

*ILO-INDISCO Project
For The B'laans and Tagakaolos
in The Philippines*

“An Independent View”



*Intern Report
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Inter-Regional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Communities
Through Cooperatives and Other Self-Help Organisations (INDISCO)*

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Introduction

As a Masters student of International Development Studies at Roskilde University, Denmark I was fortunate to do a three months internship, from June-August 1997 with the International Labour Organisation's (ILO) branch in the Philippines. I was taken on as an intern in the INDISCO programme (Inter-Regional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Communities Through Cooperatives and Other Self-Help Organisations), which at the time had 6 project sites throughout the Philippines.

Having virtually no practical experience, I was looking forward to see whether my theoretical background in development theory would be of any use in actual development work. I knew I was going to work with Indigenous People and I had quite ambivalent feelings about it, since so many development projects for Indigenous People, although with the best of intentions, proved so fatal in disrupting the culture and traditional way of life for these minorities. At the same time however, I was convinced that Indigenous People throughout the world, in order to survive in rapidly changing societies, had to acquire new skills and methods to enable them to survive with these changes, so often beyond their control. The policies of ILO, based on Convention 169, and the components of the INDISCO project seemed all very good in various documents and writings about ILO's work with Indigenous People, and I was anxious to see if the actual approach on the project sites fulfilled this?

I spend the first three weeks of my internship at the national INDISCO office in Manila, being briefed by the national coordinator of the program, and I associated myself with the policies and legal framework within which the Indigenous People in the Philippines are being addressed. It was decided, that I was to work with the local staff on the INDISCO project site in Malungon in the Sarangani province on the island of Mindanao, and after having read the relevant project site documents and learned about the coming activities I planned my Terms of Reference in consultation with the national coordinator.¹

I stayed on the project site for one and a half month working with the project staff. Most of the elements in my terms of reference I was able to see through, but due to delays in some project components some of the planned activities was not accomplished. At the end of my stay on the project site, as an addition to my terms of reference, I decided to conduct a range of interviews with the Indigenous People who, in one way or another, already had been in contact with the project, in order to hear their view on the project and its accomplishments so far.

This paper is a condensation of my experiences and observations. The views and opinions are mine, and does therefore not necessarily reflect the policies and views of the ILO, and the INDISCO programme. I have kept the paper in a narrative form hoping to give a complementary picture and perhaps a more general view of the INDISCO project in Malungon, as an addition to the more conventional evaluation reports and progress review reports.

¹See Annex 2.

The B'laans and Tagakaolos of Malungon

Stepping off the bus in Malungon the dust flies in your face, the colourful Jeepneys, so characteristic throughout the Philippines, are lined up in front of Malungon Public Terminal. Busses from Davao City and General Santos often speed through the town leaving a whirlwind of dust behind, but occasionally one of the busses pulls in to let off or pick up new passengers. To the right a row of food stalls caters for locals and visitors from the far flung villages in the area, behind the terminal the public market is busy with vendors selling their goods, and on the left hand side a road leads you into the back of Malungon Poblacion. We are in one of the most South Eastern parts of the Philippines, more precisely in Malungon Municipality in the Sarangani Province on the island of Mindanao.

The national government is constructing a new road from Davao City to General Santos City, and some two and a half hours ride south on the bus from Davao and about an hour ride north of General Santos the unfinished road runs through Malungon municipality making Malungon Poblacion a very dusty place. However, once the road is finished, a clear marker of development will pride the area. The construction of roads, building of infrastructure and the like, are typical characteristics of development, but much more significant to Malungon is a less visible kind of development, at this point in time, which nevertheless, if successful, will have far greater implications in the future for the majority of its population than any other development in the area; the ILO-INDISCO-MALTRICO project.

What characterises the municipality of Malungon is that the majority of its inhabitants belong to the so-called cultural minorities of the Philippines. The B'laan and Tagakaolo tribes live throughout the area. Taking one of the dirt roads running off the main road you soon find yourself in a landscape of rolling hills and cornfields, villages are scattered throughout the area leaving dots of brown in the lush green landscape. On a closer look you see people working in the fields or on a distant hill. This breathtakingly beautiful countryside is the home of the B'laans and Tagakaolos.

The B'laans and Tagakaolos were among the original inhabitants of large parts of Southern Mindanao, but due to migration to these areas in the beginning of this century by Christian settlers from the northern and colonized parts of the country, the areas where the B'laans and Tagakaolos now live have become increasingly smaller. While the Philippine nation over the last half century has seen much development, the B'laan and Tagakaolo tribes, as the indigenous people in the Philippines in general, have become increasingly marginalised, and have been pressed further into the mountainous areas of Southern Mindanao. Whereas they lead a nomadic life before, moving from one area to another farming the land, mobility being a key to their survival, they are today forced to live in certain designated areas as national boundaries has hardened throughout and around their land. Due to this history the indigenous culture and way of life has slowly been displaced, cultural practises and traditions has eroded gradually over the years. Life is no longer the same for the B'laans and Tagakaolos in Malungon.

Development or Disruption?

Cultures change, societies change and people and their life-forms change, for the Indigenous People

as for other population groups in the Philippine nation. Often these social changes goes under the name of development. For almost fifty years, since the end of World War II, the very idea of *development* has swept across the nations of the earth. The idea being that the industrialised countries of the Western World was the unquestionable models for the so-called Third World. Development simply meant copying the Western history of industrialisation; the Third World had to catch up with the Western industrialised societies, and preferably become like them. Development was and continues to be the magic formula.

With the best of intentions Third World governments - with the help from western donors and development agencies - internalised the idea that they were *undeveloped* and needed development. Subsequently grand model industrialisation schemes, modernization of economies and top-down integrationist policies to turn so-called backward and undeveloped cultural groups into modern citizens were initiated.

In the Philippines the cultural minorities have over the years suffered from such integrationist approaches. For the indigenous people the others dream of development became their nightmare as they, apart from now being told that they were undeveloped, saw their traditions and indigenous practices erode, all in the name of development. Development was a top-down, ethnocentric, and technocratic approach, which in most cases treated people and cultures as abstract concepts. The different cultures of the Third World had to vanish with the advancement of modernisation. Development became a force so destructive to so many Third World cultural minorities, all - ironically - in the name of people's interests.

Today this teleological idea of development has become less convincing, and whereas *culture* before was perceived as an obstacle to development, development agencies today, although not many, are slowly starting to focus on local cultures and traditional ways of life. Although some do it in a rather instrumental-strategic way in order to make the development projects more *successful*, some seems to be doing it out of a genuine respect for cultural minorities whose life is often being changed by forces beyond their control. Indigenous People and their culture, at least in some parts of the world, is slowly being recognised as is the importance of securing their tenure over the land, their ancestral domains, which is of so great importance to them in pursuing and preserving their remaining knowledge systems and practises.

-In the Philippines, the government, after a long history of integrationist approaches, seems today to be one of the most progressive in initiating a range of policies to actually protect the rights of the Indigenous People. The singlehandedly most important initiative in this respect is securing the tenure of land for the indigenous groups via the awarding of so-called *Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim's* (CADC's), through the *Department of Environment and Natural Resources* (DENR). These certificates actually gives the Indigenous People the ownership of the land, that they have inhabited for so long. In Malungon the B'laans and Tagakaolos have recently been awarded such a CADC, which apart from securing them the tenure over their land also gives them the responsibility for managing the ancestral domain in an environmentally sound and non-destructive way.

The B'laans and Tagakaolos in Malungon Ancestral Domain therefore now find themselves in a new and challenging situation. Their life situation has already been changed by the course of history, but now they find themselves in a situation where they have an opportunity to make the best of it, and

change their life for the better. The majority by far of the indigenous population in the ancestral domain are farmers; most of them have very little education, and some none at all; they have been living in the mountains for decades, knowing no other technical skills than their indigenous and traditional practises with which they have been growing the land, depending mainly on subsistence farming. With the awarding of the CADC they now have an opportunity to change their situation for the better, influence the structures that determine their future, but according to their self-defined needs, hopes and aspirations, without further disruption of their culture and way of living. They can now start to engage in new livelihood activities, without fear of having their land encroached upon, and preserve their culture in the process. The ever so crucial question however, is, how do they do that? They know nothing of managerial skills, and they do not have the technical skills and education to start improving their living standards.

The ILO-INDISCO-MALTRICO Project

This is where the ILO's INDISCO program steps in, and tries to help the B'laans and Tagakaolos. In the following I will give an assessment of the INDISCO project in Malungon from an outside point of view. I will discuss the methodological approach and the components of the project, which I will compare with my observations on the site. On the basis of my interviews I will parallel present the B'laans and Tagakaolos view on the INDISCO project to this point in time, and their aspirations and hopes for the future. As I stressed before these reflections are mine alone, and the interpretation is purely subjective. Readers might find this qualitative approach out of line with the more conventional quantitative and so-called objective assessment of development projects. To that I will argue that *objective* evaluations and their focus on already given *indicators of success* in many cases projects rather subjective conditionalities from donors and agencies anyway, and that such an instrumental approach in most cases do not capture what development is about; people. It is my hope that through this paper the voices of the Indigenous People will be heard.

Objectives and Methodology

The overall goal of the INDISCO project in Malungon is to help the B'laans and Tagakaolos to attain self-reliance through the sustainable management of the natural resources within their ancestral domain. Unlike other INDISCO project sites the Malungon project site thus has a dual perspective in focusing on *self-reliance* and *management*. Self-reliance understood as higher influence on the satisfaction of their basic needs, such as food, shelter, education and health services.

On the road to attain self-reliance the programme focuses on six main components; *Institution-building, capability-building, preservation and promotion of the indigenous culture, income and employment generation, advancement of the status of indigenous women and sustainable environment and resource management*. These components are sufficiently wide and, contrary to many blue-print planning development projects, does not pre-empt the actual contents of the development being done. Instead it tries to equip the Indigenous People with more knowledge, in order for them to define their own visions and ideas of development in the ancestral domain.

As can be seen from the project document and the progress review reports - which I had confirmed

in my talks with members of the indigenous community - the preparatory phase in which these components were identified was done in close consultation with the indigenous people, who expressed support to the project who made them subjects and not mere objects of development. As such the initial phase was participatory, and the decision to have the community carry out the project through their Peoples Organisation (PO), affirmed a genuine peoples participation approach from ILO's side. Usually an NGO would have been selected to implement the project, but instead the community was asked to identify existing leaderships and organisational structures, that would be able to see the implementation of the project through. Subsequently Malungon Tribal Congress (MALTRICO) was formed, and run by a board of trustees as the policy and decision making body, composed of tribal chieftains in the area. The decision to have MALTRICO as the implementing² organisation made the approach highly participatory.

The focus in the preparatory face has therefore been mainly on institution building and capability building. The other components in the project has lacked behind, and the actual training activities in relation to the income and employment generation component, as well as focus on the gender component has just recently begun. The decision to have the local partner MALTRICO carry out the project created a need for education among the tribal leaders of the board of trustees in ancestral domain management, and for the local staff, i.e. project manager, administration officer and the six extension workers in every day managerial tasks and basic extension work.

To some this process may have seem unnecessarily long, a little over a year today, but to my judgement, from working with the local staff for six weeks, attending board of trustees meetings and seeing the way activities are carried out, I would asses this decision as the wisest and most important step toward self-reliance so far. Such an educational process takes time, but now a competent decision making body exist, who by themselves are able to discuss and judge necessary steps to be taken in the project, and a dedicated local staff are in place who have a clear idea of the scope of the project and of their own crucial role in making the project a success.

The participatory approach thus seems to be there, not as a tool of efficiency, but out of a genuine wish to empower the people. The substantively involvement of the B'laans and Tagakaolos from the beginning which has taken into account the local perceptions, values and knowledge systems makes the participatory approach highly sympathetic in the radical sense of the word, i.e. that participation is not only a *tool* to implement the development programme, but also an *end* which in time entails a great deal of empowerment for the people in the ancestral domain.

²Somehow the very word *implementation*, which is used throughout the ILO-INDISCO project documents is misleading. When a development projects methodology is participatory, the idea of implementation is a contradiction per se to this very methodology. The idea that development agents can implement a project is a legacy from the more conventional development theory (top-down approaches) which has very limited place in participatory development projects. Since a genuine participatory approach anticipates participation at all stages of the project cycle executing development agencies don't implement. Instead they have a fascilitatory and advisory role, giving the responsibility to the subjects of development who decides what development trajectory they want to follow. In the INDISCO program the implementor is the community itself, but then the word implementation gives the ground level community work a rather strategic-instrumental air, which doesn't really pay justice to the community's life wold.

The Project as seen by the Indigenous People

The institution building on existing traditional structures, signifies that the INDISCO project in Malungon from the beginning of the project has shown a great concern in respecting the indigenous culture, even the base line surveys, although conducted by a local NGO, was done in close consultation with the Indigenous People. Due to the history of the Indigenous People in the Philippines, and due to the fact that so many projects in areas where indigenous people live have proved so fatal in disrupting their life world, many concerns still arises however, also in connection with programmes and projects, who actually seems to be to doing a very decent job, such as the INDISCO programme.

Somehow the project is ridden with ambivalences, which is very hard to overlook seeing the project from a general point of view. Some of the questions that arise are for instance; one component of the programme is to preserve and promote the indigenous culture, but it is done via the introduction of modern administrative elements. To what degree can you introduce modern elements into an indigenous society without eventually changing or altering its course drastically? Another component of the programme is to enhance the status of indigenous women, but is that not in conflict with the idea of preserving a culture, where traditional gender roles is very explicit? Another concern is the educational aspect, as when the project educate people and make them reflect on their own culture and values, is it not changing the culture and making people more modern - a true traditionalist does not know that s/he is traditional, or what? These are just a few questions as to the very ambivalent situation that is being created when traditional and indigenous communities is trying to be preserved - and developed at the same time - via modern rationalisation; in other words when modernity becomes the instrument to preserve tradition.

In order to actually get to grips with and understand these issues, I decided to carry out some interviews with the indigenous people themselves. Not that I put the questions to them as above, but by asking questions about their opinion of the project in general, the components, their culture and history, their self-defined needs, hopes for the future and so on, a picture slowly started to emerge which answered some of these questions. As can be seen in the excerpts from the interviews below, the people themselves do not find anything in the project controversial or as encroaching on their culture. The point is, that the B'laans and Tagakaolos themselves want to change, they want to change certain cultural elements that they believe is of no use today. They believe that they actually *must* change for their life conditions to get better, but at the same time they want certain parts of their culture to be preserved and even promoted. Seen in this light the culture component in the project, which seeks to promote and preserve the culture *per se*, needs a slight redefinition, for it to be more in line with the actual cultural aspirations of the B'laans and Tagakaolos.

The main point however, is that the culture already has changed and were changing, not because of the project, but because of influence from non-indigenous people in the area and the more general influence by education. Most people actually saw the project as a tool to restore the culture. Below are examples some of the responses that I got on my questions.

The Project and the Indigenous Culture

Whenever I asked any of the indigenous people if their culture was being respected by the project, I always got a very positive answer,³ as one of the tribal chieftains put it: *"Before people surrounding us are looking at the indigenous people as those really indigenous, the lowest kind of people, but to my surprise when the project came, the project looked at us as special beings, this is an empowerment of the people."*⁴ A member from the sitio of Kalonbarak in the B'laan area put it this way: *"This awarding of the ancestral domain claim is one of the signs that the culture of the B'laans and Tagakaolos is really respected, and I think it is really important to maintain the culture, because this is one of the identity, if you loose your culture, you will never be identified of what tribe you are."*⁵ But perhaps even more significant was the fact that the self-dignity for the indigenous people had seen a revitalisation with the awarding of the CADC and the fact that a development project for the first time actually had the B'laans and Tagakaolos as beneficiaries. Whereas before the indigenous people were treated with disrespect it has changed with the project, other people in the area now see the Indigenous People in a different light. A member of the board of trustees said that the awarding of the CADC opened the eyes of the non-indigenous people that the indigenous people were special.

Another question I would pose to the persons I interviewed was, whether they thought that their culture would change with the project. The answers I received showed that no one believed that the project would affect the culture in any destructive way. A tribal chieftain who is also member of the board of trustees replied: *"I don't think the culture will change because of the MALTRICO project, as I understand, the main of thrust of the project is not to change the culture but to improve the present culture of the people in giving people livelihood projects. ILO is not concerned on changing of the culture, but ILO is concerned on how this culture will be promoted and giving us a good quality of living."*⁶ Another member of the board of trustees saw changes with the project, but also as a more general development trait. *"Yes, some of the culture will really be abolished, like the culture of having two or more wives. We realise now that it is really not good, both physically and financially and emotionally. Also the culture of when someone killed a certain person in your family, you are not in prison but you are just asked to pay for horses or other property, carabao or what. Now it is no longer applicable because we have the law, the existing law, that ones severed really has to be punished."*⁷

When I put the same question to the extension workers in a group interview, and added whether the project had perhaps revived their own knowledge of their culture, since they had been educated and

³For obvious reasons one would assume that the people I interviewed would give positive answers since I, after all, was there as an ILO representative. But since I had been on the site 5 weeks before my interviews and since I stressed throughout my stay, that I was not there to supervise, but to learn as a student, I believe as time went by people saw me more as a friend to whom they could give their honest views and opinions.

