A Journey of Hope

IMPLEMENTING THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS ACT OF THE PHILIPPINES

Volume 2

Cultural Revival in a Changing World

Published by the International Labour Organization (ILO) in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID)
2005

FOREWORD

"A Journey of Hope" - a three-volume publication – contains several case studies based on the grassroots realities of women and men in indigenous peoples' communities. This publication encompasses issues that have implications on the implementation of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) or R.A. 8371. It is therefore very relevant to indigenous peoples in the Philippines, as well as other stakeholders such as local government units (LGUs), national government agencies (NGAs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs), people's organizations (POs), workers and the private sector

This publication is the product of a collaborative project of the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which aims at improving policy and decision-making of key governance institutions, both public and private, by developing empirical evidence of key issues relevant to the indigenous peoples of the Philippines. In general, these case studies are expected to serve as a basis for a review and improvement of the implementing rules and regulations (IRR) of the IPRA, the national law on indigenous peoples, which reflects the spirit and intent of ILO Convention No.169, the Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989

ILO Convention No. 169 is the foremost international legal instrument that deals entirely with the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples, and its influence extends beyond the number of countries that have ratified it. Support for better application of IPRA is also consistent with better application of ILO Convention No. 169.

The publication of these case studies would not have been made possible without the involvement and participation of the women and men and boys and girls from selected indigenous peoples' communities in the country who accommodated the case study writers involved in this project. We are also grateful for the support and cooperation provided by UNDP and the New Zealand Aid. Special thanks also goes to NCIP and other partners for their valuable contribution to the realization of the case studies.

Linda Wirth
Director
International Labour Organization
Sub-Regional Office Manila

A Journey of Hope

is a three-volume series of books that summarizes the scoping reports and case studies written under a support to policy and programme development (SPPD) project collaboratively undertaken by the International Labour Organization (ILO) through its Interregional Programme to Support Self-reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples through Cooperatives and Other Self-Help Organizations (INDISCO), the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

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The contents of this volume are based on case studies and a scoping report focusing on the recognition of ancestral domains in the Philippines. These studies are meant to generate information that would facilitate the full implementation of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act. The project was implemented under the guidance of a steering committee headed by the Chair of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. Representatives from the International Labour Organization, United Nations Development Programme, concerned government agencies and non-government organizations were part of the committee. Domingo I. Nayahangan, ILO-INDISCO National Coordinator, provided facilitative technical services for the project.

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LIST of ACRONYMS

BITO	Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization
BNCT	Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes
CADC	Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim
CADT	Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title
CALT	Certificate of Ancestral Land Title
CARL	Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law
CBFM	Community-Based Forest Management
CECAP	Central Cordillera Agricultural Program
CENRO	Community Environment and Natural Resources Office
CFP	Community Forestry Program
CFSA	Community Forest Stewardship Agreement
CLOA	Certificate of Land Ownership Award
CRC	Cordillera Resource Center
CSTFAL	Community Special Task Force on Ancestral Lands
DA	Department of Agriculture
DAR	Department of Agrarian Reform
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DepEd	Department of Education
FPIC	Free and Prior Informed Consent
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
IDRC	Ifugao Development & Research Center
IFMA	Industrial Forest Management Agreement
IKSP	Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices
ICC	Indigenous Cultural Community
IP	Indigenous Peoples
IPAF	Integrated Protected Area Fund
IPAS	Integrated Protected Areas System
IPRA	Indigenous Peoples Rights Act
ISF	Integrated Social Forestry
KBC	Kalinga Bodong Congress
LGU	Local Government Unit
LIUCP	Low Income Upland Community Project
MPDO	Municipal Planning and Development Office
NAMRIA	National Mapping and Resources Information Authority
NAPC	National Anti-Poverty Commission
NAPOCOR	National Power Corporation
NCCA	National Commission on Culture and the Arts
NCIP	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
NCSO	National Census and Statistics Office
NIA	National Irrigation Administration
NIPAS	National Integrated Protected Areas System
OPAPP	Office of the Presidential Assistant on the Peace Process
OSCC	Office for Southern Cultural Communities
PAFID	Philippine Association for Intercultural Development
PAMB	Protected Area Management Board
PAWB	Parks and Wildlife Bureau
PCSD	Palawan Council for Sustainable Development
PCSDS	Palawan Council for Sustainable Development Staff
PENRO	Provincial Environment and Natural Resources Office
PSTFAD	Provincial Special Task Force on Ancestral Domains
SEP	Strategic Environment Plan for Palawan
TCP	Tamaraw Conservation Project
TFCI	Tagbanwa Foundation of Coron Island
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WB	World Bank

INTRODUCTION

In the era of globalization, what does development mean for indigenous peoples? How does their concept of development clash with the approaches that are promoted by the world outside their communities?

This volume looks at indigenous knowledge systems and practices in the Philippines that have survived successive waves of colonization and the onslaught of modernization. The first chapter, in particular, is an eye-opener for those who are not aware that there are still many aspects of indigenous culture that remain in widespread use until today. Two case studies, one on Palawan and the other on Mindoro communities, portray the experiences of indigenous peoples in asserting their culture in the face of relatively new trends such as tourism and conservation of protected areas. The comprehensive discussion of the difficulties in reconciling indigenous culture with the interests of the modern world, especially in relation to resource access and environmental management, will serve to enlighten readers about the uphill battle that many rural communities face in remote areas. The good news however, is that they are not alone. In the last chapter of this book, a glimpse of development projects that various groups have implemented for indigenous peoples is provided, giving a glimmer of hope in their precarious existence.

The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act recognizes the right of indigenous Filipinos to "freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development" within the framework of the Constitution and national unity. With the lessons gleaned from the case studies and scoping reports included in this volume, both the government and indigenous rights advocates could develop guidelines and strategies for transforming the progressive aspects of the IPRA into reality.

Tagbanua elders chant prayers and send off a fluvial offering during the *runsay*, a thanksgiving ritual in southern Palawan held two nights after the last full moon of the year

CHAPTER 1

Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices – A Sampler

Indigenous peoples have a history of being treated as research objects. Western countries assigned anthropologists to gather data on the cultures of indigenous peoples they colonized. Researchers obtained academic degrees by making indigenous peoples the topic of their theses and dissertation. Development institutions, multi-national business groups and other entities have studied indigenous peoples for various purposes. These studies are the basis of many programs that are sometimes ironically inimical to the interests of IP communities.

Despite years of assimilation and acculturation, indigenous peoples have managed to retain their knowledge systems and practices, in varying degrees. Mainly, these became their tools in defending their land and resources. But more and more, these are becoming substantial and powerful mechanisms for addressing development needs in their communities. Their continuing occupation and control of ancestral domains provide the only real assurance that indigenous knowledge systems and practices can be preserved.

Research on Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines

This report covers the most significant studies done about indigenous peoples from 1905 to 2002, roughly divided into twenty-year periods. Foreign researchers based in the academe and religious institutions did most of the early documentation, while local researchers dominated most of the recent works. Although by no means comprehensive, the listing in this chapter may be deemed indicative of research on the topic for nearly a century. The research presented were only the ones discovered during the period of study, and there are others that need to be located and documented.

1900-1920

During this period, most of the research focused on religious practices, mainly rituals and worldviews. Customary laws and food production practices, like swidden and paddy farming,

were the second most documented topics, followed by folklore, technology, art and ethno-botany.

Except for the Lieutenant Governor of Mountain Province in 1904 named Folkmar, majority of the researchers were academics. In recent years, historians have asserted that scientific and social investigation of the peoples of the Cordillera and non-Christians in Mindanao were used to yield information for the effective colonial subjugation of these regions. In the Cordillera, the American colonial government built roads and set up the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT) as part of this process.

Table 2.1 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1900-1920

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Oral tradition (Folklore)	Bagobo	1913/1916	Benedict, L.
Religion, technology and art	Bontok	1905	Jenks, A.
Technology and art	Hanunoo	1905	Bacon, R.
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming)	Hanunoo	1918	Beyer, H.O.
Socio-political systems (customary law); religion	Ibaloy	1920	Moss, C.
Socio-political systems (customary law)	Ifugao	1919	Barton, R.
Ethno-botany	Ifugao	1911	Beyer & Merill
Food collection, production and management (paddy farming)	Ifugao	1912	Beyer, H.O.
Socio-political systems (customary law)	Kalinga	1908	Folkmar, D.
Religion	Tagbanwa	1907	Venturello, M.

1921-1940

Few documentation attempts were undertaken from 1921 to 1940. During this period, American academics and a few European Catholic priests did most of the work. Most of the studies focused on the Ifugao people. A local researcher obtained a master's degree in anthropology for a thesis on the Dumagat people.

Again, the focus of documentation was on religion. Other topics were food collection, production and management (farming practices) and technology.

Table 2.2 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1920-1940

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming; fishing)	Dumagat	1932	Maceda, G.
Socio-political systems	Ibaloy	1927	Kamora, H.
Technology and art (architecture)	Ifugao	1929	Lambrecht, F.
Religion (life cycle); Food collection, production and management	Ifugao	1930	Barton, F.
Religion	Ifugao	1932/1939	Lambrecht, F.
Religion (life cycle); Food collection, production and management	Isneg	1932	Vanoverbergh, M.
Religion	Tinggian	1922	Cole, F. C.

1941-1960

This period saw an increase in the number of studies made by academic researchers, with only a few from the religious sector. There was no significant increase in the number of indigenous groups covered, but there was an increase in the range of subject matter. The most studied topics were food production, collection and management (with swidden farming as the most documented) and religion (with rituals as the most documented). Seven research projects on

swidden farming came out in several publications, focusing only on one indigenous group and written by one researcher. Oral tradition, learning systems and communication (epics and indic-syllabic scripts) were studied the least during this period.

Table 2.3 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1940-1960

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Food collection and production	Ata	1948	Lynch, F.
Ethno-botany	Ayta	1953	Fox, R.
Religion (life cycle)	Ayta	1951	Amazona, D.
Oral tradition (epics)	Bagobo	1957/1958	Manuel, E. A.
Food collection and production	Bontok	1952	Birket-Smith, K.
Oral tradition (folklore)	Bontok	1954	Moss, E.
Religion (life cycle; rituals)	Gaddang	1948	Lambrecht, G.
Ethno-botany	Hanunoo	1955	Conklin, H.
Learning systems and communications (indic-syllabic scripts)	Hanunoo	1943	Fletcher
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming)	Hanunoo	1954, 1957, 1959, 1960	Conklin, H.
Resource conservation and management	Hanunoo	1959	Conklin, H.
Religion	Ibaloy	1958	Leano, I.
Religion	Ibaloy	1955	Afable, F.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Ifugao	1954	Hoebel, A.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law); Oral tradition (epic)	Ifugao	1960	Lambrecht, F.
Folklore	Ifugao	1955	Barton, F.
Religion (rituals)	Ifugao	1955/1957	Lambrecht, F.
Resource conservation and management (terracing)	Ifugao	1955	Beyer, H.O.
Technology and art (weaving)	Ifugao	1958	Lambrecht, F.
Religion (worldview)	Ifugao	1941	Guinid, M.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Kalinga	1949	Barton, R.
Technology & art (agricultural calendar)	Kankanaey	1958	Scott, W.H.
Food collection and production	Kankanaey	1958	Scott, W.H.
Religion (life cycle and worldview)	Magahat	1952	Oracion, T.
Food collection and production	Magahat	1955	Oracion, T.
Religion (rituals, worldview)	Mamanua	1954	Maceda, M.
Food collection and production	Mamanua	1954	Maceda, M.

1961 – 1980

During this period, the number of indigenous groups studied dramatically increased. Also, a significant number of researchers were indigenous peoples writing about their own cultures. Most of the studies were about food production, collection and management practices and oral tradition. In food production, the most documented was swidden farming while the least were fishing, hunting and foraging. In oral tradition, folklore had the most studies while epics had the least.

Molbog kaingin in Balabac, Palawan

Table 2.4 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1961-1990

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Food collection & production	Agta	1976	Bennagen, P.
Health practices (healing practices)	Alangan	1979	Leykamm, P.
Socio-political systems and institutions	Alangan	1975	Kikuchi, K.
Religion (life cycle)	Ayta	1978	Barain & Benasing
Food collection (Fishing)	Badjao	1974	Docummun
Religion (Life cycle); Food production (paddy and swidden farming)	Ballangao	1977	Maslang, S.
Food production (swidden farming)	Batak	1961	Warren, C.
Food production (swidden farming)	Batak	1966	Lucas-Fernan, M.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law); Religion (life cycle)	Bontok	1975/1976	Botengan, K.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Bontok	1977	Drucker, C.
Religion (life cycle)	Bontok	1961	Warren, C.
Food production (paddy farming); Religion (life cycle, rituals)	Bontok	1972	Cawed, C.
Socio-political institutions (peace pact)	Bontok	1975	Prill-Brett, J.
Socio-political systems and institutions (political structure); Region (rituals)	Bontok	1975-1976	Botengan, K.
Religion (rituals)	Bontok	1974-1977	Filog, P.
Technology and art (architecture)	Bontok	1966	Scott, W.H.
Technology and art (pottery)	Bontok	1960	Dandan, J.
Cooperative practices (work groups)	Bontok	1977	Drucker, C.
Religion (rituals)	Buhid	1979	Bagsit
Food production (swidden farming)	Bukidnon	1963	Oracion, T.
Religion (life cycle, rituals)	Gaddang	1967	Wallace, B.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law, political structure)	Hanunoo	1965 1979 1980	Adag, Alihid et al. Scott, W. H. Miyamoto, M.
Ethno-botany	Hanunoo	1971	Schmutz, E.
Folklore (ambagan, riddles)	Hanunoo	1965 1968 1969/1970/ 1976	Postma, A. Coronel, D./ Manuel, E. A. Postma, A.
Technology and art (indic-syllabic script, architecture, designs, blacksmithing; dying, weaving; cloth making, basketry)	Hanunoo	1963 1967/1968/ 1980 1963/1970/ 1973, 1971 1973, 1975 1979/80/85 1986	Fox, R./ Postma, A. Francisco, J. DiBenedittto Kurimoto, M. De los Reyes, R. Watan, J. Lane, R.
Learning systems and communications (indigenous communication); Religion (life cycle, rituals, world view)	Hanunoo	1969/1979/ 1967 1973/1974 1975/1985 1974	Postma, A. De la Paz, E. Iturralde, E. Miyamoto, M. Postma, A.
Oral tradition (music)	Hanunoo	1973; 1967	Iwai, K. Molina
Food management (salt-making)	Hanunoo	1973	Postma, A.
Resource conservation and management (swidden farming)	Hanunoo	1973; 1966	Postma, A.; Lucas-Fernan M.
Technology and art (designs)	Itaya	1975	De los Reyes, R.
Food production and management (swidden farming, paddy farming)	Ibaloy	1967 1979	Barnette, M. Perez, U.
Religion (life cycle, rituals)	Ibaloy	1979	Perez, U.
Resource conservation and management	Ibaloy	1966	Serrano, R.

cont. of Table 2.4 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1951-1980

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Oral tradition (music)	Ibaloy	1966	Claerhoudt
Ethno-botany practices	Ifugao	1969	Conklin, H.
Oral tradition (epic; folklore; music)	Ifugao	1970 1969/1974/ 1976 to 1978	Induman, P. Lorin, R.
Resource management (terracing)	Ifugao	1968	UP-CSC
Oral tradition (folklore)	Ilongot	1967	Wilson, L.
Food production (swidden farming)	Isneg	1962	Keesing, F.
Socio-political systems and institutions (dispute settlement)	Isneg	1973	Madale, N.
Food collection (hunting, fishing)	Kalinga	1973	Lawless, R.
Oral tradition (folklore - ullalim)	Kalinga	1972	Billiet, F.
Health practices	Kalinga	1968	Tima, R.
Religion (life cycle, world view)	Kalinga	1977 1970	Monroe, R. Maganoon, E.
Socio-political systems and institutions (peace pact, political structure)	Kalinga	1966/1967 1967; 1969	Dozier, E. Bacdayan, A. DeRaedt, J.
Socio-political systems and institutions (dispute settlement)	Kankanaey	1973	Bello, M.
Food production (swidden farming)	Kankanaey	1973	Bello, M.
Religion (worldview); Oral tradition (folklore)	Kankanaey	1972 1977	Vanoverbergh, M.
Oral tradition (folklore)	Mansaka	1979	Fuentes, V. et. al.
Oral tradition (folklore); Religion (ritual)	Maranao	1973/1974 1979	Madale, N. Adeva
Religion (worldview)	Tagbanua	1975	Warren, C.
Health practices	Taubuid	1976	Pennoyer, D.
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming)	Taubuid	1976 1977	DAP Pennoyer, D.
Socio-political systems and institutions	Taubuid	1978	Pennoyer, D.
Religion (life cycle, world view)	Taubuid	1976/1977	Pennoyer, D.
Technology and art (designs)	T'boli	1974	Casal, G.
Technology & art (Zodiac calendar)	Tiruray	1967	Schlegel, S.
Food collection (foraging)	Tiruray	1979	Schlegel, S.
Socio-political systems and institutions (political structure, customary law)	Tiruray	1970	Schlegel, S.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Yakan	1973	Sherfan
Religion (life cycle, worldview)	Yakan	1973	Sherfan

1981-2002

Resource conservation became a popular research topic during this period due to international interest on environmental protection. Academic institutions were able to access funds for research projects devoted to these subjects, some of them in collaboration with government agencies.

In the early 1980s, indigenous peoples worldwide also intensified their campaign for the recognition and protection of their rights. For this reason, academic institutions and other research groups focused on indigenous systems of governance and customary law.

The two most documented categories were indigenous institutions and systems of governance, and food production, collection and management. Indigenous organization and cooperative practices were the least documented.

cont. of Table 2.4 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1951-1980

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Oral tradition (music)	Ibaloy	1966	Claerhoudt
Ethno-botany practices	Ifugao	1969	Conklin, H.
Oral tradition (epic; folklore; music)	Ifugao	1970 1969/1974/ 1976 to 1978	Induman, P. Lorin, R.
Resource management (terracing)	Ifugao	1968	UP-CSC
Oral tradition (folklore)	Ilongot	1967	Wilson, L.
Food production (swidden farming)	Isneg	1962	Keesing, F.
Socio-political systems and institutions (dispute settlement)	Isneg	1973	Madale, N.
Food collection (hunting, fishing)	Kalinga	1973	Lawless, R.
Oral tradition (folklore - ullalim)	Kalinga	1972	Billiet, F.
Health practices	Kalinga	1968	Tima, R.
Religion (life cycle, world view)	Kalinga	1977 1970	Monroe, R. Maganoon, E.
Socio-political systems and institutions (peace pact, political structure)	Kalinga	1966/1967 1967; 1969	Dozier, E. Bacdayan, A. DeRaedt, J.
Socio-political systems and institutions (dispute settlement)	Kankanaey	1973	Bello, M.
Food production (swidden farming)	Kankanaey	1973	Bello, M.
Religion (worldview); Oral tradition (folklore)	Kankanaey	1972 1977	Vanoverbergh, M.
Oral tradition (folklore)	Mansaka	1979	Fuentes, V. et. al.
Oral tradition (folklore); Religion (ritual)	Maranao	1973/1974 1979	Madale, N. Adeva
Religion (worldview)	Tagbanua	1975	Warren, C.
Health practices	Taubuid	1976	Pennoyer, D.
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming)	Taubuid	1976 1977	DAP Pennoyer, D.
Socio-political systems and institutions	Taubuid	1978	Pennoyer, D.
Religion (life cycle, world view)	Taubuid	1976/1977	Pennoyer, D.
Technology and art (designs)	T'boli	1974	Casal, G.
Technology & art (Zodiac calendar)	Tiruray	1967	Schlegel, S.
Food collection (foraging)	Tiruray	1979	Schlegel, S.
Socio-political systems and institutions (political structure, customary law)	Tiruray	1970	Schlegel, S.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Yakan	1973	Sherfan
Religion (life cycle, worldview)	Yakan	1973	Sherfan

1981-2002

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cont. of Table 2.5 Research on Indigenous Filipinos, 1981-2002

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Year	Documenter
Religion (rituals)	Ifugao	1998	Dulawan, L.
Technology (ethno-veterinary practices)	Ifugao	1998	Serrano, R.
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming, paddy farming)	Ifugao	1998 1980 1995	Serrano, R. Lieva, E. Gadit, V.
Technology (harvest and irrigation)	Ifugao	2000	CECAP
Health practices	Ifugao	1994	Kwiatkowski
Resource conservation and management (forestry – muyong system)	Ifugao	1993 1999	Maruta, K. IDRC / Gamiao, C.
Food production (swidden farming)	Ilongot	1981	Rosaldo, R.
Oral tradition (folklore, music)	Inaya	1984/1985	Saez, J.
Technology & art (agricultural calendar)	Kankanaey	2002	Malanes, M.
Food production (swidden farming)	Kankanaey	2002	Malanes, M.
Resource conservation (muyong system)	Kankanaey	2002	Malanes, M.
Socio-political systems and institutions (dispute settlement)	Kankanaey	1994 2002	CRC Malanes, M.
Religion (worldview, rituals)	Kankanaey	1988 1998 2002	Scott, W.H. Omengan, D. Malanes, M.
Learning systems and communications	Kankanaey	1984	Bennagen, P.
Oral tradition (folklore)	Kankanaey	1990	Canno, M.L.
Resource conservation and management (forestry)	Kankanaey	1995 2001	Dhungel, M. et al Tacloy, J. et al
Food collection, production and management (swidden farming)	Manobo	1993 2001	Gloria, H. Ompong, M.
Oral tradition (epic, folklore)	Manobo	1996	Jocson, G.
Technology and art (textiles)	Manobo	1992	Reyes, I.
Food production (swidden farming)	Mangyan Patag	1992	Padilla, S.
Health practices	Manobo	1982	Burton, L.
Socio-political systems and institutions (conflict resolution, customary law)	Manobo	1994 1997	Allan, M. Manuel, E. A.
Oral tradition (folklore)	Manobo	1997	Quintado, C.
Religion (life cycle)	Manobo	2001	Nobleza, V.
Socio-political systems and institutions (dispute settlement)	Maranao	1983/1989 1999	Imtiaz, Abdullah Suntaguina, I.
Learning systems and communications	Maranao	1991	Diacmangcop
Oral tradition (epic)	Maranao	1994	Coronel, D.
Technology and art (tools)	Maranao	2002	Macmod, M.
Socio-political systems (dispute settlement)	Matigsalog / Manobo	1992	Aghoyani, R.
Religion (life cycle)	Matigsalog / Manobo	1991	Salvacion, D.
Resource conservation (biodiversity)	Matigsalog / Manobo	2001	Rosario, R. and Lanoza
Learning systems (Indic-syllabic script)	Pala'wan / Tagbanwa	1999	Batoon, L. et al.
Food production (swidden farming)	Remontado	1982	Bennagen, P.
Religion (worldview, rituals)	Subanen	1988 1998	Sumungit, V. Cuadra, N.
Religion (worldview)	Tadyawan	1984	Obata, So
Food production (swidden farming)	Tagabawa / Bagobo	2001	Mangune, S.
Religion (worldview)	Tagabawa / Bagobo	2001	Mangune, S.
Oral tradition (folklore)	Tagakaolo	1993	Gloria, H.
Resource conservation and management (swidden farming)	Tagbanwa	1981 1982 1990 1992 1998	Warner, K. Fox, R. Evangelista, J. Polisco, F. Lucas, Fernan M.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law, conflict resolution)	Tagbanwa	1990 2001	Evangelista, J. Deyahan, S.
Religion (rituals)	Tagbanwa	1982	Fox, R.
Resource conservation and management (swidden farming, food sharing)	Taubuid	1982 1986	Lopez, V. Gibson, T.
Religion (worldview)	Taubuid	1986	Gibson, T.
Health practices (healing, maternal and child health)	Tausug	1989 2000	Yacob, S. Sophia, I.
Religion (life cycle, worldview)	Tausug	1987	Amirul, A.
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Tausug	1990 1990	Tahil, M. Jundam, M.

The most number of documentation work currently underway is focused on ethno-botanical studies and farming practices. These are closely followed by studies on customary law and conflict resolution.

