

Binnadang is the official publication of the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera.

Binnadang is a word used by the Bontoc Kankana-ey in the Cordillera, northern Philippines for labour cooperation. This concerted action by community members is mainly applied in agriculture and community gatherings.

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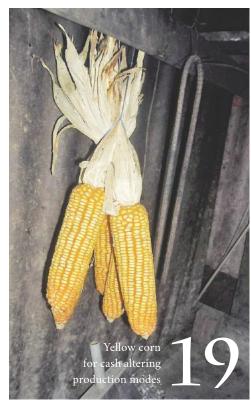
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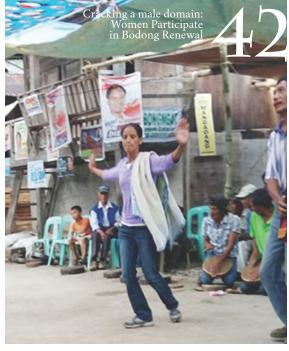
















WAYS OF ENGAGING

'n pursuing development work, the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera engages with other development actors, both in government and Livil society. And being an ubiquitous presence, government is more often encountered than any other actor in the development process.

CDPC's ways of engaging are varied and at varying levels. It participates vigorously in the public discourse, both local and national, especially on policies and issues that directly bear on indigenous peoples and other marginalized sectors in the Cordillera. Its stance and advocacies on ancestral land and natural resources, mining, dams and large scale development, regional autonomy and social services are clear and well known.

As this issue shows, CDPC members' engagement with various government agencies has been significant and wide ranging. Over the past year they took part in national and regional consultations of the Departments of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and of Social Work and Development (DSWD) and the National Anti Poverty Commission (NAPC), contributing in crafting a national social development agenda and regional area development plans and ensuring collectively managed alternative community livelihoods in the effort to eradicate poverty in the Cordillera region.

In the region, CDPC peasant federation APIT-TAKO brought together farmers, Kalinga local government officials and National Irrigation Administration personnel in an irrigation summit to address festering irrigation lack and increasing irrigation fees borne by farmers. The Cordillera Youth Center similarly held dialogues with the Baguio Representative and Benguet Provincial Governor to discuss and submit the Cordillera Youth Agenda that outlines the problems plaguing the educational system.

CDPC engagement is also collaborative and cooperative. Member organizations have been sought by government agencies for their expertise and services. Montanosa Research and Development Center staff have fabricated a sugarcane presser for communities covered by the Department of Agriculture's Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resource Management Project (CHARMP) and served as resource persons in DA and DENR seminars and trainings.

But it can also be critical. CDPC continues to espouse a development framework that at times diverges from that of government development plans. During those times it does not shy away from critiquing programs or projects whose impacts may be more inimical than beneficial to Cordilera local communities.

But whether critical or supportive, whether in forums, the streets or Congress' halls, CDPC engages, wherever it must.

Beyond Medical Missions

BY MILA AOWAT

n invitation by the Barangay Captains of Culliong, Nangobongan and Abualan in San Juan, Abra to render health care services to their communities, CHESTCORE and KASTAN, the Cordillera Peoples' Alliance (CPA) provincial chapter, conducted a medical mission to their areas in July 2016. Their letter of request was endorsed by then newly elected Mayor Arthur Bautista and the municipal health officer.

As part of the preparation, CHEST-CORE and KASTAN organisers held a dialogue with the municipal local government unit (LGU) where they explained the program of the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera (CDPC)-CPA network of which CHESTCORE is a member. They expounded on the program's core, which is education and training geared towards building self-reliant community people's organizations (POs).

As such, POs will not be just service recipients but active service seekers empowered to exercise and defend their basic rights and welfare as a people. Part of the program is community-based health which goes beyond medical missions to assist the local people to set up their own community-based health program, and to sustain and institutionalize it through training of community health workers to run the health program.

In response, Mayor Bautista expressed the local government's willingness to extend moral and logistical support as the CDPC-CPA program would redound to the communities' welfare. He offered the use of his private vehicles and of the police department for the medical mission contingent, and together with the concerned barangay officials, food and accommodation in the communities.

The Medical Mission

CHESTCORE abides by the principle that medical missions are merely complementary to organizing work and must always be part of relief and rehabilitation programs. Prior to the conduct of the medical mission, CHESTCORE organized a community integration program for health professionals and students that was joined by three new graduate nurses of the University of the Cordillera, three clinical instructors and a nursing student of St. Louis University (SLU) – School of Nursing and two nurses who had worked with CHESTCORE in the past.

As the advance party, the community integrees went to San Juan on July 18, 2016, visiting house to house to check on the health of the residents. They screened patients who needed to see a doctor and thus needed medical consultations and treatment during the medical mission.

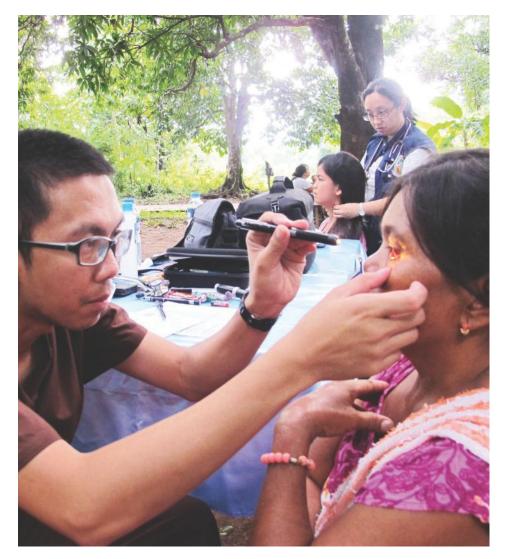


For the personnel, CHESTCORE coordinated with SLU Medical Outreach Missions Foundation Inc. (MOMFI) with whom it has established linkages to provide the necessary medical workers and essential medicines. MOMFI mobilised four of its medical doctors, four senior medical interns and nine medical students. Luke Foundation, which was also tapped to provide eye and ear care services, mobilised one ophthalmologist, two optometrists and social workers on eye and ear health care.

The medical mission contingent arrived on July 21 at three o'clock dawn in Bangued, Abra's capital town. Three vehicles sent by the Mayor to fetch the contingent were already at the bus station. After an hour of a sleepy silent ride we were ushered into the residence of Mayor Bautista who was fully awake to welcome us.

We were feted to a sumptuous breakfast. Everyone ate heartily driving the fog of drowsiness away. We then refreshed ourselves and by 7:00 a.m. we were ferried to Culliong to the host community for the medical mission.

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Treating young and old, with children accounting for almost half of patients

Medical missions do not solve the health problems of the people; it is preventive and promotive measures that do.

Arriving at the site 30 minutes after, vigour seemed to fill every member of the contingent as they prepared the area so the activities would flow smoothly. The nurses took to the registration and initial intake tables. The weighing scale was laid down and an iron pipe standing on the ground was marked to measure children's height. The medical mission was scheduled after lunch, but patients were already streaming in, thus the mission had to commence that same morning.

While the medical check-ups and consultations were going on, three nurses organized health education classes among the patients while the barangay health workers and other interested individuals attended the training given by the Luke Foundation staff members on the care of eyes and ears.

The Community

As the sun rose the heat of summer sizzled. The villages of Nangobongan, Culliong and Abualan were a classic scene of rustic lowland farming - a live replica of an Amorsolo painting. As far as the eye could see were vast tracts of land. Some were newly planted rice fields, some were being plowed manually with a carabao and others by kuliglig (hand tractors), and others were acres of uncultivated land. Goats, some carabaos and cows grazed in grassy portions of the road and in backyards. The houses were clustered into puroks.

As we neared the Barangay Elementary School where the medical mission would be conducted, we passed farmers, mostly women bent over rice seedlings they were transplanting so fast with rhythmic grace in newly harrowed fields. On the other side of the road were farmers uprooting and bundling rice seedlings.

In conversations later that day, patients said that farmers like them had to start work in the wee hours of the morning till darkness set in. They had to transplant their rice seedlings as these had already reached maturity and so they would reproduce from one to three or four stalks. Old rice seedlings do not reproduce anymore, thus bearing only one sheaf of rice grains. The farming season, which was supposed to begin in June, was delayed due to the prolonged drought, starting only when the rains arrived. Most of their rice lands depend on rain for irrigation.

The People

The people in barangays Culliong, Nangobangan and Abualan belong to the Inlaud tribe. Although Iloko is more popularly used as the lingua franca, in conversations among patients the Mabaka, Ginubang and Binongan dialects stood out. The people said that their place is a melting pot of different Itneg tribes.

One of the patients approached me with a broad smile on her sunburnt face, apparently a previous acquaintance. I reciprocated the gesture. She then

refreshed my memory that I was brought to their house in Buanao, Malibcong when I fell from a rock sometime in 2009, staying with them for two days while I was treated by a local chiropractor for an ankle dislocation. We were then on a monitoring activity of their community based health program.

I expressed apology for not recognising her. I then asked why she was in San Juan. Looking far and pensive, she said that she has many relatives who now reside in Culliong, Abualan and Nangobongan. She came to help them to plant rice and to earn some cash, as her husband, who became a drunkard and gambler when he found a small fortune from his small scale mine, abandoned them.

As she sat with her former village mates, they recollected with nostalgia why they came to San Juan. They narrated that in the early '80s to early '90s, their villages in Mataragan and Bangilo districts in the municipalities of Malibcong and Lacub were heavily militarized because their communities were suspected to be lairs of the rebel New People's Army (NPA). Military abuses were rampant. The community people experienced torture and vicious harassments especially those suspected as NPA members or supporters.

Cases of rape and seduction among the young women also occurred. After each tour of duty, rotating government soldiers left behind pregnant women with promises of marriage that never materialized. The situation forced some young women and even young men to leave their villages, seeking refuge among relatives and friends in San Juan or working as house helpers in Bangued. Most of them later married villagers from San Juan, thus making them permanent residents of the place.

Poverty amidst vast lands

Going around and listening to the tales of the village folks indeed pains the heart. The serene bucolic setting belied the real condition of the community people. Bantering with them, I asked what the common ailments in their communities were.

and the patients chorused "Sakit ti bulsa ti numero uno (An empty pocket is foremost)," accompanied by loud laughter that amused even the health personnel.

Poverty ailed the community people in terms of economy and basic social services. Tracts of land lay idle most of the time because of lack or absence of an irrigation system. Reliant on the rain, when it does not come they pray to God to send it. But when the rains come with typhoons, they turn again to God to spare their lives and their crops from devastation.

Most of the lands are owned by a few rich people. Gleaned from the stories narrated by the people, almost one third of the villagers are landless farm workers. They may have owned some portions of land in earlier times, but most of these were lost when they were pawned for cash in times of illnesses, to pay for children's education or to buy food in times of necessity. Most of the pawned lands were never recovered because they could not pay the loans.

The stories of the patients painted the picture of the community's socio-economic conditions. Of 380 medical patients served, almost half were children. Some 92 availed of optometric services, 81 of whom were prescribed and given eyeglasses. The leading causes of morbidity were respiratory tract infections, including pneumonia and bronchial asthma, skin diseases, musculo-skeletal strains, lumbo-sacral strains and acid related diseases, such as gastritis and stomach ulcers and hypertension.

Most of the children and women were also infested with lice, and signs of malnutrition were evident in the pallor of their complexions, their light colour hair and their seemingly sad faces.

I interviewed randomly the patients lined up to avail of the medical services. Their different illnesses and conditions, as described in the following cases, reflect the poverty in the villages of San Juan.





Learning for all: community integration for health workers (upper photo), health education for residents



34-YEAR-OLD MAN, MARRIED WITH THREE CHILDREN

Gaunt and pale with ashen grey complexion, he could barely walk. He was gasping for breath as his wife supported him to the registration table. She narrated that her husband had been suffering from severe asthma attacks for almost a year. He was brought to the Provincial Hospital in Bangued where he was diagnosed with a severe form of bronchial asthma.

He was prescribed salbutamol tablets which he responded to for around two months, although the medicine gave him palpitations and caused tremors in his extremities. But then the attacks became vicious and would not allow him to sleep nor eat. He was then prescribed with nasal sprays and later with Montelucast tablets as maintenance medication.

His wife lamented that they were only able to buy a week's supply of medicine with a loan from their neighbour but continuing the maintenance medicine was beyond their means as they are mere daily paid farm workers. Sighing, she said they had no income since the start of the year as rice was not planted due to the absence of rain and irrigation. Her husband pressed her to bring him to the medical mission site in hope of getting some relief from his illness.