⁴See Annex 1, transcript 1.

⁵See Annex 1, transcript 4.

⁶See Annex 1, transcript 2.

⁷See Annex 1, transcript 1.

away from their culture for certain periods, it resulted in a longer discussion. One of the extension workers replied that: *"I wouldn't say that my involvement in the project has revived the indigenous culture within me. What is being revived is not the culture, but our concern to the people. Because we are more educated than this people, we tend to conduct the way that we live through the modern ways. But before the project we used to live by our own, by the things that we have learned in school and all that, but because of this project not all of our culture were restored to us, but the very interesting part there is, that we learned to be more concerned for our people."*⁸ Another extension worker added that: *"[...] there are still cultures in our tribes that need to be promoted, that we need to develop and promote, and there are some cultures that need to be changed. I think myself, like for example in preserving our native clothes to have that, I myself am very interested and I really want that kind of culture to be restored. Because that's one of our identity as member of the VIP's⁹, so I think through this project it will be restored if we, the VIP people, will put it in our hearts and mind that culture is very important."*¹⁰

The extension workers stressed the fact that the culture had already changed, and that it would actually help in the implementation of the project, since the Indigenous People now were more aware of the ever changing society around them, It would therefore be easier to achieve a more decent standard and quality of living through the project, since the indigenous community now is more susceptible to changes as the extension workers collectively expressed after a long discussion on the question; *"[...] because of these reorientations, training's that we have, the knowledge that was educated in the minds of the people will really help moving the project in a more speedy manner, because it will not be hard for us anymore to explain to the people step by step, because they themselves are aware of what is happening in the environment. They are no longer ignorant as before, the project could now penetrate the community in a faster manner than before."*¹¹

When I additionally asked how education would affect the community, i.e. general education for all children in the area and the education the adults were receiving during the different training seminars in the project, one extension worker replied: *"The very effect of education to my community means that illiterate people now knows how to read and write, it triggered them to now practise the right of suffrage, through the literacy programme, because before the old people are hesitant to vote because they don't know how to write and everything, and they are ashamed that they need somebody to assist them, but now these people are engaged, and they are now participating in political activities."*¹²

⁸See Annex 1, Transcript 6.

⁹The term VIP was conceived in a discussion with this extension worker earlier, where we talked about the differences among the indigenous people in the ancestral domain. Jokingly I launched a distinction between the more educated indigenous people, as the extension worker's, and the indigenous people that had not been subjected to modern Philippine life, which I named VIP's (Very Indigenous People). The extension worker liked the distinction very much, and has used it ever since, so that this term now is used among the project staff.

¹⁰See Annex 1, transcript 6.

¹¹See Annex 1, transcript 6.

¹²ibid.

Subsequently I asked whether this would affect the younger generations in such a way that they would eventually move away from the area and the indigenous lifestyle, and the answer I got was: *"If they will, part of it really is because of education, the younger people really will get away from the indigenous practises, but we have enough discretion, we are speaking through experience. Now we are educated, but we don't really get away with our culture, but we are getting away with the culture that we know will harm us, like the culture of marriage fixing, that when your father and my father are friends they will fix us when we are still young, 2-3 years old, that our children will get married some day. Now it cannot happen anymore because we now have the voice and the power to insist what we would like to have and what we would like to be. But, the indigenous culture that we still believe in unto now, that we still know is a plus factor for us we can never get away with, but at least we know what cultures should not be practised anymore and what cultures should be preserved and promoted."*¹³

Generally the answers, see the transcripts of my interviews for more of the same, reflect a change in the culture of the B'laans and Tagakaolos, but as I stressed above the changes are mainly due to education, and not so much because of the project. On the contrary there seems to be a general belief that the project will sincerely help in the promotion of the culture, and in changing the life of the B'laans and Tagakaolos for the better.

General Opinions of the Project?

As a way to rate the accomplishments of the project so far and the effect on the indigenous community, I would ask people about their general opinion of the project. I would also ask whether the project already had changed anything or whether they believed it actually would make anything different for the future lives of the B'laans and Tagakaolos. Since the focus in the first year of the project mainly has been on institution building and capability building, and the livelihood training's had only recently begun, people like the tribal leaders who already had participated in many training's would be very positive, whereas people who had just participated in one or two livelihood training's would be more unsure as to what positive effect it would have on the indigenous community.

The tribal leaders that I interviewed said that the project had already had an effect on their lives, as a BOT member put it; *"Basically my knowledge was increased because of this MALTRICO, because MALTRICO are offering a lot of training's and others [...] So far those training's which are concerned on livelihood is not yet applied, but those on capability-building, how to organise and all those I am using now [...] The project has done a lot for me, my family and my people, but I am not certain now to what degree the project will have an influence on peoples lives [...] but as far as I am concerned now it really did a great job."*¹⁴

Another tribal leader said that; *"Because of the seminars the project allowed me to attend, mentally*

¹³Ibid

¹⁴See Annex 1, transcript 1.

I am more active now, I learn a lot from the project [...] I believe the project will help us improving our life conditions [...] what I understand about the project is that it will really help us, especially the farmers. I believe this project is very concerned on how the people will increase their income. I see the project as an extended arm."¹⁵ The tribal chieftain added, that although the project is still young it had already done a lot, especially for the self-esteem of the people in his area; *"The way of living of the people changed a lot, because of the literacy programme people now knows how to read and write so we are not so insecure so we can go out and transact business on our own now. The equipment that we have, the corn-sheller, helps. The people deliver their products as fresh and as.. submitting the quality because we don't need to carry the products to the city and let them be processed there. It saves us time, money and effort. And the seminars also give more knowledge."*¹⁶

People who had not yet undergone the same training's as the tribal leaders would respond slightly different, as to whether it had by now changed anything, as a member from a village in the B'laan area said; *"[...] as of now everything is yet a proposal, no, although MALTRICO is ongoing, but we have not yet implemented some projects, so I can not say anything, I could not see any changes in our life since it is just starting?"*¹⁷

This person nevertheless believed that if the project was managed in a proper way it would give the B'laans a good future, and he subsequently gave his very honest and comprehensive opinion of the project; *"[...] this MALTRICO project through the assistance of the ILO is a long awaited programme that have reached our place. Being a minority, because since before, we have learned from the officials of the government that there are a huge amount of money from other countries given to the Philippine government intended for the cultural minorities, but it is sad to say that up to the present we have not seen, we have not learned, we have not received any amount, especially the grant from other countries given to the Philippine government intended for us, we the indigenous group. Now we are happy enough to hear and to see, to see especially you visiting our place this time, asking our opinions and what we feel regarding this ILO-INDISCO and especially this organising of MALTRICO. We are very much happy for this, because we feel it is the most effective way, that the long time, the desire before is with us now, with this ILO-INDISCO-MALTRICO programme, and I hope, and I wish that we could manage it, and this will be the time for us to start lifting our life style."*¹⁸

The tribal chieftain from the same village, who had attended some of the institution and capability building seminars, but not any of the livelihood training's, saw that the members from his community as benefitting from the training's; *"All of the training's that we have attended, in my own idea I think all of that are very helpful and effective here, like the goat raising, the pigs and the chicken and also the carrots, the vegetable, because this area is very good for livestock raising and even vegetables."* He stressed however a concern for the financial aspects in putting the learned skills

¹⁵Ibid

¹⁶Ibid

¹⁷See Annex 1, transcript 4.

¹⁸Ibid

to use, an opinion I met in most interviews, since the Indigenous People need capital before they can start engaging in new livelihood activities; "[...] if the MALTRICO can help us in the financial aspect I think it really helps us, when we have finished the training, attended the training, without some help and assistance I cannot be sure it really helps us."¹⁹

The Project Components

When asking about the different project components there was a general appreciation by the Indigenous People, that the components were all good and needed. The ambivalence or contradiction between the preservation of culture and the gender component, as I see it, was not a problem neither for the extension workers or for the respondents in the villages. All of the people I interviewed, apart from one woman, saw a need in having women more involved in decision making in the community. According to the one woman there was a natural division of labour between men and women, as she frankly put it; "[...] there are things that the man can do, that the woman can not do, and there are things that the woman can do, that the man can not do."²⁰ She also found it quite natural that her husband was taking the decisions in the household.

Most others that I interviewed however, already saw a change, not so much because of the project, since the gender component has not been fully applied yet, but simply due to a historical change in social relations in the area. Before it was quite common for a man to have more wives than one, an indicator of uneven power relations between men and women, but today there seems to be a significant shift to only having one wife. Only one of the men I interviewed had two wives, all the others had one, and the women I interviewed were all the only wife of their husband. An interesting explanation for this shift was given to me by one of the tribal chieftains; "[...] the very reason why was, that because chaos, the act of killing one another is no longer existing. So before the males were outnumbered by the females, that is the reason why. Men during this time always go to war, so they are outnumbered by the females."²¹ Since the Indigenous People no longer go to war, the need for having more wives than one apparently disappeared.

Other and probably more plausible reasons for this change was however also given, as one tribal chieftain said; "Now natives are no longer convinced to have many wives because now we are more concerned on education, that we can send our children to school, so if we have only one wife it means we have less children and can afford to send our children to school."²² This was backed by the president of the board of trustees who said, that; "[...] in our own tradition the women has no right to make a decision, because they are just only helpmate, so when we talk on decision making the husband has the right to decide, because our tradition is this; the men is entitled to have many wives, that is because in our own concept before, our ancestors before, the woman is just only a,

¹⁹See Annex 1, transcript 3.

²⁰See Annex 1, transcript 7.

²¹See Annex 1, transcript 1.

²²See Annex 1, transcript 2.

*shall we say, symbol, whatever decision, the women will follow. But we have come to the point that the result of many wives are very difficult, the result of many wives many children. The children would not go to school, they cannot afford to support the children, that is why we urge them, do not have many wives, it is not practical as the practises before, so later on they realise, but now we challenge them only to have one wife.*¹²³

The extension workers also appreciated the focus on gender, as one extension workers replied when we talked about the components; *"Yes there is no problems about the components, one thing that I really appreciate about the component is that they give attention to gender, which a lot of NGO's and organisations are taking for granted, so this time they really see to it, that both sexes are equally participating with the project."*¹²⁴

That this is actually the case I saw for myself when I attended the different training seminars in livelihood training, where there was an equal participation by men and women. The institution and capability building seminars however, are only attended by men. At this level the gender component is not implemented at all, since women are not represented in these seminars, as they are not represented in the board of trustees. I do not see this as a problem however, since the institution and capability building of the existing tribal leaderships and organisational structures are more important at this point in time to make the project a success. In due time I believe that the women will be more and more involved in the decision making processes on this level, but to involve them at this point in time would not give the board of trustees the sufficient mandate and support in the area, which is necessary for the accomplishments of the projects overall objectives. As the other components advances I believe greater equality between men and women will be seen, since the Indigenous People are more aware now that relations between men and women in the area are not naturally given, but can and must be changed over time.

The component that most people were pre-occupied with was the income and employment generation component, which in most peoples mind is the key component in the project. Closely linked to this component is the setting up of a Revolving Loan Fund (RLF), which will be able to finance the new livelihood activities that the B'laans and Tagakaolos will engage in after having acquired new knowledge in farming technologies via the livelihood training's. The discussions between the Land Bank of the Philippines, ILO and other cooperating agencies and the following consultations with the indigenous community in order to formulate the community RLF management concept has perhaps taken a bit longer than the Indigenous People initially had anticipated. Many members of the community had already made feasibility reports to the RLF, and were now eagerly awaiting the release of the loans, since the loans, in their mind, was the final step to start raising their income and raise their standard of living.

One tribal leader rated the economic situation of the indigenous people as very poor, and saw the RLF as the key to a better living. He said that it would not make the Indigenous People rich, but it would at least give them an opportunity to survive with dignity; *"If the RLF will be fully*

²³See Annex 1, transcript 5.

²⁴See Annex 1, transcript 6.

*implemented the people will have a good standard of living. What we need now is capital, we have the skills now that we are trained, we are physical ready for the big work, but we don't have anything to finance.*¹²⁵

One tribal leader actually laughed when I asked him about the RLF, as he said he always heard talk about it, but he sincerely doubted whether it would actually ever come. He was nevertheless convinced that it was of the uttermost importance in improving the situation for the Indigenous People; *"I think the most important in the life of the B'laan here is to, for example, the help from the group of MALTRICO and the revolving loan fund. The very thing we want to do, as member of the community, is to give our counterpart, we will not only trust on the help through the revolving loan fund, we can share also our part in the community, so that the way of living for the B'laan will be uplifted.*"¹²⁶

As this quotation shows, there is not a hundred percent reliance on the project, but also a conviction that the indigenous community itself has to make an effort in order to make significant changes in the community. This is probably one of the greatest achievements of the capability building seminars so far, namely that the so-called dole-out mentality, which has existed in the area for many years, slowly is being eradicated. This was also portrayed in another interview; *"Well, if there is an RLF or none we have to do our best to implement what we have learned although we then could not expect a volume of production since that we have no financing. When we rely on ourselves we will do it little by little.*"¹²⁷

I think that all of the above questions speak for themselves. All the indigenous people I interviewed were very positive of the project so far and also believe it will help them to help themselves in making their future better. However, the majority of the people in the area has so far only heard about the project. The extension workers has done extensive information campaigns in villages throughout the area, creating hopes and expectations for a great deal of people. The people that has not yet been selected to attend training's, and the people who has, and as of now are waiting for the implementation of the RLF are beginning to question the project, which causes a bit of distress on the extension workers, who often has to defend the project when going to villages. A danger in this respect is that the project can not keep up with fulfilling the hopes and needs is creates, as one of the extension workers expressed it; *"One of my expectations that were not met was that the project is not functioning as fast as I expected, because the problems with us as extension workers is that the problems of the community are being thrown to us, and all the discouragement and everything, sometimes people muck us because; "Why are you still promising and promising?", people are accusing us as liars.*"¹²⁸

This seems however more to be the exception than the rule, for when I asked the extension workers

²⁵See Annex 1, transcript 2

²⁶See Annex 1, transcript 3.

²⁷See Annex 1, transcript 4.

²⁸See Annex 1, transcript 6.

how the general response was to the project among the community, they were all very impressed with the positive expressions they got from the community; *"I never expected the response of the people would be like this, I expected that people are getting so mean with the project because they have experienced a lot of assistance years ago. I was expecting that the response with the project is negative, but to my surprise the people are taking the project very seriously, and they really want to work with the project, that is why I was a little surprised as to the reactions of the project."*²⁹ Another extension worker said that; *"Some are not yet contended with the situation of the project now, because they are just waiting and waiting, so some are still negative, but most are very positive."*³⁰

Expectations

In spite of the few critical and suspicious voices from some people in the area, the general opinion of the ILO-INDISCO-MALTRICO project is positive as the excerpts from my interviews shows. All I interviewed was convinced that the project would help them alleviate their standard of living without disrupting their culture in the process, having them loose their cultural identity. At the end of each interview I would ask what hopes and expectations that the person had for the future, these are some of the responses I got:

"As tribal chieftain I am looking forward, through those seminars we have attended and the many things we have learned, that it will be applied throughout our areas, and the thing we are waiting and hoping for, the assistance, comes to us, and we can receive it. My desire is that the things we have learned we can apply into our daily lives."

- Tribal Chieftain

"Because of the project I am expecting that the IP's now will be respected and they will be given the chance to participate in the local government. The IP's will now have a clear idea on how to do our living, how to improve our way of life."

- Tribal Chieftain, member of the BOT.

"That MALTRICO by the year 2000 are successful and more stronger, or shall we say intact. That the indigenous cultural communities by the year 2000 are in one purpose, one mind, one target. Maybe if we put, when we talk on the political, maybe MALTRICO has its own unity development mind. So I am looking forward MALTRICO is stronger."

- President of the BOT

"My hopes and dreams for the future is that we, the B'laans, must know and understand the laws of the land, and ways how to live a better life."

-B'laan woman

²⁹Ibid

³⁰Ibid

Overall Assessment of the Project

In this paper I have tried to give a more general view of the INDISCO project in Malungon. I have not gotten into details about the specific accomplishments on the different components, since various progress review reports already exists focusing on the progress and outputs of the project according to the work plans for 1996/97. Since the Indigenous People in the area are the beneficiaries, focus has mainly been on constructing a view of the project as seen by the B'laans and Tagakolos in order to get their assessment of the project so far. I have therefore not included any of the more specific observations and findings I have done on the project site, since the project overall is working very well. The more detailed recommendations and adjustments that I find necessary on the project management side I have discussed with the national coordinator, and have decided not to include in this paper, since I find it of greater importance to keep the overall picture in focus; Will the project succeed in making the indigenous people self-reliant, is the project respecting and promoting the culture, is the project successful so far?

According to the indigenous people themselves the project is very successful so far considering it only being one year old. After working on the project site for six weeks I can only agree. Attending seminars, workshops, BOT meetings, and assisting the best I could in the daily management activities, and going to the field with the extension workers, my conclusion is that the participatory approach of the project so far has been very successful. The institutional capacity which has been built over the last year is very impressive and the willingness to participate in the project is very high. Seeing the enthusiasm at seminars and meetings, and experiencing the dedication with which most of the project staff carried out their activities is a clear indicator that the project is doing very well. It is as if the eyes of the indigenous people has been opened and they have realised that, they themselves can change their life for the better, with the advisory and fascilitatory assistance of the ILO-INDISCO programme.