Table 2.6 Ongoing Research on Indigenous Filipinos

IKSP	Indigenous Peoples	Documenters
Food collection, production and management (farming practices)	Higaonon	International Forestry Research (IFOR) & Xavier University Central Mindanao University
Ethno-botany practices	Kankanaey	UP College at Baguio
Ethno-botany practices, resource conservation and management	Matigsalog	Central Mindanao University
Ethno-botany practices	Mamanua	Palawan State University
Ethno-botany practices	Palawan	Palawan State University
Oral tradition (Epic)	Tagbanwa	Palawan State University
Food production (farming practices)	B'laan	ADSDI
Resource management (biodiversity conservation)	Dumagat	ASCOT
Food production (agricultural practices); Resource conservation and management (forestry)	Matigsalog	Green Mindanao
Socio-political systems and institutions (customary law)	Tagbanwa	Nagkakaisang Tribu ng Palawan (NATRIPAL)
Socio-political institutions (conflict resolution-bodong system)	Kalinga	Kalinga Bodong Congress
Food production (agricultural practices); Resource conservation and management (forestry)	Mansaka	Kamandiman -Davao City
Ethno-botany practices	Mansaka	Kamandiman -Davao City

Table 2.7 Most Documented IKSP

Subject Matter	Number of Studies
Swidden farming	72
Folklore	40
Textile weaving	26
Customary laws	24
Paddy farming	20
Hunting-gathering	16
Fishing	15
Dispute settlement/conflict resolution	14
Indic-syllabic scripts	14
Political structures	12
Basket weaving	11

To sum up, the most documented general category is food production, collection and management. Under this category, the most documented topic is swidden farming while the least are cattle-raising and salt making, which is not common among indigenous groups. The interest in swidden farming is logical, since this is the major economic activity of indigenous peoples in the Philippines. At the same time, the debate on swidden farming as a major cause of deforestation also encouraged researchers to generate more information on this topic.

Documentation Gaps

The charts indicate that much work remains to be done in documenting resource conservation and management, health practices, learning and communication, ethno-botany, organizations, and cooperative systems.

Although swidden farming is the most documented topic under the general category of food production, not all indigenous groups were covered. For example, hardly any research was made on the swidden farming practices of the Mansaka, Mandaya and Higaonon communities. In contrast, the farming systems of the Hanunoo Mangyans were studied extensively.

Many academic institutions are doing research on ethno-botany, organizational and cooperative practices, and learning systems and communications, which is a positive trend. Documentation on health practices is inadequate, but institutions such as UNICEF and IIRR are doing a significant number of studies on maternal and child health so this is also a promising area of IKSP documentation.

With the introduction of modern practices, a lot of IKSP may have outlived their usefulness, but this needs to be established systematically, if not scientifically. There is a need to look at the status and relevance of certain best practices in indigenous governance, such as the multi-lateral peace pacts of indigenous societies in the Cordillera, the revered council of elders of the Kankanaey and Tagbanwa peoples, and the maternal and child health practices of the Subanen communities.

As a starting point, future researchers could take a lead from Table 2.8, which shows the least number of IKSP documented thus far.

Other topics that need to be studied are the revitalization of socio-political institutions and systems of governance, especially

Table 2.8 Least Documented IKSP

Subject Matter	Number of Studies
Music	9
Epic	8
Ethno-veterinary practices	6
Forestry	6
Artistic designs	6
Soil conservation	5
Irrigation systems	4
Food management	4
Learning systems	4
Rice terraces construction	3
Maranao handicrafts: *totob, likos, lacub*	3
Coastal management	3
Mat weaving	3
Pest management	2
Food processing	2
Harvest and post-harvest practices	2
Brassware production	2
Woodcarving	2
Small-scale mining	2
House architecture	2
Dyeing	1
Pottery	1
Tools and weapons	1
Boat building	1
Gold panning	1
Marshland management	1
Seed production	1

the indigenous people's capacity to address community problems within their cultural environment; the dynamics of changing leadership patterns and the relationship of indigenous social structures with emerging institutions; and the nature and potentials of indigenous organizations and cooperative-type work groups.

With rapid changes in modern society, it would also be worthwhile to conduct case studies on the effects of globalization on IKSP and how this should be properly addressed.

In terms of methodology, there is a need to develop community-based methodologies for IKSP documentation and encourage local professionals to do research instead of outsiders. In relation to this, mechanisms have to be developed to protect the interest of indigenous communities and gain their sustained support and participation in IKSP documentation.

Previous experiences indicate that documentation takes an average duration of six months and a budget of about Php400,000.

Preserving IKSP

It is often said that modern influences could soon wipe out many of the indigenous practices in the Philippines. Fortunately, there are many signs of hope that IKSP can be preserved through various ways. In many communities across the country, indigenous leaders are joining hands with government agencies and private institutions to promote and revive IKSP. There is a need to support these efforts to ensure that IKSP in the country will survive in the long term.

Family

Transfer of indigenous knowledge to the young generally starts within the nuclear family, with the parents acting as transmitters. Children learn from their parents by going with them to the work place or the venue of socio-political and religious activities, observing and imitating their parents and following their instructions.

The economic activities of indigenous peoples are family-based, with each member playing a role in production. Children, however, start as unconscious participants as they consider the tasks given them as play. Adults bring their children to the work place, not to make them work but to keep an eye on them. Farmers would let the children do simple tasks like weeding and collecting small branches to keep them busy. As they grow older, children are assigned to more serious tasks and they begin to be active and conscious participants in the food production process.

T'boli women and children in Mindanao

Similarly, children of small-scale miners imitate their parents and carry small bags of ore from the tunnel door to the processing place, which is usually the home. As they grow older, they start entering the tunnels to dig for ore and also learn other steps in gold processing until they become expert miners.

Storytelling is a common activity in the home, especially before bedtime. Parents or grandparents transmit the society's values, cultural beliefs, and practices through their oral traditions such as myths, legends and songs.

Specialists

Other transmitters of knowledge are specialists like ritual practitioners, healers, and artisans. Generally, they transfer the knowledge to children who are willing to be their apprentice, until the child acquires the knowledge and expertise fully. Others may transfer the knowledge to relatives and interested members of the community. For instance, a blacksmith may give direct instructions to his son and allow him to make small tools. A midwife may also require her daughter to assist in delivery. The *magdidiwata* of the Tagbanwa brings the children to the forests to show them the various useful plants.

Among the Bagobo people, knowledge regarding healing may be revealed by the shaman to others so long as they fulfill certain conditions, such as giving the shaman a cup, stone or some other item needed in the ritual. It is not known, however, if the shaman set the conditions only for his/her satisfaction, or if these had to be met so that the knowledge transferred to the learner would be effective. In other societies, shamans and healers do not reveal their knowledge for fear that it would make their healing items, prayers or rituals ineffective.

Peer Group and Inter-Generational Exchange

Children in the same age group also share information acquired from other sources. For instance, knowledge learned at home or in the work place can be shared with peers when they get together.

In the learning system, the general process of transmitting knowledge is from parents and other adults to the young. However, the exchange works both ways, since the young can also share knowledge learned in the community and elsewhere with peers and adults.

Dreams or Ethno-psychology

One way of acquiring knowledge regarding healing is through dreams. Among the Ibaloy, Tinggian, Tagbanwa, Tagabawa, Talaandig and Tiruray, a person can learn healing through dreams where a "spirit guide" teaches the person the knowledge. Elphie, a Tagabawa, recounts that when she was young, her mother who is a *baylan* sleepwalked and later found herself near a *balete* tree in the forest collecting leaves of medicinal plants. Later, she learned that her mother could make their ailing neighbors well by using roots and leaves she collected from the forest.

Indigenous Socio-political Structures or Systems

In community meetings, the council of elders and other adult members do not exclude the rest of the community from their deliberations, although women and children are usually listeners

only and not active participants. Young people learn by listening to the adult members' discussion and debate on various matters. They also familiarize themselves with the various rituals performed in public.

In the Cordillera, there are institutions that serve as "schools" such as the *dap-ay* and *ebebgan or bab-uuan* of the Kankanaey of Mt. Province, and the *ator* and *ulog* of the Bontok. People identify themselves with village divisions in the *dap-ay* and *ator*. This is a raised, stone-paved platform, with one side covered with a thatched roof or other materials that serves as sleeping area for the elders. The structure serves as a learning institution for young men and boys. Boys in each ward are expected to spend time in the *ator or dap-ay* and do chores or errands for the elders, such as bringing firewood and tending the hearth.

One cultural practice in the *ator* or *dap-ay* is the *bulbulit*. While the men are lying down, the boys tickle their feet with sticks. This is supposed to make the young obedient. While doing this, the boys are exposed to a lot of information as they listen to their elders discuss a wide range of topics. These may include political, economic and social concerns, history and news from outside the community. A lot of storytelling occurs in the *ator or dap-ay* including the people's history and ancestors, myths and legends.

Neo-ethnic musicians are helping popularize indigenous culture across the country

The *ator or dap-ay* is also the place where rituals are performed and people meet to decide on community matters. Disputes are discussed and settled in the *ator or dap-ay*. Recalcitrant male youth are brought to the place by their fathers so they can be counseled or penalized by the elders. The elders declare agricultural rest days at the *ator or dap-ay*, after which the bachelors and small boys go around the village and relay the message to the people. Young men are assigned to patrol the fields to ensure that no one goes to work, while others guard the entrance to tell outsiders not to enter the village. A rest day is declared to allow a ritual, e.g. one performed in relation to the planting of rice, to take effect.

In times of conflict with other communities, the *ator or dap-ay* serves as a meeting place for the people to discuss the issue and decide whether or not to forge peace. Everyone in the village attends, although the elders and married men dominate the discussion. Young people learn by listening to the discussions that range from the cause of the conflict, what decisions were made earlier, and the names of peace pact holders or negotiators. Villagers who marry into the other community, and therefore considered neutral, can serve as negotiators.

The *ebebgan or ulog* is the place where girls, upon reaching puberty, sleep. This can be the house of an unmarried older woman or widow, or a structure built especially for the girls. An

unmarried woman keeps them company at night but during the day, older women including the girls' mothers, come together to socialize and exchange information regarding activities such as child care, domestic and field work, and marriage. A lot of storytelling also occurs in this place, familiarizing the girls with local folklore.

Rituals

Various rituals performed by indigenous peoples are also learning systems where the young learn about local history, beliefs and practices and the society's values through prayers and chants. One such ritual feast is the *dinawak* of the Kankanaey that can be performed in connection with marriage, an unusual death, childless marriage or an epidemic.

Similarly, rituals concerning peacemaking are mechanisms where knowledge is transferred to the participants and observers. In the Kalinga, Bontok and Abra peace pact rituals, the elders undo each other in chanting the *aggayum* and making speeches. The *aggayum* may include local history, how the peace pact was forged or broken, decisions made and penalties imposed. Other information like boundaries, names of peace pact holders, and contents of the peace agreement or *fugfa* may also be brought out. In addition, the names of people who married into the other tribe may be mentioned. These are the people who can act as go-betweens when the pact is broken and conflict ensues, and can safely travel between the two warring groups.

The Higaonons have a ritual called *dumalongdong*, which is a gathering of all tribal leaders from different provinces or *talugan*. With the tribal members as witnesses, the *dumalongdong* is performed only by tribal datus whose ancestors have performed the same ritual. During this occasion, peace agreements forged between the various groups may be reviewed or revised. Tribal boundaries may also be pointed out for the benefit of those who do not have this information. In the ritual called *panod*, the tribal leader gathers the young men and educates them about the origin and history of the tribe, customary laws and other traditions.

Schools of Living Traditions

As a result of acculturation and discrimination, many young people have become alienated to and ashamed of their indigenous culture. Mass media, western-oriented education, and the church have given rise to a preference for non-indigenous knowledge and practices among the youth.

One of the modern-day mechanisms for preserving indigenous knowledge and transferring them to the young is a government program called School of Living Traditions. Through this program, they learn about arts and crafts, oral traditions, music, instruments, dancing and wine brewing, among other things.

Below is a partial list of indigenous groups that are implementing one-year School of Living Traditions packages with assistance from the National Commission on Culture and the Arts (NCCA):

Ifugao - Arts and crafts, oral traditions, wine making
Kankanaey - Oral traditions, dances and music
Sulod/Bukidnon - Epics and dances
Tagabawa Bagobo - Crafts, dances, musical instruments

Tagbanwa - Weaving, oral traditions

Tausug - Weaving *pis siyabit* and learning *kuntaw*

In Kiangan, province of Ifugao, the program is implemented with the assistance of the Kiangan Municipal Government. Based at the St James School, its objective is to teach fourth-year students to trace their genealogies, recite the *hudhud* and make wine or *tapuh*. Elders are tapped as teachers. Students are expected to make their genealogy charts and display them during graduation ceremonies. A *hudhud* narrating contest is also held during the town fiesta, where other municipalities are invited to participate.

In Palawan, six structures were set up to serve as tribal learning centers under the Palawan Tropical Forestry Protection Programme (PTFPP). The ground floor of the structure is used for learning activities such as weaving, dancing, and indigenous script writing while the mezzanine is used as a sleeping place for the elders-teachers. Young people learn from the experts and are expected to share what they have learned with other people in the community. The learning centers also serve as assembly halls and venues where cultural activities are performed.

In San Jose, Occidental Mindoro, the Mangyan Alternative High School is a four-year non-credit institution operated by the Mangyan Mission and the PASAKAMI, a federation of Mangyan peoples' organizations. Through this school, students learn about cultural consciousness and pride in their Mangyan heritage. They also perform activities that are normally done within their communities. From January to April, they prepare swidden farms for planting, which occurs between May and July. Rice is harvested between October and November, after which the students bring home their share of the harvest.

The formation schools of the Mangyan provide an environment where the students experience the continuity of their cultural life. They learn in their own language and their knowledge of their culture is further enhanced, instilling in them a sense of pride in their tribal identity.

Formal Education

The integration of IKSP in mainstream education has not yet been fully realized, but initiatives have been undertaken. Some schools that serve the Kankanaey-Bago, Kalanguya, Mangyan and Tagbanwa communities have, to some extent, integrated IKSP into the elementary curriculum. The integration of IKSP in the educational system also effectively inculcates appreciation and pride in their indigenous culture among the young.

The following provides a glimpse of how other indigenous communities and institutions have attempted to integrate IKSP in the school curriculum:

Ayta – Indigenous peoples organizations require their children to wear native attire to school several times during the school year to accustom them to native clothing. They also require the children to speak the *Ayta* language as often as possible.

Ifugao – There is a conscious effort to revitalize culture through the Department of Education, which organizes inter-scholastic cultural presentations, contests, and agricultural fairs. Teachers are also encouraged to attend seminars on indigenous music, dance, and ancestral domain issues in coordination with the local government.

Kalahan - The Kalahan school in Imugan, Nueva Vizcaya is one of the earliest schools that integrated cultural studies in the curriculum.

Kankanaey – In Balcan, Benguet, the Kankaney and Bago groups have produced a teachers' manual on integrating IKSP in the elementary curriculum.

Mangyan – The culture of the Alangan Mangyan is integrated in the curriculum of the Tagdaan High School, which is run by Catholic sisters.

Manobo - The Log Pond 3 Elementary School in La Paz, Agusan del Sur uses educational materials translated into Manobo, with the assistance of the Department of Education and funding from the local government. Teachers and students are all Manobos.

Tagbanwa and Buhid – The National Museum has supported the teaching of the indigenous system of writing to Tanbuid and Tagbanwa children in six schools and other non-formal education programs. Elders were provided honoraria to teach the script to some elementary school teachers who, in turn, taught their pupils.

Ibaloy - The Neighborhood Educational Development Program of the Shoinoog Foundation has set up several pre-schools in Ibaloy communities in coordination with the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). The objective of the program is to inculcate love for their culture among the young. The children wear Ibaloy clothes to school and are encouraged to

Table 2.9 Government-Assisted Indigenous Festivals

Indigenous Peoples	Location	IKSP	Festival	Date
Bago	Ilocos Sur	Oral traditions, rituals, dance, sports	Bago Cultural Festival	April 14-15, 2002
Gaddang	Solano, Nueva Viscaya	Oral traditions, dances, customs and rituals	Gaddang Festival	May 19,2000
Ifugao	Hingyon	Indigenous songs and dances	Gotad ad Hingyon	April 24-26, 2002
Ifugao	Mayaoyao	Oral traditions, dances, games, arts and crafts	Ighuntad ad Majawjaw	December; 2000
Mansaka	Maragusan, Compostela Valley	Oral traditions and rituals	Mansaka Pyagsawidan	Nov. 17-18, 2001
Matigsalog / Manobo	San Fernando, Bukidnon	Oral traditions, dances, games, arts	Aldaw ta Matigsalog	Oct. 28-29, 2000
Obo Manobo	Davao City	Oral traditions, dances, music and rituals	Obo Manobo Annual Festival	April 28-30, 2000
Subanen	Aurora, Zamboanga del Sur	Oral traditions, dances and rituals	Lubirran Festival	Nov. 14-18, 2000
Tagabawa / Bagobo	Toril, Davao City	Dances, gong playing, rituals, arts and crafts	Cultural Presentation	July, 2000
Tboli	Lake Sebu, South Cotabato	Culture and Arts Culture and Arts	Helobung: A Tboli Festival Tinalak Festival	Nov. 9-11, 2001 July 14-18, 2002

speak the language. The programs are turned over to the communities after the local teachers have gained adequate training and experience.

Festivals and Cultural Presentations

Community activities such as fiestas, festivals and rituals are venues where the young learn their indigenous dances, songs and other oral traditions. Table 2.9 shows a list of festivals from 2000 to 2002 that received support from the NCCA and local governments.

Indigenous Documentation

The Hanunoo, Pala'wan, Tagbanwa and Tautraid use the Indic-syllabic system of writing to pass on knowledge through generations. Mangyan poetry called *ambahan* is passed on to the young through inscriptions made on bamboo slats.

Genealogies

These are powerful tools in establishing the ancestral domain of a particular group of people. Individual land ownership and changes in land use over time can be traced through genealogies, making them vital sources of information in settling land disputes. These also serve as sources of many valuable insights into the history of a people.

Protecting IKSP

From local communities to the international level, several measures have emerged for the protection of IKSP against exploitation by outsiders. There is a need for a more extensive evaluation of such measures so that these can be disseminated to policy makers and indigenous communities. The capability of indigenous peoples to protect their IKSP also has to be strengthened, especially in understanding new legislated measures such as the need for their "free and prior informed consent" in any project within their ancestral domains. A training program for qualified indigenous peoples on how to do IKSP documentation would go a long way in protecting their intellectual property. Some of the mechanisms currently underway are as follows:

Indigenous Mechanisms

Indigenous peoples rely on very few mechanisms to protect indigenous knowledge. They have a tradition of sharing because of the recognition that knowledge and resources should serve the general welfare. They also believe that a higher power, one who owns these resources, will remain benevolent only if they share their blessings with others. Thus, common areas are accessible not only to one community but to other communities. They are guided by certain rules that ensure the sustainability of resources.

Among the Kankanaey, traditional miners who hit a mother lode perform a *canao* or feast attended by friends and relatives, even those from far-flung communities. They also follow a practice called *sagu-ok* as a means of sharing gold with others. A miner whose tunnel is productive will allow fellow miners to dig for some time to give them an opportunity to find gold. Women – especially older ones – are allowed to bring home some of the rocks dug from the tunnel for processing. Kalinga communities who are engaged in small-scale gold mining allow people they have peace pacts with to try their luck in their tunnels for a certain period.

Among indigenous peoples, feasts are performed not only to fulfill spiritual obligations but also to strengthen social relations through sharing of food, particularly meat. Rich Ibaloy families are known for their lavish feasts, with cows and pigs getting butchered for several days. This activity adds to the prestige of the giver because of his ability to feed people, even from other communities.

In Agusan del Sur, a Manobo leader runs a radio program that explains medicinal plant identification and usage.


Children learn to make native crafts from their parents

This culture of sharing has allowed outsiders to acquire IKSP for the wrong reasons and purposes, such as academic advancement or commercial interests. Many indigenous groups have lost their lands to land-grabbers. They have also generously given portions of their properties to outsiders who befriended them.

Because of these negative experiences, communities have become more vigilant in protecting their IKSP. They are increasingly using the free and prior informed consent (FPIC) provision of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) to prevent undue extraction of information and resources by outsiders. Most protective measures are applied for biodiversity protection. Other responses were made as a result of intrusion on indigenous territory such as tourism and extractive activities like logging, mining and collection of flora and fauna.

The following mechanisms of IKSP protection have been developed by a number of indigenous peoples:

Ayta - Some communities have passed resolutions not to reveal the names of specific plants that are valuable to them. The resolutions include a prohibition on entering into contracts with outsiders without the community's knowledge and approval.

Tao-Buid - They guard their forests to prevent non-Mangyans from collecting soil and plant materials. To prevent erosion in the mountains, they prohibit the cutting of trees near roads, springs and rivers.

Hanunoo Mangyan - Tourists who wish to enter their ancestral domain are required to seek permission from the Mangyan Mission. There is also a reluctance to transfer IKSP to the young for fear that this may be indiscriminately given to unscrupulous outsiders.

Manggnangan Manobo - A local organization called *Kamanduman* has documented their IKSP with the help of an NGO. They agreed to teach important rituals only to young people who are willing to take responsibility in keeping indigenous knowledge intact.

Ibaloy and Kalanguya - Some communities harvest only the shoots of useful herbs to allow the plants to regenerate. They have also started to grow useful wild plants domestically.

Kalanguya - To protect biodiversity, a community in Nueva Vizcaya assigns people to patrol communal forests and report to elders all the resource extraction activities of outsiders.

Kankanaey - In Bugnias, Benguet, they do not reveal the location of some burial caves so

that these will not be exploited for tourism.

Sulodnon - They do not want outsiders to translate the epic *Hinilawod* into other languages for fear that this intellectual property will be claimed by the translator.

Tagbanwa - Communities monitor the presence of outsiders in their ancestral domain and inform the tribal councils about any intrusion. Some have confiscated orchids and other flora collected by outsiders. In Coron, they keep the location of resource-rich reefs secret to prevent exploitation by outsiders. In Rayasan, they require researchers to seek permission from the local chief or bugara and assign a guide to accompany them if allowed. Informants are also advised not to give complete details about the location and uses of certain plants. In Cabayugan, they prohibit outsiders from gathering plant materials. During the rattan-gathering season, outsiders can collect rattan but must pay some form of "tax" to the community. Community members who belong to an organization called *SATRIKA* protect their primary forests by prohibiting the opening of swiddens in the area. The organization also requires the strict observance of rules regarding hunting and gathering activities.

Talaandig - They preserve biological diversity by guarding the forests and imposing customary laws on outsiders. The community even fined the National Museum when a member of its staff collected flora and fauna within the ancestral domain without the approval of the people. For this violation, the National Museum had to pay a fine of eight carabaos, 26 chickens, 10 yards of white and black cloth, and PhP150.

State Policies

Government initiatives to protect indigenous knowledge are reflected in national and local legislation. At the local level, some municipal governments have passed resolutions for the protection of their natural resources. For example, the municipality of Sagada discussed policies regarding the treatment of the limestone caves in the area. A customary law that does not allow outsiders to acquire landholdings in Sagada has been integrated into the local legal system. At the national level, some of the policies that protect IKSP are as follows:

National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act – This law was passed in order to conserve biodiversity in places declared as protected areas. To some extent, the law serves as a mechanism for the protection of IKSPs. The law limits human activity in the protected area management zones but does "not restrict the rights of the indigenous communities to pursue traditional and sustainable means of livelihood within their ancestral domain unless they so concur." (Sec. 10, DENR AO No. 25, S. 1992 – NIPAS Implementing Rules and Regulations).

Executive Order No. 247 – This issuance allows the study of biological and genetic resources for "scientific, commercial and other purposes in protected areas and ancestral lands as long as this is done in consultation with the people."

Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) – Enacted in 1997, this law recognizes and protects the rights of indigenous peoples to ancestral lands and domains, as well as their cultural integrity. Through this law, indigenous peoples can obtain Certificates of Ancestral Land

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A Tagbanua elder performs an indigenous ritual for a newly-wed couple

The sustainable farming practices of indigenous peoples are recognized by government agencies involved in food production. For example, rice stalks are left in the fields after harvest along with bio-degradeable materials such as grass and other wild plants to decompose and later be utilized as fertilizer. For pest control, leaves and barks of certain trees are pounded and mixed with water to be sprayed on the plants. Based on these practices, the Department of Agriculture adopted the Integrated Pest Management system as a means of promoting organic farming and reducing the use of chemical pesticides.

University-based researchers continue to undertake action-research projects on indigenous farming practices, including documentation and providing assistance to improve these methods or application to non-traditional crops.

Local and international NGOs have contributed to the integration process, especially in the field of agriculture. Aside from encouraging the use of improved traditional practices, these agencies have introduced practices borrowed from other countries. Among the IKSPs that were integrated is the practice of cooperative work in relation to community services. As a result, more people are easily mobilized for community projects such as the repair of pathways, irrigation canals and other common facilities. Indigenous knowledge and practices in weaving and in woodcarving, especially in design, have also been integrated into the handicraft industry, resulting in improved products.

Improvement of Health Care

Research has shown that many indigenous communities still resort to traditional health practices, especially in areas where basic health services are not accessible. Traditional healers are the repositories of knowledge regarding the use of medicinal plants and other objects. The traditional midwife or birthing attendant is also as much a part of the community as the ritual practitioners.

At the national level, the Department of Health (DOH) is promoting useful plants as cure for certain ailments. The government has a comprehensive program for the promotion of traditional medicine. At the local level, traditional midwives are integrated into the health services as barangay health workers. Their knowledge and skills have been enhanced through various training conducted by municipal and provincial health units.

In the Cordillera, rural health units provide education to traditional birth attendants and prospective mothers regarding hygiene and proper childcare. For example, while the use of bamboo slivers to cut the umbilical cord is not discouraged in home deliveries, health personnel teach indigenous birth attendants and mothers to keep these items aseptic.