MONTH-OLD BABY

A month old baby girl, bought by her mother wrapped in a cotton blanket, whimpered and restlessly moved her head. She caught the common cold virus from older siblings, a boy of 4 and a girl of 2 who tugged along with them.

The mother complained that her baby was crying incessantly because she could not suck well or sleep well due to a clogged nose. Two days prior to the mission, the baby had fever which shot up by the third day. She was later diagnosed to be suffering from bronco pneumonia and referred to the hospital for proper care.

Asked why she spoke in Tagalog, the mother said she was from Davao. She used to be a working student under the nuns of the Order of St. Benedict in Bangued when she eloped with her boyfriend, a native of Culliong.

Her husband farms around 1,000 square meters inherited from his parents, while she takes care of domestic affairs. As the produce from their land cannot meet their growing family's needs, he also works as a farmhand. She herself looks pale with dark circles under her eyes attributed to little sleep. She hopes to be given medicines to unclog her children's noses and maybe vitamins to make them stronger.



44-YEAR-OLD MAN ASSISTED BY HIS WIFE

As they approached the registration table, the man kept on scratching himself. His dark sunburnt skin was covered all over with thick rashes that made his skin appear like pine bark. He was itching all over though he tried hard not to scratch while being interviewed. His blood pressure when taken was quite high at 180/160.

His wife who happened to be a barangay health worker said that his condition was very common in the community during prolonged droughts. The rashes start as *bagas ling-it* or prickly heat affecting certain parts of the body, but in some cases especially among the farmers, these spread all over the body then get infected and soon ooze with pus.

The patient said that he could not avoid scratching sometimes and that when he worked in the farm his skin was often scratched by the soil and weeds. The couple had intended to go to the Rural Health Center, but the wife said they would just be given prescriptions which they usually procure in Bangued through a jeepney driver that plies their route daily.

Asked what health activities the health workers perform, she answered, "We are mobilized every six months to weigh the children in our puroks, then we submit the list to the Health Center nurse."

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52-YEAR-OLD MARRIED WOMAN WITH EIGHT CHILDREN

The woman complained that she always felt so tired and had frequent chest pains. She also complained of a lump in the gastric area. She had been complaining to her husband for more than a year, worried that she might be sick with cancer. They had planned to save whatever they could from their produce so she could go to Bangued to consult a popularly known good but expensive private doctor. The savings however was not realized because what they expected from their tobacco production was lost to the long drought.

Asked why they preferred to consult a private doctor, they said barrio mates who sought treatment at the Provincial Hospital said the service was very poor compared to the private clinics. Most of the time patients were just examined then prescribed medicines that were not available at the hospital pharmacy.

This time the couple decided to pursue their plan of availing of private medical service after the end of the rice planting season. They said that they will be forced to borrow money even from the usurer, because the wife, feeling fatigued all the time, can no longer work in the farm. This is the only recourse for them although they know it will cause them further indebtedness.



56-YEAR-OLD MARRIED MAN WITH SIX CHILDREN

He was a former CAFGU (Citizens Armed Force Geographical Unit) member who was integrated into the police force in the mid-90s. He was forced to retire early at the age of 51 due to his arthritic condition. With grossly enlarged and deformed knuckles, he could hardly move as it triggered intense pain.

He associated the worsening of his condition with some food intake, especially beef and goat meat, dried mung beans and kidney beans. He also found out that intake of alcohol no matter how little aggravated his condition. The pain becomes unbearable. Besides arthritis, he was also suffering from stomach ulcers. Taking medication for his pain also triggered stomach pain, thus he could not work nor rest calmly.

The lump sum he received as separation pay from the police force was all spent for his medication. He was prescribed to take "colchicine" tablets for some time and pain relievers such as "diclofenac" tablets. He continues to take these medicines, sometimes taking them every hour instead of three times a day to dull the pain. This however sets off gastric pains

that he remedies in turn with antacid.

He said he has been to the doctor maybe four times since his retirement, but the doctor just listens to him, then looks at his deformed joints and prescribes medicines. Seeing an advertisement for "Flanax" as excellent pain reliever for arthritis, without consulting a doctor he bought the drug over the counter and paired it with his prescribed medicines.

For the past six months, his family had to prioritize the needs of their two sons who are in college and in high school. Thus there were times that he could not buy his medicines. They were also unable to plant rice during the season because of the prolonged drought.

He looks forward to receiving his pension soon when he turns 56 to enable him to maintain his medications. He laments however that his wife has to work double time to provide for all their needs including school needs of their five children. For the meantime the two elder children were advised to stop their schooling so they could help in the farm work.



ELDERLY WOMAN

Since 1990 the 82-year-old woman felt her eyes were failing. She went to Bangued for a check-up and was prescribed a pair of glasses. Although she felt a little improvement with the eyeglasses, her eyes gradually deteriorated and even when she changed the glasses, everything she laid her eyes on was veiled in white. By this time she also retired as a teacher.

By 2000 she was almost blind. Her niece who was working as a babysitter in Manila brought her to the Philippine General Hospital where she was diagnosed for cataracts in both eyes aside from tear duct clogging. The doctor told her that her eyes needed to be operated on for which she had to prepare around P70,000. From Manila they went home to see how they could raise the necessary amount. She tried to borrow money

but in vain. She then decided to pawn a 1-hectare rice land she had bought with her retirement savings. The land was also pawned to her but the debtor failed to pay. Of the P50,000 she got for the land, P15,000 was used for miscellaneous expenses including transportation, leaving P35,000 that paid for the operation of only one eye. She now survives on her P1,200 monthly pension.

For the past two years, she has been feeling pain in her eyes. She cannot go out when the sun is up because the brightness affects her eyes. She also needs to change her eyeglasses because one of the lenses which broke when it fell is just taped to the frame. She was thus heartened to hear of the medical mission which she asked a nephew to bring her to. Aside from the eye complaints, the woman was also suffering from hypertension and occasional gastritis.

Medical Mission: not the answer to people's health problems

After the medical mission, CHESTCORE and KASTAN presented the results of the findings of the community integration program and the medical mission to the local government units and the rural health personnel including barangay health workers. The results showed that the prevalent diseases in the community are simple communicable but preventable diseases. In addition are diseases felt by working people due to the nature of their work and exposure to the harshness of nature's elements.

A surprising finding was that most of the adult patients were hypertensive without their knowledge. The lack of proper health education especially on nutrition and sanitation as well as dire lack of basic health services perpetuate the ill health of the people.

The findings made the government and health personnel realize that medical missions do not solve the health problems of the people; it is preventive and promotive measures that do. In response, they requested CHESTCORE and KASTAN to include them among their service areas. A community based health program will thus soon serve the people of San Juan.



Prevalent diseases reflect poverty in the communities

Towards Rural Industrialization through Appropriate Technology

BY CDPC-MONTAÑOSA RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER



t the peak of the Cordillera mass movement and during the early stages of development work in the Cordillera

rural industrialization was a common path conceptualized towards achieving sustainable development.

region in the late 1970s to early 1980s, Thus the Montañosa Research and Development Center (MRDC) was established in 1978 to serve as the main vehicle to realize this dream.

The level of production mode during this period was very low in terms of tools. Farm tools in Cordillera interior communities consisted mainly of bolos and axes, and in some cases wooden spades and digging tools which continue to be used in some communities. Considered "low tech" or backward technology, use of these tools is backbreaking and accounts for low labor productivity.

However, these tools and other indigenous technologies are within the capacity of the communities to maintain and repair. In some areas, introduced modern technologies such as planters, reapers/ harvesters and chemical inputs, which do not respect nature, are efficient to handle, but are not appropriate to the communities and beyond their capacity.

This "backward technology" was the reason that MRDC came up with its program on Cordillera development work through appropriate technology. Village mechanization is one of the program's components, which covers production, repair and maintenance of agricultural production tools and implements.

To achieve this, blacksmith shops, an indigenous artisan industry, must be developed and set up in communities where there is none. They should be community managed and manned by a group of trained blacksmiths.

From Blacksmith to Iron and Steelworks Shop

The core program of MRDC is to increase food production while upholding and promoting, as part of the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera (CDPC) network, the basic development principles of self-reliance, self-sufficiency in food, balanced ecosystem and social justice. This requires more advanced tools to lessen workloads in the farming communities especially in the women sector, which belongs to the major labor force for food production.

Farm mechanization is a hard endeavor considering the nature of the production areas that are steep and

narrow. Food production surplus needs agro-processing equipment to process and preserve food for future use. These were the conditions MRDC considered to further improve its blacksmith shop into an iron and steelwork shop.

The metalwork shop based in Sagada, Mountain Province is equipped with power tools and the usual blacksmith or hand tools. It is envisioned as a training center for basic science and technology that are needed in the pursuit of MRDC's farm mechanization program. It is also in this shop where prototypes of working models of new and/or improved implements for agricultural production are tested.

> *The metalwork shop* in Sagada is where prototypes of working models of new and/or *improved implements* for agricultural production are tested.

In 1992 some components such as the crossflow turbine of the Ngibat microhydro project in Tinglayan, Kalinga, the first microhydro project in the Cordillera, were fabricated in the shop. And in 1994 before the shop was further upgraded, a pelton turbine was developed which was used to run a water-powered rice mill in Dakitan, Hungduan, Ifugao. At the same time, it continued to serve as a training center for future blacksmiths.

However in 1995 the shop's work was disrupted because of a shift in program focus to organizing-education-training as the core of development work and of establishing the foundation of rural industrialization. This led to the shop's hiatus in the next 10 years.

During this period, the emphasis was on organizational development, capacity building and training aimed to increase the level of food sufficiency of people's organizations through developing and promoting of appropriate technologies on sustainable agriculture and village mechanization. The trainings, conducted mostly by province-based MRDC staff, facilitated the transfer of knowledge and skills to community members.

Ansoy Lomian, a farmer in Sallapadan, Abra who trained to fabricate shredders and wheelbarrows said. "Dakkel nga tulong ti training nga insayangkat ti MRDC kadakami nga PO gapu ta kaaduan kadami nga membro ti PO ket nakaadal ken nanayunan ti skills iti panagfabricate. Dakkel met laeng nga tulong tapnu mausar mi dagiti available resources iti uneg ti ili. Ken mas durable ti tools nga maarmid gapu ta dakami mismo ti nagfabricate ken makatulong kami kadagiti mannalon ta kaya mi nga irepair dagiti madadael nga farm tools.

(The training conducted by MRDC is a big help to us because most of us, members of POs have acquired new skills in fabrication. It encourages the use of available resources in the community and the tools are durable since we ourselves made them. We can further help our fellow farmers because we can repair farm tools)."

Shop work was revived in 2005. MRDC installed a lathe machine and hired and trained new skilled staff to operate the appropriate technology shop. CDPC's renewable energy program was then revitalized.

The shop fabricated some parts of microhydropower projects although major components were bought outside. It produced microhydro turbines with the assistance of trained members of people's organizations and engineers from the CDPC network of NGOs. Overall, the appropriate technology shop was fully utilized in the installation of microhydropowered projects, rice and corn mill and other micro infrastructure projects of MRDC-CDPC partners.

By 2010, it was manufacturing more food production equipment

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and machineries such as sugar presser (*dapilan*), microtiller, shredder, rice weeder, coffee pulper, wheelbarrow and the usual small farm tools used in everyday life by farmers. Anton Anas, chair of Camandag Farmers Organization in Camandag, Asipulo, Ifugao, noted the various benefits derived by the members from the organization's microtiller.

"Ti naaramid nga microtiller ket nalaka nga usaren nga iti kasasaad ket babassiti ti taltalon mi ken masapa nga makatalon gapu ta haanen nga ururayen ti ipapaabang da iti 1000 pesos per contrata, isunga dakkel a tulong ti nafabricate ken imanehar ti POs (The fabricated microtiller managed by the PO is easy to handle, considering

that we have small lands to till. Now we can till early without having to wait. We can rent one at P1000 per contract. So this microtiller is of great help)," Anas said.

The following table shows the farm implements fabricated for MRDC partners and some individuals.