In this respect it is definitely worth noting that the existence of the INDISCO programme and its identification and location of Indigenous People in need, such as the B'laans and Tagakaolos, gives these Indigenous People new possibilities to improve their life in situations where they themselves don't know where to turn for help. The Majority of the indigenous communities are only aware of government agencies, and have no prior knowledge of the many development agencies which also exist. It is an additional credit to the INDISCO programme that it actually does quite an amount of work through missions to locate and help Indigenous People in need. As such however, it is necessary to keep in mind that the INDISCO programme was offered to the people in the area, and that the participation approach therefore is not solely by local request, it is not a purely *demand-driven* approach so to speak. It would be more accurate to put the project in the category of *participation by subscription*, since the programme offers certain solutions to the Indigenous Peoples problems, solutions to make the Indigenous People self-reliant. As such the development project is initially a top-down approach, which only stresses the importance of continuously consulting and asking the indigenous community whether they find these solutions appropriate. The problem in this respect however is, how are they able to judge new techniques and methods of farming e.g. when they have no prior knowledge of what that would entail. In the Malungon ancestral domain it does not seem to be a problem however, since the Indigenous People there are very aware of how they can improve their life, and feels that the INDISCO project so far is doing a good job in helping them.

Seen in relation to the history of the Indigenous People, in the Philippines particularly, and the history of integrationist policies and development programmes all over the world for Indigenous People in general, which in so many cases has done more harm than good, it is very inspiring and notable to experience the existence of a development programme such as the ILO-INDISCO programme, which actually does a very good and very decent piece of development work.

Annex 1

Transcript of Interviews

Transcript 1

**Interview with Datu Ramon Catala, Vice-president of the MALTRICO Board of Trustees.
Conducted on Friday July 25, 1997.
(Interpreter: Honnelyne Guilley)**

Q: "Are you married?"

A: "Yes".

Q: "How many wives do you have?"

A: "One (1)":

Q: "How many children do you have?"

A: "I have five (5) children".

Q: "What is your profession?"

A: "Farmer".

Q: "For how long have you been a farmer?"

A: "Always".

Q: "What is your educational level?"

A: "Grade four (4)".

Q: "For how long have you been a Datu?"

A: "For almost ten (10) years".

Q: "Was your father also Datu?"

A: "No, not my father, but my grandfather was".

Q: "What tribe do you belong to?"

A: "Tagakaolo".

Q: "Can you describe a normal days activities for you?"

A: "Well, before I used to go to the field a lot, but now that I am older I cannot work so hard anymore, and as Datu I have many other activities in solving conflicts and making the community work."

(Blank parts on the tape)

Q: "Has anything in your life been changed with the MALTRICO project?"

A: "Basically my knowledge was increased because of this MALTRICO, because MALTRICO are offering a lot of trainings and others."

Q: "So, this is regarding knowledge, but in more material and physical activities has anything been changed?"

A: "In techniques in the livelihood activities, technical advancement and others."

Q: "Have they already been applied out in the field? The skills you required in the training, have they already been used in the field?"

A: "So far those trainings which are concerned on livelihood is not yet applied, but those on capability-building, how to organise and all those I am using now."

Q: "Do you think the project will make anything different in the future for your, your family and the indigenous people?"

A: "The project has done a lot for me, my family and my people, but I am not certain now to what degree the project will have an influence on peoples lives."

Q: "At this pint you cannot tell whether is going to be good or perhaps not so good?"

A: "Yes, but as far as I am concerned now it really did a great job."

Q: "What is your general view on the MALTRICO project?"

A: "Generally, so far, MALTRICO is good."

Q: "Is there anything, that you are critical of?"

A: (Silence)

Q: "I can phrase the question another way. Do you agree with the project components or should the focus rather be on other issues?"

A: "I have nothing against it."

Q: "What is your own role in the project, as member of the BOT, as Datu and as an indigenous person yourself?"

A: "As a Datu and member of the board I feel that I have the duty to always undertake the minds of the people to cooperate and to work for the project, and on my own capacity I will do everything that I can do to protect the project."

Q: "In general then, you think the MALTRICO project is good for the indigenous people?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "In what way do you expect the project to make the future better for the indigenous people?"

A: "I hope that ILO will be helping, especially the focus on the livelihood aspect and increase on the sources of income."

Q: "Have their situation already improved in some aspects of the project?"

A: "So far, the project is now helping them in giving techniques and how to improve their way of living, but as of now I don't have any clear clear picture of how this project will alleviate their

living?"

Q: "So is it too early to say whether the project will help the indigenous people in becoming self-reliant?"

A: "I strongly believe that this project will lead the people to self-reliance."

Q: "How would you rate the economic situation of the indigenous people?"

A: "As of the moment the living standard of the people was increased forty (40) percent."

Q: "Forty percent, really? How can it be increased that much already?"

A: "Oh, four (4) percent."

Q: "With the introduction of the RLF, do you think that will change even more?"

A: "Yes, definitely if the RLF is now functioning, it will raise?"

Q: "Do you think it is the right way to develop the situation of the indigenous people?"

A: "There is no problem with RLF, definitely it is the right way, but the question is the process of implementation, the people and the participation."

Q: "So you're not so sure whether the people will actively participate?"

A: "It's not the people, it's the leaders."

Q: "One of the ideas of the project is that the development of the ancestral domain has to be built on the traditions and the indigenous culture. Is the project successful in this respect does it respect the traditions and culture of the indigenous people?"

A: "I am very convinced that the project is doing well in the preservation of the culture, and not just as preservation. I also see it as one way of promoting the culture of the people."

Q: "Can you specify in what way the traditions of the Tagakaolos is being respected?"

A: "Before people surrounding us are looking at the indigenous people as those really indigenous, the lowest kind of people, but to my surprise when the project came, the project looked at us as special beings. This is an empowerment of the people."

Q: "So it is also self-dignity?"

A: "Yes, and evidence of this is that ILO and the project worked really hard in the awarding of the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim, that effort alone is very clear, the project is working well."

Q: "What would you say is the specific culture of the indigenous people in the ancestral domain compared to the non-indigenous people in the area?"

A: "I cannot really pinpoint the difference, but there are really a great difference between this IP's and those who are not covered by the ancestral domain, because those people who are not covered by the ancestral domain, before looked down upon this indigenous people as very low

people. There is a difference in how we treat each other."

Q: "So, the indigenous people were treated with disrespect?"

A: "It really changed a lot. The awarding of the CADC opened the eyes of these people that we are special, that is why they awarded the ancestral domain to us. And the second thing is, that because of the trainings and the seminars that was given by ILO we are no longer as ignorant as before, the third is that because of the literacy we now have, the people now knows how to read and write which in a way or the other has lowered the insecurity and the inferiority of the natives."

Q: "Has the culture changed over the years in the Tagakaolo area?"

A: "I don't believe that the culture of the IP's change, it is just that the culture was not recognised and promoted before the project came in."

Q: "But, is there anything today which is different from when you were a child? For instance in terms of you being brought up in the mountains and your own son Domingo. Is there anything different in the upbringing?"

A: "Before in my time when somebody got married, the man should pay his dowry to the lady, but now no more dowries, and there are times when they just live together without the consent of the parents which before have never been practised."

Q: "So there is a slow change from the elder generation to the younger generation?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "But, what about those parts of the culture that doesn't exist anymore. Is it good or should they be promoted again?"

A: "The beliefs on the gods and the goddesses. Before we were very familiar with those, but now we don't believe in gods and goddesses anymore."

Q: "Is it because of the christianisation in the area?"

A: "Yes, and because the children now have gone to school."

Q: "Do you think that any parts of the indigenous culture will change with the project?"

A: "Yes, some of the culture will really be abolished, like the culture of having two or more wives. We realise now that it is really not good, both physically and financially and emotionally. Also the culture of when someone killed a certain person in your family, you are not in prison but you are just asked to pay for horses or other property, carabao or what. Now it is no longer applicable because we have the law, the existing law, that ones severed really has to be punished."

Q: "And the changed look upon having one or more wives, is it also because of the gender component in the project?"

A: "Yes, I agree to that, of that we are now aware, but the very reason why was that because

chaos, the act of killing one another is no longer existing. So before the male were outnumbered by the females, that is the reason why. Men during this time always go to war, so they are outnumbered by the females."

Q: "So this was the reason to have more wives, but since that has changed the reason to have more wives has disappeared?"

A: "Yes:"

Q: "Today the IP's are receiving more education than before. All the children are going to school and the adults are receiving education during the different training seminars. How do you think this will affect the situation and the standard of living for the IP's in the long run?"

A: "The very impact of this education is that the culture of the IP's before, which was very unreasonable. E.g. you are indebted to me but you haven't paid, so I just get your things off without your permission. I am very happy because of this education these things are no longer practised. Because of education we are modernised in a way, that we have been away from violence and all that, not like before."

Q: "Do you think the indigenous people will become more like the modern filipino?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How about the children will they want to continue the traditional lifestyle and farming activities, or will they wish to pursue life and happiness in other areas of life and eventually move away from the indigenous way of life?"

A: "Because they have gone to school now, the youth really want to have a modern way of living, they don't like the indigenous practices anymore."

Q: "In that perspective, do you think the indigenous practices will eventually disappear?"

A: "No, I don't think it will totally disappear, but the children are now more up to living in a non-indigenous way, but there are really aspects of the culture that we cannot go away with."

Q: "Like what?"

A: "Respect to elders:"

Q: "Is there a difference between indigenous culture and modern filipino culture; that you pay more respect to the elders?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Have there been other development projects in the area before the MALTRICO project."

A: "Yes I know some like PANAMIN, but the people were not really benefitted, not because the project is bad, but because of the people who arranged the project."

Q: "What kind of project was it?"

A: "The project was really supposed to enhance the living of the people, but it was not

implemented well."

Q: "What expectations and hopes do you have for the future of the indigenous people in the ancestral domain?"

A: "I envision a sustainable economic life of the people."

Transcript 2

Interview with Datu Calinggo Maluma member of the MALTRICO Board of Trustees.

Conducted on Friday July 25, 1997.

(Interpreter: Honnelyne Guilley)

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "Callingo Maluma."

Q: "How old are you?"

A: "48 years old."

Q: "Are you married?"

A: "Yes".

Q: "How many wives do you have?"

A: "Only One (1)":

Q: "How many children?"

A: "I have five (5) children".

Q: "What is your profession?"

A: "Farmer".

Q: "For how long have you been a farmer?"

A: "More than thirty (30) years, since I was a boy."

Q: "Since you were a boy. Since you started to work?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What is your educational background?"

A: "Grade four (4)".

Q: "For how long have you been a Datu?"

A: "More than thirty (30) years, 38 years."

Q: "Was your father Datu before you?"

A: "Yes".

Q: "What tribe do you belong to?"

A: "B'Laan".

Q: "Can you describe a normal days activities for you?"

A: "Normally I go to the field everyday because I am a farmer, but at the same time because I am a tribal leader, a tribal chieftain, I also spend time for my people to listen to the cries and the sentiments of the people."

Q: "Has it always been like this for you?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What about the activities of you and your family's life, has it changed over the years?"

A: "Before, my life before and now I can compare, that my life is much better now. My children are also working with me now, they are helping me earning the income for the family."

Q: "Are all your children farmers too, are they all working in the field?"

A: "Some of them, some are professionals, because I was able to send them up to their bachelor degree, so they are professionals."

Q: "What are they doing?"

A: "One is teacher"

Q: "Has anything in your life been changed with the MALTRICO project?"

A: "Because of the seminars the project allowed me to attend, mentally I am more active now, I learn a lot from the project."

Q: "What seminars did you attend?"

A: "Capability building seminars, responsibility deepening seminars."

Q: "Have you participated in any of the vegetables or livestock raising seminars?"

A: "No, I was not able."

Q: "Do you think the project will make anything different in the future for you, your family and the indigenous people?"

A: "I believe the project will help us improving our life conditions."

Q: "What is your general view on the MALTRICO project?"

A: "What I understand about the project is that it will really help us, especially the farmers. I believe this project is very concerned on how the people will increase their income. I see the project as an extended arm."

Q: "Do you agree with the project components?"

A: "Very much."

Q: "Is there anything, that you are critical of?"

A: "There is no problem with the components, but I think that one of the components must be really looked into which is the income and employment generation component. That is the very

component that we really want to strenghten."

Q: "What is your own role in the project, as member of the BOT, as Datu and as an indigenous person yourself?"

A: "My role is first to help with the implementation of the project, I am responsible in the protection of the project, to enable the project to really last."

Q: "So, you think the MALTRICO project is good for the indigenous people?"

A: "It's not just a help, it's a very very very great help."

Q: "In what way do you expect the project will be able to make the future better for the indigenous people?"

A: "Because of the seminars that we have attended and because of the seminars that we are expecting to be offered, I expect that the people will be lead. Some don't know what to do now, but this project will be sort of a guide for the people to leave on the right track, and the right technology and right assistance."

Q: "Have their situation already been changed with the project?"

A: "The way of living of the people changed a lot, because of the literacy programme people now knows how to read and write so we are not so insecure so we can go out and transact bussines on our own now. The equipment that we have, the corn-sheller, helps. The people deliver their products as fresh and as.. submitting the quality because we don't need to carry the products to the city and let them be processed there. It saves us time, money and effort. And the seminars also give more knowledge."

Q: "Do you think it will help the indigenous people in becoming self-reliant?"

A: "I believe the project will help the people if, and I cannot blame myself and the people because we have been waiting for a long time, if those promises of the projetc really be implemented there is no doubt that it will really help the people."

Q: "How do you see the role of yourself and the people in this process?"

A: "I think there is two elements for the people in achieving succes of the project. First the people should cooperate, and second the people entail a lot of sacrifice for the project."

Q: "You do a lot of sacrifice for the project?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How would you rate the economic situation of the indigenous people?"

A: "As I see now the people are really very poor, but I believe that through this project, we will not be that rich, but at least we can now survive with dignity."

Q: "With the indtroduction of the RLF, do you think that will change even more?"

A: "Yes, if the RLF will be fully implemented the people wil have a good standard of living."

What we need now is capital, we have the skills now that we are trained, we are physical ready for the big work, but we don't have anything to finance."

Q: "Do you believe it is the right way to develop the situatio of the indigenous people?"

A: "Yes, I believe so."

Q: "One of the ideas of the project is that the development of the ancestral domain has to be build on the traditions and the indigenous culture. Is the project succesfull in this respect, does it respect the traditions and culture of the indigenous people?"

A: "Because of the Ancestral Domain Management Plan, and the policy embodied in the CADC the people are no longer allowed to sell their lands and all those, so natives are no longer allowed to sell their lands, they should really be forced to work and till their lands. The project is doing well with this.

Q: "What would you say is the specific culture of the indigenous people in the ancestral domain compared to the non-indigenous people in the area?"

A: "I think the natives are more generous, the evidence of that is that all the people now living in the lowlands are the Christians, and the natives are now living in the hinterlands because of their generosity and these people, these Christians are also abusing?"

Q: "Has the culture changed over the years?"

A: "Just a very little change, it's just because, the only thing that is responsible for this is education."

Q: "But, in what way can the changes be seen?"

A: "One of the cultures that has changed are the way we dress, because before we were not using this kind of clothes [pointing to his shirt] and also the number of wives. Now natives are no longer convinced to have many wives because now we are more concerned on education, that we can send our children to shcool, so if we have only one wife it means we have less children and can afford to send our children to school."

Q: "What is the reason why the clothing has changed?"

A: "Because how can we dare to wear those clothes withyour naked splend when everybody is covering their body." (laughing)

Q: "Is there anything today which is different from when you were a child?"

A: (Blank part on tape)

Q: "So there is a slow change from the elder generation to the younger generation?"

A: "Before the people were nomadic, and they practiced this kasfala, that when you're indebted to somebody perhaps for 200 pesos, but because you are not able to pay it on time, he will get your horse or your carabao. Although some are still practising it, but we are starting to realise that it is not good. Before the young natives don't acquaint with the non-natives. If you are a

native you should acquaint with the natives, because we were afraid that these christians will abuse or deceive us, but now we are open for it."

Q: "Are children being brought up differently than when you were a child?"

A: "Yes there is a big difference, before it's enough that you can feed your child, you were not concerned about the schooling, the clothing, but now you have to take into consideration their clothing and that you should send them to school, feed them and make them comfortable with the place that they live in."

Q: "Do you think parts of the culture will change with the project?"

A: "I don't think the culture will change because of the MALTRICO project, as I understand, the main thrust of the project is not to change the culture but to improve the present culture of the people in giving people livelihood projects. ILO is not concerned on changing of the culture, but ILO is concerned on how this culture will be promoted and giving us a good quality of living."

Q: "Today the IP's are receiving more education than before. All the children are going to school and the adults are receiving education during the different training seminars. How do you think this will affect the situation and the standard of living for the IP's in the long run?"

A: "I think that because of education there's got to be a lot of change of the culture, because education influence a lot, but the brighter side of that is, that I don't think education will change the indigenous people into a barbaric people, if we change we will change for the good."

Q: "In that way, do you think the indigenous people will eventually become more like the modern filipino?"

