DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE, AND DEVELOPMENT IN MINDANAO, PHILIPPINES: A CRITICAL CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores land rights to address the challenges faced by rural Indigenous people in Mindanao, in particular the most vulnerable affected: women, young people, the elderly and differently abled in the banana and pineapple monoculture plantation communities. Case study was used to engage with the stakeholders from the 13 provinces of Mindanao. A total of 105 participants representing government agencies, non-government organisations, academia, the business sector, and local people were recruited through snowball sampling.

This thesis aims to include local people's perspectives on human rights and social justice in the governance framework. A critical review of the existing governance framework and the extent to which local people have a democratic voice is addressed using Ulrich's 12 boundary questions. Critical systemic approach or heuristics (CSH) is used to establish what *is* and *ought* to be the case for the Indigenous people in Mindanao.

The thesis explores the role of women in rural development planning in Mindanao. It argues that women are excluded from opportunities to participate actively in making development decisions because of the rise in multinationals who take over small farms and combine them into plantations growing only one crop. The monocultural growing techniques employed on plantations exclude women's knowledge of diverse crops and the diverse (including wild) fauna and flora on which many Indigenous

people depend for their food security.

The repression and 'weeding out' of women's knowledge by multinationals builds upon the patriarchal domination of decision-making. The result is that the knowledge of women about seed diversity, wild fauna and flora is being lost. A case is made for the representation of women at the community and regional level so that women's policy suggestions (based on their experience as farmers) is acted upon, in order to preserve diversity.

Free, prior, and informed consent does not occur. Rather, the land is taken over by multinationals or government organisations with the promise that local elites and transnational companies will help rural Indigenous people by increasing productivity.

Consequently, land deals lead to land loss, indebtedness for fertilisers and pesticides, and loss of seeds and crop varieties, resulting in destitution, anxiety/depression, and food insecurity for the rural Indigenous people.

CANDIDATE DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Mervin Gestopa Gascon　　　　　　　Date:　29 July 2016
Candidate

I believe that this thesis is properly presented, conforms to the specifications in the university and *prima facie* worthy of examination.

Associate Professor Dr. Janet McIntyre　　　Date:
Principal Supervisor

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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LIST OF ACRONYMS USED IN THE THESIS

AoA	Agreement on Agriculture
ADP	Agro-Forestry Development Programme
AFRIM	Alternate Forum for Research in Mindanao
ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
BHW	Barangay Health Worker
BUC	Bishop Ulama Conference
BUDA	Bukidnon–Davao
BAS	Bureau of Agricultural Statistics
CADT	Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title
CALT	Certificate of Ancestral Land Title
CMEPSP	Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress
CCT	Conditional Cash Transfer
CSH	Critical Systems Heuristics
CDF	Countrywide Development Fund
DAPECOL	Davao Penal Colony
DA	Department of Agriculture
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DFID-DOC	Department for International Development - Drivers of Change
DILG	Department of Interior and Local Government
DOJ	Department of Justice
DFDR	Development-forced displacement and resettlement
FGD	Focus Group Discussion

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FPIC	Free, prior, and inform consent
GMO	Genetically modified organism
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNH	Gross National Happiness
HDI	Human Development Index
IKSP	Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices
IP	Indigenous People
IPRA	Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997
IDPE	International Development Policy Establishment
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KFI	Kennemer Foods International
LFC	Lapanday Foods Corporation
LGU	Local Government Unit
MRA	Marilog Reservation Area
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MINDA	Mindanao Development Authority
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
NCIP	National Commission on Indigenous Peoples
NEDA	National Economic and Development Authority
NPA	New People's Army
NIPAS	National Integrated Protected Area System
NGO	Non-Government Organisation

OO	Office of the Ombudsman
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
4Ps	*Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino* Programme (Bridging Filipino Family Programme)
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PADCC	Philippine Agricultural Development and Commercial Corporation
Php	Philippine Peso
PGN	Practical Gender Needs
PDAF	Priority Development Assistance Fund
QOL	Quality of Life
RA	Republic Act
SRA	Social Relations Approach
SWS	Social Weather Station
SOCCSKARGEN	South Cotabato, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Sarangani and General Santos City
S&P	Standard & Poor's
SGN	Strategic Gender Needs
SC	Supreme Court
SCRA	Supreme Court Reports Annotated
TADECO	Tagum Agricultural Development Corporation
TINA	There is no alternative
TRIP	Trade-Related Intellectual Property
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
WB	World Bank
WIPO	World Intellectual Property Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

GLOSSARY

Akat
A Visayan and Matigsalug word which means a share from working together in the farm. It is always in the form of goods like rice and corn grains in exchange of labour spent in planting and harvesting crops.

Ambit
Visayan word which is also known in the Indigenous communities of Mindanao as partake or share.

Babaylan
Traditional medicine woman

Barangay
Lowest level of local government in the Philippines

Barangay Kapitan
A Visayan term referring to the highest elected official in the barangay (community).

Batun
A local arrangement of entering into shepherding cows, carabaos, goats and other livestock for other families.

Bayanihan
A Filipino term, which in this case refers to the strong community support for farming and other communal activities such as hauling a small bamboo house especially by rural men. The word comes from the Filipino term *bayan,* which means nation or community, hence *bayanihan* is otherwise described as community action.

Carabao
Philippine water buffalo

Datu
Male tribal chieftain

Dayung
A Visayan and also a tribal term for *bayanihan* in the rural Philippines.

Duway
An indigenous Matigsalug term referring to a polygamous relationship.

Habal-habal
A popular mode of transportation in the rural areas of Mindanao. It is basically a motorcycle with extended wooden seats on both sides that can carry a load of 6-8 persons including the driver. *Habal-habal* is preferred in agricultural communities where rice paddies or farm roads are too narrow and rugged for cars.

Kangga	A carabao-drawn wooden cart used by farmers to transport heavy loads.
Loan Sharks	Refers to the local elites, financers and businessmen who provide instant cash for rural farmers' contingency needs both at the household and the farm. Loan sharks also offer other services apart from cash loans. They also provide farmers easy access to fertilisers and pesticides at an interest rate ranging from 15 to 20 percent per month of the total loan amount.
Talabian Gantangan	Refers to the Indigenous court of justice headed by the tribal *datus* or male chieftains as the adjudicators.

Chapter 1: The problem and its environment

1.1. Introduction and context

The Philippines is ranked 117th out of 187 countries in the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) *Human Development Report 2014* and was categorised in countries with medium human development. From 2010 to 2013, the Human Development Index value has grown at a rate of 1.38 percent with .651 in 2010 and .660 in 2013.

The country is one of the fastest growing economies in Asia with its GDP growing by 5.2 percent over the last 10 years (National Economic and Development Authority & United Nations Development Programme, 2014). Its annual growth is erratic due to the effects of natural disasters and economic recessions (Balisacan, 2014). It had a high GDP growth rate in 2010 of 7.6 percent, but slumped to 3.7 percent in 2011. According to the *World Disasters Report 2012*, the Philippines is the third most disaster prone country in the whole world after Tonga and Vanuatu (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2012).

This thesis contributes to the literature on misdirected development through detailing the exploitative nature of banana and pineapple plantations run by transnational corporations and business elites in Mindanao. Monoculture farming or single cropping is the local face of the positivist, reductionist and linear 'monocultures of the mind' (Shiva, 1993),

state simplification (Scott, 1998), environmentalism (Cao, 2015; Dobson, 1998, 2004, 2012), and commodification of nature (Araújo & Godek, 2014; Borras, 2007, p. 147; Cotula, 2013). In this study, 'monocultures of the mind' is used as a lens to critique the existing governance framework that offers one-size-fits-all strategies to rural development, as if 'there is no alternative' or TINA (Shiva, 1993). Monoculture is also a form of state simplification and a managerial approach to environmental protection where both humans and the natural environment are commodified (Araújo & Godek, 2014, p. 72; Brilmayer & Moon, 2014, pp. 124-128). Commodification of all factors involved in single cropping in Mindanao, as this study argues, is not at all beneficial in promoting the general wellbeing and life chances of rural and Indigenous people. The Indigenous people sell, lease and allocate their ancestral lands for the banana and pineapple plantations and yet, the supposed benefits of their agreements to various forms of land deals have not materialised.

The aim of this thesis is to address the growing inequality between the rich and the poor in the Philippines. The case is made in this thesis that poverty in Mindanao is growing and that this is the result of multinational development initiatives that place the interests of the developers first. In chapters four to seven, data will be provided to support the argument that marginalised Indigenous peoples, especially women, children, the elderly and differently abled persons are worse off as a result of the 'industrialisation of agriculture and commodification of nature' (Araújo & Godek, 2014).

Development-forced displacement and further pauperisation of the rural peasants have not been seriously tackled under the current framework of democracy and governance. The subsequent marginalisation of the poorest and most vulnerable people brought about by development projects that require land, water and green 'grabbing' has been legitimised under the banner of global food and fuel security.

According to Oliver-Smith (2009):

> Development-forced displacement and resettlement (DFDR), refers to the involuntary displacement and resettlement of people and communities by large-scale infrastructure projects such as the capital-intensive, high-technology projects which convert farmlands, fishing grounds, forests and homes into dam-created reservoirs, irrigation schemes, mining operations, plantations, colonisation projects, highways, urban renewal, industrial complexes and tourist resorts, all in the name of development, and aimed at generating economic growth. DFDR is always applied to communities or groups of people rather than to individuals. Given the drive in most low and middle-income countries for economic growth and development, this trend is likely to intensify (cited in Ferris, 2012, p. 155).

Currently, human rights and social justice implications of transnational monoculture plantations as development projects are scarcely investigated and documented. Most of the studies conducted so far have focused on dams and mining. Ferris (2012) argues that governments protect their business interests by refusing to report the negative social and environmental impacts induced by development projects. This may well be the case in the Philippines where health, *inter alia,* other social indicators are not disaggregated to indicate the existential risks faced by the local

people who are forced to accommodate and live with the toxic and dangerous plantation communities for, and in the name of, economic development.

The UNDP has highlighted the need to address human vulnerability in its *Human Development Report 2014*. The financial crisis and environmental risks linked with climate change have prompted the need to focus on human vulnerability more than ever (National Economic and Development Authority & United Nations Development Programme, 2014).

According to Chambers (2006, p. 33):

> Vulnerability, though, is not the same as poverty. It means not lack or want, but defenselessness, insecurity, and exposure to risk, shocks and stress. This contrast is clearer when different dimensions of deprivation are distinguished, for example physical weakness, isolation, poverty and powerlessness as well as vulnerability. Of these, physical weakness, isolation and poverty are quite well recognised, and many programmes seek to alleviate them; powerlessness is crucial but it is rare for direct action against it to be politically acceptable; and vulnerability has remained curiously neglected in analysis and policy, perhaps because of its confusion with poverty. Yet, vulnerability and its opposite, security, stand out as recurrent concerns of poor people which professional definitions of poverty overlook.

Stiglitz (2014) argues that vulnerability is another aspect of societal performance. He argues that many people—both in rich and in poor countries—still suffer from destitution. A sick family member or a lost job opportunity can result in their reverting backwards into destitution.

Despite their growth, the agriculture, forestry, and fishing sectors have grown at only an average of one percent over the last 10 years. This trend

has prompted a rising level of inequality in the rural areas of the Philippines. Figure 1 shows that the Gini coefficient as a measure of inequality is falling in national and urban areas, but not in rural areas of the Philippines.
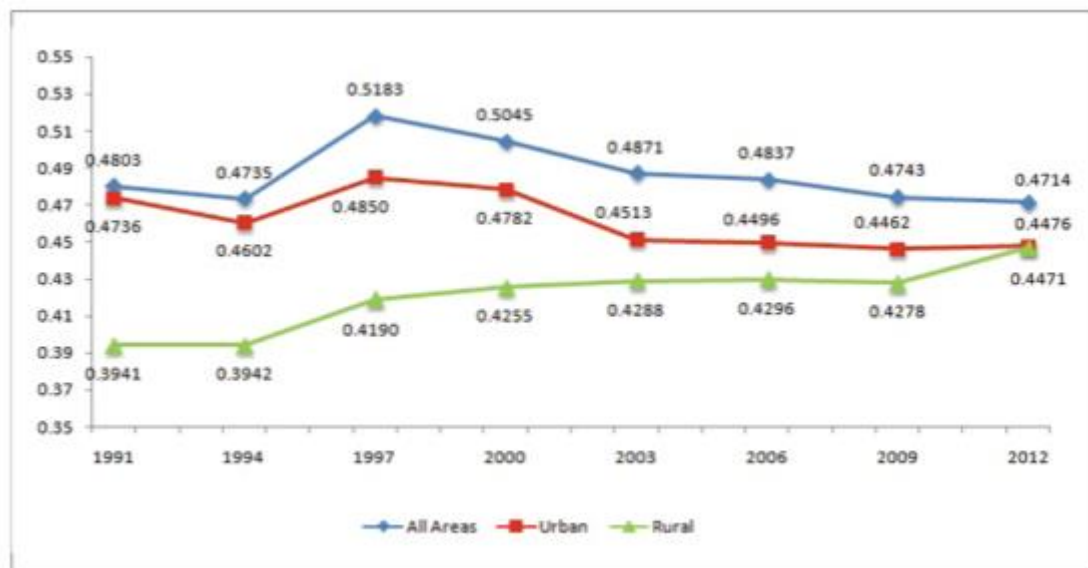
Figure 1. Gini coefficient, Philippines, by areas, 1985-2012

Source: Reyes et al. (2012) cited in National Economic and Development Authority and United Nations Development Programme (2014).

In 2012, the country's agricultural sector constituted 32 percent of the total employment and 11.8 percent of the GDP. Half of its national population lived in rural areas and relied mainly on subsistence agriculture primarily anchored on land which comprised 42 percent of the total land area in the country (World Bank, 2015).

Mindanao is the second largest island in the Philippines with a total land area of 97,530 square kilometres and a population of roughly 25 million as of 2014 (a quarter of the entire country). Due to its fertile soil, ideal tropical

climate, and rich natural resources, it is dubbed the "Land of Promise". Mindanao is where most of the high-value agricultural products for the country's exports are grown. The agricultural plantations of banana, pineapple, and papaya which are mainly grown for export, have massively changed the natural environment of the island.

The Philippines is the second largest exporter of bananas and pineapples in the world, and Mindanao produces roughly 81 percent of the total volume of production (Mindanao Development Authority, 2015). Banana and pineapple industries are the fastest growing business ventures in the country. The industry grew at an average of 9.8 percent between 2000 and 2013. According to the (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014a), "about 3.27 million metric tons of bananas were exported in 2013, valued at USD 962.57 million. Volume was up by 23.4 percent while value grew by 48.9 percent. The share of bananas to the country's total value of agricultural exports went up to 15 percent in 2013."

In Mindanao, the incidence of poverty is the highest. Six out of the 10 poorest regions in the country are on the island (Arguillas, 2013). It is also where literacy rates and maternal health care are the worst in the country.

The Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) is used as a lens to address the area of concern that I am using as a case study for this PhD thesis. The Capabilities Approach emphasises the importance of valuing and protecting the dignity, not just satisfaction, of each person and looks at

development as an improved state of 'beings and doings'—people being able to have a voice, choice, and agency in the rural development decision-making platforms from the household, community, and state to market level. Agency refers to an individual's capability to plan and act for her/his own welfare by being able to exercise her/his own voice and choice in the decision-making process (Kabeer, 1999). Agency is further extended in this systemic study to mean individual's capability to challenge the existing limitations of democracy and development by being able to engage with as many different stakeholders from multiple levels through open dialogue and active listening.

The Capabilities Approach is a moral and evaluative approach that treats each person not as a means to development but as an end. The ways in which proletarianisation, or the incapability of the Indigenous smallholder farmers in Mindanao to control their land and means of production, and the ways in which agroecological systems are commodified and exploited by modern monoculture farming suggest that the rural Indigenous people in Mindanao are socially excluded by the prevailing structural and economic orientated governance and development frameworks that make them passive participants in various decision-making opportunities.

This study aims to provide an enhanced governance framework wherein the voice, choice and strategic participation of the most marginalised Indigenous people especially women, children, the elderly, and differently abled are included and being listened to in the rural development planning

platforms (Dobson, 2014). This study challenges the current design and practice of social planning and decision-making often manipulated and controlled by experts and leaders, which results in negligible participation of those affected by the proposed policy or development intervention.

To help address marginalisation of the poorest and the most vulnerable local people affected by the development projects, this study used a Critical Systems Approach to expand the current boundary of decision-making to include the active and strategic participation of the 'involved' (experts, politicians) and the 'affected' (local people) (Ulrich, 1994). By engaging the local people and the community in the policy, it is hoped that the wellbeing and life chances of the poorest and most marginalised are enhanced to safeguard their vulnerability to being returned to a state of destitution. By listening to and including the voices, choices and agency of the local people, the policy making process could be improved.

1.2. Aims and objectives

This research aims to make a practical contribution to the development of better local governance based on fieldwork that could inform the development of community-driven criteria to assess the major arenas of governance, namely the structures of government, the processes of political engagement in civil society, bureaucracy, judiciary and economic society.

This study also aims to enable the local people to be actively involved in

local governance by enhancing their chances to acquire better access to information to help them make informed choices in decision-making processes. In addition, this study hopes to raise the socio-civic literacy of the local people by engaging them in a participatory and evidence-based assessment of governance systems in their immediate communities. To this end, the local people were provided the opportunity to deal with the most pressing issues confronting them when living in the communities of Mindanao where monoculture plantations have become a major part of their lives.

By providing the local people the opportunity to engage in the process of decision-making critical to their wellbeing, this study is intended to help emancipate them from the current governance system that allows and treats pauperisation and marginalisation as part of the normal process of a democratic society, which is trying to strengthen its economy.

To summarise, this study aims to:

1) Identify the constructs of good governance of the Indigenous people in Mindanao;

2) Determine the challenges of the group in promoting good governance in the local government units in Mindanao;

3) Develop an action plan on good governance with the local government units concerned.

1.3. Research questions

The study addresses the following questions in order to achieve its aims and objectives:

1) What are the socio-economic, political, and environmental dimensions of poverty and human vulnerability caused by development projects in Mindanao?

2) How do the existing democracy, governance, and development frameworks address destitution, marginalisation and vulnerability of women, children, peasants, and Indigenous people?

3) What should be the proposed action plan of the local government units to address these issues?

1.4. Rationale and significance of the study

The rationale for the study is to make policy and governance recommendations to support stable, sustainable governance for the local people of Mindanao, particularly those who are affected by banana and pineapple monoculture plantations. In general, the purpose of this study is to contribute to the body of knowledge pertaining to democracy, governance, and development discourses by putting an emphasis on human rights, gender equality, and environmental sustainability as a way forward to ensure that the wellbeing and life chances of vulnerable local people are protected at all times.

It is argued that the social mobility of the most marginalised and poorest

local people in Mindanao is hampered by global, national, and local policies. For example, despite the good position of the Philippines in the global ranking on gender equality, local experiences of Indigenous women and children living along monoculture plantation areas actually shows that they are worse off than ever before. At the household level, disaggregated poverty data shows that women and children, being those left to do unpaid household tasks, experience more hunger than working or farming men. The Philippines ranked first among the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) member-countries and ninth in the whole world for its efforts in closing the gender gap particularly in education, according to the *Global Gender Gap Index 2014* report of the World Economic Forum (Jones, 2015).

In particular, this study strives to identify the concepts of good governance mirrored in the actual practices of the peoples' values, customs, norms, traditions, and beliefs. This study specifically intends to develop a commonly agreed dimension of good governance suitable for all groups in the entire politico-administrative system in Mindanao as well as the entire Philippines. The overall goal of the study is to help build enabling, dynamic, relevant, and sustainable local communities through local people who are aware of the processes of good governance; that is, governance which is inclusive, participatory, accountable, gender-sensitive, cost-effective, and regenerative.

The different stakeholders who will benefit from this study are:

Politicians and staff in the local government units. They may benefit from the results of this study particularly in regards to what citizens perceive as critical to their wellbeing and also in gaining their trust and support. By knowing how to gain citizen trust, politicians will be in a better position to tailor-fit their proposed policies related to the delivery of goods and services. They may also benefit from the model of good governance that they themselves developed with their constituents by being reassured of citizens' active cooperation and support. By participating in this study, they will have learned how to 'listen' (Dobson, 2014) and critically examine the processes and issues related to good governance and benefit from the feedback received and processed out of the interactions (e.g. workshops and focus group discussions) with other members of the community. The key informant interviews and the focus group discussions conducted help enable the community leaders and experts to critically reflect on their current approaches in addressing the social, economic, political and environmental needs of the rural Indigenous people in Mindanao. The whole research process supports the critical role of 'apophatic listening' (Dobson, 2014) where leaders and experts engaged in this systemic inquiry are encouraged to place themselves last and the Indigenous people first (Chambers, 1997). Apophatic listening also requires that leaders and experts must truly value the significance of local wisdom held since time immemorial by the Indigenous people in Mindanao in order to develop a social design that will work best at improving their wellbeing and life chances.

Local people may directly benefit from the improved governance processes that will be in place after the study. They can benefit from the renewed contract of commitment with the local government officials and other stakeholders to responsibly carry out the tasks of community building. They may also benefit from the chance to assess fairly and justly the state of local government systems and participate in the process of continuously improving these systems, including improved access to basic social services.

This research strives to contribute to enhance the relationships across state, market, and civil society to enable renewed commitment and interaction with local governments, citizens, and other stakeholders. In this respect, this study is important: firstly, because it engages with the local people, especially the poorest and the most marginalised, as victims of development projects along with the involved experts and local leaders, to investigate the issues, and to create a proposed local governance framework that fosters wellbeing and improves life chances. As a means to come up with a proposed local governance framework, Nussbaum's (2011) Capabilities Approach, together with the gender lens theorised by Kabeer (2003) and Moser (1989) is used as an integral part of making sound critiques against the current democracy and governance structures in order to emancipate Indigenous women, children, the elderly, and differently abled persons from destitution, protect them from involuntary displacement induced by development, and safeguard their vulnerability by developing their resilience to withstand conflict, financial crisis, and

natural disasters.

Secondly, as has already been stated, this study is important, because it argues governance can be ideally characterised, involving the practices, aspirations and concerns of people as a source of data. By involving the practices and concerns of people, it critiques the validity of the "universalistic approach" in assessing good governance used by the donor-giving countries/agencies. Measuring good governance has become a modern tool for aid allocation and loan granting decisions by premier donor agencies like the World Bank, the US-led Millennium Challenge Account, the UK's Department for International Development– Drivers of Change, the Australian Agency for International Development and several others. However, there is continuing worldwide debate and analysis about the most reliable, robust and practical ways to determine the parameters of good governance. Importantly, this study can serve as valuable input in the continuing discussion on what strategies work best to make development assistance of the member countries of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) effective and to have sustainable impacts on under and developing countries.

1.5. Structure of the thesis

Chapter one presents the global and local backgrounds of the development project under the food and fuel security regime. Mindanao is regarded as the richest agricultural source in the Philippines, which is why

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it is prioritised to carry the responsibility of farming a massive volume of high value crops specifically for export. It is presumed that the pauperisation, marginalisation, and vulnerability of the local people where the monoculture plantations were built have become part of the normalcy of the existing democracy and governance structures. This chapter also describes the extent to which the monoculture plantation under the food and fuel security regime has not only taken land and water; it also has literally taken the seeds and dislodged the fabric of culture and traditions of the local people and ultimately, their life chances. It is argued that the monoculture plantation system coerced the rights of the Indigenous people to self-determination by making them passive participants in the decision-making process pertaining to the use of their ancestral lands for the development projects.

Chapter one presents the impetus for the study to identify the weakness of policies and/or systems and to bring critical discussion regarding these policies and systems into open, participatory, inclusive, and gender-sensitive platforms, which are necessary to support the survival of the poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people in Mindanao.

Chapter two discusses the theory and key concepts relevant to the study. It presents democracy, governance, and development discourses as the overarching themes of the monoculture plantations in Mindanao. It further presents a review of related studies focused on the financialisation of land and natural resources in the context of development. Land, water, and

green grabbing as mechanisms used in transnational land deals for global food and fuel security is also described. Green grabbing, as Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones (2012) argue, is the 'new appropriation of nature' where vast tracts of land are acquired through the lease or sale for both commercial plantation and environmental purposes such as carbon sequestration, ecotourism, agro-forestry and other similar purposes. In the works of Dobson (2004, 2012) and Cao (2015, pp. 13-14) on environmental citizenship, green grabbing can be categorised as an 'anthropocentric' approach to development because nature is chiefly utilised for economic gains.

Chapter three addresses the research design. It highlights the use of case study to engage with the participants, who are comprised of the rural and Indigenous people directly affected by the development projects, and from the ranks of experts and politicians, as well as the default planners for the people under the existing democracy and governance architectures. It describes how qualitative tools like semi-structured interviews, direct observation and focus group discussions were undertaken to elicit relevant concepts, images, and constructs of good governance from the participants at the local government units.

Chapter four explores proletarianisation or land loss. It explores the extent to which land deals have rendered smaller farmers without access to the means of production. This results in their having to sell their labour to land owners. This chapter has three sections. The first section asks how the

banana and pineapple monoculture plantations in Mindanao have expanded both in terms of area planted and volume of production. The section explores land, labour, and the market requirements of the monoculture system to produce high-value crops earmarked for the international supply chain. The second section asks who holds landownership and who controls land access in rural Mindanao. It explores gender disparity in landholding and argues that women's disadvantaged status in landownership and access compromises their life chances and wellbeing. Finally, the third section asks how the free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) seeking process fails to protect the strategic gender interests of men and women in the Indigenous Communities of Mindanao. The section argues that FPIC process as a social, political, and environmental decision-making platform, privileges powerful men, experts and officials, and denies the poorest and most vulnerable women their chance to participate and emancipate themselves from their disadvantaged status.

Chapter five presents the analysis of findings based on the empirical and secondary data gathered for the study. Using the identified axial themes processed through Nvivo, this chapter demonstrates the argument that the development projects in Mindanao have resulted in displacement, informalisation of land rights and ownership, destitution, food insecurity and increased financial and environmental vulnerabilities of the Indigenous people. In this chapter, dispossession of land rights is specifically discussed in the context of the financialisation of land, water, and farm

systems to support the global food regime through the liberal trade agreements sanctioned under the WTO. Included in the discussion is an elaboration of local scenarios, using direct quotes or narratives of the participants, in regards to the precariousness of local food insecurity, and the destitution and marginalisation of the poorest and the most vulnerable, which runs counter to promises of free trade and economic development.

Chapter six explores rural development planning biases in the plantation communities of Mindanao impacting on the wellbeing and life chances of the Indigenous people, particularly their capabilities to actively participate in the decision-making processes. This thesis argues that the poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people in the banana and pineapple plantation communities in Mindanao are passive participants in rural development planning.

Chapter seven concludes and summarises the preceding chapters. It presents the study's contribution to methodology, theory and the practice of public policy.

Chapter 2: Defining governance and development project issues critical to the life chances and wellbeing of the Indigenous people in Mindanao

2.1. Introduction

This section presents a review of the literature, covering the key terms used in this study. The main purpose of this chapter is to analyse and critique related discourses on development, democracy, and governance found in global, regional, national, and local literatures. By doing so, gaps in the available literature are identified. This study explores the importance of local participation and the voice of the people affected by and involved in the development projects in Mindanao. It aims to contribute timely, doable, and critical ideas on how to better address the development project issues confronted by the Indigenous people in Mindanao.

Literature around development and global governance systems mainly discuss the cause of economic deprivation and corruption in developing countries like the Philippines. However, recent studies have pointed out the need to redistribute wealth by expanding people's choices to direct their lives and to close the gender gap, in order to promote economic and human development. The concepts of social and environmental justice are discussed in contrast to the global agenda of so-called good or better governance as a universal framework. In doing so, this study highlights the

need to respect traditional economic views and practices wherever possible and to value diversity to the extent that it does not undermine the rights of others in this generation or the next.

Furthermore, I tried to link agriculture and rural development problems faced by the Indigenous people in Mindanao to the neoliberalised agriculture agenda. I used the concepts of modern agribusiness (Ioris, 2016; McMichael, 2010) and the ways in which these techno-innovations altered the traditional agricultural practices. These modern agricultural practices include, but not limited to, the use of 'genetically modified organisms (GMOs), digital farming technologies, and satellite-guided machinery, as well as new production dynamics such as land and gene grabs, the privatization of common land, pervasive financialisation, the decisive role of global corporations, and the creation of the World Trade Organization in 1995' (Ioris, 2016).

2.2. Development and the global governance perspectives

The world faces extensive human, social, economic, and environmental challenges that require local and transnational solutions. Foremost of which is climate change, which has posed major catastrophic disasters all over the world, thereby putting the poorest and other vulnerable groups highly at risk. Other formidable challenges requiring global efforts are terrorism, food and water security, and the pandemic Ebola (Jiamin, 2015).

Governments and the business sector have developed ways to capitalise

on the effects of these major setbacks confronting humanity alongside with their "business-as-usual" capital and energy intensive development strategies. Norberg-Hodge (1991) asserts that: "the process usually is top-down, monocultural and highly insensitive to the diversity of cultural and biological needs across the world".

In this chapter, development is seen to be the by-product of the colonial era in the Philippines. This is described by Shiva (1988, p. 1) with reference to similar colonial projects in land rich developing countries and is now termed as a 'development project' (McMichael, 2008). A development project is a Western global force that demands a state to remodel and reshape its basic philosophies and structures. This demand differs from colonialism; a development project does not require physical and upfront violence to subjugate and exploit a society (McMichael, 2008; Shiva, 1988, 1993). However, it seriously degrades the local and traditional knowledge systems with science and technology as the only and best way to respond to the current and future needs of a society (Shiva, 1993, pp. 9-10). In this way, development projects are arguably a new form of colonialism. It also promotes capitalism as the vanguard of development that is often measured in terms of profit (for the business sector) and gross domestic product (for the state).

Peet and Hartwick (2009) argue that:

> Development is a complex, contradictory, contentious phenomenon, reflective of the best of human aspirations, and yet, exactly for this reason, subject to the most intense manipulation, liable to be used for purposes that reverse its

original intent by people who feign good intentions, the more to gain power.

The new colonial development project has become the dominant and ever-growing force that puts at stake the integrity of any local or national social, economic, and environmental interventions. Different models and approaches are developed, but none so far is proven to address sustainably the pitfalls of development projects, especially those that have revolved around social development. Western-orientated development has further confused the development project in a way that experts and service-users of the economic models and statistics do not understand each other. Service users find it difficult to transform the experts' insights into relevant and timely local actions; the experts have developed models and projections that do not reflect the actual experiences of people (Norberg-Hodge, 1991, p. xxi), making it extremely difficult for them to understand the implications of the experts' estimates.

In regards to models that do not reflect the experiences of the people, Stiglitz, Sen, and Fitoussi (2010) have this to say about the limitations of GDP as a measure of human progress:

> This dramatic episode is teaching us a very important lesson: Those attempting to guide the economy are like pilots steering a course without a reliable compass. The decisions we make depend on what we measure, how we do our measurements, and how we interpret them. We are almost "flying blind" when the metrics on which action is based are ill-designed. Today, there is a broad consensus that we need better metrics and that we need to understand the limitations and uses of existing metrics (p. 6).

Since the industrial revolution, development ideology has taken centre

stage of most countries, both poor and rich. Industrial development is considered the ideal framework within which nation-states operate to aspire for greater production and power. As a result, development has become the end and not the means (Chatterjee, 1994, p. 3). The dominant global force of development has become the basis for the advancement of science and technology as a way to improve life on earth. It has defined a whole new concept of living for those who have access to it, but is a source of further animosity for others who are adversely affected by it.

Chatterjee (1994), an investigative journalist who reported on the Rio Earth Summit, has summarised the evolution of the development paradigm in his book *The Earth Brokers: Power, Politics and World Development*. According to Chatterjee, the paradigm has sustained its prominence and strength either against or in support of the world's upheavals. Since its inception in the era of industrial revolution, development has been seen as the catapult for major social and administrative changes, bringing with it the promise of freeing the world from the atrocities of war and famine. However, it has been seriously pursued by nation-states to acquire domination and power through reparation of physical and human infrastructures, following WWI and WWII. The creation of the United Nations (UN) as an international platform for "peace through development" further propelled industrialisation formulated in the North and then replicated in the South. The liberalisation process of the Third World after the colonisation period also followed the track of the development paradigm by emphasising borrowing with conditions such as

bilateral trade agreements for exporting goods and services.

2.3. The making of the so-called good governance: from getting the price right to getting institutions right

The term "good governance" is commonly used in the development policy arena nowadays. It is also known by various derivatives, such as "sound governance" (Goldsmith, 2012, p. 116) and "effective governance" (Andrews, 2010). Its introduction as an important development discourse can be traced back from the signing of the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944 at New Hampshire, which gave birth to the world's largest financial institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now known as the World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Since the establishment of the World Bank and the IMF, we have entered a period of 'globalism' (McMichael, 2008). Globalism is characterised by global governance along with structural adjustment loans and offshore banking, largely taking place between 1990 and 2000. The period has prompted many regulatory reforms in developing countries by upholding the principles of globalisation through international investments to address global food and fuel security issues at the expense of land rich countries such as the Philippines.

Good governance relates to various factors that include, but are not limited to, culture and geographic location. This concept can be applied differently depending on the assumptions underpinning the approach. It can be either participatory or top-down depending on the prevalent modernisation paradigm being adopted by a country. The former is a global strategy of

the North to legitimise its power (Abrahamsen, 2012, p. 48) and transfer institutional knowledge to make governments of the South transparent and accountable, while the latter has focused more on the transfer of technology and skills of the North to upgrade the South's local productivity (Anders, 2009, pp. 1-2). Good governance has been portrayed as an appealing world development agenda that persuades underdeveloped and developing countries to alter their local practices and make them more attuned to the North's so-called "better" ways of doing things. Thus, good governance legitimises the North's direct and indirect manipulation of the developing South (Abrahamsen, 2012, p. 29).

