# Tartanilla: A Symbolism of Cebuano Transportation Heritage

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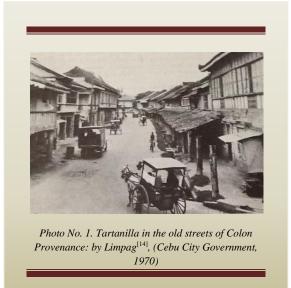
Abstract - This study described the tartanilla's existence in Cebu as a mode of transportation centuries ago. To answer this, the following objectives are raised: describe a Cebuano tartanilla, determine its significance to Cebu's local history, analyze its enduring utilization in an urban environment, identify the challenges as a form of transportation and trade, and generate mechanisms how itsstakeholders resolve the identified challenges. The study utilized an ethnographic design with naturalistic observation, interviews of key informants (KIs), field notes, and photographsas appropriate means for collecting information. The KIs comprised eightkuchero or tartanilla drivers identified through a snowball sampling to be known as KIks (key informant kucheros), in order to get the emic or inside views, and another eight KIps (key informant pasaheros) were selected, through a convenient sampling, in order to get the etic or outside views. Tartanilla symbolized a century old transportation heritage of the Cebu with the kuchero and the pasahero, as living witnesses along the narrow streets of Cebu City, Philippines then and now. This means of transportation used to be a luxury vehicle among the affluent members of Cebuano society in the past. As time went by, the tartanilla, regarded by the local government of Cebu as a means of transportation; but its status was introduced to simple means of transportation among the average masses in the Cebuano community. The pasahero's interest in saving for money resulted in the existence of the tartanilla. Being a kuchero reflected a sentimental value in inheriting the job handed down across his generations. Part of his inheritance handed on him is the cart and the horse from his family. Though, driving a tartanilla met various problems, it has been a sustainable job for a kuchero to undertake for the daily subsistence. Its significance to the Cebuano history and culture, created an identity worthy of appreciation and preservation among the culture and heritage enthusiasts.

Keywords: tartanilla, kuchero, pasahero, transportation heritage

## INTRODUCTION

Archaeological evidences suggest that "behaviorally modern humans" are living a hunting and gathering lifestyle 50,000 years ago. When the odds seem favorable to the existence of these humans. their population increases drastically, thus makes their everyday living a competition for meager resources for food. In order to address the problem of depleting resources, migration is a solution they have seen to avoid conflict for competition. This leads to human occupation to the other parts of the globe. Hoppes points out that humans, over the course of history, have been a traveler[1]. In conveniently finding better places to settle in, humans have been working on various inventions. This course of action leads to the utilization of animals and invention of various modes of transportation from the wheels toairplanes; transport them to various places around the world. Byttebierstresses that transportation technology has been bringing them across lands and around the world[2].Amano and others have mentioned that during the 333 years of Spanish occupation in the Philippines, Cebu has been subjected to technological advancement in terms of transportation. The Spaniards give a great influence, when the use of native ponies in the 1850s becomes the modes of transportation in large communities in Cebu. It is during this time that the *tartanilla*, as a means of transportation, has been introduced[3].

Ortiz claims that tartanilla is considered the "kings of the road", the days before motorized vehicles are introduced at the end of World War II. If the calesa is a two-wheeled horse carriage that accommodates two passengers in Metro Manila and in others parts of the Philippines, the *tartanilla* is a little bigger and can accommodate four passengers. It is a popular mode of transportation until this is replaced by motorized vehicles that we see and use nowadays[4].During the early times, a *tartanilla* can be typically seen and utilized in crowded streets of Leon Kilat, Sanciangko and Tres de Abril, Cebu City, Philippines. Today, Cebu City Ordinance No. 67 restricts the *tartanilla*'s route only along the streets of Pasil, Taboan and Duljo, in order to prevent traffic congestions along the busy streets of the metropolis. These *tartanilla* are typically used by vendors who are on their way to the marketplace to buy basic commodities [4]. This mode of transportation has been



existent in centuries ago and has still continued running until the present day.