International agencies are also promoting the process through financial support. For example, UNICEF has conducted research on maternal and child health practices. The World Health Organization (WHO) and the DOH have adopted the results of the study on the involvement of fathers in child delivery among the indigenous peoples in Mt. Province in their healthcare programs. The International Labor Organization (ILO), in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), has also supported the documentation of IKSP, including indigenous health practices. These studies have become reference materials for traditional health-related activities.

Non-government organizations involved in health programs are promoting the use of indigenous medicinal plants through information dissemination and actual provision of medicine processed from plants. With the assistance of NGOs, some indigenous communities have set up their own health centers where traditional medicinal plants are made available.

Protection of the Environment and Conservation of Natural Resources

Forest conservation practices, such as the *muyong and pinugo* of the Ifugao and Kankanaey peoples in the Cordillera region, are recognized by government agencies as sustainable. Under these indigenous conservation systems, families take responsibility for maintaining woodlots from which timber and firewood are extracted for home use.

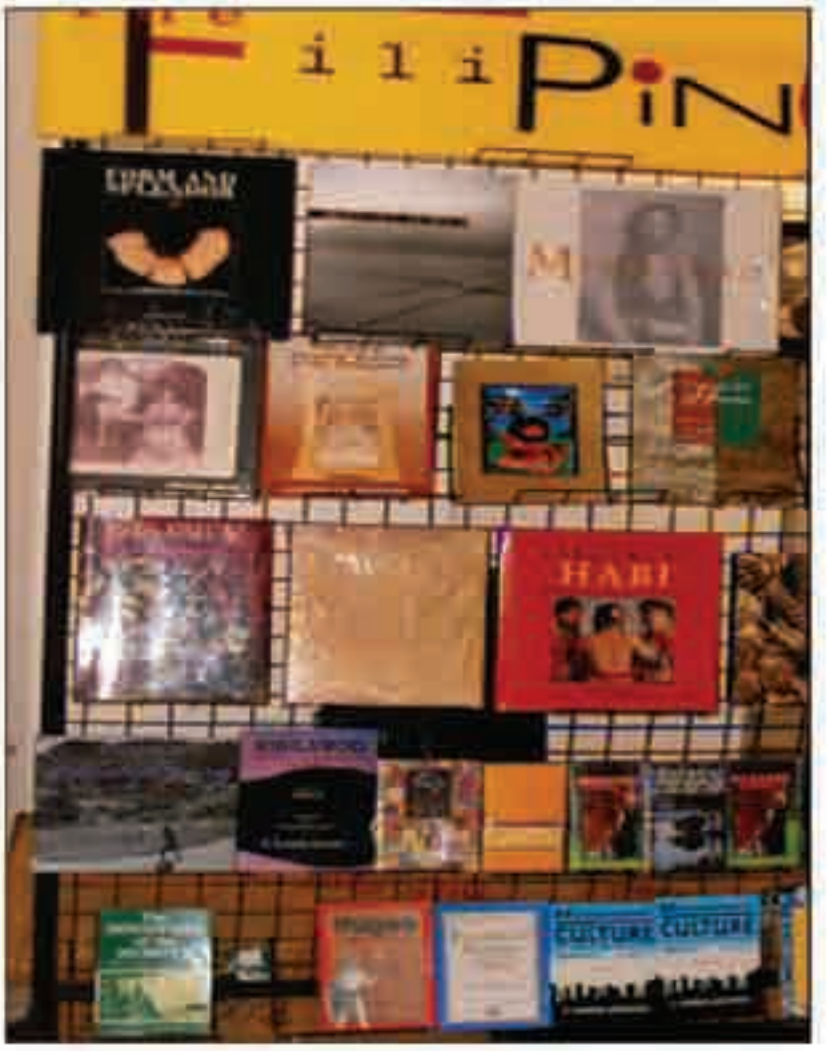
The concept of *lapat* among the Tinggians of Abra is also recognized at the local government level. The term "*lapat*" basically means "to restrict" or "not to permit" (Sumangil and Cacagas 2002). It is a "whole system of regulating, restricting, if not totally banning certain practices that wantonly destroy the environment and all its resources". "The *lapat* is enforced by responsible community members called *lapat* holders, through the imposition of fines and penalties, including a spiritually oriented system of self-indictment and self-condemnation" (Malanes: 2002).

Strengthening the System of Governance and Improving the Justice System

Indigenous systems of governance have survived even though the national government has adopted a foreign legal system. The extent by which these systems are practiced vary. Indigenous communities that have become urbanized and have accepted multi-ethnic groups generally adopt mainstream governance practices. Communities in far-flung areas however, still have strong traditional institutions and systems such as the council of elders, peace pact holders, the tongtong, *befeknacan* and *kasfala*, among others.

Indigenous peoples prefer to settle disputes in accordance with customary law because it is non-confrontational and participatory. Decisions are made collectively, and are therefore less prone to corruption.

Most local government units recognize the indigenous justice system in areas where indigenous peoples constitute the majority population. In general, the council of elders and other indigenous institutions given the mandate to settle disputes are called upon to adjudicate any dispute within an indigenous community. Cases covered by these indigenous systems include murder, physical injuries, theft, boundary conflicts, destruction of property, arson and other infractions of customary law.



Many research studies and publication regarding indigenous Filipinos have found their way into Philippine bookstores.

In a multi-ethnic community, cases involving indigenous peoples only are referred to the council of elders. Cases concerning an indigenous person and an outsider may be tried by the council of elders if the problem occurred within indigenous territory.

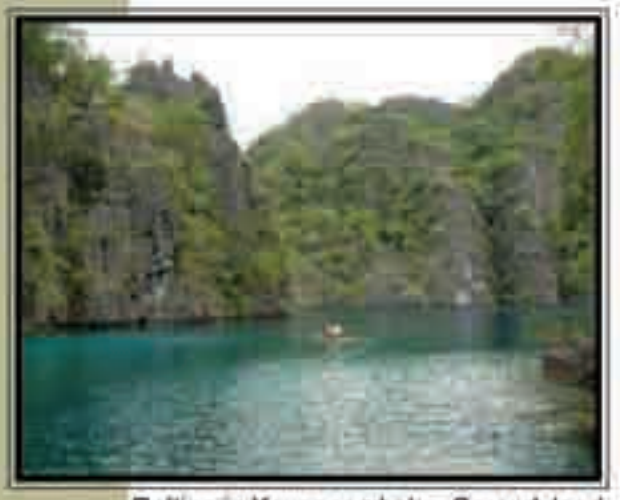
There have been instances where elders and barangay officials have worked together for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. In areas where the local government officials are non-indigenous, cases involving indigenous peoples are referred to the council of elders.

The integration of indigenous systems of governance into the development process may occur naturally in local governments composed of and led by indigenous peoples. This largely depends on the indigenous peoples' determination to assert their rights, as well as the openness of local governments to incorporate IKSP into their governance systems.

The process of integration can be enhanced through case studies that highlight its mechanics and benefits, crafting of policies and guidelines, and promoting the participation of indigenous peoples in development projects.

The growing interest in the integration of IKSPs into the development process has significant implications. Pursued with greater vigor, the initiatives outlined in this report may yet lead to effective mechanisms that will strengthen and revitalize IKSP, highlighting their continuing relevance in these modern times.

This report was prepared mainly by Ms. Geraldine Figgey. Primary data came from key informant interviews and focus group discussions. One of the significant sources of data were multi-sectoral consultations involving indigenous peoples, NGO representatives and government employees in Baguio City; Calapan, Oriental Mindoro; Puerto Princesa, Palawan; Davao City; and Metro-Manila. Secondary data was drawn from documents in college and university libraries, as well as private institutions and government agencies.



Rafting in Kayangan Lake, Coron Island

CHAPTER 2

Mapping the Tagbanua's Ancestral Waters

The passage of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 was a watershed event in the history of Philippine jurisprudence. With this law, ownership of natural resources in ancestral domains was vested in indigenous communities, creating far-reaching consequences on the jurisdiction of government agencies on conservation-related matters. It recognizes the private rights of indigenous peoples that predate the establishment of the republic and colonial governments in the country.

After many years however, the authority of IPRA has yet to be significantly applied. There is a reticence in enforcing its mandate, and indigenous peoples' advocates have observed that efforts to unravel jurisdictional overlaps seem to favor the legal system that IPRA was supposed to correct in the first place.

Critical sensitivity is particularly needed in the case of ancestral waters. Differences between indigenous and European notions of territory, which the colonizers introduced to the Philippines, are brought into high relief with the question of indigenous seas. Governments, international organizations, and the maritime industry seldom recognize ancestral waters due to Western notions that the seas are open access commons that cannot be tenured but need to be regulated. This idea directly contradicts indigenous experience. It has been pointed out that "for indigenous people, the relationship and sense of belonging to sea country is as elemental as their affiliation with the land … From an indigenous person's perspective, therefore, there is no distinction between native title on land or sea."

IPRA unequivocally provides for the recognition of traditional seas and other bodies of water. But can the seas and other aquatic territories be titled? How do ancestral waters affect the jurisdiction of departments and municipal governments tasked with the regulation and management of coastal areas? More importantly, can the identification, registration and administration of Native titles be placed under technical and regulatory standards that were developed for standard land titles? Both types of titles are definitive proof of private property, but their bases, nature, rationale, scope and prescribed rights are vastly different. Should a single

system and set of standards regulate both? Or, failing that, should IPRA create its own standards for ancestral domains?

Answers to these questions may be found in the experiences of indigenous communities on the ground. Steps to interface IPRA provisions with the regulations of government units, as well as critical issues that the law was expressly designed to resolve, have been explored and tested by the same groups who successfully advocated for the passage of the law.

From the perspective of many indigenous communities, IPRA has provided crucial legal support for local initiatives in defending, protecting or recovering indigenous territories. One such group is the Saraggunta Foundation, a federation of seven Calamian Tagbanua community foundations in northern Palawan.

Majority of Calamian Tagbanua communities are found in the coastal areas of several islands in the Calamianes and Linapacan island groups. Many families are indigenous fishers engaged in subsistence fishing and diving for marine resources. As indigenous peoples, their sense of identity and territory is based not only on a historical occupation of their ancestral lands, but also on an integral relationship with the sea. More than ancestral lands, it is their ancestral waters that have served as both heritage and life support for generations of Calamian Tagbanua since time immemorial. Indeed, if all Saraggunta domains were lumped together, land cover would comprise only 9% of the total area. Aquatic territories cover an average of 87% of each Calamian Tagbanua ancestral domain. This high proportion reflects the crucial importance of the sea to the livelihood, integrity and survival of the Calamian Tagbanua people.

One of Saraggunta's founding members, the Tagbanua Foundation of Coron Island (TFCI), became the first indigenous community to gain legal recognition for their ancestral waters or "teeb ang surubliin," the seas inherited from the ancestors. In 1997, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) awarded TFCI with a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC), a tenure instrument that reserved 22,284 hectares of land and seas in and around Coron and Delian islands in Coron municipality for the exclusive use, occupation, and management of its indigenous communities.

Since then, several indigenous communities have followed suit in filing legal claims over their ancestral waters. Other groups have expressed interest in making use of IPRA to address problems concerning access to customary marine resources.

History of CALAMIAN TAGBANUA

The Calamianes group of islands covers the Municipalities of Busuanga, Coron, Culion, and Linapacan in the northern section of Palawan province. Calamianes and the Cuyo group of islands form a fisheries statistical unit called Cuyo Pass that has a total fishing area of 55,556 km^2, the third largest in the Philippines after west Palawan and the Sulu Sea. Its shelf area is the fourth largest in the country, and encourages shallow water fishing near the coast. Its coastlines are so indented that no point on land is more than 11 kilometers from the sea. Because of its geography, the Calamianes has supported the extensive formation of coastal fringing reefs, which have been

reported as some of the most biologically diverse in the Philippines. About 90% of fishery production in the region is landed there, according to fisheries researchers. Marine biologists have observed several endangered species in the area including the dugong or seacow, green turtle, hawksbill turtle, bottlenose dolphin, minke whale, Philippine crocodile, and estuarine crocodile.

It is now thought that more than 10 million years ago, only Palawan had a dry-land connection with Borneo, compared with the rest of the Philippines. This geologic link answered the mystery behind the greater similarity of Palawan's flora and fauna to Borneo than to the rest of the country. Due to the movement of glaciers and tectonic plates, further differentiation occurred. Palawan Island and the Calamianes formed a single island termed Greater Palawan. Numerous endemic species are found in the region, which is also a significant area for migratory birds. However, there are few studies specific to the edible-nest swiftlet, a bird that has significant economic importance to the Tagbanua.

The climate in Calamianes is marked by heavy rains between May and October, which coincides with the weaker habagat (southwest monsoon) and calmer seas, a period of intensified fishing activity. There is minimal precipitation between November and April, but the stronger winds and rough seas associated with amihan (northeast monsoon) make it a lean season for fishers.

Much of what is known about Palawan's pre-history was unearthed from excavations in the Tabon Cave and other sites in Quezon, southern Palawan, in 1965. The discovery led historians to speculate that the Palawan mainland and the Calamianes were important way stations, not only for the dispersal of plant and animal biodiversity between Borneo and west Asia, but also for the flow of goods and people in the archipelago for the past 50,000 years.

The sheer length of time that the caves were used as dwellings or burial areas brought anthropologist Dr. Robert Fox to the hypothesis that there had been a major movement of peoples in the late Neolithic Age to the early Metal Age, primarily from northern Indochina and southern China, followed by Malay and Thai groups. They may have reached Palawan by following the coasts of the South China Sea and the western shores of Borneo. These people were shifting cultivators who also foraged, fished and hunted. They lived in scattered settlements along the coasts or rivers. Their burial rites included washing bones for secondary burial in jars; burying significant items with the dead such as porcelain, bracelets, pottery and jade; and in later instances, burying the dead in banca coffins. Historian Nilo S. Ocampo noted that these burial customs are similar to many cultural elements in the Pala'wan and Tagbanua indigenous communities. Ocampo reports that hundreds of year prior to the arrival of Spanish chroniclers, the Tagbanua, Pala'wan, and Batac who were proto-Malay or Negrito in appearance, had already established settlements in the islands of Palawan and Calamianes.

Such historical notes resonate with the stories recounted by Tagbanua elders of their epic heroes, Makarere and Matanhak. These two warriors dwelt in caves opposite one another high atop the limestone cliffs in Bantang Daan, Coron Island facing the China Sea. These warriors had discovered anting-anting or amulets in the forest that imbued them with uncommon strength

and magical abilities that they used to repel hostile invaders, both Muslim and Spanish. To this day, gatherers of edible bird's nests can still point to the sites of the ancient cave dwellings of their heroes.

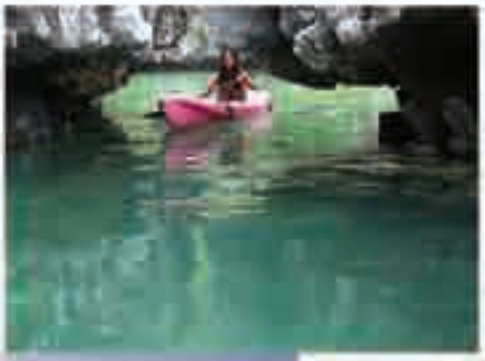
According to community elders or mupet, many Tagbanua clans originated from Bamuang Lagsic (Bamuang Daan) in Coron Island. Over time, they scattered to outlying islands and parts of mainland Busuanga. Their ancestors set up camps along beaches, and sailed from island to island as nomadic fishers and hunter-gatherers. Many typically rounded the Calamianes by following the Busuanga coast and fishing, diving, gathering edible bird's nests and harvesting nests, sea cucumbers and shells before returning to the same camps every season. In calm weather, when sails were held in check, these fishing parties paddled as far as Linapacan, Nanggalao and Cabilauan. The women prepared carbohydrate staples gathered in the forest like kapari and kurut, both edible tubers, and foraged for protein sources in mangroves and beaches. They buried their dead along with some of the deceased's personal effects, such as porcelain, jars or glass beads, in caves lining the cliffs and coasts of their islands. Up to 1936, when the school in Banwang Daan was opened, many Tagbanua clans persisted in nomadic foraging and fishing along established camps located in beaches, rivers and caves. By 1940, majority of the clans had moved to large, permanent settlements so their children could attend public schools. However, several traditional families continued to live in outlying beach camps in Coron Island, Balalacao island, Tara islands, and parts of mainland Busuanga.

Probably because of the sea that separates them, the Calamian Tagbanua are distinct from other ethno-linguistic groups in the Palawan mainland with similar names such as the Silanganen or Tandulanen Tagbanua around Roxas, and the Tagbanua of southern Palawan.

Chau Ju-Kua, an Inspector of Foreign Trade in Chinkiang, Fukien Province, is believed to have written the first document that details Chinese trade with the Philippines. Written in 1225, the Chu-fan-chi or "A Description of Barbarous Peoples" described the people and produce of San-su (Three Islands) named Ma-ma-yen, Pa-lau-yu and Pa-li-ming. In a 1911 English translation, the three islands were identified as Calamianes, Palawan and Busuanga respectively. The people of the islands bartered cotton, yellow wax, cloth and coconut-heart mats for porcelain, black damask, silk, glass beads, tin, and lead sinkers for their nets.

In 1521, Spanish chronicler Antonio Pigafetta witnessed "Mahayos Mahometanos" teaching Islam, organizing villages and collecting tribute along the coasts of Pulaoan (Palawan). Spanish reports on ysla de calamianes appeared from 1582 to 1589, when Miguel de Loarca listed the islands of "Coron" and "Linapacan" (also called "Caramuan") as inhabited. In 1593, other reports said encomenderos in Panay and Mindoro visited coastal villages in Cuyo and Calamianes annually to collect tribute.

Closer descriptions of the islands, its people and their spiritual life emerged in the writings of Fray Luis de Jesus, who chronicled the work of Augustinian Recollect friars "charged with the administration and conquest" of Calamianes. Fray Luis recorded their accounts of the distinct limestone cliffs of the "small island" of Coron, which required a steep and intricate ascent, and



Tourism has adversely affected indigenous communities in popular destinations due to lack of social preparation activities, especially in poor coastal villages.

was a refuge of "numerous birds." The friars believed that local people regarded Coron Island as sacred, since the "Indians retire there as to a sacred place." As a fortress, Coron could not "be taken except by hunger or thirst" and they believed, wrongly, that the island was barren since "not a drop of water can be found on it." Moreover, Coron was defended by treacherous reefs that made "navigation of those seas dangerous, even in time of fair weather." Fortunately the friars also took note of Coron's produce: locals had traded honey, beeswax and what they believed were "a great number of beehives amid the hollows of the rock."

The friars regarded the local people as "savage monsters" and the "little religion" they had as "stupid." Nonetheless, they observed that local people "knew many herbs." One account said "those heathen Calamianes" held beliefs in a Creator; polygamy was limited to what could be ably supported; the humalagar, or souls of ancestors, were invoked in times of sickness; and while priests, called mangaloc, were regarded with deep respect, women priests, who were healers, were more revered. Local residents also respected a war deity, and a female spirit responsible for the fertility of fields.

A significant document on commercial transactions in the Calamianes is the exhaustive, 14-volume history of the Augustinian missions to the Philippines by Fray Juan de la Concepcion. His descriptions of local commerce are remarkable, as these have changed very little from the practice of contemporary Calamian Tagbanua.

Fray Juan described "Calamian the great" or Busuagan (Busuanga) as a large, fertile island with big rivers, lush mountains, and beeswax of excellent quality; Culion (Culion) or "Calamian

the lesser," was the province's capital and home to a well-armed fort, but was "so overrun with rats or moles" that the local people were "forced to engage in the trade of jars and salt" as well as swiftlet nests, honey and beeswax. He also dwelt at length on goods that were highly prized by the Chinese such as balat or sea cucumbers and edible swiftlet nests.

Fray Juan itemized the pricing and trade of edible bird's nests with interest. He corrected the misimpression that the "small black birds" which wove the profitable nests were swallows, and recorded a cycle of three harvests between December and March. Swiftlet-nest gatherers belayed ropes to descend into "tortuous and precipitous caverns" and climbed to "craggy locations" up bamboo scaffolds "which are left with large projections" or knots for footholds. He reported that swiftlet nests of a high quality had been abundant in Busuanga, Culion, Coron Island, and almost everywhere in the Calamianes, in contrast to the present day when swiftlet nests are gathered in substantial quantities only in Coron Island and a few islands to the south.

Significantly, he confirmed that nesting sites were designated, locals had claims of private ownership to their designated nests, and these claims were strictly observed. Fray Juan wrote: "The latter part of December, those to whom are assigned crags – in which it is not right for one to meddle with those of another, a rule that is observed with much fidelity – go out."

Like Miguel de Loarca a half century before him, Fray Juan chronicled the island of Coron using its current name. Written from the view of conquistadores, Fray Juan explained how Coron Island defied Spanish rule and remained beyond the reach of the Augustinian friars. He wrote: "The only entrance to it is by a narrow tongue of land, which forms, as it were, a small port. But it is so easy of defense that a few men can prevent any entrance there without danger." Fray Luis noted there were different "tribes" or groups of peoples in the Calamianes islands. Busuanga had "many pagans of good appearance and better disposition." But in the island of Coron, there were "many natives of savage inclination, and most warlike."

Alexander Dalrymple, a British geographer who had visited the islands of Palawan between 1759 and 1762, also chronicled the different groups of people who inhabited the Philippine islands. Dalrymple had been gauging the extent of Spanish influence over the islands to prepare for a British attack on Manila. He noted that the Cuyo islands were "more docile and more attached to the Spaniards than the Calamian or Paraguans." He further noted that the people of the Calamianes islands were "bold and industrious." He reported that only parts of Paragua were under Spain and that many areas were under the "jurisdiction of Sooloo" and populated by Joloanos.

Indeed, even after the sultanate of Borneo conceded Paraguan to the Spanish Crown in a treaty in 1705, troops and tribute collectors loyal to the sultanate of Sulu, Tirones, and Camucones continued to press their jurisdiction over south and central Paraguan and the Calamianes well into the latter half of the 19th century.

In 1883, a census of landowners in Paragua listed residents as Spanish, Chinese or Yndigenos/Yndigenas. In colonists' reports, non-hispanicized groups were distinguished using assignations like Pagan, Tagbanua, Bacta (Batac), negrillo, Tandulano, savage, and non-Christian.

A portrait of Calamian groups at the turn of the century can be gleaned from the reports and sketches of Alfred Marche, a naturalist commissioned by the French Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts to undertake ethnographic and scientific missions to the Philippines. He visited Calamianes in 1884, and took extensive notes on the Tagbanua.

Though his travel diary is a valuable source on Tagbanuas at the close of the millenium, there is a downside. Marche also removed more than 20 sets of human remains from burial caves along with their associated objects, in most instances surreptitiously. He knowingly disturbed graves and hid skeletal remains, jewelry and porcelain in a bag, handling them in an unscientific manner. He dispensed with the appropriate tools and methods known in his time to catalogue, measure or study the cave sites, perhaps destroying whatever scientific value they might have had. Also, he paid for specimens by the piece. Though he mentions in his book that "a more technical report" on his collections (numbering more than 4,000 items) would follow, "such report has not been found anywhere." Only a few hundred items from his collection remain in Paris museums, and the rest are believed to be in Madrid.

In his travel diary and ink sketches, Marche noted differences between Palaouan Tagbanuas and "Tagbanuas of the Calamianes." He did not encounter Calamianes Tagbanuas who knew how to write the Tagbanua script as he documented in Palaouan, and the two groups had different languages. Their burial customs were also dissimilar.

One of his significant observations is that despite Spanish presence for 300 years, the Calamianes Tagbanua still revered their spirits, especially the mangaluk. Even in Culion, once the seat of the Calamianes missions and the province's capital, Marche observed a number who remained independent, and found that Culion Tagbanua were only nominally reduced into the village and continued to avoid the tribute. There was also little change in commercial activity, with birds' nests and sea cucumber being traded for rice and cloth.

In 1995, Tagbanuas in Coron municipality constituted 25.2% of the total population of 27,040.

Table 2.10 Tagbanua Population in the Municipality of Coron

	BARANGAY	TOTAL POP.	TAGBANUA POP.	% TAGBANUA
1	Banwang Daan	489	465	95
2	Buenavista	492	467	95
3	Bulalacao	1,826	1,643	90
4	Cabugao	1,539	1,462	95
5	Decabobo	592	237	40
6	Lajala	798	599	75
7	Malawig	435	392	90
8	Marcilla	914	457	50
9	Tara	824	783	95
10	Turda	1,559	312	20
	TOTAL	9,488	6,816	72

REFERENCE: Dilig and Basco, Tagbanuas in Coron MPDO 1995 Census

Tagbanua Foundation of Coron Island

The barangays of Cabugao and Banwang Daan are home to 283 Tagbanua families who are all members of the local indigenous people's organization called Tagbanua Foundation of Coron Island or TFCI. The Foundation was organized in 1985 to enable the Tagbanua people in the area to collectively pursue their development aspirations and effectively respond to their common needs and problems. Some of the challenges they faced as a community include the loss of their traditional livelihood of gathering *balay* (bird's nest) due to the implementation of local government policies upholding State ownership of natural resources, and the occupation of parts of the islands by migrant settlers who were able to obtain land rights through tax declarations filed with the local government.