A: "Yes, the education will lead the people into a modernised way of living."

Q: "Will the children want to continue the traditional lifestyle and farming activities, or will they wish to pursue life and happiness in other areas of life and eventually move away from the indigenous way of life?"

A: "As I said, my children really hated the indigenous way of living, they wanted to have a modernised way of living. Before when you cook you just used the fire, but today they want a rice cooker and everything. Before when our parents were wearing the indigenous clothes it was no big deal for us, but now when I am wearing my native clothes my children are laughing at me, well they are not mean, but it is just so unusual for them."

Q: "They still respect?"

A: "Yes, of course."

Q: "Do your children live in the ancestral domain?"

A: "Yes, they are still living in one village. I got two children that got married, they live near to me, and I have one child who is in college, he is not staying with me because he is living near to the university. But from time to time he still visits."

Q: "Have there been other development projects in the area before the MALTRICO project."

A: "I am not aware of any."

Q: "What expectations and hopes do you have for the future of the indigenous people in the ancestral domain?"

A: "Because of the project I am expecting that the IP's now will be respected and they will be given the chance to participate in the local government. The IP's will now have a clear idea on how to do our living, how to improve our way of life."

Transcript 3

Interview with Martin Lanubay, Tribal Chieftain in
Kalunbarak, Malungon Barangay. Conducted on Tuesday July 29, 1997.
(Interpreter: Edmund Pangilan)

(To Edmund: "I would like you to translate my questions as directly as you possibly can, and also when he answers, try not to make any interpretaion yourself, but try to give the straight answer.")

"First I am going to ask a few personal questions just for the record. Can you also tell him to be as honest as possible, and if he is critical of the project or if there is anything that he is not content with, then he should feel free to say."

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "Martin Lanubay"

Q: "How old are you?"

A: "Forty five (45)."

Q: "What tribe do you belong to?"

A: "B'laan:"

Q: "Are you married?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How many wives?"

A: "Only one wife."

Q: "How many children?"

A: "Six children."

Q: "What is your level of education."

A: "Only grade two (2):"

Q: "What is your profession?"

A: "Pure farmer, and tribal chieftain."

Q: "For how long have you been tribal chieftain?"

A: "Five years."

Q: "Can you describe the obligations and duties a tribal chieftain has?"

A: "I was chosen, elected by the members of the tribal community, because my father was a tribal

chieftain, but my father is already old, and that's why I am the successor, the community appointed me, and even through elections. [Usually the tribal chieftain is just appointed, but Martin Lanubay seems to have been elected, which shows a change in decisionmaking in the community.]"

Q: "What do you have to do as a tribal chieftain?"

A: "As tribal chieftain, whatever problem in the tribal community so I am, the.. like a lawyer, I am in charge of all the problems in the community and area."

Q: "How many people live in kalonbarak?"

A: "Five hundred (500) voters."

Q: "And with children and everything?"

A: "No, that is only voters."

Q: "But, if you count everybody in the village children and women too?"

A: "In the census, all in all, it's one thousand plus (1000) including children and women."

Q: "And how many Households?"

A: "All in all here, there are one hundred and twenty (120)."

Q: "Can you describe a normal days activities for you as a farmer and tribal chieftain. What is a normal day like for you?"

A: "As tribal chieftain my work is to watch my people, sometimes I go to their individual houses and visit them and ask if they have some problems. If I found that they have a problem, then I try my best to help them and to solve some conflicts between my people."

Q: "And in the farming activities?"

A: "In my farming the only technique which we have learned since the beginning, since our childhood as tribal people, and this time we really need more methods and techniques so it helps our family and our children and our standard of living, it can help us."

Q: "The farming activities and techniques from when you were a child and until today has it changed?"

A: "In our system of farming there is nothing changed because we cannot easily leave and depart from our custom. The only thing we want is additional knowledge for our farming, and besides we really need some financial aspects in our farming, and that is our very problem today."

Q: "What about life in general is it the same as it was 10-15 years ago?"

A: "In our life if I am going to compare it 15 years before and nowadays, it is no longer the same."

Q: "It is no longer the same, what has changed?"

A: "The changes happening in our life here, especially in farming, before there was no need for fertilizer, but nowadays we cannot plant corn or rice or anything without fertilizer."

Q: "Why is that?"

A: "Nowadays, here we really need fertilizer, our areas is not as before, there were many trees, and today our area is almost coconul, and it needs fertilizer not as before when the soil was still good."

Q: "How about the work in the field has it changed?"

A: "The work in the field, the thing we have to do first is to look for an area which is still good and not eroded, good for corn and rice, and we will try to see if that area is still good for rice and corn and no need for fertilizer."

Q: "What kind of crops do you grow?"

A: "The only crop we have here is corn."

Q: "Do you do livestock farming?"

A: "In my life as tribal chieftain I don't have any livestock, only pigs"

Q: "If you only grow corn, do you sell the corn in the market in order to be able to buy other vegetables and other things you need?"

A: "Some of our corn, about half, will be sold an the rest will be used for our own food."

Q: "Is your income today higher than before?"

A: "Before our income was higher, because today we have many debts from the owner of some of the shops in the town, today if we are going to get some fertilizer, the owner for example say, before he release the fertilizer to us, they must have an agreement between them from 250 pesos...there is an interest. When we harvest our corn the income will go to the sellers of the fertilizer because there is interest."

Q: "And that interest is high?"

A: "Yes, and our net-income today is very small."

Q: "What training seminar have you participated in?"

A: "I only attended the capability building."

Q: "And the responsibility deepening seminar?"

A: "Yes, to know our duty with the project as tribal chieftains."

Q: "How many people from the village participated in the livelihood trainings?"

A: "There are four."

Q: "Do you think they are going to use what they have learned in the training?"

A: "Yes, really."

Q: "Do you think it will change the way they have been farming until now?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "In what way, if you can describe it a bit more?"

A: "All of the trainings that we have attended, in my own idea I think all of that are very helpful and effective here, like the goatraising, the pigs and the chicken and also the carrots, the vegetable, because this area is very good for livestock raising and even vegetables."

Q: "Do you think the MALTRICO project will change the life in the village?"

A: "Maybe, after the seminar, if the MALTRICO can help us in the financial aspect I think it really helps us, even we have finished the training, attended the training, without some help, assistance, I cannot be sure it really helps us."

Q: "What you are saying is that the training is not enough in itself, it has to be followed up out in the village?"

A: "Yes, that is the point."

Q: "How would you describe the standard of living for the people in Kalonbarak?"

A: "The standard of living here in my community, well it is good, but its good maybe if there are some assistance from the MALTRICO group. But nowadays it's okay in my community, not really hard, in the middle."

Q: "If lifeconditions has to improve how do you see your role and the role of the people in the village?"

A: "Well, if there is some assistance, if the MALTRICO can help this community we are very happy, that is the thing we are waiting for here, and as a community we have to work hard and take care if any assistance or help our parties to give ourselve, and to dedicate ourselves to the help and also give our counterpart so the assistance from there will be useful, and not will be missed."

Q: "What do you know about the Revolving Loan Fund?"

A: "Regarding the Revolving Loan Fund, I always hear that [laughing], but as tribal chieftain I am waiting for that. What I want to know is if it is really true that the Revolving Loan Fund is for the community. Are you sure we can receive that?"

Q: "Yes, but when it comes do you think the revolving loan fund will help to raise your income?"

A: "Oh yes, I really believe that."

Q: "In your view what is most important in making the life better for the B'laans?"

A: "I think the most important in the life of the B'laan here is to, for example, the help from the group of MALTRICO and the revolving loan fund. The very thing we want to do, as member of the community, is to give our counterpart, we will not only trust on the help through the revolving loan fund, we can share also our part in the community, so that the way of living for the B'laan will be uplifted."

Q: "Are there any rituals that you practice when farming?"

A: "Today in farming we still practise, like this time it is almost harvest time of the rice, so we have

to prepare a small house or stockroom, after harvesttime we will stock all of the products."

Q: "Is it like a thanksgiving, where you have a fiesta?"

A: "Yes, the first harvest we have a thanksgiving celebration."

Q: "But what about before harvesting, do you still pray to the Dwata?"

A: "Yes, yes"

Q: "And listen to the cries of the wild dove?"

A: "Yes, ... and still listen to the voice of some of the wild birds."

Q: "What about the sahum system, the volunteer system, is it still used in the village?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "And Tubong, the star in the sky, do you still wait for that to come out before you start planting?"

A: "Yes, that still today exist, we have to wait for the stars to come out, we know the planting season through the stars and the harvest time."

Q: "What about marriage, when some marries in the village, do you still pay dowry?"

A: "Still, but not really like before, today it is minimized."

Q: "Marriages before were they arranged by the parents?"

A: "The arrangement is between parents."

Q: "Was your marriages arranged like that?"

A: "Yes, yes [laughing]"

Q: "But how is it today, do the children still need the consent of the parents to marry?"

A: "Not really, we are only few left who did that."

Q: "Has life in the village changed over the years?"

A: "In our life today, we the old ones are still doing the practices of our forefathers, but some of the children of the new generation are no longer doing such practices, they forget already some of the practices, but we the old ones still remember that."

Q: "Why do you think the children don't and the old ones still do?"

A: "The thing that happens now is that our children of this time almost have forgotten our customs, the system of the B'laan and our way of living, because nowadays the children always in the school, from seven (7) years old we send them to school. So the practices from the other tribes they learn, the Cebuano and Visayans, so they adapt some customs from the other people. Not like ours as old ones, even for many generations we still remember our practices from before."

Q: "So, it is because of education."

A: "Yes."

Q: "Do you think education will change the culture of the B'laan?"

A: "Maybe, if you are a B'laan and you don't have a very strong principle and stand as a B'laan, maybe it will be lost. But we in our part are strong in our principles, that we are really B'laan and nothing can change us. But because of the generation nowadays there are some children in the school who don't want to be recognised as tribal people, this is what happens."

Q: "If you look at your children and grandchildren, do you think they will continue with the traditional life in the mountains."

A: "I want my children and grandchildren always to recognise, always remember that we are B'laan and not forget our practises."

Q: "How do you think the B'laans are different from the christians and the lowlanders?"

A: "There are many things different between the B'laans and the lowlanders, for instance our traditions, they are different."

Q: "Can you pinpoint one thing that is a big difference?"

A: "In the tribe in our dialect, that is the first difference, and also in the marriage system, among the B'laan the marriage is arranged by the parents."

Q: "Has the B'laan culture changed over the years."

A: "No."

Q: "Do you feel any important parts of the culture has disappeared?"

A: "There are some."

Q: "Can you describe them?"

A: "First is our native clothes, and also the way we cook our food?"

Q: "Why is the B'laan no longer using the traditional clothes?"

A: "Because, today you cannot longer distinguish a B'laan from another person, but because those who are experts on doing the native clothes, the old ones, are gone and only very rare today you can see experts on doing the native clothes. The children no longer like our native clothes, if they see our native clothes they don't like. We want to restore that."

Q: "Are there anything in the B'laan culture that you think must be restored?"

A: "Our native clothes, but even though we want to restore it, we also need the abaka, a large plantation for the abaka, so we also need capital."

Q: "Do you think the B'laan culture will change with the MALTRICO project. When the revolving loan fund starts and if people start making more money and things like that, do you think the culture will be affected by that."

A: "If ever this revolving loan fund will be implemented, it will really help us, and help us more to promote our culture."

Q: "What expectations and hopes do you have for the people in Kalonbarak and the ancestral domain?"

A: "As tribal chieftain I am looking forward, through those seminars we have attended and the many things we have learned, that it will be applied throughout our areas, and the thing we are waiting and hoping for, the assistance, comes to us, and we can receive it. My desire is that the things we have learned we can apply into our daily lifes."

Q: "Is there anything we haven't talked about that you would like to discuss?"

A: "As tribal chieftain I found out that the very thing we need here is more support on the shcoolbuilding, education is the first thing we need here, and also our farm-to-market road, I think if the farm-to-market road is okay then you can visit here easily and you can see the situatin of the community."

Q: "Yes, but that is not part of the MALTRICO project, that would be local government projects. But the road is being made now isn't it? So it seems that, also if you get money for the shcool within this year, the road is getting cleared, and the revolving loan fund comes, a lot of things are happening now in the community?"

[The father of the tribal chieftain comes in, "Fye Flafos", he was the tribal chieftain of the community before he decided to pass it on to his son. We have a little talk about the generations. Edmund talks about his father and the father of Martin Lanubay:

Edm: "They are the only old remaining in our tribe."

Jens: "How old are they?"

Edm: "Almost seventy (70), but my father is eighty (80)plus."

Jens: "What about your father,we were talking about wives before, how many wives does he have?"

Edm: "Only two (2), and this one has also two."

Jens: "But it seems to be changing now, it is more common to only have one wife? Why do you think that is changing, because it seems to be a part of the culture that is changing?"

Edm: "Yes, that is our culture, but now we have realised that it is not really good to have many wives. Especially when you have a very small portion of cultivated land for farming, you cannot support wifes and childrens. But before in our tribe, if you can support their daily needs, you could have ten or more wifes."

Jens: "But then you would need to have alot of land?"]

"Okay, thank you very much, Salamat Po"

Transcript 4

Interview with Mr. Warnet Balan, Kalonbarak, Malungon Poblacion.

Conducted on Tuesday July 29, 1997.

(This interview was conducted in English)

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "I am Warnet Balan."

Q: "How old are you?"

A: "I am running fifty four (54) years old."

Q: "What tribe do you belong to?"

A: "I belong to the Hee-gonan tribe."

Q: "But you live among the B'laan?"

A: "Yes, actually I am member of the B'laan tribe through marriage."

Q: "So do you consider yourself B'laan too?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How many wives do you have?"

A: "I have two wives. One He-egonan tribe, the other one is B'laan."

Q: "Do they both live here in Kalonbarak?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Both wives?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How many children do you have?"

A: "We have eight children. Only the eldest wife who have children, she was the one who had children, while the second one has not."

Q: "What is your educational background?"

A: "Well, my educational background is only up to grade six, but I was oriented and worked with the presidential staff during the PANAMIN for 14 years, from 1970 to 1984, and a little English I learned, mostly I learned it when I got a job from PANAMIN as presidential assistant from national minorities.

Q: "Where was that, was it here?"

A: "Yes, that was during the time of strongman president Ferdinand Marcos."

Q: "Okay, but did you work here in Malungon?"

A: "I was assigned in the field as a trouble shooter and at the same time project officer from 1975 up to the time when PANAMIN was defunct in 1984. I reached this place in 1977 until the PANAMIN was defunct in 1984."

Q: "PANANMIN was a government project?"

A: "Actually PANANMIN is a private association for national minorities and when the time the president look it up, it mixed a good accomplishment and it helped the Philippine government a lot. It was accredited by President Marcos, then he mixed it as a presidential assistance for national minorities."

Q: "Did PANAMIN have projects in the Malungon area?"

A: "Yes, actually here is Kidbun. Then we have there in Collagen tribe in Upper Lumabat. Then our project as a nationwide, we have in Agusan, in Bukidnon, Davao, we have in South Cotabato. Actually T'boli town is a PANAMIN project."

Q: "What kind of project was it here in Malungon?"

A: "What we have done in Malungon was supposed to be a settlement project, development of community, and...."

Q: "But was it building schools, roads, what kind of physical development was it?"

A: "Uhh, it was community building. We had proposals for some constructions, but it was not recognized, and we even have contributed twelve drums of diesel fuel of drums to the mayor to construct a road going up to Kidbug, but it was unfinished due to lack of funds. You know before our local government relies on the national funding, it is unlike now what is the revenues earned in the locals is the one to spend for development. It was not implemented at the time, all the proposed projects we not implemented."

Q: "How long have you been living here in Kalonbarak?"

A: "I have been living here since the time I arrived in 1977 to the present."

Q: "What is your profession. I know you have been working with PANAMIN, but what are you doing now?"

A: "I have no profession at present, I am a plain farmer right now."

Q: "So, in terms of farming can you describe a normal days activities?"

A: "Well, what we learned since the beginning is simple farming; plowing, planting of corn, planting of some crops."

Q: "You came here in 1977, have the farming changed since then?"

A: "Not yet, it is the same, it is almost the same."

Q: "And what about the life for you and your family has it been the same, has it changed in any way?"

A: "Yes, as I look at it."

Q: "I know it is very early to say, but as of now has anything in your life so far been changed with the MALTRICO project?"

A: "Yes, as of now everything is yet a proposal, no, although MALTRICO is ongoing, but we have not yet implemented some projects, so I can not say anything, I could not see any changes in our life since it is just starting?"

Q: "Do you think it will eventually change anything?"

A: "Well, if it will be managed good, I think it will give us a good future?"

Q: "What about the training seminars, did you participate in any?"

A: "I have participated in so many training seminars, like management then about the RLF, some about the livelihood, and how to manage this project of MALTRICO."

Q: "So you have been participating in the capacity and institution building seminars, as well as the livelihood seminars?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What about the new knowledge and technical skills that you have acquired in the livelihood seminars, do you think you will use them in your farming?"

A: "Yeah, the moment we have some funding - the problem as of now is only financial support - but I think I could what I have learned from the seminars regarding skills, training, I think I can use it in my farming?"