Hyden, Court, and Mease (2004, pp. 13-14) suggest at least four ways to view governance as a development concept. The first is to consider governance as emanating from the field of public administration. Governance has affected the way the Government relates with different sectors in society. Non-governmental organisations have become partners of the government's continuing effort to steer and control society. The second way is to consider governance based on international relations literature. From the literature, it can be seen that governance has resulted in some important modifications of international protocols. Widespread global problems such as pandemics, poverty, climate change and many others require international platforms for the cooperation of people and their organisations to freely come and act together. The third way is to look at governance in terms of comparative politics. Drawing on comparative political analysis, governance can be seen to have emerged because of

the downfall of communism. The subsequent changes in the regime structure of former communist states are highly promising. They have introduced innovations in the way people and their governments converge for common societal welfare. In this aspect, rules of the regime have become the focus to determine success and failure in policy outcomes. Lastly, the fourth way is to look at governance based on the perspective of international development agencies. Different international development agencies adopt varied operational definitions of the term governance, and they do so to suit their own agenda. The UNDP, for instance has set the three pillars of governance as: economic, political, and administrative. On the other hand, the World Bank takes a different approach in defining governance. It excludes the political aspect because it has an official mandate not to intervene in its client's political issues.

The common strand that nevertheless connects the different concepts attributed to governance is civil society. Civil society is a platform where people can freely identify and organise themselves as citizens whose participation in the community matters at all times. Hyden et al. (2004, p. 2) argue that governance depends on voluntary intervention of the people at the regime level aimed at protecting, amending, and sustaining specific rules that are important to how the political system functions and the way political processes operate. Bovaird and Loeffler (2003) support Hyden (et al.) by stating that governance refers to the manner in which stakeholders relate with each other to affect the processes that matter to them and improve their lives.

In contemporary society almost everything appears up for measurement, in order to seek truth using all possible means, whether scientific or non-scientific, objective or subjective. However, I argue that we cannot measure what we cannot define. Defining good governance or 'quality of government' (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008) is not an exemption to the rule. Good governance requires definition so that it can be measured. The West introduced the so-called 'good governance' agenda for developing countries in the South, like the Philippines, to adopt and 'develop'. However, the agenda's 'one-size-fits-all' principles make it hard for governments, with unique histories, societal realities, and cultures to follow (Andrews, 2010, p. 10). Grindle (2004, p. 527) states that the good governance agenda is attracting 'poor, disorganised, vulnerable [states] to political disruption, and lacking in legitimacy' to access debt relief in exchange of the structural adjustment policies (SAP). SAPs are loan conditionalities that borrowing countries should adhere to and one of its many forms is the so-called good governance agenda. Kapur and Webb (2000) illustrate that governance conditionalities imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are distinctly quantitative as evidenced by the bank's use of such phrases as "performance criteria", "prior actions", "quantitative targets" and "structural benchmarks" (p. 3).

Andrews (2010, pp. 10-12) argues that good governments do not look the same; they have different contexts and they do not necessary adopt the principles of the good governance agenda.

Different authors and social scientists have varied definitions of the concept of good governance (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2003, p. 315; Hyden, Court, & Mease, 2004). Measuring it is a difficult task, analogous to "nailing a pudding on the wall". It is so difficult to measure because its underlying concepts depend heavily on the socio-political context of the state in which it functions and the particular stakeholders involved (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2003).

Measuring the dimension of what constitutes good local governance is a formidable challenge to practitioners and scholars, not least because there is a dearth of literature and studies that focus on it (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2003; Mathur & Skelcher, 2006). In the UK and US, considerable efforts have now been made to investigate the extent to which local governance practices have influenced policy outcomes in their societies. Often, however, these studies are 'aggregated' (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2007, p. 1) and thus produce trivial results.

Karpen (2010, p. 16) suggests that good governance is "a term used worldwide to measure, analyse, and compare, mainly quantitative and qualitative, but not exclusively, public governments, for the purpose of qualifying them for international development aid, for improving government and administration domestically, etc." On a similar note, good governance is also seen as a set of solutions to development challenges we now face (Anders, 2009, p. 1).

Bovaird and Loeffler (2003) recognise that good governance enables democratic societies to manage their affairs in a systematic manner where stakeholders can openly participate in the discussion and decision-making process of policies.

Good governance is considered in some contexts such as Africa as the 'password' (Anders, 2009, p. 2) needed before a country can acquire financial support from the WB and IMF. This means that the country seeking financial aid must change its vital economic, political, and social systems to match the loan or aid conditions imposed by the Bank. Good governance is a valued laden concept directly aimed at poverty reduction. The question is who defines it and in whose interests? These are questions addressed by Robert Chambers (1997), for example, in "Whose reality counts?". It is a new development approach replacing or upgrading the strategies and models employed in the past that failed or were found wanting in several aspects (Abrahamsen, 2012, p. 30).

Good governance agenda runs in the same vein as development. The debate on development policy appropriate for developing countries has now escalated to cover not just privatisation or "getting the price right" but includes ensuring that institutional mechanisms are efficient, effective, and accountable. The International Development Policy Establishment (IDPE) has taken this move as "getting the institutions right" to address the limitations of the initial development agenda. To get the institutions right

means that the so-called good governance principles must be upheld by developing countries in order to resemble at the very least the characteristics of US institutions (Chang, 2009, p. 69).

Poorer or developing countries, while subscribed to the dynamics of US-led Washington consensus, particularly the WB and IMF lending programmes, are also influenced by various conditions like accountability, transparency, rule of law, and participation to improve their legislative and institutional capabilities (Kapur & Webb, 2000). According to World Bank research, good institutions scaffold economic development (Chang, 2002).

In the UK, words in vogue and phrases like 'Rayner's Raiders' and the '3Es' of economy, efficiency, and effectiveness have paved the way for 'new public management' and 'entrepreneurial government' due to an overwhelming call for public sector reform (Rhodes, 1997, p. 2).

2.4. The limitations of the term good governance

There are indeed important caveats in using the term good governance. It is important to acknowledge that it has not been defined the way it should be: that is, it should be based locally and responsively towards local factors that matter. Good governance definitions suffer from conceptual inadequacies: "either they are broadly defined, or suffer from a functionalist slant, or they deal only with corruption" (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008).

Any practice that undermines the interest and trust of citizens is generally considered to be bad governance by those who are at the receiving end of the interventions. "Bad governance is being increasingly regarded as one of the root causes of all evil within our societies" (Rothstein & Teorell, 2008).

Apparently, bad governance is as hard to define as good governance (Roberts, Wright, & O'Neill, 2007, p. 1). Its various forms are graft and corruption, a high mortality rate of citizens, an absence of law and order, human rights abuses, extreme poverty, gender inequality, and many other societal challenges. In some important literature, bad governance is described as 'unfreedom' where there is lack of social facilities to support the overall wellbeing of people in a society (Sen, 1999).

Unfreedom is a consequence of a failure in either or both the development process and the opportunities it provides. For example, this occurs when any economic and political force within and outside the state violates basic human rights for its citizens, such as the right to access land, safe water, and food. A state that fails to give rightful opportunities for people to promote better health and wellbeing by compromising maternal and child care is another form of unfreedom (Sen, 1999, p. 17).

According to Sen (1999, p. 18), it is important to address poverty as not only a state of income deprivation, but also as a lack of freedom. Hence the title of his book: *Development as Freedom*. Low income has some

indirect implications to poor health, illiteracy, unemployment, and vulnerability to abuse and social injustice. Poverty is a complex issue that needs a systemic and multidisciplinary response that involves economists (for income and wealth) and a wide range of social scientists and experts who can carry on the task of handling the intricacies of this multi-dimensional problem (Chambers, 1997; Mazibuko, 2013). It is imperative to focus not only on low income, but also on the repercussions the issue has brought to individuals. Illiteracy among people in rural areas is not just about poor access to school and money to finance schooling. It is a complex issue in itself. For example, Indigenous families would rather spend money on their daily subsistence needs, which excludes schooling.

Good governance is not a new concept associated with poverty reduction in developing and the least developed countries. The New Millennium has fostered it and has reframed this task for global poverty reduction (Chhotray & Hulme, 2009).

There has been continuing debate and analysis about the most reliable, robust, and practical way to determine the parameters of good governance worldwide. Measuring good governance has become a modern tool for aid allocation and loan granting decisions by premier donor agencies like the WB, the US-led Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), the UK's Department for International Development - Drivers of Change (DFID-DOC) and several others. There has been a growing emphasis on the quantitative inquiries on good governance concepts. The World Bank

Institute (2006) as cited by Knoll and Zloczysti (2012) reported that there are 140 sets of indicators available, comprising several thousand individual quantitative measures. The MCA has identified six cross-country indicators, measuring six dimensions of the quality of governance: voice and accountability, political stability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality, rule of law, and control of corruption (Kaufmann & Kraay, 2002). However, the study by Knoll and Zloczysti (2012) has found that only two out of seven good governance indicators can be identified, namely, the participatory dimension of governance and the perceived overall quality of governance.

Due to conceptual and structural inadequacies of the term good governance, Kaufmann and Kraay (2002) acknowledge the limitation of their donor-driven quantitative inquiry. They recommend an investigation that will focus more on an in-depth country diagnostics. Respect for citizens' full potential for community development is considered to be the cornerstone of good governance (Li, Liu, & Li, 2012). Respecting citizens' freedom to openly participate in the decision-making processes of the government sets the basic foundation for accountable government (Feldman & Khademian, 2007). The concept of good governance is relevant to this thesis because this study argues that the agenda's structural, linear and positivist nature and presence in Mindanao, Philippines has resulted in further destitution, marginalisation and oppression of Indigenous smallholder farmers living in the banana and pineapple monoculture plantations. The commercial single cropping

system is part of the food and fuel security agenda. It is otherwise known in development literatures as 'land deals' and 'land grab' (Borras, 2006; Borras, Carranza, & Franco, 2007; Borras & Franco, 2005, 2013; Borras, Franco, & Wang, 2013; Edelman, Oya, & Borras, 2013; Margulis, McKeon, & Borras, 2013; McMichael, 2012a, 2014b). Commercial land deals for modern and mechanised farming of high-value crops are offshoots of the 'monocultures of the mind' (Shiva, 1993) by 'seeing like a state' (Scott, 1998) through 'simplifications' of the processes involved in operating both human and natural components in rural and agricultural communities.

2.4.1. How did the term governance come to be known as it is?

The variation in the meanings and ways the term governance has become known is a product of our discontent with the word government and its associated connotations. The term governance in the field of political science has evolved over the years in different places. The Greek verb for governance is *kubernan,* which means to pilot or steer. The issue is: who steers and who evaluates? If the approach is top-down, then the needs of the elites can be imposed at the expense of the majority.

The medieval Latin term *gubernare* also means the same: to steer (Kjaer, 2004). In the 1990s, the World Bank used the Arabic term *idarat al-hokm,* which means "management of governing". The bank chose this term because it was the least controversial and political amongst other existing regional terms (The World Bank, 2003).

Standard dictionaries such as the *Webster's Dictionary* and the *Concise Oxford Dictionary,* have used the term synonymously to government (Kjaer, 2004). The inclusion of civil society groups in governance parlance began to happen in the 1980s. By this time, the term became not only denotative of government but of other state actors, whether formal or informal in nature and scope (Kjaer, 2004). Governance became a catchphrase or a 'keyword' (Arkadie, 2012, p. 53; Williams, 1983) for policymakers, politicians and bureaucrats who interacted during the market liberalisation period in the 1980s (Goldsmith, 2012, p. 115). The primary goal of these actors was to streamline the government to make it more market-oriented. Specifically, the concept tries to curb graft and corruption in the government sector of third world economies (Abrahamsen, 2012, p. 3) by providing people and institutions fair and equal chances to collaborate under conducive free market policies that discourage red tape and other bureaucratic impediments.

Governance is now the preferred term, replacing traditional and stereotypical terms such as government and public sector. The term governance offers impetus for "good" practices in institutions to flourish and to make their processes more accountable, transparent, and participatory. However, Arkadie (2012, p. 54) argues that governance appears to be an instrument to enliven political science and public administration discourses.

Kjaer (2004) in her book *Governance,* collated the seminal works of

Rhodes, Rosenau and Hyden, and categorised them according to the field of political science. For example, while Rhodes (1996) refers to governance as *reforming the public sector,* Kjaer places his work under the field of *public administration and public policy*. Kjaer places Rosenau's contribution, which deals largely with global governance, under the field of *international relations*. Additionally, Kjaer aptly places Hyden's work towards the systematic comparison of political systems under *comparative politics*.

2.4.2. Beyond good governance: rethinking the economic orientation of the development regime

In this thesis, the aim of approaching governance discourse is to address the marginalisation and oppression issues confronted by the rural Indigenous people living in banana and pineapple plantation communities in Mindanao, Philippines. It is argued that the agentic voice, choice and strategic participation (Cornwall, 2003, 2004; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) of the rural people especially those of women, young people, the elderly and differently abled must be included in the governance framework in order to improve their wellbeing and life chances. Much of the theoretical underpinnings of this study come from capability building in line with the work of Martha Nussbaum (2011) and Amartya Sen (1999).

Sen (1999) highlights the importance of human capabilities in measuring societal progress. His idea paved the way for the creation of the UNDP being an organisation that advocates for human development. According

to Sen, quality of life must be measured in terms of human functioning and capabilities. Functioning refers to the ability of an individual to perform an activity that she/he may learn when given the right opportunity. Learning in this case can be full of human emotions such as fear, excitement and contentment. Capabilities, on the other hand, are sets of human possibilities 'to do and to be' in order to live a good life. The state of human capabilities in a society depends largely on the interaction of state, market, and global policies.

The market is considered as a driving force to promote the achievement of higher incomes and substantial wealth for people to enjoy and value. Any action that severely works against the market mechanism is tantamount to a human rights violation. Sen further clarifies that a freer market is people-driven. Its primary goal is to provide better and sustainable economic development for all (1999, pp. 25-26).

Nussbaum and Sen share the same view that the capabilities of people are the building blocks of a better quality of life. It is always plural and cannot be reduced to single units without compromising its actual status (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 18). Nussbaum and Sen have devoted their works towards advancing the Capabilities Approach as a contemporary political and economic theory. Sen has supported the approach with his *Inequality Re-examined* and *Development as Freedom* (1999). In this book, he argues that the capabilities of people are the ideal barometers of quality of life. Nussbaum, in furtherance to Sen's ideas, has developed the theory of

ten Central Capabilities. These ten Central Capabilities are primarily principles to achieve social justice that nations can use to enhance their laws and policies towards human development in general (Nussbaum, 2011).

The main focus of the Capabilities Approach is not the aggregated status of the capabilities of people in a society. It is mainly concerned with what an individual person is able to do and to be (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 20). According to Nussbaum (2011, p. 21), a society has the inherent responsibility to uphold a person's internal capabilities by providing more and better opportunities for continuing education and the enhancement of delivery of basic social services at a decent and just social minimum. Internal capabilities are those human behavioural characteristics that can be learned and developed by a person as she/he relates with others and the physical environment. A group of internal capabilities plus the environmental factors constitute Nussbaum's so-called combined capabilities. These are a set of capabilities that can be better targeted by a society that wants to promote the Capabilities Approach in a more effective manner. Upholding the development of combined capabilities in any given society strengthens the dignity and value of a person. It considers the need of a person regardless of his/her personal circumstances and the type of support required by their society (Nussbaum, 2011 p. 21-22). Sen (1999 p. 18) states that it is the duty of a society to provide an enabling process and opportunities to build up the "capabilities of a person to lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value."

Sen (1999, p. 14) argues that the goal of development is to improve the life chances of people to live a decent and comfortable life where they can freely exercise and enjoy the benefits of their achievements. In development, people are expected to create and be happier with the improvement of their social space, including enhanced relationships with other people and the environment. This thesis argues that wellbeing encompasses individual's capability to build a long-term environmental stewardship. This will be further elaborated in Chapter 5.

Substantive freedoms of individuals to identify and lead their own lives facilitate the further development of people's creativity, initiative, and effectiveness. Consequently, the society benefits from its human resources; those who are able to actively participate in the process and opportunities that their freedom brings. With this idea, it is almost impossible to think of a flourishing democratic society without people who are generally nurtured in an enabling and supportive public policy (Sen, 1999, p. 18). In this thesis the concept of capabilities is relevant because it is used as a lens within which the main argument is built upon, namely: to emancipate rural and Indigenous farmers, especially women, young people, the elderly and differently abled, by engaging them in a research process that will help them co-learn their strengths and issues and co-design strategies to help improve their wellbeing and capabilities as individuals. In this study, the Capabilities Approach serves as the central theory or nexus of all other anthropological and political economy concepts related to democracy,

governance and development.

2.4.3. The counter movements

So, how can we enhance development to address social justice? The ultimate challenge faced by governments now is to look beyond the classical gross domestic product (GDP) as a barometer of a country's progress and measure people's wellbeing (Stiglitz et al., 2009). Stiglitz, Sen and Fitousi (2011) use a multidimensional measure of wellbeing: 1. Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth), 2. Health, 3. Education, 4. Personal activities including work, 5. Political voice and governance, 6. Social connections and relationships, 7. Environment (present and future conditions), 8. Insecurity, of an economy as well as a physical nature (p. 15).

Many prominent scholars from various fields like sociology, economics, politics, and psychology have looked into better ways to enrich the discourses beyond GDP and economic performance. In recent decades, Amartya Sen's (1999) Capabilities Approach has paved the way for a fresher and more reliable outlook towards human development studies by clarifying the 'means' and the 'ends' of development as the way to move forward. Sen has been the prime mover of advocacy for developing real and timely actions towards improving the capabilities of people, 'to do and to be'. For Sen, these capabilities are forms of human freedom that people value intrinsically and have reasons to value. Remarkably, Sen has put forward the idea that a society's unique circumstances in the way it enjoys

or lacks certain forms of freedoms should never be dictated or imposed by any external force.

2.4.4. Beyond good governance: the emerging approaches to measure wellbeing and quality of life

The term good governance stands well for its ultimate purpose, which is to improve the living conditions of citizens, especially those who are marginalised in society. Some available literature in the field uses specific terms related to improving quality of life by encapsulating the local contexts of different human societies.

The measurement of Quality of Life (QOL) improvements is at its nascent stage. The QOL started as a response to Agenda 21, which was crafted during the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 (Bovaird & Loeffler, 2003, p. 320). Popular QOL projects include the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations headed by Amartya Sen together with Mahbub ul Haq. The HDI is a comprehensive and systematic way of measuring people's wellbeing, not just a country's GDP (Stiglitz et al., 2010, p. xxviii).

Bhutan's Gross National Happiness (GNH) is one of the successful QOL initiatives implemented at a national level. Its success is measured not just in terms of its applicability or replicability to other countries but of its national significance and massive application in policy-making. GNH, just like the UN's QOL, is a multidimensional measure of socio-economic, political, and environmental indicators that are directly linked to Bhutan's policy-making processes. The focus of GNH is improving the general state

of happiness of the Bhutanese by looking at indices that make them unhappy. The implementers of GNH ensure that the data they provide is comprehensive and disaggregated for the benefit of users at the local level. Using the GNH, they have made a whole range of national planning strategy anchored to the data revealed in the GNH survey.

The work of Stiglitz et al. (2010) raises a challenge for governments all over the world in respect of how they should look at the living conditions of human beings wherever they may be. Their book entitled *Mis-measuring our lives: Why GDP doesn't add up* provides important social, political, and economic insights to reconsider the real measures of success of human development agenda usually set by government leaders themselves.

Similarly, President Nicolas Sarkozy, in his foreword for the *Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress,* stresses the value of people's trust towards economic and social data which is supposed to matter most to them. He describes the scenario that there is apparently a huge gap in respect of the real meaning of the data set between those who made it and the people in general who perceive it. In relation to the real meaning of the data set, he stated, "Markets and statistics are being made to say things that they are incapable of saying." Sarkozy further called for France and other interested countries to re-consider and re-construct truth based on actual societal and economic contexts. As an example, he urges everyone to ponder on the true value of family and human potential. If we, as a society,

truly care about families and individuals, then we need to value the roles of each person in the production of goods and services (Kabeer, 2005). Lastly, if we truly care for human potential as the driving force for development, then we should break the myth of treating leisure as a non-market cost in our accounting system (Stiglitz et al., 2010).

Not everything shown as vital metrics, such as gross domestic product, can perfectly describe the genuine status of the living conditions of people living in a particular country. These types of data when used in developing empirical models may often lead to flawed inferences (Stiglitz et al., 2010, p. xix). For example, economic metrics is arguably a misrepresentation of the actual human and social progress that is usually obtained from the calculations of government and market experts whose view is based on capitalism (Norberg-Hodge, 1991, pp. xx-xxi).

Environmental protection, as an agenda for example, is believed to be possible only if the country has to opt to tone down its economic growth. However, these days we have seen good examples of countries that have become successful both in driving sustainable growth in their economy while championing their environment (Stiglitz et al., 2010, p. p xx). Some good examples of these countries are Portugal, Spain, France, Italy, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, where the Mediterranean cork forest region is owned and managed by family farmers. This arrangement has promoted both human development and economic growth (Hance, 2010).

Relevant to developing alternative measures to those reduced simply to economics, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), together with the European Commission, the Organisation of the Islamic Conference, the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Bank drafted the *Istanbul Declaration* in 2007, during the OECD Second World Forum in Istanbul, Turkey. The goal of the Istanbul Declaration is to develop initiatives among participating countries and groups of countries to come up with better ways to use social, economic, and environmental metrics for improved decision-making. The declaration has acknowledged the importance of "going beyond the traditional economic measures such as GDP "per capita" to assess societal progress (OECD, 2007).

Table 1. Alternative indicators of welfare and wellbeing

Indicator	Explanation	Coverage
Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW) and Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI) Type: GDP modification Unit: dollar	Personal consumption expenditures weighted by income distribution, with volunteer and household work added and environmental and social costs subtracted.	• 17 countries, several state and regions • 1950 – various years
Genuine savings Type: Income accounts modification Unit: dollar	Level of savings depreciation of produced capital, depletion of minerals, energy, and forests, and damages from local and global air pollutants accounted for.	• 140 countries • 1970 - 2008
Inclusive Wealth Index Type: Capital accounts modification Unit: dollar	Asset wealth including built, human, and natural resources.	• Australia • 2001 - present
Australian Unity Wellbeing Index Type: Survey-based index Unit: index	Annual survey of various aspects of wellbeing and quality of life.	• Australia • 2001 - present
Gallup-Healthways Wellbeing Index Type: Survey-based index	Annual survey taking into account five elements: purpose (employment, etc.), social, financial, community, and physical (health).	• 50 states of the USA, expanded to 135

Indicator	Explanation	Coverage
Unit: index		• countries in 2013 • 2008 - present
Gross National Happiness Type: Survey-based index Unit: index	Detailed in person survey around nine domains: psychological wellbeing, standard of living, governance, health, education, community vitality, cultural diversity, time use, and ecological diversity.	• Bhutan • 2010
Human Development Index Type: Composite index Unit: index	Index of GDP per person, spending on health and education, and life expectancy.	• 177 countries • 1980 – present
Happy Planet Index Type: Composite index Unit: index	A calculation based on subjective wellbeing multiplied by life expectancy divided by ecological footprint.	• 153 countries • 3 years
OECD Better Life Index Type: Composite index Unit: index	Includes housing, income, jobs, community education, environment, civic engagement, health, life satisfaction and safety.	• 36 OECD countries • 1 year
Afrobarometer Scale: Lived Poverty Index (LPI)	It asks the question "Over the past year, how often, if ever have you or your family gone without . . .?" (e.g., enough food to eat, enough clean water for home use). The possible responses are "never" (= 0), "just once or twice" (= 1), "several times" (= 2), "many times" (= 3) and "always" (= 4). The survey found that improvement in the democratic rights between the study period 2003 to 2005 has a strong correlation with alleviating lived poverty experiences among Africans.	• 18 countries in 2005 - 2006
AsiaBarometer A public opinion survey	"A regional opinion survey project regularly conducted in a broader East Asia encompassing East, Southeast, South and Central Asia with a focus on daily lives of ordinary people".	• 27 countries (2002-2007) •
Social Weather Stations (www.sws.org.ph) Quality of life indicators survey	The project conducts the Social Weather Survey (SWS) "on the idea that surveys can serve like observation posts to monitor social conditions, much as meteorological stations monitor weather conditions".	• Philippines • 1974 – present
OECD Better Life Index	Includes housing, income, jobs, community education, environment,	• 36 OECD countries

Indicator	Explanation	Coverage
Type: Composite index Unit: index	civic engagement, health, life satisfaction, safety, and work-life balance.	• 1 year

Source: Adapted from Kubiszewski (2014)[1]; Michalos (2008, p. xx); Møller (1997); Inoguchi and Fujii (2008, pp. 187-232); Mangahas and Guerrero (2008, pp. 23-36).

McIntyre-Mills (2014b,c), proposed to dovetail the transformative ideas produced by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress (CMEPSP) headed by Joseph Stiglitz (President of the Commission), Amartya Sen (Advisor) and Jean Paul Fitoussi (Coordinator) with the work of Nussbaum on capabilities to improve human development and life chances. McIntyre-Mills (2011, 2014, a,b,c) suggests an alternative way of looking at balanced and sustainable societal progress measured in terms of perceived indicators of social, cultural, political, economic and environmental wellbeing that together form non-linear measures that reframe what we value. Development is a means to an end: to feel safe, to be free, and be happy (Oswald, 1997, p. 1815; Sen, 1999).

2.5. The Philippine bureaucracy: its recent gains and failures under the banner of good governance

The Philippines is lauded as one of the most improved economies in Asia nowadays. It has sustained its recent economic growth despite natural calamities that hit some parts of the country in 2013. The country's gross domestic product (GDP) grew by 6.5 percent in that period, bringing full-

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[1] Accessed at http://theconversation.com/beyond-gdp-are-there-better-ways-to-measure-well-being-33414

year growth to 7.2 percent, well above the 4.7 percent average recorded from 2008 to 2012 (Asian Development Bank, 2014). The growth, according to the ADB, has been brought about by robust individual consumption and direct investment. Both the US-based Standard & Poor's (S&P) Ratings Services and Japan-based Rating and Investment Information Inc. (R&I) have considered the country's credit rating a level above investment grade (Dinglasan; Rivera, 2014). Economists and political analysts alike have attributed this positive economic development to the consistent governance reforms implemented by President Benigno Aquino III. The Aquino administration has embarked on a "war against systemic corruption" by carrying the banner *tuwid na daan* (level playing field), which basically means undoing the sins of the past administration (referring to the immediate past regime of former president Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo). All possible means of scrutiny towards uncovering the anomalous transactions in the bureaucracy have been carried out, even to the extent of undermining due process. The former Supreme Court Justice Renato Corona, who was appointed by the Arroyo administration, was ousted for his alleged tarnished reputation and perceived loyalty to Arroyo. Ex-president Arroyo is now under hospital arrest due to an electoral fraud and plunder case.

In the Philippines, the Priority Development Assistance Fund or PDAF, which is a euphemism for the more widely used term "pork barrel system", is in the process of being overhauled. Time and again, the pork barrel system has been rigged with controversies as it breeds graft and

corruption. The elected representatives of the 234 congressional districts, plus the 20 percent elected representatives through the party-list groups, have been allocated lump-sum funds for countryside development initiatives. The election of party-list groups first happened in 1998 following the enactment of the Republic Act 7941 otherwise known as the Party-List System Act[2]. The act is based on the 1987 Constitution (Tangkia & Habaradas, 2001).

The controversial fund is spent at the discretion of the elected representatives for projects that are best implemented at the local level (Fajardo, 2014, p. 55). These local projects include, but are not limited to, construction of basic infrastructures like school and hospital buildings, and tertiary level scholarships for poor but deserving students. The Filipino people began to refer to PDAF as 'pork barrelling' for reasons of convenience and ease of recall. Often they use this term to refer to corruption. However, the mainstream media, which is considered as the "Fourth Estate" in the Philippine society, overtly tagged the PDAF as pork barrelling due to the long-standing history of administrative abuses and corrupt practices linked to many of its elected representatives. Ever since, the term pork barrel has connotations of political patronage. Outside of the Philippines, the New York Times used the term as a headline to refer to

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[2] The main purpose of this representation strategy is to provide a fair and equal chance for the marginalised sectors in the society to be heard. Sectoral representation of the poor and the oppressed coming from the groups of farmers, fisherfolk, women, youth, Indigenous and Muslim communities, elderly and others have guaranteed seats in the House of Representatives depending on the number of votes garnered after the election. The party-list needs to garner at least 2 percent of the actual total number of voters all over the country in order to put forward its nominated representative in the House. A party can be represented up to maximum of 3 seats if it has gathered more than 2 percent.

government funds that politicians use to spend on "pet projects" in their localities, which are subtly designed to sustain the patronage of their constituents. However, the term first appeared in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper in 1865, in an article written by E.K. Hale entitled *Pork Barrel* (Rowley, 2005). Accompanying the article was an illustration of a feeding frenzy by black slaves working in plantations over a barrel of salted pork supplied by their landlords.

The term pork barrel best encapsulates the state of the lawmaking process in the Philippines. The House of Representatives, which is otherwise known as the lower house, supports the House of Senate, (the upper house). The lower house is the national lawmaking body composed of the elected representatives of the congressional districts and party-list groups. Being the lawmaking body, it also has the "power of the purse". In regard to having this financial power, the Supreme Court in Philippine Constitutional Association vs. Enriquez, et al. (235 SCRA 507 [1994]) categorically declared that the appropriation of the Countrywide Development Fund (CDF), the earlier term for PDAF, is a valid and constitutional exercise of this congressional financial power (Nograles & Lagman, 2012).

 In July 2013, the issue of misuse of PDAF or more popularly known in the country as the "pork barrel scam" was raised. Some congressmen and senators were involved in a Php 10 billion misappropriation scandal. The case involved Mrs. Janet Lim-Napoles, a private citizen and

businesswoman, acting as an agent of some unscrupulous government officials. She created fake foundations and non-government organisations that were used as channels for PDAF appropriations (Sidel, 2014, p. 67). This corrupt political activity has led to further distrust of politicians as indicated by several episodes of street protests staged by some major interest groups, including the church and civil society, calling for the present Government to permanently and entirely scrap the PDAF and other similar laws which allow elected public officials to spend at their discretion (Cainghog, 2014; Quilala, 2015). The Supreme Court (SC) in November 2013 declared the PDAF or pork barrel as unconstitutional. The SC has also directed the Department of Justice and the Office of the Ombudsman to lead a thorough investigation on the questionable transactions involving everyone, both public and private individuals.

In the same year, while the so-called 'pork barrel scam' was exposed and investigated, Typhoon Yolanda (with international name Typhoon Haiyan) wreaked havoc in the country's Visayan region, killing almost 7,000 people and leaving around two million homeless. Typhoon Yolanda is the strongest tropical cyclone to make landfall ever recorded in human history. In the words of Sidel (2014), the desolate part of the year 2013 can be aptly summarised into 3 Ds: Disappointment, Disgrace, and Disaster. However, the Aquino administration further regained its strength and popularity amidst the scandal and crises. President Aquino's approval and trust ratings are still at a substantial and acceptable level, though they move up and down. The current administration is rather optimistic about

the recent unfolding of events: the reparation of the storm's aftermath has gone smoothly, although the president has admitted in his state of the nation address in July 2014 that his administration was relatively slow and somewhat unsuccessful in responding to the rubble left by Typhoon Yolanda at the initial stage.

The Philippines, one of the promising democracies in the world, has embraced decentralisation, de-concentration, and devolution of powers of the national government with its enactment of Republic Act 7160, otherwise known as the Local Government Code of 1991. Gaventa (2004), in his foreword to the book *Beyond Good Governance: Participatory Democracy in the Philippines,* has this to say about the code:

> The Local Government Code of 1991 in the Philippines was significant not only because it decentralised a number of powers to local government, but also because it created spaces for direct civil society engagement and participation at the local level.

Decentralisation *per se* appears to be part of the package called good governance conditions put forward by multilateral agreements being entered by the Philippine Government and foreign countries and/or institutions (Villarin, 2004, p. 1). It has been regarded as a strategy to better empower people at the community level for them to actively participate in the decision-making process especially for matters that directly concern them. Decentralisation is also considered as a way to revert the power base to the people at the lowermost level (Rocamora, 2004) to enable them to identify their strengths and weaknesses and eventually own the entire democratic process. However, it is not clear

whether decentralisation as a "good governance" strategy really supports local 'regenerative development' (Girardet, 2015) where the poorest and the most marginalised women, young people, and differently abled are able to enhance their wellbeing.

The Code has brought the former centralised government at the lowermost level possible to increase people's opportunities to directly involve themselves in the local affairs that matter most to them on a daily basis. The lowest local government unit (LGU) in the Philippines is the so-called *barangay,* which is the basic political unit provided by the Code to manage community affairs involving families, their clans, and other social institutions existing in a particular juridical area under a city. Rural barangays in Mindanao is comprised of 2,000 to 4,000 people (National Statistics Office, 2015). A *barangay* is headed by a *barangay kapitan* and a set of seven *kagawads* who are elected by the constituents of the *barangay* for a term of four years. The *barangay kapitan* is given the prerogative to appoint other key officials necessary in the *barangay* administration such as a secretary and a treasurer for a specified term of office, which is often co-terminus to the term of the *barangay kapitan.* Under the Code, the *barangay* is tasked to provide:

  a. agricultural support services which include planting materials distribution systems and operation of farm produce collection and buying stations;

  b. health and social welfare services which include maintenance of *barangay* health centre and day-care centre;

  c. services and facilities related to general hygiene and

sanitation, beautification, and solid waste collection;

d. maintenance of *Katarungang Pambarangay* (the community-level justice system);

e. maintenance of *barangay* roads and bridges and water supply systems;

f. infrastructure facilities such as a multi-purpose hall, multipurpose pavement, plaza, sports centre, and other similar facilities;

g. information and reading centre;

h. a satellite or public markets, where applicable.