Though the advancement of technology has slowly faced out this type of transportation, it is a fact that the *tartanilla* is still retained, even though their route is very limited to the busy streets of Duljo, Taboan and Pasil; but its social valuereflects the socio-economic life of the *Sugbuanons* (Cebuanos) and the *Karaang Sugbu* (Old Cebu).These villages are known for centuries about the *tartanilla* and believeto have this transportation because of the number of horses raised in these villages during thecolonial times. The village of Duljo is derived from dulhog(descend), because of itsdalhig (inclined or elevated) landscape from the banks of the river and its tributaries, which are separated from the village of Labangon, where the name is derived from *labang*, which means crossing the river. Labangon, in the olden times, is an open space of grasslands with little vegetation; horses are fielded and fed, extending to the nearby village of Basak, which derived from basakan (rice paddies), where grasses are grown abundantly after harvest time. These horses take goods across the river for trading the nearby villages of Duljo. These goods are transported to a *tabo*, (market faire), where the village of Taboan is named. This route stretches to derived pasilan Pasil. which from or lapyahan(coastline) where trading of dry goods and wet goods is continued. The tartanillais a master of the road to Colon, the oldest street in the Philippines (See Photo No. 1) bound to parian, Chinese term for market, resembles like the present Carbon market with similar convergences of trade. This study seeks to uncover the reason why the trade has persisted over the course of time, discover the characteristics and features that make an old vehicle existent and practical to utilize even until the present times, write an account about the challenges of the stakeholders and how they cope with them in keeping up with the other modes of transportation in the modern times. These pieces of information can be made beneficial to historians, culture advocates, and tourist guides in Cebu City and the Province of Cebu to initiate mechanisms for heritage conservation. To the present generation more especially the youth, the *tartanilla* is a symbolism of a vibrant socio-cultural life of the early Cebuanos, that reminiscing it is not enough; but to develop a wider perspective in assimilating consciousness for the love of place and sense of pride, being a Cebuano.

#### **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Cebuanos have a vast culture and heritage valued and preserved over time. In fact, highlighting this, as a big event, is the celebration of the *Kinaiyang Sugbuanon* (Cebuano traits), that proves the *Sugbuanon* sense of identity in the field of Cebuano music, verses, weaving, and the visual arts. This activitytouches the souls of music enthusiasts who can hear and awaken sweet sentiments of love and romance, faith in God, patriotism, and social significance, which make *Sugbuanon* proud of their precious Cebuano heritage.Gullas mentions that with

P-ISSN 2350-7756 | E-ISSN 2350-8442 | www.apjmr.com Asia Pacific Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 3, No. 5, December 2015 this practice, it can offer a smooth interpersonal relationship and promotes love and appreciation of our native language and practice[5]. Before the years of Spanish colonization, early Cebuanos are dependent with nature and practice rituals using the practice of *yamyam* (prayer of intentions) in the native language[6],[7], [8].

When humans form a society, helping one another ensures their survival. But, with their survival supersedes the survival of the next generation demands faster means of transportation. Population increase sacrifices human survival because resources are depleting. In order to address this problem, according to Hoppe, they either engage in infanticide or migrate to other lands[1]. Cebu has not been adopting infanticide because of faith in the Senior Santo Niño (Holy Child Jesus), Patron Saint of Cebu City, in defending the value of life; however, migration is always a prevalent phenomenon, the demand for faster transportation and reduction of time to travel increases, in effect, jeopardizes the tartanilla. Through the course of history, humans have been travelling to various parts of the world in search for food, comfort and for a new start. This scenario creates a new diasporic movement, which entails the use of transportation.

Every bone and muscle structure of the body are designed for facilitating the foraging of food from the wild, running free from predators and satisfying obvious curiosity for adventure. These, in turn, make humans a traveler and learn to make tools in order to aid their endeavors. Various tools are made to assist their travel. One of these is the wheel that makes them move around to many places in different ways, as stated by Byttebier[2].DHWTY has brought up wheels as basic invention of the primitive man; rather one of the greatest achievements thinking humans has ever made[9]. It has taken them to various places all over the globe and has proved to be a very useful assistant to live even in the present times. Evidence as pointed by Roy, that almost all of our vehicles today utilize wheels and improve mobility in our daily lives[10]. One of the early modes of transportation, which greatly benefits from the invention of the wheel, is the horse-drawn carriage; the *tartanilla* is one of its kinds.