Q: "What kind of crops do you grow now, are you going to grow new vegetables. I see in you garden that you have lots of different kinds of vegetables already?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What is the main crop you live from?"

A: "We have proposed a new crop to grow this year, but we really need some financial assistance, but to buy it in the store is expensive, like for example this garlic project production, then lately the last time we have learned is about to plant the hot pepper, corn, upland rice and more vegetables."

Q: "Do you think the other people will use the techniques they have learned in the seminar?"

A: "Yes, they want it too, if they could see the fruit, it will give us a better income, and they are already happy that some of us here have taken seminars provided for them to learn also some days, looking on what we are going to do on our implementation, we can brief them we can teach them also on how to do, how to plant, how to take care of this kind of plant."

Q: "What in your opinion is needed the most is the RLF, nothing can be said to be developing before

you actually have the RLF and get some financial support?"

A: Well, if there is an RLF or none we have to do our best to implement what we have learned although we then could not expect a volume of production since e that we have no financing. When we rely on ourselves we will do it little by little."

Q: "What is your general and honest opinion on the MALTRICO project?"

A: "My honest opinion on the MALTRICO project?"

Q: "Yes."

A: "Well, this MALTRICO project through the assistance of the ILO is a long awaited program that have reached our place, being a minority, because since before we have learned from the officials of the government that there are a huge amount of money from other countries given to the Philippine government intended for the cultural minorities, but it is sad to say that up to the present we have not seen, we have not learned, we have not received any amount especially the grant from other countries given to the Philippine government intended for us, we the indigenous group. Now we are happy enough to hear and to see, to see especially you visiting our place this time, asking our opinions and what we feel regarding this ILO-INDISCO and especially this organizing of MALTRICO. We are very much happy for this, because we feel it is the most effective way, that the long time, the desire before is with us now with this ILO-INDISCO-MALTRICO program, and I hope and I wish that we could manage it, and this will be the time for us to start lifting our life style."

Q: "What about the project components; the institution-/ and capability building, gender and environment, do you agree with these components, that the focus should be on those things or should the focus rather be on other things?"

A: "Yes, I agree."

Q: "What about the gender component, that says the situation of the indigenous women have to be improved do you see a need there?"

A: "It is really very important?"

Q: "How is it now with the women in B'laan culture, are they very much left out of decision making and so on. Is it the men who decides most?"

[First time in the interview that Warnet doesn't seem to understand my question. I can see why. He ask Edmund about the question, and there is a low whispering about the gender component, whereafter Edmund replies that it is really needed.]

A: "It really needs."

Q: "You shouldn't say anything to please me, you should be honest, if you think there's a need say so, if not don't say."

A: "I believe there is a need."

Q: "Do you think that if the MALTRICO project succeeds, that it will make the indigenous community self-reliant?"

A: "Yes, sure."

Q: "How would you define self-reliance, in your words?"

A: "self-reliance means... you are already in a self-sufficient... in your needs... it is unlike now, when you are in needs it is really a problem, while you are in self-reliance, you are already, whatever you need you can afford everything."

Q: "How would you describe the economic situation of the people in Kalonbarak?"

A: "Well, as of now the economic situation in Kalonbarak is quite poor, some of us here are still using bulo's, all of us here have no working animals..."

Q: "One of the ideas of the MALTRICO project is that the development of the ancestral domain has to be built on the B'laan and Tagakaolo culture, your culture has to be respected. Do you think the project is doing that? Do you think it is successful in this respect, in respecting the culture of the B'laan?"

A: "Yes, because this awarding of the ancestral domain claim is one of the signs that the culture of the Tagakaolo and the B'laan is really respected and I think it is really important to maintain the culture, because this is one of the identity, if you lose your culture you will never be identified of what tribe you are."

Q: "The awarding of the ancestral domain, do you think it has also given the B'laan and Tagakaolo more dignity and self-respect. Before the tribal people were much looked down upon by the lowlander's and the Christian, but today the tribal's have more self-dignity?"

A: "yes."

Q: "Is there any way you can describe the culture of the B'laan being different from the culture of Christian and the lowlander's, of the indigenous people?"

A: "One is the dialect, because as you see around mostly people who stay in this place doesn't even know how to speak Visayan, so one identity you can identify is that they belong to the B'laan. Even if you would interview one hundred villages right here, you will find out that no one will speak Visaya, even outside the village right in the poblacion, speaking with the Visayans they do not use Visaya dialect, they use their own dialect."

Q: "What about traditions and customs, ways of doing things. Is it different here?"

A: "yes, very different."

Q: "In what way?"

A: "particular for example baseness. The Visayans cannot do any baseness without any written agreement, but the B'laans could make any transaction with conversation, just to put what they have agreed in their minds and in their hearts."

Q: "So the word is more respected, that what you say is more respected, you don't have to sign an agreement, people trust each other more?"

A: "Yes:"

Q: "Do you think the B'laan culture has changed over the years?"

A: "..."

Q: "Today is the culture today different than it was when you came here 15-20 years ago?"

A: "Well it is the same, although there are some cultures which it is not really necessary to maintain, there are some cultures that are necessary?"

Q: "Can you mention some of them?"

A: "The marriage, mostly they go to the church, while before we have our own custom in marriage, there is a little change."

Q: "Why do you think that change has come?"

A: "Because of Christianization."

Q: "But what about the B'laans, do they still believe in their ancient gods?"

A: "Mostly here."

Q: "Are some of the B'laans, or most, Christian at the same time?"

A: "Yes:"

Q: "Do you think that any parts of the culture has to change if the life conditions of the B'laans has to improve?"

A: "Oh, no it will not change. It depends on the tribe, if they wanted to change, but it will not affect, the development will not affect it will give more... strong... to maintain the culture, while the standard of living will be uplifted."

Q: "What about education e.g. All the children today receive education, and the adults also receive education through the training seminars, do you think that will affect the culture in the long run?"

A: "No."

Q: "So, children, in your opinion, even though they receive education, they will still want to continue with the traditional way of life?"

A: "It depends on the leaders. All children needs a good guidance, the change will start from the parents if they want to change the lifestyle, but if the children will be taught in the culture, I think it will not be changed."

Q: "We talked a bit about the development projects, we talked about the PANAMIN projects that were never implemented. Do you think it has created a kind of mistrust towards development

projects in general among the indigenous people?"

A: "Yes, in some areas, you know, there are implemented development in some areas, like T'boli and the Matigsalog, but it was only, we can only count the cases by fingers those places developed by the PANAMIN, while others, the tribe of the B'laan was assisted in cultural development, because one of the national programs of president Marcos before was the preservation culture."

Q: "But there hasn't been any development projects especially for the B'laans and Tagakaolo's before, this is the first one?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "One last question. What expectations and hopes do you have for the B'laans and Tagakaolo's in the ancestral domain for the future?"

A: "Well, according to the five years program, by 2002, through ILO-INDISCO-MALTRICO, the five years program for the B'laan and Tagakaolo, will have them self-reliant, within five years from now, and we hope so that this will be realized."

Q: "That is the questions I had for you, is there anything we haven't talked about that you would like to discuss or talk about, anything you would like to add."

A: "I think most questions were already asked."

Q: "Yes we came around a lot of things, so Thank you very much."

Transcript 5

**Interview with Datu Esma C. Moda, President of MALTRICO.
Conducted on Wednesday July 30, 1997.**

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "My name is Esma C. Moda."

Q: "how old are you?"

A: "Thirty four (34) years old this coming September."

Q: "Are you married?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How many wives do you have?"

A: "Only one [laughing]"

Q: "How many children?"

A: "Only one also."

Q: "What is your profession?"

A: "I finished my theology, I studied in King Williams bible college in Davao, so I don't know if that is a profession or position, but as far as our director is concerned he put that in the address of positions, because we are teaching tidings, but we also consider that this is our profession."

Q: "You are also the municipal councillor of the OSCC?"

A: "No, I am only a casual laborer in this municipality, but I am lately in this Office for Southern Cultural Communities."

Q: "What are your duties in that respect, what is your job?"

A: "My job here is to investigate, investigator in other words, investigating problems or solucing when we talk about land conflicts, we have to conduct ocular inspections investigate what happens, is this true or not, that is my work here."

Q: "For how long have you been doing this?"

A: "Almost two years."

Q: "You are also a Datu of your Barangay?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What Barangay is that?"

A: "Barangay Tamblan."

Q: "For how long have you been Datu there?"

A: "Since I was elected as barangay "kagauan" [?] in 1988 until 1994. During the time the barangay captain or the datu's we have conducted meeting and they appointed me as tribal chieftain there only during the time."

Q: "What is the role of a Datu, what is the obligations a Datu has to the community?"

A: "The role of the Datu is this: As Datu you have to lead the people, when we talk on decision making you have to decide and actually if you are a Datu in one place you have your followers. People will come to you bringing their problems and they ask from you a decision. Then not only decision, you also have to help them if they need help when it comes to financing or shall we say in-kinds, animals, you have to solve the problem as Datu."

Q: "Do you also have to lend people money if they are in lack of money?"

A: "If I have money I can also lend to them."

Q: "So the role is somehow being the father of the community?"

A: "Yes, though I am still young, but the old med came to us and asked what idea I would like to share to them."

Q: "This role of the Datu, has it changed over the years, is it still as widely existing today as it was, let's say 50 years ago?"

A: "There is also a change, because according to the guidelines of the office for southern cultural communities we received already the communication from higher that we have to elect the Datu's, because there are so many Datum in the area, but I am elected as the higher position as Datu."

Q: "So before the Datu was not elected but appointed, and he was also born into a position, and if his father was Datu he became Datu as well?"

A: "Yes, yes."

Q: "Was your father Datu before you?"

A: "Yes, yes. My father is a leader of a certain village, a certain community."

Q: "What about the role of the Datu compared to the barangay captain?"

A: "When we talk about the role of the Datu there is a big role of the datu in connection with the barangay officials, because if the barangay officials has their own problems in line with the tribal problems not all barangay officials belong to the cultural minority, some are Christians so if the problem arouse in connection with the tribal problems, they have to go to the Datus, and share the problems and let the Datus solve the problem or suggest a way to the barangay officials, so they know what is the solution of the problem to the tribal community. It i a big help of the Datus to the barangays."

Q: "So they are working together whereas the traditional system before was that the Datu was in charge, but now that the government system has expanded it has also moved into the tribal lifestyle, they have to work together?"

A: "Yes, and also they are a big help of the Datus to the barangay officials, especially if the community is more on tribal's or natives, so the being a datu is a big job or work."

Q: "So you would say it is working?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What is your general opinion of the MALTRICO project?"

A: "As far as MALTRICO now is concerned, when we talk on MALTRICO. First when we started this association we encountered many problems, you know problems. We cannot deny the fact, that many problems will arouse among the tribal leaders as if they are jealous on us because we are still young and put tin that position, so they jealous us, but we are, we try to do our very best as leaders in the association, so as one thing that I can say about MALTRICO is that as of now MALTRICO is going good, the people now are waiting for the support of the partner group, like ILO-INDISCO. Maybe the project know, I think you have already observed, when we talk on the equipment and the office equipment I think no problems with regards to the MALTRICO, but there are little problems to the barangays, we cannot avoid that, it's normal. As an association I think, I am not so problematic on this."

Q: "Do you agree with the project components?"

A: "I agree, one hundred percent I agree."

Q: "What about the gender component which focus on the status of indigenous women, do you see a need there?"

A: "Yes previous month I talked to Carmen [UNV gender specialist], and one time she lectured to the extension workers, that, it is hard to say she is already in her homeplace. My opinion on the gender, I am very much excited or interested, because at this point we understand that gender is for the women only, but as Carmen explained gender is not only for the women, but the man includes to this, so the role of the men and women in the gender is very important. In other words there must be a helping each other to progress whatever project we are facing for, or what kind of plans we have, so there must be a unity to support this project, so I am very much in favor of it."

Q: "But, do you think, the reason why I ask whether you see a need, is, do you think that the women among the B'laan and Tagakaolo tribes have harder lives than men, or are they just left out of decision making?"

A: "Yes, that is what we observed, because in our own tradition the women has no right to make a decision, because they are just only helpmate, so when we talk on decision making the husband has the right to decide, because our tradition is this, the men is the entitled to have many wives, that is because in our own concept before, our ancestors before, the woman is just only a, shall we say, symbol, whatever decision the women will follow."

Q: "You only have one wife, and it seems that there is a general trend; most of the men I have interviewed only have one wife, that things are changing, before it was common to have two or more wives, today it seems to be slowly changing. Why do you think that?"

A: "Because that is the concept before, the men before usually had many wives, but we have come to the point that the result of many wives are very difficult, the result of many wives many children. The children would not go to school, they cannot afford to support the children, that is why we urge them do not have many wives, it is not practical as the practices before, so later on they realize, but now we challenge them only to have one wife."

Q: "Would you say that is a part of the native culture that is changing?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "One of the ideas of the project is that the development of the ancestral domain has to build on the indigenous traditions and culture. Is the project successful in this respect?"

A: "Yes, as we have observed as of now when we talk on the project, the cultural minority is now waiting for the project that comes in. I challenge them not to trust too much on the help, because the guidelines are very clearly that we have to participate, so if ever the support will come we will not rely on that we will have the participatory and the counterpart, so they are exciting in that help comes."

Q: "When we talk about culture, how is the culture of the B'laan and Tagakaolo different from the lowlander's and the Christians?"

A: "When we talk about the culture of the Tagakaolo and the B'laan, I think there is no difference between the two, as we observe, I am Tagakaolo and also B'laan, my mother is B'laan and my father is Tagakaolo, there is no difference when it comes to culture. One thing only is perhaps the style of life the style of living or should we say their character in their home, but the culture is just the same."

Q: "And if you should put the Tagakaolo and the B'laan on one side and the Christians on the other side what is the major difference?"

A: "Christians?"

Q: "Yes, or low-landers, or just people in general that are not indigenous?"

A: "You know, there are options that the Tagakaolo and the B'laan are quite different to the Christians around them, why? Because most of the practices or the habit or the, shall we say, the practices of the people around them, the Tagakaolo also follows what they see to the Christians, they also follow the customs of the Visayans, that is what we call Visayans or Christians."

Q: "So do you think there is a slowly eroding of the native culture, it is slowly becoming more like non-IP's?"

A: "Yes, because, not all, not all of the cultures and practices of the Tagakaolo and B'laan are eroding, there are also points that the result of these practices are not good, that is why we challenge them, like for example in getting many wives we discourage them in doing that,

because the outcome of that many wives is hard, but the traditional practices we preserve that.- Another eroding of the practices is the dowry, for example if I get married I have to give many amount or carabao, cattle, horse, just to give to the father, the parents of the woman as dowry, that is what we call dowry. So we likely discourage them not to do that, where do you get to give to the parents of the woman, so the result of that is that if you are obliged to give because you follow the tradition you have to steal or, what should I say."

Q: "So this is one of the practices you see has to disappear in order to give room for development?"

A: "Yes, that's right."

Q: "... [blank parts on the tape]"

A: "... I said to you that I was afraid when I signed this, I was not so sure before, when the policy of the revolving loan fund was contracted to the ILO and MALTRICO, but for a few months we, the extension workers survey different barangays, we observe through many trainings that they have undergone already, I think if the revolving loan fund will come, if they just only apply what they have learned in the many trainings they have undergone, I think, I am sure this revolving loan fund is successful. If they will apply into the exact application. So as president of the MALTRICO I try my very best as president to disseminate that we have to take good care of these money, that is perhaps the last card that we are waiting for, that we have to take care of is, so that the MALTRICO or the indigenous cultural community will be uplifted, or shall we say on the higher, elevated living conditions, education or other and etc."

Q: "But, the MALTRICO project is that the first development project for the B'laan and Tagakaolo, or has there been other development projects in the area before?"

A: "What do you mean?"

Q: "I mean, PANAMIN for instance, they had development projects in the area before?"

A: "Yes, that was before, you know Jens, every agency of the government, the program of the government is good and well planned, it depends on the people who are implementing, so I have nothing to say about the PANAMIN before, because I have not experienced it, you know I was still young at the time. But, as we observe, the history of the PANAMIN there are also projects that have been successful in Malungon, but there are also projects that have failed, it depends on the implementation of the people, but there are also projects with PANANMIN before that was successful, so that's why I cannot answer you completely, because I did not know that before."

Q: "Okay one last question. Last Friday I interviewed Datu Ramon Catala and Datu Calinggo Maluma, and they said something very interesting, because one of the most important things of the awarding of the ancestral domain was that the dignity and the self respect of the people had been restored. Do you think so?"

A: "Yes, I have an explanation on that, during the awarding of the CADC, the B'laan and Tagakaolo are very much happy, because they got already the certification of the ancestral domain claim, before we have not yet received the certificate, it was as if the Christian looked

down on the tribal people, and then the land they are more under-estimated by the Christian, but just recently there are a group of barangay officials that come to this office, they ask the certification on that portion of land that are not covered by the ancestral domain, so they refer to us before they do anything in that portion of land, so they ask the certification that this portion is not covered by the ancestral domain, and as we see also the record certain barangays are not covered by the ancestral domain, so how strong now is the MALTRICO, how respectful how strong now after the ancestral domain was awarded to us. The Christian respect us more now."

Q: "But what when ILO leave the project in a few years time, do you think the MALTRICO will be strong enough to carry on with the activities?"