The direct influence of the *barangay* over its constituents can never be gainsaid. In the rural areas in the Philippines, the *barangay* is often referred to as "the government closest to the people" (Mendez, 2004) where the decision-making process can be both traditional and familial. The elders in the Indigenous communities are the special source of "wisdom" to enlighten decisions to be made by the *barangay* leaders. In some Indigenous areas covered by the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) Law, the Council of Elders takes the place of or supports the *barangay* council. In both cases, the Indigenous communities, with the leadership of their Council of Elders, are given the full freedom to practice their unique indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP). The IKSP is a product of an age-old tradition transferred by the forebears of the Indigenous tribes from one generation to another. The Indigenous people, using the mainstream laws and statutes, are carrying through these

practices, however unique and complex. The rule of thumb applied, for example, to resolve a conflict between two individuals is to first employ the IKSP before it can be brought forward under mainstream law. In some cases, the IKSP prevails and leaves other codes irrelevant.

Table 2. Governance features of the Local Government Codes of 1983 and 1991

Features	LGC of 1983 (Batas Pambansa Blg. 337)	LGC of 1991 (Republic Act No. 7160)
Accountability	• Term of office (6 years; unlimited term) • Recall (only once; not within 2 years after election or 1 year before regular election) • Suspension and removal of an elective official (unauthorised absence for 3 consecutive months) • Penal provisions (engaging in business transactions or possession of pecuniary interest)	• Limit of elective officials (3 years; 3 consecutive terms) • Disciplinary actions against an elective official (unauthorised absence for 15 consecutive days) • Recall (only once; not within 1 year after election or 1 year before regular election) • Taxpayer's remedies • Local fiscal administration (budgets, expenditures, disbursements, accounting and accountability) • Property and supply management (procurement and disposal) • Penal provisions (more comprehensive) • Submission of Annual Reports by the local chief executive to the Sanggunian
Transparency	• Filing of statement of assets, liabilities and property holdings of all officials • Prohibitions on officials to engage in business transactions or possess pecuniary interests	• Local Prequalification, Bids and Awards Committee • Full disclosure of financial and business interests of Sanggunian members • Filing of Statement of Assets and Liabilities of all officials • Effectivity of Ordinances and Resolutions (after publications and posting)
Participation	• Local School Boards • Barangay Assembly • Katarungang Pambarangay • Kabataang Barangay • Leagues of Local Government Units and Elective Officials	• Relations with People's and Nongovernmental Organisations • Local School Board (include Sangguniang Kabataan, non-academic personnel) • Election of Sectoral

Features	LGC of 1983 (Batas Pambansa Blg. 337)	LGC of 1991 (Republic Act No. 7160)
	• Municipal Planning and Development Coordinator (promoting citizen participation through development planning at the Barangay level)	Representatives in the Sanggunian • Local Health Board • Local Development Council • Local Peace and Order Council • Local Initiative and Referendum • Barangay Assembly • Katarungang Pambarangay • Sangguniang Kabataan • Leagues of Local Government Units and Elective Officials

Sources: Ministry of Local Government (1983), *The Local Government Code, Batas Pambansa Blg. 337*. Jose N. Nolledo (1992), *The Local Government Code of 1991*.

The *barangay* system in the Philippines could provide a basis for an active participatory and democratic approach in place for people to initiate matters for their own welfare. As to whether this opportunity is used to create opportunities to enhance life chances of the local people is debatable. The thesis addresses this area of concern.

There are promising developments in the local government units that directly impact on improving people's lives by increasing their capabilities to partake in local and state affairs. The decision-making process of whatever nature is best done when people working in the process are the ones involved and they have sufficient knowledge to play their actual role in a level playing field amidst the presence of local chiefs and experts.

2.5.1. The Philippine Indigenous governance systems

Harmonising the national formal governance systems with the local and Indigenous systems is a formidable challenge. This is true despite the fact

that the Philippine Constitution of 1987 recognises the inherent rights of Indigenous peoples, as specified in Section 22, Article II: "The State recognises and promotes the rights of Indigenous cultural communities/Indigenous peoples within the framework of national unity and development." Another section of the 1987 Constitution is more explicit: "The State shall recognise, respect, and protect the rights of Indigenous cultural communities to preserve and develop their cultures, traditions and institutions. It shall consider these rights in the formulation of national plans and policies."

More succinctly, a landmark national legislation provides the framework for a possible harmonisation of Indigenous governance systems within the national justice, legal, and governance framework. The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997, otherwise known as the Republic Act 8371, has two provisions on this: (1) Section 13, Chapter IV: "The State recognises the inherent rights of the Indigenous peoples to self-governance and empowerment and respects the integrity of their values, practices and institutions. Consequently, the State shall guarantee the rights of the IPs to freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development;" and (2) Section 15, Chapter IV: "The Indigenous peoples shall have the right to use their accepted justice systems, conflict resolution institutions, peace building processes or mechanisms and other customary laws and practices within their respective communities and as may be compatible with the national legal system and with internationally recognised human rights."

Despite recent developments in the field of knowledge management through research and application, there is still a dearth of literature that tackles the Indigenous governance system in the country. While anthropological and cultural studies undertaken on the socio-cultural practices and systems of belief of the Indigenous peoples have been made, there has been limited work on the deeply rooted quest of the Indigenous people to govern themselves (Buendia, 2005). There is a huge gap between national governmental systems and Indigenous peoples' way of life. These seemingly irreconcilable forces have been affecting the mutual trust and confidence building between the Government and Indigenous peoples at various times. There is a need to deepen one's understanding on the Indigenous people's governance system. It is hoped that this study can facilitate the promotion of increased knowledge of the Indigenous people's modes of governance and system, and to this end that appropriate and acceptable models can be crafted and designed to serve as instruments of the Indigenous people, in their pursuit of self-determination and Indigenous development.

The inclusion of civil society in the ever-evolving equation makes the present day experiences of the market more challenging and exciting. People from all walks of life in a democratic society can now freely group themselves together and promote whatever they deem appropriate for advocacy and change their lives and others. This is the very reason why Southeast Asian countries like the Philippines, Cambodia, Laos,

Singapore and others have arguably been the originators and exemplars of the civil society movement all over the world. The civil society movement develops fresh ideas and performs tasks that have never been tried before (Christie, 2014).

In the Philippines, for example, a small group of women or farmers can gather themselves together for the common cause of raising their standards of living. They can raise decent funds to start their project from various means and sources like their local government units or from other existing non-government organisations (NGOs). On a larger scale, the presence of micro-lending in small towns in the Philippines has helped these evolving small-scale grassroots initiatives to prosper and enable their communities.

So far, the review of critical literatures related to this study has covered the so-called good governance agenda at the international, national and local levels. It has become apparent that good or effective governance is a value judgment and that its success indicators must directly reflect the status of the capabilities of each individual (Nussbaum, 2011) living in unique human and natural communities and contexts. The study argues that in order for governance to work for the local people, various socio-political decision-making platforms must be enhanced to represent the voice, choice and agency of the poorest and most vulnerable members of rural and Indigenous communities. In the next section, issues related to land, agrarian reform and agricultural livelihood are presented to describe

the extent to which human and natural communities have been commodified (Dobson, 2004, 2012; Girardet, 2015; Monbiot, 2015) due to further expansion of modern and mechanised single cropping to support the global food security agenda (Clapp, 2014; Friedmann & McMichael, 1989; Kugelman & Levenstein, 2013; McMichael, 2013, 2014a, 2014b). Moreover, the section also provides the critical review on 'depeasantisation' as a movement (McMichael, 2014a) to help guarantee that rural and Indigenous communities develop their 'fertile capabilities' (Nussbaum, 2011; Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013) to practice their traditional 'regenerative' initiatives (Girardet, 2015) to access food, livelihood, basic health and education at a decent and sustainable level.

2.6. Land and agriculture: a historical perspective in the Philippines

The highly uneven distribution of land ownership in the Philippines can be traced back to its roots during the Spanish colonisation era that took place for 333 years (1521-1898). The Spanish Conquistadors displaced the poor colonised Filipinos by force and stripped them of their basic land rights (Ferdinand, 2012, p. 174). During the period, Filipino peasants were forced to work in the spice farms of the Spanish bourgeoisie who hauled their produce back to Spain by order of King Philip II.

During the American occupation of 1903-1918, redistribution of massive Spanish friar-held lands in the provinces and formal titling took place. Even the American colonial occupation in the Philippines did not solve the issue of inequitable landholding (Ferdinand, 2012), as most of the politically

powerful provincial elites resisted and held on to their ownership of the vast tract of lands by employing armed men. They seized the land by either squatting or buying land at a highly negligible price from the peasants. There is also proof that some of these lands were in actual fact sequestered from peasants in exchange of their unpaid loans and/or freedom from servitude.

The USA and the Philippines established good trade relations from 1946 (after World War II), prompting the former to embark mainly in agricultural production for direct export to the latter. From 1950 to 1975, according to the Philippine Exporters Confederation (2015), the value of the country's top ten agricultural and mineral exports added up to 85 percent of the country's total. In 1949, 70 percent of the agricultural export trade was concentrated in the USA market. In the 1970s, the USA-pegged export share went down to 40 percent with the Japanese market absorbing the same level of Philippine agricultural exports in the same period.

Currently, the Philippine agricultural production contributes roughly 11 percent to gross domestic product (GDP). While it is so, it drives other sectors and affects various related economic activities that, according to the Japan International Cooperation Agency (2012), could in fact account to 40 percent of the total GDP of the country.

2.7. Land deals under food and fuel security agenda

Undeniably, land is a fundamental resource that is intimately linked to

survival for humans and all sentient beings. Singh (2013) argues that land has at least four emerging dimensions. First, land is a stock resource, which, when altered by any development project, the effects are irreversible. Next, land is a sentimental resource that is closely knit to the fabric of life. Third, land is the source of water used to support humans and all other life forms. Lastly, land is the ground where wanton greed and corruption grow to exploit and displace landholders of their land rights for and in the name of development—one that has not unchained people from the bondage of poverty and social insecurity.

Sia (2013) argues that protection of land and all its resources scaffold our basic rights to life. Food, water, shelter, livelihood and everything that supports life is cradled by land, the reason why it is an extremely valuable finite resource.

Land, then, is an important issue because it is "central to identity, livelihoods and food security" (Cotula, Vermeulen, Leonard, & Keeley, 2009, p. 3). It is therefore important to describe the issues surrounding people's access to land in relation to the prevailing global factors that influence it, such as land reform, food security, climate change, and the emerging role of women. Land is a symbol of hope and survival rather than just a tool for profit. The manner in which land is distributed to people across the world is rigged with controversies relating to how inequitable and unjust they have been. Land acquisition since medieval times until the dawn of the industrial revolution was done primarily by force, through

colonisation, resulting in the deaths of millions of people, the destruction of culture, and of identity.

Things have changed as far as land reform and distribution is concerned in the contemporary world. It may not be overtly bloody in the way it once was, but it still costs lives and erodes the basic fabric of culture. Land reform and redistribution also involves under-recognising women and other marginalised groups (Agarwal, 1994a, 2014; Doss, 2014; Doss, Meinzen-Dick, & Bomuhangi, 2013; Lastarria, Behrman, Meinzen-Dick, & Quisumbing, 2014). This is the case in Mindanao where civil conflict still persists nowadays in the central part of the island. Here, the Moro people continue to struggle to claim their rights for self-determination as Muslims by faith, and to own and manage their land and natural resources independently. This armed struggle kills men and leaves women and their children grieving.

To define land reform as a policy, (Borras & Franco, 2005) offer at least three broad classifications: 1) conservative 2) revolutionary and 3) liberal land reform. Conservative land reform policies constitute relocation or resettlement programs to contain peasants within the area that will not cost a great deal of private land. Revolutionary land reform deals include private land redistribution as a form of improving access and wealth sharing. Lastly, liberal land reform policies cover a combination of both conservative and revolutionary land reform strategies.

(Borras & Franco, 2005) argue that all the three land reform policies fail to cover and redistribute massive lands used for the monocropping plantations or "commercial farms".

> From an economic perspective, it is believed that land reform should be avoided in cases where there is already a relatively high degree of efficiency in land and labour utilisation, as in commercial farms. From a political perspective, it is believed that land reform is unlikely to occur in such cases anyway because the entrenched power of commercial farm owners effectively prohibits it. In short, this consensus holds, land reform in commercial farms is neither desirable nor possible (Borras & Franco, 2005, p. 332).

2.7.1. Land deals

Land deals are commonly defined in the literature as the acquisition of agricultural and idle or unproductive lands for commercial use by local and foreign investors. Massive plantation systems have been established in an unprecedented scale during the last eight years (Borras & Franco, 2013; Cotula, 2013; Edelman et al., 2013; Margulis et al., 2013; Zagema, 2011) to grow palm oil and other high-value tropical crops like bananas, pineapples, and papayas in monoculture. According to Cotula et al. (2009, p. 3), it is important to investigate and review the extent of social and environmental consequences of land deals especially in developing countries as land is "central to identity, livelihood and food security".

The Land Matrix is a global and independent land monitoring initiative, which facilitates researchers and policy-makers in decisions pertaining to investment on land around the world. It keeps up-to-date data on land deals being entered into by investors and partners either of foreign or domestic origin, on land measuring at least 200 hectares. Its website,

called the *Global Observatory* (http://www.landmatrix.org/en/) provides free access to the public interested in information about large-scale land acquisition since 2000.

Table 3 presents the top investor and target countries involved in land deals. The USA, Malaysia, and Singapore are the top three investors in land deals for agriculture, forestry, renewable energy, tourism, and others. The USA is involved primarily in financing agricultural development projects in South American countries, operating 29 deals out of the total 83 around the world. As can be seen from the table, South-South land deals involving two rich Southeast Asian countries—Malaysia and Singapore—were financed heavily by palm oil. Processed palm oil is chiefly used as a vegetable oil substitute and as raw material for fuel and cosmetics (Clay, 2004 as cited in Colchester, 2011 p. 1). In particular, Malaysia finances 89 out of 95 land deals for palm oil plantations in Indonesia, Cambodia, Papua New Guinea, and Laos. Singapore financed palm oil projects mainly in the Central African region with at least 1.5 million hectares under four land deals. They have also made land acquisition within the Southeast Asian region.

Table 3. Top investor and target countries in land deals

Top Investor Countries	Area (in ha.)	Top Target Countries	Area (in ha.)
USA	7,658,719	Papua New Guinea	3,799,169
Malaysia	3,590,976	Indonesia	3,636,437
Singapore	2,994,650	South Sudan	3,491,453
Arab Emirates	2,834,385	DRC	2,765,158
UK	2,404,298	Mozambique	2,206,767
Canada	2,073,146	Congo	2,132,000
India	1,714,571	Russian Federation	1,771,948
Russian Federation	1,583,896	Ukraine	1,710,815

Top Investor Countries	Area (in ha.)	Top Target Countries	Area (in ha.)
Saudi Arabia	1,577,433	Liberia	1,340,777
China	1,538,629	Sudan	1,269,013

Source: Online Public Database on Land Deals (Land Matrix, 2015).

The Land Matrix (2015) defines land deals as an intended, concluded or failed attempt to acquire land through purchase, lease or concession that meets the criteria specified below:

a) entails a transfer of rights to use, control or ownership of land through sale, lease or concession;

b) has been initiated since the year 2000;

c) covers an area of 200 hectares or more;

d) implies the potential conversion of land from smallholder production, local community use or important ecosystem service provision to commercial use.

Currently, the database does not include data on contract farming as this arrangement between farmers and buyers of crops entails small to medium sizes of land only and does not involve acquisition by foreign investors.

2.7.2. Land grabbing: the metaphor for land deals?

Transnational land deals (Wisborg, 2013a, 2013b)(Wisborg, 2013a, 2013b) have now come to be known in development economic studies as 'land grabbing' (Daley, 2011; De Schutter, 2011; Doss, Summerfield, & Tsikata, 2014; Lastarria et al., 2014; McMichael, 2012b, 2013, 2014a, 2014b;

Wisborg, 2013a, 2013b) and 'land rush' (Borras & Franco, 2014; Cotula, 2013; Cotula et al., 2009; Zagema, 2011). These terms have drawn controversy because of their overt exploitative and oppressive consequences to local communities. Land grabbing by the transnational companies, through the international finance institutions (IFIs), displaces rural and Indigenous people off their farmlands, exposing them to greater vulnerabilities in a defenceless way (Zagema, 2011). Zagema (2011, p. 2) adds that most land grabs in the South result to 'dispossession, deception, violation of human rights, and destruction of livelihoods'. The promises of land development projects were never fulfilled and instead people's social and environmental conditions have worsened as a result of displacement and marginalisation.

Cotula (2013) argues that commodification of land even during the pre-industrial period was driven by the government as an 'enabler' of the business elites. He says that such is the case even during the time Karl Polanyi posited the significance of "primitive" economies, which involved land and labour being distributed to people on the basis of their social, political, and indigenous relationships. In contrast to nowadays, the process did not include acquisition or purchase of land as a commodity (Block & Polanyi, 2003; Polanyi, 2001).

Studies have shown that local people affected by transnational land deals do not all react the same way. According to Borras and Franco (2013, p. 1725), many local communities' expression of protest against these large-

scale land deals are tamed in character and limited in number due to the enforcement of governance frameworks. These frameworks limit expected violent responses from local people. Response by local people are limited particularly where human rights, social justice and a Capabilities Approach should be invoked to overthrow the oppressive aspects and nature of the development project in order to protect human life, dignity, and wellbeing first and foremost. There are still very limited efforts to critically examine the voices of people from the ground to unearth the real experiences and sentiments of the local people who are directly affected by the monocropping plantations (Borras & Franco, 2013).

In the Philippines, land-related protests are not popularly supported within mainstream policy-making. Nevertheless, civil society groups, media, and non-government organisations have raised their concerns against the massive transnational land deals operating in the country. According to Borras and Franco (2013) the number of protests is outweighed by the extent to which land deals have grown around the world; their estimated growth has gone from a minimum of 445 million hectares to a maximum of 1.7 billion hectares. According to the World Bank, as shown in the work of Deininger and Byerlee (2011), further agricultural expansion is likely to occur as a response to the existing food crisis (which has been learned from the food price hikes in 2007 to 2008). Agricultural expansion is likely to continue to support the poorest people in the world. Seventy percent of the world's poorest live in rural agricultural areas and rely on rural agricultural livelihoods (Kay, 2014). According to Agarwal (2014), in 2008,

43 percent of the proportion of people who are working in the farms of Asia are female. The number of food-hungry poor people in the world has grown from 830 million before the food crisis (2007-2008) to a whopping over a billion today.

At this point in time, the emerging debate around expanding land deals is prompted by various measures to address its backwash; part of which is ensuring that the existing large-scale plantations yield is improved with the aid of responsible technologies and practices. Another option would be to make sure the host country must put in place strategic measures to uphold land rights and "improve land governance" (Deininger & Byerlee, 2011, p. xv).

Land grabbing, according to the International Land Coalition Secretariat (2011), refers to an "unethical acquisition of land, which may be defined on the basis of human rights" (cited in Wisborg, 2013b, p. 21). Bush (2015) reported that land grabbing takes the form of buying, contracting or leasing small landholder's available plots to be consolidated into transnational plantations growing cash or high-value crops. These plantations are posing social and environmental threats with the use of genetically modified seeds, petrochemical fertilisers, and pesticides, and the usage of too much water. The latter issue constitutes so-called "water grabbing" as the water required to grow monoculture crops in massive plantations negatively impacts on the local aquifers, thereby compromising the local populations' water needs. Other important issues related to water grabbing

encompass public health security as well, because water run-offs and aerial spray drifts from these large farms seep into the living watersheds, such as in the case of the large monoculture farms in Mindanao (Alternate Forum for Research in Mindanao, 2011). Bush (2015, p. 4) adds to these issues, by stating that these farms are also technology-intensive, thus they only need a limited number of personnel mostly earmarked for non-technical and non-tenured positions. Local food security is indeed also highly threatened as the produce of the farms is not meant for local market and consumption, but for export (Daley, 2011). Figure 2 describes how massive land grabbing has expanded all over the world. It shows how the North (in dark brown) land grabs the South (in green) for and in the name of development.

McMichael (2014b, p. 5) argues that the agricultural plantation scheme, under the global food regime, has demanded that developing countries as producers of high-value crops to land grab as a viable way to cope with the demand, or to catch up with exclusive market opportunities opened by rich and dominant countries. However, the case is more complex than that: "agro-exporting via both southern debt management and northern subsidies has eroded smallholder economies, precipitating a peasant countermovement, organised around the principle of 'food sovereignty' (McMichael, 2005).

Food regime is a development concept aptly defined as:

> the global ordering of international food production, circulation, and consumption relations within specific institutional arrangements corresponding to a hegemonic

organising principle in the state system (Friedmann and McMichael, 1989 cited in McMichael, 2013 p. 48).
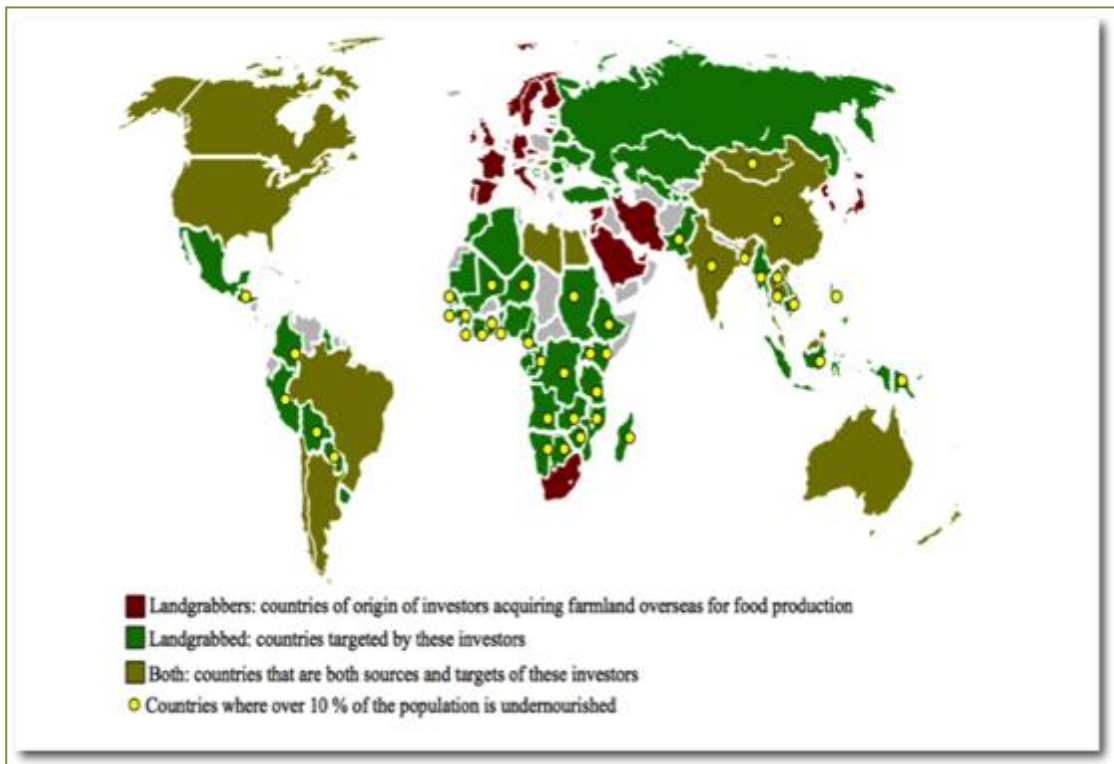
Figure 2. The geography of land grabs.

Source: La Via Campesina (2012). Stop Land Grabbing! Notebook No. 3 (cited in Bush, 2015 p. 43).

Kneen (2002) argues that the distance between farm and plate has widened as a result of the role transnational corporations play in the food security agenda. It affects the whole range of local food security issues (cited in Clapp, 2014, p. 798). The so-called distance allows more actors to join in the supply chain making the whole system bloated and more complex. The expanded and usually ambiguous system resembles that of a highly bureaucratic system that complicates the process and takes away from public view and scrutiny the loopholes that could have been easily avoided had the distance and the pernicious insertions of other players

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been avoided in the first place (Clapp, 2014). Additionally, under the land grabbing issue is the so-called "green grabbing" practice (Fairhead et al., 2012). Green grabbing is the expropriation of land for, and in the name of, environmental protection and conservation, such as declaring forests or environmentally protected areas like national parks, which consequently force the relocation of local people to "buffer zones". This is the case of the Bagobo tribe in Mindanao, particularly in the Davao Region, where their previously held ancestral land was declared a protected area to save the watershed and the extinct Philippine eagle and other species (Gascon, 2011a). The local people are prevented under the law to enter the forest and practice their usual agricultural livelihood activities. They are even prevented from gathering food, water, firewood, and animal fodder because doing so may compromise the "conservation" project. A more detailed discussion on the effects of green grabbing on local people's practices is presented in chapter four as a case study.

There are varied reasons why land grabbing has become the new normal in order to achieve food sufficiency under the globalisation era. Cotula et al. (2009) offers at least three major reasons. One important reason is unstable food security situations around the world. Rich countries have enough financial capital but they lack productive land space and water to grow their crops. A second important reason is the need for countries, especially those from the North, to look for viable organic alternatives for fuel via the South's verdant lands. Consequently, they grow plants like

Table 4. Agricultural land deals for biofuel and food crops in the Philippines

Deal ID	Location	Primary Investor	Secondary Investor	Investor Country	Intention	Negotiation Status	Implementation Status	Intended Size	Crop
413	Visayas	Unknown (Agricultural Department of the Guangxi Zuang Autonomous Region (ADGZAR))	Agricultural Department of the Guangxi Zuang Autonomous Region (ADGZAR)	China	Biofuels	[2007] Concluded (Contract signed)	(No data)	(No data)	Cassava (Maniok), Sugar Cane
414	Visayas	Unknown (China National Constructional and Agricultural Machinery Import and Export Corp. (CAMCE), Palawan Bioenergy Development Corporation)	Palawan Bioenergy Development Corporation, China CAMC Engineering Co. Ltd.	Philippines, China	Biofuels	[2007] Concluded (Contract signed)	(No data)	(No data)	Sugar Cane
427	Luzon	Philippine Fuhua Sterling Agricultural Technology Development Corporation	Sterling Paper Group, Jilin Fuhua Agricultural Science and Technology Development Co. Ltd.	Philippines, China	Food crops	[2006] Concluded (Contract signed)	[2008] In operation (production)	(No data)	Corn (Maize)
434	Luzon	Unknown (BioEnergy Northern Luzon Inc., Pacific Bio-Fields Corp)	BioEnergy Northern Luzon Inc., Pacific Bio-Fields Corp	Philippines, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern	Biofuels	[2009] Concluded (Oral Agreement)	[2009] Startup phase (no production)	400000	Coconut

Deal ID	Location	Primary Investor	Secondary Investor	Investor Country	Intention	Negotiation Status	Implementation Status	Intended Size	Crop
				Ireland					
436	Luzon	Green Future Innovations Inc	Itochu Corp, JGC Corporation, Philippine Bioethanol and Energy Investments Corporation, GCO	Japan, Philippines, China	Biofuels	Concluded (Oral Agreement)	(No data)	11000	Sugar Cane
467	Luzon	Charoen Pokphand Foods Philippines Corp.	Charoen Pokphand	Thailand	Livestock	[2007] Concluded (Contract signed)	In operation (production)	(No data)	(No data)
469	Luzon	Bronzeoak Philippines Inc.	Bronzeoak Group, Zabaleta & Co	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Philippines	Biofuels	Concluded (Contract signed)	In operation (production)	10000	Sugar Cane
480	Visayas	Curcas Oil Philippines Inc	Curcas Oil N.V.	Netherlands	Biofuels, Food crops	Concluded (Oral Agreement)	In operation (production)	22300	Peanut, Jatropha
486	Mindanao	ECO Global Bio-Oils Inc	Eco Solutions Co Ltd	Republic of Korea	Biofuels	Concluded (Oral Agreement)	[2010] Project abandoned	100000	Jatropha
493	Visayas	Unknown (Biosystems Co. Ltd)	Biosystems Co. Ltd	Republic of Korea	Biofuels	[2011] Concluded (Oral Agreement)		100000	Algae
3725	Visayas	San Carlos Bioenergy	Bronzeoak	United Kingdom of Great	Biofuels	Concluded (Contract signed)	[2009] In operation (production)		Sugar Cane

Deal ID	Location	Primary Investor	Secondary Investor	Investor Country	Intention	Negotiation Status	Implementation Status	Intended Size	Crop
				Britain and Northern Ireland					
3726	Mindanao	Unknown (Bronzeoak)	Bronzeoak	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Biofuels	Concluded (Contract signed)	In operation (production)	11000	Sugar Cane
4117	Visayas	Unknown (Kibio 2007)	Kibio 2007	Republic of Korea	Biofuels	Concluded (Oral Agreement)	[2008] In operation (production)	5300	Jatropha

Note: Data presented here were culled from the online database of Land Matrix, 2015 which can be accessed at
http://www.landmatrix.org/en/get-the-detail/by-target-country/philippines/?order_by=&starts_with=p

corn and wheat, in offshore farms facilitated through bilateral agreements.

The third major reason for land grabbing, according to Cotula et al. (2009) is the attractiveness of agricultural production and its promising economic benefits. The promise of these benefits convinces the North-South and even South-South to engage in large-scale plantations. All these three major causes of land grabbing obviously benefit the elite local capitalists and multinational corporations and threaten the thin chance of survival of the marginalised Indigenous people, especially those living along the buffer zones, who are deprived of their lands, safe water, and chance to protect their dignity and own freedom.

2.8. Human rights implications of the development projects

Recent development challenges impinge upon vulnerable people, and greater social, economic, and environmental risks. The way that these challenges affect the vulnerable could mean that they lose their life chances to take on more productive and meaningful activities and enrich their capabilities and own wellbeing. The Indigenous people especially women and children, together with their animals and the environment are displaced, deprived, and exploited in order for development projects to proceed. These development aggressions happen despite the fact that the Philippines is a party and/or signatory to various international laws and conventions that uphold human rights and environmental justice.

Displacement of the local and Indigenous people is considered an age-old

tradition of state formalism (Scott, 1998) and subjugation of rights of the marginalised portion of the population (Thukral, 2009, p. 82). Now, it is being pursued both by rich and poor countries to prioritise development agendas that are usually geared towards economic development.

Various authors in the field of social sciences offer different versions of the term "displacement". These include: development-induced displacement (Brokerhoff, 1998; Jayal, 1999; Neef & Singer, 2015), development-forced displacement (Oliver-Smith, 2009, p. 6), resettlement and development-induced displacement and resettlement (Bisht, 2009, pp. 301-317). All of them support the main idea that displacement has a strong connection with anthropology as a field of study. In fact, development-forced displacement and resettlement or DFDR is a field in itself.

Patkar (2009) argues that displacement cannot be considered desirable and 'developmental' as it treats destitution and pauperisation of the local people as trade-offs for development. It also causes irreparable damage to culture and the environment. The free-market led political regime—a close partnership for profit of the Government leaders and business elites—has corrupted the social, economic, and political systems of the local people to define their future in relation to their land and natural resources. The compensation being given to defray the social cost and emotional angst is *never* enough to revive the bulldozed forest, reclaimed rivers, lost seeds, and broken dreams. Barnhart (2011, p. 87) in her study on Indigenous people and forests in Nepal, argues that institutionalising forest rights, by

allowing the local people to plan, manage, and utilise land and other natural resources, secures their basic human rights and welfare.

More than ever, we have witnessed massive human rights violations unfolding at the local level, resulting in the eviction of people from their natural and cultural habitats. The development regime underpinning food, water, and energy security has forced farmlands to be converted to monoculture plantations and mining sites. Huge dams have been built to commercialise water downstream, depriving communities of not just water, but the whole range of natural resources that were altered and depleted by the presence of these mega-structures.

These modern day development challenges call for enhanced democratic processes that underscore participatory, inclusive, gender-sensitive, accountable, and doable approaches to better address social and environmental injustices confronted by the poor and the marginalised sectors of society. The welfare of the local people must be prioritised by highlighting the need for them to actively participate and voice their claims to their rights to land, food, health, housing, employment, education and a healthy environment within the governance frameworks of the community, national laws, and global conventions and instruments.

2.8.1. Development challenges in Mindanao: Legal and international law implications

The following discussion presents applicable national legal frameworks

and international laws, conventions, and instruments pertaining to human rights, environmental justice, gender-sensitivity, and development assistance. They were reviewed and analysed to come up with proposed policy initiatives that will be used to affect the current limitations of the local and national governance framework in Mindanao and the entire Philippines, which continuously undermine marginalised women, young people, peasants, and Indigenous people.

The international instruments were ratified by the Philippine Government to make them part of the legal structure of the country. According to Thukral (2009, p. 92), the ratification of the international law into a country's legal regime makes it part of the basis for decisions in national courts.

2.8.2. The UN biodiversity protection convention to protect seeds and plant genes

The Philippines is a signatory to the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, which was ratified on 12 June 1992. Since then, it has enacted various national laws in consonance with the principles promulgated in the UN Convention. It has passed into law the Republic Act 7308, otherwise known as Seed Industry Development Act of 1992, to promote and develop the seed industry in the Philippines and create the National Seed Industry Council amongst other purposes.

Other enacted laws that support the Convention are: a) the RA 7586: National Integrated Protected Areas System Act of 1992; RA 7900: the

High-Value Crops Development Act of 1995; RA 7942: the Philippine Mining Code; and RA 8371: Recognising the Rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples.