In the mid-1980s, the Tagbanua community in Coron island, through the TFCI, started to seek a suitable tenurial instrument to secure their occupation of the ancestral domain. To promote this objective, then Cabugao Barangay Councilor Rodulfo "Codol" Aguilar facilitated their contact with the Tagbanua community in Lumaut, Quezon in southern Palawan, who were the first Tagbanua group to be awarded a Community Forest Stewardship Agreement (CFSA) in the province. It was from this interaction that the Tagbanua in Coron learned about the CFSA as a legal instrument that could guarantee tenure for a limited period in exchange for the management of forest resources.

In 1985, upon the invitation of Barangay Captain Aguilar, PAFID gave the Tagbanua in Coron more information about the CFSA and the process for obtaining it. Most of them were pleased to know that the CFSA would recognize their sole authority to manage the entire island, as this would mean they could secure control over the clan caves. Some were concerned about the 25-year limit, but they were assured that the instrument has an "option to renew" clause which means that the period for them to enjoy their rights could be extended. On the basis of this and other information, they decided to apply for a CFSA, which they were able to obtain in 1990 under the Integrated Social Forestry Program of the DENR.

The tenurial instrument gave the TFCI the responsibility to conserve the forest and the right to live peacefully, to cultivate the land, and to reap the benefits from the forest according to their customs and traditions. It also guaranteed that the government will not change the classification of the land while the CFSA is in effect, and will not award it to other entities. Tax declarations already issued over parcels of land in the area were cancelled and long-time migrants were advised that they could continue to live with the community so long as they respect the laws of the Tagbanua.

Ancestral Waters CADC

In the mid-1990s, the TFCI applied for a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim to include their artisanal fishing grounds. Unprecedented in social forestry, the TFCI explained that the sustainable occupation of Coron and Delian Islands was impossible without the support their livelihood derived from marine resources, which at the time were suffering losses due to the

"modern" fishing methods of cyanide and dynamite fishing employed by itinerant fishers. The TFCI wanted to restrict their communal fishing areas to subsistence fishers using traditional or non-destructive fishing methods. In the TFCI's view, a CADC would accord them the legal authority to implement the proscriptions.

One of the problems confronted by DENR personnel in evaluating the TFCI application for a CADC was the lack of basic knowledge on indigenous seas and how to assess historical claims over customary marine resources. During provincial hearings held by the DENR in 1997, it was noted that standards for upland communities were being applied to assess marine claims, with disastrous results.

The Tagbanua CADC was timely, as the negative impact of migrant fishers on the island was increasing steadily. Most of the Calamian Tagbanua live along the coast, which produce the highest yields of economically important aquatic resources found in coral reefs, seagrass beds, beaches and mangroves. Marine assessments show that one-third of the Philippines' 2,300 fish species dwell in reefs, but sadly, the country's coral cover has been degraded to critical levels. In 1985, only five per cent of Philippine reefs were reported to be in excellent condition and by 1998, the World Conservation Monitoring Center estimated that virtually all of the Philippine's coral reefs were at risk. It is worthy to note that the Philippines has the fourth largest coral cover in the world, and Palawan hosts 36% of the country's total coral cover.

A rapid assessment of 58 study sites in Coron, Busuanga and Culion conducted in early 1998 revealed that the Calamianes islands are among the richest in terms of marine biodiversity. The study determined that the Calamianes has a higher coral diversity than the rest of the country, and features a high diversity of reef fishes. Though it found extensive reef destruction and overfishing, a significant amount of live coral remained and overall coral diversity was "impressive."

However the status of fisheries, especially commercially important fish species and other aquatic resources, was grim. The study sites yielded low fish productivity and the remaining biomass consisted mostly of non-commercial species. The results suggest that commercial fish species have been exhausted due to overfishing. Since 90% of total fish production in the Calamianes comes from coral reefs, these findings indicate that fisheries in the region were severely depleted in the late 1990s.

Coral reef destruction is attributed mainly to cyanide and blast fishing. Deforestation has also resulted in siltation and poor water quality, significantly reducing the productivity of municipal fisheries in the past decade.

The fishing industry is now regulated by the Revised Fisheries Code. However, the law is silent on the rights of indigenous communities over ancestral waters and traditional fishing grounds. The Code also has a different definition of coastal areas from that of the Strategic Environmental Plan for Palawan (SEP), a site-specific law that covers the Calamianes region. The Revised Fisheries Code specifies coastal areas as a band of dry and submerged land at the direct interface of earth and ocean processes, which may include areas within one kilometer

from the shore at high tide. The SEP defines coastal zones as an area that includes the whole coastline up to the open sea, including communal fishing grounds. The SEP stipulates that "Tribal Ancestral Zones" may comprise both land and sea areas whose control and prohibition place a stronger emphasis on "cultural considerations" and employs "cultural mapping" in its zoning scheme.

The eastern cusp of Coron Island, facing Delian Island, hosts a number of very large coral reef systems, three of them larger than the total surface of Delian. The main island of Coron is ringed by octopus fishing grounds, groves of root crops, and strips of white sand beaches used as burial sites or camping sites for swiftlet-nest gatherers. Thus, in the delineation of the Coron tagbanua ancestral waters, the survey team plotted a large coral reef in front of the Dilkaay sand strip, smaller coral reefs at the back of Delian, and the diving areas. The tip of Coron Island, known as Kalis, hosts many swiftlet caves and fish sanctuaries. Sheer limestone cliffs that shelter a great number of swiftlet nests, nest-gatherers' camps, burial sites, and the houses of relatively autonomous families dominate the western side facing Busuanga. There is a panyaan (sacred site) facing Maulalara in Bgy. Bulalacao.

Giving due course to the Coron Tagbanua application for CADC, which covered ancestral waters, was an uphill battle. There were many opponents to the claim, including some local government officials. Between 1995 and 1997, at least 18 resolutions against the CADC application were filed before the municipal council.

In the end, however, the persistence of the Tagbanua in Coron island helped them obtain the first ancestral waters CADC in the Philippines in 1997. Less than four years later, on February 18, 2001, they also obtained the first ancestral waters CADT under the IPRA.

CADT and Protected Areas

The advent of R. A. 7586 or National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act of 1992 signaled an important shift in State policy towards biodiversity conservation. Hailed as a landmark law, the NIPAS Act introduced the Protected Areas framework in biodiversity conservation that made peoples' participation and the protection of indigenous peoples' traditional rights as principal management objectives. NIPAS is the first piece of national legislation to accord recognition for ancestral land and customary rights of indigenous peoples. The law prohibits the forcible relocation of indigenous communities, and recognizes the need to preserve ancestral domains located inside protected areas. It also ensures that indigenous forms of natural resource management are maintained, along with their traditional livelihood activities in these areas. In case of overlaps, the NIPAS Act affirms the primacy of recognizing, maintaining, and preserving ancestral domain and customary rights before other types of management options.

The NIPAS law prescribes a method of formulating legislation that responds to prevailing conditions in a proposed Protected Area. Each component of the NIPAS system needs a separate, site-specific law with the participation of stakeholders of biodiversity conservation in formulating management strategies and structures that realistically addresses existing problems.

It is interesting to note that in the NIPAS pilot program, all eight sites are located in ancestral domains. Table 2.11 shows the the ancestral domains and indigenous ethno-linguistic groups in the existing and proposed pilot areas identified in the Final Report for 1995-2001 of the National Integrated Protected Areas Programme (NIPAP).

Details of all communal claims of indigenous communities that have been identified, delineated and officially recognized under the DENR Ancestral Domains Program also show

Table 2.11 Ancestral Domains in NIPAP Pilot Sites

INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	TENURE INSTRUMENT	PROTECTED AREA
Tagbanua	CFSA, CADC, CADT	Coron Island, Coron, Palawan
Tagbanua	CALC	El Nido, Palawan
Tagbanua	CADC, CALC	Malampaya Sound, Palawan
Sibuyan Mangyan-Tagabukid	CADT	Mt. Guiting-guiting, Sibuyan Island, Romblon
Buhid, Tau Buid, Tadyawan Mangyan	CFSA, CADC	Mts. Iglit-Baco, Oriental Mindoro
Agta Tabangnon, Agta Cimarron	CADC	Mt. Isarog
Subanen	CADC	Mt. Malindang, Misamis Occidental
Kalanguya, Ibaloi, Kankana-ey, Karao, Ifugao	CADC	Mt. Pulag, Benguet

substantial overlaps with the remaining forest cover. Pending applications for CADTs under IPRA continue the trend of high degree of overlaps. It would be interesting to study a causal relationship, if any, between ancestral domains and areas where remaining forest cover are still significant. Scientific research is needed to validate this trend and to explore this phenomenon. If causality exists, then it is expected that more protected areas will be proposed in ancestral domains in the future.

While the NIPAS Act opened venues for the participation of indigenous community organizations in management bodies, ground level experience indicate that there is much work to be done in order to truly advance the empowerment of these marginalized groups.

In the case of Coron Island, TICI has expressed reluctance over the implementation of NIPAP in the Tagbanua ancestral domain, even though the indigenous community has placed a very high value on conservation measures, both in their marine and terrestrial domains. They seem to recognize certain gaps between the conservation framework practiced by indigenous communities in the ancestral domain, and the framework of biodiversity conservation advanced by the NIPAS law. They have noted, among other things, that planned projects for the protected area rely heavily on external funding. Indigenous knowledge is not successfully employed in the process of conservation planning.

To the TICI, conservation planning is not time-bound nor project-oriented. It takes the form of law or a code of ethics to ensure the long-term sustainable management of the ancestral domain, and is characterized by very long term or intergenerational planning.

The installation of the Protected Area Management Board (PAMB) has replaced the traditional structures governing the management of natural resources within ancestral domains. This did

not sit well with TFCI members, who felt that under the PAMB, the role, authority and power reserved for community elders and local leaders are sidelined.

The organization's concern finds validity in Table 2.12, taken from NIPAP's Final Report, showing how indigenous groups constitute the minority in multi-sectoral PAMBs.

Table 2.12 IP Representation in PAMBs of NIPAP Pilot Sites

PROTECTED AREA	% OF IP REPRESENTATIVES	% OF IP MEMBERS
Coron Island	n/a	n/a
El Nido	4	4
Malampaya Sound	7	9
Mt. Guiting-guiting	4	4
Mts. Iglit-Baco	10	19
Mt. Isarog	6	6
Mt. Malindang	17	21
Mt. Pulag	10	76

Given these observations, the Tagbanua people in Coron decided not to support the proposed designation of their ancestral domain as a protected area under the NIPAS law.

To bridge the perceived biodiversity conservation gap in Coron Island, the TFCI formulated an Ancestral Domain Management Plan (ADMP) for the area. A 3-dimensional model was used to document the historical use of their marine and terrestrial environment, using land cover data as the basis for formulating management zones. NIPAP has adopted the model, stating in its final report that the 3-dimensional participatory mapping data was the "most representative" among all the sources that it had used so far.

After years of advocacy and lobbying, the TFCI also succeeded in convincing NIPAP to adopt the ADSDPP as the General Management Plan for Coron Island. In so doing, TFCI not only cemented its vision of strengthening indigenous management over the ancestral domain, but has also ensured that the conservation of the protected area will affirm community priorities and indigenous law. For one thing, TFCI has placed a low priority on biodiversity resource assessments because of glaring gaps in the protection of the communal intellectual property rights of indigenous communities.

TFCI's Community-Based Tourism Project

In the late 1990s, the Department of Tourism with support from Japan International Cooperation Agency came up with a Tourism Master Plan for Northern Palawan that covered many of the Calamian Tagbanua ancestral domains. Kayangan Lake in Coron Island is one of the tourism attractions aggressively being promoted to visitors. It has been named "The Cleanest Lake in the Philippines" and has obtained a "Hall of Fame Award" for getting the title several times. Lulayawan Lake (known as Barracuda Lake among tourists), also in Coron Island, has won the same award.

Tourism, whether it is ecotourism or commercial tourism, has never been part of the world-view of the Tagbanua. To them, tourism is a constant threat to the rights of indigenous peoples.

They feel that tourists, in general, do not respect their rights and culture.

To minimize these threats, TFCI decided to launch a program that would protect the island and its people from the impact of mass tourism. Their sustainable tourism program also ensures that the ecological, economic, and spiritual values of Coron Island are preserved. The community believes that it need not close the island to visitors, but regulations are needed to balance the needs of visitors with the interests of the Tagbanua people.

Kayangan Lake is important to the Tagbanua as it is the habitat of swiftlets. The birds drink the clean water of the lake and build nests, made of their saliva, inside the limestone caves that surround the lake. The edible birds' nests are the ingredients for nido soup, an expensive dish in upscale restaurants. One kilo of birds' nest can fetch up to P150,000. The trade in birds' nests has gone on for 400 years.

The lakes or "awuyuk" of Coron Island, as well as sandy areas where gravesites are found, are considered as sacred places that require strict protection. The Tagbanua do not go to these places unless they have an important purpose. Every year, community elders make an offering to the lakes to prevent illnesses and keep the birds' nest gatherers from harm. Some of the lakes are believed to be the home of "matalabyot" (giant octopus) that also protect the waters from intruders.

As part of its ADMP formulated in 1998, the group established a community-based tourism project in Coron island's beaches and Kayangan Lake. It aims to preserve the sacred sites and protect the island's natural environment from destruction and abuse. The project also promotes indigenous systems of governance in regulating resource uses in the island.

TFCI operates its Visitor Management Program from PAGSASARAGPUNAN, a Tourist Information Center in the town center of Coron. Tourists obtain a "local visa" while tour boats have to get an annual permit from the center before they can visit the island. These regulations are meant to assert the TFCI's authority and responsibility to protect the Tagbanua's unique culture within their ancestral land and waters.

The TFCI Visitor Management Program spelled out the following objectives:

- Manage the ancestral domain according to indigenous systems of governance
- Protect the cultural and natural attributes of Coron island, as well as the livelihood and economic benefits of the Tagbanua until the next generations
- Raise funds for environmental, educational, health and livelihood projects
- Control the number of visitors entering Kayangan Lake, a major source of livelihood as well as a sacred site of the Tagbanua

The other lakes and sandy beaches where gravesites are located were closed to tourism. Only Kayangan and Barracuda Lakes, as well as sandy beaches without burial sites, are open to visitors.

In January 2002, officials of the local association of tour operators held negotiations with TFCI on the thorny issue of entrance fees to Kayangan Lake. In the end, the TFCI council of elders agreed to charge P150 per guest for the association's members only. Eight tour boat operators

have obtained annual permits from TFCI and they are following the group's policies.

Two luxury boats that are not based in Palawan, the Coco Explorer and Lagoon Explorer, regularly bring visitors to Kayangan Lake every week. They have applied for permits and forged an agreement with TFCI regarding tourism activities. Coco Explorer brings 30 to 80 visitors, while the Lagoon Explorer has a capacity of 40 tourists.

Community Mapping of Saragpunta

Following the success of the Tagbanua in Coron Island to secure tenure over their ancestral domain, other Calamian Tagbanua groups reflected on their conditions and realized that migrants had taken advantage of them through the years because they were scattered in various communities. Outsiders exploited the weakness of some families. As they discussed their problems, the widely dispersed groups saw the need to organize a single organization that would pursue a collective response and action through their shared culture and identity.

Thus, the Saragpunta Foundation or the Samahan ng mga Pundasyon ng mga Tagbanua (Federation of Tagbanua Foundations) was born in 1996. The name was derived from the Tagbanua word "saragpun" which means "to gather" or "a large boat." Before the Second World War, gatherings of different Tagbanua clans were very rare. They generally had no large, clustered settlements, and moved among different camps scattered in different islands as semi-nomadic fishers and gatherers. At that time, large assemblies were reserved for singular events. The special meaning attached to the word "saragpun" survives to this day, and the undertone of a singular event was intended to apply to the first federation of Calamian Tagbanua communities.

The Saragpunta Foundation was founded by three indigenous community organizations based in seven barangays in the municipality of Coron. It was organized to promote the efforts of different Calamian Tagbanua communities to secure recognition of their communal ownership of their ancestral domains. Saragpunta seeks to assist all Tagbanua groups in the Calamianes that request their assistance. Its mission is to ensure:

- Freedom of movement and customary marine rights within the ancestral domains;
- Recognition and respect for indigenous territories;
- Recognition and enforcement of customary laws;
- Freedom to pursue productive lives in peace; and
- An end to discrimination and unjust treatment of the Tagbanua people.

As the years went by, membership in the Saragpunta Foundation grew and the federation became a potent force in the locality. It began to draw support from the municipal government. The federation has grown from three to seven member foundations based in 12 barangays in the municipalities of Coron, Culion and Busuanga. Following its crucial participation in different policy fora for the enactment of the IPRA, and the award of the first ancestral waters CADC, Saragpunta has slowly gained recognition among non-Tagbanuas and indigenous communities alike as an organization that represents the territorial interests of the Calamian Tagbanua. The

federation has assumed an increasingly important local role, and member organizations have gained greater representation in barangay councils and other local special bodies. So far, seven barangay kapitans (village leaders) and 45 barangay kagawads (councilors) have joined as

Table 2.13 Membership in Saragpunta Foundation

ORGANIZATION	BARANGAYS	HOUSEHOLDS
1 Tagbanua Foundation of Coron Island	Banwang Daan	54
	Cabugao	230
2 Tagbanua Foundation of Tara, Malawig, Buenavista & Turda	Tara	400
	Turda	71
	Malawig & Buenavista	350
3 Tagbanua Foundation of Bulalacao	Bulalacao	184
4 Tagbanua Foundation of Marcilla	Marcilla	80
	Borac	157
5 Tagbanua Foundation of Biong	Osmeña	71
6 Panlaitan and San Isidro Island Cultural Minority Development Association	Panlaitan	96
7 Balik Calauit Movement	Bulwang	150
TOTAL	12	1,843

members of the federation. Table 2.13 shows the composition of Saragpunta Foundation.

Majority of Saragpunta's members are engaged in traditional, small-scale fishing and diving or rely on subsistence fishing. The use of artisanal waters and dependence on customary marine resources are common threads of interest for Saragpunta members. There is also diversity in supplemental or secondary sources of income, from swidden and paddy agriculture to gathering of nontimber forest products. Tagbanua residents who derive their income primarily from fishing and diving spend an average of six months a year at sea.

In January 1996, PAFID field worker Angelo Ruel Belen helped the Calauman Tagbanua people start the delineation of their ancestral domains by assisting the TFCI to clarify the metes and bounds of areas affected by conflict, particularly in places where selling of ancestral lands were reported. PAFID initially assisted the Tagbanua clans in Dumlaulan, Tara, Malawig and other islands in preparing community sketch maps to accompany petitions filed with the DENR. During the mapping process, TFCI officers worked with clan representatives and village elders in plotting the relative location of houses, Tagbanua sitios, water sources, mangrove areas, burial sites, coral reefs, fishing grounds, swidden farms, cashew groves as well as islands whose tax declarations were being "sold" to non-Tagbanua. These sketch maps provided information for the base maps later used as reference in the ground survey of the ancestral domains.

The survey was part of the documentation required by the Provincial Special Task Force on Ancestral Domains (PSTFAD) for the CADC application of other members of the Saragpunta Foundation. Upon the request of Saragpunta, PAFID conducted the boundary surveys, with proper designation and authority from PSTFAD. The survey team included members of various sectoral groups that comprise PSTFAD such as other non-government organizations, local government units, the provincial Government, and the DENR.

Each community had to decide on the actual path that the survey team would follow to maximize the provisions and available mapping equipment. Members of each organization gave contributions for the food of the survey team and gasoline needed in the survey. Gauging from the response, there was wide support for the survey. Although many of the communities were cash-strapped, members from the five local organizations donated money and offered the use of their bancas, aside from volunteering to accompany the survey team.

The Saraggunta Foundation prepared for the survey by collating sworn statements from village elders and documenting other evidence of long-term use and occupation of their ancestral territory. In general, the extent of ancestral domains is common knowledge and fairly established among Tagbanua communities. Some areas, such as Coron Island and Barangays Malawig and Tara, are widely ascribed as Tagbanua territory even by non-Tagbanua as seen in attestations made by the office of the Municipal Assessor, headed at that time by Mr. Reynaldo Labrador. Yet, collective decisions had to be reached in determining the boundary of the domain. Through sketches, leaders of local organizations as well as clan representatives and elders discussed the placement of corners or boundary points to each of their claims until a consensus was reached. They also discussed the evidence supporting the placement of boundaries. Saraggunta Board members paid much attention to areas that were critically important to their livelihood and required special protection or monitoring from fish pirates.

Despite a wide array of land and marine features found among the three clusters of Saraggunta's ancestral domain – Coron Island in the east, Bulalacao in the south and the Tara and Busuanga group in the north – the bases for selecting the boundaries hewed to a common

Tagbanua women performing their native dances

theme, namely, areas which had been inherited from their ancestors and taught to them by the elders were included as part of ancestral territory.

Only the Tara group in the northern cluster had indicated boundary points on land, and the basis for selection was fairly straightforward: all islands traditionally occupied by their ancestors and determined from customary law to be clan inheritance were included. Secondly, the boundaries in mainland Busuanga followed natural geographic features such as the mountain range that separates the northern Tagbanua coastal villages from Busuanga's interior. All their known settlements and farms were included as well. The survey points in the mountains were traced only far enough to include the trails taken by their ancestors in gathering forest products such as root crops, wild honey, and rattan. Other boundary points on land were determined through Tagbanua taboos; for example, the area inhabited by the iraw halidhiran, a winged snake, formed an edge of their ancestral domain. Otherwise, the boundary points followed the peaks and ridges of the northern Busuanga mountain range.

Their basis for selecting the boundaries for the ancestral waters was equally straightforward: all coral reefs or marine resources, fishing grounds, sacred sites, reserves and other marine territories passed on to them by their ancestors and used continuously to the present day were included in the claim. This was especially significant in Coron Island and Bulalacao, as their ancestral domain is completely bounded by the indigenous sea. The boundaries for the two areas follow the outlines of important coral reef systems and benthic areas.

In simpler terms, the boundaries include areas which their ancestors had used not only for fishing, but for gathering sea cucumber and shells as well, articles of significant commercial importance in the Calamianes until today. Tagbanua ancestors had been able to detect relatively deep coral reefs and sandy flats using lines and weights, and passed on the location of these areas by noting their distances from two to three mountains, a method of reckoning known as kuwadrante. Thus, their marine territories include not only coral reefs visible from the sea's surface, but also fishing grounds that may be deduced through their relative distances from islands and peaks. Using this system, it was determined that Calamian Tagbanua's marine territories include a vast array of aquatic features such as coral reefs, sandy or muddy shoals, fish nurseries and preserves, deep sea areas, mangrove forests, taboo areas called panyaan, atolls hosting cave swiftlets, and many others.

Some pressing issues arose during the CADC application process. For instance, families outside the barangays covered by Saragpunta, such as the Bering clan in Cabilauan Island, had appealed for inclusion in the claim even if there was no local Tagbanua organization in their area. In the end, as TFCI Chairman Aguilar explained, the federation decided that they would help any Tagbanua who sought assistance. Thus, the ancestral islands of the Bering clan, namely Dimalya Island and Cabilauan Island, were included in the CADC application.

Even as they were asserting their right to their ancestral domains, the Tagbanua CADC applicants made sure that non-Tagbanua residents would have their own source of livelihood as well. The three local organizations representing the barangays of Malawig and Buenavista, Turda

and Tara set aside a large coral reef system at the back of Bundan Island in Barangay Tara for the use of non-Tagbanua, specifically non-resident fishers and fishing vessels from other provinces such as Mindoro. The Tagbanua focused their survey on fishing areas bounded by their ancestral lands and islands, since these were crucial to their livelihood and could easily be defended by a network of Tagbanua bancas plying the area during calm seas.

Saragpunta Board Members also discussed the sensitive issue regarding mapping of secret areas in their ancestral domain. The organization had to weigh between the necessity of publishing special areas to document their customary use, and endangering these areas by divulging their exact locations. Since the maps would be posted for the information of the general public, there was a danger that these areas would be exposed to outsiders, thus threatening their safety. Finally, they decided that all the maps would be "cleared" with Saragpunta communities and elders first before release to the general public.

The marine survey team used Global Positioning System (GPS) receivers to plot the boundaries of the ancestral waters. Aboard a motorized banca, the team and Tagbanua guides traced the edges of the communal fishing areas and important marine resources. In areas where the coral reefs could be seen from the sea's surface, the boat captain navigated visually; otherwise he employed triangulation using local landmarks to locate the reef. To avoid hitting the corals, the boat captain steers some 20 to 30 feet away from the reefs depending on the current. Hence, the mapped reefs are larger than actual size even after correction. On land, points were clocked using the GPS receiver's terrestial settings.