A: "Yes we assure you that, as we observe throughout Malungon the local government supported us. The NGO, especially the Sarangani Environmentalist Movement, supported us, so that gives us strength also, and other NGO or concerned agency of the government, so I assure you that the MALTRICO, if the ILO will leave us a few years from now, I assure that MALTRICO will still stand in its own, we can stand on our own feet, I assure you that, because I know God will help us in that."

Q: "Okay, last question. What hopes and expectations do you have for the future of the indigenous people in the ancestral domain?"

A: "My expectations as president of MALTRICO; in a few years from now, that maybe 75%, the last generation, the children of the cultural minorities, or the Tagakolo's and B'laans are educated. I am not saying next year, but in a few years. So I am expecting that the B'laans and Tagakaolo by the year 2000, maybe 75% are educated, are not so fool or doll, and I am expecting also through the help or the grace of God, that MALTRICO by the year 2000 are successful and more stronger, or shall we say intact, that the indigenous cultural communities by the year 2000 are in one purpose, one mind, one target. Maybe if we put, when we talk on the political, maybe MALTRICO has its own unity development mind. So I am looking forward MALTRICO is stronger."

Q: "Is there anything you would like to add, things that we haven't discussed, anything?"

A: "Yes, thank you Jens, we are happy that you are here, and very much thankful to you, and I think that when you go home on Friday, I am hoping that all the interviews that you have conducted here in Malungon that you can share it to your school and your friends, so that one thing I can say is, thank you very much for doing your job, I think this is your thesis, or you have already our secret [laughing] tradition."

Q: "Yes, but these things I will also share with you, because these things I will also discuss with Mr. Nayahangan, the views that the indigenous people have so that the ILO will better know the hopes, and the needs and aspirations of the indigenous people, but yes at the same time I am going to use it for my thesis."

A: "so I think you can share your experience here to your friends out there, no also I think you can bring the record of the MALTRICO there, I think you know all the activities of MALTRICO. That's all maybe, thank you for giving your time and God bless you."

Q: "Thanks for giving your time, and thank you."

Transcript 6

Interview with
Domingo Catala, Honnelyne J. Guilley, Solarta Moda, Edmund D. Pangilan;
Extension Workers at MALTRICO
Conducted Friday August 1, 1997.

Q: "Why did you start working with the MALTRICO project?"

A: (Solarta): "I decided to work in the project because I wanted to help my tribe by means of bringing my knowledge to the tribe, by helping the tribe getting education through the literacy program, and then by assisting the tribe to work and to achieve self-reliance."

(Edmund): "First of all I understand that this project is for the VIP people, and besides as tribal leaders or we can say educator, they need our help and they need our assistance, because on only limited persons from our tribe can help assisting our people, and as a tribal leader, a young tribal leader my desire is to help my people and to assist them trough this project from the ILO. So I give my time, myself, everything for my people because I want them to be uplifted, their way of living. Help them through the seminars, teach them some strategy or new technology on farming and whatever."

Q: "What were your expectations when you started working with the project?"

A: (Domingo): "The greatest the expectation that I have is to elevate the living standard of the people, because it is a fact that the IP's, that is because they are called indigenus because they are less fortunate, so I expect that by working through this project the living standard of the people will be lifted."

(Honnelyne): "I have a lot of expectations in working with the project. First I expect that our people will enjoy the benefits of the project through our assistance and another expectation that I have is for me really to gain experience, experience in how to deal with my people, experience in how to work with the people, the IP's. Because working with the IP's is not as easy as working with those educated people, it entails a lot of sacrifices, a lot of patience, this I wanted to develop, this is one of the reasons why I work here."

Q: "And what about your expectations, have they been fulfilled so far?"

A: (Honnelyne) "Yes so far they have been fulfilled, and there are a lot of things that I have never expected that is also happening, aside from expectations."

Q: "Like what, can you give any examples?"

A: (Honnelyne): "I never expected the response of the people would be like this, I expected that people are getting so mean with the project because they have experienced a lot of assistance years ago. I expecting that the response with the project is negative, but to my surprise the people are taking the project very seriously, and they really want to work with the project, that is why I was a little surprised as to the reactions of the project."

Q: "And what about you [addressed to the EW's], do you also feel that when you go the field the way people respond to the project is very positive?"

A: (Edmund): "Yeah, maybe some are not yet contended with the situation of the project now, because they are just waiting and waiting, so some are still negative, but some are very positive."

Q: "And what about in the Tagakaolo area?"

A: (Solarta) "The same."

Q: "Today the project is just over one year old, what would you say is the greatest achievement of the project so far?"

A: (Honnelyne): "I think it is the literacy program, because we were able to produce 514 graduates who knows how to read and write, and the beautiful part of it is that the government agency and the NGO's after discovering that the ILO is offering free literacy classes, they offered, they volunteered to support the project. As of now ILO is no longer spending for the literacy program, but because of what ILO have started, have started the literacy program, the NGO's and the government is working very hard for it, actually they are now spending for it."

Q: "Are there any way that the project has not lived up to your expectations?"

A: (Domingo): "One of my expectations that were not met was that the project is not functioning as fast as I expected, because the problems with us as extension workers is that the problems of the community are being thrown to us, and all the discouragement and everything, sometimes people muck us because; "Why are you still promising and promising?", people are accusing us as liars."

Q: "So it is difficult being an extension worker because you want to help your community, but you still have to wait for the money to be released and for the different project components to push on?"

Q: "Anyway, do you agree with the project components?"

A: (Solarta) "Okay lang."

(Honnelyne) "Yes there is no problems about the components, one thing that I really appreciate about the component is that they give attention to gender, which a lot of NGO's and organizations are taking for granted, so this time they really see to it, that both sexes are equally participating with the project."

Q: "Talking about gender, do you see a contradiction between the traditional role of men and women in the indigenous society, which is part of the culture, and the gender component. For instance Arman, he keeps saying he wants a second wife, and the idea of having more wives is perhaps slightly in contradiction with the gender component, that is my view anyway, what do you think of that?"

A: [Intense discussion among the extension workers](Honnelyne): "They are saying that gender affected a lot the culture of the people. Solarta is giving an example, that before men are allowed to have as many wives as they can, and then the culture during that time said that men are not working, it is the wives who work for him, for the man, now because of this gender awareness and everything the marrying of women were altered, and that now men are oriented not to rely on women, now men

and women are working for a living equally. So in spite of the gender sensitivity program affected the culture, they are saying that it effected the culture i a constructive manner."

Q: "And what did Domingo say?"

A: "That's what he was saying; constructively."

Q: "Another thing is the self-reliance. Do you think that the project will succeed in making the community self-reliant?"

A: (Domingo): "The People, the IP's, the Tagakaolo's and the B'laans have long been self-reliant, the problem is that in spite that they are self-reliant they don't have any sustainable economic activities, that is why they keep on fluctuate the status of being self-reliant is sometime put into compromise, but they would like the people in the convention to know that we are already self-reliant, but because of the project, he project have strengthened the self-reliance that they have."

Q: "How would you define self-reliance?"

A: (Edmund): "People who can stand by themselves to their own way of living, they have their own initiative, they can stand with their problems, self-reliance, they can solve their own problems, not depending on other assistance, but they can stand on their own feet."

Q: "If you have to be completely honest, do you think that, let's say five years from now, that the project has accomplished anything, do you think it will make anything different?"

A: (Edmund): "If the assistance for ILO will be implemented well, managed well, if everybody can do their projects and benefits, I think that there is no reason that the way of living for the tribal people, will not be developed. So I think that within five years from now, we can not see all of the systems will automatically change but little by little the there will be changes, development."

Q: "How do you see your own role in that happening, as extension workers?"

A: (Domingo, Solarta): "The basic role that we see in the involvement of the project, is that we are going to assist the people, facilitate the project, because, also for me (Honnelyne), we know for a fact that we are so very few that are fortunate to go to school and be educated, se we see our role here as a guide for those people, who really know nothing, so we are looking forward to functioning as a guide to the people, not to lead them astray."

Q: "Of-course you are more fortunate than the VIP's because you have gone to school and are very educated, but would you say that your own knowledge of the culture, of the B'laan and Tagakaolo culture, in a way have been revived because you have been working with the project, that perhaps your knowledge of your own culture has been sharpened?"

A: [Discussion among the extension workers](Solarta): "I wouldn't say that my involvement in the project has revived the indigenous culture within me, what is being revived is not the culture, but our concern to the people, because we are educated than this people, we tend to conduct the way that we live through the modern ways, but before the project we used to live by our own, by the things that we have learned in school and all that, but because of this project not all of our culture were restored to us, but the very interesting part there is, that we learned to be more concerned for our

people."

(Edmund): "And I have the same a part, as IP-member [everybody laughs], there are still cultures in our tribes that need to be promoted, that we need to develop and promote, and there are some cultures that need to be changed. I think myself, like for example in preserving our native clothes to have that, I myself am very interested and I really want that kind of culture will be restored, because that's one of our identity as member of the VIP's, so I think through this project it will be restored if we the VIP people will put it in our hearts and mind that culture is very important, that in my part, through this project, for example as Solarta said, it will help us perhaps through the seminars."

Q: "You some parts of the culture needs to be restored, but you also say that something has to change. What do you think has to be sacrificed in the indigenous culture if their life situation has improve."

A: [Discussion among the extension workers] (Honnelyne): "Dowry, Kasfala."

(Edmund): "That is tribal business; [example] Solarta has a carabao and I will borrow his carabao and give it to Domingo, Domingo gives my carabao to Honnelyne, and then after all Honnelyne will find a way to sell that carabao, and she will give to Domingo, and Domingo will give to me, and I will pay to Solarta. There is a little game in there, From Solarta it is 5.000,-, I will sell it to Domingo for 5.500,-, then Domingo sell it to Honnelyne for 6.000,-" [?]

(Honnelyne): "Yeah, yeah, but the really basic problem of the Kasfala is that because we wanted to boast, these people want to boast what they really can afford even though if they can't, what happens is that they are lead to rob somebody's properties, that is the very effect of Kasfala."

(Edmund) : "Yes for example I don't have money to pay the carabao, so I have to find ways..."

Q: "But isn't it more like, if you lend me 100,- pesos, and we arrange a date when I have to repay you, and come to me and say, give me my money, and I say, I don't have the money now, then you can take my tape-recorder?"

A: "Yes, yes, it's like that?"

Q: "Okay, I know I keep asking this question, but how would you say that the culture of the VIP's are different from the people in the area that are not indigenous?"

A: [Discussion]: (Honnelyne)"They are stressing on the aspect of hospitality and respect. Domingo is saying about respect that he really can see that natives, these IP's are putting more weight on respect to elders, than these people that are not IP*s. Then there's stressing on the hospitality, because the natives, the attitude of the natives is that, when we have you as our visitor, then you came at our house during lunch time where we are eating, it's because you are a visitor we really stop eating, and then if we only have one, let's say, chicken left and it is laying eggs, we don't hesitate to kill the chicken for you. That is how hospitable the natives are, and then they really wont allow you to go home without bringing something from them. Among the non-natives now, once you come at their house at a time where everyone is eating their meal, and you are not included in their budget, you will not be invited to eat, but among the natives it cannot be."

Q: "So they are more generous, more hospitable?"

A: "Yes, like what happened in Kalonbarak, the last chicken, Dario shot it [Laughter]."

Q: "Yes, yes it is true."

Q: "Okay, but what about the beliefs?"

A: [Discussion]: (Solarta): "He is saying about the beliefs of the natives to gods and goddesses, the IP's are really practicing these beliefs, that when you plant something you offer to the gods, however these non-IP's really believe in one god."

Q: "What about the IP's haven't some of them become Christianize, I mean you are a B'laan Edmund, and at the same time you are also a priest in a catholic church?"

A: "So, you are asking me about my belief?"

Q: "Yes."

A: "As a priest there's changes [laughing]... very hard to say about our belief, because before we believe in the god as the trees, the rivers, and the storms and the birds, but now because we believe in the bible, through the bible and through the church I understand now that those beliefs of our before are useless... are not really true."

Q: "So you don't believe in traditional gods anymore?"

A: "Yeah, as of now I don't because I already understand about the true god."

Q: "But what about your father, and your mother and the people in your village who hasn't gone to school, and hasn't been educated as a priest like you, do they still believe in the ancient gods?"

A: "In our area now, as of now, even in our churches in the mountains, that is what I observe, most of them are converted to Christianity for the believe now in the lord Jesus Christ and the creator God, so they have a little bit thrown away their old belief."

Q: "So, would you say that at the same time they believe in one god, believe in Christianity, they also practice some of their old beliefs?"

A: "Yes some they still believe in that, and I think that you cannot force them, especially those old ones, you cannot [Honnelyne interrupts]..."

Q: "What did you say?"

A: (Honnelyne): "I was asking him to specifically say that, there are two things now prevalent in the community; those people who believe in one god no longer believe in gods and goddesses, but this people who believe in gods and goddesses don't believe in one god. So if a certain person believes in one god, he gets away with believing in the gods and goddesses."

A: (Edmund): "That's what I am saying, that in my heart I do not longer believe in gods and goddesses, my parent don't longer believe. There are some, like the Alimogot, the wild bird, the wild dove, that still..."

Q: "But Edmund do you think that the belief is a part of the culture that has to change?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "And the rest of you?"

A: [discussion] "Yes."

Q: "Okay, not so many more questions. We talked a bit about education, didn't we, because you're all educated, but also you're a younger generation of the indigenous people, but even today young people go to school and receive more education, and also the elder generation receive education through the literacy program and the training seminars, how do you think that will affect the indigenous people in the long run?"

A: (Solarta): "The way people now are living tend to practice the modern way of living, which help in achieving a more decent and quality standard of living."

(Domingo): "The very effect of education to my community means that illiterate people now knows how to read and write, it triggered them to now practice the right of suffrage, through the literacy program, because before the old people are hesitant to vote because they don't know how to write and everything, and they are ashamed that they need somebody to assist them, but now this people are engaged, and they are now participating in political activities."

Q: "So, do you think that your children and the children of the indigenous people in the mountains eventually will move away from the indigenous lifestyle?"

A: (Solarta): "If they will, part of it really is because of education, the younger people really will get away from the indigenous practices, but we have enough discretion, we are speaking through experience, now we are educated, but we don't really get away with our culture, but we are getting away with the culture that we know will harm us, as like the culture of marriage fixing, that when your father and my father are friends they will fix us when we are still young, 2-3 years old, that are children will get married some day, now it cannot happen anymore because we now have the voice and the power to insist what we would like to have and what we would like to be. But, the indigenous culture that we still believe in unto now, that we still know is a plus factor for us we can never get away with, but at least we know what cultures should not be practised anymore and what cultures should be preserved and promoted."

Q: "So, it actually comes quite natural for you, what in the culture should be promoted and what should be sacrificed?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "You're saying that the culture is slowly changing. Do you think that the project will speed up this process and make the culture change even more?"

A: [long discussion](Honnelyne): "that is what Domingo said a while ago, that because of these reorientations, trainings that we have the knowledge that was educated in the minds of the people will really help ... moving the project in a more speedy manner, because it will not be hard for us anymore to explain to the people step by step, because they themselves are aware of what is happening in the environment, they are no longer ignorant as before, the project could now penetrate the community in a faster manner than before."

(Edmund): "There are many seminars that they have attended."

(Honnelyne): "It serves as a mind opener."

Q: "Okay, last question. What is the best thing in your view that could happen to the indigenous people in the ancestral domain?"

A: (Domingo): "The best thing that could happen to the indigenous people is that the people will start to live on their own abundantly, no longer depending on the efforts of others, that is the best thing that could happen."

"Ok lang, Salamat po!"

"Wala Sapayan!"

Transcript 7

Interview with Mima Lanon, Kalonbarak Sitio, Malungon Poblacion
Conducted Friday August 1, 1997.
(Interpreter: Edmund Pangilan)

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "Mima Lanon."

Q: "How old are you?"

A: "Forty two (42), [born in] 1955."

Q: "What tribe do you belong to?"

A: "B'laan."

Q: "Are you married?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Your husband does he have more than one wife?"

A: "No, only one wife."

Q: "How many children do you have?"

A: "Five."

Q: "What is your level of education?"

A: "Grade six."

Q: "What is your profession, what do you do?"

A: "Only here, housewife, clean house."

Q: "But, that is a lot of work, taking care of five children."

A: "Yes."

Q: "Have you always been working in the house?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "When harvesting and farming, do you work in the field?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "So you work in the field and take care of the house at the same time?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Can you describe a normal day for you, like what do you do during the day?"

A: "Cleaning the surroundings, all areas of the house, cooking, wiping the floor."

Q: "For how long have you been living here?"

A: "Since 1982."

Q: "Would you say that life today is the same as it was 10-15 years ago?"

A: "Not the same."

Q: "Not the same, what is different?"

A: "The difference is, before we had a large farm, but now we only have a small portion."

Q: "Your husband is he a farmer?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Does he only work on the farm or does he have a job on the side?"

A: "Only farming."

Q: "Who does the work in the field?"

A: "My husband."

Q: "What kind of crops do you grow?"

A: "Only corn, no other crops."

Q: "Do you sell your corn in the market?"

A: "We sell half of the corn, and half we use for the food."