Shiva (1993, pp. 151-159), in reaction to the provisions of the Convention argues that:

> What is missing in the principle is the sovereignty right of local communities which have conserved and maintained biodiversity and whose cultural survival is linked intimately to the survival of biodiversity, to conserve and use biological diversity.

The Convention has skipped the important sovereignty right of Indigenous people to pursue their indigenous knowledge and practices (IKSP) in farming and seed keeping. The local people were deprived of their customary rights to undertake grassroots actions to conserve their plant varieties and better safeguard food and nutrition. In her analysis, Shiva points out that the gene banks and the botanical gardens of the North store some 90 percent of the most important crop varieties from all over the world. However, the Convention is silent on how these genetic materials can be patented, implying that the North can proceed with patenting these materials without any violation. 'The consequence of patenting these seeds, is that developing countries would have to pay high prices for seeds and genetic materials in these gene banks and for the modified genetic materials. At the same time, they would not be compensated for the knowledge of their farmers and forest peoples, which is the source of the evolutionary use of the seeds and other materials in agricultural production. The Biodiversity Convention does not recognise

the right of informal innovators (including farmers) to be compensated', according to (Shiva, 1993, p. 156).

Shiva (1993, p. 159) argues that:

> For us in the Third World, the protection of plants is predicated on the protection of people who have been their custodians throughout history. It is this partnership between living biodiversity and living communities, which Biodiversity Convention needs to conserve.

2.8.3. Environmental laws and their limitations using a gender and human rights lens

A review of the related environmental international treaties and national laws reveal some inconsistencies such as, but not limited to, the following:

- No provision for open participation in the decision-making process of the general public.

- Some provisions are discriminatory and are not gender-sensitive; the marginalised groups, *inter alia*, women and peasants are not made part of the seed governance framework, for example to support food security especially in rural areas.

- The provisions must be amended to include other important clauses in the UN Biodiversity Convention, to which the Philippines is a signatory.

RA 7586 provides limited opportunity for Indigenous peoples to participate in the decision-making process pertaining to identification and management of the National Integrated Protected Area System (NIPAS). The sole provision that sets the importance of ancestral lands and

Indigenous peoples' rights is contained in Section 13:

> *Ancestral Lands and Rights Over Them.…* Ancestral lands
> and customary rights and interest arising shall be accorded
> due recognition. The Department of Environment and Natural
> Resources (DENR) shall prescribe rules and regulations to
> govern ancestral lands within protected areas: Provided, That
> the DENR shall have no power to evict [I]ndigenous
> communities from their present occupancy nor resettle them
> to another area without their consent: Provided, however,
> That all rules and regulations, whether adversely affecting
> said communities or not, shall be subjected to notice and
> hearing to be participated in by members of concern
> [I]ndigenous communities.

The rights of Indigenous people to protect their economic, social, environmental, and cultural interests in the land and its natural resources is not clearly specified under the current law. This law (RA 7586) should have integrated the Indigenous land rights and cultural perspectives in identifying environmentally protected areas. Indigenous people's beliefs, practices, customs, and traditions are intimately linked to land and its resources since time immemorial. The tribal people know best about the history and cultural values of their lands, including tales and legends that help them to live harmoniously with nature.

The current process of decision-making to establish NIPAS is dominated solely by experts' knowledge. This sole domination by experts is summarised and illustrated in Figure 3.

2.9. Environmental sustainability and social justice perspectives

The Love Canal environmental scandal on the 2nd of August 1978 (Szasz, 1994, p. 42 cited in Dobson, 2003 p. 19) was the origin of the environmental justice movement in the US. Poor people living along the Love Canal fell ill from chemical contaminants which were dumped by the Hooker Chemical Corporation some 20 years earlier. Relocated urban poor people suffered from birth defects and various sorts of cancers. The tragedy shows that poor people are more vulnerable to manmade hazards. Poor people face greater risk of 'environmental calamities of anthropogenic origin' (Dobson, 2003 p. 19). The incident shows that environmental goods and bads are unevenly distributed to society. Powerful and wealthy people hold the stakes in the distribution of environmental risks and failures by 'insulating' (Pulido, 1996) themselves against these risks while the poor people live inconveniently along the buffer zone of mixed impoverishment and vulnerability (Real World Coalition, 1996). Environmental justice theory seeks to distribute evenly the environmental goods and bads across human and nonhuman populations. It does not, however, seek to guarantee justice to 'the environment' (Dobson, 1998, p. 20).
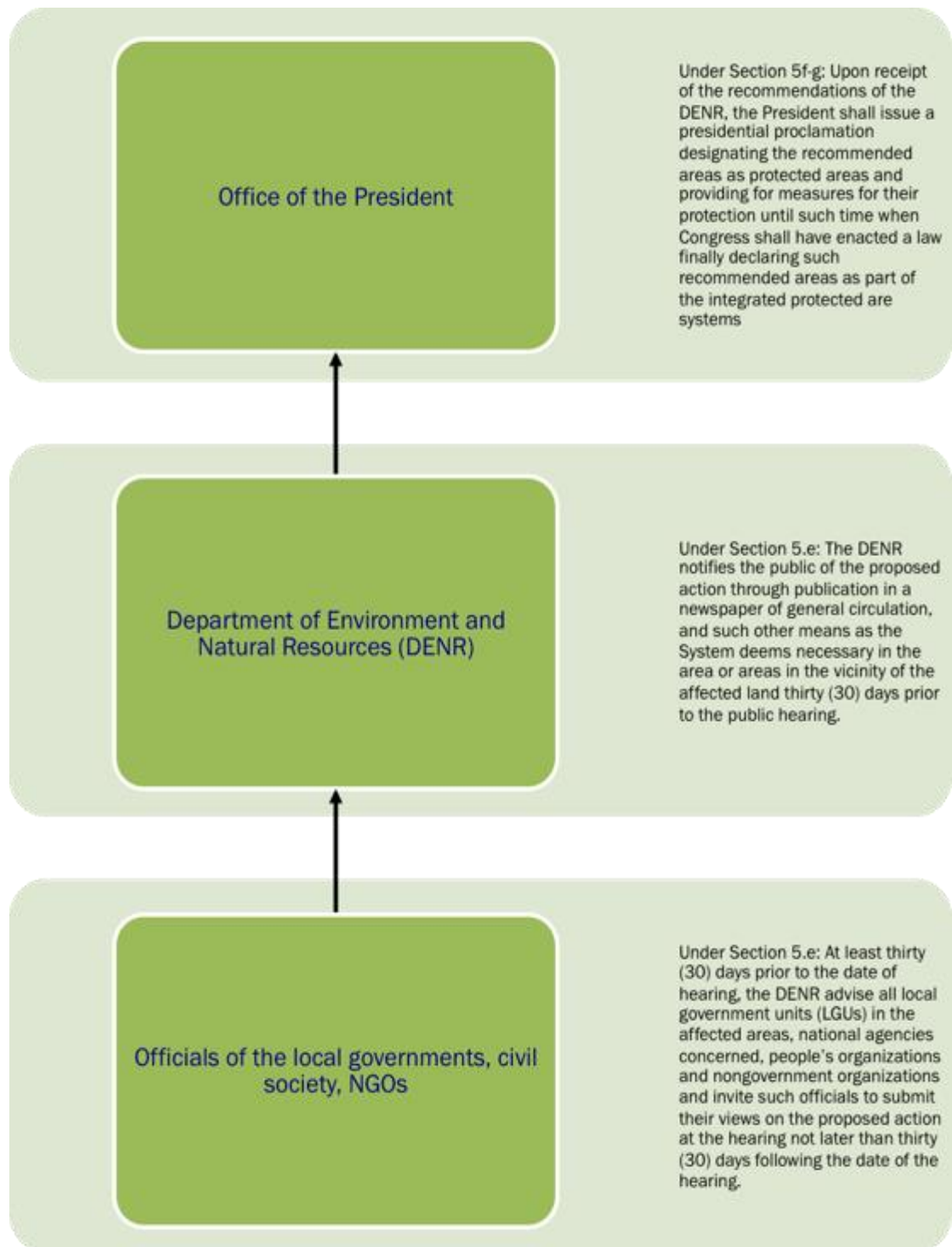
Figure 3. Current structure of establishment and management of the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) under the Republic Act 7586 (National Integrated Protected Areas System Act of 1992).

Environmental racism (Pulido, 1996, 2000) suggests that environmental risks and hazards impact more on specific groups, races, classes, and

genders. Poorer people, especially women and Indigenous minorities, suffer the most from environmental and manmade hazards (Real World Coalition, 1996). The story of Lois Gibbs (cited in Dobson, 2003, pp. 22-23) depicts how people of colour like the family of Lois Gibbs suffered from the Love Canal tragedy. She describes her daily ordeal taking care of her two sick children and joining other women to stage their protest against inequitable distribution of resources marked by the stark contrast between poor and wealthy people in her neighbourhood. Lois Gibbs' story is not just about local chemical contamination. She also emphasises a need to consider other critical wellbeing aspects such as safety, livelihood, health, nutrition, and having a political voice. This shows that environmental justice moves away from its traditional focus on distributing environmental goods and bads to include such other social and political aspects like equity, equality, voice and representation. The role of women as a democratic and political issue now gains its space in the environmental justice movement (Krauss, 1994; Epstein, 1994, cited in Dobson, 2003 p. 22).

2.9.1. Environmental sustainability

Dobson (1998 p. 37) stresses that sustainable development is part of the theoretical body of environmental sustainability. Sustainability is an unstable and contested concept. It means different things across societies. Sustainability is measured in terms of duration or a time frame in which it is positioned as a political goal. It asks the question: is it good to last for a decade or a millennium? Another measure is 'sustainable for whom', which

asks the question: who are the subjects and objects of sustainability? Do they include humans and nonhumans in the current and future generations? 'Sustainable under what conditions' seeks to clarify the question: who gains and who loses? Does sustainability cover the interests of the transnational corporations or the local and Indigenous people and their traditional societies? Lastly, 'sustainability of what' seeks to establish what it is to be sustained by the sustainability project. Is it for livelihood, health, wellbeing, economic development or biodiversity? (Luke, 1995, cited in Dobson, 1998).

Dobson (1998) develops three conceptions of environmental sustainability based on Luke's thesis and other critical literature dealing with the concept. Dobson summarises conceptions of environmental sustainability by constructing an analytical typology that characterises the environmental sustainability literatures across three categories, namely A, B, and C conceptions. He used at least five aspects or questions, namely: What to sustain? Why?, How?, Objects of Concerns, and substitutability between human-made and natural capital as reference points in the categorisation.

Conception A is described as a body of sustainability literature that is concerned about critical natural capital. Conception A seeks to provide human welfare by renewing, substituting and protecting critical natural capital. Its primary aim is to provide a guarantee that present and future human needs and wants are met. Conception B is known as the 'irreversibility conception' (Dobson, 1998 p. 48). It deals primarily with

protecting the interest of nonhuman animals and the natural world. Loss of these natural organisms are irreversible in nature, which means once they are extinct, they can never be brought back to the natural order of living and non-living systems. This body of literature focuses on human welfare and a society's duty to nature by protecting and substituting the irreversible aspects of natural capital. It seeks to guarantee that present and future human and nonhuman needs are met. In terms of substitutability, it does not always lend to substituting manmade capital to irreversible aspects of nature.

Conception C, being the last body of literature on environmental sustainability, focuses on the natural value of things. It espouses the idea that we have a duty to protect nature at all times to make sure that present and future nonhuman and human needs are met. In the typology, conception C 'eschews substitutability debate' by standing on its firm ground that there is no substitute for the natural existence and order of environmental components.

Dobson's typology therefore offers a comprehensive and up-to-date explanation on how environmental sustainability as a theoretical discourse is constituted based on various political interests and conceptions. It can be said that Conception A is based on the neoliberal democratic idea of environmental sustainability. It seeks replacements of critical natural capital for the purpose of supporting the needs of the burgeoning human population and industrialisation. The monoculture plantations in Mindanao,

Philippines are one of the classic examples of 'green revolution' and 'free trade' by expanding commercial banana and pineapple farms to support exportation and industrialisation. The development project has converted forest and ancestral lands for commercialised modern agriculture that has displaced and converted nature, human settlements, livelihoods and other social and cultural systems of poor rural and Indigenous people.

2.10. Gender as a social construct and its implication to development

Issues related to women are still being given less priority than other concerns pertaining to the environment (Moser, 2003, p. 1). Past and current debates about how to enable women to become productive partners of men in third world development have evolved over the years from women in development (WID) to gender and development (GAD) perspectives. According to Whitehead, 'men and women play different roles in society with their gender differences shaped by ideological, historical, religious, ethnic, economic, and cultural determinants' (as cited in Moser, 2003). Further, Whitehead (1979) argues that that the link between gender differences of men and women is based on 'subordination' rather than 'patriarchy'.

Tackling gender inequality is a global concern. The United Nations Decade for Women, which started on the 1st of January 1976, paved the way for the renewed interests and commitment of policy makers around the world to empower women by giving them equal rights and opportunities to men. During this decade, the global framework supporting the role of women shifted from the traditional rigmarole of reproductive tasks brought about

by motherhood to include other approaches strengthening their capabilities to take on important productive roles (Moser, 2003, p. 2).

Gender equality still remains a struggle against the existing governance framework that does not acknowledge women as equal partners of men in the development process. Gender-blind policies dominate and hamper the achievement of development goals. According to Kabeer (2003, p. 243):

> Gender blindness means ignoring the different socially determined roles, responsibilities, and capabilities of men and women. Gender-blind policies are based on information derived from men's activities and/or assume those affected by the policy have the same (male) needs and interests.

Kabeer (2003) argues that gender inequality 'is more pervasive than other forms of inequality'. It challenges different social groups and characteristics and is present within these; it exists within rich and poor societies, *inter alia,* between and within families. In particular, women in poor societies suffer and live in a more miserable state due to pauperisation and the oppression of their rights being caught up in performing tasks that are both time consuming and unpaid. They do not hold much control over land and housing (Agarwal, 1994a, 1994b; Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 2015b; United Nations Human Rights, 2015; World Bank, FAO, & IFAD, 2009) as men still hold privileged access to resources both at the family and community level (Kabeer, 2003, p. xiv).

2.10.1. Gender and agricultural productivity

According to the *State of Food and Agriculture 2011* report of the FAO, women comprise 43 percent of the agricultural labour force, on average, in developing countries (Quisumbing et al., 2014, p. 7). This figure, however, can rise up to 90 percent in some countries. The report acknowledged the limitation of data available to count women in agriculture, as many local communities were not represented in surveys conducted. Beneria (1981) argues 'women are less likely to declare themselves as employed in agriculture even if they work longer hours than men'. Deere (2005) reports that women tend to report in surveys that their role as "housekeepers" or "homemakers" is their primary responsibility, even if they have in fact allocated most of their time to performing duties that are farm-related, such as preparing meals, seed nursery keeping, weeding and a lot more (cited in FAO, 2011). In the Philippines for example, 55.5 percent of the agricultural labour force is comprised of women (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014b). Figure 4 shows the proportion of women participating in agriculture. Women comprise almost 50 percent of agricultural workers in Sub-Saharan Africa and East and Southeast Asian countries.

Gender inequalities plague rural agricultural productivity in developing countries by undermining the roles of men and women. The WB, FAO, and IFAD (2009) suggested that it is time to recognise women's important roles both in subsistence and high-value crops production.

Some researchers argue that the participation of women in agriculture is equal or even more than that of men. Women also perform the assigned

"masculine" farming tasks done by men, with the exception of ploughing. However, in a study conducted by Lu (2010, p. 80) among farmers in the northern Philippines, women's tasks in agriculture vary widely across different agricultural communities. Women are also active in agricultural supply chain industries such as food processing and agribusiness. Regardless of what tasks they perform, however, women's roles in agriculture is always undervalued; they usually perform unpaid farm work and receive lower salaries for contractual and casual work in rural areas. Raney and Doss (2011) argue that: 'rural women often manage complex households and pursue multiple livelihood strategies. Their activities typically include producing agricultural crops, tending animals, processing and preparing food, working for wages in agricultural or other rural enterprises, collecting fuel and water, engaging in trade and marketing, caring for family members and maintaining their homes. Many of these activities are not defined as "economically active employment" in national accounts but they are essential to the wellbeing of rural households.'

Deere (2005, p. 52) has recognised that:

> The feminisation of the agricultural sector is taking place through two paths, women's increased responsibility for peasant production and their growing participation as wageworkers in non-traditional agro-export production. Neither path is well captured by census or survey measures. Moreover, the particular path to feminisation of agriculture is location-specific and depends on a myriad of factors, including household-level variables and the gendered nature of local, regional, national and international labour markets, as well as of other income-generating opportunities.
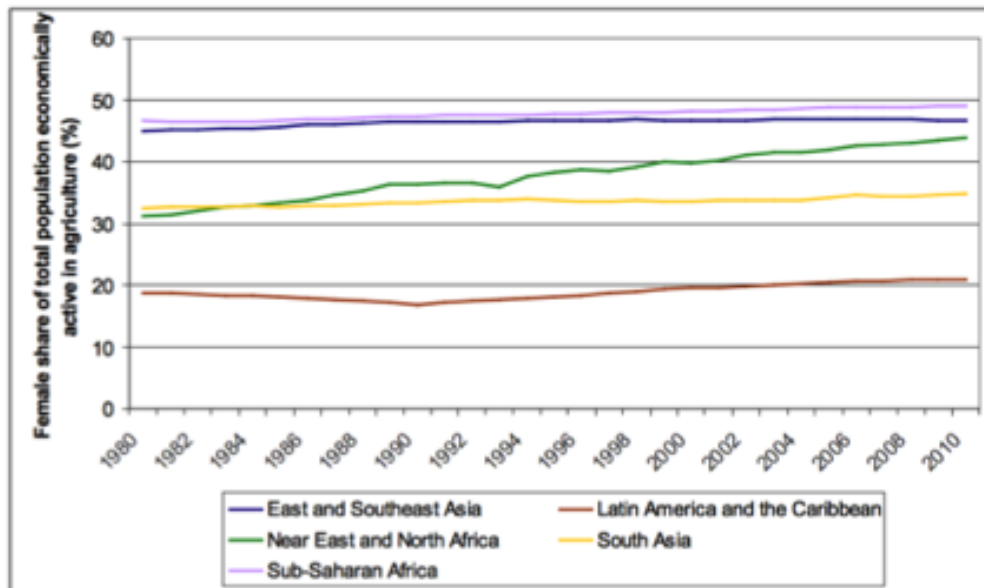
Figure 4. Female share of the agricultural labour force.

Source: FAOSTAT cited in Raney and Doss (2011, p. 4).

2.10.2. Gender and food production

"The soil knows not if a seed has been planted by a man's or a woman's hand. A hungry stomach cares not, as long as it is fed" according to (Gupta, 2009). However, FAO (1997) reported that "women produce between 60 and 80 percent of the food in most developing countries and are responsible for half of the world's food production" (cited in Mehra & Rojas, 2008, p. 1). This statement has been phrased and re-phrased by many writers over the years (Kjaer, 2004).

In a quantitative study, Doss (2014) argues that it is impossible to measure or disaggregate (apart from men) women's contribution to food production either in the form of labour or actual food volume in developing countries. She argues that instead, it is important to acknowledge women's roles in

food security. In regard to disaggregating women's contributions to food production, Doss (2009) argues that measuring food produced exclusively by women is analytically challenging, for the following reasons:

  a)   defining and measuring food production;

  b)   defining the resources to be included in the calculation;

  c)   designating those resources according to the gender of the person who controls them.

It is difficult to specify the volume of food output produced by men and women because both sexes participate in the process of production interchangeably. Men are mainly responsible for land clearing and ploughing while women work with men in sowing, weeding, harvesting, and the selling of farm produce in developing countries (Doss, 2011). Children are made part of the familial and communal weeding and harvesting activities in rural agricultural areas (FAO, 2011).

It is important to recognise that women typically produce food in at least two modes. One mode is through their labour participation in food processing and agribusiness activities that benefit larger society but not their immediate families. Another mode is through women's hands-on and local food production for their families through "seeds planted by their hands" (Doss, 2011; Gupta, 2009). Producing food locally means that women derive food such as vegetables, fruits, fish, poultry and livestock from their own backyard garden or family farm, which are used mainly for subsistence.

2.10.3. Gendered dimension of land, housing and other property rights

Many different studies on both development economics, and gender and development, point out that women still lag behind men in terms of wealth or specifically entitlement and actual ownership of assets (Estudillo, Quisumbing, & Otsuka, 2001; Quisumbing et al., 2014). Disaggregated data available in studies conducted at the household level in developing countries reveal that women are in fact poorer than men. They lack access and have relatively little power to control resources available both at the household and wider community levels.

Agarwal (2014, pp. 1252-1253) has identified the following challenges that smallholder farmers, especially women face nowadays:

    a)   insecure rights in the land they cultivate;

    b)   lack of an assured water supply;

    c)   little access to formal credit;

    d)   limited access to inputs such as fertilisers, or to technology, and information on new agricultural practices and marketing infrastructure.

In summary, women own and hold little control of lands cultivated in developing countries (Table 5).

Table 5. Summary: Rural women's land ownership across countries

Countries	Women's ownership of land (%)	Reference Year	Source
Nepal	14	2001	Allendorf, 2007 cited in Agarwal (2014)
India	12.8	2010-2011	GoI, 2010, 2011 cited in Agarwal (2014)
China	70 (landless)	2000	Li, 2003 cited in Agarwal (2014)
Ghana	25	2013	(Deere, Doss, Oduro, & Suchitra, 2012, p. 5)
Ecuador	25	2013	
Uganda	25	2013	

Deere and Doss (2006) argue that it is crucial to women's wellbeing and empowerment to investigate seriously the dynamics of gender and wealth, especially in developing countries. They cited the following reasons: a) gender and wealth distribution is related to equity; b) men and women may use wealth in different ways, and c) gender and asset distribution is important to determine the relationship between assets and poverty.

The first reason suggests that women's access to wealth is limited and systematically made difficult at the household, community, market, and state levels. Men are still being given privileged access to resources. The second reason justifies the need to identify the critical role of women and men in terms of access and use of wealth for the family's overall wellbeing. A dense body of literature supports the argument that any significant increase in women's access and control of wealth such as land, capital or credit would yield a dramatic increase in food production (Fries, 2015), better pre-natal care (Beegle, Frankenberg, & Thomas, 2001, p. 130), and reduced domestic violence (Panda &

Agarwal, 2005, p. 823). Increased awareness and focus by the state and other non-state actors on issues pertaining to women's capabilities to own land and other movable properties help in genuine women's empowerment (Kristjanson et al., 2014; Mishra & Sam, 2016).

The last reason emphasises the need to bolster the effects of financial and environmental crises especially to the poorest and the most marginalised rural people. By studying the dynamics of gender and property, critical aspects of women's entitlement and control of wealth can be assessed and supported to mitigate the effects of any natural or man-made emergencies affecting women and children.

2.11. Theorising the stories in the monoculture plantations in Mindanao using Capabilities Approach and gender planning

The previous sections presented the key concepts reviewed from related studies tacking governance, development, and democracy. This part presents the specific theoretical lens used to develop the arguments underpinning the emancipation framework for Indigenous smallholder farmers trapped in deprivation in the monoculture plantation communities in Mindanao.

2.11.1. Power and empowerment

This section discusses the nature and processes of power and its interrelationships with knowledge as a means to mobilise actions and empowerment. Let me start by citing the three dimensions of power based

on Gaventa and Cornwall (2001) work *Power and Knowledge*. The first dimension is described as the relationship of 'A over B', or in the words of Dahl, it is the relationship of the 'powerful' and the 'powerless'. This dichotomy is the source of conflict between opposing groups or institutions that view themselves as experts. Each group struggles to be better than the other in harnessing their knowledge to be the more 'credible, logical and rational'. The process to be better than the other is aimed at affecting a wider range of the policy arena. In this approach, expert knowledge gains prominence and legitimacy by dismembering and disenfranchising the relatively weak expertise held by laymen or ordinary people.

The second dimension deals with the 'hidden face of power'. It suggests that power relations are not about debates between experts, but concern whether the 'issues and actors' are factored in a systematic way that maximises the outcome of the debate or knowledge production. In this view, knowledge is produced with the enhanced participation of people or actors who experience firsthand the issues being dealt with. This approach is about empowerment wherein a wider range of people is strategically represented to take part in the production of knowledge. The strategic representation of people is seen as an ideal way to eke out various initiatives that have been lampooned by the more powerful expertise of the elites.

The third dimension deals with the counteracting measure to overcome the asymmetrical distribution of power to produce knowledge. The powerful dragoon the powerless by monopolising knowledge to impose, as

Paulo Freire puts it, a 'culture of silence' on those intentionally left behind in the process (cited in Gaventa and Cornwall (2001, pp. 70-72). In this view, knowledge production is intended to repudiate the process that foists people's rights to participate actively in the undertakings that could raise their awareness of the issues. Specifically, this view concerned the counter movement against dominant knowledge mechanisms that limit people's capacities to overcome oppression, marginalisation, displacement, abuse, and exploitation. Examples of these are the various movements and local or grassroots initiatives that help people to claim their putative rights for free and accessible social services.

2.11.1.1. Sources, spaces and forms of power

Gaventa (2006) describes the nexus of places, spaces and forms of power through the 'power cube'. The power cube as a framework illustrates the challenges confronted by advocates of participatory approaches in social planning and ways in which decision-making for social action can be made more transparent, inclusive and accountable. Gaventa points out to 'places' as policy making arenas, namely at local, national and global levels. He points out that the globalised world has posed immeasurable challenges towards engaging with the local and national actors or participants in actually contributing in the development of discourses and identities of people and societies. Terms such as 'partnership and 'shared ownership' espoused by the powerful World Bank and International Monetary Fund (WB/IMF) programmes have enforced participation of stakeholders but in actual fact, 'obscures inequalities of resources and power' (Gaventa, 2006 p. 23). This means that 'participation' is defined

and promoted by the powerful, as an international orthodoxy of development (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1325) and yet it omits the voice and representation of the powerless and most marginalised people in the actual social planning processes.

Places of power create 'spaces' wherein people and institutions negotiate to gain control over finite resources and entitlements. Lefebvre argues that power spaces are socially constructed from the continuous struggle of the stakeholders to gain control, legitimacy and domination of any social and development concerns (1991, p. 24). For Gaventa (2006), spaces for participation take various popular names depending on agenda. Some researchers highlight 'political spaces' as venues for people and institutions to negotiate and pursue social actions geared towards poverty alleviation (Webster & Engberg-Petersen, 2002, cited in Gaventa, 2006 p. 26). Others have focused on 'policy spaces' (McGee, 2004, p. 16, cited in Gaventa, 2006) and 'democratic spaces' (Cornwall & Coehlo, 2006 cited in Gaventa, 2006, p. 26). Policy spaces refers to the interactions of the rulers and the ruled with the goal of addressing social inequalities, whereas democratic spaces help enable the powerless to hold certain rights and entitlements to improve their wellbeing by affecting the governance frameworks. For Gaventa, spaces created by power interactions are closed, invited, and claimed/created spaces. In closed spaces, decision-making processes are held behind 'closed doors', and the decision-making boundaries for participation are being kept obscured. This space is created by the closed interactions of the elites and powerful people and institutions,

which inhibits the vital democratic practice of transparency and accountability. Influential people and institutions create the invited spaces. The purpose of creating invited spaces is to attract citizens and beneficiaries to partake in the decision-making process in practically all policy arenas. Lastly, claimed/created spaces are the outgrowth of invited spaces. Cornwall argues that claimed/created spaces are the emerging 'organic' spaces developed in response to the need of advocating for the interest and welfare of the people and institutions affected by power asymmetry (2002, cited in Gaventa, 2006 p. 27). Social movements and advocacy groups established through civil society are common examples of created spaces. In the creation of spaces, Gaventa argues that 'those who create it are more likely to have power within it, and those who have power in one, may not have so much in another' (2006, p. 27).

Places and spaces create forms of power. VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) argue that power comes in at least three forms, namely: visible, hidden, and invisible. Visible power aims to improve decision-making processes by providing more democratic guidelines in order for stakeholders to actively take part in various social actions. Hidden power refers to the setting of political agendas in favour of the interests of elite and powerful decision-makers. Hidden power is illustrative of a social scheme where both the agenda and representation of people and institutions are limited to those that are visible and manageable to deal with. Invisible power, on the other hand, refers to deeply ingrained biases about people and institutions, which lead poor and voiceless people to accept the status quo blindly.

Poor and voiceless local people accept their fate as inferior to the prevailing powerful system which interferes with faith, trust and hope to transform and overcome social inequality. Invisible power exists because the interests, values and identities of the poor and the voiceless people are carried into the passive discourse or narratives of the elites and the powerful (Bacchi, 2004, 2010; Gaventa, 2006).

2.11.2. The Theory Base: nexus of the Capabilities Approach, Moser's and Kabeer's Gender Mainstreaming and other socio-anthropological theories

Nussbaum (2011, p. 48) and Kabeer (cited in March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhay, 2005 p. 101) share the same view about development. The former argues that 'development is a normative concept. It means, or should mean, that things are getting better', whereas the latter describes the same concept as 'primarily increasing human wellbeing' (p. 101 cited in March). Kabeer's social relations approach theory argues that wellbeing is not only measured in terms of 'economic growth or improved productivity'. It covers more than just quantitative parameters of human growth and improvement such as income and wealth, and covers much more important social anthropological constructs such as 'survival, security, and autonomy'. Autonomy, according to Kabeer, refers to the individual's capability to decide and participate independently in personal, familial, and community affairs that are deemed necessary to promote one's wellbeing and life chances. Simple forms of autonomy include a woman's ability to decide for her own body, as well as her capability to find a meaningful livelihood while maintaining her role as both a mother and a

wife in the family. For Nussbaum, these sets of 'fertile functioning' leads to a complex and intertwined positive network of other capabilities that could open and develop the capabilities of the other members in the household that rely closely on a woman's meaningful time and effort. In this regard, this current study tries to extend Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach by theorising and justifying further the idea that giving ample and just social minimums of sets of capabilities to women do not just benefit the women themselves, because the effects of building up of capabilities and the subsequent harnessing of functionings among women trigger the cycle or web of opportunities that in turn, encourages and supports the development of capabilities of other persons directly under the care of women at both the household and community level. I argue that capabilities have a multiple effect, just like functionings, if and only if proper attention is given to put in place governance and development frameworks that increase the boundary of the decision-making process to include the voices and representation of the lower classes and the marginalised (Midgley, 1997; Ulrich, 1994, 1996) by making the discourse of the lower class, particularly of women, as active and essential components in the 'meaning making' involved in social planning. Bacchi, (2010) argues that the way forward is to characterise the discourse of women and marginalised groups as 'action words'. Social planning for women and other marginalised groups call for the use of forceful 'verbs' in the actual framing of policies to emphasise the need to focus on the process, rather than relying mainly on canonical elite discourse, which has been laid indelibly in voluminous texts and lengthy speeches that have

long been regarded as gospel truths since time immemorial.

Kabeer's Social Relations Approach helps to justify the policy-as-discourse argument in framing the interests of poor or 'peripheral rural people' (Chambers, 1983, 1997) by understanding that the duty of the state to provide decent and justifiable social minimums (based on Nussbaum's 10 Central Capabilities) that translates to more than just augmented income through skills training and formal education, or relevant and sufficient support for livelihood. Kabeer's thesis goes to prove that wellbeing captures other or even more important components of a meaningful and dignified life to include 'all those tasks which people perform to reproduce human labour (caring, nurturing, looking after the sick), which poor people carry out to survive, and those which people perform in caring for their environment which ultimately assures their livelihoods. All these dimensions are captured as well in Nussbaum's ten Central Capabilities.

Kabeer's concept of 'institutional analysis' provides the framework in which Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach will be further expanded in this study. Kabeer defines an institution as 'a framework of rules for achieving certain social and economic goals' and an organisation as the structure created by institutions (cited in March, et al., p. 104). In this regard, Kabeer argues that to analyse deeply and judiciously the points where inequality is being produced, reinforced, and reproduced, one needs to consider in the actual analysis the 'institutional realms—the state, the market, the community, and the family/kinship' (pp. 104-105). The state constitutes the

Government, legal and security frameworks governing the state and the lower Government bodies and line agencies. The market includes such institutions as private businesses, both local and foreign, operating and/or affecting primarily the state's financial and economic affairs. The community comprises of all organisations directly and indirectly outside the realms of family/kinship. They may be formal and informal groups where families and individuals interact, depend on each other and take leadership roles, when afforded the chance. Lastly, the family/kinship level includes couples/partners, siblings, and extended families related both by consanguinity and affinity.

Kabeer does more than just offer an explanation about the dynamics of institutional domains in the production, reinforcement and reproduction of social inequalities as presented previously. There are 'official ideologies' heavily established in the basic institutional domains that have been adversely affecting the design of social actions. These assumptions are said to be the obstacles in the meaning making to emancipate the poorest and most marginalised people through social deconstruction. These myths or so-called assumptions are comprised of and controlled by the discourse of the elite in the literary deconstruction camp (Bacchi, 2010). These assumptions are edified in the texts and speeches controlled by dominant, influential and powerful groups. Kabeer argues that the common assumptions being predominantly attributed to the state is that it always 'pursues the national interest and national welfare' (to the market) that it 'pursues about profit maximisation' (the community) that is 'about service

provision, and the family/kinship is 'about altruism' and that it is always 'cooperative, not conflictual institutions' (March, et al. p. 103). Policy-as-discourse as a form of systemic social action must therefore proceed to comprehensively analyse through dialogue and minimise the impact of power in the actual planning process. To Kabeer, relying on these sets of established categories as truths denies the entire effort to include the voice and representation of the poor and the marginalised in the social planning to improve their wellbeing. For example, a market conception as purely economic should change to integrate such important aspects as livelihood and local regeneration (Girardet, 2015).

