect, most *Leyteños*, if not all, love to drink this liquor resulting in the nourishment of several values.

There is however, a concern that needs to be addressed following this study. There are no laws, policies, or ordinances beneficial to the *mananggiti* including insurance and price equilibrium compared to an *alpor*. This reality will be difficult to safeguard and value the work of the *mananggiti*. This paper recommends the exploration of the price benefit or price equilibrium between the *Mananggiti* and *alpor*. At present, the determination of the price of this commodity generally favors the *alpor* because it is he who can store and age larger amounts of *tuba* for marketing. A study focusing on lady *mananggiti* can also be considered.

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