At the Bulalacao Group of Islands, the mapping team was able to wrap up the delineation of 40,832 hectares in a single day, starting at sunrise and finishing at dusk. The boundaries were determined by ancestral waters, particularly the strait between Isla Tambon and Malkapuyaw Island. Along the rocky outcrops of Gegetoye, Bulalacao's southernmost point, elders pointed out their diving areas for sea cucumber and precious samong shells. The boundary loops up to a coral reef formation named Tuna while on the east, traditional fishing grounds were located through their relative distances from Kalumbuyan, MalApuso and Campo islands. A very large coral reef system surrounds the entire island of Bulalacao. Most of the ancestral territory in Bgy. Bulalacao is submerged, but the Tagbanua fishers reported that the location of the coral reefs marking these boundaries are well known.

In the islands of Tala and Busuanga, large coral reef areas between Turda and barangay Marcilla were excluded from the survey due to strong currents that swept the team inland. The small island of Kalu-kalu, where a family from Tara maintains swiftlet caves, was also excluded from the delineation due to problems with the boat and inclement weather. However, the large coral reefs ringing Dunumpalit as well as Dibuyayan, Dimalya and Cabilauan Island were successfully mapped. The boundaries on land generally followed the peaks and ridges of the mountain range ringing the Tagbanua coastal villages and sitios found Malawig, Buenavista and Turda. This survey delineated the largest coverage, totalling 117, 297 hectures of ancestral lands and waters.

Before preparing a GPS map, PAFID staff Bruce Young and Felicity Smith applied differential correction to the survey results. The map includes digitized features taken from 1:50,000 maps of the Coast and Geodetic Survey such as rivers, lakes, coastlines of islands, the location of peaks and coral reefs. The corrected boundary points and outline of major coral reefs were overlaid on these features, along with place names from the community sketch maps. Another layer showing the relative location of swiftlet caves, burial caves, kurot groves, sacred sites, fishing grounds, villages and sites, coconut and bamboo groves and other indigenous uses of the territory was also placed on the map.

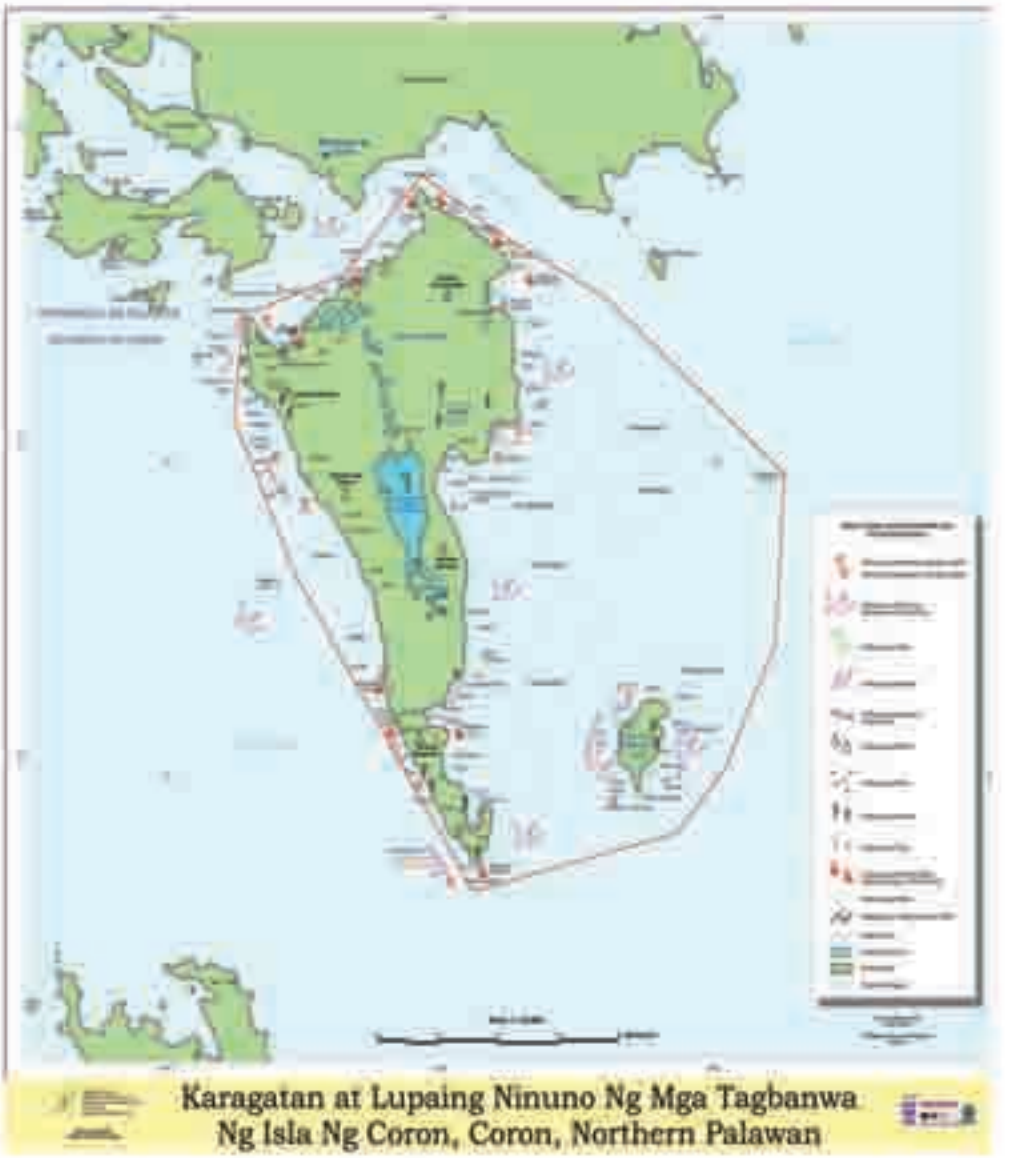
The resulting maps were presented to the general meeting of the Tagbanua Foundation of Malawig and Buenavista. Many leaders and residents from Tara and Turda also attended the meeting. Written in Calamian Tagbanua, the maps caused some excitement as residents annotated the maps with place names. For Jimmy Quijano, a young Tagbanua from Payatpat, Barangay Malawig, the spread of Calamian Tagbanua territories laid out in the maps brought a sense of pride: "Meron din pala kaming puwang sa mundo," (We too have a place in the world), he said, referring to efforts of outsiders to deny the Tagbanua homeland. The map for Bulalacao was brought back to the barangay, while the Coron Island map was drawn with direct guidance from TFCI Chairman Aguilar and a Cabugao elder.

The maps went through several revisions as village elders and local leaders from each Tagbanua foundation weighed the merits of deleting sensitive data as a precaution against poachers and marine resource pirates. They used several symbols to indicate important resources such as the balinsasayaw (swiftlet); saunang (a kind of shell), and fish. A large tekbeken (octopus) was used to indicate the location of the panyaan. Foundation representatives annotated the validated maps to indicate spelling corrections for Tagbanua place names, data for deletion, additional information on the site of burial caves, and location of major root crop groves, and so on. After corrections

Table 2.14 Area of Saragpunta CADT Application

	NAME OF ORGANIZATION	TOTAL AREA (in hectares)	ANCESTRAL WATERS (in hectares)	% OF ANCESTRAL WATERS IN CLAIM
1	Tagbanua Foundation of Coron Island	22,284.00	15,202.90	68
2	Tagbanua Foundation of Tara, Malawig, Buenavista & Turda	117,207.65	109,251.47	93
3	Tagbanua Foundation of Bulalacao	40,831.67	39,065.21	96
4	Tagbanua Foundation of Marcilla	21,458.12	19,710.62	92
5	Tagbanua Foundation of Biong	5,124.22	3,934.15	77
6	Panlaitan and San Isidro Island Cultural Minority Dev't. Assn.	16,750.00	15,900.38	95
7	Balik Calauit Movement	55,389.43	50,535.25	91
Total of Saragpunta claim		279,045.29	253,599.98	90

Source: Philippine Association for Intercultural Development



Map of Coron CADT

were made, the maps were re-drawn and submitted back to the Saraggunta Board Members for their presentation of the CADC application to the Palawan PSTEAD.

Table 2.14 shows the extent of the Saraggunta Foundation's CADT application.

Under the IPRA, CADCs may be converted to CADTs following certains guidelines. In principle, the process of acquiring a CADT through the conversion of an existing CADC is much shorter than the process of getting one through direct application. Among the members of the Saraggunta Foundation, some communities have already acquired CADCs, but others have not.

In 2001, TFGI finally obtained its CADT for Coron Island. The application of Saraggunta Foundation remained pending with the NCIP as of the end of 2004.

This case study was prepared by the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID), a social development organization that has been working with Philippine indigenous communities for 35 years. Its partnership with the Calamian Tagbanua goes way back to 1985. A wealth of unpublished reports, field documentation, community maps, personal notes and sworn statements between 1985 and 2002 regarding the Tagbanua's campaign for ancestral domain rights provided valuable data for this case study.

CHAPTER 3

Conflicting Interests in Iraya Mangyan Ancestral Domains

The history of Mangyan resistance to conservation projects needs to be understood in the context of their indigenous practices and beliefs. Often, there is a clash between their culture and new technologies introduced through such projects, inevitably leading to conflicts. To understand why such conflicts arise, it is therefore necessary to understand the traditional practices of the Mangyans, and to use their views about conservation and protection of ancestral domains as the lens by which to evaluate various development projects introduced in the areas where they live. By using indigenous practices as a framework, it may be easier to resolve problems regarding resource use and conservation in ancestral domains.

For decades, the Iraya Mangyan living in the Mt. Halcon and Mt. Calavite Ranges, in the province of Occidental Mindoro, have had a running conflict with government forestry officers. These problems centered on the rights of Iraya Mangyans to their ancestral domains and various projects introduced to these areas, such as the Tamaraw Conservation Project (TCP), FB Harrison National Park, Mt. Halcon Heritage Park, Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM), and Low Income Upland Communities Project (LIUCP).

In recent years, the Iraya Mangyans have considered as their most serious challenge the refusal of some government agencies to recognize and respect their rights to ancestral domains, despite statutory mandates such as the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA). The persisting erroneous contention that the ancestral domains of Iraya Mangyans are public lands has led to the disposition of their lands and resources to other people and for other purposes.

These land and resource tenure issues have negated the right of the Iraya Mangyan to decide how to utilize and develop their lands. Under existing government programs such as the Integrated Social Forestry (ISF) and reforestation, Iraya Mangyan ancestral lands have been leased to upland farmers or used as public reforestation areas. Despite the implementation of IPRA, parts of the Iraya Mangyan ancestral domain have been declared as protected area pursuant to the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act.

Faced with these challenges, the Iraya Mangyans have worked hard to assert their rights with vigilance. Their story shows a history of perseverance and staunch resistance against development projects that do not respect their rights. It is a story of their long and difficult struggle to survive and somehow protect and manage their ancestral domain.

The Iraya Mangyans

The Mangyans settled on the shores of Mindoro Island about 600 to 700 years ago. They are believed to have come from the southern regions of the archipelago. At some point, the entry of aggressive groups forced them to leave their coastal settlements. They became the object of contention between two armies – the Moslems and the Christians. Mangyans are not known to be warlike, and they will choose to give up an area rather than fight for it.

In the early 1900s , the shy but hardworking nature of Mangyans came to the attention of American entrepreneurs, who saw their potential as a labor force. They were made to live in reservations, much like those created for the Native American Indians, located in areas far from the lowland settlements inhabited mostly by the Tagalogs.

The Iraya Mangyans are those who live in the northwestern part of Mindoro, where one of the country's highest peaks, Mt. Halcon, is located. They occupy the area along the Mt. Calavite ranges where the FB Harrison Reservation, now called the Mt. Calavite Wildlife Sanctuary, lies. With an estimated population of 35,000 in 1998, Iraya Mangyans have ancestral domains in the municipalities of Abra de Ilog, Paluan, Mamburao, and Sta. Cruz in Occidental Mindoro.

The word Iraya was derived from the prefix "I"— denoting people— and root word "*raya*"— meaning upstream or up the river or upland. Thus, Iraya means people from upstream or the uplands. The word also means "man", "person", and "adult."

Recollecting their history, Iraya Mangyans would say that in the olden times, they occupied the town proper known as the *poblacion* or the "*lumang bayan*." This was actually part of the lowlands. During those times, the lowlands were still thickly forested and were called "*kabayan*" (from the root word "*kahoy*" or wood).

During the Japanese occupation in the early 1940s, armed men invaded the area and Iraya Mangyans were forced to flee to the uplands. Life was peaceful until the 1950s when loggers, cattle ranchers, and lowland farmers started to encroach upon their upland areas. Non-Mangyans, Christians or Tagalogs, whom the Iraya Mangyans called *tagbanis*, had already cleared the lowlands through *kaingin* (slash -and -burn agriculture). Soon, they would displace the Iraya Mangyan from their ancestral domains with the use of various land tenure instruments, genuine or otherwise.

Raising cattle by the ranchers involved the burning of *cogon*, an important grass used by Iraya Mangyans for building their houses. Food became scarce as their swidden farms, hunting grounds and other parts of their ancestral domain gave way to lowlanders' pasture leases, logging concessions, and a tamaraw reservation.

The Iraya Mangyans have a subsistence economy, and are engaged primarily in shifting cultivation depending on the availability of land. However, due to the dwindling arable lands and

government restrictions on swidden farming, they have began to shift to conventional farming practices using plow and carabao.

Like many other Mangyan communities, the Iraya Mangyan have no rigid political structure. Most of them recognize at least one leader who has both magical and religious powers and leads rituals, usually the celebration of an agricultural feast. The elders are normally regarded as leaders and influential persons. They are the repository of history, customs, traditions, knowledge, and skills of the people. They also give advice on customary laws.

In some Iraya Mangyan villages, the pattern of governance in organized towns, where there is a village mayor and an assistant *teniente*, has been adopted. But there are still instances when an *unuyan* or judge may be designated to hear the complaints of the villagers. In recent years, the barangay system, which is the form of governance in the smallest political unit in the Philippines, has been adopted.

Order is maintained in the community through peaceful settlement of wrongdoings. The concept of crime is not part of their tradition. Although small fines are imposed, incarceration is not practiced. Compensation is the most prevalent form of retribution.

Trial by ordeal, called *tiglom*, is one of the most feared practices in the Iraya Mangyan justice system. This is applied specifically to complaints of theft and adultery. Anyone who is accused of an offense is asked to immerse his or her hands in boiling water to pick up an object. If no scalding happens, that means that the accused is not guilty of the offense. Scalding is taken as an evidence of guilt, and the guilty person is therefore fined. After the settlement of a case, a feast is given to signify reconciliation and to appease all ill feelings.

Iraya Mangyans during a survey of their ancestral domain

Iraya Mangyan society is generally based on single-family households. Mangyan women are traditionally independent and maintain separate personal properties from their husbands. Because they have their own land, they also engage in farming, becoming agriculturists in their own right.

The Iraya Mangyans have a tradition of helping each other which is called *sakunugun* or *bayanihan*. Members of the community voluntarily work for others, who return the favor when needed. Through time, however, the *tagbarin* have encouraged them to accept payment for assistance. As a result, Iraya Mangyans have adopted the practice of paid labor. This form of influence on their culture has affected the management of their lands to some extent.

Respecting Nature's Bounty

The Iraya Mangyans consider the scope of their ancestral domains to cover plains, mountains, rivers, rice land, and mining sites. It also covers *pugaban* (where coconut-like trees abound), burial sites, settlements, and the forest where they gather food.

Natural resources within their ancestral domains include timber, minerals, vines, and edible plants. Among the most important forest products for their households are rattan, wild honey, and root crops called *nami*, *unubi*, and *kulipo*. *Nami*, together with banana, *ube*, and *gabi*, are staples in their diet. They preserve *nami* by drying and keeping it in storage for consumption during the rainy season, when they cannot go out to look for food. Rivers are swollen during rainy days, so they can neither fish nor plant crops for sustenance.

Like other indigenous peoples, the Iraya Mangyans practice communal use of resources. Supernatural beliefs are intertwined with resource use, such that respect for guardian spirits is always taken into consideration in every activity. Otherwise, they risk punishment for failing to appease the spirits that guard their natural resources. Respondents in this study affirmed these beliefs, saying that land must be used properly, the riverside must be protected, and hunting must be done only during the appropriate season to maintain harmony with the spirit world.

When the Iraya Mangyans open a *kaingin* or swidden farm, they seek permission from the spirits. They initially clear a small area, about one square meter, which they call "*lawag*." A prayer is offered to ask favors from the spirit to use the area for kaingin. An omen or sign is usually given to them in a dream. If the sign is favorable, they use the land for farming; otherwise, it is reserved for the spirits. If this is not followed, they believe the area will dry up or many people in the community will get sick.

Certain trees are considered as the abode of spirits and are generally not cut down. These include big trees such as the *balite* (strangler fig), which are perceived as sacred and serve as altars for their offerings. Sacred or dangerous places (spaces inhabited by malevolent spirits) are not limited to trees or groves. Certain peaks or slopes are considered sacred and are treated as altars or churches. These are off limits to hunting and swidden farming.

Belief in the spirit world also means belief in the effectiveness of spiritual sanctions. For example, the Iraya Mangyans believe that the tamaraw is a sacred animal. Anybody that kills one

will die, or retribution of the gods will be upon the community so that a lot of people will get sick or even die. With such a worldview, the highest possible authority that protects wildlife is seen as the spirit world.

The Iraya Mangyans are helping to preserve different species of plants and trees because these are food sources for humans and wildlife. Wild boar is known to forage on fallen *balite* fruits. Evergreen trees such as *pangnum* and *mangasiriki*, usually found in high elevations, are important sources of nectar and honey.

Customary restrictions are also observed to ensure that resources will not be exhausted in a short time. An example is the cutting of bamboo shoots or *ubay* used in weaving, where a strict measurement of bamboo stump that needs to be left behind is enforced in order to ensure the growth of bamboo shoots. Certain native grasses and palms, which are usually found under the shade of wide canopied trees, are preserved because they are used for weaving. Cogon, a type of grass, is not burned because it is used for building houses.

Rattan or *uway* is used only for putting together and attaching the roofs of houses. They do not harvest it if it is not yet mature. When harvesting wild root crops like *nami or urahi*, some are replanted for the next season. They also control the cutting of trees, with certain species left standing to control erosion. Only a few species of trees are used for building their homes. When cutting down trees, their only tools are bolo and ax, unlike the lowlanders who use chainsaws. The Iraya Mangyans have their traditional system of healing. Trees and plants with roots, leaves or bark that are useful for curing illnesses are not cut down. Instead, they are preserved for their medicinal properties.

They also categorized certain species of trees and plants along streams and rivers as water bearing, maintaining them to preserve water supply and edible aquatic life. Such plants include wild banana, abaca, wild pine tree, rattan, *balite*, and bamboo.

With their intimate knowledge of the qualities of trees, the Iraya Mangyans can identify which trees are not suitable for high elevation. They also know which fruit trees combine well with forest species, or which are associated with dry streambeds. This is the reason why they usually resist the introduction of exotic or inappropriate species within their domains.

To preserve wildlife, the Iraya Mangyans use the *balatik or bitag* (traps) and not guns when hunting. The *paturo* (signs) are replaced. They also use the *binilo* for the dogs and the *benalauet* during the rainy season. Hunting is only done from February through May in order to allow the wildlife population to recover.

When fishing, they only use their hands, a method they call *paninima*. Sometimes, they use bow and arrow during high tide. When small fish are caught, these are returned to the water to allow them to grow to adult size.

The swidden farms of the Iraya Mangyans reflect their intricate knowledge of tropical ecosystems. Rather than work against their environment, they manipulate it in such a way that they obtain maximum benefits while natural processes help revert their fields back to forests.

Typical kaingin, with rice growing amid fallen trees

When they choose their fields, they note the floral composition of the site to determine soil properties. They avoid the headwaters of streams to protect the water source.

In a *kaingin*, a fire line is made so that flames will not spread in case of accidents. Instead of starting from the lower portion, burning is started from the top. This technique ensures that fire will not spread upward, thus protecting the forests. Big trees in a *kaingin* are covered with *saba ng saging* (banana sheaths) so that heat will not destroy them. It is worthwhile to add that in the past, when there were more trees, there was no need to make a fire line when making a *kaingin* because fire did not spread to the forest. But when the trees thinned out, the elders had to enjoin the younger generations to build a fire line to protect the forest.

They do not use explosives and high-powered inflammable substances when burning an area for planting. In the past, they used to rub stones or bamboo sticks together to make fire. In modern times however, they have become accustomed to matches.

A group usually maintains swidden farms that are surrounded by forest vegetation. The swidden fields imitate the biodiversity of the forest, as different crops are planted and harvested at different times. Crops vary in root length and canopy layers. Fields are small so these are less vulnerable to soil erosion. Traditional practices involve several fields lying fallow at different stages, aside from cultivated ones. Cutting back trees periodically to encourage young growth, as well as seed dispersal from forests adjacent to the plot, assist rapid regeneration during fallow periods. Indeed, the Iraya Mangyans' beliefs and practices in natural resource management suggest a tradition of careful manipulation of the environment. Their method of balancing resource extraction with conservation practices ensures the sustainability of the ecosystem. It is a model that can be harnessed in the resource management of ancestral domains elsewhere.

Retreat and Resistance

The entry of migrants has posed serious challenges to the Iraya Mangyans' management of their ancestral domain. After World War II, the expanding lowland population gradually pushed them further up the mountains. Through stealth, threat, intimidation and fraudulent land deals, migrant settlers have managed to drive away indigenous communities into the interior recesses of the forest. In the past few years, the dislocation of the Iraya Mangyans has been so rapid and space has shrunk dramatically that they are facing a survival crisis based on the loss of their lands. They have reached a point where there is literally nowhere else to go. Like the endangered tamaraws that have been pushed to the highest marginal reaches of their range, the Iraya Mangyans have been forced to retreat to the higher limits of their ancestral domains. This is why they are bent on reclaiming their ancestral domains which they feel are their final fortress against the migrants.

Aside from depriving the Iraya Mangyans of their lands, lowland migrants have also engaged in environmentally destructive practices that have ravaged the resources in the ancestral domains. A 1992 study on biodiversity conservation noted that Mt. Halcon and Mt. Iglit-Baco had lost considerable natural forest cover and suffered extensive degradation due to poaching, cattle ranching, seasonal burning of forests and misuse of pasture leases issued by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) within forested areas. In a separate study on wildlife, ecologist Marcelo Calleda observed that the growing number of non-Mangyan residents in the area had resulted in unsustainable levels of harvesting and collection of forest plants and animals.

What is most disheartening to the Mangyans however, is that some government programs or development projects have also given them problems in the management of the natural resources within their ancestral domains.

Conflict with Protected Areas

It may have been unintentional, but the implementation of the 1992 National Integrated Protected Areas Systems (NIPAS) Act is a practical example of how detrimental government legislation can become to the management of ancestral domains by the indigenous peoples. The avowed goal of the NIPAS law is to protect natural resources, but to the Iraya Mangyans, it became a major source of conflict regarding resource utilization and development.

The DENR, which is mandated to carry out the law, stipulated in its implementing rules and regulations that ancestral lands and the customary rights of indigenous peoples shall be duly recognized.

One of the law's important provisions is the creation of a Protected Area Management Board or PAMB that will craft policies and exercise general supervision over each area. It is a multi-sectoral body composed of representatives from the DENR, local government units, indigenous communities, NGOs, community organizations, and other relevant agencies.

Among the first 10 sites eyed for inclusion in a pilot project called Integrated Protected Areas System (IPAS), that became the basis for the NIPAS law, was the proposed Mangyan Heritage National Park, located in the island of Mindoro. During its 1992 consultations, PANLIPI noted that Iraya

Mangyan leaders from the entire island rejected the IPAS overwhelmingly. Among the reasons given were the following:

- The concept of ancestral land was relegated under an environmental concept that is focused on the protection of wildlife rather than the rights of the indigenous peoples.
- IPAS will "fence off" or dislocate the indigenous communities and threaten their livelihood and traditional ways. It will undermine their indigenous culture, laws, and political structures that they have effectively used for resource utilization, land use management, and environmental protection for a long time.
- Under the system, the PAMB has too much power and will be controlled by migrant settlers from the lowlands and politicians. Iraya Mangyan representation is vague and may only be used to show indigenous peoples' consent for NIPAS policies.
- The permit system is prone to corruption and will give special privileges to those with connections, ultimately legitimizing forest destruction.
- The Integrated Protected Areas Fund (IPAF) is controlled by the PAMB. The law provides that funds for IPAF may come from the very forest that the PAMB wants to protect, which could lead to the destruction of the natural resources instead.
- Allowing exploration and mining of energy and natural resources, based on PAMB or Congress approval, may eventually facilitate entry of outsiders into ancestral domains. Consequently, indigenous communities may lose control of their land.
- Eco-tourism under the IPAS project may lead to the degradation of indigenous culture, as experienced by the Iraya Mangyans in Puerto Galera.