The challenge for policy-as-discourse analysts would be to carry out systemic analysis inspired by Churchman's idea of 'sweeping in' as many interrelated issues as possible (cited in Midgley, 2000, p. 291) and by expanding the sphere of the decision-making boundary to include the 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1994) in the actual planning or social designing process.

These institutional levels, which I would call domains, are the sources of, in Nussbaum's (2011) and Wolff and De-Shalit's (2013) words, 'fertile functioning' and 'corrosive disadvantage'. Fertile functioning is not my preferred term (I favour Nussbaum's term over Wolff and De-Shalit's), hence I will use 'fertile capability' (Nussbaum, 2011 p. 44). Fertile capabilities are produced, reinforced and reproduced in Kabeer's 'four key institutional realms' or domains much in the same way corrosive disadvantages are created. Fertile capabilities open up opportunities for

other more or less complex capabilities. For example, giving women proper skills through training them on how to safely and creatively process fruit preserves locally will open up other windows for women to improve other life skills such as, but not limited to, networking, selling, and higher analytical and creative thinking required in managing small family businesses. The flip side of this positive story is the challenge imposed by so-called corrosive disadvantages. These impediments cling to the very fabric of relationships starting from the family and kinship level. Common examples are ripe and abundant at any institutional domain. These barriers are prompted by women's subordinated roles under the direct control of the privileged and preferred status of men emanating from the confines of the household and being carried forward to other higher institutional levels. When women are forced to focus only on their reproductive and productive roles, and are inhibited by virtue of customs and traditions to perform other important and meaningful roles—spanning productive and community roles, women are being infantilised and jeopardised ultimately of their agency to 'hold up half of the sky' (Doss, 2014 p. 69-90). Crehan (1992b, p. 113) further classifies Moser's (1989, 2003) idea of the reproductive burden of women into at least three categories, namely: 'biological reproduction' or childbearing, 'generational reproduction' or childrearing, and 'daily reproduction or maintenance' or household rigmaroles such as cleaning, feeding, foraging, gardening/farming and many other tasks but unfortunately, repeatedly unaccounted for invisible time and efforts spent by women in raising their families.

Corrosive disadvantages or institutional barriers are as important as the fertile capabilities in the analysis of this study. They constitute the active processes involved in carrying out policy-as-discourse for 'social deconstruction'. Social deconstruction is the twin sister of policy-as-discourse. The theory has been developed through the scholarly works of Bakhtin (1968), Foucault (1970, 1975, 1977, 1980) and Bataille (1985) and supports the need to emphasise the process of generating truths through looking at the processes in which social actions have become relevant or irrelevant to the needs of the poor and the marginalised (cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 46). Examining and identifying the institutional barriers confronting women as well as their dependents require reifying the actual processes through vivid narratives of the local people with a marginalised and pauperised status. Knowing what these barriers are straight from the holders and/or guardians of LCDDU (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities, Moser (1989, 2003) assures that more ethical social action could take place to help emancipate women and other marginalised groups from the structural barriers created by dissonant versions of inequalities and injustices perpetrated simultaneously or independently within and outside all the institutional frames, as identified by Kabeer. Another advantage of looking closely at these corrosive disadvantages is identifying ways in which provision by the state of minimum social capabilities, and allocating corresponding resources, could be easily directed to the institutional barriers that have adversely affected other supporting structures. These institutional barriers, by their

very nature, bind together closely and annihilate the structures belonging to a specific institution or spreading across others. An example of this is when a woman is restricted from controlling land and other resources transferred through patrilineal arrangements to her family. The patrilineal mode of transfer of property from men's families denies women the actual chance of ownership and control of land and other wealth bestowed through the father or male side (Chambers, 1997). This family/kinship level barrier is produced, reinforced and reproduced both at the community and state levels. Therefore, giving women increased access and control over conjugal or partnership properties, regardless of the manner they are acquired, helps to address women's vulnerability to be reduced to marginalisation and pauperisation. These corrosive disadvantages correspond to Chambers' interlocking 'deprivation trap' (1983, p. 112) comprised of 'poverty, physical weakness, powerlessness, vulnerability, and isolation'. Chamber's thesis does not build on the causality and correlation of these disadvantages, but instead offers a conceptual and practical way of using self-critical awareness to understand the dynamics or the process involved in policy-as-discourse and how to empower poor and voiceless local people. Nussbaum's ideas of giving each person, rather than the protracted aggregate of family or community units, and of focusing on dignity, rather than satisfaction, reinforce each person's agency to do and to be (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999).

2.11.3. A closer look at Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach

Martha Nussbaum's work on the Capabilities Approach provides the

impetus for development planners of democratic governments to centre on the need to give each individual dignity and respect in pursuit of growth and development. Nussbaum argues that the traditional economic emphasis of choice and decisions under a utilitarian regime could undermine the welfare of individuals who are the poorest, most isolated in and the worst health. The role of the Government, according to Nussbaum, is to provide a mechanism in which each person is treated as a valuable resource to be allocated with a just minimum, enough for the person to grow, to do and to be. Each person is considered as end of development. Contrary to utilitarianism, the Capabilities Approach treats each person with agency, freedom and dignity in the policy agenda—a disaggregated approach that breaks the prevailing cycle of considering the household unit as the basis of public policy analysis. Nussbaum argues that the merit of focusing on each person's capabilities in order to support his or her functioning dispels the tendency of the household heads being interviewed (in a survey for example) to describe the status of each individual member of the family according to their biases based on the collective state of needs in food, health, livelihood, education, etc. Capabilities, according to Nussbaum, are far more important than functionings. The latter are outcomes of the former, therefore, it is important to focus on developing the minimal capabilities of each person rather than on what he or she is already able to do. The role of the Government is to be able to provide a just minimum provision of capabilities to each person to improve his or her wellbeing. For example, a good Government must be able to emphasise and focus its allocation of resources to programs that will enhance the

health and education capabilities of each individual rather than to promote health and education as programs per se.

The Capabilities Approach is one of the few popular rudiments of social justice. Sen's *Development as Freedom* revolutionises the basic tenets of freedom of each individual by citing that the goal of Government is to provide 'substantive freedom', which is 'combined capabilities' in Nussbaum's work. Combined capabilities is a set of targeted internal capabilities (being able to read, write, walk, etc.) plus socio-economic, political, and cultural conditions. Substantive and/or combined capabilities aimed as targets for public policy will help transform and emancipate each person from deprivation. Such is the case of Vasanti in Nussbaum's story in *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach* published in 2011. The moment Vasanti found the Self-Employed Women Association (SEWA) in India, she was able to escape from her abusive husband and from subservience to her own patriarchal family. She was able to realise her worth as a person at SEWA by learning how to sew sari clothes and earn money and savings. Vasanti's story is true and reflects other common stories of women in developing countries who are left to suffer performing subordinated roles in patriarchal societies. Many societies tend to produce policies that reinforce internal capabilities in on a bare minimum level for people (such as them knowing how to raise goats and produce milk and cheese) but as Nussbaum states, these societies have failed to emphasise the importance of giving their people the opportunity to acquire minimum capital and market to start their own projects and thrive.

The Capabilities Approach is not a set of universal principles to address human deprivations. It is not just limited to humans, as the ten Central Capabilities also regard the importance of animals and other sentient beings. The list starts with **life**, which refers to one's capability to live a decent and normal life span. **Bodily health** refers to a person's capability to maintain good health and satisfy basic needs. **Bodily integrity** is a personal concept to help guarantee that each person is able to use her/his physical body to move, protect herself/himself from any form of harm and assault, and be able to enjoy sex and procreation. **Senses, imagination, and thought** refer to the human capability of being able to enjoy and use imagination and reason, and through training and education, to improve one's life chances to exercise freedom. **Emotion** refers to the capability to feel for other persons, things and beings such as animals and plants. **Practical reason** is the capability to help guarantee that each person is able to enter into critical reflection to make decisions for her/his own life. **Affiliation** is a two-pronged capability, which refers to a) person's capability to exercise freedom of speech, and b) to be freed from any form of discrimination. The **other species**, the number eight capability on Nassbaum's list, refers to a person's freedom to enjoy and care for other nonhuman animals and plants. **Play** is being able to do and enjoy all sorts of recreation. Lastly, **control over one's environment** is another two-pronged capability, namely: a) a political one—being able to use one's voice, choice and agency in political decision-making platforms at all possible levels, and b) a material one—being able to work for one's own

living and own land and other goods (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33-34).

2.11.4. Gender Planning Frameworks

Gender equality is a development tradition aimed primarily at empowering women to become active partners with men in development (Moser, 1993 cited in (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 35). Over the years, gender equality as a development policy is better-known under two broad policy umbrellas, namely Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD). WID endeavours to increase women's participation in development activities while GAD concentrates on promoting gender equality, between men and women in development.

Making gender everyone's concern in the organisation is seen as unsustainable according to critiques of gender mainstreaming. The patriarchal structure of society and men themselves will continue to be apathetic about allocating efforts and resources towards its promotion (Razavi and Miller 1995; Moser 1993, p. 109 cited in (March et al., 2005, p. 9).

Gender mainstreaming policies are varied. Some Governments and institutions put in place special national and local bodies within the Government structure to carry on the task of ensuring that gender equality measures are made part in their systems and procedures. However, this manner of implementing is always challenged by the political priorities of the incumbent and incoming Government officials making the sustainability

of the enacted programs and projects intended for gender mainstreaming impossible to achieve. Another way of implementing gender mainstreaming policy is by integrating it directly in the systems and procedures of any institution without a special body regulating and coordinating the efforts and resources allocated for its implementation. Either way is highly influenced by political priorities and the interests of the incumbent leaders and practitioners (March et al., 2005, p. 13). Allocation of resources—money, manpower, technology and even social capital— would largely depend on the continuous political struggle to make gender mainstreaming a serious and real priority in every aspect of planning and decision-making in the organisations.

There is no one right way to use the framework. It highly depends on the contexts and type of data available as bases for planning. Gender frameworks are not universal principles (ODA, 1996 cited in (March et al., 2005, p. 10). Different communities and organisations have different contexts and worldviews about any single concept related to gender framework, hence it is plausible to insist on participants in any case study as relevant and acceptable in a particular group. This issue imposes a serious challenge upon gender advocates. They have to make sure that case studies and examples of the concepts included and/or related to the framework are made specific, understandable and acceptable by the group to maximise the outcome of the gender planning activity.

2.11.5. The Moser Framework

The Moser Framework in gender planning was developed by Caroline Moser in Development Planning Unit (DPU) at the University of London, UK. The framework addresses the limitations of Women in Development (WID), which primarily deals with how women's socio-economic concerns must be integrated in the planning process. Moser's Framework, being under the Gender and Development (GAD) umbrella, does more than that. It integrates the concerns of men and women in terms of their power relations in the development planning platforms, whether governmental or non-governmental.

The Moser Framework emphasises the need for gender planning to address the subordinated role of women while they perform their 'triple roles' at household, community and state levels (March et al., 2005, p. 14). These roles are reproductive, productive and community roles. Women's reproductive roles include the rigmarole of household work such as child bearing and rearing, cooking, housecleaning, etc. These roles are considered less valuable in economic terms compared to productive roles, which men do most of the time. Productive roles of women are still mostly confined within the limits set by them performing their reproductive roles. Hence, women's productive roles are usually linked and related to their household tasks such as helping with farm work in rural areas including the gathering of food and animal fodder. These types of work are less visible, less important and mostly uncalculated even in the clan and community reckoning of tasks. The community roles of women are still

limited to tasks which are still related to their reproductive and productive roles. According to (March et al., 2005, p. 56) they perform community-managing tasks such as engaging in mothers' clubs and religious activities which usually take up most of their free time outside the realms of their two more popular tasks. Just like their reproductive and productive roles, women's community-managing tasks are considered subordinated tasks and do not attract respect, power and money as payment for the time and effort they spent doing these tasks (p. 56-57). Men, on the other hand, in terms of community roles, have been given privileged access to community political affairs. Men are still considered the ablest representatives of households in community political activities. This being the case, men also have a better chance of getting elected in both local and national political bodies. While men are doing this, they get the full economic and power rewards set by their societies.

Recognising the relevance and importance of analysing the triple roles approach in gender planning makes it possible to capture the disparity between gender roles and specifically address the sources of inequalities imposed by gender. Women's roles must be recognised as equally heavy and important as that of men by ensuring that women's tasks are made highly visible and acknowledged as quantifiable so that men and women can agree even at the household level to pursue fair and just division of labour. By doing this, household and community populations will recognise the critical importance of freeing women from the subordinated category imposed by social ascriptions of their gender.

The second tool in gender planning developed by Moser is based on the work of Maxine Molyneux (1985). It differentiates the two gender needs of women, namely: their practical gender needs (PGN) and their strategic gender needs (SGN). Moser argues that since women's roles are less valued and left unacknowledged in most patriarchal societies, understanding the difference between the PGN and the SGN of women will help them and larger society to place emphasis on how to liberate and empower women to become active partners of men in development. The PGN of women refers to the basic needs of not just women, but also of the whole family such as food, shelter, water, health care and sanitation. These are types of needs that when met will keep trapped women in their daily roles. SGN, on other hand, are those needs that when met will help women change their subordinated gender role. These types of needs are addressing the existing disparity in the gender division of labour. SGN also lessens the negative effects of socio-economic differences between genders by freeing women from the existing uncomfortable and limiting power to perform roles and to control resources that until now have been designated to men. SGN include policies that address domestic violence (Molyneux, 1985 cited in March et al., 2005) and women's capabilities to make decisions about their own bodies.

In this study, the Moser Framework is used as lens to analyse the roles of Indigenous men and women living in the banana and pineapple plantations in Mindanao. The case is made that Indigenous women's 'triple

roles', (doing reproductive, productive, and community duties) prevent them from becoming active participants in various community development undertakings.

2.11.6. Kabeer's Social Relations Approach

Naila Kabeer of the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University in the UK, has developed the social relations approach (SRA). The SRA is a set of key concepts on a gender and development planning framework used widely by state and development workers nowadays. Unlike the Moser framework, which sets out the tools in gender planning, SRA contributes to GAD planning with its basic terms for institutional analysis (March et al., 2005, p. 58). The purpose of SRA is to identify, analyse and plan based on how gender inequality is produced, reinforced and reproduced in various institutions, namely the state, market, community and the family. Kabeer argues that social relationships in terms of rules, people, resources, activities and power are constantly being interacted and negotiated by actors in institutions. The success and failure in the outcomes of these institutions determine the extent to which gender inequalities are again produced, reinforced, and reproduced. By using institutional analysis to closely examine gender inequality, one would get a bird's eye view of how the subordinated roles of women at the household level amplifies to the community, state and market level institutions and vice versa. Using SRA concepts such as gender-blind and gender-aware policies could help institutions assess whether the policy at hand earmarked for gender and development is intended to be generic in terms

of focus on gender and leave nothing for women to take advantage of or use to emancipate their subordinated status. The so-called gender-blind policy is such a case. On one hand, a gender-aware policy takes care of the welfare and development of men and women by acknowledging that both genders have different capabilities and interests (March et al., 2005, p. 102). These sources of differences are not arbitrarily taken care of, instead they are being used to treat with dignity and respect the differences of men and women in the context of development. Kabeer's social relations approach (SRA) is used as a lens to analyse and discuss the multilayered issues and concerns confronting the poorest women, children, elderly and differently abled persons in rural Mindanao.

2.11.7. Bacchi's Policy-as-Discourse

Concepts are 'proposals about how we ought to proceed from here' (Tanesini, 1994 cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 45). Bacchi (2010) has called the political process involved in categorisation or concept-making 'category politics'. Category politics involves the use of concepts as proposals to inform evolving social and political processes. Bacchi describes categorisation as an active (not static) social process, which involves the use of 'language as primarily a medium for the accomplishment of social actions' (Edwards, 1991 cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 45). Bacchi's policy-as-discourse concept is used to analyse and describe the prevailing decision-making processes that further the marginalisation of the poorest and most vulnerable persons, especially women, in the rural and Indigenous communities of Mindanao.

Edwards (1991) proposes that in meaningful categorisation, we should start with 'situated usage' (p. 517) by taking into consideration different social realities. This process entails appreciation of the fact that 'the building blocks of our many versions of the social world . . . have to be moulded in discourse for use in different accounts' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987 p. 137; cf. Heritage, 1984 cited in Edwards, 1991 p. 517). 'Discursive approach requires categories...from contexts of situated use' (Edwards, 1991, p. 517). 'Discursive approach treats talks and texts not as representations of pre-formed cognitions, even culturally provided ones, but as forms of social action' (Edwards, 1991). Categorisation is an active process, which involves talking such as in dialogue, debate, and conversation for social action.

The use of categorisation in policy analysis places scholars who use policy-as-discourse in an affirmative stance (Rosenau, 1992) or in a 'social deconstruction' camp in the words of Raymond Michalowski (1993 p. 378-389 cited in Bacchi, 2010 pp. 46-47). The promising contribution of policy-as discourse analysts, according to Bacchi, is to help address modern day policy issues using social action as a political agenda for change. Literary deconstructionists (Michalowski, 1993) or the skeptics (Rosenau, 1992), which regard texts as paramount, 'produces a politics of despair, possibly because it makes it difficult to identify an enemy and hence a political project'. Affirmative and social constructionists, on the other hand, commit to giving subjects the freedom to develop meanings based on experiences

in various social and political activities to counter inequalities and other ill effects of power structures (Bacchi, 2010 p. 47).

Policy-as-discourse analysts 'frames policy not as a response to existing conditions and problems', (Goodwin, 1996, p. 67 cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 48) but as a way to understand the underlying process or the so-called 'problematisation' in discourse (Kritzman, 1988, p. 257 cited in Bacchi, 2010, p. 48). Policy-as-discourse analysis endeavours to overcome the limitations of literary deconstructionists whose focus is on texts and subjugating the subjects statically away from the political process of the production of meaning and representation and voice in policy-making. Policy-as-discourse analysts provide a platform for dynamic and inclusive approaches for people to be involved in actual sense-making using their knowledge, experiences, ideas and perceptions to shape their realities. These realities include social challenges, which are also constituted in discourse. According to Watts (1993; 1994, p. 119) 'problems or issues only come to be that way when they have become part of a discourse' (cited in Bacchi, 2010, p. 49). This means that problems that have not been dealt with in discursive constitution (Bacchi, 2010) become awful literary prey. These issues, if dealt with, would not gain much social and political support as the grammar of the discourse surrounding the issues are static and therefore become under recognised and left unaddressed (March et al., 2005, p. 108). As an example, (Bacchi, 2010) describes the operational status of the concept 'gender' in gender mainstreaming. They argue that gender must be defined and contextualised as a 'verb' rather

than as a 'noun' because the emphasis of gender mainstreaming must be the accompanying social and political processes to analyse and reform the underprivileged status confronted by women in various decision-making platforms. If gender as a concept is treated as a noun in the discourse grammar then the term becomes static, dead and disengaging.

Bacchi (1999 cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 49) describes the two basic traditions of policy analysis, namely comprehensive rationalism and political rationalism. The comprehensive rationalism tradition looks at political leaders as handlers of social problems. The leaders do their best to address these problems using their 'decision space' in which they can scrutinise the problems and the corresponding sets of solutions. On the other hand, the political rationalism tradition considers the importance of politics in decision-making to address the problems identified. Political rationalists believe that the best way to address any issue is to understand the process of problem identification. The main problem with these two traditions is that both operate with social actors standing outside the process. For policy-as-discourse analysts, everyone involved in the social action are embedded in the planning system, both experts and non-experts. They are not detached from social planning for the sake of observing or managing the whole political and social process. According to Chambers (1983) the dichotomy with outsiders on one side and the periphery on the other negates the integrity of the social planning process which is appropriate and relevant for the rural poor around the world.

The outsiders whom we know as experts, the powerful and the familiar dominate social planning design for the rural poor by insisting upon their more popular views and knowledge rather than addressing the local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities of local and poor people (Chambers, 1997 p. 32). In the words of Bacchi (2010, p. 52), these people 'dominate the discourse'. Administrators and central office professionals as rural development tourists (Chambers, 1983, 1997) are 'pervasively ignorant, out-of-touch and out-of-date, about lcddu realities' and yet they still prevail, as we know it. The local people on the opposite side of the policy environment are 'infantilised' through this, (Nussbaum, 2011) which renders them little or no chance at all to decide for their own welfare. Infantalising local people means giving them less or no chance of becoming part of the planning team to chart and define their own future. For Bacchi (2010, p. 52), these groups of people comprise those who are 'constituted in discourse'.

Policy-as-discourse theorists try to fill the gap between 'them', the peripheral, and 'us', the professionals, by learning how to acknowledge the lcddu realities of the local people. For example, low household income levels in rural areas do not necessarily mean that the Government must build modern agricultural plantation communities, distribute seeds, etc. A solution to the multifaceted income problem, in the words of Churchman, requires 'sweeping in' more questions and including more relevant decision-makers as well as decision takers in the entire process (Midgley, 2000, p. 291).

Policy framing is a complex task. It involves or should involve pluralistic (Chambers, 1983) and transdisciplinary (Hadorn et al., 2008; McIntyre-Mills, 2014c) approaches and views to arrive at the best possible solutions while taking on board the 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1994). By involving all possible means to address a policy issue means that policy-as-discourse analysis does not just derive meanings from rational arrangement or rearrangement of words or texts but from social practices and belief systems as well (Ball, 1990, pp. 17-18 cited in Bacchi, 2010, p. 51).

For Wildavsky (1979, p. 3 cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 48), the aim of policy-as-discourse is to engage policymakers in a discursive debate to ask the question 'what can be wanted with what can be provided' by the policies in place to respond to the long list of human needs. Wildavsky's idea is related to Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach (2011), which places the agenda of putting individual persons and their dignity at the core of policy-making. Each individual rather than social collectivities or groups such as family, community and state, is more important in looking at how entitlements are provided. Nussbaum's thesis advocates for allocating decent and dignified social minimum to individuals especially to those who are poor and marginalised. Policy-as-discourse analysts, however, should still be careful in categorising the local and powerless people constituted in the discourse as poor, 'needy' (Fraser, 1989) and 'disadvantaged' Eveline and Bacchi (2005) because the manner in which these terms are

embedded in the discourse is still massively defined and controlled by the elite shapers of discourse (Bacchi, 2004; Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013). This, according to Chambers (1983; 1997) happens due to the 'errors, omissions, delusions and dominance' of the overclass — those who hold power and wealth as leverage in social planning'.

James Codd (1988, pp. 240-242 cited in Bacchi, 2010 pp. 51-52)) describes the materialist theory of language as more than just 'simply naming things or ideas that already exist'. Materiality of the language includes such elements not covered under the idealist theory of language. It explores the relevance of knowing how language–-both in speech and text—are used while taking into account the context of practices and systems as key components for the design of social action. This idea leads to Bacchi's 'agentic marshalling of discourse' (p. 52) of the dominant and elite groups over those whose representations in the policy discourse is coerced by significant power inequalities, hence they are 'constituted in the discourse' as passive recipients or actors in any social or political action. The elites are the 'shapers' of the discourse (Phillips, 1996 p. 256 cited in Bacchi, 2010 p. 52) using their 'biases' (Chambers, 1983; 1997) and power over the peripheral and the ruled local people. Policy-as-discourse analysts see power as detracting from social learning (Jackson, 1985 cited in Midgley (1996, p. 13). The dominant groups hold on to power as long as they are able to for their vested interest of shaping the policy discourses, especially those relevant to their accumulation of more power bases. In this regard, it is relevant to note that power is and will remain to

be a challenge in every social and political action (Bacchi, 2000, 2004, 2010).

In summary, Nussbaum's (2011) Capabilities Approach serves as the main theoretical lens upon which other social and anthropological theories are explored and extended in this study. Nussbaum's theory was also affecting the manner in which data analysis proceeded as this study primarily relied on the voice, choice and agency of the individuals often neglected by and skipped in dominant and reductionist sampling designs.

Chapter 3: Research design and approach

3.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the rationale and the processes involved in using the research design and its corresponding approaches to answer the research questions. This study aims to address the marginalisation of the poorest and the most vulnerable Indigenous people including women, young people, the elderly and differently abled living in the monoculture plantations in Mindanao. Specifically, it answers the following research questions:

1) What are the socio-economic, political and environmental dimensions of poverty and human vulnerability caused by the development projects in Mindanao?

2) How does the existing democracy, governance and development frameworks address destitution, marginalisation and vulnerability of the Indigenous women, young people, the elderly and differently abled?

3) What is the proposed action plan to address these issues?

This chapter justifies the use of critical auto-ethnography as a qualitative research design to come up with a proposed governance and development framework that is inclusive, participatory, gender-sensitive, accountable, and non-discriminatory. Case study as an approach to gather

and analyse data was used to support the design. The design is emancipatory in nature, as it engages both the affected local people and the involved policy-makers and leaders as experts to generate the proposed governance architecture, which is intended to address people's marginalisation. To identify the participants, I endeavoured to include Indigenous women and men in Mindanao. An almost equal number of women (50) and men (55) were engaged in the study to satisfy at least two main requirements of data validity and reliability. First, the participants were recruited using snowball and theoretical sampling (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003). According to Midgley and Milne (1995), the method is otherwise known as "rolling out" the boundaries of people to be involved in the study (cited in Midgley, 2000, p. 292). Using this method, participants were made part of the study because they are trusted by other stakeholders to contribute different views on governance and development issues in Mindanao and thus contribute to an analysis of diverse discourses. The participants comprised of non-traditional stakeholders who could help establish the critique and corresponding systemic interventions regardless of their economic and social status. The participants include small-scale farmers who live within and along the so-called buffer zones of monoculture plantations in Mindanao. These are the rural communities where banana and pineapple plantations are being planted in massive rows and columns, across mountains and rivers, alongside the poor social and ecological conditions of the local people who used to possess the land.

By bringing in the critical voices of the rural and local people in the process of developing systemic intervention, an effort was made to challenge positional power and so-called elitist knowledge. The local people's experience and understanding of the complex issues that surround them, combined with the help of their closest friends and neighbours, empowers them to promote transparency and accountability, in order to carry out the necessary changes in the governance framework that should work not just for the majority, but also for the minority of people.

3.2. Research design

The research combines qualitative and quantitative approaches in a complementary manner to achieve the study objectives. Primarily, this is systemic action research that strives to identify relevant solutions and interventions (Midgley, 2001 cited in McIntyre, 2005a, p. 217) to address the challenges induced by development projects in Mindanao. The approach enabled the different stakeholders, both experts and local people who are smallholder farmers and workers in the monoculture plantations, to engage in 'respectful dialogue' to uncover the truth (McIntyre, 2005a). The goal of the study is to improve the life chances and wellbeing of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people by affecting and reframing the existing governance system through 'sweeping in' as many voices and choices as possible in the decision-making process.

McIntyre (2005b), in relation to encouraging people to act and address social issues, argues that:

> the only hope is to ask questions, to listen to many people, to 'unfold' meanings and 'to sweep in,' to use Churchman's phrase, the social, cultural, political, economic, and environmental considerations and hope that right decisions are made in context. This is surely what democracy is about.

This systemic inquiry identifies and analyses issues pertaining to local governance and development pitfalls in Mindanao. It strives to establish a better way to engage with the local people in a research process to address gender and human rights issues related to access to land, agricultural productivity, health, education, and environmental sustainability.

McIntyre (2014a) stresses the value of local systemic approaches to address wellbeing through enhancing participatory democracy to address the governance challenges that affect current and future generations, both locally and in the wider post-national communities.

This study used a qualitative method to determine the role of chronic corruption in the marginalisation and oppression of rural people. Encyclopaedic studies conducted in the past were mostly quantitative and ignored the nature of corruption as a cultural issue (Ocampo, 2000). The adverse effects of financialisation via foreign investments to the rural communities can be investigated further by highlighting the gendered experiences of men and women who are made to wrestle against the social, economic, and environmental challenges imposed by monoculture plantations. The condition of the life chances and wellbeing of women and children were also seen as critical to this current inquiry. The lens of women's particular social positions was used to analyse the factors where

women as partners of men in development were considered important for the overall wellbeing of their families and the communities in general. In all sections of the discussion and analysis (such as access to land and natural resources, education, employment and basic health care) women's critical voices were included to further support the arguments for the proposed inclusive, strategic, and gender-sensitive approach to rural development in Mindanao. All these issues are multidimensional and involve multiple realities (Brower, Abolafia, & Carr, 2000) of the people included in the study.

The methods used were direct observation, interviews, and focus group discussions. The overall research approach thereby combined a range of methods, including critical auto-ethnography and case studies with participant groups. By doing so, I was well placed to identify the challenges that impinge upon the quality of life and wellbeing in the local communities where the development project paradigm mediates thoughts, worldviews, and practices of the people and institutions in Mindanao.

Critical ethnography, in particular, is the more popular approach of its kind as it is emancipatory (Thomas, 1993) in nature through its 'critical' approaches to the issue of local people's rights and needs (Carspecken, 1995; Creswell, 2007; Madison, 2005; Thomas, 1993). It creates an active 'advocacy' (Creswell, 2007, p. 70) to affect and change the systems that hinder the capabilities and violate the basic human rights of the Indigenous people in Mindanao who are left marginalised and oppressed

by the further expansion of the monoculture plantation system. The basic rights to life of Indigenous people in Mindanao are challenged by the onslaught of the development project that adversely affects their social, economic, cultural, and environmental structures.

The use of the term 'critical' in this social research denotes that the main goal of this study is not just to describe the phenomenon under observation and postulate a new theory out of the several data sources. This study considers the views of the participants, including myself, in order to reflect critically on the sources of inequalities and injustices in Mindanao's local communities. While the Philippines prides itself to be moving forward in terms of its latest positive economic growth rates, I argue that the dire local social, economic, cultural and environmental conditions in Mindanao are not in harmony with the positive statistics that the Government shows.

In critical social research, according to Kinchloe and McLaren (1994, pp. 139-140):

> We are defining a [critical] as a researcher or theorist who attempts to use her or his work as a form of social or cultural criticism and who accepts certain basic assumptions: that all thoughts are fundamentally mediated by power relationships which are socially and historically constituted; that facts can never be isolated from the domain of values or removed from some form of ideological inscription; that the relationship between concept and object and signifier and signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by the social relations of capitalist production and consumption; that language is central to the formation of subjectivity (conscious and unconscious awareness); that certain groups in any society are privileged over others and, although the reasons for this privileging may vary widely, the oppression

which characterises contemporary societies is most forcefully reproduced when subordinates accept their social status as natural, necessary or inevitable; that oppression has many faces and that focusing on only one at the expense of others (e.g. class oppression versus racism) often elides the interconnections among them; and finally, that mainstream research practices are generally, although most often unwittingly, implicated in the reproduction of the systems of class, race and gender oppression (as cited in Carspecken, 1995, p. 4).

Direct observation was initially undertaken in the communities involved after the granting of full consent of the authorities and community people concerned. Consent was first sought from the regional offices of the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), and the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG).

Community leaders and the target participants were invited to engage in the study in fully voluntary manner. Those who indicated they wished to participate were asked to make a specific time and location for their interview. From those who were initially interviewed, many people sought for an opportunity to take part in the in-depth interviews.

Semi-structured key informant interviews were carried out with interview guides that listed topics and issues discussed in an individual session. At this stage, the criteria for selection of participants were as follows: a) knowledge and experience on the topic under study; b) a person must be a bona fide resident/member/official of any of the groups; c) must be trustworthy and credible; and d) must be willing to participate.

Focus group discussions were facilitated, in a group session, to explore ideas and then to compare these ideas with those of some of the key informants. The focus group members were carefully selected in a similar manner to the one used in the key informant interview. The criteria for selection were as follows: a) groups may be heterogeneous or homogeneous in composition; b) group members should be able to participate in discussion; c) group members have knowledge on the subject of discussion, and d) they have similar background or knowledge.

Considered to be the core of this research project is the launching of inquiry into the governance challenges met by the study participants. I used the participatory problem analysis to elicit ideas from participants spontaneously. This was carried out in a workshop wherein they were asked to share their unfettered ideas and feelings about governance challenges and their causes and effects. Participants were asked to move freely around the venue to interact and refer to each other.

3.3. Reflexivity: locating my role in the inquiry

My role as researcher is seen as one with the participants, in exploring social, economic, political, and environmental issues confronted by the rural Indigenous people in the monoculture plantation communities in Mindanao. The objective of this research is to engage with the various stakeholders in the rural communities including the victims of development projects (the poorest and the most vulnerable citizens) and the involved (political leaders and experts), to generate purposeful actions based on

the issues identified in a dialogic process.

I am part of the whole purposeful decision-making process both as a participant and as a researcher. My value judgement on the issues addressed during the study reflect that of the community of people in Mindanao, where I spent my whole life prior to and will return to after this scholarship in Australia. In regard to me being a member of the community of participants of this study, Midgley (1997, p. 40) recognises that:

> the best a researcher can do is refer back to the community from which his or her understanding originated. In practice, this must mean those involved in, or affected by, the research. It is through a widening of the boundaries of those involved in practical reasoning, so that they include the community the researcher is working with, that a multiplicity of perspectives can begin to rub together, and thus distorted communication can be opened up to challenge.

I spent practically my entire life living in Mindanao. I grew up on a coconut farm, in one of the suburban *barangays* in Davao City. Growing up without a father who left my family for another woman when I was six years old was a difficult struggle amidst civil conflict, poverty, political unrest (coup de e'tat), massive unemployment, and poor agricultural productivity.

Being the eldest in a family of three, I had to learn to stand on my own feet and take on household roles left by my father at a very young age. I wondered why a father like mine could leave his family behind for another woman. It made our lives miserable. My father died five years ago. I never went to his funeral, in an effort to stand by my mother and give her the

dignity she deserved.