Farm Implements	Quantity	Beneficiaries	Benefits
Sugarcane Crusher	19	 Cordis-RDC (Cordillera Disaster Response and Development Services Inc.) CDPC CHARMP (Cordillera Highland Agriculture Resource Management Program-Mountain Province, Department of Agriculture) Communities (mostly farmers organizations): Gawaan, Balbalan, Bonnong, Pinukpuk, Apatan, Pinukpuk, Buscalan, Tinglayan (all in Kalinga) 	 Helped in expansion of production areas for sugarcane Made available production tools for muscovado processing
Shredder	7	Abra and Ifugao	 Increases agricultural productivity and income Promotes organic farming
Microtiller	4	Namal, Numpaling, Maloy and Camandag, all in Asipulo, Ifugao	Lessens labor input in agricultural production
Wheelbarrow	9	Sicanao, Serwaben and Cogon, all in Tineg, Abra	 Increases rice production through rice expansion and restoration of damaged rice fields
Coffee Roaster	1	Jehovah's Witness	
Coffee Pulper	7	 Hungduan, Bokiawan, Ifugao Other individuals in Mountain Province 	









Fabricated Tools and Benefits for Partners

To date the shop continues to provide services especially in blacksmith training for members of various people's organizations in the Cordillera. It has also assisted in setting up two community-based iron and steelworks shops in Barangays Sallapadan in Abra and Wangwang, Tinoc, Ifugao. The Wangwang Farmers Organization produces microtillers and shredders. În Abra the Salakniban Pita Takay (SAPIT), a municipal federation of POs in Sallapadan, manages its own metalwork shop which fabricates shredders, wheelbarrows, manual rice threshers and weeders.

A SAPIT member Villamor Pati from Ud-udiao, Sallapadan cited the advantages of the weeder, "Nakatulong ti weeder iti panaglamon kadagiti talon ken nakatulong tapnu saan nga agusar iti weedicide nga makadadael ti aglawlaw (The weeder helped in clearing rice fields of weeds and doing away with weedicides which destroy the environment)."

SAPIT also accepts tools for repair like bolos, *sanggap*, (hand trowel), hand nipper and other farm implements.

In addition to POs, MRDC accepts orders for fabrication and tool repairs from network NGOs, government agencies like the Departments of Agriculture (DA), of Science and Technology (DOST), and of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and individuals.

As part of alliance work, some staff members serve as resource persons in government-initiated trainings like those of the Department of Trade and Industry. Looking forward, MRDC aims to become a highly mechanized, self-reliant shop with well-trained staff.

Setbacks in Operation and Dream for Rural Industrialization

The continuing rise in prices of iron and steel products is a setback to the success of the metalwork shop and the small village industrialization program of MRDC and CDPC network. In addition is the high cost of electricity and other materials, especially stainless steel, the main component used in the fabrication of food production equipment.

Despite the country's being rich in metal resources, it continues to import

steel and iron products from China, Russia, Korea, Japan and Taiwan. Nickel, the element used to produce stainless steel and mined in southern Philippines, is exported to China and imported back to the Philippines as stainless flat sheets, bars or tubes. According to DOST, the Philippines is the number one nickel producer at 530,000 tons of production per year, with Russia being far behind at 240,000 tons annually.

The importance of a national iron and steel industry was underlined by Ibon Foundation during the Third National Conference of the Metal Workers Alliance of the Philippines on December 14, 2014, "A genuinely Filipino iron and steel industry is a vital strategic element for Philippines socio-economic development, stability and national security. In the concrete conditions of the country in the twenty first century, it can serve as the backbone of manufacturing and national industrialization."

Without a steel industry to speak of, the Philippines will remain economically weak compared to its neighbors Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam. Without it, farms in the Cordillera will remain backward.



Traditional cassava flour milling using stones



BY BLESSY JANE ESLAO



Tabuk workshop on social investigation, class analysis to determine state of IKSP

etermining the state of indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) including the role of elders necessitates a reflection on a community's history and a study of its current concrete conditions. The results can aid development organizations to better prioritize their development work.

In 2016 the Research Commission network of the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera (CDPC) and the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) conducted a social investigation, class analysis workshop in Tabuk City as a way to identify the areas in Kalinga where the indigenous culture remains strong and where it is on the decline. Participated in by people's organizations from different municipalities of Kalinga, this method helps to provide data on the present social, economic and political conditions of communities including the state of their IKSP.

The workshop used as basis the classification of Cordillera economic area typology earlier defined by CDPC and CPA, which is as follows (Land is Life, 2009):

"1. In type A areas or 'strongly subsistence areas,' the traditional subsistence economy (TSE) remains dominant over

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the modern-market economy (MME) in rough ratio of 80:20.

- 2. In type B areas or 'weakly subsistence areas,' TSE still has some edge over MME but is markedly weaker than in type A areas, in rough ratio of 60:40.
- 3. In type C areas or 'minimal-subsistence areas', MME has decisively gained the edge over TSE in rough ratio of 40:60 or higher.
- 4. in type D areas, which are no longer properly part of interior areas, such as in the lowlands and in the commercial vegetable areas of Benguet and which can be called 'fully cash-crop areas' MME is overwhelmingly dominant while TSE is all but gone, in rough ratio of near 0-100."

As an offshoot of the workshop, the Research Commission network conducted a study on the modes of production and the role of elders in to barangays in Kalinga: Calaccad in Tabuk and Ba-ay in Pinukpuk municipality.

Barangay Calaccad

Calaccad, with an area of around 4,500 hectares and a population of 3,033 in 458 households, is located in the southern part of Tabuk City. It includes sitio Makilo which is located outside Calaccad.

The barangay is located 25 kilometers away from the Poblacion or town center, with the national road going to Paracelis passing on its eastern side and another road on its western side going to Tanudan. The barangay road and a farm-to-market road link its sitios to the national road.

Calaccad is generally rolling hills and wide valleys between high mountains in southern Natonin, Mt Province and Tanudan, Kalinga. Mallig River, which passes through Calaccad and drains in Isabela province, is the barangay's source for domestic water supply and irrigation. Two communal irrigation systems constructed by the provincial irrigation office water its rice fields.

Financers and Chemical Inputs

Barangay Calaccad is a corn-producing village of vast agricultural lands. Since it is not covered by the Chico River irrigation system, most of the people depend on the rain. Some villagers, especially those with low production, sometimes choose not to plant a second crop at all, seeing it as a waste of time and money.

The farmers mostly plant yellow corn, a high yielding variety that needs chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The variety grown is not edible and utilized mainly for animal feeds. To be able to buy the costly farm inputs, around 80 percent of farmers seek a financer or private trader for loans. Private traders, who are usually from the town center or neighboring Isabela and Cagayan provinces, become the farmers' main source of credit and at the same time buyers. They often charge a high monthly interest rate ranging from 4-10%, payable after every harvest.

The farmers mostly plant yellow corn, a high yielding variety that needs chemical fertilizers and pesticides. The variety grown is not fit for humans and utilized mainly for animal feeds.

Other credit sources cited by the respondents are private moneylenders and traders who charge a monthly interest rate of 8-10%. Farmers can also avail of loans from their local farmer's cooperative at a monthly interest rate of 2-5%.

When a farmer borrows money from a trader, usually for land preparation, he is obliged to sell his farm produce to him. The trader dictates the price and automatically deducts the farmer's loan from the sales. The loan matures after one cropping season. However, unpaid loans can be carried over to the next cropping season as long as the farmer pays the interest of previous loans.

According to the respondents, they pay their loans fully after every harvest to avail of new loans for the next crop.



Others sell their produce to outside traders such as those from Tabuk, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya because of higher prices they offer compared to those of local traders. However, local traders have organized themselves to control farm gate prices. This has discouraged not only outside traders but the farmers themselves. Some respondents have felt exploited especially during the rainy season when farm gate prices are usually low. Since they lack post harvest facilities such as drying pavements and warehouses for storage, they have no option but to sell their produce at a lower price before it rots.

Aside from exploitative local traders and lack of capital to finance their operation, farmers face unstable prices and high transport costs. Other problems are low crop production, lack of support services such as dryers, pest infestation and diseases, high labor cost, natural calamities and poor soil condition.

In general, the farmers have not taken any measure to resolve these production problems. While they take initiative to get loans from any available source, some feel utterly helpless to solve other difficulties.

Costly production

The price of yellow corn seeds depends on the variety. Pioneer, the most commonly planted variety in the

barangay, costs P4,600 per bag and RR, P5,500/10 kg (good for half a hectare); other varieties cost P400+/kilo. Production volume depends on the area cultivated. A 2-hectare area can usually yield 225 sacks of yellow corn, assuming low pest infestation.

Corn production in Calaccad (see Table 1) entails high production costs, but the farmers continue to plant it hoping "makatama" (hit it big) someday.

Impacts

The production of corn as a cash crop has affected farming methods and grain consumption patterns. Traditional farming has slowly been replaced by modern agricultural methods, and traditional rice varieties are being supplanted by high yielding ones. Worse, the cultivation of yellow corn is prioritized over rice which many community members now buy in Tabuk. The soil is no longer as fertile as before.

Further, while there are still elders in barangay Calaccad, their role as elders is weakening. They are respected but they have limited participation in decision making. A factor may be the different cultures present in the area, mainly Ga'dang and through intermarriage, Majukayong (Paracelis), Ibaloi, Limos and other Kalinga tribes. Education, religion and changing values among the young generation are

also contributing to the disintegration of cultural beliefs and practices.

Barangay Baay

Barangay Baay is among the eight barangays inhabited by the Limos tribe, the largest sub-tribe in Kalinga province before it was subdivided. It is the farthest barangay from the town center in the direction of Balbalan municipality. It can be reached by foot or by a 2-hour jeepney ride from Bulanao town center. The road to Limos, which is the gateway to Baay, is accessible to any type of vehicle. Baay has a population of 623 (2011) and a land area of 3,242.89 hectares.

In olden times, the people in present-day Baay were head hunters and had *kayaw* or reciprocal relations with neighbor villages such as extending assistance as a tribe in time of death, illness with adjacent villages. Like other tribes in Kalinga, they wore G-strings and used spears and *kalasag* (shield) as tools for hunting. As time went on the people became christianized by the Spaniards. During the American period, few people were formally educated.

It is said that when America troops, who passed through and stayed on for several months, talked to some men in g-string, among the words they caught was *baar*, which means g-string. The Americans pronounced it ba-ay and this, it is said, is how Baay got its name.

Table 1. Fertilizer and Pesticide Usage for Yellow Corn

CODY										
	CORN									
Fertilizer	Amount	Insecticide	Amount	Herbicide	Amount					
TRIPPLE 14	1k/sack (50 kg)	Solomon	480-500 pe- sos/liter	Triple 8						
Urea	1150/sack			Grader]					
16-20-0	1200/sack	Bendix Magnum Lannate Cymbush Chix	400-500/1 350-400/1 350-400/1 500-600/1 400-500/1	Clear out Sharpshooter Clearmax P-max Clean up Round up Gramoxone	4 liters= 950-1,150 pesos					
21-0-0-24 (sulfur)	700/sack			Spit Fire						
				Power Plus						

Table 2. Mode of Production of Yellow Corn, Sitio Pinepek, Baay, Pinukpuk

	Farm Activity 3/4 ha.	Quantity of Farm Input	Price	Total Expenses
1.	Land Preparation			
	Spraying (Spit Fire brand)	4 liters	P980	
		1 day/1 pax	350	350
	Sowing of seeds – 30T80 (Yellow)	1.5 bag		
	Planting	1 day/5 pax	120	720
	Application of fertilizer Urea (after planting)	50 kg. (2 sacks)	1960	
		2 days /3 pax	120	720
2.	Harvesting			
	Harvesting	10 pax x 2 days	120	
	Threshing (Pinepek Proper) - 43 sacks/cavans (fresh)	20 liters crude oil	520	620
		• Fare for crude oil	50	
	Note: bigger expense is for crude oil	Hauling for crude oil	50	
	Drying 43 sacks	3 days x 3 pax	120	
	Hauling (contracted) - Pinepek roadside			
3.	Food for laborers Rice Rice Chicken Gin Coffee Bread		1000	
4. • Tal	Selling Transportation Buyer ouk (Three buyers)	 50 per sack x 43 cavans 11.50/kilo x 3,139 kgs. (43 sacks) 		
	Expenses		21, 270.00	
	Sales		36, 098.50	
	Net Income		P14, 828.50/162 days (6 mos) = 91.53 pesos per day	

^{*} Information based on 1 farm cropping of Daguio Malling, resident of Sitio Pinepek

Corn Prices

Class A- P11.50/kg.- Tabuk price (good dry corn)

Class A- P13.70/kg.- Price in Barangay Taga, Pinukpuk

Class B-C P11.25/kg

Class B-C P12/kg

Farm Production

Since time immemorial, the people of Baay have cultivated swidden and irrigated farms for subsistence. They control and manage their own resources. To the present they follow customary laws that recognize three systems of land ownership to govern property regimes. These are:

Communal ownership of forest, watershed and pasture land allows all members of the tribe free use, access and sharing, and obligates them their protection and management.