According to Dixon[11], nobody can ever point out who first conceptualizes and invents the horse carriage. Horses and carts are popularly used together during the 15th century B.C. coincides the conceptualization of the wheel, during ancient civilizations. Dating far back as 1800 B.C., artworks and writings in the culture of Greece and Assyria suggest that horse-drawn carts are useful transportations. This mode of transportation depicts as instruments in war and across the Middle East and Europe. It has a very important role in the European lives during the Medieval Period. It is utilized by people who need to travel to far places and by merchants to carry their goods in and around the town or to other neighboring towns. In the 17th century, these modes of transportation obtain a better engineering as these are transformed to smoother and safer rides. It has been made with light materials thus making it quicker to run. The horse transportation trade gives jobs for coachmen, painters and upholsterers as they collaborate in making elegant carriages for passengers' comfort. Dixon points out that with the help of the development of concrete roads, horse-drawn carriage becomes popular throughout Europe, but with the advent of automobiles, the use of these modes of transportation has slowly declined[12]. Today, various fights for the banning of horse-drawn carriages are being fought over by animal lovers, saying that these types of vehicles exhibit cruelty to the horses as these horses are exposed to dust, heat and hard labor. Though various groups, like PETA, have been against this practice, there are still countries around the globe, like the Philippines, utilize these horse-drawn carriages as modes of transportation[13].

When the Spaniards arrive in the Philippines to broaden Spain's sphere of influence, they bring not only their cultures into the Philippines; but also to their technological advancements. One of these cultural advancements is the calesa, a horse-drawn carriage. The conquerors establish and introduce the grid-iron layout in order to inculcate a good pavement to facilitate a smooth transportation of goods and services. It is in Cebu that the Spaniards begin to instill the development of infrastructures; but these urban development plans come into a halt because the capital of the Spanish settlement has been moved to Manila. Even though Cebu is not crowned as the capital of the Spanish settlement in the Philippines, she still experiences some of Spain's dominance and rule as various Spanish influences are evident in the city until the modern times. Amano and others mention that in the 1850s, native ponies are brought into the province of Cebu for utilization in large communities in the province. It is recorded in the 19th century when horse-drawn carriage known as *tartanilla* is heavily demanded for people's use[3].

According to Richie Dasmariñas, the current size and appearance of the tartanillais originated in the 1930s. It has the sitting capacity of five, including the kuchero (the coachman) or paradista(tartanilla owner/driver), who drives a parada (another name of a tartanilla). Originally, the seat is located at the side but is moved to the back. Another change of the transport is the pouch placed in front of the kuchero for catching the horse's waste and to keep the streets clean. The tartanilla in Cebu has festive colors and decorations on its carriage body called the kaha. Galiahas specifically cited that painters and carpenters construct these kaha in a manner that resembles the ancestors have fashioned way their it for generations[12].

*Kuchero* often earn 300 to 450 pesos a week. They roam the busy old streets in Cebu with their horses as their companions. Some of these *kuchero* inherit the trade from their forefathers; others venture on the trade years ago to challenge their luck and fate in Cebu City. Given the prices in the market and the competitive nature of the urban communities, will time ever come when these vehicles are no longer patronized? According to some *kuchero*, they are still hopeful that the trade will last through the test of time, because of its century old existence. According to Tabanera, many still continue to patronize the services of these vehicles because the passengers are fascinated with the horses and enjoy *tartanilla* riding [14].

#### **OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This study described the *tartanilla's* existence in Cebu as a mode of transportation centuries ago. To answer this, the following objectives are raised: describe a Cebuano *tartanilla*, determine its significance to Cebu's local history, analyze its enduring utilization in an urban environment, identify the challenges as a form of transportation and trade, and generate mechanisms how its stakeholders resolve the identified challenges.