At an early age, I took on the farm role delegated by my mother to my younger brother and myself. I took on the leadership role of gathering people who could provide part-time work on the coconut farm from picking, de-husking, de-shelling, sacking, and selling. On many occasions, I had to do these tasks except coconut picking because there were only two men who had mastered the skills in my neighbourhood that time. The harvesting of coconuts during those years, in the 1990s and early 2000s, happened every three months. Now the coconut trees are gone. We replaced them with fruit trees such as rambutan, durian and lanzones, several years after my graduation from college.

Many people called my mother 'widow by default' the name: *biyudang buhi*.[3] . She had to bear social scorn and suffer from the community. Women like my mother, who had been abandoned by their husbands, were harshly judged. These judgements were made despite many attempts to reconcile on the part of my mother who cared for us throughout this time with little help from anyone else, and through no fault of her own.

If my mother was called the *biyudang buhi,* I was called the *gamay'ng tao* (small man). I am actually known by my nickname Pongcoy (the moniker of Philippine's child wonder Nino Mulach, who portrayed the role of a

[3] Means "widow by default" after a woman is abandoned by her husband, usually for another partner either temporarily and permanently.

mischievous and dirty lad donned in a tattered and oversized t-shirt in a comedy movie). When I was a child, working those farms and household roles that kids my age weren't able to do gave other people the impression that I was a small man or *gamay'ng tao.* I hated them when they called me this because I was aware that its meaning was double edged—one was for my adult-like tasks and roles, and the other was a reference to my slight build. I did not have the best of health care as a kid. In the family, we had to share whatever little food was available. We never went to hospitals or clinics back then; we just relied on whatever medicinal plant was available on our farm.

Living a life being pressed by emotional insecurities from being fatherless, poor and uncertain was never easy. I remember when we had to eat *saba* bananas instead of rice and fish or chicken because the coconuts were almost valueless in the local market and we therefore had very little money. I remember the days when we had to run for our lives away from the firing line of the New People's Army and the Armed Forces of the Philippines. I remember when I had to give up the first scholarship I won from the local water company because its incentives and coverage were not enough to support my needs for transport, books and food. In those days, I needed to occasionally walk roughly ten kilometres under the sun to save money and buy *taro* candy. I had to eat *taro* candy for lunch to get me through the day and I had to do it inside the toilet away from the view of my classmates. I was ashamed of my poor state and was afraid of being bullied by others who did not understand my difficulties. In all those times,

I closed my eyes to hold back my anger and tears. In those times I longed for my father to come and rescue me, but my father never came back.

To get a basic education, I studied in the state-run primary and secondary schools most accessible to and from our house. I also finished my college and master degrees in a state university that is located in my city. In total, I spent 16 years studying in various public education institutions that were the most accessible to me. Since childhood, I have understood the difference between a public and private school system. Some of my cousins whose parents are together had good books, good uniforms and physically looked healthier and were clean as they did not get muddy from walking to and from school, as they had cars to fetch them. I used to walk roughly four kilometres a day together with my brother and other kids in the neighbourhood just to get to our primary school. In those days, I remember walking through rugged dirty roads that could turn into rivers during the rainy season.

During my primary school days, we had to do gardening and campus-cleaning tasks in the morning before our class began. It was usually in the presence of our teachers, who would be angry if we did not pull the weeds in the garden at our bare hands. Our teachers would require us to bring grass-cutting tools like *bolo* (a scythe) and knives, or whatever cutting tool that could be used to clean the school grounds. We had to undergo this ordeal daily for almost an hour, under the sun especially during the first months of the opening of each school year.

Even at my early age, I knew the system was wrong. I knew it was abrasive and exploitative: that was why I sometimes led some of my classmates to escape from this non-academic task. We intentionally arrived at the school late, a few minutes before we were due to enter the classrooms, which had been cleaned by girls. Before we entered, we were required to remove our slippers or shoes, dirty or not. Once inside the classroom, we were monitored for our cleanliness. I remember that my classmates, especially the other boys who had been in the garden or had removed weeds, had their hands beaten twice with a thin bamboo stick by our teacher just because their nails were dirty. I thought it was really a stupid idea. However, we could not show overt rejection of the violent disciplinary action used by our school authorities, as they forced us to follow rules. In contrast to now, people have become aware of basic human rights such as children's rights to be free from all forms of abuse and bullying by powerful school authorities. Fortunately, things have changed in the Philippines now. In the schools, teachers are not allowed to punish kids in any form. Children already know that they have the right to be freed from corporal punishment. It has become a practice among kids to call Bantay Bata 163[4] to report adults, including, teachers, staff, parents and others, who physically abuse them.

However, when I was a child, we were so powerless. We felt like it was all

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[4] Bantay Bata 163 is local telephone hotline launched in the Valentine's Day of 1997 by the leading television channel ABS-CBN for the protection of the rights of the child specifically to report and act in real time any form of child abuse reaching their call centre. Refer to http://www.abs-cbnfoundation.com/bb163/history.html.

right that the teachers beat us and it was the only way to compel us all to follow orders from school authorities. I thought the best way to discipline and mould our characters as growing citizens in the country was to be out there in the sun pulling weeds, getting our hands and nails dirty and getting punished if we hadn't cleaned up ourselves thoroughly afterwards.

I always told my mother about my day-to-day experiences in school. I told her this and other stories, in an effort to somehow affect her actions and decisions in the Parents-Teachers Association (PTA) where she was the president. I never heard any reaction, nor traced any regret on my mother's face, whenever I talked with her about it. However, I now realise why she was discreet about her reactions. She chose to be non-violent, but sharp in her approach, to help school kids like me to be spared from the burden of our morning tasks at school. She initiated the plan to purchase a gasoline-fuelled grass cutter from the PTA fund collected through donations from parents, community leaders and other benevolent individuals who were concerned about us.

My mother, who during that time was in her 30s, used to be seriously active in engaging with other women in the community to protect themselves from domestic violence and to take care of their health. She used to work as a volunteer as one of the *barangay* health workers (BHWs) whose main task is to look after the primary health care of women and children in the community. Working with the BHWs, she spent all her weekdays working at the health centre, serving other families who were in

dire need of primary health care.

There was nothing more terrifying than adjusting and coping with the academic standards of university, after a basic school education such as this. Almost all subjects and courses were (and continue to be) taught in English. Those of us who were not able to speak and write in this language were considered slow learners, if not dumb. I was lucky to be a gifted linguist. I can easily learn a foreign language or local dialect out of a passion to learn new things. I was able to use English on a daily basis at home, being exposed to a mother who prefers English TV shows and movies. She also used to buy pre-owned *Archie* comics for us to read. We were not allowed by Mum to read a local comic not in English or watch any local shows during school days. She wanted us to focus more on English to keep our grades high at school. Just like anyone else, my mum thought that if one is proficient in English, one's grade would be higher.

While I gained my English language skills from a natural advantage, I felt sad for my classmates who had to suffer from unnecessary academic failure and rejection. I knew that it broke their whole family's hearts to realise they may not have been able to finish or delay their schooling after failing their studies. I knew back then something was seriously wrong about the prevailing educational system. For me, it was embedded in a violent and authoritarian environment that adhered to punishment as a way to compel obedience and change learners' behaviour. Adding insult to the injury was the unnecessary academic failures suffered by kids due to

an irrelevant and insensitive mechanism being adopted to train kids at school that was not anchored on the unique leaning needs of each student. We predominantly spoke a local dialect called *Bisaya* at school, but we were forced to engage in learning using only English.

These classmates, who became close friends of mine at the time, were very poor children of farmers and broken families like my own. Some of them were sons and daughters of Indigenous parents who had the scarcest access to modern and foreign implements like TV, radio, and the like. I knew that many of my classmates had become lazy and somewhat disengaged from our lessons because they still had to help their parents on their farms after school. Several times, they were asked by their parents to be absent from classes to either tend the house while their parents were on the farm, or to go and help their father get rid of the weeds in the cornfields. One of the saddest stories that I will never forget concerns my closest childhood friends. My friends were siblings who were always absent from our classes because they could not stand being at school for seven hours feeling hungry. They were children of poor farmer parents, and their mother left them for another man who lived and worked in Manila. As my friends I would double the usual load of my lunch pack just to share whatever I had with them. I also got into the habit of taking to school with me a bunch of *saba* bananas for sale to teachers so that my friends and I could have extra pesos to buy lollies. My teachers were happy to have the *saba* bananas I peddled to them. They liked their sweetness, size and texture. During those times, I felt proud of myself for

being able to vend good quality bananas.

These life experiences prompted me to aspire for a better future. I thought of my role to affect and help change not just our education system but of the entire sphere of governance. I am certain now that the reason why I am in academia is for me to facilitate the promotion of social justice in these local communities, through my involvement in research and community extension activities.

The teachers, together with their school administrators, were agents who were trapped in the cycle of violence they inherited from the past. Everyone was trapped in our cultural worldview about the way the basic education system should run to prepare youth for his or her better future. We thought that there was no other way to better the current state of things in our community just because these were the ways we were brought up, and we became used to the detrimental effects it brought.

Working as an academic for ten years prior to this scholarship in Australia allowed me to somehow materialise my personal and professional goal of affecting my wider community to change and overcome the rigidities of the systems that disempower local people. I am a full-time faculty member of the College of Governance and Business in the University of Southeastern Philippines—a state-owned institution with four campuses around Mindanao. Working as an academic gives meaning to my whole being. Importantly, it is the only source of income for my entire family.

I used to undertake various roles apart from lecturer, researcher, and the completion of extension tasks. I was designated program chair of the Bachelor of Science (BS) in Public Administration, assistant chair of the Governance Studies and coordinator for the Task Force Accreditation. I taught professional subjects in the undergraduate and graduate levels in the BS in Community Development; BS in Public Administration; BS in Peace Building; AB Anthropology; Master of Public Administration, and Master of Science in Environmental Resource Management. My research interests include Indigenous people's studies, leadership, local governance, and human rights. I have been conducting exploratory studies in these areas in different parts of Mindanao.

In summary, my life story also serves as the primary data upon which I looked at, added and collectively analysed the narratives I have collected from my fieldwork in the rural and Indigenous communities of Mindanao. My poor childhood experiences living and working in our coconut farm serves as my personal lens and inspiration to pursue this study and become an active non-violent advocate for the promotion of welfare and wellbeing of the Indigenous smallholder farmers especially women, young people and the differently abled.

3.4. Rationale for using qualitative research design

This study seeks to represent local knowledge held by participants in the local communities of Mindanao and to be accountable to them. It primarily

uses language to address the discourses related to the subject at hand and employs their use of 'words' (Bryman, 2012, pp. 380-381) or 'texts' (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, pp. 3-9) as closely as possible at every step of the research process.

This is a cultural study and 'culture is about shared meanings' (Hall & Open University, 1997, p. 1) occurring through the use of language. According to Hall and Open University (1997), 'language is able to do this because it operates as a representational system'. As a culture is constituted through both language and other artefacts; this study has used several data sources to come up with a critical systemic analysis.

It is important to characterise and hear the struggles of Indigenous people in Mindanao who are marginalised by the monoculture plantations of high-value crops as detailed in chapters one and two. These concerns are overshadowed by the more popular practice of positivist and reductionist approaches to gathering evidence for policy-making in the country and in the local government units. Indeed, little has been done to focus more on the narratives or stories of the downtrodden—the victims of the development projects. Voices of the minority and the marginalised groups, especially women and their children, are silenced by the current system that adheres to utilitarianism as the most popular and convenient way to introduce socio-economic reforms. Burns (2007, p. 21) argues that the current state of planning through the use of expert-oriented causation modelling techniques fails because it is not systemic. The current planning

system, which is linear and positivist, does not 'take into account the whole' by looking at issues across levels. This research project attempts to 'sweep in' (Churchman, 1971, 1982 cited in McIntyre, 2010) as many voices, choices and agency as possible to expand the current boundaries of decision-making and include the 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1994) people in rural development planning in Mindanao. The idea is to listen (Dobson, 2014), empower (Kabeer, 2003) and put Indigenous smallholder farmers first (Chambers, 1983), especially women, young people, the elderly and the differently abled to co-learn, co-design and co-create regenerative strategies (Girardet, 2015) to help enhance their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011) and improve their wellbeing and life chances.

This qualitative study takes into account the dialogical and discursive nature of democracy, by engaging with the masses to exercise their freedom of expression and participation in matters concerning their wellbeing. I used qualitative research methodology to explore what constitute wellbeing among Indigenous people in Mindanao. I used critical ethnography in the exploration of issues and proposed solutions to the critical problems confronted by the poorest and the most marginalised local people in the plantation communities. I highlighted the empirical evidences using case studies. These empirical evidences are the bases upon which ideas about how we are supposed to address insecurity in food, health, housing, livelihood and safety in rural Mindanao.

This research project was thought to allow the poorest, the voiceless and

the most powerless local people in Mindanao to develop upward social mobility and build resilience against both financial and natural calamities to avoid further marginalisation and destitution. Measuring local poverty is a complex task, as it addresses household income, social, economic and environmental deprivation associated with institutionalised powerlessness. It needs to be investigated together with the people who have lived experience of this.

This inquiry acknowledges the importance of quantification or presenting statistical data as supporting evidence to any proposed evidenced-based policy. However, this study is more than just describing either numbers or words. It stands on the great need for transdisciplinarity (McIntyre-Mills 2014b) to address the issues being currently investigated. To use the principle of eclecticism means that we acknowledge that there is no one best approach to solve any problem. Other relevant disciplines or field of studies have to be used to create a more democratic representation of the views of different people from various disciplines. For example, the problem of land access is not exclusive only to the agrarian and public policy field. It is also a concern of naturalists and artists and many others, and these various types of concerns are necessary to underscore the meaning and importance of land beyond its physical presence. Carrying out the research in the tribal communities allowed me to factor in the role of socio-cultural aspects of people's religious and spiritual lives (rituals, chants, song and dance) that constitute their identity as a people with rich cultural heritage.

Highlighting the necessity of transdisciplinary research, Hadorn et al. (2008) argues that:

> Transdisciplinary research is necessary when knowledge about a societally relevant problem field is uncertain, when the concrete nature of problems is disputed, and when there is a great deal at stake for those concerned by the problems and involved in investigating them.

McIntyre-Mills (2014a;b) develops an argument for working across boundaries to address areas of concern that span social, cultural, political and economic dimensions. Transdisciplinary research means that different disciplines evolve with other systems in a whole complex web of interrelationships. Natural and physical sciences that were once thought to be closed systems are now understood as not really closed. Consequently, these systems are now encouraged to interact with other fields to better address global, national and local issues. In the same vein, (Jenson, 1997, p. 294) argues that transdisciplinary approaches, or the convergence of disciplines such as politics, economics, health, education, law and the like, are necessary steps to lessen the effects of reductionism in the current policy-making arena. For Max-Neef, transdisciplinarity allows the converging disciplines to share ideas beyond commonly established borders. Participating disciplines co-design, co-own and share the consequences of social action.

3.4.1. The appropriateness of systemic action research

This study helps in developing emancipatory strategies for the poorest and

most marginalised Indigenous people in the banana and pineapple plantation communities in Mindanao. Creswell (2007, p. 21) has highlighted the need for an 'alternative worldview' that supports minorities and avoids the conventions of post-positivism.

Midgley (1996, pp. 11-24), in his effort to summarise the works of Jackson and Flood (1991), identifies 'three sets of fundamental commitments' of the critical systems thinking (CST) debates. These commitments are critical awareness, emancipation, and methodological pluralism. He succinctly classifies critical thinking into three categories, namely 'critical thinking *about,* critical use of, and ethical critique'. The first two support commitment to methodological pluralism, while the third is committed to human emancipation. Like Jackson (1991), he describes 'human emancipation' as breaking free from the bondage of inequality and social injustices that jeopardise the flourishing of humans. He explains that emancipatory interest is linked to the technical and practical interests in Jurgen Habermas' theory of knowledge-constitutive interests. The 'intersubjective' validity claim of Habermas (1984) in his book *The Theory of Communicative Action* supports the idea of promoting 'rightness' in democratic speech activity in order to build better understanding of the contexts of issues and address them collectively through engaging the public in a 'discursive space' (Habermas, 1989, pp. 340-347).

The third commitment is known in the works of Flood and Jackson (1991) as 'complementarism'. Complementarism means that varying social issues

call for different but interdependent methodologies. According to Midgley (1996, p. 12), one of Flood and Jackson's important contributions in critical systems thinking is their 'system of systems methodologies', which is sometimes referred to in the work of Flood (1990) as 'metaparadigmatic'. Metaparadigmatic can be described as an organised knit of related methodologies developed by people themselves to engage in dialogue necessary for much-needed changes to the oppressive structures in their society. These complementary paradigms are developed based on the context and capability of the people who participate in the process. It means that the use of both traditional and modern people's participation techniques can be employed. Considering approaches such as the metaparadigmatic approach indicates that there are definitely unique and revolutionary ways in which people's ideas can be actively and genuinely counted in various democratic processes. Some of these are emanating from the ritual and cultural traditions of the communities. This thesis was able to document the processes used in the co-generation of knowledge and co-designing of plans from the Indigenous people in Mindanao. I do not claim originality in these participatory approaches. They are an amalgamation of the previous works of some non-government organisations operating in Mindanao. Some of these were also developed from the traditional pastimes, games, and rituals unique to the communities covered in the study. Developing these approaches from traditional pastimes, I was assured of better participation because people themselves appreciate and understand more or less the mechanics of inquiry. Thus, my main contribution in this area would somehow involve

reformulating relevant participatory strategies in simplified, familiar and vernacular formats to attract heightened interest and appeal among participants, facilitating them to embark in the process with renewed spirit and commitment. The third commitment, according to Midgley (1996) is where the emancipatory interest of the people comes from. Midgley suggests it emanates from our practical interest in the interactions between people as a means to tackle change through continuous open dialogue. This heightened and emboldened interest of people to build "mutual understanding" proceeds by examining closely the views that have been entered into during the dialogue process. It is done with a sense of duty to reach and include the voices of the oppressed and the marginalised that have not been factored in the process of creating change in the governance framework. This critique of approaches omitting the voices of people in dialogue for change started the critical systems heuristics developed by (Ulrich, 1994).

3.4.2. Why case study research?

This thesis is exploratory in nature. I explored the effective use of critical systems heuristics (CST) to inquire about the issues that impinge upon the wellbeing of people in Mindanao. The findings I present here are based on the initial empirical data I gathered through fieldwork, and the supporting secondary data derived from documents, videos, and audio files, in Government and non-government organisation archives.

The study has drawn its strength primarily from the active participation of

the various sectors in the Mindanao community. The use of ethnography allowed the participants to experience freedom by voicing their personal ideas in relation to others. It was a life-changing experience for everyone who participated in the study to be able to openly interact with others across different social, political, and cultural strata. McTaggart has drawn the distinction between 'participation' and 'involvement' of people in carrying out participatory research, by saying that participation engages people to 'share in the way research is conceptualised, practiced, and brought to bear on the life-world', whereas involvement only denotes mere presence or attendance of anyone in the research undertaking (as cited in McIntyre, 2008 p. 15). In this study, the appropriateness of the participatory method was validated through the wide acceptance of the people to take on the challenge of breaking out of their comfort zones, and thinking outside of the box, for the sake of changing the local governance systems, which are hampering their freedom and compromising their wellbeing.

The flexibility of case study allowed the participants to enjoy the experience while they were engaged in reflecting and learning (McIntyre, 2008). It gave them more confidence knowing that there is no wrong or right answer or idea expected of them. They acknowledged that each one of them is entitled to express her/his idea or opinion. Using the case study approach, this thesis brought together the Indigenous people and their community leaders in Mindanao from all walks of life to discuss, critique, identity and plan courses of actions that can free them from the abuses

brought about by the monoculture plantation system in Mindanao.

Gaventa and Cornwall (2001, pp. 70-80) argue that it is important for participants to identify and acknowledge issues pertaining to their strengths and limitations in order to minimise the diminutive effects of power differentials. In this study, maintaining mutual trust and support among participants lessens the detrimental effect of power to mediate the production of knowledge or ideas. PAR is considered as a powerful democracy-enabling tool (Besra, 2014; Reason & Bradbury, 2001b, p. 136) that 'creates spaces' for people, including myself as a participant-researcher, to fit in and learn in a non-traditional academic way. For Reason and Bradbury (2001b), the decision to choose PAR over other methods is not just simply borne out of 'methodological niceties' but of its practicality and ability to pursue an inquiry involving people with different socio-economic backgrounds.

Romm (1996) argues that PAR's 'researching system'[5] diminishes power differences between the researcher and the other participants by engaging them in 'discursive accountability' and in 'widely informed and locally contingent choice-making' processes. For Romm, helping the local people to partake in the decision-making process concerning development issues is paramount to their wellbeing. Discursive accountability espoused by Romm as a value is different from the consensual accountability of Habermas, in that the former emphasises the need to engage with people

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[5] Terminology used by Bawden, 1991 cited in Romm, 1996.

and actively account their voices in relation to others. In the process, discursive accountability yields several alternatives for people to select and value by making them active participants in the actual democratic speech acts (Bacchi, 2010) and by preventing them from becoming passive recipients of decisions often delegated to them by powerful elites and experts (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001). Readings (1993, p. xxv, commenting on Lyotard's postmodernist argument), says that Habermas' position, as many postmodernists would argue, could deny the silenced others—those who are not able to participate and express themselves democratically in the 'public sphere' (Habermas, 1989) in the actual 'we', to represent their voices and choices in the discursive open space.

This current research, as an example of discursive accountability, tries to engage with the local people who are affected by the monoculture banana and pineapple plantations. The participants, including myself as the researcher, engaged in the process of 'co-learning' (McIntyre-Mills, 2015) from our experiences, skills and knowledge. More importantly, we were able to contribute as co-learners through the research process without reluctance and fear of rejection. The process allowed us to expand our network of friends and supporters in our advocacy to help provide the poorest and the most marginalised local people the chance to be heard and included in the social planning process geared towards improving their wellbeing and life chances.

According to Romm (1996, p. 252):

> For Habermas, accountability is linked to the ability to judge by remaining in the world of mutual interdependence. It means retaining in one's mind many people's standpoints while pondering a given issue, so that one is able to imagine how one would feel and think if one were in their place. This for Habermas becomes the basis for making better judgments (communicatively accountable).

Gaventa and Cornwall (2001) reviewed how the outcomes of PAR and its other variants like participatory rural appraisal can be affected by the power relations of the participants. Gaventa and Cornwall's research highlights the need to develop more innovative forms of PAR as a means to co-produce context-specific knowledge to bring positive change to society. For example, in the UK, Baldwin (2001, pp. 287-293) describes how PAR as a co-operative inquiry, involving him and other social workers, requires "professional discretion". In the medical field, Barrett (2001, pp. 294-300) employed PAR processes guided by feminist principles to explore the benefits of creating social spaces within a health facility wherein midwives and mothers can freely talk about anything. Gascon (2013) used PAR to engage with different stakeholders, in enhancing the public administration and community development curricula, in a university in Mindanao in the Philippines. In this continuing project, he shared that one of its gains so far, more than the enhanced curricula, is the increased level of commitment and ownership of the process of all participants. Using the same method of inquiry to help the stakeholders involved in mitigating the potentially adverse effects of development on the Indigenous peoples of Mindanao to come up with relevant and timely

action plans, Gascon (2011a, 2011b) conducted at least two separate PAR projects. Both these projects involved developing strategies for the preservation and enhancement of traditional health practices of Indigenous People living in the mountainous areas in Davao City. Elsewhere in the world, environmental studies such as the ones undertaken by Bhatt and Tandon (2001) in India and Bradbury (2011) in Sweden used PAR to enhance people's participation through open public conversations that generate ideas on how to better manage finite natural resources. Hills (2001, pp. 340-347) engaged with the group of nursing clinical instructors to find a better way to measure student nurses' clinical performance which emphasises more on caring rather than on the traditional behavioural paradigm that still overshadows nursing schools nowadays. These and other similar research undertakings in the world are exploring ways to enhance participatory democracy at the community or organisational level where people can genuinely interact and learn with other stakeholders unobstructed by power. In the words of McIntyre (2008), these new waves of PAR studies are explicitly 'contextual' and hence can never become a panacea to all of the world's problems.

However, Gaventa and Cornwall (2001) argue that:

> Ultimately, developing and using new forms of participatory knowledge on a large scale is a question of promoting and creating new forms of participatory democracy, in which ordinary citizens use their knowledge and experience to construct a more just and equitable society. In a time in which inequality between the rich and the poor is greater than ever before, in which globalisation threatens even the limited democracy of nation states, the challenges of going to broader scale with participatory research are enormous, but so also are the risks of failing to do so.

3.5. The research process

To identify the socio-economic, political and environmental challenges of the Indigenous people in Mindanao related to the development projects, this study used the participants' narratives gathered through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and direct observation. Participants in this study comprised of local people, including those directly or indirectly affected by the presence of monoculture plantations and the experts who are representatives of the local government units, academia, NGOs, and the business sector.

To determine the challenges of the groups under study in promoting good governance in the local government units, the necessary information was obtained initially from key informant interviews. Subsequently, other details were derived from focus group discussions, involving the representatives of three major groups.

To develop an action plan on good governance at the local government units (LGUs), the output from the participatory problem-objective three analyses was used in the action planning session. The same group of participants were invited to come up with feasible solutions to the governance challenges they met.

3.6. Theoretical sampling and theoretical saturation

At the outset of this study, I thought of interviewing as many participants as possible to be comprehensive about my inquiry. I knew I was wrong, however, because this is a qualitative study and I needed theoretical sampling rather than random sampling. To materialise theoretical sampling, I used both convenience and snowball sampling. Convenience sampling was useful to proceed with my interviews with participants whom I had faith were able to help me find answers to my main research questions. Convenience sampling method is used when research sites and participants are chosen as they are accessible to the researcher (Creswell, 2007, pp. 126-127). By using this sampling method, I interviewed those who have responded to my recruitment posters and leaflets, which I placed in the community centres. This means I interviewed participants 'whomever I have access to' (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 18). By using snowball sampling, I was able to drift further into other rural areas in Mindanao. I asked those that I interviewed using the convenience sampling to suggest other participants, and the referral went on until I reached saturation.

Auerbach and Silverstein (2003, p. 81) argue that theoretical sampling is different from random sampling being used in quantitative inquiry. The difference lies in the approach and nature of data being collected. Theoretical sampling yields samples that a qualitative researcher needs to support her/his development of a theory, whereas random sampling is the statistical way of collecting subjects to test the hypothesis. Theoretical

sampling does not test a hypothesis; it develops one using the coding method.

3.7. Recruitment of participants

The initial key informants selected for this study comprised of at least five people each from the banana and pineapple plantations in the Davao Region. The main objective of selecting key informants was to understand how participants could be further recruited to participate in the study considering their location and availability. The distances between each region covered in the study requires four to 12 hours of land travel by bus, and other means like *habal-habal*[6] to reach remote areas not accessible by car.

Other prospective participants were identified with the help of *Datu*[7] Luis Lambac, the chairman of the Obu-Manobo Unified Ancestral Domain Tribal Council of Elders/Leaders, and *Datu* Joel Unad, the chairman of the Mindanao Indigenous Peoples for Peace and Development.

The regional offices of the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) were sought for their endorsement of the study to be conducted in the local government units (LGUs), involving Indigenous people living in diverse Christian group communities.

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[6] *Habal-habal* is a popular mode of transportation in the rural areas of Mindanao. It is basically a motorcycle with extended wooden seats on both sides that can carry a load of 6-8 persons including the driver. *Habal-habal* is preferred in agricultural communities where rice paddies or farm roads are too narrow and rugged for cars.
[7] *Datu* means male tribal chieftain.

The participation of the representatives of academia, civil society, and NGOs was derived through referrals of the participants earlier interviewed as this study used snowball sampling.

Once the participants had been initially selected, they were first oriented to the nature and purpose of the research. They were asked to sign in the forms provided before the actual interview. This strategy was employed so that every participant had the chance to self-select herself/himself to participate or withdraw from the study.

It was necessary to establish a good rapport with the local people before any interview or discussion took place. I lived in the house of some familiar Indigenous tribal chieftains that I have already worked with in the past. They did not ask for rent for my stay. In exchange, I committed to buy some groceries available in their communities for sharing with the host families. These friendly interactions facilitated a good rapport, and due to this the tribal chieftains helped in identifying people in their communities who could participate in the study.

3.8. Confidentiality and anonymity of participants

As discussed in the previous section, the heads of the organisations, elders, and tribal leaders facilitated the recruitment of other participants. Their participation in the study was therefore limited to giving/posting of information posters and leaflets in their offices/community centres. From

these leaflets, prospective participants could self-select themselves whether to join in the study or not. If they wished to join, they were expected to contact the mobile and landline phones shown in the posters and leaflets.

Participant documents were coded to ensure anonymity. The first few pages that contained confidential details (like name and signature) were detached from the main questionnaire or interview guide. I kept two different files—one for the preliminary pages with participant details and one for accomplished interview guides and field notes (written and audio files). All these documents are now safely kept in the file cabinet in the Research Office in the Social Science South Building, Flinders University.

Although anonymity was limited during the focus group discussion (FGD), I made sure that participants were grouped properly to ensure that they felt comfortable speaking to one another without fear and reservation. I had exclusive groups for both genders.

Documentation of the proceedings during the FGDs indicated only the code used for each participant. It did not bear the names of who said what. Written and audio files were also coded and managed in the same manner as individual interview files. The transcribed interviews, memos for audio and all other data formats are kept in Nvivo as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Screenshot of coded interview, audio and memo files kept in Nvivo for Mac version 10.2.0.

3.9. The demographic characteristics of participants

This study comprises 105 participants representing various demographic groups in Mindanao. Five out of its six administrative regions were covered, namely: Region 10, Northern Mindanao; Region 11, Davao; Region 12, SOCCSKSARGEN; Region 13, Caraga, and the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). SOCCSKSARGEN is an acronym that stands for the region's four provinces and one of its cities. These are South Cotabato, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Sarangani, and General Santos City. (Please refer to Figure 6, a map of Mindanao showing the six administrative regions).

Davao Region and SOCCSKSARGEN (or the Southern Mindanao region) were the areas covered during the first phase of this research. Davao City, which is the largest city on the island, is known for its peaceful settlements of tri-people—comprising of Indigenous peoples, Muslims, and various Christian groups in both urban and rural communities. It is also a hub for businesses, Government agencies, and academic institutions. Indigenous people's communities in the mountainous part of the city are relatively

larger than anywhere else in Mindanao. SOCCSKSARGEN, in the nearby region, also has its tri-people, but unlike Davao, it has a larger Muslim population (next to the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao).

A conscious effort was made to balance representations of participants across selected demographic characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, level of education, and employment (Table 6). However, this was hard to do in the same way across other categories like age and community representation. One of the reasons why age as a category is difficult to balance is that most of the participants are mature adults and/or heads of families. They are still active in their local communities performing various economic and social roles. Aside from their typical role in the interview, they were also asked to narrate their local legends and history.
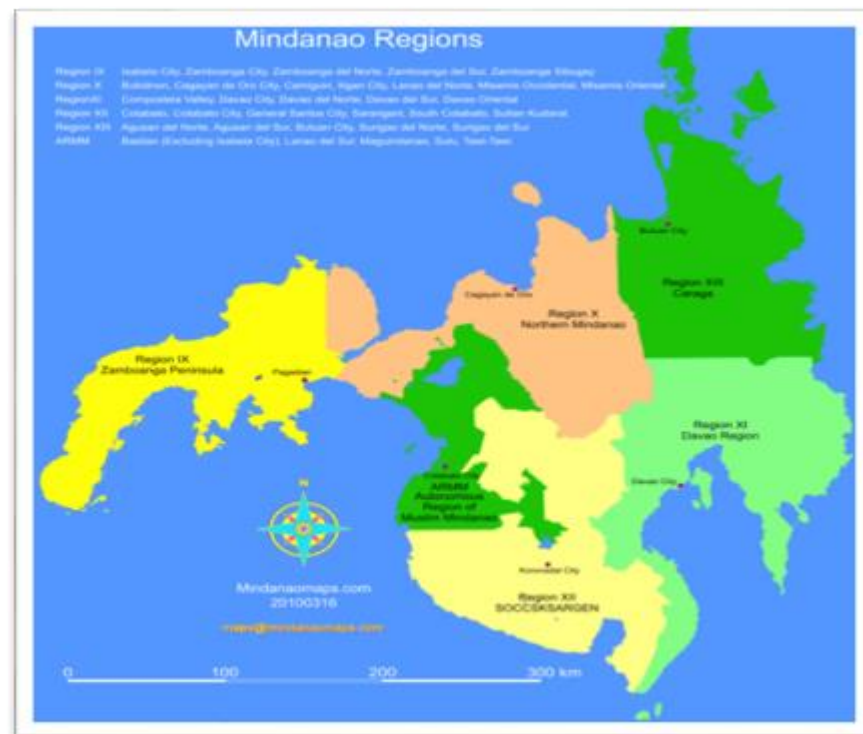
Figure 6. Map of Mindanao showing the administrative regions.

Source: http://www.mindanaomaps.com

In terms of community representation, participants were asked to tick 1-3 circumstances which best represented their contributions to the study. The multiple responses of each participant resulted in a rather unequal distribution of representation. There was a low representation of the national government agencies and academia. However, the rest of the other social, political and cultural groups such as women, farmers, Indigenous, civil societies, local government units, NGOs, and business or private sectors, were fairly represented.

3.10. Informed consent

Prior to participating, the participants were requested to read and understand the Information Package given to them containing the consent form and other documents. During the interview, after a participant received and reviewed the Information Package, he/she was asked to indicate his/her willingness to participate by signing the consent form.

To elicit the participation of individual members, I went through the whole process of orienting them to the nature of the study and its objectives, using the Information Package that also contained the Interview Consent Form. The signing of consent forms happened only when the participant fully understood and agreed to participate. Moreover, participants were reminded that they could withdraw their participation at any given time as stated in the consent form.