Private ownership is recognized in terraced irrigated rice fields and settlement areas/residential.

Privately owned lands cannot be sold to outsiders. Farm development in swidden areas and under certain conditions also leads to ownership.

Rice farming is the people's main source of livelihood, and two crops can be produced in a year. For the majority of households, their rice produce is for consumption and occasionally for internal and external sale in times of good harvest.

The farmers use both introduced traditional and high yielding rice varieties. All households plant traditional varieties although some old ones are diminishing. They utilize simple farm tools and implements like the sickle, plow and harrow. A plow pulled by a carabao is utilized to prepare the land; and for harvesting, a panicle cutter called gamulang.

Two privately owned rice mills operate in sitio Pinepek which charge a milling fee of P40.00/can. But some community members continue to use the traditional mortar and pestle.

Among production problems of farmers is the proliferation of the golden kuhol (snail) which eats the tender stems of rice panicles.

Yellow corn as cash crop

Corn production is the main source of cash income for households. Yellow

corn started to be cultivated in Baay in 2012. The farmers also cultivated the edible white corn variety, but only a few continue to plant it today. They planted it along with legumes such as cardis and white beans in kaingin or swidden areas.

Almost every household in sitio Pinepek engages in yellow corn production. Usually done in the months of October and November, corn is planted in uma or bangkag (swidden areas), with farmers able to produce two crops a year. Most kaingin areas are privately owned through declaration, although limited portions are still tilled under usufruct arrangements.



Farmers rely on costly chemical inputs and thus

Corn production is labor intensive and requires capital for seeds and other farm chemical inputs especially in bigger areas. Farmers usually sell their corn in Tabuk and Tuao and Tuguegarao in Cagayan.

Table 2 (previous page) shows the farm activities and costs for yellow corn production on a ¾ hectare in Sitio Pinepek in Baay.

The farmers in Barangay Baay do not use too much fertilizer, their land still

being fertile unlike in central Tabuk where high dosages of chemical inputs are applied. They usually procure corn seeds from sources other than a town official and his family who are local financers and suppliers. Not only are these too expensive but they are required to sell their harvest to them. According to the respondents, the family encourages and finances residents to use their idle lands for yellow corn production.

Yellow corn production is getting widespread in Barangay Baay. According to the respondents, the local offical and his family are suppliers and financers who give out loans with interest. They encourage and finance residents to use their idle lands for yellow corn production.

Yellow corn production is spreading widely in barangay Baay. Those who continue to cultivate rice are now also being lured into it in the belief that they can make big profits but little are they aware of the high costs and labor required.

Land in Baay is still generally rich, but if vellow corn production gets more intensive, farmers may go the way of Calaccad where their counterparts have to use twice or thrice as much chemical inputs to maintain their present levels of production.

Role of Elders

The influence of elders in barangay Baay is similarly waning as in Calaccad. Their role is limited to settling minor cases, such as theft or problems involving spouses or neighbors like physical abuse or separation or even when one's cow eats a neighbor's crops. In resolving cases, they talk to the offender and discuss the punishment to be meted out.

Nowadays only a few are left in the traditional role of elders because almost all of them have joined the Lupong Tagapamayapa, a government committee composed of community members that acts as a conciliation body on the local level. In relation to economic activities, they no longer have authority or control over the entry of yellow corn. But in difficult economic times, it is they who reach out to politician-financers in the town to borrow money for community members.

A President's Promise: FREE IRRIGATION TO FARMERS

BY CDPC - APIT-TAKO

uring the 2016 election campaign, then presidential candidate Mayor Rodrigo Duterte repeatedly said that if he sits in Malacanang Palace irrigation would be provided free to farmers so they could produce more food supply for the people. This was in response to the problem of water supply often raised in his rallies.

It was also during the campaign that he slammed the National Irrigation Administration (NIA), saying it was only in the Philippines where a government agency was subsidized by farmers from fees they have to pay. Irrigation fees are used to pay the salaries and operational funds of NIA.

The National Irrigation Administration is a government-owned and -controlled corporation responsible for the irrigation development and management of irrigation systems throughout the country. It was created through Republic Act No. 3601 of 1963 and amended by Presidential Decrees 552 (September 11, 1974) and 1702 (July 17, 1980). NIA addresses its operational expenses through internally generated funds from various sources, primarily the Irrigation Service Fee.

The Irrigation Service Fee is the major source for financing the operation and maintenance of irrigation facilities nationwide and the compensation of

and workers that run the irrigation systems. Data from NIA showed the agency collects from P1.8 billion to P2 billoin in irrigation service fees yearly.

all NIA units

Department of Agriculture (DA) Secretary Emmanuel Pinol is pushing for

the amendment of the NIA Charter to revert it to its old status as a DA line agency instead of a quasi government-owned corporation. While the Cabinet Secretary's Office said such a decision should emanate from economic managers in the absence of a clear policy, Cabinet Secretary Leoncio Evasco, who heads the poverty agencies cluster under the Office of the President, is reportedly proposing the abolition of NIA along with the National Food Authority and National Electrification Administration, all of which are under the President's Office.

Farmers however would have to wait for at least two more years before the President's campaign promise for free irrigation becomes a reality, according to Secretary Evasco. The proposed P2B budget for free irrigation was not approved in the 2017 budget hearing in Congress. The funds would have been used for personnel salaries and maintenance and operations of NIA. In the meantime irrigation service fees will continue to be collected to maintain and operate irrigation facilities and personnel nationwide.

Irrigation Problems

Farmers and irrigator's associations are paying penalties, interest and amortizations even in anomalous irriga tion projects. Data from the Kilusang

Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP) show that NIA charges farmers fees ranging from P1,300 to more than P6,000 per hectare per cropping.

Exorbitant irrigation service fees collected by NIA burden farmers with higher production cost, especially with the El Nino phenomenon which is drying up farm lands and heightening the urgent need for water supply and irrigation facilities.

Government support especially for irrigation services is a major and significant need of the agriculture sector to achieve productivity and food sufficiency. To address this, KMP Chairman Joseph Canlas said they have urged President Duterte to support the passage of House Bill 558 or the Free Irrigation Services Act filed by Anakpawis party list.

UCRIS project

In the Cordillera region, farmers in Kalinga province have suffered the consequences of NIA's delayed work on the rehabilitation of the Upper Chico River Irrigation System (UCRIS). Funded by World Bank, UCRIS provides irrigation to several towns in Kalinga and Isabela provinces. Its delayed rehabilitation adversely impacted a total of 14,028.11 hectares of farmland: 6.632 ha in Tabuk and 168 ha in Pinukpuk municipality in Kalinga and 4511.72 ha in Quezon and 2716.39 ha in Mallig municipalities, Isabela. Affected farmers in Kalinga could not plant a second rice crop in 2015, which meant a crop loss of around P1 billion, and the succeeding first crop in 2016.

Several organizations in Kalinga thus petitioned President Duterte to change the project contractor, Markbilt Construction/RD Policarpio and Co. Inc. (Markbilt), which failed to complete the UCRIS rehabilitation as scheduled. They strongly opposed a 258-day contract extension which the company sought from NIA.

The petitioners, the Kalinga Apayao Religious Sector Association (KAR-SA), an organization of churches in Kalinga, and the Tabuk Multi-Purpose Cooperative, 90% of whose







12,000 members invariably depend on rice lands for their livelihood, objected to Markbilt's extension on the following grounds:

"1. Under its work schedule, Markbilt was supposed to have installed the intake gates of the irrigation system by June 2014. Despite appeals and demands from the UCRIS-Federation of Irrigators Association (FIA) and the NIA Kalinga Irrigation Management Office (Kimo), the gates were installed only in December 2015, a delay of more than one year.

Because of the delay, when the Chico River swelled due to rains dumped by Typhoon "Ineng" on August 20, 2015, a 256-meter portion of the main canal was washed out. It took four months to repair, for which NIA spent P100 million. UCRIS farmers missed the second cropping of 2015 and lost P1 billion worth of crops.

2. In a meeting held September 2, 2015, after the washout with Markbilt's slippage already at 57% and its accomplishment just 34%, the company promised to accomplish the remainder of the work by December 21, 2015, its contract expiry. But between September 2 and December 21, when the canals were dry due to the repair of the washout, Markbilt managed to do only 5% of its work.

With the extension of the World Bank's Participatory Irrigation Development Program to March 21, 2016, it could have finished the project but it barely accomplished another 5% of the project. Given Markbilt's record, it is doubtful whether it could complete the project within the extension period it is requesting."

According to KARSA they had to bring the matter to the President's attention because the previous administration did not do anything about the problem despite their pleas. The group noted there could be no other explanation for the project's delay except criminal negligence or incompetence, irresponsible management/supervision, or even fraud that has caused so much damage on the lives of the project's target beneficiaries. Markbilt does not deserve a minute of extension; it deserves to be punished instead, according to KARSA.

These objections may have been heeded. In a recent Regional Irrigation Summit spearheaded by Timpuyog dagiti Mannalon iti Kalinga (TMK) and Alyansa dagiti Pesante iti Tae'ng Kordilyera (APIT-TAKO) in Tabuk, Kalinga on October 11, 2016, NIA representatives announced that the NIA central office had terminated the contract of Markbilt. Attended by more than 200 people from Kalinga, Isabela and Ifugao, the summit included delegates of NIA, DA, Department of Agrarian Reform and the Kalinga provincial government.

The summit, which tackled the problems caused by the unfinished UCRIS project, passed "A Resolution Requesting the House of Representatives to Conduct a Congressional Inquiry in Aid of Legislation on the World Bank-funded Upper Chico River Irrigation System (UCRIS) Rehabilitation Project." The resolution was submitted to Anakpawis Party list Representative Ariel Casilao.

Farmers' demand: free irrigation

Farmers, irrigators associations and other stakeholders in the agriculture sector are now calling for a moratorium on the payment of irrigation service fees and eventually for free irrigation services to farmers. They have launched a nationwide campaign for the passage of House Bill 6624 or the "Free Irrigation Services Act" and House Bill No. 558 which seeks to abolish irrigation fees and such other similar or related fees from beneficiaries of irrigation systems funded and constructed by or under the administration of the National Irrigation Administration. Both bills were filed by the Anakpawis Party list.

Farmers and support groups submitted petitions supporting these bills at the Congressional Committee on Agriculture hearing in November. APIT-TAKO, which has been conducting a regional campaign in the Cordillera for free irrigation to farmers, and TMK also presented the endorsement (see box) by Cordillera farmers of House Bill No. 558 at the same congressional hearing.

Petition in support of House Bill No. 558 otherwise known as an "Act Abolishing Irrigation Fees and such other Similar or Related Fees from Beneficiaries of Irrigation Systems funded and constructed by or under the Administration of the National Irrigation Administration, Amending for the Purpose certain Sections of Republic Act No. /3601, Presidential Decree No. 552 and Presidential Decree No. 1702, also known as the Free Irrigation Act of 2016."

We, the undersigned farmers and irrigators' associations from the different provinces of the Cordillera and our households including those providing commodity services to agriculture comprise eighty percent (80%) of the total population of the Cordillera. We depend on farming as our main source of income and we engage in rice, corn and temperate-clime vegetable production. The majority of us are small-owner cultivators tilling an average of one-fourth (1/4) to one hectare of farmland.

We contribute substantially not only to Cordillera but likewise to the national economy. We produce eighty-five percent (85%) of the temperate-clime vegetables in the market, 2.5 percent of rice and 2.2 percent of corn. This is despite the Cordillera being only one percent (1%) of the total land area of the Philippines.

We are however burdened, among others, with the absence/lack of irrigation facilities thus affecting productivity, inefficient management of irrigation systems and exorbitant rates of irrigation service fees and amortizations imposed by NIA.

Based on the accomplishment reports of the NIA-CAR, of the

185,405 hectares total irrigable lands in the Cordillera, the combined yearly average accomplishments of NIA-CAR, other government agencies and private sector is only one-half of the target. This greatly affects productivity and attainment of food sufficiency. In addition, there are still irrigation facilities that need to be repaired/improved.

In the rice-producing provinces that are serviced by the national irrigation service (NIS) of NIA, we are obliged to pay two (2) cavans of palay at fifty (50) kilograms per cavan per hectare during the wet season cropping and three cavans during the dry season cropping or their cash equivalents for both cropping. This is a substantial decrease on our already meager income.