Q: "Have you always been doing this?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "What is your income per month?"

A: "We are just waiting for the harvest time after every 3-4 month, because that is the duration of the corn?"

Q: "So you have an income every time you harvest and sell your corn?"

A: "Yes, after harvest we have to budget our income to sustain us within three months."

Q: "What training seminars did you participate in?"

A: "Garlic, carrots, vegetables."

Q: "Did you learn anything from the training?"

A: "Yes, it was good."

Q: "How, can you describe in what way?"

A: "I really like on the vegetables, on the carrots, garlic and... "azal"... like that green vegetable, I forget the name."

Q: "What is the word; azal? What is the word in B'laan or Cembuano; Azal?"

A: "Cembuano, yes this green thing, weekly you can harvest it."

Q: "So, it will change the income?"

A: "Yes and it will help us in our weekly need."

Q: "Do you think the training seminars will change the way you have been farming until now?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How?"

A: "It helps us because vegetables are easy to plant, and early to harvest, not like corn, it takes 3-4 months."

Q: "So, do you think it will make anything different in the future for you and your family?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "How would you describe the standard of living here and for the B'laan's in Kalonbarak."

A: "Good."

Q: "Good, in what way?"

A: "Well, the system of living for the people there, are on the middle situation, not really poor, not really rich, at least they can live by their own, they can support their own family."

Q: "What about the training, do you think it will increase your income?"

A: "It will help if we can implement it, and if we try to do it, if after the training you use what you have learned."

Q: "Do you think that you will use what you have learned?"

A: "Yes, I will do that, because I realize those training helps us really good, especially the women, because vegetables are easy for us to work, easy for us to manage, not really big portions."

Q: "Do you think that you will work more in the field with the new vegetables, now your husband is doing the most work, but with the new vegetables who is going to grow them?"

A: "The two of us, the husband plowing while I will work with the "bulo", I will be the partner of the husband."

Q: "Do you think that life, the life for a man and a life for the woman is different among the b'laans?"

A: "Yes, it is not the same, there are things that the man can do that the woman cannot do, and there

are things that the woman can do that the man can not do."

Q: "Who decides in the family?"

A: "My husband."

Q: "Your husband, and has it always been like that?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Do you think it should be like that?"

A: "Yes, it is good."

Q: "I know this is a difficult question, but can you describe the culture of the b'laans, describe the way that the b'laans are different from the visayans?"

A: "The difference is that the tribal people used to work only in the farm, while the visayans, the lowlanders are using some tools, which... like plowing before, there wasn't such plow, but nowadays almost in the mountains, and in the lowland the christians are used to have a business."

Q: "Has the b'laan culture changed over the years?"

A: "Not really, there are some cultures which still exist."

Q: "Is there anything today which is different from when you were a child?"

A: "The difference before, while I was little, we always live in the mountains, the neighbours were far away, while today we are a mixed community, mixed with the christians, ilonggos, cembuanos, before we are living far away from each other."

Q: "So, is it difficult to still practise your customs today?"

A: "No, it is not really hard to do my culture, because that is our own practise before, I can not forget that."

Q: "So, even though you live here among the visayans and christians, you very much still consider yourself b'laan."

A: "Yes, B'laan!"

Q: "Are your children being brought up in a different way than you were brought up by your parents?"

A: "Today it is a better way the children grow up in a better way, because we have already learned some ways to take care of the children, than before we don't have the knowledge how to take care of the children."

Q: "All the children are going to school today, do you think that will change the lifestyle of the B'laan's?"

A: "It depends on them, perhaps some of them can forget, it depends on the way they live, cause even we ourselves, even the old ones sometimes, some of the old ones are almost away from our

culture."

Q: "So it depends who you are as a B'laan?"

A: "Yes, but I am really a B'laan."

Q: "What expectations and hopes do you have for the future of the B'laan's?"

A: "My hopes and dreams for the future is that we, the B'laans, must know and understand the laws of the land, ways... how to live a better life."

Q: "That was my questions to you, is there anything you would like to talk about?"

A: "No, I think all your question were very good, thank you."

Q: "Well, thank you, Salamat Po."

Transcript 8

Interview with Melanie Remulta, Extensionworker at MALTRICO project.

Conducted on Friday August 1, 1997.

(Partly interpreted by Edmund Pangilan)

Q: "What is your name?"

A: "I am Melanie Remulta."

Q: "Why did you start working with the MALTRICO project?"

A: "My motive is really to help my people the B'laan."

Q: "What were your expectations?"

A: "My expectations is that the B'laan's could stand... have a good living."

Q: "And, so far have your expectations have been fulfilled?"

A: "It's started."

Q: "Started, how? Do you see a change for the B'laan's."

A: "Yes."

Q: "How?"

A: "By talking to the community, and especially when we talk on... to earn... to making feasibility reports you can see that some day... some day they will attain their dreams, especially through the project."

Q: "Today the project is just over one year old, what do you think has been the greatest achievement of the project so far?"

A: "There are bigger changes than before, and they share, all B'laan's share their eyes upon the project, their reactions, their desire, and really they are, we are, very interested in... they open their minds."

Q: "Is there anything in the project which you think is not working well?"

A: "I think all is good."

Q: "There is nothing you would like to change, something you would like to say, "here we have to focus more", or "this could be done in another way", "perhaps we should rather do it like this"?"

A: "I know the goal of this project is self-reliance, so this is, I think it must be imposed to the people, that they have to stand."

Q: "Do you agree with the project components?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Do you see a contradiction in the traditional role between men and women, where the man is in charge, and the gender component in the project, do you think that culture and gender in a way is conflicting?" [difficult question]

A: "I think there is no problem about that if it is... the men are happy also that there are women organization in every barangay, so that the women also can help to their family."

Q: "So you don't see that the gender component is trying to encroach on the culture?"

A: "No, especially because we also have to educate the men about the gender."

Q: "Do you think the project will succeed in making the B'laan's and Tagakaolo's self-reliant?"

A: "Yes, because I am trying, even my self, I have to do my best to attain the success."

Q: "How would you define self-reliance in your own words?"

A: "That they can stand by themselves."

Q: "How much to do you think the project will change for the life of the B'laan's?"

A: "We have already passed the step for, especially for the trainings they have. In my own opinion I hope, and my dream is that the B'laan's will have a better living, and for live, through their participation I can also see that they will succeed."

Q: "Talking about participation, how does the people respond. For instance when you come out to a village and explain about the revolving loan fund, have to organize women group and so on?"

A: "Through their reactions they are very attentive, very participatory even in discussions and in making plans, and in every meeting we have they are always present, and also their ideas... participatory."

Q: "Do they have a lot of ideas in the community?"

A: "Yes in fact the feasibility studies comes from them, we are only there to assist."

Q: "So you are saying that they are willing to give the project a chance?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Would you also say that they are willing to learn?"

A: "Yes, really, the literacy program, they also give their time to study."

Q: "One of the ideas of the project is that the development of the ancestral domain has to be built on the traditions and cultures of the Tagakaolo's and b'laans, do you think the project is successful in this respect?"

A: "Yes."

Q: "Can you describe in what way, if you can say in what way the project is respecting the culture?"

A: "Those cultures we have before we will restore again... and preserving."

Q: "Are there anything in the culture you think that to change if the life condition has to improve."

A: "The early marriage, the agreements with the parents..."

Q: "That has to change?"

A: "Yes if early marriage is still in our culture, the youth cannot go to school, so it is a hindrance for progress."

Q: "Talking about school, you are young and educated, and you are different from the VIP's because you have been a way from your culture when you went to school, you studied in Davao, so in a way your life is different than the people in the mountains, so you are perhaps just an IP and not a VIP. So, what I am asking you is, that your knowledge about your own culture has it changed, are you now looking with different eyes on the culture of the B'laan's?"

A: "Yes, because I really see the difference between the B'laan's and the not 'B'laan, so our culture I can say I am really proud of, the B'laan's."

Q: "How would you say the culture is different between the B'laan and the Visayans?"

A: "They are really different especially in giving respect to the old ones, to the leaders, we really respect our leaders."

Q: "When you were studying in Davao City [King Williams Bible College], was it difficult to be away from your culture?"

A: "No, I am flexible." [laughter]

Q: "You are like Edmund; half modern half native?" [laughter]

A: "Yes."

Q: "Do you think the indigenous culture will change with the MALTRICO project?"

A: "No, it will restore, our culture will be more developed or will be preserved."

Q: "Today the indigenous people are receiving more education, all the children go to school and some of the adults has received literacy training and are also participating in the training seminars, do you think that will affect the life of the B'laan?"

A: "If they are all educated?"

Q: "Yes, do you think it will change the culture or the pace of life, the lifestyle?"

A: "I think it will change those cultures that are not good, those cultures that can hinder the progress..."

Q: "Do you think your children, or the children of the people in Kalonbarak for instance, do you think that when they will receive education and their knowledge will expand and increase, do you think they want to continue with the traditional life in the mountains?"

A: "It depends on us, how we deal with them and really impose the good culture we have so it will not vanish to us. Those that are not applicable and are a hindrance for progress we should not follow

it, only those cultures that are good."

Q: "Do you think the education today are giving the B'laan a choice. Before when you were indigenous they were living in the mountains, the indigenous did not anything else, but today because they receive education they can now choose between saying; I am a B'laan, and I want to be a B'laan, I am proud of being a B'laan, or you can say, okay, I might still be a B'laan and I respect the culture, but I would like to be more like the Visayans. Do you think that is the difference between today and earlier, today the indigenous people have a choice?"

A: "Yes." [vague]

Q: "What do you think Edmund?"

A: "Well, there's a big difference because for example in our area, before we only use for example in the farming we used simple tools, but nowadays we are using some new technologies in farming, and there are thing that are different, many thing change."

Q: "Okay last question, what is the best thing in your view that could possibly happen for the indigenous people in the ancestral domain?"

A: "The best thing that could happen possibly I believe, is that self-reliance or that the indigenous can stand by their own?"

Q: "But, haven't they been standing on their own all their life?"

A: "They can stand."

Q: "What I mean is, that before the project, the indigenous people were living, they were doing farming in the mountains, were pushing on with their life, do you think that this project in a way is also imposing on the B'laan people saying, you "need" development?" [difficult question]

A: "Yes." [Doesn't understand the question. Melanie, as the other extension worker's don't question the very idea of development, most people do not, but have internalized the idea, that they "need" development. For them it is unquestionable, as it is obvious that the indigenous people are under-developed or undeveloped.]

A: "It is opening their minds, their minds... there was no project like this before, since time immemorial, there was no, even from the Philippine government."

Q: "But, why do you think that the B'laan and Tagakaolo need development, don't their life is happy, that they have good lives?"

A: (Edmund): "We need development because by our own way of living, our tribal way of living we are sometimes just contended with what we have, even though naturally enough for our families, sometimes we are contended if we can eat three times a day, so we need to be developed, we need development processes, and through this project, through training seminars, not only technical, but in many aspects of our life as tribal people we need development."

Q: "Thank you, I have no further questions, do you have any questions+?"

A: "When will you be back?"

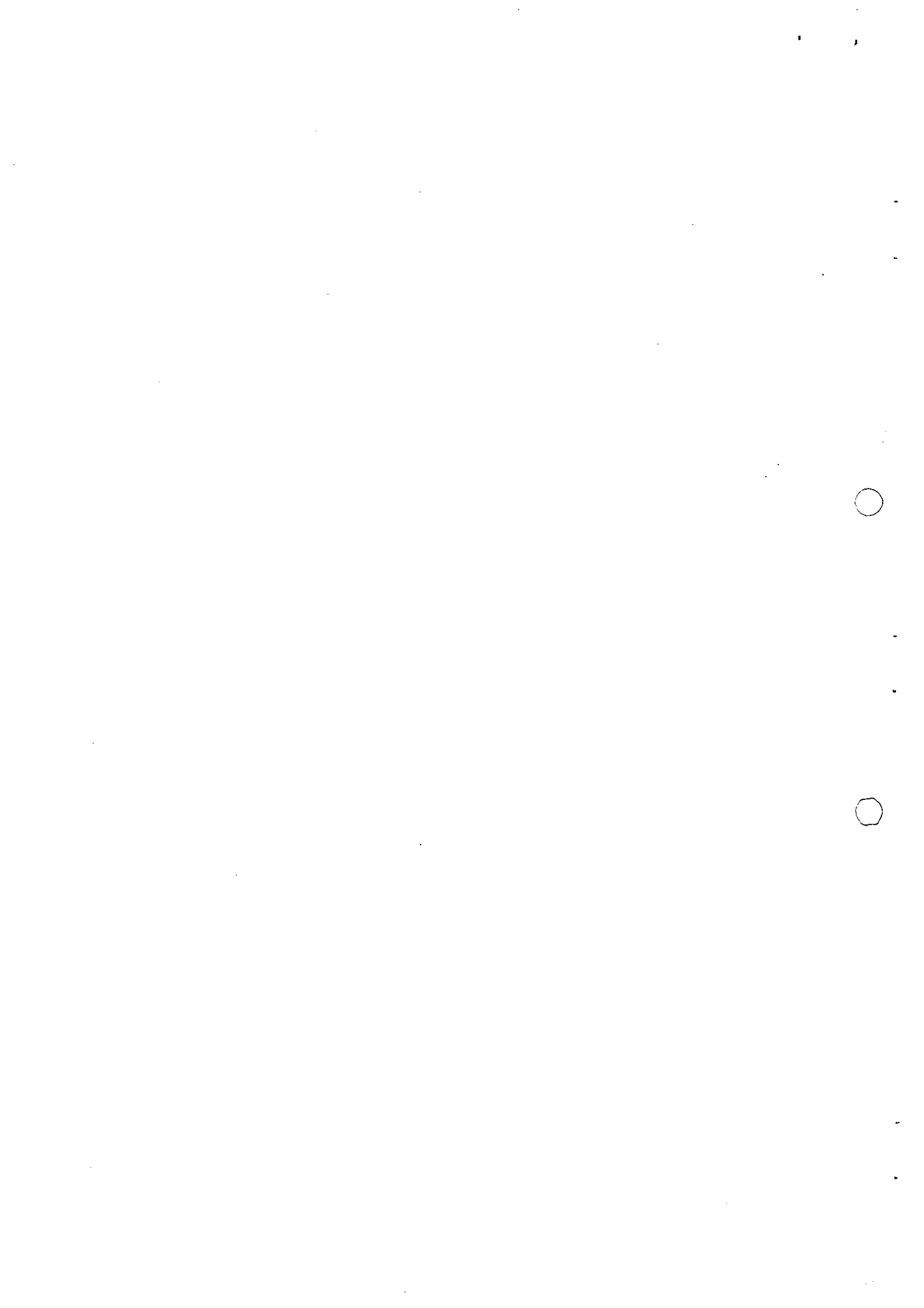
A: (Edmund): "I hope in dreams that the project from your country through ILO will see vital needs here in the Philippines, so today we are still looking forward that the help, especially the revolving loan fund, again we will say that even we extension workers sometimes are being blamed by the community why we always say; "wait", "wait" until now, it is supposed to be last may, that was the information given to us. So last week they asked, "Why, it is already July?" So next week when I go to the field, lots of questions, why it is already August. We are hoping here, on behalf of the staff, how we wish in the month of August that the revolving loan fund will be implemented, that is the very thing that our community dream and desire, that we can help now."

Q: "Yes, it is really needed now, but it will come. The deadlock in the negotiations with the Landbank and ILO is being tackled now, so within a few weeks I honestly believe that it will start. But do you think that the people out in the community know how much they have to pay back, do they know that it is only a loan, it is not money given to them, it is a loan, and they have to pay it back?"

A: (Edmund): "Yes they already the system of the loan, when you loan a certain amount, they already know and understand the policy, because we have a revolving loan fund policy, and that policy has been disseminated to our community, but still there some that can not understand, but many really understand and appreciate the revolving loan fund, and some of them desire that if the money will be released it can help them in farming, have financing for the farm. But even though, what we have observed, even though they have not yet received the revolving loan fund, that they are very happy this time, there are countries that re really concerned for the VIP's and have looked into the very need, we just thank for them. They recognize that it is a blessing from above through ILO."