Non-government organizations and the church in the two provinces supported the position of the Mangyans. In various meetings and consultations, they noted that in Third World countries, project such as IPAS are often not beneficial to marginalized people. They cited an IPAS version in Africa that led to the relocation of people to protect wildlife. A well-funded project can also have a negative social impact, as it introduces avenues for corruption and dilutes advocacy efforts due to vested interests in funding opportunities.

A few local NGOs defended the IPAS project, however, saying it will help protect and delineate ancestral lands.

Mangyans in a meeting

Five years after the IPAS consultations, a project on buffer zone management in protected areas was implemented, with Mt. Iglit-Baco as a pilot site. In various meetings, it became apparent that the Iraya Mangyan and their support groups still resisted the NIPAS law and the concept of protected areas.

Through consultations, PANLIPI found that a broad section of Iraya Mangyan communities, NGOs, and church groups viewed the NIPAS Act as a threat to the indigenous peoples and their ancestral domains. They feared that protected areas, with their

buffer zones, imply the exclusion of the Iraya Mangyans from both control and use of their traditional lands.

Prior to information campaigns, many Mangyans rejected the PAMB as the designated institution responsible for protected area and buffer zone management. They preferred instead to have their own institutions using their own traditional processes in managing their lands. From initial experience, Mangyan representatives in the PAMB had realized that their participation in the board was at best nominal.

Many of them also hold the view that the tamaraw gene pool, fenced with barbed wire, exemplifies an established and functioning protected area under the NIPAS law. The Iraya Mangyan saw how they could be barred from entering an area, even if it is a part of their ancestral domain.

To demonstrate their opposition to the NIPAS Act, some 300 Iraya Mangyan and NGO protesters once held a rally, complete with placards and chants, while consultations with local residents were going on in one of the hotels in Calapan, Oriental Mindoro. However, in the adjoining province of Occidental Mindoro, sustained information campaigns have improved the relations between the DENR and the Mangyans. This resulted in the latter's willingness to pursue dialogues regarding protected areas.

Opposition to the NIPAS was reinforced by the limitations and conditions found in the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claims (CADC), the most important of which is that it does not recognize community ownership of ancestral domains. It was further strengthened when, in the process of obtaining their CADC, the Iraya Mangyan saw how a portion of their ancestral domain that fell under the identified protected area was excluded from the survey of their territory without their consent. Although this exclusion has since been placed under protest, the Iraya Mangyans believe it is an indication that NIPAS does not actually respect ancestral domain rights.

The view of the Iraya Mangyan is that the ownership rights and security of tenure of the indigenous peoples over their ancestral domains should first be settled before any further discussion on protected areas within the island of Mindoro takes place.

Ancestral Domain Rights and Agrarian Reform

In the early 1990s, the Philippine Congress passed the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL) which aims to redistribute land to actual tillers. Among the exemptions to the law are the ancestral lands of indigenous peoples, defined as "all lands in actual, continuous, and open possession and occupation of the community and its members." It also provides guidelines for ancestral lands within agrarian reform communities. In essence, the law upholds and protects the rights of indigenous peoples to their ancestral lands.

Farmers who are awarded rights to lands distributed under CARL are given a Certificate of Land Ownership Award or CLOA. This is a form of title that can be equated to a patent, which may eventually be registered under the Torrens system. The rights are vested by virtue of a grant from the State.

While the objectives of the CLOA issuance are laudable, the Iraya Mangyans perceived it as a strategy to dispossess them of their ancestral lands. Having witnessed cases wherein portions of their ancestral lands were distributed under the program to non-Mangyan farmers, many of them felt that the CLOA is being used against their interests.

The LIUCP Controversy

The non-recognition of ancestral domain rights, through the implementation of programs that contradict customary beliefs, is another cause of conflicts within the Iraya Mangyan ancestral domains. The Iraya Mangyans point to the Low Income Upland Communities Project (LIUCP) as a case in point. Although they recognize that the project had noble objectives, they also felt that its design did not consider the cultural impact on them.

The Iraya Mangyan noted that under the reforestation component of the project, they were hired to plant *Mahogany* and *Gmelina* species of trees that are not native to Mindoro. They found out that as a consequence, they could not plant their traditional crops in the same area because these could not thrive alongside *mahogany* and *Gmelina* trees. The trees take in so much water and soil nutrients that nothing is left for their root crops. Moreover, in Iraya Mangyan culture, swidden farms are carefully planned so that food is available all year round. This is achieved by multi-cropping and rotational planting. With the LIUCP, not only were exotic species introduced, the planting cycle that assured the Mangyans food security was also broken. Some Iraya Mangyan even claimed that they were being encouraged to abandon their swidden farms. They also felt that the project has introduced them to the cash economy through paid employment that does not conform with their traditional livelihood, much less with their own concept of work and benefit sharing.

The exposure to the lowland cash economy has affected certain other aspects of Iraya Mangyan culture. Their *saknungan* tradition of helping each other has waned. The *tagbaris* (lowlanders) have encouraged them to accept payment for assistance they render. Many of their members became paid laborers just like the *tagbaris*.

Indigenous vs. Mainstream Development Concepts

Another cause of conflict between the Iraya Mangyan and the implementers of mainstream development projects is the non-recognition of the indigenous peoples' right to free and prior informed consent and to determine the course and pace of their own development. The Iraya Mangyans say that this is one reason why development projects often fail. When this happens, they do not see the project as socially acceptable.

One example that the Iraya Mangyans usually cite is the school that was provided for their children. In their view, the school has failed to provide education for the children because it is not sensitive to the indigenous culture. It is the same kind of school that is provided to the children in the mainstream. Thus, without any kind of adjustment, the Iraya Mangyan children were not able to appreciate the curriculum and understand the way it was being taught.

The Iraya Mangyans also cited instances when development projects introduced in their ancestral domain created conflicts by not establishing clear the roles of the stakeholders, including that of the host community. According to their own assessment, one such project is the Calawagan Mountain Resort in Paluan, Occidental Mindoro, that they remember only because some of them were hired to work as laborers during its construction. It is a nature resort that is built upon the reputation of the Calawagan river as one of the cleanest in the country. Although it is a relatively popular tourist destination, it is now rundown and direly in need of better maintenance. The Iraya Mangyans feel they are not benefiting from the project and have no involvement in its management. Similar projects include a potable water system and a Carabao dispersal project, which were likewise implemented without a clear management role for the community.

In contrast, a community livelihood support project that the Iraya Mangyans themselves identified, planned and implemented with a one-time financial assistance from the Netherlands Embassy in Manila continued to benefit the community members long after its completion. The community members feel they completely own the project and are therefore responsible for its continued maintenance.

Towards Understanding and Acceptability

The Iraya Mangyans believe however, that these conflicting interests can be reconciled within the framework of the management and protection of the ancestral domain. Based on their perspective and those of the concerned government agencies and non-government organizations, some workable strategies were identified such as the following:

The Iraya Mangyans' Point of View

To the indigenous community, policies and programs for their development of would acquire social relevance and acceptability if it could be shown clearly that they:

* Strengthen IPs' rights to their ancestral domains, as in the case of the issuance of CADTs or CALTs
* Mitigate conflicts over resource use by identifying community roles and responsibilities
* Benefit the community, particularly in ensuring food security and providing infrastructure such as water systems and health care facilities
* Benefit the community as a whole and not only individuals or particular families
* Build community solidarity and cohesiveness and not sow discord
* Promote the expressed development priorities goals of the community
* Respect traditional practices and culture and must not introduce activities that would have an adverse impact on indigenous culture
* Adhere to the correct process of securing the free and prior informed consent of the community
* Include information campaigns so that the largest possible number of community members are informed, even if decision making powers are vested in traditional decision making bodies, such as the council of elders

* Include orientation on laws and policies affecting indigenous peoples and the mechanics of various projects to avoid fraud, manipulation, coercion, and misrepresentation; these should be carried out in accordance with their customary laws and in a language that they understand

They also recommended that government personnel who are tasked to provide services to them be given proper orientation on IPRA and pertinent laws and policies so that they can render appropriate assistance. To illustrate this point, they referred to a previous experience when authorities sought to exclude a government project site from their CADT application, even though this is not correct under the law. They also recommend that only qualified personnel, including those who have had experience working for the interest of the indigenous peoples, should be assigned to their communities.

If projects are introduced in their ancestral domain, the Iraya Mangyan recommend that their appropriateness to their natural environment should first be determined. Such projects must not only provide material benefits to the community, but promote their cultural integrity as well.

Government and other Support Groups' Point of View

For their part, representatives from government agencies have also made recommendations to avoid conflict and increase the social acceptability of projects.

High on their list is mutual understanding of project intentions, goals, and objectives. At the very start, government agencies need to fully explain any project to the Mangyans to ease their fears about dislocation or adverse impact due to negative experiences in the past. These anxieties must properly be addressed during the project orientation for the Mangyans.

An official of the Protected Areas and Wildlife Bureau (PAWB) of the DENR working in the Mt. Calavite Wildlife Sanctuary, which is covered by the NIPAS and is under the jurisdiction of a PAMB, believes that the problem in implementing the NIPAS law is the lack of understanding about its intent. He says the NIPAS law actually protects indigenous peoples and intends to assist them in finding self-sufficient and sustainable projects, but laments that lack of funds limits its full implementation.

A similar sentiment was expressed by an official of the NCIP who lamented that even if under the IPRA the agency is now an implementing arm of the government for programs aimed at helping the indigenous peoples to develop, it still does not have enough funds to cover its operations.

Local government officials saw the need for the broad involvement of concerned indigenous communities in implementing laws and projects. A representative from the municipality of Sta. Cruz said their program against illegal logging has garnered wide support from concerned citizens. The Office of Mangyan Affairs of Abra de Ilog reported that since 1998, they have been extending assistance to Iraya Mangyans including livelihood projects, a barangay health station, water system, carabao dispersal, goat raising, and literacy programs. They celebrate a tribal day every October coinciding with the feast of St. Raphael, their patron saint. In 2002, instead of having a grand celebration, they had a medical mission for Mangyans instead.

Indigenous peoples' advocates, including NGOs and church-based groups, have done their

share in attempting to bridge the gap between modern development projects and the traditional practices of the Iraya Mangyans.

Rights-Based Approach to Conflict Resolution

A point of agreement among the ancestral domain stakeholders was that for the conflicting interests to be harmonized, there is a need to strike a balance between conservation and development. To achieve this balance, it is necessary to consider, among others, the interest of local and regional parties in implementing any arrangement involving land use and resource utilization.

The stakeholders likewise support the view that a rights-based approach to the development of ancestral domains could be another effective way of reconciling conflicting interests. In the experience of PANLIPI and VIPACO (Vicariate Indigenous Peoples Apostolate, the Catholic Church's Mission among the Mangyans) who have been engaged in the promotion of human rights among the Mangyan communities in Occidental Mindoro, a basic component of this approach is widespread information dissemination on the fundamental rights of IPs as human beings. A core concept of this approach is that "peace is the fruit of justice." This means that unless and until rights are respected and promoted, peace and prosperity can never be attained.

Along the lines of the rights-based approach, PANLIPI and VIPACO have jointly sponsored para-legal training seminars and IPRA orientation sessions among the Mangyan communities. These seminars have helped the Mangyans realize the root of their problems and have assisted them in crafting strategies to address their conditions. These seminars have also trained them to pursue their indigenous practices in solving problems, an approach that is in keeping with their culture, rather than taking these problems to court. Most importantly, the seminars have strengthened the Mangyan position on policy advocacy.

While some quarters viewed the seminars as "agitative", others believed that common understanding about the provisions of IPRA have brought discussions on key issues to the national level, leading to mutually empowering solutions. A case in point is the dialogue with local government officials, which gave them greater comprehension of the Mangyan points of view regarding development projects, thus allowing for more participatory approaches in program design and implementation.

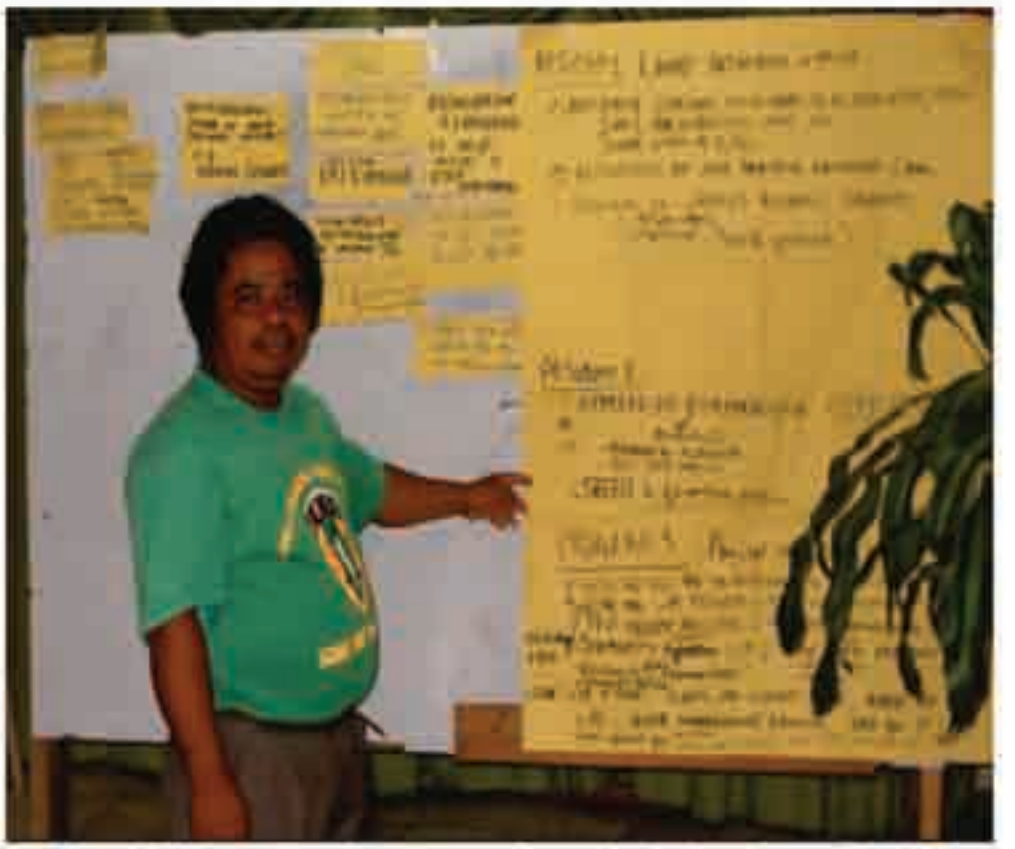
The trainings have also helped open up dialogue between the Mangyans and some *Tagbanis*, who are friendly to the Mangyans. Problems between the Mangyans and poor *Tagbanis* have been resolved through more interaction.

One of the principal avenues for the rights-based approach is the delineation of the Iraya Mangyans' ancestral domains. PANLIPI and VIPACO are assisting the Mangyans in pursuing their application for an Ancestral Domain Title through facilitation of meetings with NCIP. The need to delineate ancestral domains as a priority activity towards recognition of land and resource rights cannot be overemphasized. Until land boundaries of the domains are clearly established, conflicts will continue to occur.

This study has shown that delays in the delineation of ancestral domains often create anxieties and frustrations among the Iraya Mangyans. In turn, this pushes them to reject other programs and projects while the delineation process is not completed. It is important to promote the self-delineation process to ensure that territories are correctly delimited. Self- delineation mitigates conflicts in resource use because boundaries are clearly demarcated. It is also important to get various sectors involved in the delineation teams.

At the same time, both government and IP advocates need to present various options to the Iraya Mangyan regarding tenurial instruments that will best allow them to establish ownership over their lands and resources. They must be given the opportunity to implement ecologically sound land use and environmental protection systems.

To do this, the Iraya Mangyan must have the power to control and manage their ancestral domains and lands through their own leadership structures. In cases where there is an overlap between ancestral domains and protected areas, the protected area management plan must be harmonized with the Ancestral Domains Management Plan (ADMP), using the latter as the framework. For all projects introduced in ancestral domains, an environmental and cultural assessment process must be developed using indigenous standards as parameters.



Through training programs, indigenous peoples are learning how to assert their rights.

Organizational Strengthening

Collective efforts to solve problems have led to the realization that there is a need to build strong organizational capability among the Mangyans.

SAKAMAIMO or the Samahan ng Kamangyanan Iraya sa Mindoro Occidental is an Indigenous Peoples' Organization that was formed through the efforts of the indigenous community and their supporters. It is composed of village-based associations that are linked to a province-wide organization of Mangyans called PASAKAMI. Together with other village organizations of Mangyans, SAMAKAIMO pursues common action towards solving various problems. Community efforts to organize more systematically have led to more open dialogue and sharing of problems and resources among the Mangyan communities in the two Mindoro provinces. Decision making and planning have been done through these organizations, particularly on major issues affecting the Mangyan population.

VIPACO is one of the pioneers in Mangyan advocacy work in Mindoro. The church-based group assists the Mangyans through literacy programs, organizational capability building and community organization. It has also helped strengthen indigenous political structures and promote customary laws in resolving conflicts. In the process, the Mangyans have developed more confidence in asserting their rights.

Both VIPACO and PANLIPI are actively engaged in programs to empower Mangyans. The principles of self-governance and cultural integrity of the indigenous peoples have been promoted in all activities, including the introduction of appropriate schools and support for indigenous livelihood activities.

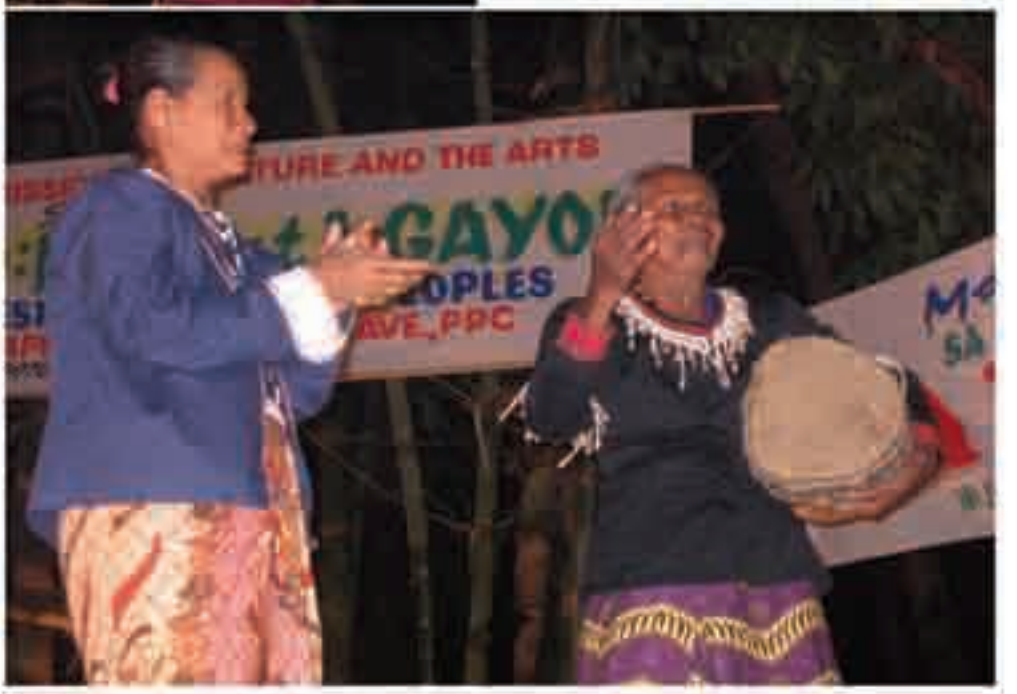
Systematic advocacy programs such as those supported by PANLIPI are based on widespread consultation and consensus building, thereby making more people pro-active in seeking solutions to their problems. Link persons (*taga-ugnay*) in various communities have led to more open dialogue and rapport with many Iraya villages. These activities help mitigate conflicts since their sources are more readily identified and addressed.

One of the ways in which Mangyan communities can be further strengthened is through documentation of their indigenous knowledge systems and practices. Iraya Mangyans still have their oral tradition, but due to exposure to outside influences, they have succumbed to varying stages of acculturation. Young peoples who are supposed to carry on the tradition are losing interest in IKSP due to modern influences. Ethnographic studies, particularly on IKSP, are therefore important activities in preserving and promoting their culture.

If the energies of the youth are harnessed for documentation of IKSP, this could help restore their respect and interest in upholding their traditions. Indigenous youth may be trained to gather and document information. They can then make the information available to both to the community and outsiders as they see fit. It is important that dissemination of indigenous knowledge rests fully upon the decision of the Iraya Mangyans.

The survival of indigenous peoples in mainstream society hinges on the continuous operation of their traditional systems. Loss of their indigenous system would not only mean loss of their

Tagbanua women share their songs and dances during an Indigenous Peoples' Month celebration



freedom, but also their life. Strategies to promote their rights therefore, must not only focus on protecting individuals, but rather on protecting an entire system.

In a fast changing world, the survival of indigenous systems can only be ensured if these communities retain their right to self-determination. This involves charting their own fate as they decide among various options, most of which they never encountered before. It is important for indigenous peoples to learn from modern tools such as scientific studies, sociological techniques, new technology such as Geographic Information Systems, and management strategies. A non-formal system of technology transfer must be designed to promote mutual learning between and among IPs and development workers.

Through acceptance of modern realities and readiness to handle new technologies, the Iraya Mangyan can be fully equipped to look after their own well-being within mainstream society.

This case study was done by PANLIPI (Tanggapang Panligal ng Katutubong Pilipino or the Legal Assistance Center for Indigenous Filipinos) in collaboration with Iraya Mangyans who are members of SAKAMAIMO (Samahan ng Kamangyanan Iraya sa Mindoro Occidental or Association of Iraya Mangyan in Mindoro Occidental).

Participatory research was carried out from July to December 2002 involving focused group discussions, key informant interviews, field visits, participant observation, and consultations. This report also draws from two previous studies on protected areas done in 1992 and 1997, which focused on the conflict between the government and the Mangyans regarding property rights and management of ancestral domains.

CHAPTER 4

Serving the Indigenous Peoples: A Primer

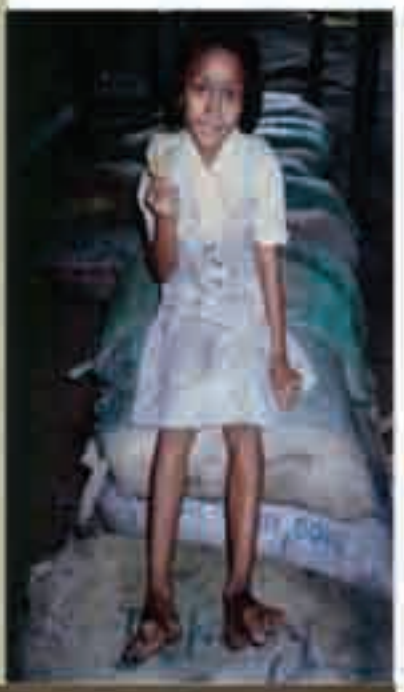
Since the time of the Spanish and American colonizers, indigenous peoples in the Philippines have struggled to obtain recognition for their right to native title and assert their traditional customs. However, the government's response has been patronizing at best, as expressed through the services provided to them by various agencies. The earliest government body created to handle the concerns of indigenous communities was the Bureau on Non-Christian Tribes. The name of the office already had a negative connotation, as there was no counterpart Bureau of Christian Tribes and it made the discrimination of indigenous peoples all too apparent.

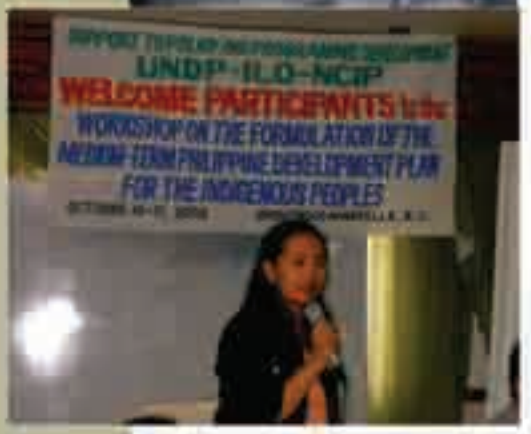
The attitude of the State was perpetuated when the Commission on National Integration (CNI) was created to replace the Bureau on Non-Christian Tribes. Its main objective was directly expressed in the name of the office, which showed the government's desire to simply assimilate indigenous peoples into mainstream society rather than redress the historical wrongs done to them.

In 1978, the Office of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities (PANAMIN) was created to replace CNI. Again, the discrimination of indigenous peoples was quite obvious. The situation of IPs worsened, as PANAMIN did not bother to look into their real problems. Instead, the agency distorted many concepts about the IPs, their problems, values and culture. PANAMIN treated them as art and museum pieces rather than important partners in national development.

Later, PANAMIN was abolished to give way to the Office of Muslim Affairs and Cultural Communities (OMACC). In terms of nomenclature, this was a good move as the derogatory term "minorities" was changed to a more acceptable one. Unfortunately, Muslim interests held sway in the agency, with other cultural communities pushed to the background.