Irrigation is a basic necessity for farms to be productive. We therefore reiterate our earlier position that irrigation should be a priority obligation of the government to us farmers and thus this petition.

We urge the House of Congress and Senate and Pres. Rodrigo R. Duterte to prioritize the above-mentioned House Bill No. 558.

Engaging with government

BY THE CENTER FOR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN THE CORDILLERA

he Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera is now on its 4th decade as a nongovernment organization working for organized people's active involvement in all levels of the developmental process. In its 30 years and running, CDPC ensures the preservation of the environment and development sustainability through integrated area planning. As a legitimate and committed pro-people's development NGO, it works to promote the Cordillera people's right to chart their own economic, social and political life, providing services to marginalized communities in the Cordillera where these are sorely needed.

In its long years of rendering services to poor and marginalized communities, CDPC has encountered various risks and obstacles, not to mention natural disasters. It has at times found itself amid massive community militarization, armed encounters between government soldiers and the New People's Army, and military harassment, the CDPC having been invariably tagged as communist, communist front, rebels, enemies of the state and even anti-development.

Being in the forefront of development projects, development workers in both NGOs and people's organizations always "take the first punch" in times of vilification and harassments not only by the Armed Forces of the Philippines but also by local government officials.

But as CDPC strongly believes in active people's participation, it engages with government and other development groups and institutions towards achieving a common goal, i.e. emancipation of the people from extreme poverty and violation of rights.

Through the years, many attempts have been made by development NGOs to work with local government units and agencies, but these often did not work due to differences in development principles and political viewpoints. So grave has been some divergences that it is forgotten what civil society organizations (CSO) and the government are there for in the first place. Despite unresolved differences, it is hard to deny that these groups exist for a common vision, mission and goal the common good.

With a new administration, opportunities for engagement are open once again. While President Rodrigo Duterte's early political pronouncements raised doubts especially among progressive CSOs, his Cabinet appointment of several individuals identified with the Left was a surprising move. The selection of Judy Taguiwalo, Rene Mariano, Joel Maglungsod and Liza Masa as department secretaries and undersecretaries made progressive groups pause and ask: is change really coming?

The appointments, BAYAN noted, were "unprecedented and surpassed any offers for a government post by previous post EDSA regimes." But at the same time was a realization of the great support they would need to bring about change. "The nominees of the Left to the Duterte Cabinet would need the help and support of the mass movement. Within the limits of the institutions that they will work in, the progressives will push hard

for pro-people reforms and highlight the need for fundamental change."

With the Duterte government's announcement that CSO involvement in the development process is crucial, CDPC has been participating in various government-sponsored development summits and consultations where invited. In some of these engagements CDPC has taken a significant role because its network members have been waiting for this opportune time – a time when they are welcomed by government and acknowledged for their contributions in the overall development process. This, despite the Red tagging and vilification by some local government officials and government agencies.

Among the consultations participated in by CDPC and its network members are those held by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC), Department of Social Welfare and Development (through Cordillera Disaster Response and Development Services), Department of Agrarian Reform (through APIT-TAKO) and National Economic Development Authority (through Cordillera People's Alliance).

DENR consultations

In August 2016, CDPC through the Foundation for Philippine Environment attended the DENR national consultation and planning for 27 selected priority areas for development led by DENR Secretary Regina Lopez in Antipolo, Rizal. The DENR Sustainable Integrated Area Development and Management Project, which uses the watershed approach, includes the



Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), with Mt. Pulag and the Chico River as the identified areas for development.

The planning for the regional priority areas was finalized by DENR on October 18 in UP Diliman, Quezon City attended by around 500 people from local government units (LGU), CSOs including CDPC and POs from different regions.

And on November 8-11, more than 200 people joined the DENR regional planning for the Chico River and Mt. Pulag area development projects in Baguio Ciy. The first two days focused on the Chico River project attended by 50-70 participants dominated by members of the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (a former armed group that has splintered into various factions that now avail of projects funded by the Office of the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process [OPAPP]).

Also present were LGU representatives of the different municipalities of Mt Province and Kalinga which are traversed by the Chico River. Two priority areas for watershed development were identified for the Chico River project: Bauko as the head watershed area and Tabia in Pasil, Kalinga as the subwatershed area. The activity resulted in a draft plan for which the project's budget has been downloaded.

Avenues for advocacy

The DENR national and regional consultations also provided CDPC an

opportunity to raise particular community concerns, such as the mining audit DENR was then conducting in Lepanto Mines in Mankayan, Benguet. In the August national consultation, CDPC brought up the issues of POs and LGUs on nonparticipation of affected communities in the audit process and the hosting and financing of the audit teams by the mining firm.

In response, Secretary Lopez tasked her undersecretaries to look into the matter of nonparticipation, and reversing a past policy announced that from then on financing for audit teams would come from DENR funds to avoid any taint of bias.

In that same meeting, DENR Undersecretary Leo Jasareno linked up the audit team with CDPC which offered to provide additional data the team could consider such as documented interviews with the mine-affected communities and related documents.

Together with the Benguet, Abra, Mountain Province, Ilocos Sur Mining Watch, CDPC later submitted a comprehensive summary report on the situation and demands of the affected communities to Secretary Lopez with copies furnished to the Environment Management Bureau Undersecretary and the CAR DENR Regional Director. .

In September DENR issued a suspension order to Lepanto Mines for violations of various mining and environmental

laws and regulations including their Environmental Clearance Certificates (ECCs). The violations included siltation, soil erosion, lack of tree cutting or water permits and no ISO 14001 certification.

Lepanto Mines was one of four mining firms issued suspension orders along with Oceana Gold Philippines Incorporated, Citinickel Mines and Development Corporation, and Ore Asia Mining and Development Corporation while 21 other firms were ordered closed. However, the residents of Mankayan municipality, which hosts Lepanto Mines, are calling not for a mere suspension but for a total stop to the operations of Lepanto Mines.

In these engagements with DENR, CDPC was able to appreciate working with a government agency. The meetings also served as avenues where we could advance our advocacy for a stop to large scale mining in the Cordillera and to government programs that have become a source of corruption.

Every administration draws up development plans that aim to improve Filipinos' lives. Often however their implementation leaves much to be desired, sometimes becoming a further burden as some programs are multimillion dollar loans from World Bank or International Monetary Fund.

Although differences in development views and frameworks are ever present, the new experience of engaging with government has been refreshing. Both government and development NGOs merely need an open mind in the exchange of ideas, since after all it is the same Filipino people whom we all proclaim to serve.

Our challenge as development NGOS is how to nudge further national government agencies to seriously implement and carry out the principles and goals that their projects and programs banner as benefitting the poor. These should genuinely serve marginalized communities and not a few individuals or be a source of corruption. Development NGOs are willing to engage wherever the common goal is to advance the welfare of the people and the common good.



Genuine Regional Autonomy

and the Common Good

Elders uphold Identity and Self Determination

(Paper presented at "Revisiting Regional Autonomy: A Multi-Stakeholders Consultation on Genuine Regional Autonomy and Federalism" at the Benguet State University, August 31, 2016)

Introduction

lders are dynamic leaders of indigenous society. They are good practice models in all aspects of socio-economic life, symbols and dispensers of order, authority, justice and bearers of knowledge and values for the common good for the present as well as for future generations.

There is rich lore and history in the Cordillera on resistance to Spanish colonial subjugation, and even on the participation by parts of the Cordillera in the first Filipino national democratic revolution against Spanish colonial rule in 1896.

American colonial rule effectively subjugated the Cordillera and coopted Indigenous Socio Political Systems (ISPS) and culture such as *bodong/dap ay*, American *bulol* or white apo, American flag and symbols of authority like Sapao of Kalinga and

Galman of Ifugao, dependence such as "Nangamong ni Galman mentality', or the 'American dream mentality' of professionals going to America as the measure of success in life.

Cordillera Elders of the different ethnolinguistic groups with varied ISPS like bodong, ator/dap ay, hidit, tongtong have shone forth in their brave principled leadership to defend ancestral lands, the indigenous way of life and the common good for the ili/tribo (tribe) This was highlighted in the struggle against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship and the Cordillera people's opposition to the World Bank-funded Chico dams as well as other development aggression projects secured by militarization.

Such past and continuing examples of Cordillera Elders' leadership is a source of inspiration as we assert our identity and advance the struggle for Cordillera Genuine Regional Autonomy and for genuine sovereignty and national democracy.

Persistence of ISPS from Subsistence Society to the Present

Subsistence economy with limited irrigated rice fields, *uma*/swidden lots, and forested environment was the economic base for the traditional operation of indigenous socio political systems with an established role of elders. Then American colonization at the turn of the 20th century instituted colonial economic policy that regarded the Cordillera (as well as the Philippines) as a rich natural resource base for export of natural resources (minerals, logs) and agriculture products while importing American manufactured products.

This policy supported American industry and maintained the Philippines as a backward rural agricultural base. It continued in succeeding semicolonial, semifeudal Philippine society as reflected in the early 1960s in the Mountain Province Development

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Participants and speakers at the NEDA - led consultation on regional autonomy and federalism at Benguet State University

Benedict Solang (left), one of the paper presentors is CDPC Board of Directors Secretary and CPA Advisory Council member

Authority (MPDA) development perspective for the Cordillera (then Mountain Province) of more large scale mining, expanded vegetable industry, and more mega dams like the Chico Dams that Marcos tried to implement.

Up to the present, the same imperialist, ruling class-oriented "natural resource base" perspective and regard for the Cordillera remains. Thus, the continuing clash between government and communities regarding "development aggression" of destructive large scale mining, dams and other energy projects. And these projects have escalated in the Cordillera under imperialist globalization.

The unprecedented fast pace of comprehensive social-economic, political-cultural change since American colonization has marginalized subsistence economy and eroded indigenous socio political systems. Other economic activities now dominate as sources of livelihood, although declining subsistence economies still coexist with other economic activities even in the rural interior.

In politics or governance and justice system, elite patronage politics (traditional politics) has made significant inroads especially with the Local Government Code operating at the barangay level. This has weakened traditional ISPS role in ili/tribal governance and justice system. Culture - language, dance, song, weaving, art - generally continues to flourish as the people actively practice them.

On the whole, while they persist, indigenous socio political systems are also disintegrating, such as for instance those that outlive their use like the observed community rest or teer/obaya that is linked to the eroded subsistence economy or inappropriately expensive rituals that are adjusted or are not practiced anymore. Tribal war has also outlived its relevance and use.

But there is remarkable persistence of ISPS and values that uphold the common good. The Cordillera people's movement has persistently nourished the progressive social functions of ISPS. These nurture democracy, social justice, unity and discipline to serve the people.

Continuous exchange and sharing among Elders and the youth would ensure the transfer of such knowledge and values to younger generations.

There is remarkable persistence of ISPS and values that uphold the common good. These nurture democracy, social justice, unity and discipline to serve the people.

It should also be noted that there has been reactionary and self-serving use of ISPS such as in elections when "trapo" or traditional politicians use the bodong or dap ay for traditional patronage and corrupt politics. Or when tribal conflicts are ignited by divisive and oppressive use of the bodong, such as in settlement of cases, or when casualties of the war between the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the New People's Army are subjected to bodong, or when differences of positioning on issues are also inappropriately subjected to bodong.

Three Levels of Identity and Exercise of Self determination

The three levels of identity and exercise of self determination are:

First as Cordillera peoples from diverse ili/tribes/ethnolinguistic groups who are the national minority or indigenous people,

Then as Cordillera people of both the Cordillera national minority or indigenous people together with non indigenous people,

And third, a national Filipino identity because Cordillera people, both indigenous and non indigenous, are Filipinos.

The basic identity and practice of self determination is first as Cordillera peoples from diverse villages/ili/tribes/ ethnolinguistic groups. Indigenous socio political systems and culture with a key role of Elders operate at the levels of clan, ator/dap ay and ili/tribe. An established wider and related level of identity and practice of self determination on language and culture are the ethnolinguistic groups with seven major and various subgroups in the Cordillera.

These were the basic levels of identity and practice of self determination (on ancestral land, ISPS with role of elders, language and culture) in Cordillera subsistence and communal societies prior to and during colonization, and they have persisted in post colonization to the present even in spite of degrees of disintegration.

On the whole, Cordillera Elders have actively participated in monumental social movements in the Cordillera such as in the community 'life-and-death' struggles against the Chico dams, Cellophil Resources Corporation (CRC), Mainit mines and militarization under the Marcos dictatorship, as well as in all other succeeding campaigns against development aggression projects and accompanying militarization.