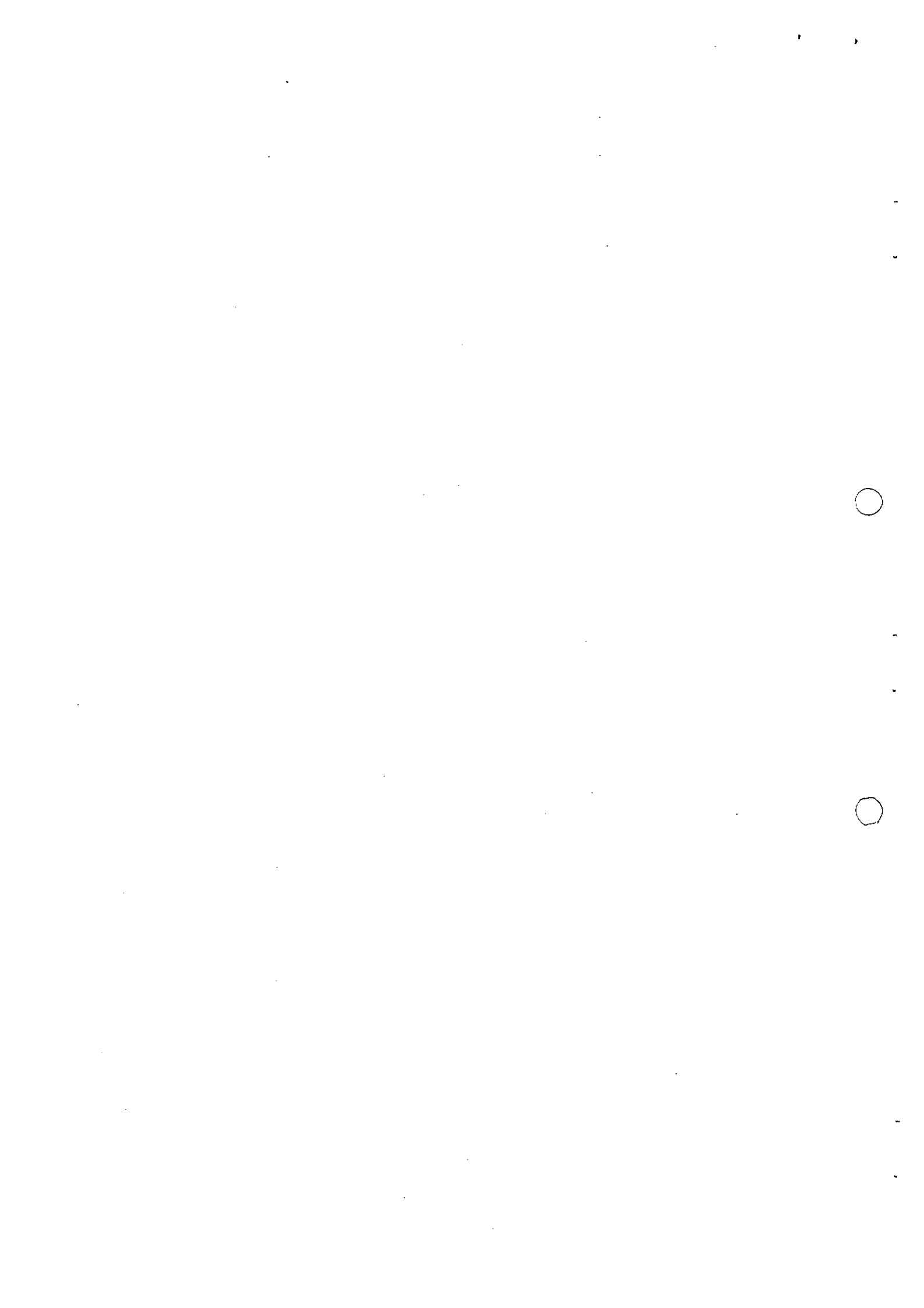
Q: "ILO is working in close connection with ...[God]?"

A: "Yes." [Laughter]



Annex 2

Terms of Reference



*Terms of Reference for intern Jens Dyring Christensen
during his stay at the ILO-INDISCO project site in
Malungon, Sarangani province, Mindanao
June-August, 1997.*

By now I have read the available material on indigenous people and the ILO-INDISCO programme in general, i.e. *Convention No. 169, Indigenous and Tribal Peoples: a Guide to ILO Convention No. 169, Indigenous and Tribal Peoples and the ILO, The ILO's INDISCO Programme - Partnership with indigenous and tribal peoples*, along with the material on ILO and Indigenous people in the Philippines, i.e. the *Participatory Development Framework for Indigenous Peoples - TSSI Report*-, the draft of *ILO Indigenous Peoples' Program, April 1997*, and *Land and Resource Tenure Issues of Philippine Indigenous Peoples*, and finally the more specific material on the project site in Malungon, i.e. the baseline surveys on the *B'laan Ancestral Domain* and the *Tagakaolo Ancestral Domain*, as well as the *Terminal Report* on gender relations in the project site, the *Project Document*, and the *Second Progress Review Report with the 1997 Workplan*. Taking into account the different project components I have subsequently associated myself with the concept of the Revolving Loan Fund (RLF), as conceptualised in the *INDISCO Guidelines for Extension Workers 3*, on accounting system and operational procedures for INDISCO revolving loan funds as well as I have studied the *Department Administrative Order* on Guidelines on the management of certified ancestral domain claims from Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR).

During this reading process I have simultaneously been briefed by associate expert Ms. Esther Knapen and national co-ordinator of the INDISCO programme Mr. Domingo Nayahangan on the different ILO-INDISCO projects in the Philippines and specifically on the project site in Malungon, where I have been assigned to carry out the more practical aspects of my internship. Having gained a more comprehensive knowledge of the concept, the longterm goal and the immediate objectives of the Malungon project, which also includes the participatory strategy and methodology with which it is being implemented, and after being briefed on the specific activities, that will take off in the near future, I propose the following terms of reference for the part of my internship taking place on the project site.

Terms of Reference

1. The purpose of the internship has a dual perspective for the mutual benefit of both parts. On the one hand the intern will assist and work with the local staff and the People's Organisation in the B'laan and Tagakaolo Ancestral Domain in the Malungon Municipality, Sarangani Province, Mindanao. On the other hand it will give the intern a better understanding of the management of a specific development project among indigenous

people in the Philippines, and the strategy with which it is carried out. The Intern will submerge himself as extension worker and resource person and help in the daily management of the ancestral domain. Simultaneously he will undertake participatory monitoring and evaluation of the project (PME).

This has a dual perspective; a) PME is a management tool which enables people to improve their efficiency and effectiveness; b) at the same time it is an educational process in which participants increase their awareness and understanding of factors which affect their situation, thereby increasing their control of the development process.

2. The work plan and the assignments will be quite diverse, since various activities will be underway on the project site at this point in time, among which is;

a) *Training in technical skills*: The indigeneous community has proposed training in a range of agricultural disciplines, in which they would like to improve their present knowledge, such as; *vegetable growing, live stock raising, agro-forestry and traditional handicraft*. The local staff is initiating a further training of these skills in order to enhance the indigenous peoples capabilities in these fields. The intern will help in arranging workshops, hands-on training and supervising, as well as helping local staff identifying and subsequently selecting persons and groups in the community which are motivated for acquiring new skills. An important role of the intern will be to work as *motivator*, i.e. explaining possible advantages, prospects and new job perspectives which the future holds when a person/group decides to acquire new skills. A possible role of the intern could be to carry out micro cost-benefit analyses with persons/groups weighing pros and cons and making action plans for how the acquired skills can be put to use. This includes follow-up meetings and visits to Barangays/villages in order to continuously stress the importance of using skills and ideas launched in the training sessions.

b) The establishing of a *Revolving Loan Fund (RLF)* is currently underway in the community. The administration of the RLF will be conducted by a Credit Committee, with representatives from the local staff, the community, the Board of Trustees, and the Philippine Land Bank. To the extent possible, the intern will assist in the setting-up of the RLF and the managing of the fund once it has been established. Since the granting of loans to persons or groups from the community focuses on income generating activities, and as such is connected to the training of technical skills with which the intern is concerned, the intern will likewise assist in the evaluation of the loan applications and in conducting feasibility reports with considerable respect to the average return on capital invested.

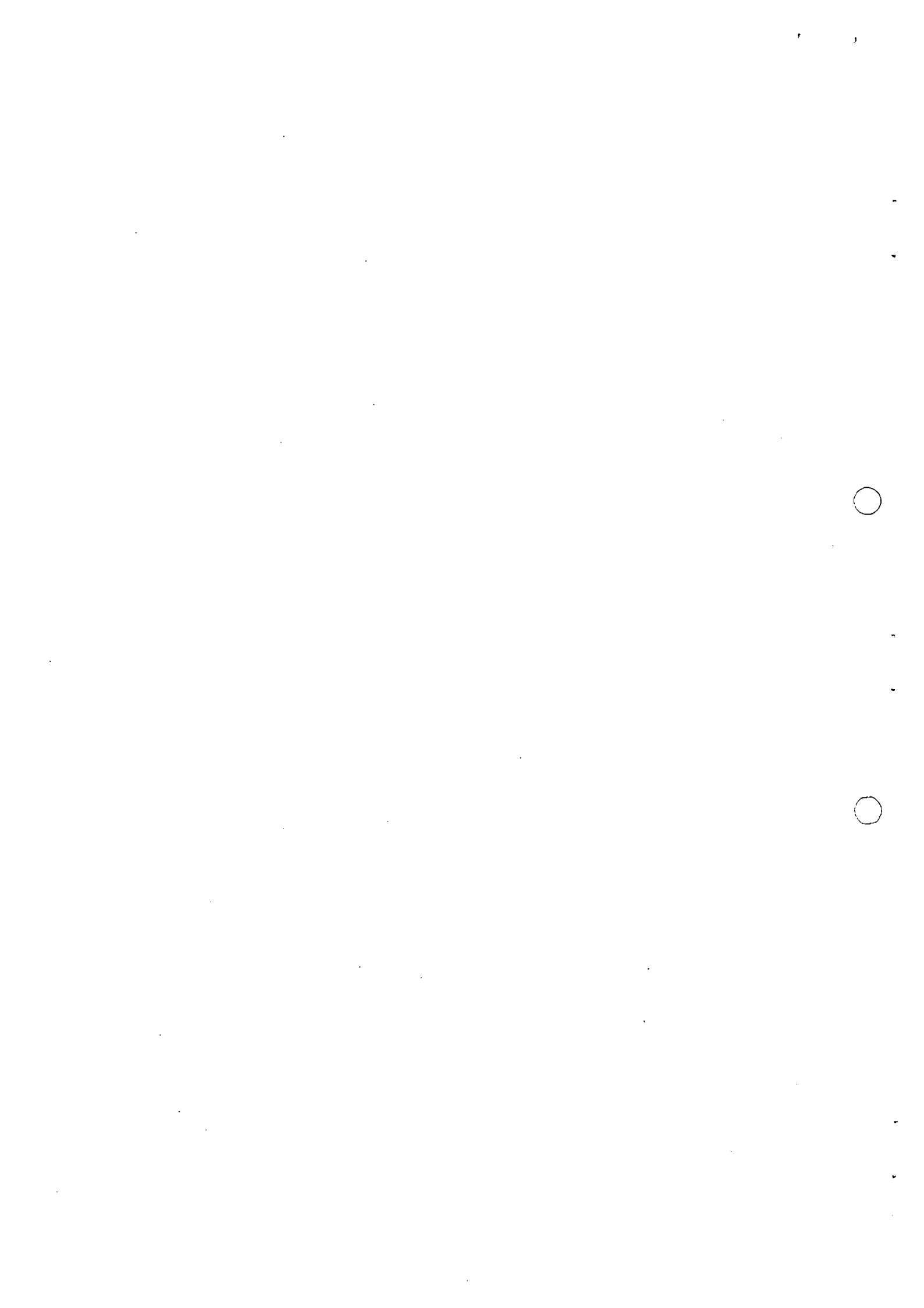
c) A Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC) has just recently been issued to the B'laan and Tagakaolo tribes in Malungon. It gives them the responsibility for the management of their respective ancestral domains in a sustainable and environmentally sound way. Previously there has been no joint effort in the community for drawing out a development plan for the area. With the issuance of the CADC's however, the

Department Administrative order No. 2, calls for the formulation and and execution of ancestral domain management plan, which each community must conduct. In this light a discussion process on the development of the Ancestral Domain has started within the B'laan and Tagakaolo ancestral domains. The intern will to the extent possible take part in these ongoing discussions and on the background of the community operational guidelines assist the local staff in outlining and effectuating the Ancestral Domain Management Plan.

d) With consideration to the need for advancement of Indigenous women's status and the strategic gender needs as identified in the terminal report on gender relations in the Ancestral domain, the intern will to the extent possible undertake Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) on gender relations in the community.

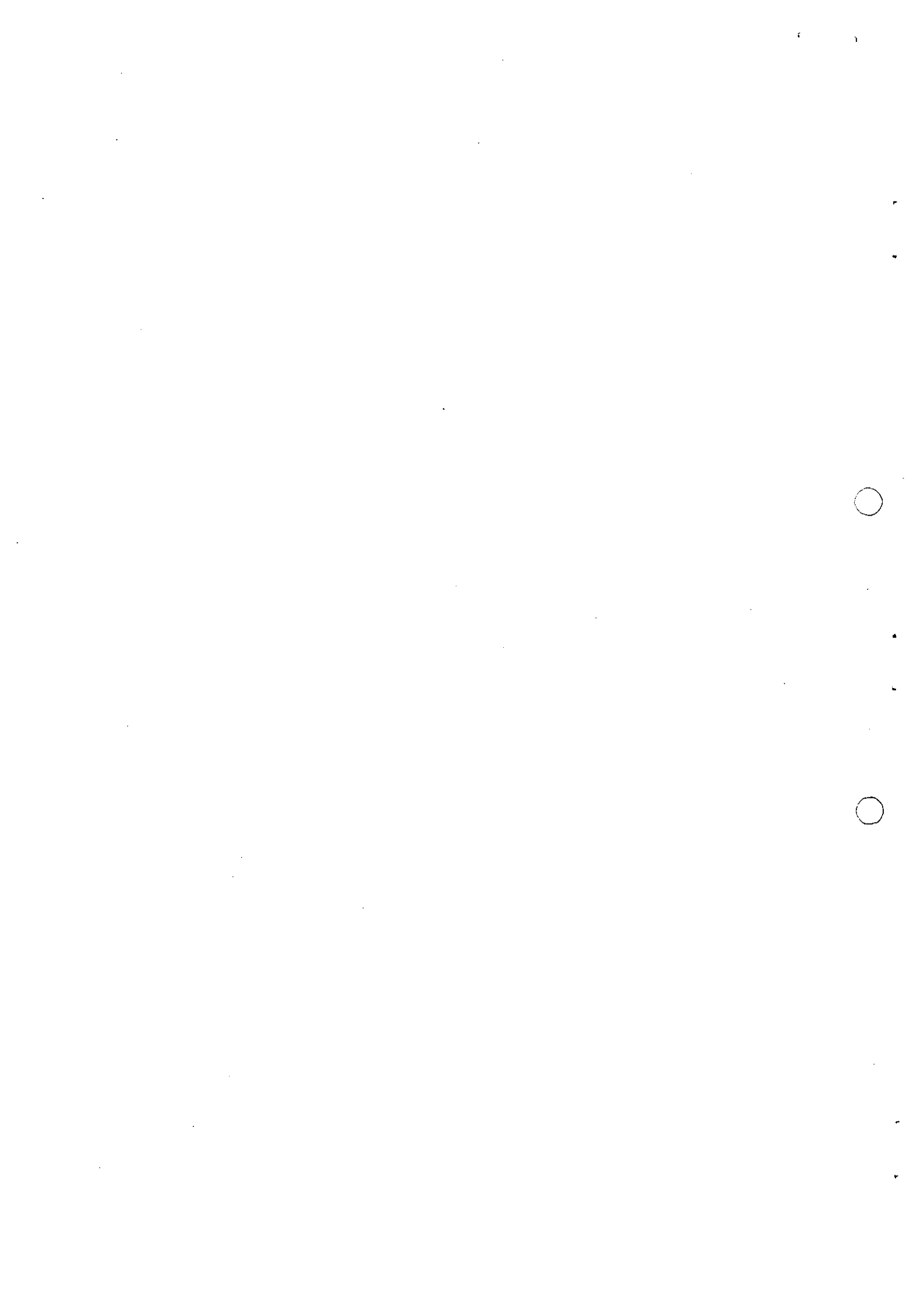
3. During the placement the intern will brief and debrief findings and observations with the local project manager, the local administration officer and the extension workers as well as with the national co-ordinator and associate expert if/when they visit the project site.
4. The assignment is a new activity in terms of it being the first time an intern will work in one of ILO-INDISCO's project sites in the Philippines. At the same time however it is a part of one of ILO-INDISCO's ongoing projects in the Philippines, and as such a complimentary assignment within an already existing activity.
5. The Terms of Reference can at all times be adjusted to the more specific needs at the project site, and the intern should in consultation with the local staff, and the community, represented by the Board of Trustees, feel free to do so if such need arises. The Terms of Reference are a provisional guideline for potential components to be worked with, and these components may therefore not be addressed equally.
6. Finally, the intern will produce an output in terms of submitting a written report to ILO-INDISCO on the findings, observations and assessments as well as on the more specific activities carried out on the project site.

ILO Area Office, Manila, June 17, 1997



Annex 3

Intern Activities



Intern Activities

- 3 weeks work at the INDISCO office in Manila getting briefed about the various INDISCO project sites in the Philippines. Associating myself with the history of the Indigenous People in the Philippines and the Malungon, Sarangani pilot project site documents.
- 6 weeks work with the local project staff in Malungon assisting in every day managerial activities and working as resource person.
- Assisting and monitoring livelihood trainings and seminar in SALT (Sloping Agricultural Land Technology).
- Attending and monitoring Environmental Impact Assessment seminar.
- Attending and monitoring Board of Trustees meetings.
- Wide range of visits to barangays and villages informing about the RLF and other project components.
- Submitting weekly intern reports to the ILO office in Manila informing about project activities, evaluating and making project recommendations.
- Conducting interviews with Indigenous People in the Ancestral Domain.
- Working in Manila office for two weeks and submitting Intern Report.