#### METHODS

#### **Research Design**

This study used an ethnographic design with naturalistic observation, interviews of key informants (KIs), field notes, photographs supported with secondary data. The key informants (KIs) were eight known kuchero or tartanilla drivers identified through a snowball sampling to be known as KIks (key informant kucheros), in order to get the emic or inside views. Eight pasahero or tartanilla passengers, as KIps (key informant pasaheros) were selected, through a convenient sampling, in order to get the etic or outside views. KIks were interviewed through interview guides, in Sitio Kabayuan, Cogon-Pardo in Cebu City, Philippines. Sitio Kabayuan, which means "village of horses", was the selected locale of the study because this was where the KIks lived, tended, and fed their individual horses. These KIks were selected with these criteria: that they represented a family of a kuchero, either he owned a tartanilla or rented it. Other casual interviews were conducted to Klps, who were *tartanilla* daily commuters to interface KIks' data. Fieldwork was conducted in more than six months to include site observation, field notes, taking of photographs, and tape recording during the KIs' most convenient time. Questions in the interview guides are inter-rated for validation. The needed information was gathered by social science student researchers with the help of the two senior faculty-advisers in the Social Sciences Department. The researchers together with the KIs agreed on a rest day to conduct the interview, being their most convenient day for both of them. To observe ethics, names of KIs were held confidentially.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **Description of a Cebuano Tartanilla**

A Cebuano *tartanilla* is an inclined cart drawn by a single horse. The cart is primarily made up of wooden material called yakal or tugas known asmolave (vitexparviflora) trees, because of its durability. It has two round wheels on each side of the cart for mobility. The wheels are made up of goma or rubber and yakal (hard) wood. It has two rows of seats that are facing each other, which can accommodate up to four people. Differing from the *calesa*, the entrance to the lingkuranan (passenger's seat) of the cart is usually at the rear end. When the passengers and the driver hop onto the cart, they are supported by the flat bar which serves as a stepping board for both the passengers and the driver to sit on the lingkuranan. Each *lingkuranan* is joined by the angle bar located on each side and has a wooden backrestfor passengers to lean on and keep them from falling off (See Photo 2).

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*Photo No. 2. Parts of a Tartanilla edited by Denise MerielSollano and Gennel Marie Sollano, (Provenance, www.onecebu.com*<sup>[4]</sup>)

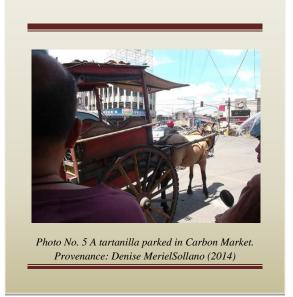
The passengers and the kuchero or chauffer of the tartanillaare protected from the sun by the kisame, or the roof which is still made up of *yakal*. The *tartanilla* is never complete without the horse. A horse (equuscaballus) good for the tartanilla trade is one that is healthy and has a good appetite. The horse is the major problem a kuchero can experience especially when these horses refuse his commands and start to suki or go against. When the horse's behavior can become out of hand, he usually cannot do anything: but stop and allow the horse to have a rest. An average hour's duty for the horse on the carriage is five hours a day and these horses are kept in a stable place beside their owner's houses or driver's houses located in what people call kabayuan (graze land) in Cogon, Pardo, a place with so many cogon grass (Imperatacylindrica L.) are abounding. During the Spanish times, Cebuanos who raise several horses or caballusare known to be caballeros, a conjecture that some of these families in the identified villages carry the family names of Caballero, as famous paradista or horsemen.

Horses are required to wear horse shoe in order to keep them from slipping on the road. Blinkers or blinders are placed on either side of the horse's eyes to prevent them from seeing the rear side and keep them on track to where the drivers steer them to run, in order to avoid road accident. Drivers hold the *kabisa*or steer, to guide the horse to where it should go.