And some of our venerable elders have paid with their lives - Macliing Dulag during Marcos' martial law rule, Ama Daniel Ngayaan under Corazon Aquino, and Marcos Bangit under Gloria Macapagal Arroyo.

A historical perspective

Elders are localized leaders with specific representation: as ator/dap ay elder or member of the Council of Elders, as pangat or bodong peace pact holder, or as ili elder in the hidit or tongtong. As such, they are effective leaders upholding ancestral land rights and ISPS for the welfare and interest of the clan, ili and/or tribe. These traditional ISPS formations are the basic building block or level where traditional self determination in all aspects of life – land, economic, political, cultural - are upheld.

Then Kaigorotan or Cordillera-wide identity and consciousness emerged as part of the upsurge in national democratic activism with the First

Quarter Storm and the succeeding U.S.-Marcos Dictatorship and explosive Chico dams and Cellophil Resources Corp. Traditional ISPS like the bodong/dap-ay combined with new activist forms of community and multisector organizations with Cordillera-wide and national Filipino perspective.

Thus was built the dynamic unity of traditional ISPS organizations from the Cordillera interior with sector and community organizations of farmers, workers, urban poor, youth, women, professionals from both rural and town center/urban Cordillera, and from the national capital region.

From the basic ili/tribal world view and level of self determination now emerged the wider Kaigorotan or Cordillera-wide consciousness as indigenous people or national minority with the particular problem of National Oppression and the right to self determination in the form of regional autonomy. This was formalized by the surging people's movement with the establishment of the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) in 1984 for the Defence of Ancestral Land and for Self Determination.

CPA then launched the "Regionalization and Beyond" campaign to have the Cordillera recognized as one administrative region, which was achieved with Executive Order 220 issued in 1987 by President Corazon Aquino that established the Cordillera Administrative Region. CPA then led the lobby at the 1987 Constitutional Convention for regional autonomy for the Cordillera and for Muslim Mindanao. This was also achieved with the regional autonomy provision enshrined in the 1987 Constitution.

The campaigns for regionalization and for regional autonomy marked a high peak in the militant Cordillera people's movement for indigenous peoples' rights and for national democracy with active participation of Elders/ ISPS, progressive politicians and professionals, multisector activists in the Cordillera and national advocates.

The weakness of such earlier campaigns on regional autonomy however was the requisites were not clarified.

This gave the impression that regional autonomy was then immediately attainable, which was and is not the case, considering the serious limitations of the prevailing national situation. This is now being corrected with the qualification of Genuine Regional Autonomy and the requisites for its achievement.

It must be shared for historical accuracy that preceding the upsurge of national democratic activism during martial law that addressed Cordillera national minorities/indigenous peoples, earlier assertion of Igorot identity/integrity and homogeneity of the highland mountain region (Cordillera) was actively made by Baguio City-based BIBAK (Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, Kalinga) Igorot students, professionals and politicians.

The most dramatic and inspiring (in early '60s) was then Congressman Alfredo Lam-en of the lone district of Mountain Province (Cordillera) with his tall warrior physique in Igorot g-string and head gear, who stood in a privilege speech in Congress to assert who Igorots are and that Igorots are Filipinos. This was to expose and correct the derogatory reference on Igorots with the implication that they are not Filipinos in the book of Carlos P. Romulo.

In the upsurge of the people's movement in the Cordillera, with the Cordillera People's Alliance in the early '80s, Igorot and Kaigorotan were popularized as identity of the national minority/indigenous peoples of the Cordillera. But this was not embraced by all as only those from Benguet and Mountain Province (ethnolinguistic groups of Kanakanaey, Bontoc and Ibaloy) internalized their identity as Igorot. Others asserted operational self ascriptions of other major ethnolingistic groups (i.e. Kalinga, Tinggian, Isneg, Ifugao) or subgroup (i.e. Tuwali, Ayangan).

The clear point is that Cordillera-wide identity beyond the ili/tribe/ethnolinguistic group/subgroup is flexible. At present, the Igorot diaspora has found relevance in asserting Igorot identity and culture, i.e. Igorot Global Organization (IGO).

And finally our national Filipino identity and consciousness is Filipino, because the Cordillera people - as diverse ili/tribes/ethnolinguistic groups or Cordillera minority or indigenous people - together with nonindigenous people in the Cordillera are also Filipinos.

So together with the majority of Filipinos from exploited and oppressed classes and sectors (at the base of the pyramid social structure), the Cordillera people (indigenous and nonindigenous) are one in the national struggle to decisively change the pyramid social structure of Philippine society - for genuine sovereignty, democracy and social justice.

Elders' participation in national concerns also raises their consciousness, beyond their ili/tribe/ethnolinguistic group and the Cordillera. Discussions on the World Bank-funded Chico dams and other corporate projects explained imperialism in partnership with the ruling classes in Philippine society, who enforce destructive projects even if these clash with people's rights and welfare.

The so-called debacle and failure of the Chico dams was on the other hand a victory of the Cordillera people's brave assertion of their self determination, with notable Elders' role, for their land/livelihood-politics/ISPS/culture and survival as a people. Elders' awareness or conscientization on the past martial law and dictatorship, progressive education and advancing of the new politics during elections as well as other national exposures are continuing opportunities for national consciousness raising of elders.

Progressive Transformation of ISPS for Effective Social Function, Enduring Social Values for Common Good

Overall it is remarkable how activist Cordillera Elders have been open, progressive, and wise in their grasp of the politics involved even beyond their ili/tribo. With the key role of progressive Elders, traditional forms of ISPS were transformed for more appropriate and effective social functions, such as the following.



Structured group discussion of elders in Baclingayan to tackle elders' issues



A participant in Baclingayan discussion

One was the transformation of the bilateral bodong (the traditional bodong/peace pact is bilateral between two ili/tribo) into multilateral bodong for wide unity and action on issues like the Chico dams that affected many ili/tribo. The multilateral bodong against the Chico dams, CRC and militarization united all the affected tribo/ili in the Cordillera and had the support of organizations/ advocates in other parts of the Cordillera as well as national and even international advocates.

In dealing with the armed conflict (Armed Forces of the Philippines-New People's Army), considering the reality that there are binodngan (people from bodong practicing ili/tribo) who are either in the AFP or the NPA, Elders adopted the policy to exclude those in either AFP or NPA from the provisions of the bodong, i.e. *bales* (revenge) or multa (fine). Adopting such progressive policy of excluding armed combatants minimized unnecessary conflicts among the people.

Clarification on the concept and application of "ancestral land" as "area and people specific". This stopped the confusing and opportunistic action of vested interests like elements of the Cordillera People's Liberation Army (CPLA) that at one time claimed any spot in the Cordillera as their "ancestral land" because they are indigenous peoples from the Cordillera.

Elders at times had composed or formally organized as "Village Council of Elders" for more organized action and governance. But this as well as the traditional role of Elders in village justice or case settlements has been eroded by the operation of the Local Government Code that neglected and did not ensure the role of Elders.

The collectively processed and "common good" application of consensus in dealing with traditional politics and elections.

The progressive Elders' role in the campaign to expose and to correct the bankrupt and divisive politics of the CPLA that divided and eroded the



Women elders in Guinaang, Pasil

role of progressive Elders -- with their political line of a "Cordillera nation", "Bodong as Government", "Cordillera highlanders against lowlanders", and opportunistic positioning in the political structures of the Cordillera. i.e. Cordillera Executive Board (CEB) and Cordillera Bodong Administration (CBAD) -- also consciously marginalized the progressive people's movement and led to the murder of its leaders/activists.

All these were with government and military complicity under President Corazon Aquino who supported the CPLA politically, militarily and financially.

The Cordillera people's movement for indigenous peoples rights, human rights and national democracy also highlights enduring social values and discipline that Elders impart to younger generations. These values have persisted from subsistence to colonial society to the present semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. These are nurtured for the present as well as the future socialist society.

Among these values are the following, which are in northern Kankanaey terms but are also expressed in other Cordillera languages.

Ayyew

Do not waste any particle of food or any material that could still be used (recycled or reused), either by you or

Alaen laeng nan kasapulan

Get only what you need and leave the rest of the resources for others now or even for succeeding generations. This applies to access to free forest products where one gets only what he/ she needs. This is the same practice in traditional Benguet mining where miners are guided to get only what they need.

Ipeyas nan Gawis

Share what is good: any good practice in farming or in raising pigs or other aspects of livelihood and health, community life, justice system or social relations should always be

Inayan

An admonition not to do anything that adversely affects others and the community. Similar to karma, 'what you do goes back to you'.

Kasiyana

Social assurance or support or advice to people in distress or difficult

situations to help them cope with their situation and give hope that there will be change, that "there is daylight after the darkness of night".

Betad/Fetad

All-out mass mobilization for any community/tribal contingency such as tribal war, fire, disaster, death as well as for festive ili/tribal occasions like begnas or bodong renewals.

Elders and Genuine Regional Autonomy, whether within **Present Unitary System** or Federal System

Of the various forms of self determination, Regional Autonomy – not mere cultural autonomy nor secession - is what we assert for the indigenous people of the Cordillera region. And we qualify the position of the people's movement as Genuine Regional Autonomy (GRA) to distinguish it from the Regional Autonomy bills of government that have been rejected in two past plebiscites, with a third upcoming House Bill 4649 in the present Congress.

Genuine Regional Autonomy should:

- Ensure ownership-management benefits from ancestral land and resources and appropriate sharing with the national government;
- Uphold and nurture Indigenous Socio Political Systems and appropriate role of Elders, with egalitarian values and discipline to serve the people and lifetime commitment for the common good;
- Respect identity and indivisible territorial integrity of the Cordillera;
- Truly observe democratic content and processes and be guided by social justice and the common good in social relations; and
- Work for genuine sovereignty and democracy, thus overhaul the pyramid structure of a ruling

elite and their foreign masters that control Philippine society and that derail, deceive and obstruct the attainment of Genuine Regional Autonomy and full exercise of self determination as indigenous people of the Cordillera.

Also, towards a genuinely sovereign and national democratic Philippine society, the program for Genuine Regional Autonomy supports peace talks between the Philippine government and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) towards just and lasting peace and where Genuine Regional Autonomy would be possible.

So far, the past and present Regional Autonomy bills of government do not ensure the above and thus are not acceptable. They merely elaborate on finance, political structures/positions and devolved operations. These may be useful when the time comes that Genuine Regional Autonomy is finally possible.

And for the people's movement, whether within the present unitary system or under a federal system, the same substance and features of Genuine Regional Autonomy are advanced for a "Cordillera Indigenous People's Autonomous Region" if within the unitary system or for a "Cordillera Indigenous People's State" if within a federal system.

But there must be caution on federalism. Its inherent feature significantly devolves power to its component states which would tend to further entrench local/regional dynasties or warlords. This would obstruct serious national democratic and social justice initiatives that are otherwise more effectively undertaken by a unitary centralized system with a political will.

Another caution is that the move for federalism would have to be institutionalized through Charter change which could be taken advantage of by the entrenched ruling class and imperialism to further consolidate their dominance and control of Philippine society.

Finally, it needs pointing out that more than the concern for a unitary or a federal system, the really serious fundamental problem of Philippine society that should be addressed is the "pyramid structure", with a ruling class/ elite together with their foreign masters who have historically controlled Philippine economy, politics, culture at the top. Thus the Philippines is not genuinely sovereign and truly democratic but has gross historic inequality and injustice.

Other neighboring countries like China and Vietnam and others have concluded their national democratic revolutions or achieved national self determination. They sufficiently decide for their own countries, and their people avail of a level of democracy and social justice. And unlike the Philippines they are not as deeply divided as to have a civil war that has lasted for more than 40 years.

Conclusion

To conclude, we highlight the committed role of Cordillera Elders in all aspects of the people's life - against destructive projects, perseverance in asserting the progressive aspects of ISPS in the face of social change and disintegration and willingness and wisdom to transform and adopt ISPS for better social function. We assert that genuine regional autonomy should institutionalize the Elders' values, commitment and discipline for governance to genuinely serve the people and to always promote the common good.

And on federalism, let the discourse unfold. With diligence let us study the local-regional-national context and implications of federalism. And let us address the unequal pyramid social structure of Philippine society towards fundamental change for social justice. Confident in our position on genuine regional autonomy within national democracy, we participate in the open market of ideas fortified by decades of advancing the people's movement.