In 1986, the Office for Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC), Office for Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) and Office on Muslim Affairs (OMA) were created to replace the OMACC. However, the three offices were not able to make a big difference, as the State had no





Various groups have been assisting indigenous peoples such as the Pala'wan girl holding a piece of almaciga resin (top photo), the main source of livelihood for her community.

clear policy on indigenous peoples and ancestral domains.

With the ratification of the new Philippine Constitution in 1987, the policies of the State regarding indigenous peoples were put in place. The country's basic law gave much-delayed recognition to the right of indigenous peoples to their ancestral domains, and the need to protect their culture and traditions.

Since the restoration of democracy in 1986, the government has been consulting various communities all over the country in efforts to achieve lasting peace. One of the findings in these consultations was that non-recognition of ancestral domains and the rights of indigenous peoples was among the causes of violence in rural areas. Addressing this problem became a major component of the government's Social Reform Agenda, which led to the enactment of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) in 1997.

After centuries of exploitation, indigenous peoples finally gained legal recognition of their rights through IPRA. The law clearly stipulates the policies of the state to respect the right of IPs to their ancestral domains, as well as their right to self-governance and cultural integrity. In place of previous agencies, the law created the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) to ensure the full implementation of IPRA.

Aside from IPRA, the government has also given importance to indigenous peoples' needs through the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (2001-2004). This document embodies the anti-poverty and overall development framework of the administration. It aims to expand and equalize access to economic and social opportunities, inculcate receptivity to change, and promote personal responsibility.

The plan recognizes the need to protect vulnerable sectors such as indigenous peoples in "conquering poverty and transforming Philippine society so that each Filipino can enjoy a better and dignified quality of life." To achieve its goal of poverty reduction, the government has identified core strategies that include the redistribution of physical assets, particularly land and credit. Human development services such as education and health, as well as social protection, are also included. The participation of the poor in governance is encouraged, and protection against violence is promoted.

Various locally-funded and foreign assisted projects have tapped indigenous communities as partners, or included them as beneficiaries. Non-government organizations and civic groups are also doing their share in providing basic services and upholding the rights of indigenous peoples. Their contributions are listed in the succeeding sections, classified according to sectors used by the National Economic Development Authority for uniformity. Most of the projects are national in scope. Area-specific projects may be located in the ethnographic map on the opposite page.

Locally-funded Projects

As of 2002, there were at least 104 locally-funded government programs and projects implemented by 25 agencies that benefit or affect indigenous peoples. The tables in the next

three pages show the extent of these projects per sector.

Human Development

AGENCY	PROJECT/SERVICES	LOCATION
Commission on Human Rights	Lakbay K-Tribo	Nationwide
	Human Rights Protection Program	
	Human Rights Promotion Program	
	Barangay Human Rights Action Center Program	
	Philippine Human Rights Plan	
	Human Rights Training Center	
	Sectoral Human Rights Training	
	Impact Evaluation of CHR Services	
	IT-based Monitoring of Human Rights Violations	
Department of Education	Adopt-A-School Program	Nationwide
	Non-Formal Education Accreditation and Equivalency	
	Dropout Intervention Program	
	Multi-Grade Schools Project	
	Inclusive Education Program in the Elementary School	
	Preschool Service Contracting	
	Literacy Cum Livelihood Skills Training	
	Literacy Service Contracting Scheme	
	Effective and Affordable Secondary Education	
	Bala Paaralan Para sa Out-Of-School Adults	
	Special Education Program	
	Self-Instructional Program	
	Indigenization of the Curriculum	
	Little Red Schoolhouse Project	
Department of Health	Doctors to the Barrios Program	Nationwide
	GMA 50	
	Adolescent and Youth Health Program	
Department of Labor and Employment	Support for Employment Generation	Nationwide
	Employment Facilitation	
	Employment Preservation	
	Employment Enhancement	
Department of National Defense	Army Literacy Patrol System	Nationwide
	MNLF Integration Program	ARMM
	CPLA Integration Program	Cordillera
Department of Social Welfare and Development	Comprehensive Integrated Delivery of Basic Services	Nationwide
	Kauntaran Integrated Development Project	
	Crisis Intervention Unit	
	Senior Citizen Centers	
	Therapy Center for Abused and Exploited Children	
	Tuloy Aral Walang Sagabal	
	Child Care and Placement Services	
	Social Services for Children in Need of Special Protection	
	Productivity Skills Capability-Building Program for Socially Disadvantaged Women	
	Social Integration for Indigenous Groups	Malamawi Island, Isabela, Basilan (R-9)

cont. of Human Development

AGENCY	PROJECT/SERVICES	LOCATION
National Anti-Poverty Commission	Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan	Nationwide
National Commission on Culture and Arts	NCCA Grants Program	Nationwide
	Conservation of Cultural Heritage	
	Culture and Development	
	Culture and Education	
	Promotion for Culture and Arts	
National Commission on Indigenous Peoples	Socio-Economic and Cultural Development Projects	Nationwide
	Scholarship for Members of Cultural Communities	
National Commission on the Welfare of Children and Youth	Implementation of Presidential Decree No. 603 (Child and Youth Welfare Code)	Nationwide
National Housing Authority	NHA-Administered Resettlement Program	Nationwide
	Resettlement Assistance Program for LGUs	
	Slum Upgrading	
	Sites and Services Development	
	Core Housing	
	Medium Rise Housing	
	Community-Based Housing Program	
	Program for Families Affected by Calamities Emergency Housing Assistance Program	
National Museum	Identification of Cultural Objects and Natural Specimens	Nationwide
	Impact Assessment on Cultural Resources	
	Conservation Laboratory	
Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process	Support for the formulation and implementation of Indigenous Conflict Management Mechanisms	Kalinga
	Support for sustaining and strengthening peace constituency	CAR
	Support for local conflict management/ mediation and resolution process	Baguio City, Benguet, Mt. Province, Abra and Ifugao
	Action Research	Baguio City
	Community-Based Capability Program	Kalinga and Ifugao
	Formulation of ADSDPP and validation of ADRMPs for conversion to ADSDPP	Ifugao, Kalinga, Abra, and Mt. Province
Philippine Health Insurance Corporation	Health Passport	Nationwide
Technology and Livelihood Resource Center	Project Team Bulkan	Zambales, Tarlac and Pampanga

Industry and Services

AGENCY	PROJECT/SERVICES	LOCATION
Cooperatives Development Authority	Financial Assistance to Cooperatives	Nationwide
	Enhancing the global competitiveness of cooperatives	
	Entrepreneurial Development	
Department of the Interior and Local Government	Local Tourism Development	Nationwide
	Small and Medium Enterprise Development	
National Museum	Issuance of Excavation/Exploration Permits	Nationwide

Development Administration

AGENCY	PROJECT/SERVICES	LOCATION
Department of the Interior and Local Government	Barangay Data Base Management System	Nationwide
	Strengthening of Barangay Peace and Order Councils	
	Updating/Completion of the Comprehensive Land Use Plans of LGUs	
Technology and Livelihood Resource Center	Program for Countryside Economic Empowerment and Development	Nationwide

Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Agrarian Reform

AGENCY	PROJECT/SERVICES	LOCATION
Department of Agriculture	Ginintuang Masaganang Ani	Nationwide
	Ibbayat Integrated Agricultural Development Project	Batanes
	Adopt-a- Barangay Project	
	Barangay Operation for Livelihood Skills Development	
Department of Environment and Natural Resources	Community-Based Forest Management Program	Nationwide
	Timber License Agreements	
	National Integrated Protected Areas System	
	Industrial Forest Management Agreement	
	Forest land Grazing Lease Agreement	
Department of Interior and Local Government	Sustainable Local Solid Waste Management	Nationwide
Philippine Rice Research Institute	Rice Research Extension	Regions 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 & ARMM
Philippine Tourism Authority	Rehabilitation of the Banaue Rice Terraces	Ifugao

Consultations with stakeholders are integral to the process of looking for solutions to the problems of indigenous communities

Infrastructure

AGENCY	PROJECT/SERVICES	LOCATION
Department of Public Works and Highways	National Arterial, Secondary and Local Roads and Bridges	Nationwide
	Flood Control and Drainage Projects	
National Irrigation Administration	Farmer Irrigators' Organization Program	Nationwide
	Balikatan Sagip Patubig Program	
	Abulog-Apayao Irrigation System Improvement Project	Cagayan and Apayao
	Bubunawan Irrigation Project	Bukidnon
	Addalam Irrigation Project	Quirino
	Balog-balog Multi-Purpose Project	Tarlac
	San Roque Multi-Purpose Project	Benguet and Pangasinan
	Small Reservoir Irrigation Project	Nationwide
	Construction/ Repair/ Rehabilitation of New and Existing National/Communal Irrigation Systems	Nationwide
	Repair/ Rehabilitation of Farm-to-Market Roads	

In terms of coverage, a vast majority or 82% of the total number of programs or services are implemented nationwide while the rest are implemented in a specific geographic area. In terms of sector, majority are related to human development issues. Infrastructure and agriculture, natural resources and agrarian reform-related activities are way behind with 16 and 15 projects, respectively. At the bottom of the list are six industry and services projects, and three development administration-related activities.

Many locally-funded programs that deliver basic social services receive support from non-government sources. An example is the Little Red Schoolhouse Project of the Department of Education, which is funded largely by the Coca-Cola Philippines Foundation. Another project, the Army Literacy Patrol System, is usually supported by the host community.

When a program or project responds to an agency's mandate under the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan, its implementation is considered top priority. Department heads are also quick to adopt projects that are part of the President's commitments during the State of the Nation Address (SONA). Such priorities are reported to the Department of Budget and Management to ensure that the necessary funding is included in the General Appropriations Bill. In case of lack of revenue to support government spending, the DBM has to make hard decisions. The bottom line is that programs and projects have to compete for scarce financial resources. This is often considered one of the reasons why programs and projects, even if these use ideal delivery systems, fail to bring basic services to the population.

Project implementation follows the disbursement, accounting and auditing procedures of the government. Difficulties in project implementation have been generally attributed to the competition for government funds, and the laborious fund management mechanisms.

At the community level, local government units may implement programs using their own

funds. The money comes from internally generated income, as provided under the Local Government Code, and their share from the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) out of national tax collections. Local government units include provinces, cities, municipalities, and barangays.

It is worth looking at the barangay level, as this is where indigenous peoples can have more participation. Its revenues include shares from national wealth such as oil and gas found in the locality, as well as tax collections. As the major vehicle for providing basic services, barangays are mandated to answer their constituents' needs for agricultural support, health and social welfare, waste management, conflict resolution through the *Katarungang Pambarangay* (village justice), information centers, and public markets.

The law requires each barangay to have a Development Plan that spells out its priority programs and projects as the basis for budget plans, with specific target outputs. The Barangay Development Council, consisting of elected officers and civil society representatives, prepares the plan. Indigenous peoples have better chances of involvement in the local planning process than at the national level, where they have to compete with many disparate interests. Although national agencies often claim that they consult a wide cross-section of stakeholders during the planning process, the reality is that delegates from selected areas represent the interests of various sectors. Hence, the needs and priorities of indigenous communities find better expression at the barangay level.

With the exemption of projects implemented by the NCIP, NAPC and NCCA, most national programs are meant for the general public. Hence, their impact on indigenous peoples depends largely on the sector's ranking in an agency's priority list of clientele, the project site, degree of coordination among various groups involved in the project, and how the services are delivered to project beneficiaries or partners.

Two government programs are presented in the following section to provide an idea on how the indigenous communities are benefited.

Comprehensive Integrated Delivery of Social Services

This is the primary government program under the Human Development sector that intends to speed up the implementation of pro-poor projects of several agencies. It uses the Minimum Basic Needs (MBN) approach to improve quality of life in poor communities. A total of 33 well-defined indicators are used to measure survival, security, and enabling needs, making them easy to monitor at the local level.

The Department of Social Welfare and Development serves as the lead agency, with 12 other participating government agencies. Local government units, non-government and people's organizations also support CIDSS, which started as one of the flagship programs under the Social Reform Agenda from 1995 to 1998. It has the following core strategies and mechanisms:

Convergence – resources from government and private groups are pooled to meet the MBN of marginalized families and communities;

Focused Targeting – priority individuals, families, or localities are identified as primary beneficiaries using MBN indicators

Social Mobilization – the community is encouraged to operate as an organized group for greater leverage in decision-making processes

Total Family Approach – focus is on the needs of marginalized community members, starting at the family level

The top priorities of the program are 5th and 6th class municipalities and urban poor communities in the cities. Disadvantaged communities in 3rd and 4th class municipalities, such as indigenous peoples, are considered as second priority. Initial coverage is limited to the three poorest barangays in each target municipality for the first year, with subsequent annual targets subject to the approval of the mayor in the area.

Organizationally, CIDSS is by far the most promising delivery system for basic services among government programs. It has workers at the community level who are technically prepared for the task. Mayors and governors, along with their Planning and Development Officers, are required to support the MBN approach through legislation and eventual turnover to sustain the program. Its operational structure covers national to barangay level responsibilities. There is a Barangay Inter-Agency Committee composed of the CIDSS Development Worker, Midwife, Barangay Nutrition Scholar, the School Head, agricultural technician and representatives from various sectors. In areas that are not covered by the program, the DILG has required local government units to implement the MBN approach using their 20% development fund. Funds from congressional representatives in each locality may also be used to implement the program.

Health Passport

This program is a joint effort of the Department of Health, Philippine Health Insurance Corporation (PhilHealth) and Local Government Units in compliance with the National Health Insurance Act of 1995. The law seeks to provide access to essential health service through universal insurance of a specific area, reducing financial burden on marginalized sectors. The Health Passport is the main financial mechanism for covering indigent families and implementing the Health Sector Reform Agenda (HSRA) at the community level.

The Health Passport was initiated due to the fact that most poor Filipinos cannot pay for health services such as diagnostic tests, hospitalization, and medicine. Budget constraints also prevent the government from meeting the health needs of the country's increasing population, most of whom rely on public health facilities that are considered sub-standard compared to private hospitals and clinics.

To meet its objectives, the Health Passport program (formerly the Medicare para sa Masa) has expanded enrolment to the National Health Insurance Program and the range of benefits for members to include anti-tuberculosis drugs, immunization, and antibiotics, among others. Beneficiaries get quality health service through the Sentrong Sigla Movement and hundreds of PhilHealth-accredited institutions nationwide.

Indigenous leaders in a consultation meeting

The program's socialized scheme mainly benefits the poorest families in 4th to 6th class municipalities, where the local government only pays 10 per cent of the beneficiaries' fees for the first two years while the national government takes care of the rest. The local government's share is increased by increments in succeeding years. For 1st to 3rd class municipalities, the national and local governments share the premium payment equally. Sponsors may also enroll beneficiaries from selected sectors directly to the program if local government funds are insufficient.

To sustain the initiative, a local management and financing group will be organized from the national to the local levels. Among its activities are: capability building on social health insurance, system development, and a local information system that will monitor the progress and impact of the program on the family and other stakeholders.

Program acceptance is high among indigenous peoples who qualify as beneficiaries especially among communities in Banaue and Ifugao in northern Luzon. In Banaue, officials are willing to increase program membership as this will allow the local government to utilize its meager funds for other community needs. However, lack of required documents such as birth and marriage certificates has made it difficult for some indigenous community members to apply for membership or claim benefits. PhilHealth and DSWD are preparing a simplified information sheet for the IP sector to solve this problem.

Foreign-Assisted Programs and Projects

As of 2002, there were at least 71 projects from 21 agencies that included or had an impact on indigenous communities. These are listed in the next three pages according to the NEDA classification:

Agriculture, Natural Resources and Agrarian Reform

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or PROJECT	LOCATION
Department of Agrarian Reform	Agrarian Reform Communities Development Project	Regions 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11 & 13
	Agrarian Reform Communities Project	Regions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 & ARMM
	Agrarian Reform Infrastructure Support Project	Regions 1 to 13 and CAR
	Western Mindanao Community Initiatives Project	Region 9
	Development of Agrarian Reform Communities in Marginal Areas	Regions 7 & 10
	Mindanao Sustainable Settlement Area Development	Regions 10, 11 & 13
	Solar Power Technology Support to Agrarian Reform Communities	Regions 9, 11 & 12
	Support to Agrarian Reform Communities in Central Mindanao	Region 12 & ARMM
	Northern Mindanao Community Initiatives and Natural Resource Management Project	Region 13
	Belgian Integrated Agrarian Reform Support Programme	Regions 7 & 9
Department of Agriculture	Central Cordillera Agricultural Programme	Ifugao, Mt. Province, Kalinga and Abra
	Caraballo and Southern Cordillera Agricultural Development Programme	Nueva Vizcaya, Nueva Ecija and Benguet
	Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resources Project	Abra, Benguet and Mt. Province
	Upland Development Program	Compostela Valley, Davao del Sur, Sarangani and South Cotabato
	Mindanao Rural Development Program (Adaptable Program Loan)	North Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Agusan del Sur, Maguindanao, Compostela Valley
	Infrastructure for Rural Productivity Enhancement Sector Project	Zamboanga del Sur, Zamboanga del Norte, Basilan and Tawi-Tawi
Department of Agriculture	Fisheries Resources Management Project	Lingayen Gulf, Calauag Bay, Tayabas Bay, Honda Bay, PPC Bay, Ragay Gulf, San Miguel Bay, Lagonoy Gulf, Sorsogon Bay, Sapian Bay, Carigara Bay, San Pedro Bay, Ormoc Bay, Sogod Bay, & Davao Gulf, Panguil Bay, Gingoog Bay, Butuan Bay
	Grains Sector Development Program	Nationwide

cont. of Agriculture, Natural Resources and Agrarian Reform

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or PROJECT	LOCATION
Department of Environment and Natural Resources	Enhancement of Rural Livelihoods in Mindanao Uplands	Selected provinces in Mindanao
	Coastal and Marine Biodiversity Component - Mindanao Rural Development Program	Panil Sangay Seascape, Sultan Kudarat & Bongo Island, Maguindanao
	Forestry Sector Project	11 provinces in Luzon, 6 provinces in the Visayas, and 11 provinces in Mindanao
	San Roque Multi-Purpose Project	9 Barangays in Itogon, Benguet
	Southern Mindanao Integrated Coastal Zone Management Project	Malalag Bay – Balasiao Watershed in Davao del Sur and Sarangani Bay – Mt. Matutum Watershed, Gen. Santos City, Sarangani and South Cotabato)
	Camiguin Coastal Resource Management Project	Camiguin Island
	Mindanao Community-Based Forest Resources Management Project	Zamboanga del Sur, Bukidnon, Davao del Norte, Davao del Sur, Sarangani)
	Protection of Productive and Life Sustaining Natural Resources through Improved Environmental Management and Enforcement	Nationwide
Department of Finance	Community-Based Resource Management Project	Regions 5, 7, 8 and 13
Department of Tourism	Sustainable Environmental Management Project in Northern Palawan	Northern Palawan
Palawan Council for Sustainable Development	Palawan Tropical Forestry Protection Programme	Palawan

Development Administration

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or PROJECT	LOCATION
Land Bank of the Philippines	Mindanao Basic Urban Services Sector project	Mindanao
Department of the Interior and Local Government	Integrated Rural Accessibility Planning III	Nationwide
Department of Finance	Local Government Finance and Development Project	Regions 2, 4, 5 and 10

Industry and Services

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or PROJECT	LOCATION
Department of Trade and Industry	Growth With Equity	Mindanao
Department of Finance	Credit Union Empowerment and Strengthening	Mindanao
	Micro-enterprise Access to Banking Services	Mindanao

Infrastructure

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or PROJECT	LOCATION
Local Water Utilities Administration	Provincial Towns Water Supply I/II	Regions 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5
National Irrigation Administration	Southern Philippines Irrigation Sector	ARMM, Caraga Region, Region 6 and Region 7
	Casecnan Multi-Purpose Irrigation and Power Project	Nueva Ecija, Bulacan and Pampanga
	Central Luzon Irrigation Project	Central Luzon
	Lower Agusan Development Project (Irrigation Component)	Agusan del Sur and Agusan del Norte
	Water Resources Development Project	Tanay, Rizal Gen. Nakar, Quezon Zamboanga del Sur
Department of Public Works and Hghways	Agno and Allied Rivers Urgent Rehabilitation Project	Agno River Watershed (Pangasinan and Benguet)
	Pinatubo Hazard Urgent Mitigation Project	Pampanga, Zambales and Tarlac
	Subic-Clark-Tarlac Expressway Project	Pampanga, Tarlac and Zambales
Department of Interior and Local Government	Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Project	Regions 1, 2, 3 & 4

Integrated Area Development

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or PROJECT	LOCATION
Philippine Economic Zone Authority	Special Economic Zones Environment Management Project	Regions CAR, 3, 4 & 6
Department of Interior and Local Government	Clark Area Municipalities Development Project	Mabalacat, Pampanga and Bamban, Tarlac
	Subic Bay Municipal Development Project	Dinalupihan, Hermosa and Morong, Bataan Olongapo City

Human Development

LEAD AGENCY	PROGRAM or SERVICE	LOCATION
Special Zone of Peace and Development	SZOPAD Social Fund Project	Palawan province, Region 9 and ARMM
	Strengthening the Foundation of Lasting Peace and Development in the Southern Philippines	Mindanao
Technical Education and Skills Development Authority	Technical Education and Skills Development	Nationwide
	Expansion of Dual Education and Training Project	Nationwide
Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development	Support to the Expanded Program of Assistance for Delivery of Basic Services, Livelihood and Enterprise Development, Skills Training and Capacity Building for More National Liberation Front Soldiers, Their Families and Communities	Mindanao
National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women	Institutional Strengthening Project Phase 2	Nationwide
Development Bank of the Philippines	Development of Poor Urban Communities Sector Project	Nationwide
Department of Health	Sentrong Sigla Movement	Nationwide
	Early Childhood Development Project	Regions 6, 7 and 12
	Food Fortification Project	Nationwide
	Women's Health and Safe Motherhood Project	
	Health Sector Reform	
	Child Survival Programs	
	Friendly Care Foundation	
	Well-Family Midwife Clinics	
	LGU Performance Program	
	Hospital Development Program	
Department of Trade and Industry	PCs for Public High Schools Project	Nationwide
Department of the Interior and Local Government	Social Safety Net for Poor Women Vendors in Mindanao Cities	Mindanao cities
DA-ARMM	Livelihood Enhancement and Peace Program	ARMM
Department of Education	Third Elementary Education Project	8 provinces in northern Luzon, 8 provinces in the Visayas, and 4 provinces in Mindanao
	Secondary Education Development and Improvement Project	8 provinces in Luzon, 8 provinces in the Visayas, and 8 provinces in Mindanao
	Child-Friendly School System Project	Nationwide

In terms of coverage, 91 per cent of the total number of foreign-assisted programs are being implemented within a specific geographic area and very few are national in scope. A large number, comprising 40 per cent of the total, are related to agriculture, natural resources and agrarian reform, with human development projects coming in second. This is followed by industry and services with 13 per cent, infrastructure with nine per cent, development administration with six per cent while integrated area development takes the last place with barely two per cent of the total number of projects.

Official development assistance, consisting of loans and grants, from other countries are the source of funds for foreign-assisted projects. The money has to be used for promoting sustainable social and economic development and welfare of the Philippines that cannot get financing from the capital market. Loans require counterpart funds from the government, while grants have no such restrictions. At least 24 institutions and governments provide official assistance to the Philippines including the Japan Bank for International Cooperation, Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank.

Proposed projects go through the cabinet-level Investments Coordinating Committee for review and clearance, except for programs with a total cost of less than P500 million that go directly to the NEDA board for decision. The committee makes a social analysis to determine if a project will help reduce poverty through higher income and more jobs. Once approved, NEDA conducts annual evaluation of a project along with implementing agencies. There have been many instances when projects are terminated earlier due to poor performance.

The following project summaries provide an idea of how foreign-assisted projects benefited indigenous peoples in the Philippines.

Cagayan and Southern Cordillera Agricultural Development Programme (CASCADE)

This integrated rural development project is funded through a grant from the European Union. It aims to promote an agro-based local economy that will help mainly indigenous rural peoples in highland areas increase their income and standard of living in their own settlements. It is implemented in 181 upland barangays spread across 19 municipalities in Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet and Nueva Ecija provinces.

The project initiates the sustainable development process towards technical, financial, and managerial self-reliance using appropriate rural technology. Its key principles include the participation of local communities from the planning, implementation, monitoring up to the evaluation stages of the project. Flexibility is allowed to make the program more responsive to the community's needs, while community ownership of development action is emphasized through decision-making and financing at their level. Sustainability is also promoted in terms of institutional and financial support.

The Central Project Office is located in Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya, with national and European co-directors sharing management responsibilities. Project personnel cover technical development,

finance and administration, and management information. At the field level, Zone Management Offices provide strategic support through an operations team composed of an engineer, senior agriculturist, and community development officer. Several committees at the regional, provincial, and municipal levels serve as management and review teams that support the project. Their tasks include the approval of work plans and monitoring of project progress.

The project components of CASCADE are the following: Agricultural Production Systems Development, Micro-Enterprise Development, Social Development, Institutional Development, and Rural Finance.