Photo Nos. 3 and 4. Provenance by Maylen Recto, Edited by Denise MerielSollano (2015)

The *kabisa* connected to the *abokado* or a tow inserted on the horse's mouth. A *bomba* catchment is hanged on the rear end of the horse to catch their manure and prevent spilling on the roads. This horse dung is collected in a sack and sold for organic fertilizers in nurseries and gardens, in order to earn additional income (*Klk-3*). If a *kuchero* does not have a horse, he is to rent it for seventy pesos for one usage, in order to meet a day's *pasahe* or driving. Not only that the *tartanilla* is used to carry loads and passengers, this also provides a good tourist



## Tartanilla's Significance to Cebu's Local History

During the colonization of the Spaniards, the Philippines undergo a lot of changes. One of thesechanges that the Spaniards instill in the archipelago is the country's system of transportation. Once a capital of the Spanish colony in the Philippines, Cebu struggles to maintain her indigeneity while embracing a colonial ambiance. Because of her major role in the economic interests of the Spanish government, the Spaniards introduce the tartanilla in the island. The elite have greatly benefitted the tartanilla because they can afford to avail its services, at that time, making them regard the tartanilla as a symbol of status, prestige, and wealth as mentioned by the famous Filipino historian Ambeth Ocampo. Between the years 1950s to 1960s, much of the main road in Cebu City is occupied by the tartanilla. Within these years, motorized vehicles are already existent; but most of the people prefer to ride on a *tartanilla* because of a more considerable fare than the use of motorized vehicles.

In the year 1980, tartanillas are often seen to have been originated in the San Nicolas District. These horse-drawn carriages are used to travel in the downtown area, along Sanciangko Street outside San experience especially during the *GabiisaKabilin*or Night in the Museum, a yearly celebration that coincides the museum month celebration at the end of May, sponsored by the Ramon Aboitiz Foundation, Inc. (RAFI) in coordination of the leading museums in Cebu City and the local government (*KIk-7*). As a reminder of an old transportation heritage, the *tartanilla*is utilized in events like funerals and weddings in the past; but these are nowrarelyused, except for unique weddings when the entire entourage use several *tartanilla*, recalling the ambiance of Cebu's colonial past (*KIk-4*).

Nicolas. These vehicles would encompass the routes going to Labangon and V. Rama Avenue. It is between the years 1990 and 2000 when the local government giveless-friendly policies to the paradista or the tartanilla owners or drivers. When the tartanilla and the motorized vehicles ran alongside can race on the streets, traffic becomes heavier, because the *tartanilla* is slower to run than the motorized public utility vehicles. Pollution is also one of the main reasons why the local government restricts the tartanilla in travelling the main streets for the scattered horse manure. The tartanilla, once dubbed as the "king of the road," and a vehicle for the elite classes of society, now becomes no more than an infamous vehicle scampering about he narrow streets of Pasil, Duljo and Taboan. Once used as the main source of income among Cebuano kucheros, who transport Cebuanos from all walks of life to different destinations. Today, the image of the tartanilla has been downgraded as a means of transportation for the impoverished sectors of Cebuano society. Its symbol of power, glamour, and prestige has dwindled with time, in the advent of massive urbanization and modernization.

## Tartanilla's Challenges and Mechanisms in an Urban Environment

The limitation of the routes of the *tartanilla* to Duljo, Pasil and Taboan areas signifies major ripping off in the business, which the *tartanilla* drivers never seem to bother as a sign of their obedience to the local government regulation. *KIk-5*, *KIk-2*, and *KIk-8*lament that "they cannot do anything about the ordinance and they do not bother to fight for the expansion of their routes because most of them are aware that their trade would cause disorder in the main streets of the city due to the fact that the horses cannot be completely

P-ISSN 2350-7756 | E-ISSN 2350-8442 | www.apjmr.com Asia Pacific Journal of Multidisciplinary Research, Vol. 3, No. 5, December 2015 controlled and that their trade would cause traffic because the *tartanilla* is slower than the other motorized vehicles".

Just like any other vehicle, a *tartanilla* needs a license in order to operate. The mentioned license isrenewed annually for three hundred pesos. A *kuchero's* failure to have a permit causes him to lose his trade. Riding a *tartanilla* is not expensive. The minimum fare is just five pesos which is lower than the minimum jeepney fare. Even though the fare is completely inexpensive, the trade still continues in the course of time. The people are responsible of the *tartanilla* existence as long as there are still the *pasahero*(passengers) andthe *kuchero*, who is still willing to tame a horse, treats his horselike his best friend on the road (*KIk-1*).Several interviewed key informants mention that the *tartanilla* is a symbol for:

*Practicality*, because it enables them to save money, more especially when they are travelling in short distance.