Table 6. Demographic profile of participants

		Count	Percentage
Sex			
	Female	50	48
	Male	55	52
		105	100
Age (in years)			
	18-28	17	16
	29-39	22	21
	40-50	21	20
	51-61	20	19
	62-72	14	13
	73-83	7	7
	84-94	4	4
		105	100
Level of Education			
	Post-graduate	2	2
	College/University	8	8
	Secondary School	30	29
	Primary School	31	30
	No Formal Education	34	32
		105	100
Employment			
	Employed	32	30
	Underemployed	37	35
	Unemployed	36	34
		105	100
Community Representation*			
	Academia	19	6
	Business	27	8
	Church and civil society	39	11
	Farmers and fisherfolk	40	12
	Indigenous/Cultural groups	40	12
	Local government unit	37	11
	National government agency	15	4
	Non-government organisation	38	11
	Women	50	15
		326	100

Participants were asked to indicate 1-3 organisations they would like to represent based on their work and advocacy in the past and present.

In the Philippines, it is a cultural norm to seek collective approval through the tribal councils. This collective approval, however, did not force any individual to participate in the study. The approval only means that the tribe or council endorses the study. Furthermore, it means that the group allowed my presence in their community.

3.11. Discovering the themes

The fieldwork was undertaken in two sections. One section took place from September to December 2013, and another from April to June 2014. During the first section of the fieldwork, I started to see the structure of the partial qualitative data available. Apart from the full narratives produced using the guide questions, I also used my field notes or memos to list my observations of the other aspects of face-to-face interviews, such as physical settings, facial expressions, and emotions. I also wrote down any distortions, such as noise and interruptions, to the conversations, in order for me to describe and understand the different nuances of meanings and expressions of the participants as vividly and accurately as I could.

I used a smartpen (Livescribe ®), which has the capability to record the conversation and capture handwritten notes in real time. The smartpen files automatically sync over wifi with Evernote—an application that stores and organises texts or memos, audio files, photos and calendars that can then be exported to Nvivo for coding and analysis. (It can be downloaded for free from Appstore for IOS or Play Store for android users).

I started to gain confidence using Nvivo while in the field. At the end of each day, I always tried to transcribe the interviews so I could explore the structure of the initial data in Nvivo. By doing this, I was able to see the dominant and the evolving themes that came out of the interviews. The practice allowed me to adjust accordingly to the rigours and dynamics of systemic action research. As a guide, I used the practical action research cycle developed by Danny Burns (2007) shown in Figure 7. Following his continuous iteration of inquiry process allowed me to focus and understand the evolving concepts and themes from the narratives and physical evidence available in the field.
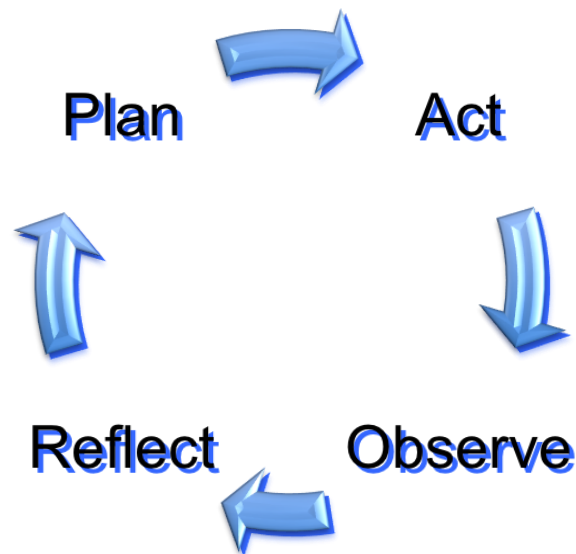
Figure 7. Simple action research cycle (Burns, 2007).

During the second and the last section of the fieldwork, I conducted a series of FGDs to deepen the inquiry process. During the same period, I continued to analyse the partial qualitative data by underlining the essential ideas that would help me identify the themes.

By continuously examining the trends or themes, I was able to reflect on the relevance of the data in my study. I began to deconstruct my own biases the moment I understood the evolving data structures. My analysis actually evolved with the progressive unfolding of data derived from interviews, direct observation, and FGDs. The data I used has been reinforced by other sources, such as documentation, archival records, and physical artefacts (Yin, 2003).

3.12. Coding for a node

According to Auerbach and Silverstein (2003, p. 31), any manual or mechanical attempt to manage qualitative data to aid analysis is known as coding. In my case, I did it manually first during the initial phase so I had a better grip of the data as it unfolded every time I collected and transcribed it into lengthy texts.

The process of underlining the relevant ideas in the texts transcribed from interviews and FGDs helped me to organise the lengthy narratives. In this way, I begun to do 'bottom-up' coding. I chose the 'bottom-up' coding approach instead of a 'top-down' approach because my study is essentially exploratory in nature; I would be developing a new theory through the narratives and other data sources that were summarised and organised into codes. A top-down approach, or elaborative coding was not suitable, as it starts with a theoretical construct and uses texts to proceed

to further theoretical development (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003, p. 104).

I did the whole transcribing task for at least two reasons. One reason was for me to guarantee the confidentiality, quality, and quantity of the whole narratives, during the transcription process so that it would not be compromised. The other main reason was that I wanted to follow the data stream in an organised and logical fashion that would allow me to identify their likelihood to be coded and classified under a node. A node is a category or theme that was derived from the analysis of raw qualitative data from interviews and FGDs. It is a repository of repeating words or phrases, themes or ideas that helped me in the analysis of the findings.

Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) suggest that theoretical coding is the active process of making sense of the qualitative data to see patterns and organising these into units of analysis. In 'The Yeshiva University Fatherhood Project', Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) used theoretical coding to generate their hypothesis.

In my research, theoretical coding enabled me to handle the data analysis with ease. As a result, I was able to determine the right time to stop gathering data. I knew that it was time for me to leave the field when I started to see the same ideas and thoughts appear through the theoretical coding. I was certain that I had reached 'theoretical saturation' when I became satisfied that I had enough evidence to support my claims or arguments. I did so, based on Auerbach and Silverstein's (2003, p. 20)

project, in which they stopped their theoretical sampling upon reaching theoretical saturation.

Chapter 4: Locating the concept of monoculture and monoculture plantations: discussion of the implications of land deals on the life chances of the poorest people in Mindanao

4.1. Introduction

This chapter explores proletarianisation or land loss. It explores the extent to which land deals have rendered smaller farmers without access to the means of production. This results in their having to sell their labour to land owners. This chapter has three sections. The first section asks how the banana and pineapple monoculture plantations in Mindanao have expanded both in terms of area planted and volume of production. The section explores land, labour, and the market requirements of the monoculture system to produce high-value crops earmarked for the international supply chain. The second section asks who holds landownership and who controls land access in rural Mindanao. It explores gender disparity in landholding and argues that women's disadvantaged status in landownership and access compromises their life chances and wellbeing. Finally, the third section asks how the free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) seeking process fails to protect the strategic gender interests of men and women in the Indigenous Communities of Mindanao. The section argues that FPIC process as a social, political, and environmental decision-making platform, privileges powerful men, experts and officials, and denies the poorest and most vulnerable women their

chance to participate and emancipate themselves from their disadvantaged status.

The existing governance framework supporting the banana and pineapple industries in Mindanao has failed to consider the paramount importance of the voices and choices of the local communities, particularly on matters concerning their livelihood, food and water security, health, and education. Particularly, the free, prior, and inform consent (FPIC), as a mechanism to protect the Indigenous smallholder farmers of their rights to manage their land and other natural resources, is being violated as evidence presented in the following discussion will show. Women and their direct household dependents—the young, the elderly and the differently abled person's passive participation in various household, community, market and state decision-making processes poses greater risks and shocks to their life chances and wellbeing. FPIC is at the frontline of the national legal regime—the Republic Act 8371 or the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997 and of various international laws, instruments, and conventions such as the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement (UN Guidelines).

This study argues that the existing 'monocultures of the mind' (Shiva, 1993) at the community, state and market levels pushes the Indigenous peoples in Mindanao, especially women and their household dependents, to the margins and they suffer from greater vulnerability to both large-scale and daily disasters (Aldrich & Meyer, 2015; Komino, 2014). The gender-blind

(Kabeer, 2003) opportunities provided to enhance their capabilities to use their active functioning (Nussbaum, 2011; Stewart, 2013; Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013) as individuals make them passive participants in various decision-making platforms. Nussbaum (2011, p. 21) argues that women and other disadvantaged members in their society need substantial 'combined capabilities' to do and to be. Combined capabilities, according to Nussbaum, can only be realised when the state provides not just minimal provision to help improve internal capabilities of individuals but also the opportunity to exercise freedom to enjoy life to the fullest, maintain good health and body integrity, to participate in political, social, cultural and environmental endeavours, and to acquire property.

The Capabilities Approach (Nussbaum, 2011) is used as a lens to address the area of concern that I am using as a case study for this PhD thesis. The Capabilities Approach emphasises the importance of valuing and protecting the dignity, not just satisfaction, of each person and looks at development as an improved state of 'beings and doings'—people being able to have voice, choice, and agency in the rural development decision-making platforms from the household, community, state to market level. The Capabilities Approach is a moral and evaluative approach that treats each person not as a means to development but as an end. The ways in which proletarianisation, or the incapability of the Indigenous smallholder famers in Mindanao to control their land and means of production, and the ways in which agroecological systems are commodified and exploited by the modern monoculture farming, suggest that rural Indigenous people in

Mindanao are socially excluded by the prevailing structural and economic orientated governance and development frameworks that make them instrumental and passive participants in various decision-making opportunities.

The way in which land is requisitioned by big plantation companies impacts on the life chances of the Indigenous people. The loss of land impacts the way in which they are forced to give up traditional farming practices, or to leave the land and seek work as labourers. The loss of land leads to the loss of the means of production and leads to their proletarianisation as workers with nothing but their unskilled labour to sell. The so-called development project[8], namely monocultural plantation, is a structural approach that leads to under-development and erosion of a way of life of the Indigenous smallholder farmers in rural Mindanao.

Highly mechanised monocultural banana and pineapple farms in Mindanao alter all aspects of the social and environmental conditions affecting human settlements. Seeing this monocultural development project as vital to promote national food security (McMichael, 2009, 2012b) is dubious and irresponsible as evidence of displacement, hunger, poor

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[8]According to Philip McMichael (2009, p. 248), a development project is the global agenda underpinning food and fuel security to support the Northern way of life through 'export of sustainability' from the South. Michael argues that development project is a structural development agenda participated by nation states and development agencies and the means to which "development" is measured is in terms of GNP. Development projects do not cover such aspects as wellbeing, life chances and ecological regeneration of the local communities. In this study, development project ontology is extended to include 'land deals' (see Borras, 2006; Borras & Franco, 2005, 2013; Salerno, 2006, 2011, 2014) expropriated for monoculture plantations of banana and pineapple for exportation.

health and sanitation, unemployment, and low levels of education show. These 'corrosive disadvantages' (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013) create a complex web of deprivation (Chambers, 1997) among the poor rural and Indigenous farmers in Mindanao.

4.2. Land-intensive requirement of monocropping

The extent to which the development projects have encroached Indigenous communities, including the full range of biological ecosystem that supports life and existence of flora and fauna in Mindanao, has not been researched yet. Based on the Bureau of Agricultural Statistics (BAS) data, banana plantations alone are the largest and the fastest growing agricultural venture in the Philippines. Bananas have been the most important fruit crop in the country in terms of land area planted and volume of production (Altoveros & Borromeo, 2007).

The growing demand for commercial agricultural plantations to support global food security has led to the signing up of massive land deals between Government and multinational corporations through direct foreign investments (Altoveros & Borromeo, 2007; Zagema, 2011) and between the local people and the transnational corporations through exclusive growership agreements (Cotula, 2013, p. 1610; Land Matrix, 2015). The Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) under the trade liberalisation policies espoused by the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has encouraged countries to open up their markets allowing freer importation of products and services. It pushes national markets to produce more export products

to gain competitive advantages but unfortunately, less food for domestic consumption (Brilmayer & Moon, 2014; Digal, 2007; Gutierrez & Borras, 2004; Leonard, Osorio, & Menguita-Feranil, 2015; McMichael, 2005, 2008, 2013). Such is the case in the Philippines where various land deals, particularly those situated in Mindanao, have established monoculture plantations while undermining the local sustainable production of staple food crops such as rice and corn. The smallholder farmers lose control of their lands as the Government, in tandem with the business sector—the agents of free trade (Cotula, 2013), directly encourage them to plant high-value crops such as bananas and pineapples for export. As growers, smallholder Indigenous farmers in rural Mindanao sign communal agreements achieved by their tribal leaders, local government officials and business/finance corporations to allocate their parcel of land under exclusive farming provisions to plant a specific variety of bananas. Leonard et al. (2015) shows evidence that smallholder farmers in cooperatives in Mindanao exclusively sell their produce to big companies under contractual arrangements. In most cases, since the large-scale modern farming of banana and pineapple began in Mindanao, Indigenous farmers have been leasing and selling their lands to agricultural corporations at an alarming rate, as shown in Table 7.

For the participants in this study, poverty is not just about the absence of money and material wealth other than land. For them, access to land and their ability to control the resources it contains remain very important for their survival and wellbeing. Tay (2010) argues that 'poverty is complex';

there are many factors that cause and contribute to the deprivation experienced by individuals and the whole community. At present, with the presence of banana and pineapple monoculture plantations, access to and control of lands among Indigenous people in Mindanao have become difficult. Their lands are part of the expansion of the monoculture farms through sale, lease and growership agreements as shown in Table 7. Data in the table summarises the multiple responses of the participants when they were asked to approximate the parcel of land they allocated for the banana and pineapple farming as far as they can remember. This means that a participant may have disclosed one to four responses pertaining to how she/he entered into different land agreements in the past and the present. The farmer-participants have engaged in the plantation system primarily through selling and leasing their lands, as shown in the table. Ninety-one or 87 percent of the participants have tried selling their lands, and 86 or 82 percent have engaged in direct leasing of their land parcels to plant either bananas or pineapples.

Almost one-third (30 percent) of the farmers have entered into growership agreements working under the management and control of various cooperative organisations that have negotiated, on behalf of the farmers, the exclusive sale of bananas and pineapples to their companies. The TADECO and Lapanday Foods Corporation, being the largest Filipino-owned high-value crop exporters, worked with various agrarian reform beneficiary organisations as well as with Indigenous communities in Mindanao to supply the high global demand for tropical bananas and

pineapples.

Table 7. Classification of farmer-participants according to land contract agreements

Agreement	Area (in hectares)			Total	
	Less than 1	1-3	4 and above	Count	Percentage
Sale	38	28	25	91	87
Lease	40	26	20	86	82
Growership	19	10	2	31	30
Landless				33	31

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during focus group discussion conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

The agents of 'modern and highly mechanised agriculture' in Mindanao highlight good profits to attract small and medium farmers to convert their crops from traditional diverse cropping to monoculture as described by one of the participants, Mr. IJ, as follows:

> *"My father and I were convinced by the government agents to give up our corn farm for bananas. Before, we believed that the banana industry could help us improve our lives by being able to feed and send our kids to school. We also thought that by planting bananas, we could pay our outstanding loan balance. Sad to say, we turned out unsuccessful. Our loans have even become bigger and bigger each year. And we still find it difficult to send our kids to school."*

The Government has assured the banana and pineapple farmers, just like the case of Mindanao, that there is good market for high-value crops worldwide. The state provides the right support for the export market to flourish by establishing policies that enable a competitive business climate. The Philippines has enacted the Republic Act 7900 otherwise known as the High-Value Crops Development Act of 1995 to support banana, pineapple, palm oil and other export product industries. This law provides

a support and protection scheme necessary for the high-value crop industry players to succeed. Some of these mechanisms adopted are embodied in clear-cut insurance policies to recover farm damages and losses. Another important support component is the institutionalisation of advanced research and development primarily geared towards product improvement. Borras, Hall, Scoones, White, and Wolford (2011) and Cotula et al. (2009, p. 4) confirm that the Government is always expected to provide support mechanisms to the banana and pineapple industry players under these land deals.

By focusing more on high-value crops through monoculture, the Philippines has become the second largest exporter of bananas in the world, supplying 16 percent of the world's total demand for bananas in 2012. Table 8 shows the Philippines' rank in relation to other top banana world exporters while Table 9 presents the volume of the Philippine's banana exportation by destination.

Table 8. Top 5 banana exporters in the world (2012)

Countries	Production (000 tons)	Percentage to World's Gross Total Banana Export
Ecuador	4,982.1	30
Philippines	2,646.1	16
Costa Rica	2,028.6	12
Guatemala	1,920.8	12
Columbia	1,834.9	11
World's Total Banana Export	16,494.8	

Note: Summarised from (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2014).

Japan, China, and the Republic of Korea are the top importers of

Philippine bananas in the same year as shown in Table 9. Under the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), importation of high-value crops such as bananas has become more pronounced and vibrant with smaller imposed tariffs on goods (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2014).

Table 9. Philippine banana exportation by countries of destination (2012)

Banana-importing Countries	Production (000 tons)	Percentage
Japan	1,084.80	41
Iran	99	4
Saudi Arabia	116.1	4
China	422	16
China, Hong Kong SAR	90	3
Republic of Korea	265.5	10
United Arab Emirates	262.8	10
Others	305.6	12
Total Philippine Banana Export	2,646.1	100

Note: Summarised from FAO (2014). Accessed at (http://www.fao.org/docrep/019/i362 7e/i3627e.pdf).

Mindanao supplies 81 percent of the entire banana industry in the country in 2010 (Mindanao Development Authority, 2011a) and it is indeed a growing venture with an average annual growth rate of 8.98 in Mindanao alone (Table 10). Its freight on board value in 2012 is USD 625,507,709 (Mindanao Development Authority, 2015). Wealthy and politically powerful families such as the Lorenzos, who own the Lapanday Foods Corporation (LFC), and the Floirendos who established the Tagum Agricultural Development Corporation (TADECO), head the banana industry in Mindanao (Borras, 2007; Gutierrez & Borras, 2004). Digal (2007) identified the top banana exporters of Mindanao as the Lapanday Foods Corporation, TADECO-Del Monte Fresh Produce, Dole-Stanfilco, and

Marsman-Drysdale. These companies are multinationals, with the exception of LFC.

Table 10. Volume of banana production, 2006-2010 (in metric tons)

Countries	2007	2008	2009	2010	Ave. Annual Growth (%)
Philippines	7,484,073.05	8,687,623.72	9,013,185.70	9,101,341.19	7.58
Mindanao	5,891,658.99	7,045,806.78	7,283,686.45	7,421,238.73	8.98
% Philippines	79%	81%	81%	81%	
Region 9	247,270.52	253,667.12	261,081.43	263,643.26	2.62
Region 10	933,113.62	1,631,303.73	1,657,685.69	1,702,391.84	26.62
Region 11	3,180,331.24	3,569,079.26	3,749,766.10	3,804,459.99	6.60
Region 12	935,564.56	998,634.88	1,024,009.06	1,043,811.31	5.87
CARAGA	222,703.14	219,635.80	209,399.16	210,392.94	-0.33
ARMM	372,675.91	373,485.99	381,745.01	396,539.39	1.61

Source: Mindanao Development Authority (2011a) as summarised from the data of the Bureau of Agricultural Statistics (2015).

This study covers the banana and pineapple plantation communities around Mindanao except in Region 9 due to the on-going Zamboanga Peninsula siege, which occurred while the fieldwork was conducted. On average, from 2010 to 2013, 245,000 hectares of land were planted for bananas for exportation in Mindanao. As of 2010, the largest communities devoted to banana plantations are found in Region 11 or the Davao Region and Region 10 or the Northern Mindanao Region accounting for 35 percent and 21 percent respectively of the total land area planted to bananas (see Figure 8).
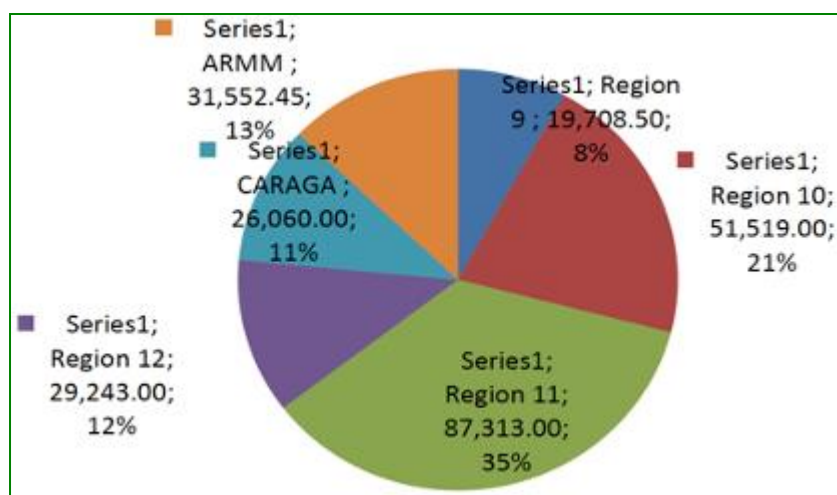
Figure 8. Distribution of banana production area, Mindanao, 2010.

Source: Mindanao Development Authority (2011a).
Accessed at http://www.minda.gov.ph/index.php/planning/plans-2014.

The Philippines is the fourth largest exporter of pineapples in the world. Mindanao produces 87 percent of the total volume of production that comes from the monoculture plantations in SOCCSKARGEN (South Cotabato, Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Sarangani and General Santos City) and the Northern Mindanao Regions as shown in Table 11. In 2013, a total of 50,314 hectares of land are planted with pineapples. In terms of fruit production, SOCCSKARGEN and the Northern Mindanao regions produce 33 and 54 percent of the total country's production for export respectively. SOCCSKARGEN and the Northern Mindanao regions are one of the poorest in the country (Fairfood International, 2013, 2014).

Table 11. Pineapple production area (in hectares)

Mindanao Regions	Production Area (hectare)			
	2010	2011	2012	2013
Zamboanga Peninsula	398.00	356.00	350.00	327.00
Northern Mindanao	21,547.15	21,978.75	21,592.50	23,107.50
Davao Region	2,053.00	2,052.00	2,033.00	1,978.19
SOCCSKARGEN	23,269.00	22,849.50	23,485.00	24,580.00
CARAGA	488.00	488.00	499.00	230.00
ARMM	89.00	90.00	92.00	91.40
Total	47,844.15	47,814.25	48,051.50	50,314.00

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Statistics (2015).

4.3. Effects of monocropping on traditional farming

This study covers the ancestral land communities in Mindanao. Ancestral lands include forestland and alienable/disposable land protected under the Republic Act 8371 or otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA). IPRA granted landownership rights to the Indigenous people. Quitoriano (2009) reported that in Mindanao, IPRA has facilitated the transfer of 13 Certificate of Ancestral Domain Titles (CADT), covering 307,862 hectares, to various tribes. Mindanao is the home of 61 percent of the total Indigenous population in the Philippines (Gariguez, 2010).

Allocation of ancestral lands for commercial farming has never been seriously studied to date. Most of the existing studies on agricultural land use in Mindanao deal with issues related to commercial plantations under the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program or CARP (see Borras et al., 2007; Gutierrez & Borras, 2004; Vellema, Borras, & Lara, 2011). CARP's original goal is to redistribute landownership of at least 65 percent of the total agricultural land (approximately 2.6 million hectares) from landed elites to individual rural farmers (Quitoriano, 2009). CARP was enacted into law during the Corazon Aquino administration in 1988 and was revitalised and extended as the Republic Act 8532. IPRA on the other hand, is an attempt to guarantee that Indigenous peoples in the Philippines have land and are protected of their land rights. The National Commission for the Indigenous People (NCIP) reported that in Mindanao, the total ancestral land placed under CADT totals to 307,862.66 hectares (cited in Quitoriano, 2009, p. 9).

When compared to Mindanao's total agricultural land of 2.6 million hectares, ancestral land held by the Mindanao Indigenous groups accounts to only 12 percent. This study covered the Kitaotao, Sinuda, and Bukidnon areas of the Matigsalug-Manobo tribe with 102,324.82 hectares of land under CADT distributed to 24,405 beneficiaries, and the New Bataan, Compostela Valley areas of the Mandaya and Mansaka tribes with 92,413.87 hectares of CADT land distributed to 8,443 beneficiaries (NCIP, n.d., cited in Quitoriano, 2009).

This study does not attempt to quantify the actual measure of ancestral land that is being allocated for commercial banana and pineapple farms in Mindanao. Quitoriano, Dargantes, Moleta, and Nartea (2008) confirm that the actual land measurement covered by CADT changes as some portions of ancestral lands currently occupied and used for non-Indigenous purposes are still being contested and negotiated. This study makes the case that the monoculture banana and pineapple plantation has changed the socio-economic and agroecological systems in Mindanao. The industrial agriculture system compromises the wellbeing and life chances of the poorest and most vulnerable Indigenous people. This study does not use a reductionist approach to inquiring about systems. In fact, this study used an 'open systems' (Churchman, 1979) approach to include the democratic discourses of the poor, especially women (Bacchi, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005) with local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities (Chambers, 1983, p. 32). Data on

landownership and the extent to which the traditional and diversified farming of the Indigenous people has turned into monoculture reflect only the circumstances of the farmer participants in this study.

De Schutter and Anaya (2012) define monocropping development as 'a wholesale shift in land use and land access … All too often, this is to the detriment of existing land users. If the environment they depend upon is repurposed, degraded and placed off limits, their ability to produce or to procure food—and thus their right to food—will be severely threatened'.

In the case of Mindanao, the industrial plantation system has significantly replaced the local people's diverse and traditional crops such as rice, corn, sweet potato, vegetables, and various seasonal fruits. As a result, local food security is at stake especially among the poorest residents and rural farmers. Gonzales (2006, p. 357) argued that monoculture plantations alter the basic agroecological support system thereby increasing the level of vulnerability of the local people to go hungry and become malnourished. Shiva (2001), in her article titled *The Real Reason of Hunger* posted online at *The Guardian* declared that: "people are starving because the policy structures that defended rural livelihoods, and access to resources and markets, and hence entitlements and incomes, are being systematically dismantled by structural adjustment programmes, driven by the World Bank, and by WTO rules imposing trade liberalisation".

This study attempts to describe the extent to which the rural cropping system in Mindanao has changed over the years. These changes are

purposely linked with the local people's struggle for land rights, livelihood and food security while they engaged with the commercial single cropping promoted by the Philippine Government. During the focus group discussion (FGD) participated by tribal elders, *datus* (male tribal chieftains), and Indigenous women in Mindanao, the historical timeline on the cropping system was established as presented in Table 12. The historical cropping system timeline indicates that between 1940s and 1970s, rural Mindanao communities were concentrated on subsistence farming of diverse crops necessary for the survival of the local people. The farmer-participants estimated that around 81 to 100 percent of their farms were planted to various crops they needed in their communities. An elder, Mr. AB, shared his experience in farming in rural Mindanao as follows:

> *"There were food shortages before, during, and shortly after World War II… but it was not as serious like we experience today. We used to have enough supply of rice or corn for our meals, we had plenty of vegetables and we used to depend on our root crops—gabi (taro) and camote (sweet potato)."*

The introduction of banana and pineapple plantations as single crops in the 1980s has led to the local people's dwindling focus on their vital traditional crops. Haugen (2014, p. 196) argues that as industrial agriculture expands, smallholder farmers will be unable to practice their traditional farming and other livelihoods. In the case of Mindanao, the promising banana and pineapple industries convinced the Indigenous people to either give up or do less of their traditional farming to plant more high-value crops mainly for exportation. During the 1980s and 1990s, the participants estimated that the banana and pineapple plantations had

covered 20-40 percent of the Mindanao rural farms. This finding is consistent with Gutierrez and Borras (2004), who reported that the wealthy banana magnate, the Floirendo family, acquired control by leasing public land allocated for the Davao Penal Colony (DAPECOL) measuring some 5,000 hectares at a rate of Php1,000 (USD23) per hectare only [compared to Php4,000 (USD91)] per hectare prevailing rental rate in the area during the 1980s). DAPECOL is a prison farm established in 1932 in Davao del Norte, Mindanao.

Aside from the Floirendos, the Lorenzo family, who owned the Lapanday Foods Corporation (LFC), started to establish its banana plantation in Davao del Sur area in 1982. Today, LFC operates monoculture banana farms in almost all areas in Mindanao, mostly concentrated in the Davao del Norte, the Davao Region, and the Davao del Sur region covering 6,000 hectares. LFC's pineapple plantations in the Bukidnon region now cover 1,000 hectares.

The participants revealed that these days, the monoculture plantation system has grown massively and they see it growing in the coming years. They believe that banana and pineapple plantations comprise most of the farmlands in Mindanao covering 81-100 percent of the productive agricultural lands both in the low and highlands. The Lapanday Foods Corporation (LFC), amidst oppositions of some locals, has started its highland banana farm plantations along the foothills of Mount Apo national park. This latest contentious case, according to the participants, will pose

a risk on their forests and watersheds. One of the participants, Mr. CD has

this to say about the latest expansion of LFC in the highland communities:
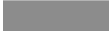
> *"The Government is giving in to the caprices of the wealthy businessmen. It has facilitated the selling of not just our lands and livelihoods but also our souls."*

Table 12. Historical cropping timeline, 1940 to present

Decade	Crops						
	Rice	Corn	Vegetables	Seasonal Fruits	Root crops	Banana (monoculture)	Pineapple (monoculture)
1940	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100		
1950	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100		
1960	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100		
1970	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100	■ 81-100		
1980	61-80	61-80	61-80	61-80	61-80	20-40	20-40
1990	61-80	61-80	61-80	61-80	61-80	20-40	20-40
2000	20-40	20-40	41-60	41-60	41-60	■ 81-100	■ 81-100
2010	20-40	20-40	41-60	41-60	41-60	■ 81-100	■ 81-100
Present	20-40	20-40	41-60	41-60	41-60	■ 81-100	■ 81-100

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during focus group discussion conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Legend:
- 20-40 percent
- 41-60 percent
- 61-80 percent
- 81-100 percent

In the plantation communities, deprivation is pervasive and

multidimensional as described by Mr. EF, one of the tribal elders as follows:

> *"We are poor, uneducated, and physically weak. We rely primarily on donations coming from our neighbours. Because we don't have money for education, we don't qualify for jobs. I don't know how to read and write."*

A detailed discussion on the socio-economic status and the extent to

which rural Indigenous people in Mindanao affected by the single cropping

has suffered the interlocking 'deprivation trap' (Chambers, 1983) is

presented in chapter five.

4.4. "Who benefits from the land deals? Certainly not the local people!"

The Mindanao Development Authority (MINDA)[9] succinctly describes the core of injustices faced by Mindanawons in its 'Mindanao 2020: Peace and Development Framework Plan (2011-2030)'. It said that people's access to land and natural resources is one of the dimensions of the problem as shown in Figure 9.

Mindanao serves as the country's hub for high value crops for exportation. However, it is not right to call the island the 'food basket', as millions of people are still in dire need of food and other basic necessities to live decent lives. This is in total contrast to the prosperity being promised that will be brought back to Mindanawons by these plantations. In Mindanao the incidence of poverty is the highest as six out of the 10 poorest regions in the country are on the island (Arguillas, 2013). It is also where the literacy (Pe Symaco, 2014) and child mortality rate (WHO, 2014) are at their worst.

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[9] The Mindanao Development Authority or MINDA was established in 17 February 2010 by virtue of the Republic Act 9996 put in force during the Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo's presidency. It was formerly known as the Mindanao Economic Development Council or MEDCO. Its mission, as shown in its official webpage is: "to serve as Mindanao's lead agency in coordinating and integrating development efforts that bring about accelerated socio-economic development of Mindanao… through the active and extensive participation of all sectors in this development process. We are committed to upholding standards for service excellence, good governance and inclusive leadership in achieving the aspirations and vision of all Mindanawons." (http://www.minda.gov.ph/index.php/about-minda.)

Figure 9. The Mindanao problem.

Source: Mindanao Development Authority, 2011b.

Access to land and natural resources of the Mindanawons depends on their socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. According to MINDA (2011b, p. 16), large numbers of Mindanawons, especially Indigenous people, live in abject poverty and substantially rely on natural resources for subsistence and their livelihood. In many instances, they find themselves in a losing competition with large investors for use of their own resources.

The rural and Indigenous people give up their lands to the tempting promises of the transnational corporations and the local business elites.

This happens with the Government as the 'facilitator' to enable the smooth operation of the monoculture plantations. The Philippine Government sees a better prospect for profitable exportation of non-traditional goods and services through production of high-value crops pegged for international markets via the free trade agreements. Mr. KL, one of the Indigenous smallholder farmers in Mindanao, described the process as follows:

> *"In the 1980s, when we started to convert our farms into allegedly more profitable banana farming, we went through negotiations with our local government unit representatives. I believe that the negotiation was a done deal. Our local community leaders had already been made part of their team. I cannot confirm really if they were paid to favour the deals but I believe there was a payoff done in secret. Other people are talking about it but we were not sure and afraid to raise any unfounded accusation. So, we just went through with the deal."*

The Philippine Government's role in agricultural expansion in Mindanao is massive. It has systematically commoditised land, labour, and the market. Every transaction involving these resources now always involves money. The state's role is seen more like unifying the state for ease of control and administration. This is consistent with Scott (1998) argument in his book *Seeing Like a State* and Shiva's (1993) thesis on *Monocultures of the Mind.* Commodification of land has led to people giving in to the temptations of "temporary" cash that they receive out of selling and leasing their lands for commercial use. Even smallholder farmers who maintain ownership of their lands but converted to monoculture planting of high-value crops for export have given up their chance to sustainably provide for their families and neighbours an abundant and healthy supply of staple food. The prevailing market system for the produce of farmers in Mindanao has

become fully subservient to the uniform and strict quality standards of the foreign consumers. The rural and Indigenous people do not enjoy the produce of the monoculture plantations as narrated by Mrs. IJ, one of the female participants as follows:

> *"What we find sold in the market are reject pineapples, bananas, and papayas. These oversized or undersized fruits are considered reject or unfit for export that is why they are here. We only eat rejects… (laughing). What we need is a fully diverse choice of foods available for everyone."*

Treating land as capital, as shown in the studies of Cotula (2013); Cotula et al. (2009) allows the Government and the business sector to put "fair" market value to land and its significant improvements. Pricing of land, however, is usually pegged at an extremely low value when the land use zoning of the local government units concerned has assessed the negligible development in a particular area. Assessors in the local government units (LGUs) are community 'outsiders' (Chambers, 1983) who are expert planners and are close partners of the tax collectors. Assessment of land value based on current land use and development are negotiated deals among outsiders that favour the interests of the business and political elites.