Barangay, Municipal and Provincial Development Plans serve as the basis for project activities, which means that they are the result of community planning and consensus. Municipal governments execute the projects while CASCADE monitors implementation. Project ownership has encouraged full support from the LGUs, especially among their organic technical staff who have benefited from CASCADE's training programs. With enhanced technical capability at the municipal level, project sustainability is assured.

One of the project's success stories is in Micro-Enterprises Development. CASCADE engaged the services of CEFENet, an NGO that offers training on Competency-based Economics through Formation of Entrepreneurs (CEFE). The training has produced a pool of accredited CEFE experts that have passed on their skills to almost 1,000 existing and potential micro-entrepreneurs in the project area, especially in the preparation of Business Plans and in the Product Development Programme (PDP). Two of their best-selling products are ginger tea from Nueva Vizcaya and pine cone needle products from Benguet. These products are doing good in the market due to innovations in product design, production techniques, marketing, and linkage with buyers.

Under the Social Development Component, the project provides solutions to lack of basic services through the construction of potable water facilities, promotion of gardens for food production, rehabilitation of latrines, information campaigns on proper waste management, and training of barangay health workers so they can provide basic services.

The other components support the gains in agriculture-based initiatives. However, the program appears to be weak in Natural Resources Management, which is merely a sub-component of Institutional Development. This is ironic, considering that much of the project site is within forested areas.

Upland Development Programme (UDP)

This is a special project of the Department of Agriculture jointly funded by the Philippine Government and the European Union. Its overall objective is to develop a replicable model for sustaining the upland resource base and improving the living standards of communities that derive most of their income from upland farming.

The program follows a community-based approach in upland development involving the active participation of local governments, people's organizations, financial institutions, NGOs,

line agencies and other development partners in watershed management. It covers the provinces of Compostela Valley, Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur, Sarangani and South Cotabato in the southern island of Mindanao. Project staff work with communities to rehabilitate around 480 small watersheds covering over 17,000 hectares in 120 barangays. The program is expected to benefit an estimated 9,600 farm households in upland communities that include indigenous peoples, subsistence farmers, women's groups, youth, cooperatives and community associations.

UDP has six major components: Community and Institutional Development and Extension, Resource Management, Sustainable Agriculture, Rural Finance Services, Marketing and Enterprise Development, and Agricultural Infrastructure Support.

The Sustainable Community Development Process (SCDP) was introduced as an integrating mechanism for all components. One of its basic elements is community development, which aims to improve the bio-physical, economic, socio-cultural and political condition of watershed communities. The other is leadership and organization development, which intends to empower the people and promote strategic alliances.

The process is divided into five phases. In the pre-entry phase, project staff lay the groundwork for diagnosis and planning activities. This is followed by assessment planning, where the community is mobilized for participatory resource appraisal and the preparation of watershed and farm plans as well as project proposals. In the third phase, the community watershed plan is implemented and the project partners undertake periodic monitoring and evaluation. After this, the consolidation phase strengthens community organizations and support institutions through linkages with other agencies involved in upland development. Lastly, the exit phase covers review and feedback of UDP with the communities.

AGENCY	ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES
NCIP	Identify the IP communities in the UDP selected barangays and prepare a brief profile on each community to facilitate support by UDP
	Allow designated staff to be trained according to UDP's needs
	Introduce field staff to the communities, assist them in explaining UDP and getting acceptance and full support for the project
	Review the community watershed and farm plans, assess through spot checks if the plans are fully understood and accepted by IP communities, and recommend adjustments if needed
	Assist UDP in monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of CWPs and individual farm plans of IP communities
UDP	Provide counterpart funds, logistical support and technical assistance for projects and other activities in ancestral domain areas in collaboration with LGUs and community resources and capabilities
	Orient and train NCIP personnel on UDP systems and procedures, and other relevant subject areas needed for the effective implementation of project activities in ancestral domain areas
	Undertake necessary training for IP leaders and communities covering both human resources development and technical skills
	Assist the NCIP in training IP beneficiaries and initiating activities for strengthening IP organizations in relation to UDP
	Complement travel allowances of NCIP Region 11 staff during their stay in selected ancestral domain areas in line with UDP activities
	Provide available mobility support for carrying specific activities in line with the agreed work plans

To address the concerns of indigenous peoples, UDP executed a Memorandum of Agreement with NCIP Region 11. Their tasks are outlined in the table on the facing page.

In addition to the agreement, UDP engaged the services of a consultant, who is knowledgeable with IP issues in the project site. This strategy has facilitated much of UDP's activities that concern Indigenous Peoples.

Programs and Projects Implemented by NGOs & POs

At least 77 different programs, projects and services were implemented by 42 NGOs and POs as of 2002. These are listed below according to category and extent of implementation.

Enterprise Development

NGO or PO	PROJECT or SERVICE	LOCATION
ABS-CBN Foundation, Inc.	Women Loan,/Family Enterprise Loan/Tricycle Loan	Open to areas where poverty incidence is high
Ecumenical Foundation for Minority Development	Pinatubo Rehabilitation and Indigenous Micro-Enterprise Project	San Marcelino, Castillejos, Subic and Olongapo City, Zambales
Evelio B. Javier Foundation Inc.	Sibuyan Island Ecotourism Development	Sibuyan Island, Romblon
Jaime V. Ongpin Foundation, Inc.	Micro-Lending	Baguio City
Leaf Foundation Inc.	Community Enterprise Development / Assistance to Cooperative/POs	Caraga region
	Livelihood Enhancement in Agroforestry	
Philippine NGO Council for Food Security and Fair Trade	Provision of grant/credit	Cordillera region & Quezon
Sabang Tourism Network Multi-Purpose Cooperative	Wildlife And Habitat Protection For Low Impact Eco-Tourism In The Puerto Princesa Subterranean River National Park and Consumers Coop Store	Puerto Princesa City
Sabang Sea Ferry Service Cooperative	Ferryboat Services and Hardware Trading Business	Sabang, Palawan
Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement	Eco-development Tourism	Ifugao
Shontoug Foundation, Inc.	Economic Productivity	Benguet
Swisscontact	EU-DA CASCADE Product Development Program	Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya and Benguet
	SC-USAID Mindanao BDS Market Development Program	Mindanao
Upland Development Institute	Sustainable Community Managed Livelihood Projects	Cordillera

Human Development

Name of NGO or PO	PROJECT or SERVICE	LOCATION
Anthropology Watch	Lakbay K- Tribo	Nationwide
Community Organizer Multiversity	Inter – Municipal Resource Management and Coalition Building	Tacloban City and Antique
	Community – Based Child Labor Elimination	Rizal
Jaime V. Ongpin Foundation, Inc.	Water System	Baguio City
	Leadership Training	
Kasa Para sa Kaunlaran, Inc.	Housing program for Mangyan communities	Oriental Mindoro
Leaf Foundation Inc.	Scholarship Grant to Poor Students	Caraga Region
	Health and Education	
	Enhancing CSO Participation on Local Government	
	Agro-forestry Training and Development Center	
Mahintana Foundation, Inc.	Rehabilitation Assistance	South Cotabato
Shontoug Foundation Inc.	Neighborhood Early Childhood Care and Development	Benguet
Swisscontact	DAR-ADB Gender Mainstreaming in Agrarian Reform Community Projects	Nationwide
Voluntary Service Overseas	Technical and Organizational Skills for Civil Society Action for Displaced and At-Risk Communities	Mindanao
Upland Development Institute	Communication Network for Cordillera Communities	Cordillera
	School of Indigenous Peoples Advocates of Cordillera	
	Green Skills Training Program	
	Indigenous Peoples Participation in Governance	
	Popular Health/Community-Managed Health Program	
	Building Civil Society Participation in Cordillera Schools for Environment and Community Concerns	
	Binodngan Program (Advocacy and Research)	
Ateneo Human Rights Center	Adhikain Para sa Karapatang Pambata	Nationwide

Community meetings provide an important venue for discussing issues and problems affecting the lives of indigenous peoples

Ancestral Domain Management

NGO or PO	PROJECT or SERVICE	LOCATION
Anthropology Watch	Sibuyan Mangyan Ancestral Domain Delineation	Romblon
	Sierra Madre Cultural Mapping and Survey	Isabela
Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization	Management of the Bago-Kankanaey Tribes Ancestral Domain	Benguet
Lake Sebu Ancestral Domain Community Association	Sustainable Agro-Forestry Enterprise Program in Lake Sebu	South Cotabato
Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement	Save the Ifugao Terraces Movement (Preservation of Cultural Heritage)	Ifugao
Philippine Association for Intercultural Development, Inc.	Biodiversity Conservation through Sustainable Management of Agta/Dumagat Ancestral Domain	Aurora
	Recognition of Land Tenure	CAR, Regions 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 12 & 12
Upland Development Institute	Research and Advocacy in Defense of the Land and the Environment	Cordillera region

Development Planning

Name of NGO or PO	PROJECT or SERVICE	LOCATION
Center for Alternative Development Initiatives	Installation of Sustainable Integrated Area Development	Various provinces nationwide
Institute of Primary Health Care – Davao Medical School Foundation	Socio-Economic and Ecological Development	Davao City and Davao del Sur
	Socio-Political Economic and Ecological Development for Surigao	Surigao del Sur
Kapwa Upliftment Foundation, Inc.	Barangay Integrated Area Development Planning	Barangays inside Mt. Apo Natural Park and SITRIBA CADT Claim
Leaf Foundation	Profiling and Development Planning	Caraga Region
Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement	Barangay Development Planning	Ifugao
	Ifugao Sustainable Rural District Development Program	

Local, national and international groups are doing their share in helping indigenous peoples meet their basic needs

Agriculture and Natural Resources Management

Name of NGO or PO	PROJECT or SERVICE	LOCATION
Agro-Forest Builder of Hinimbangan Foundation Inc.	Lake Mainit Upland Resource Management and Biodiversity Conservation	Agusan del Norte
Associates for Integral Development Foundation Inc.	Lowland and Upland Conservation for Lake Mainit Influence Areas	Agusan del Norte
Association of Fisherfolk of Davao City	Coastal and Marine Resources Conservation and Management for Fishing Families	Davao City
Aromanon Sinimburan Tindeg Bansa Inc.	Erumanen Menuvu Community Resource Development	North Cotabato
Budyong Rural Development Foundation, Inc.	Protected Area Conservation and Livelihood Enterprise Through Vending and Souvenir Working Shop	Puerto Princesa City
Bukidnon Integrated Network of Home Industries	Biodiversity Protection	Bukidnon
Community Organizer Multiversity	Upland Agricultural Productivity	Mindoro
	Agricultural Productivity	Basilan
	Balanced Land Use	Quezon
Environmental Legal Assistance Center	Community-Based Coastal Resource Management in Ulugan Bay	Puerto Princesa City, Palawan
Kabang Kalikasan ng Pilipinas	Protection of Tubbataha Reef	Palawan
	Rescuing the Turtle-Island Territories	Turtle Islands, South Philippines
	Mt. Guiting-guiting Biodiversity Project	Romblon
Leaf Foundation Inc.	Monitoring and Evaluation of Reforestation Projects	Caraga region
	Community – Based Forest Management	
Lupi Biodiversity Conservation & Development Assn. Inc	100 Has. Biodiversity Conservation in Mt. Isarog Natural Park Project	Camarines Sur
Maguindanaon Development Foundation, Inc.	Ligwasan Marsh Integrated Conservation and Resource Management Project	North Cotabato
New Lands Resources Developers Cooperative	Marine Habitat Conservation and Ecotourism along the Pacific Coast	Cagayan
Palawan Center for Appropriate Technology	Watershed Conservation and Management and Micro-hydropower Development	Palawan
Saloy Farmers Multi-Purpose Cooperative	Water Catchment Management and Water Resource Utilization for Small Agri-Processing and Electrification	Davao City
Social Rehabilitation and Development Foundation Inc.	Community-Managed Water Resource Utilization and Biodiversity Protection for Micro-Hydro Generation	Bukidnon
Southeast Asia Regional Institute for Community Education	Seeds of Survival	Sultan Kudarat
Tanggapang Panligal para sa Katutubong Pilipino	Mt. Guiting-guiting Biodiversity Project	Romblon
Upland Development Institute	Sustainable Agriculture and Environment	Cordillera region

Most of the projects, or 91 in all, cover a specific geographic area while only five are implemented on a nationwide-basis. Most of the projects and services focus on natural resource management, human development, and livelihood activities. There are very few projects on survey and mapping of ancestral domains, their management, and cultural heritage preservation. Most of the programs that benefit indigenous peoples are found in the Cordillera region.

Many NGOs source their funds from international partner NGOs, funding agencies in other countries, international financial institutions, and the UN System. Local sources for funds include the Philippine Business for Social Progress, Foundation for the Philippine Environment, and Ayala Foundation. Civil society groups can also access official development assistance through the Philippine government or directly from donor countries that have NGO facilities.

The following examples provide a glimpse into the wide range of NGO programs that benefit indigenous peoples.

Neighborhood Early Childhood Care and Development Program

The NECCD model is an alternative delivery mode for child care services crafted by Shoonmag Foundation, Inc. It seeks to address the problem of inaccessible day care centers that are often based in village or town centers. Indigenous approaches in the playing-learning activities for preschoolers aged 3 to 5 years old are adopted. The program is based in Benguet province, where a total of 19,326 preschoolers were not served in 2001.

Instead of having traditional day care centers that serves mostly able children, NECCD is developed within neighborhoods and includes children with special needs. Villagers, particularly the women, are fully involved in program planning, monitoring, implementation, and evaluation. This means that they get real-time awareness of the progress of their children. It is a culture-based strategy that utilizes locally available natural materials to instill creativity and resourcefulness in the community, ensuring a cost-efficient program in the process.

The program aims to empower women in making decisions and charting future directions so they can manage NECCD with confidence and determination. The capability of caregivers and facilitators are developed through seminars and on-the-job training. To sustain the program, a village-based organization is developed so they can continue operations through internally generated resources. Monitoring and evaluation is an informal and neighborhood type of activity, which is more effective than conventional approaches.

Among the interventions of NECCDP are children's services such as health, cognitive and pre-literacy skills, and psychosocial needs. Seminars on responsible parenthood and capability building activities for program management are given to stakeholders. They also help in developing the curriculum, manuals, and indigenous storybooks to augment their resources.

The beneficiaries of the NECCD are indigenous preschoolers in Baguio City and Benguet province. With the involvement of parents in the program, the sense of community ownership

and responsibility for the project is high, thus ensuring its sustainability.

Ifugao Sustainable Rural District Development Program

Despite having diverse natural resources, Ifugao has remained one of the poorest provinces in the country. About 70% of the population lives within the poverty threshold. For this reason, the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement is implementing SRDDP to facilitate the formation of self-managing Ifugao communities through development activities within the carrying capacity of the environment.

The Ifugao SRDDP could be a model of Sustainable Resource Management of Indigenous Upland Communities. Its success hinges on support from a substantial number of the Ifugao population in enhancing socio-ecological balance. The program seeks to create impact in optimizing the use of indigenous upland resource management systems, increasing access to adequate food and social services, and upholding cultural integrity.

A strong movement of communities, government, the private sector and individuals for the protection and rehabilitation of the rice terraces is critical to the achievement of such an impact. This has found expression in the Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces Movement, which leads institution building and resource mobilization efforts for long-term programs of the Ifugao sustainable rural district. Its core group consists of 5,000 directly organized residents in 35 villages and 500 professionals from the government, church and private sectors. Their target is to influence 20,000 more individuals – 10,000 from the core villages and another 5,000 from the radiation villages, 1,000 from the middle sector and 4,000 from the youth sector – who will support the program.

Program activities have resulted in clear benefits for the community. In the area of local governance, community leaders have obtained management training and assistance in preparing barangay development plans. Farmers were introduced to Sloping Agricultural Land Technology and organic farming to improve their harvest. New livelihood projects such as mushroom production and bark weaving are providing more income for villagers. The Ifugao Trading Center was launched in 2000 as an alternative marketing facility that sells rice, agricultural supplies, and basic commodities. A rural bank was set up to answer their financial needs. In the field of tourism, a federation of Ifugao Cultural Heritage Sites was organized. Support for terrace and forest rehabilitation has helped reforest 500 hectares and set up nursery operations in 28 barangays. Community-managed health systems cover at least 32 barangays that have prepared their own health plans, increased the number of health workers, and adopted herbal and bio-intensive gardening.

The active role of the Save the Ifugao Rice Terraces Movement ensures that advocacy for sustainable area development will be continued. The program also benefits from the full support of the Governor and the provincial board.

Ancestral Domains Management Program of BITO

The Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization (BITO) is facilitating the implementation of this program within the ancestral domain of the Kankanaey and Ibago communities in the municipality

of Bakun, province of Benguet. The BITO is the Kankanaey and Bago communities own organization. The group is the first to officially obtain a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) under the IPRA law, giving them full opportunity to manage their ancestral territory.

This program is a continuation of previous initiatives supported by International Labour Organization (ILO) through its Interregional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Communities through Cooperatives and other Self-help Organizations (INDISCO) with funding from The Netherlands government. The main objective of the earlier project was to contribute substantially to the effort of the Kankanaey communities to strengthen their self-reliance in the sustainable and tenure-driven development and protection of their ancestral domain. It had three objectives, namely:

- Indigenous practices and principles for community-driven, ecologically-sound rehabilitation, conservation and utilization of land and natural resources are documented and promoted;
- Small enterprises, indigenous peoples cooperatives and self-help organizations are set up and promoted to implement natural resource-based and sustainable income and employment schemes involving women and men; and
- An appropriate strategy for the promotion, under the principle of gender equality, of the welfare of indigenous women is formulated and implemented in order to institutionalize their role in sustainable ancestral domain development and protection.

Using the ILO-INDISCO strategy, the Bakun people were able to plan, implement, monitor and evaluate their own ancestral domain development and protection activities through their traditional institutions. Community-driven, culturally sensitive and participatory processes characterized every aspect of project implementation. The project followed the more participatory "bottom-up" approach instead of the traditional "top-down" approach.

This approach was reflected in project activities, as follows:

1. Institution Building – The people's traditional leadership was used as the foundation of BITO. Its Board of Directors, which is the highest governing body in the entire ancestral domain, is composed of at least two *Papamgoan* from each pulok (village). The *Papamgoan*, who are women and men of acknowledged leadership and wisdom from various economic standing, comprise the Council of Elders in each pulok.

2. Capability Building – This was planned and implemented to support other components. One of the major activities undertaken was functional literacy, especially for the adults.

3. Preservation and Promotion of Indigenous Culture – Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSPs) were documented and utilized in the planning and implementation of project components. The *Tongtong* system, an oral customary and justice system, has been used to settle conflicts.

4. Income and Employment Generation – A community credit facility (revolving loan fund) was established. It has reached up to 98% per cent in repayment rate and BITO

has earned a modest amount of funds from this component to sustain project activities. The community also acquired farming equipment and infrastructure through this component.

5. **Sustainable Environment and Natural Resources Management** – The community was able to document its knowledge on the flora and fauna and their interrelationships, medicinal plants and mineral resources within the domain. The use of natural resources through time-tested sustainable cultural practices was emphasized.

6. **Advancement of the Status of Indigenous Women** – A survey and analysis of gender issues in the community became the basis for developing a gender program to adequately address the issues and mechanisms for ensuring equal opportunities among women and men.

The success of the ILO-INDISCO supported community project is largely attributed to its adherence to the community-driven participatory approach. The project started when ILO-INDISCO consulted the community and later presented an indicative budget, which became the basis for community plans submitted to ILO-INDISCO. Within a week of submission, a mobilization fund was released to BITO. After some consultations for clarifying certain issues, the proposal was approved. Succeeding fund releases were based on the community plan, and all project activities were implemented by BITO.

ILO-INDISCO's project supervision process also veered from the traditional approach of finding failures or backlogs as reasons to suspend or delay fund releases. Instead, supervision took a constructive approach, with the community members themselves looking into the reasons for the backlogs and coming up with a solution to the problem. BITO refers to this approach as "facilitative supervision," probably a new term in IP development. According to BITO, this type of supervision made them feel that they are fully responsible for the success or failure of the project. This appreciation, coupled with their strong respect and adherence to traditional values and beliefs, encouraged the people of Bakun to exert more efforts in ensuring project success. The approach made the members of BITO feel that they are the collective owners of the project.

The ILO-INDISCO Project has been successful in making its initiatives sustainable. One indicator for this is that a year after the project had ended, more community activities were underway that were all spearheaded by BITO.

Barangay Integrated Area Development Planning

The Kapwa Upliftment Foundation Inc. is implementing this project for the barangays within Mt. Apo Natural Park and the SITRIBA CADT Claim in Bansalan, Davao del Sur.

Mt. Apo National Park is one of the ten priority protected areas of the Philippines that needs immediate protection and rehabilitation. The Protected Area Management Board of Mt. Apo has approved the framework for protection and rehabilitation plans that are to be addressed at the barangay, municipal and provincial levels. Communities that may be granted tenure to co-manage a portion of the park, where they currently reside, are required to formulate a resource management plan for qualified migrants. Indigenous communities meanwhile, have to come up

with an ancestral domain management plan. Kapwa Upliftment Foundation forged a partnership with local government officials, the IP ancestral domain title applicant Sinabadang Tribu Sit Bansalan, and the Municipal Tribal Council for the preparation of the Barangay Integrated Area Development Plan that would incorporate all their plans into a single document.

To implement this, participants went through a pre-planning phase that included the preparation of thematic maps showing features like rivers and culturally historical sites, as well as barangay transect maps. They also made an analysis of the local economy and looked at individual farm plans. During the planning workshop, they discussed the vision and mission of the community, and consolidated their five-year development plans. The planning exercise involved the stakeholders in Mt. Apo along with local government officials, NCIP, and DENR.

Respecting Tradition, Fostering Participation

Some insights from the scoping process can serve as important inputs in formulating strategies that will ensure meaningful development for Indigenous Peoples under IPRA. Although the list and sampling of projects are by no means comprehensive, there is still enough information that indicate how indigenous peoples are faring as beneficiaries or partners in various projects across the country.

Among locally funded projects for instance, only four agencies are implementing projects that focus on indigenous peoples. In contrast, from the 286 NGOs and POs interviewed that consider IP communities as partners, there were at least 96 projects that benefit or affect the sector, many of them related to natural resource management.

Some of the success factors in the projects discussed are the community-driven participatory approach, facilitative supervision, the use of traditional structures for management purposes, the involvement of both men and women, and harnessing IKSP in planning and implementing development projects.

The role of local government units, especially at the barangay level, is crucial in delivering services to indigenous communities. They can harmonize their development plans with the ancestral domain management plans of IP communities as well as protected area management plans. Direct implementation of projects at the local level is becoming the trend, with program directors acting merely as oversight body. Local governments have better opportunities of getting indigenous communities involved in the planning process, meeting their minimum basic needs through CIDSS, and providing an essential service through the Health Passport. However, the indicators for unmet needs have to be reviewed in order to reflect the concerns of indigenous peoples. There is a need to design government programs specifically for IP communities with appropriate delivery systems.

In the field of education, the neighborhood approach is more appropriate for indigenous communities than conventional day care centers, as proven in Benguet. Adult literacy through mobile or para-teachers is also a better alternative to school-based systems in areas populated

by indigenous peoples. Project implementers have observed that rural folk who have not gone to school are willing to enroll in non-formal education classes, as long as these will not adversely affect their livelihood activities.

Enterprise development projects have shown that micro-finance and product development are essential to community-based livelihood support. A rural finance system starting with savings and loans among IP communities is viable.

There are still many areas of concern for IP communities that are neglected, and both civil society as well as government could pursue projects along these lines. Some of them are science and technology (especially renewable energy), survey and mapping, land tenure security, preservation of cultural heritage, gender issues, and legal services. It would be fruitful for support groups to harness indigenous knowledge to prevent setbacks such as the irrigators' associations that failed to consider the role of IP communities in preserving watersheds.

Lastly, the NCIP needs to take a more active role in supporting their main clientele. Its active participation is necessary in all government programs and projects that benefit or affect Indigenous Peoples. For instance, it can formulate a mechanism to ensure that IPs can actively participate in barangay development planning. The NCIP also has to work closely with NGOs that provide legal services in order to give timely support to IP communities.

This report is the product of scoping sessions to gather benchmark information regarding programs, projects and services that have been provided to or have had an impact on indigenous peoples in the Philippines. Project consultant Joey E. Austria is the main author of this report, which also analyzes how government agencies and private groups deliver their services to beneficiaries and partner communities.

The scoping process included focused group discussions and community consultations with various sectors held in Baguio City; Calapan, Oriental Mindoro; Puerto Princesa, Palawan; Davao City; and Metro Manila. Key informants including indigenous leaders, project staff, government officials and NGO personnel were interviewed. Questionnaires were sent to NGOs and Provincial Planning and Development Coordinators. Primary data for this report came from these activities. In addition, secondary data was sourced from documents and websites of various agencies. The Resource Book on Social Development NGOs published by the Upland NGO Assistance Committee (UNAC) was a valuable source of lead and basic information.

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