*"Barato man gud ang tartanilla ug plete labi na kung duol lang ang destinasyon" (KIp-4).* The tartanilla fare is affordable most especially in short destination (KIp-4).

*Environment protection*, because of no burning of fossil fuel is required to keep the vehicle running, therefore reducing the emission of carbon monoxide from motorized vehicles.

"Sa tartanilla, walay aso nga ibuga nga makadaut sa kinaiyahan"(KIp-2). The tartanilla does not emit carbon monoxide that destroys the environment (KIp-2).

*Historical pride*, because the *tartanilla* mirrors a reflection of Cebuano colorful history and transportation heritage that binds between the *kuchero* and the *pasahero*.

*"Simbolo man gud ang tartanilla sa kolonyal nga kaaging Sugbuanon (KIp-5).* The tartanilla is symbolic to a colonial history of Cebu (KIp-5).

*Socio-natural mutualism*, because the villagers' use of horses in earning a living. This dependency is a sign of a mutual relationship of how the *kuchero* understands the behavior of the horse in order to

maintain a harmonious travel, thus earning a better income.

"Angtartanillanaghulagwaysasimplengpangina buhisakomunidadkaabagangusakakabayosakad alanan (KIk-5). The tartanilla features the villager's simple means of living, with the use of a horse on the street (KIk-5).

The *kuchero* are one of the major contributors to keep the local trade in operation. Half of the interviewed *kuchero* engage the trade because of the influence of their older family members thus the trade has been inherited by them from their fathers. Some also engage it because of the lack of qualification and skills to do other kinds of work. Most of the *kuchero* prefer to become a *kuchero* because it does not need too much work especially when all that is needed is just a healthy horse, a functional cart and a persistent attitude to drive.

In order to keep the tartanilla running, most of the kuchero maintain a very effective tartanilla, both the cart and the horse. The cart, when damaged, is sent to the repairman immediately. To have a better income, the kuchero have two horses at their disposal. When the first horse is tired from work, the second is then taken, allowing the first horse to rest. The horse's role in the *tartanilla* trade is very significant, therefore, the kuchero see it and give their horses the right nutrition and rest to keep them in good condition for running. They are fed twice a day, once before or after the horse's turn to work. These horses are being fed with kumpay or fodders, tahup or chaff and sagbut or grass which is supplemented by feeds and *central* (brown sugar). The horses are given two pails of water to drink and they are given water twice a day. The kuchero also experience difficulties in their job. Some of them work as laborers or carpenters to augment their income while most of them work full-time.

The *kuchero* experience three difficulties in *tartanilla* driving: (1) inevitable circumstances like health problems or inclement weather condition like heavy rains, (2) when they cannot get few *pasahero* and (3) taming and controlling the horse while driving. When inevitable circumstances like these occur, they cannot do anything but stop working for the day. Based on the following responses by the key informants, engaging in a *tartanilla* driving, *kuchero* are *health conscious*. The value of health is a priority than engaging in the actual job.

"Di ko ka makaparada kung naa ko bati-on sa lawas, labi na kung magkasakit"(Klk-6). I cannot drive the tartanillaif I am not feeling well, most of all if I am sick (Klk-6).

*Monitoring weather conditions* of the day is one of the important traits of a *kuchero*. They anticipate being safe on the road: free from any untoward accidents like the destruction of the *tartanilla*, the *kuchero's* health, as well as the health and behavior of the horse during bad weather condition.

"Di gyud ko mo parada kung lain ang panahon, labi na kung kusog ug ulan"(KIk-1). I cannot drive the tartanilla if there is a bad weather condition, most especially if there is a heavy rain (KIk-1).

While it is a big problem when there are no passengers, *kuchero* are *optimistic* while they cannot drive their *tartanilla*, they make the situation an opportune time to relax momentarily to de-stress the stressful times of the day that they are busy wandering on the streets sending and fetching passengers to designated destinations.