May we now all be better informed, united and committed towards a genuinely autonomous Cordillera region and a truly sovereign and democratic Philippines.

s the hope of the motherland, the youth has upheld a historic and motive role in building the nation and transforming society. Together with the united ranks of the wider masses, the Pag-asa ng Bayan stand up and speak out for the rights and welfare of the Filipino people towards genuine democracy. Time and time again, the struggle of the youth has been in solidarity with the struggle of the people, and the challenge upon us is to be more relevant than ever amid the rightful calls of the people for "change" to come.

In the spirit of the youth's heroes Andres Bonifacio and Macli-ing Dulag, the youth of the Cordillera has never cowered and wavered in the struggle for social justice and peace. Backed by other progressive agents and sectors, various groups and organizations of Cordillera youth have crafted a legislative agenda embodying our collective aspirations and forwarding our collective action towards the advancement of our rights and welfare.

Building a Cordillera Youth Agenda

In 2016 the holding of a series of exhaustive consultations, discussions, conventions and summits, mounting of relevant mass campaigns, and organizing the ranks of students and youth in communities, colleges, and universities in Abra, Apayao, Baguio, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain Province solidified our calls for genuine change.

In celebration of the 4th Baguio Students Month in September, the students and youth of Metro Baguio organized activities and events under the theme "Youth Act Now for Genuine Change". On September 3, members of student governments, organizations, and publications convened a leaders' assembly to discuss issues in their respective campuses and communities ranging from illegal fee collections to repressive campus press policies.

From this assembly, the youth of Metro Baguio crafted the Baguio Youth Agenda, which presents our concerns such as student welfare and basic social services. We presented it as a legislative agenda

Advancing aspirations for genuine change



to Baguio City Congressman Mark Go in a subsequent roundtable discussion. In response, Go said that the difficult conditions we are facing must be taken as a challenge to create a better society as he vowed to support the agenda.

Following this, we capped the Baguio Students Month with the Rise for Education Summit on September 25 and the Youth Jam on September 30. Addressing the youth of Metro Baguio in the summit, Kabataan party list Representative Sarah Elago challenged the youth to advance the fight for free and quality education. Composed of high school students, college councils, and student journalists, the participants sought greater unities towards the education campaign in the summit's discussion and workshop sessions.

On October 1, a similar series of discussions and framework-building in the Benguet area culminated in a roundtable discussion with Benguet Provincial Governor Cresencio Pacalso. Pacalso committed to review the youth agenda, which sought resolutions from institutions and local government units regarding tuition and other fees, facilities and services, democratic rights, and policy reforms. Along with

the agenda, the Governor also pledged support to the calls for accountability over the failure of the K12 program and the alleged cases of abuse and sexual harassment in the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program.

The Cordillera youth agenda seeks policy changes that address the needs and interests of the Filipino youth everywhere

Also in October, the indigenous peoples and other sectors of the Cordillera joined groups from all over the country in the "Lakbayan ng Pambansang Minorya para sa Sariling Pagpapasya at Makatarungang Kapayapaan" (Caravan of National Minorities for Self-Determination and Just Peace) traveling across the archipelago to the seat of power in Manila. More than 3,000 members of national minorities and advocates of human rights and peace gathered in

a series of activities, events, and mass actions forwarding the campaign for social justice and liberation.

In a legislative forum at the House of Representatives on October 19, spokespersons of Cordillera youth formations forwarded the Cordillera Youth Agenda (see Box) to the eight representatives of the region at the 17th Congress. Along with Go, Benguet Representative Ronald Cosalan, Kalinga Representative Allen Jesse Mangaoang, and Mountain Province Representative Maximo Dalog vowed to look into the youth agenda.

While it espouses policy reforms particular to the youth of the region, the agenda seeks policy changes that address the needs and interests of the Filipino youth everywhere.

Joined by progressive formations like Anakbayan, Kabataan party list, College Editors Guild of the Philippines (CEGP), National Union of Students of the Philippines (NUSP), and Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera (DKK), the pursuit for justice and democracy of the youth in solidarity with the fighting Filipino people will grow even stronger and more solid.



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1. Uphold the people's right to education. Provide quality public education to all levels and impose strict people-biased regulated private education.

Education is a right. As mandated by the Philippine Constitution, it is the responsibility of the State to provide quality and accessible education at all levels. It is thus a mandate of the government to support and give priority to education as a basic right of all its citizens.

In such cases where the youth fail to enjoy this right, the government has the responsibility to intervene. To do this, the government must work towards making public education free while ensuring a government-regulated private education.

Historically speaking, however, the Cordillera remains to be one of most underprivileged regions, given least priority in education funding. Meanwhile, private education continues to be more inaccessible for the Cordillera youth. Also, the lack of regulatory policies and monitoring on tuition by the national and regional office of the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) results in different unlawful schemes in increasing tuition and other school fees.

Worse, the CHED CAR (Cordillera Administrative Region appears to tolerate violations of their own regulations. Almost all school proposals for tuition and other fee increases are easily approved without actual investigation whether genuine consultations were made and/or whether facilities and wages of school employees improved.

2. Stop the implementation of the K to 12 program for violating the people's rights to education and employment. Consider students who finished Grade 10 as college graduates and assist them towards enrollment in colleges and universities. Reverse the current foreign- and market-oriented academic programs and curricula.

The first year of the full implementation of the K to 12 program marked the start of grave problems in the education sector. In CAR, the senior high school (SHS) program was implemented in some schools despite an extensive lack of preparation. As a manifestation of this lack of readiness by the government, it is estimated that only three out of five public high schools are offering the K to 12 program.

By passing this constitutional responsibility of government to private profit-oriented educational institutions, the government already deprived the people of their right to affordable and accessible education. Moreover, students under the K to 12 program have no choice but to get technical vocational tracks for senior high school.

The K to 12 program has also intensified existing problems of unemployment and underemployment in the region. The promise of available jobs after graduation in SHS is absurd as its technical-vocational courses-focused curriculum does not complement the country's low demand for such jobs. In reality, K to 12 has made the country a milking cow of other countries for cheap or low-cost labor.

As a response, the government must immediately stop the K to 12 program. It must also consider grade 10 completers as graduates while giving them utmost assistance to easily enroll in colleges and universities.

3. Safeguard the democratic rights of students in schools. Stop all repressive policies and programs hindering full exercise of these rights. Oppose the revival of mandatory ROTC program.

Considering the continuous repression of the State-guaranteed freedom of expression and freedom to organize, the government remains soft in upholding such rights. In the Cordillera, students who are critical of compromising policies and programs of schools and the government have always been subjected to harassment.

In many schools in the region, activists and leaders of different student organizations, councils and publications are being subjected to surveillance and even threat of dismissal in their respective schools. Students are then forced to be submissive rather than proactive in airing their sentiments. In the process, their rights remain curtailed, and free thinking and expression are close to forbidden.

Worse, the government itself remains to be the top violator of these rights. Through the Armed Forces of the Philippines-sponsored Reserve Officers Training Corp, students are being recruited as Student Intelligence Networks (SIN). This abusive curriculum forces students to conduct surveillance on fellow students as well as political vilification and black propaganda against student leaders and progressive organizations. However, school administrators and the government continue turning a blind eye.

Aside from these, many students fall victim to torturous initiations and abuse. It can be recalled that in 1999, Arthur Salero, an ROTC cadet in Saint Louis University died because of hazing. Two reported cases of hazing also happened at the University of the Cordilleras (UC) in 1999 and 2000, while another happened at the University of the Philippines in Baguio (UPB) also in 2000.

Today, these abuses are far from over. In 2016, groups of students complained about torture and sexual abuse happening in Benguet State University (BSU). Their reports claimed that in the past years, low-ranking cadets had been subjected to physical torture and sexual harassment at the ROTC barracks inside the university.

Furthermore, the AFP continues with its military operations and offensives in various communities despite the declaration of a ceasefire against revolutionary forces. This is concurrent with the worsening cases of militarization with regards to mining exploration projects and other multinational- and transnational-sponsored initiatives that plunder our resources.

Coupled with many human rights violations, the decades-long militarization of the Cordillera and other indigenous areas in the country has prompted the people to call for the pullout of AFP troops from our communities.

4. Protect and preserve indigenous knowledge, culture, and heritage. Seek culturally appropriate and nationalist

educational programs for indigenous peoples. Ensure the participation of indigenous communities in education.

As indigenous youth of the Cordillera, we are alarmed about the continuous degradation of our lands, our natural resources, our culture, heritage and identity as indigenous peoples due to destructive projects forced into our communities and widespread discrimination as result of the nonrecognition of our inherent rights as indigenous peoples. We look forward to the efforts of our leaders towards the full and effective implementation of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) as the standard instrument and guide in the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights.

For the indigenous youth, as stated in the provisions of UNDRIP, we recommend that positive indigenous knowledge be taught in schools and included in the curriculum from elementary to college level. To achieve this, culturally appropriate teaching methods must be applied, thus the community must be consulted in making the module. Sufficient funds must also be allocated for teachers and module development and processes.

It is in this light that we seek a review of the Department of Education's (DepEd) National Indigenous Peoples Education Policy Framework and Indigenous Peoples Education Curriculum Framework (IPEd). There must be proactive consultation of and participation by members of indigenous communities regarding the implementation of these frameworks.

The frameworks must veer away from the simplistic view of teaching languages as "indigenous education" towards scientific and mass-oriented instruction and integration of indigenous knowledge as sought by UNDRIP.

We strongly believe that strengthening our indigenous knowledge, culture and values among the youth will contribute to the self-determined sustainable development of our communities, and eventually of the whole country as well.

This includes appropriate nurturing and use of what is left of our resources for the benefit of all peoples, thus the need for including indigenous education in the curriculum at the minimum while developing indigenous schools or institutions co-managed by the communities themselves.

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Cracking a male domain: Women Participate in Bodong Renewal BY MILA SINGSON



alinga in the Gaddang and Ibanag languages means headhunter. In the early days, the iKalinga was a warrior society that regarded headhunting as a symbol of bravery. Warriors were accorded tattoos as status symbols which men respected and women admired. Thus, warriors known as mingol Kalinga enjoyed a higher status in Kalinga society.

In time the bodong or peace pact was developed by the Kalinga tribes to minimize traditional warfare and headhunting. An indigenous socio-political system in Kalinga culture, the bodong defines intertribal relationships and serves as an institutional renewal, maintenance and reinforcement of social ties. From a bilateral agreement between two tribes it later expanded into a multilateral pact to strengthen unity among tribes within the Cordillera. Each tribe chooses a peace pact holder who embodies and implements the principles of the peace pact.

A bodong is renewed from time to time and one that was recently reestablished is that between the Lubuagan and Guinaang tribes in Kalinga. On May 2, 2016 Guinaang Poblacion hosted the inom or celebration to renew the peace pact between the two. Inom or the i-Kalinga term jolnat literally means "to make warm."

The tribes

The Guinaang tribe inhabits six barangays in the municipality of Pasil, namely Guinaang Poblacion, Galdang, Bagtayan, Pugong, Dangtalan and Malucsad. A fifth class municipality, Pasil has a population of 9,626 in 14 barangays.

The Guinaang's traditional source of income is farming in rice paddies and root crop, corn and coffee production. They also grow fruit trees and vegetables. The area of the Guinaang tribe is mostly forested and serves as the watershed of the entire tribe and as far as lowland Tabuk and part of Cagayan through the Pasil River that joins Chico River.

The Lubuagan tribe, on the other hand, can be found in Lubuagan municipality, once briefly the seat of



the national government during the time of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo.

Located in the southern part of Kalinga, Lubuagan is a fourth-class municipality with a population of 9,369 (2010 census) and a land area of 23,420 hectares.

Bunong

Earlier in 2010 the two tribes held a *bunong* to resolve unsettled issues triggered by the national and local election conducted that year which affected their bodong. The bunong is a principle of the Pagta (constitution and bylaws of the bodong) that allows the tribes to settle problems that may crop up between them.

Allegations of vote buying and the electoral loss of one of the peace pact holder's relatives caused a misunderstanding between the two tribes, almost leading to a breaking of their peace pact. In that election a brother of the Lubuagan peace pact holder who ran for the congressional seat lost the vote in Guinaang Poblacion.

Taking advantage of the situation, a self-proclaimed elder belonging to the Guinaang tribe went to both peace pact holders of the Lubuagan and Guinaang tribes, proposing the cutting off of their existing bodong and even inciting to tribal war. This created a falling out between the tribes.

Under the general principles of the bodong, the instigator committed bullayaw or mantuyok, a violation of the bodong. According to some elders, this occurs when a group or individual incites actions/words that will lead to tribal war between the tribes and the cause of the breaking off of the peace pact. It is subject to penalty and makes the responsible person/group liable to both tribes.