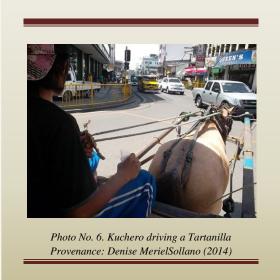
"Wa gyud biyahe kung way pasahero". (KIk-7)There is no driving of the tartanilla if there are no passengers (KIk-7).

*Kuchero's sensitivity to animal behavior* is a trait to establish a perfect blending in the driving process, because if the *kuchero* is impatient, then it is difficult to tame his horse and travel and earning income for the day become impossible.Encountering a problem with their horses is very inevitable. Most of the *kuchero* see their horses like human beings. There are times when these horses refuse to obey them, at a time, they either whip their horse to establish dominance and discipline or comfort the horse to stabilize its behavior.

"Wa gyud biyahe kung ang akong kabayo mosuki"(KIk-2).Driving does not take place when the horse feels to resist (KIk-2).

When the *tartanillakuchero*'slife is tough, some resort to working other sideline jobs like engaging in construction work, driving a tricycle or a *trisikad* (three wheeled bicycle) for two to three passengers,

for a minimal fare. This means that they are flexible in order to *meet both ends meet for survival*.



With five pesos as the minimum fare, an average *tartanillakuchero* earns a minimum of three hundred pesos a day and a maximum of six hundred pesos, an amount that most *kuchero* regard as enough for their daily subsistence. Despite, the following are the KIks'*successes stories*:

"Sa pagpamarada, nakapaeskwela ko sa akong mga anak ug napahuman sila sa koleheyo" (K1k-2). Engaging in tartanilla trade, I get to send my children to school and eventually through college(KIk-2).

"Nakatabang gyud ko sa mga panginahanglan sa ako mga ginikanan" (K1k-4). Iproudly say that I help my parents' daily needs(KIk-4).

When asked whether they have to give up driving a *tartanilla*, majority of the KIks refuse because of the *family' inherited loyalty*.

*"Kani man gud tartanilla kabilin man gud sa amo mga katigulangan, mao na nga loyal mi ni ani"(KIk-8).* We become a loyal kuchero, because we inherited the trade from our ancestors (KIk-8).

Others want to give up the *tartanilla* and decide that they will only give up the trade if they can see a

more stable and an easier job. This is the *willingness* to give up.

*"Kung nay opourtunidad, amo biyaan ang tartanilla kung naay pay mas sayon nga trabaho" (KIk-7).* There is an opportunity to have an easier job, then that's time we can give up the tartanilla(KIk-7).

## **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

Tartanilla symbolized a century old transportation heritage of Cebu with the kuchero and the pasahero, as living witnesses along the narrow streets of Cebu City, Philippines. This means of transportation was a symbol of a family's inherited loyalty; it was used as a luxury vehicle among the affluent members of Cebuano society in the past, and left to the surviving relatives of the middle income earners. They tried to meet both ends meet while they experienced difficult times; but willing to give up this century's old trade, in lieu of a better job offering. Symbolic to the tartanilla was a synergy of both the kuchero and the pasahero. The kuchero's optimistic and health conscious life had shown a tinge socio-natural mutualism in monitoring the weather conditions and sensitive to animal behavior to prevent accident while on travel. The pasahero's practicality and interest in saving for money resulted in the existence of the tartanilla. The tartanilla was a symbol of historical pride: though riding on it was affordable: but the pasahero also wanted to travel in good weather conditions safely. Being a kuchero reflected a sentimental value of inheritancehanded across his generations. Part of his inheritance handed on him, from his family, were the cart and the horse. Though, driving a *tartanilla* met various problems, it had been a sustainable job for a kucheroto undertake for his daily subsistence. Its significance is limited to the Cebuano history and culture, which created an identity needed worthy appreciation of that further preservation among culture and heritage enthusiasts. It is recommended that local governments of Cebu may look into the welfare of the *kuchero* and the *tartanilla* trade to remain sustainable.

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