During a subsequent deliberation of the Pagta, the Lubuagan peace pact holder revealed that he never accepted the proposal to terminate ties, a decision supported by his family and clan. However, his counterpart in the Guinaang tribe did and immediately declared a *gupas ji vonjong* or severing of the existing bodong with the

Lubuagan tribe without the knowledge of the tribes especially of the elders.

To prevent breaking of the peace pact, the Guinaang elders consulted with the bodong holder's family and immediately made a resolution to pass on the title and responsibility of bodong holder to his brother.

Representatives of the Guinaang tribe then went to inform the Lubuagan peace pact holder of their decision and proposed a renewal of their bodong. The act taken by the Guinaang elders is called *mamnong*/bunong.

The Lubuagan tribe agreed to the proposal and also presented their decision to make the eldest son of their bodong holder as their new peace pact holder. Both tribes then agreed to hold the inom to renew their bodong.

According to the Guinaang and Lubuagan elders, being a peace pact holder is an inheritance or lakson or tawid in the Guinaang language. In both tribes, the peace pact holder comes from a family or clan, the status being passed down the generations mostly among the male members.

The Inom last May tackled the matter of who the bodong holder is for each tribe. For the Lubuagan tribe, the former holder's son was affirmed as the current holder of the peace pact. In the case of the Guinaang tribe, the second male eldest sibling of the holder, who was suffering from an illness before the bodong renewal, was confirmed as the bodong holder. The former holder could not pass it on to his eldest son as the family had lost the trust of the tribe. The decision was made by the Guinaang elders, not the family or clan.

The Inom

The bodong renewal between the two tribes involved a review of their agreement or Pagta. The papangat or elders' participation, especially of the respected elders in both communities, was crucial as it is traditionally they who take part in the discussions.

Led by the elders, the inom from planning, preparation to financing was

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a responsibility of the host community of Guinaang Poblacion. Its success was a result of the concerted effort of the community through their traditional practice of tinnulong or bayanihan. Cash and material contributions and donations by individuals and organizations helped to defray the expenses incurred during the celebration.

The inom was attended by the elders, men, women and children from both tribes. Before the Pagta review, they enjoyed a presentation by both tribes of their traditional dances such as the tajok, traditional songs like salidumay, ullalim and uggayam while vayas or traditional sugar cane wine was served.

During the dancing of the salidsid i with allap, a traditional courtship dance performed during the inom or bodong celebration, the Guinaang men and women dancers were obliged to give cash amounting to Php100 after the performance. The amount collected was added to the token given to the Lubuagan tribe at the end of the inom.

Welcome Changes

Traditionally the review and amendment of the pagta are the last part of the inom. It is done by selected elders, mostly men, in a separate venue from where the celebration is held. Women and youth are not encouraged to join in the discussion of the agreement.

In the case of the Guinaang-Lubuagan peace pact renewal, the pagta discussion and amendment was done in the same venue and was open to everybody - men, women and even children. This was due to liberated papangat who were present. They all agreed that the discussion of the pagta should be open to all, especially the youth who they said are often the violators of the pagta.

The papangat also recognized the importance and participation of women to the delight of women rights advocates. This was a significant acknowledgement of the women's role, considering the very traditional and patriarchal culture especially in tribal communities like the Guinaang and Lubuagan. It was also a breakthrough that a woman was trusted to facilitate

and served as the moderator during the discussion—a very challenging role.

However, the participation of women and youth in the discussion was still noticeably limited. Some of them said it was their first time to participate and express appreciation that they witnessed and understood what was being discussed in the pagta.

Significant Amendments

All the basic principles and provisions of the bodong between the Guinaang and Lubuagan tribes were discussed in the inom. The general principles are primarily to protect the life and property of the members

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of both tribes, to ensure respect of their rights and to prohibit any form of misdeed against each other.

Among the provisions reviewed was the bugis or the boundary of the Guinaang and Lubuagan. They decided the old bugis will remain as is and should not be affected by

any program or policy of the government especially of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. They agreed not to allow any interference from any government program or agency to disturb or affect the identified boundary in their unified pagta. This provision was reiterated by one of the elders from Lubuagan and supported by the elders of Guinaang.

In case of any violations or misdeeds, the effectivity of the bodong shall not be broken and no retaliation (naidpun magpas, naipun bumalos) from either tribe shall occur. Elders of both tribes reiterated that all issues and problems that may crop up because of politics will not be bounded by the pagta.

An important amendment is the exclusion of conflict committed by active

members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the New People's Army (NPA) belonging to both tribes. Casualties during encounters on both sides shall not be bounded by the pagta. In case a member of the AFP or a member of the NPA dies in the territory of the Lubuagan or Guinaang tribe, it is the responsibility of the tribe to give respect and bring the body of the casualty to his/ her family.

A significant provision in rape cases was also amended. In the old Pagta, the offender, single or married, was liable to pay a fine of Php 50,000 to the victim, Php10, 000 as apag (acceptance of guilt and mending wounds to avoid tribal

> war) to both peace pact holders and an amount to be agreed on by both sides to be given to the husband if the rape victim is married.

> If the rape victim is single the same penalty would apply but the elders will consider speaking to the victim and perpetrator. If they like each other, they should get married - this section was amended. In the new version the

penalties remain but no marriage for the victim and perpetrator will be proposed, and the victim can file a case against the perpetrator.

Bullayaw/mangituyok or actions or words that incite to war, which was part of the old Pagta, was not included in the deliberation and discussion of the new Pagta.

The peace pact renewal ended with a Linay, a symbolic giving of token by the host tribe. This declares that the peace pact between the tribes is tightened and renewed. It is also an affirmation of the peace pact agreement and confirmation of the new peace pact holders of both tribes. The resulting document of the peace pact or Pagta was passed among all present to affix their signatures.



BY GLEN NGOLAB

Manilakbayan indigenous peoples' rights, extra judicial killings - these were some of the issues raised by the indigenous people and Moros who travelled from their hometowns in various parts of the country to Metro Manila for the Manilakbayan 2016 hosted by the University of the Philippines Diliman on October 12-22, 2016. In unity with the Moro and indigenous peoples, staff members of the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera (CDPC) joined this momentous event.

■ elf-determination, peace,

Progressive groups in Luzon have occasionally brought caravans to Metro Manla to campaign on various issues. In 2012 the farthest that groups came from was the southern part of the archipelago when the Manilakbayan ng Mindanao started its annual trip to the National Capital Region to campaign against militarization, killing of Lumáds and attacks on their schools.

The 2016 Lakbayan highlighted the different forms of national oppression experienced by the indigenous and Moro peoples, including plunder; destruction and land grabbing of ancestral lands, territories and resources; militarization and state repression; discrimination; commercialization of culture and government neglect.

Preparation for the Kampuhan

The participating groups who arrived from the different provinces encamped at UP Diliman for more than a week, setting up a Kampuhan (people's camp) that national federations of indigenous peoples organsations, political parties and other progressive groups, among these KAMP, Katribu and Gabriela, enjoined the public to visit and meet with the participants.

Joining the Manilakbayan 2016 were more than 150 indigenous communities, including the Moro, Dumagat, Lumad, Ifugao, Kalinga, Kakana-ey, Ibaloi, indigenous groups from Mountain Province, Apayao and Cagayan Valley as well as farmers, workers, religious and other sectors from Southern Tagalog and CARAGA region.

I was lucky to be part of the advance team for the Manilakbayan preparations, which made me learn many different things and enhance my skills. One of these was constructing temporary structures as sleeping quarters for the Cordillera delegates that could also be used as school houses. I learned the technical process of how these are initially planned, developed and completed as well as how much work and detail go into every phase.

The advance construction team was asked to set up temporary shelters for 250 delegates within a limited time. We were able to build three, with one structure being able to accommodate 100 people. But before setting out to do the job, each of us was given a task. I had the privilege to be part of the group that determined where to put up the structures.

The first thing we did was to make a plan for the layout of the shelters. Next was cleaning up of the site and gathering of bolo' (bamboo), nails, rope to tie the bolo and canvass for roofing; the bolo and canvas (*tulda*) were provided by UP Manila. For the shelter's design, some suggested a stall type (square shape), but basing on the situation in the area, we suggested an A type so that in case of a typhoon it would not easily be blown away. This was approved. For the walls, we used

a rubber type of canvass that was less vulnerable to strong winds or rain.

We then started to put up the structures. Every day was a rough day since it was always raining. And that was our biggest problem because the site became so muddy that our construction looked like a pig pen. My team mates got sick with the flu, but we did not stop and continued to work in the rain. The weather was so harsh, an unfinished roof was blown away but at least we finished something.

Even though we needed more manpower during the construction phase, we were thankful for the moral support we received and for those who came to visit to help and to give food which made us even more motivated to finish our task.

For 10 days we were able to put up the structures which accommodated the Cordillera participants. When I saw our delegates from the Cordillera eagerly learning and sharing their culture with the other lakbayanis, I knew our hard work had paid off.

Another valuable lesson I learned during the preparation was troubleshooting various types of problems we encountered, This provided more insights into the different types of roles and responsibilities that I can perform in an advance team.

During the construction phase, I was overwhelmed by the work and responsibilities given to me but because of the help of my companions, I knew we could do it right. They were supportive, encouraging and very open to suggestions and ideas which made me feel comfortable and definitely a part of the team even if we came from different organizations.





I felt more confident to finish the tasks given to me before the deadline because we had the skills, team work and a team leader who guided us and made sure we accomplished something before the day ended. I managed to pick up tips and learn different skills in building temporary shelters in a limited time and in addition how to relate and work with others I meet for the first time.

Working with other people was enjoyable for me because I was able to share my skills and techniques which I learned as a staff of CDPC. I realized that these might not be the same in other areas or situations but I was happy to have the opportunity to use all my experience and knowledge I learned in the field especially in troubleshooting problems.

What I appreciated most during the preparation was that even though all of us were tired and had our own concerns, we still managed to assess and critique what we accomplished as well as our own and other team members' work. In this way we helped to bring out the best in ourselves. We also came to realize that in order to accomplish something we had to be open to any suggestion and to help each other and work as a team.

During the construction, I found the relevance and significance of my work in CDPC. I came to realize that the staff members have their own unique strengths, skills and attitudes as they organize and work together in the performance of their tasks, which results in a better team and working environment.

Overall, my experience in the Kampuhan preparation was positive. I have become more patient, flexible and open to any help I can extend. It helped me a lot in overcoming my weaknesses and developing my skills. I am happy with the things I learned and with the whole experience even if it was only for a limited time. My learning does not stop there. I will use what I learned in the communities that we work with.

As they say we should never stop learning to help us become better persons. I am happy and proud to have joined the preparation of Kampuhan 2016 and to use the experience and knowledge I have gained in my development work.





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Other Reflections



BY CDPC STAFF

During the Manilakbayan 2016 we were all very eager to learn and share our experiences with our fellow lakbayanis. We came to understand what they are fighting for and why we should fight. Because It is sad to know that no one defends the small people, people who are not in any dispute but are maltreated and killed.

They came to speak and inform the public on what was really happening in their communities even if there were police who came to stop us. The Lumads' and Igorots' fight is far from over because people do not see what is happening to them in their lands.

To us our land is our home and our place of growth and survival but greedy corporations and individuals are taking our land and making it theirs. They even trick the old natives who can't read and write to sign a contract saying they agree to give their land away. They lure them with money, roads and promises of scholarships for ownership over their lands.

Hearing from the Lumads that they themselves are punished, killed and humiliated makes us angry. We want the Lumad people to know that they are not alone in their fight for justice. We hope one day we, the little people, will be heard and given the justice and fairness we all deserve. And towards this we will help in any way we can.

The people united! Will never be defeated!

CDPC NETWORK

Community Health Education, Services and Training in the Cordillera Region (CHESTCORE)

Cordillera Alternative Law Center (DINTEG)

Cordillera Disaster Response and Development Services, Inc (CorDis-RDS)

Cordillera Labor Center (CLC)

Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA)

Cordillera Women's Education Action Research Center, Inc. (CWEARCI)

Cordillera Youth Center (CYC)

Dap-ayan ti Kultura iti Kordilyera (DKK)

Development Agency of Tribes in the Cordillera (DATC)

Montañosa Research & Development Center, Inc (MRDC)

Northern Media and Information Network, Inc. (NMIN)

Regional Development Center – Katinnulong Dagiti Umili iti Amianan (RDC-KADUAMI)

Regional Ecumenical Council in the Cordillera (RECCORD)