Farmers who have sold and leased their lands found the deals appealing because they involved cash. Many farmers, however, have reported that the money they accumulated after selling their land did not last long just as what is being described by Mr. MN below:

"We are not used to handling a big amount of money. That was the first time I was able to hold really thick money bills in my pocket. But after six months every bill was gone and we were not able to invest in our farm left for our family's future."

Indigenous smallholder farmers lose their money derived from selling their land because they are not used to holding and managing a large amount of cash. When they are facing bankruptcy, they resort to any casual paid labour available in other farms (FAO, 2011).

4.5. The unaccounted labour requirements in commercial farming

The preceding discussion highlights the extent to which a single cropping system or monoculture has expanded using Indigenous peoples' ancestral land. This section continues by presenting the evidence of how the Indigenous people, especially the poorest and most vulnerable women and children, negotiate for their wellbeing while being involved in their daily farm and other livelihood activities. I argue that the monoculture farming in Mindanao pushes the poorest Indigenous women and children further to the margins. As they have limited land and other property rights, their capability to negotiate and help ensure food, health, livelihood and education security is adversely affected. Many gender studies in rural development and agriculture point out that women contribute to about 60-80 percent of total agricultural productivity (Doss, 2014; Saito, Mekonnen, & Spurling, 1994). However, this study finds that there are significant variations in the level of involvement or contribution of men, women and

their children in rural agricultural activities. Cultural norms and values affect significantly the farm work arrangement in Mindanao. Ruth Meinzen-Dick, Quisumbing, and Behrman (2014) argue that local cultural and religious norms define the processes involved pertaining to land and livelihood in many agricultural communities. As Harris (2014, p. 271) would argue, these norms are often in conflict with the interests of women to 'hold up half the sky' (Doss, 2014). Women's effort both at the household and community level is still undervalued (Beneria, 1981).

In Mindanao, banana and pineapple farming, both in large and small-scale plantations, are not only land-intensive but are also labour-demanding. However, reliable data about the number of people employed in these large agricultural farms is almost non-existent let alone the number of farmers in cooperatives involved in these new export industries. The reason could be the absence of a government regulatory body to oversee the high-value crops industry. Another reason is that women and other members of the family, who in fact work in the farms performing ad hoc tasks and those who work casually from time to time, are not counted in the labour force reported (Leonard et al., 2015). de Pryck and Termine (2014, p. 353) argued that the reason why this happens is that women are prevented by different social institutions to express their voice and to claim their full right to paid jobs. Rural women are still confined within their domestic and reproductive duties (Kabeer, 2003; Moser, 2003) and most institutions 'disadvantage those who do more of reproductive work' (de Pryck & Termine, 2014). At the household level, this study finds that

Indigenous women, including their children, work on the farm with their husbands, as evidenced by the following quote culled from an interview with one of the Indigenous women participants, Mrs. EF.

> *"I help my husband in the banana farm. I do de-leafing and de-weeding most of the time. I also help in fertilising. My main job is cooking meals and snacks for my family and other farm workers we hire occasionally. We allow our children to help us in anything they can do. Most of the time they run for errands like fetching water and a lot more."*

Figure 10. Infographic: Types of workers in the Philippine pineapple industry.

Source: Fairfood International (2014). Accessed at http://www.fairfood.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Pineapple-Fact-Sheet.pdf

Based on Fairfood International (2014) estimates, approximately 40,000 people work in the pineapple industry while around 240,000 are employed in banana farms in Mindanao (Leonard et al., 2015). The infographic on the types of workers in the pineapple plantations as shown in Figure 10

illustrates that only 15 percent of the total labour force reported for work directly under the big companies. The majority or 85 percent are contractual workers without job security. Leonard et al. (2015, p. 19) argued that the number of people involved in the banana industry could go even 200 percent higher than the current estimate if family members are included in the counting. This is consistent with the following quote from one of the participants, Mr. GH.

> *"Small-scale banana growers, especially those who are agrarian reform beneficiaries (ARBs) in Mindanao usually involved all family members in the farm doing various tasks. Sad to say, they also include children."*

Table 13 shows the consolidated primary data derived from asking the questions: a) Who are working on the family farms? b) What is the extent of time and effort spent in working? c) What are the specific duties? and d) What is being given/paid/rewarded for this work? The participants were asked to describe the typical daily livelihood conditions while they work on their family farms. This study does not cover those working as contractual farm labourers on other farms including the occasional work they avail from the big commercial banana and pineapple farms. Random data from individual interviews were consolidated and validated during the focus group discussions (FGD) conducted to generalise the typical division of labour by gender as shown in the table. At least three FGDs were conducted; one each for women and men group and another grouping combining women and men.

Pre-planting activities such as those involving rituals, namely: the *sungged*

te kamanga (pre-planting ritual) and the *panlaey* (pre-land clearing ritual) involved chiefly men as indicated by the generalised effort or share of work performed by men on their family farms (79 percent). Women are involved in pasturing, *tugdaan* (seed preparation), and *eg kamut* (primarily underbrushing) by 20, 15 and 40 percent respectively. Children, on the other hand, also help their parents usually doing the same pre-planting tasks done by their mothers. Children's shares in doing pasturing, seed preparation, and underbrushing is 20, 10 and 20 percent of the overall effort done by their parents respectively. FAO (2011, p. 7) in *Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development* reports that the agricultural labour force also includes women and children who perform unpaid work in family farms. Women's interests in working closely with their families on the farm is mainly to provide sufficient food and nutrition for children and other members in the household (Araújo & Godek, 2014, p. 55).

In terms of family farm maintenance, generalised division of labour by gender analysis reveals that men, women and their children exert almost the same extent of time and effort in a typical workweek, 43, 31 and 26 percent respectively. This indicates that all family members share almost equally the farm maintenance tasks ranging from planting, preparing food, running errands, de-leafing, fertilising and harvesting. Farm maintenance tasks allocated chiefly to children are running for errands such as collecting drinking water and buying alcoholic drinks and cigarettes. In the rural Philippines, children are considered as assets as they can help other

family farms (Sakellariou & Lall, 2000, p. 238). Children of marginal to landless farmers perform paid labour on larger family farms while children from large family farms perform work usually unpaid in their own farms (Sakellariou & Lall, 2000, p. 238). In an interview, one of the children who sat close to her mother shared her experience working with her family in the farm even while she was studying:

> *"Ako ang ginasugo ni Tatay magpalit ug sigarilyo og usahay, tuba. Mao na pirmi ako ginabuhat para makatabang pud sa ila. Nagatabang pud ko kay nanay maglimpisa. Pag uli na ko sa skwela ug kung tapus sa semana, mao na kasagaran ang oras na maglimpisa ko."*

Translation:

> *"I am always in charge of buying cigarettes, sometimes tuba (coconut fermented wine). I do this to help my family. I also help my mother in de-weeding. We usually do this after school and during the weekend."*

In postharvest activities, men exert most of the effort in packing, selling, cash keeping and budgeting, procuring farm inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides, and in accessing available loans when needed. Men's share in these postharvest tasks is 87 percent. Fletschner and Kenney (2014) and WB et al. (2009) report that men usually take charge of selling their crops and animals. In this study, women and children take the remaining 13 percent of these tasks but women's efforts are primarily needed only during the time of loan repayments. WB et al. (2009, p. 452) confirms this finding in the *Gender and Agriculture Sourcebook;* whenever the husband receives a loan, the wife sources out money for its repayment from her assets that include her livestock and small animals. Mrs. GH, one of the mothers interviewed, has this to say about her experience dealing with her

husband who takes charge in most of the financial aspects of farming:

> *"Our husbands here, most of them, keep all or most of the money after selling our harvest. Our tribe believes that men should be the ones to keep the money. In my case, I ask my husband for money every time I need to buy sugar, rice and other staples from the store. My husband keeps the money and he does the budgeting both for our household and the farm."*

Another woman, Mrs. CD shares:

> *"Ay Diyos ko, akong bana mangutang ra nga wala ko nakabalo. Nangutang kono sya para sa abuno pero ambut, giinum-inum ra niya. Samut mi ug kapasmo ani. Pagtingbayad na, magsaput-saput na dayun para manlihok mi ug tabang sa uma or suguon na pud ko manghiram na pud ug kwarta sa lending usahay pud baligya na lang nako ako kahayupan (baka) para lang makabayad. Kasagaran tungod sa utang sa akong bana, mabira ang among mga hayupan isip collateral."*

Translation:

> *"Oh my God, my husband enters into some loans without my knowledge. His alibi is for him to buy fertiliser but I don't know why he spends it for drinking instead. We will become hungrier because of him. When it is time to pay the loan, he will be moody and grumpy so that everyone in the family helps him hard in the farm. Several times before he would ask me to access loan myself. Because of his loans, I have to sell my cows. Because of his loans, the lender gets my animals as collateral."*

The stories above reflect the disadvantaged status of Indigenous women in Mindanao in negotiating with their men for household and farming activities. Women participants are unable to control postharvest activities except loan repayments as their husbands, being the head of their families and clans, control most of the resources including farm productivity. Men enjoy these privileges as they are the titleholders of the land they till (Agarwal, 1994a). As a result, women are unable to control the budgeting aspects of farming including household maintenance. Fletschner and

Kenney (2014) explained that men in rural communities control even the ownership of large farm animals. Men are considered as the main decision-makers in selling and pawning the family's livestock (Tipilda & Kristjanson, 2008 cited in Fletschner & Kenney, 2014). In this study, women and children contribute a total of 40 percent in animal husbandry activities. Based on my actual observation and experience whilst doing the fieldwork, women and their children take care of their cows and carabaos (water buffalo) including smaller animals such as goats, pigs and chickens. Large animals are easy collaterals for loans being entered into singly by the household heads or husbands/fathers (Liu, 2013).

In summary, this section finds that the quantitative and 'stylised' (Doss, 2014, p. 69) '60-80 percent' (Deere, 2005; Doss, 2014; Gupta, 2009; Mehra & Rojas, 2008) contribution of women in agricultural production is an arbitrary estimation of the actual extent of the physical effort and time dedicated by women on their family farms while at the same time doing their reproductive and community duties (March et al., 2005; Moser, 1989; Raney & Doss, 2011). Comparing agricultural output by gender is indeed impossible as it is not logical to separate agricultural productivity by gender (Deere, 2005; Doss, 2014). Hence, this study did not cover the 'variations in the actual total of farm goods produced by gender' (Saito et al., 1994) instead, it describes the dynamics and variations in the extent of time and effort performed by gender based on the participants' stories. This means that the actual time-use and extent of efforts expressed through narratives of women and children themselves are taken as

evidence of their actual contributions in agricultural output.

Positivist and linear quantification of contributions of women and children, against those of men, would yield invalid and unethical results. Chambers (1983) argue that 'rural development tourists' or the urban experts and public officials, armed with their urban biases, often misrepresent the actual living conditions of rural people. Their ignorance of the local complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lccdu) realities lead them to chronic 'errors, omissions, delusions, and dominance' by reducing all their rural data to numbers (Chambers, 1997). Chambers thus calls for a 'pluralist' method to study **with** the rural people. Being pluralist means that the study must be 'historical, archival, ecological and social-anthropological' (1997, p. 29). Christakis and Bausch (2006, p. 212) argue that democracy must provide a dialogic space for the local people to contribute in the development of social systems using their own diverse and unique knowledge, way beyond the scientific and technological dimensions of the prevailing discourse.

The whole range of social processes involved in the family farms and households in rural Mindanao underscores Indigenous women's disadvantaged status especially during the postharvest phase as men control most of the financial aspects of it. By proportion, women contribute in the postharvest processes poorly (12 percent only). As evident in this study, based on narratives, this figure is suggested to be erroneous. Men prevent women and children by interfering with financial activities and it

brings down the figure to misrepresent the actual experiences of women and children working on the farms. Consequently, when men and women are asked to describe the extent of their contribution in agricultural productivity, what will be revealed is a quantified and reductionist impression that men work more and contribute greater amounts than their women counterparts. Romm (1996) argues that PAR's 'researching system[10] diminishes power differences between the researcher and the other participants by engaging them in 'discursive accountability' and in 'widely informed and locally contingent choice-making' processes. This study gave women the capability (Nussbaum, 2011) to express their agentic voices and choices (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001), to listen and be listened to (Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Dobson, 2014) in an open discursive space (Habermas, 1989) to determine their issues and concerns intimately linked to their wellbeing and life chances.

Women, men and children in this study do not receive direct payment for the work done on their family farms. But men, being the household heads and owners of the land titles (Agarwal, 1994a; Mehra & Rojas, 2008), take most of the postharvest tasks of packing and selling the produce, buying farm inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides, and in accessing loans when needed for the purpose of controlling the money. Indigenous women in Mindanao do not have any control of cash, land and large animal properties. Men own, by cultural norm, all liquid assets such as money, land, house and large animals. Aside from direct selling, men use these

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[10] Terminology used by Bawden, 1991 cited in Romm, 1996.

assets as collaterals for loans. When they are no longer able to repay loans, women and children exert a great deal of time and effort to produce more output, to access loans, and to give away their farm animals to indemnify these loans being entered into by their husbands and/or fathers.

4.6. Ownership and access to land

This section presents the evidence of inequality in land ownership and access among Indigenous people in Mindanao. Participants were asked the question: a) Do you own land?, b) If yes, how much land are you able to access for farming and other uses?, and c) What are the issues related to land ownership and access in your household, clan and community?

Table 13. Typical division of farm labour by gender in a week

Tasks	Man		Child		Woman	
	Effort/ Share (%)	Paid (Y/N)	Effort/ Share (%)	Paid (Y/N)	Effort/ Share (%)	Paid (Y/N)
Pre-planting						
Pasturing	60	Owns the farm animal	20	N	20	N
Sungged te kamanga[11] (pre-planting ritual)	100	N	0	n/a	0	n/a
Panlaey.[12] *(*Pre-land clearing ritual	100	N	0	n/a	0	n/a
Eg kamut (land clearing (ploughing, underbrushing)	75	N	10	N	15	N
Tugdaan (seed preparation)	40	N	20	N	40	N

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[11] A Matigsalug pre-planting ritual in which the household heads, generally men, put their farming tools (bolos, knives and machete) under cooked rice garnished with any boiled chicken dish placed in the *nigo* (winnower). After the ritual, the men will pull out all the tools. Those whose tools are stuck with more rice are believed to make good harvest. Those who do not are advised not to proceed with planting as yet for they will have poor productivity.

[12] An Indigenous farming ritual performed by men before they start any land clearing activity. Men wave up in the air their *lagaraw* (machete) and listen to any sound of *alimukon* (white-eared brown dove). If the farmer hears the *alimukon* bird, he will postpone his land clearing activity for the day. Instead, he will do other work that does not require any bladed farm implement.

Tasks	Man		Child		Woman	
	Effort/ Share (%)	Paid (Y/N)	Effort/ Share (%)	Paid (Y/N)	Effort/ Share (%)	Paid (Y/N)
Maintenance	**79**		**7**		**14**	
Planting	50	N	20	N	30	N
Farm meal preparation	5	N	15	N	80	N
Running errands (for water, cigarette and liquor)	0	n/a	80	Keeps the change and buys candies	20	Keeps the change and buys household needs
Hauling (from farm to *kamalig* or storeroom)	65	N	25	N	10	N
Deleafing and de-weeding	50	N	25	N	25	N
Fertilising	50	N	10	N	40	N
Harvesting	80	N	10	N	10	N
Post-harvest	**43**		**26**		**31**	
Packing	80	N	10	N	10	N
Selling	95	N	0	n/a	5	Stays at home and wait
Cash keeping and budgeting	90	Controls cash; spends for alcohol and cigarette	0	n/a	10	Asks the husband for every purchase of household needs
Procuring fertilisers and pesticides	90	Buys the farm inputs	0	n/a	10	Stays at home and wait
Accessing loan	95	Coordinates with wife	0		10	Uses some coops that favour women borrower
Repaying loan	70	Passes the responsibility to wife	0		30	Accepts other work available; uses other means to access cash and repay loans

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during focus group discussion conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Indigenous women's capabilities to become productive partners in

community development is hampered by their limited opportunity to own land titles (Agarwal, 1994a, 1994b; Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 2015a; United Nations Human Rights, 2015; WB et al., 2009) and of their poor capacity to influence the decision-making processes pertaining to land utilisation both at the household and community level (Mehra & Rojas, 2008). Table 14 describes the status of family land ownership of farmer-participants in rural areas of Mindanao according to gender. Sixty percent of the participants own parcels of land while 31 percent reported that they are landless. Twenty-nine or 88 percent of the total landless participants are women. In terms of actual land title holdership, 88 percent of the men participants have land titles of various sizes under their names; only 7 or 12 percent of those who hold land titles are women. This is evident in FAO (2010) *Gender and Land Rights* report, which states that rural women's land ownership around the world, on the average, is only 12 percent. The marked difference in land title holdership between genders depicts the disadvantaged status of women in terms of upholding their rights to gain land title in their names in the Indigenous communities included in the study. The customary laws of the Indigenous people render women limited access to land. Rovillos and Morales (2002) confirm that Indigenous landownership laws are primarily communal. Approximately 90 percent of land titles are named under men (FAO, 2010). In this study, the communal or collective landownership is governed by the male-dominated Indigenous tribal council comprised of the supreme *datu* (male tribal head) as the leader and with the membership composed of *datus* in smaller villages. Kottak (2011, p. 396)

described a *datu* or a village head as an Indigenous leader chosen by his people based on his leadership skills and physical attributes. The male-controlled tribal council decides all matters pertaining to land use, livelihood, and disputes. Figure 11 shows the structure of the Indigenous tribal council of the Mansaka and Matigsaulug tribes in the Davao Region. The structure illustrates the centralised Indigenous governance system wherein the supreme *datu* heads all the other *datus* of the smaller villages. Village *datus* are heads of their clans.

Indigenous communities in Mindanao are highly patriarchal (Bang-ao, 2009; Rodil, 1994). Men, being the head of the Indigenous families, enjoy such rights and privileges to make any land development decision pertaining to family and communal farming. They own the land distributed by the tribal council and/or their forebears for farming and livelihood activities, as it is their names that appear on the Certificate of Ancestral Land Title (CALT)[13].

Table 14. Land ownership of farmer-participants by gender

	Gender		Total
a) Family Landownership[14]	Men	Women	
Owned/Operated/Titled	50	9	59
Leased	47	2	49
Landless	4	29	33
b) Land title holder (during the survey)	53	7	60/60
	88%	12%	100%
c) Average land size in hectares (during the survey)	2.26	1.90	

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during focus group

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[13] Under Section 3.d of Republic Act 8371 otherwise known as the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997, CALT "refers to a title formally recognising the rights of ICCs/IPs over their ancestral lands".

[14] Presents consolidated data based on multiple responses of the participants indicating their past and current account of landownership status.

Among Indigenous people, marriage and kinship are the primary means of access to land and other resources that are privileged to men. Erni and Luithui (2012) reported that post-marital residence among Indigenous people in Mindanao is always patrilocal, where women have to move away from their immediate family's residence to join the house and the community of their husbands. This arrangement provides women a limited chance to own and access land. This is evident in the story of Mrs. CD below.

> *"I came from the nearby village. After marriage, my family cuts off their responsibility of looking after me. They relegate all the responsibilities, for my welfare, to my husband and his family. My husband holds most of the power over land and household matters. My husband being the head of the family is the ultimate decision-maker on what crops to plant, when and where… I am already used to following whatever he decides upon. My role is only limited to giving him advice. I understand this happens because I am only a wife and he is the husband and leader in our family."*

Winzeler (2011, p. 13) explains that the movement of women near the community of their husbands, as cultural norm, weakens the social position of the women to own and control land and other moveable properties.
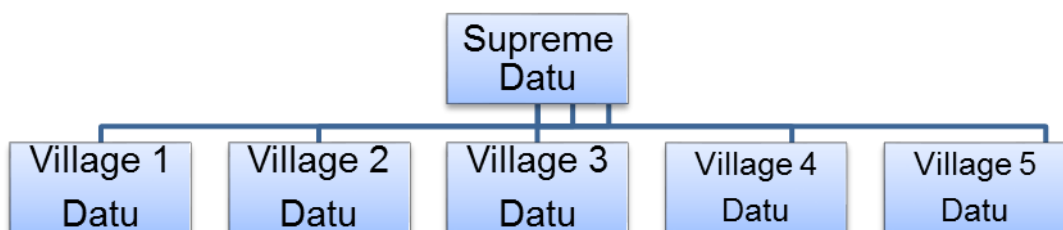
Figure 11. Structure of a typical supreme tribal council.
Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous people in Mindanao and validated

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4.7. Land access and hunger

The previous section presented the issues related to misrepresentation and undervaluation of the amount of time and effort contributed by women and children in agricultural production in a family farm setting. Family farms, in this study, are comprised of Indigenous smallholder farmers planting either bananas or pineapples for exportation. This section will describe how these land deals in Mindanao, placed under the banner of global food security, antagonise the local food and health security of the Indigenous people. I argue that the monoculture farming in rural Mindanao adversely affects the agroecology system of the Indigenous people thereby compromising their life chances and wellbeing.

Land deals in Mindanao have seriously affected the basic capabilities of the Indigenous people to support their own diverse agroecological system. The local people suffer from poverty and severe food insecurity (Bang-ao, 2009; Brilmayer & Moon, 2014; Deininger & Byerlee, 2011; Shepherd, 2011). They feel they have been left out and made to suffer from the negative impacts of the land deals. Brilmayer and Moon (2014) described the neoliberal land deals as 'new colonialism' where the rich transnational companies and the powerful and wealthy local elites displace the poor and vulnerable local people from their land and livelihood for development purposes. In this study, the local people have seen the business elites in the city getting richer and themselves getting poorer, as detailed by a participant, Mr. OP below:

> *"Who benefits from the land deals? Certainly not the local people! We are unemployed, uneducated, hungry, and fully indebted. We look awful because we really are awful! We are being counted out in the equation."*

The above statement is consistent with Colchester's (2011) finding, namely that: Indigenous people are eventually the losers in the land deals which dispossess them of their lands and livelihoods.

Expressing overt discontent among the poorest Indigenous people in Mindanao against the social and political elites is quite common. They say it is part of the benefit of being in a democratic country. However, as one NGO worker participant said:

> *"Democracy also allows us to be severely oppressed! The rich and the politically powerful elites have been designated the full freedom to control and exploit our local resources. This plantation system fails to deliver its promises to the rural people."*

The people hit the hardest by the land deals are the poorest members of the Indigenous tribes (Zagema, 2011). The local people wait in vain for the benefits they have been promised. The Alternate Forum for Research in Mindanao (2011) found this in its study and reported that transnational companies promised but failed to deliver to the local community: 'high economic returns; problem-free production and market access; provision of production support and delivery of social services; and non-displacement of food crops'.

Rural Indigenous farmers in Mindanao experience poverty at its worst as

they have lost their natural and legal rights to manage their land and produce their own food. Shepherd (2011, p. 2) confirm this by arguing that land deals in Mindanao worsen 'involuntary hunger' experienced by affected rural and Indigenous people. Involuntary hunger is an issue related to the limitations of human capability provision 'to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). Table 15 summarises the responses derived from the participants of this study when asked the questions: a) What has comprised your family members' diet?, b) Have you experienced involuntary hunger because there is no food to eat in the last 30 days? The participants were 55 men and 50 women, a total of 105. The majority of the 105 participants come from different households (93) and only 12 are couples.

Most of the participants are incapable of producing decent and balanced meals for their families. Sixty percent or 59 participants reported that they are not able to access or buy seafood, or are able to eat meat and poultry once a week; vegetables, 7 times a week; and rice or corn, 3 to 4 times a week. Rice and corn are the Filipinos' staple food (Aguilar Jr., 2005). When they were asked the question pertaining to their involuntary experience of hunger, taken as an aggregate for the whole family, 50 percent of the participants reported to have missed seven or more meals involuntarily every week. The study of Abad Santos, Edillon, and Piza (2008) confirmed the chronic hunger experience of the poorest people in Mindanao. The same study reported that at least 38 percent of the country's total hunger incidents in 2006 are from 6 Mindanao regions. It

concluded that 'among the poor, those in Mindanao are likely to go hungry'. In another study, Aguilar Jr. (2005) confirmed that many Indigenous people of Mindanao experience extreme rice and corn shortages mostly during drought season. Rovillos and Morales (2002) explained that Mindanao's Indigenous people experience prolonged 'seasonal hunger' these days mainly due to their altered agroecological system. Gonzales (2006, p. 348) argued that monoculture system challenges the 'environmentalism of the poor', which is basically comprised of rural people's struggle for land rights, livelihood, water and food security.

When the land was under the direct care of the local people for farming, they say they were not food poor. They had more than enough diversified produce from their farms. The rural people survived using their Indigenous knowledge systems and practices or IKSP (detailed discussion on IKSP is presented in the next section that follows). One of the participants, Mrs. AB, shared her story about the noticeable changes in the farm community as follows:

> *"As an Indigenous woman, I do not see others and myself in my tribe as really poor before these banana and pineapple plantations came to our place. We did not experience severe hunger in the past. We were able to plant and feed our families and animals at a sustainable rate until recently when we found it extremely difficult to till our farmlands. The soil has gone acidic and less fertile. The prices of fertilisers and pesticides have gone up uncontrolled. We cannot afford them. The seeds… oh my God, I don't know what happened. Where have all the seeds gone? We relied heavily on the yields of other countries especially China's vegetables and fruits because they are a lot cheaper than our local produce. We began to feel the effects of our patronising these imported basic commodities only recently when we realise we are the losers in the trading game. We lost our*

seeds by default when we were fully adapted to the imported crops as the new normal ingredients to our staple food. We used to have seed silos before. We hang them up the kitchen fireplace. We don't practice it now as much as before because we are constrained to look for other means, other than farming. We are pushed to try our luck to find new casual work in the plantations around us."

Table 15. Typology of farmer-participants according to diet and experience of hunger

Diet and Experience of Hunger	Category					
a) Basic food items (average only)	Seafood: >1x/week Meat & poultry: >3x/week Vegetables: >3x/week Rice/Corn: 7x/week		Seafood: 1x/week Meat & poultry: 2x/week Vegetables: 4x/week Rice/Corn: 5-6x/week (deficit of 1-2)		Seafood: O Meat & poultry: 1x/week Vegetables: 7x/week Rice/Corn: 3-4x/week (deficit of 3-4)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	10	10	30	30	59	60
b) Experience of hunger (number of meals missed in the last 4 weeks involuntarily)	1-2 times		3-6		7 & above	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	4	5	45	45	50	50

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

The story gives a sense of the modern day struggle of a rural Indigenous farmer who finds it hard to overcome her impoverished state. She considers herself a victim, like many of her neighbours, of the commercial land deals. Shepherd (2011) argues that the local people, who are victims of these land deals, suffer from 'structural violence'. Hunger is a form of structural violence because harmful institutional policies and norms of trade liberalisation lead to local food insecurity (Daltung, 1969, cited in

Shepherd, 2011). Shiva (2001) points out that 'when countries grow flowers and vegetables for exports, they also sow the seeds of hunger'. The monoculture plantations of high-value banana and pineapple products dedicated for exports, as the story above shows, result to depletion in soil fertility and lost seeds. Gonzales (2006, p. 349) and Hartemink (2003) argue that large commercial plantations' use of toxic agricultural chemicals results in soil degradation. The soil has become acidic in a commercial agriculture-degradation link (Briones, 2009, 2010). The story of the lost seeds and poor soil fertility is a form of 'metabolic rift.[15]' (McMichael, 2009). The monoculture farms rely heavily on modern agricultural technology inputs such as petrochemical pesticides and fertilisers, and genetically modified plant genes that are patented and prepared only in the laboratories of big companies. Shiva (1988, p. 140) reported that the soils of India are dying due to the green revolution and that women, more than men, are continuously placed in the firing line between national Government and multilateral/bilateral trade, governance and financial policies. Studies have found out that in rural communities, men are still the dominant decision makers at the family, community and local government levels.[16]

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[15] Marx's term for the separation between human production and nature (Schneider & McMichael, 2010); and the 'antagonism of town and country' (Foster, 1999) under capitalism. In this study, metabolic rift, as a sociological-environmental theory, is used as a lens to critique the socio-economic and agroecological impacts of large-scale monoculture plantations of banana and pineapple in Mindanao.

[16] Issues related to patriarchy in rural development and inequality in gender division of labour were explored quite extensively through the sociological and anthropological studies conducted by the following authors: Agarwal, 1994a, 1994b, 2001b, 2014; de Pryck & Termine, 2014; Doss, 2014; Estudillo, Quisumbing & Otsuka, 2001; Fletschner & Kenney, 2014; Kristjanson et al.,

Mrs. AB's story demonstrates her deepest concern for land and all its ecological components. Mrs. AB's close relationship with the ancestral land, encompasses more than its material value for livelihood because her connection with her land is spiritual. This story is similar to Indigenous Australians' as described by Bird Rose and Australian Heritage Commission (1996, p. 84): 'people talk about country in the same way that they would talk about person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country'. The country or the ancestral land speaks, sings, worries and weeps just like a person; it thus needs to be cared for, for whatever we do to destroy it, we do it to ourselves and the next generation (Rose, 1996, p. 84).

Mrs. AB joins with others in her neighbourhood in saying they have lost their seeds partly through negligence but mainly through forced alterations in their traditional farming practices. Traditional seed keeping stored good seeds inside bamboo tubes hung in the barns, mostly atop wood-fired kitchen kilns where warm temperatures can keep moisture, bacteria, and other infestations at bay. Modern commercial farming of bananas and pineapples involves laboratory-prepared plant varieties that are genetically-modified to withstand pest infestation (Foster, 1999; James, 2011; Schneider & McMichael, 2010). Local farmers would not be able to access these plant varieties the traditional way as explained by Mrs. KL

2014; Lastarria, Behrman, Meinzen-Dick, & Quisumbing, 2014; Panda & Agarwal, 2005; Quisumbing et al., 2014; Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 201.

below:

> *"We are no longer able to plant our traditional banana and pineapple varieties. Nowadays, we need to buy seedlings from private seedling nursery operators. The seedlings are really controlled and very expensive these days."*

James (2011) argued that the corporate control of plant and seed varieties under the Trade-related Intellectual Property (TRIP) agreement of the WTO undermines the livelihood and food security of the local people. Local farmers need to buy seedlings or enter into growership agreements that require only the monoculture seedlings grown in plant tissue laboratories accredited by the big agricultural companies.

Monoculture farming has indeed plagued the rural communities in many different ways. The rural people are unable to define the use of their lands and existing plant varieties to produce their own food supply. For Dobson (2004, 2012), the issue is related to the prevailing reductionist approach to land and environmental management. He termed this dominant economic-orientated practice as 'environmentalism', an anthropocentric means of natural resource utilisation. The existing governance framework for agriculture and rural development in Mindanao does not support subsistence farming or family gardening as a viable means for diversified supply of food. It victimises the poorest and most vulnerable Indigenous people who are not supported to 'regenerate' (Girardet, 2015) their local resources. Mrs. MN described the case as follows:

> *"We used to have a highly productive vegetable patch in our backyard. We even sell or exchange some to our neighbours. But nowadays, we can't afford to maintain a*

good garden. Fertilisers and pesticides are getting more expensive. And my husband is already in the banana farm as a contractual worker. We just rely from his meager daily wage."

Mrs. MN's story resonates how proletarianisation is produced, reproduced and reinforced under the monoculture farming system. As rural people disengage from their traditional farming to give in to commercial land deals, they waive not just their land rights but also their traditional and pluralistic livelihoods and agroecological systems. Figueroa (2015, p. 504) argued that the local people's struggle over food is part of the whole proletarianisation process produced by capitalism. Kottak (2011) defined proletarianisation as the 'separation of workers from the means of production'.

Small farmers are also unable to produce sufficient quality and quantity of crops for their local public market as a source of income. If they do, they face severe challenges posed by poor quality of soil, expensive petrochemical fertilisers and pesticides, and consequently, indebtedness when they have no one to turn to for financial help but the 'loan sharks'. The FAO (2015) describes loan sharks as predatory money lenders that set high interest rates on loans to farmers in the Philippines. Gerber (2014) explains the link between land dispossession due to commercial farming and rural indebtedness. Gerber (2014, p. 736) argues that 'credit/debt mechanisms were a key lever behind the emergent classes of commercial landlords and tenants, notably by fostering their market dependence and therefore the expansion and/or profitability of their holdings. They were an

essential lever in the transition from market as opportunity to market as compulsion'. Figure 12 shows a typical makeshift house built along the fringe of the banana plantation in Davao del Norte, Mindanao.

When rural people are caught up in the debt trap, when they are unable to repay the loans or get out from the dependence on loans to get by, they tend to abandon or focus less on their farms and become casual workers in the plantations performing menial duties that are paid by piece or volume without work privileges, benefits and security. Many of them also leave rural areas to find "better" opportunities in the city and relocate their families to the slums. Mrs. EF narrated about her family and their experience on the farm after they have sold and leased all of their land. Mrs. EF's story represents other Indigenous people's experience. Many of them, out of desperation for being landless and poor, have to migrate from rural areas to urban centres. The study of Basa, Villamil, and de Guzman (2009) reveals that 'widespread poverty and lack of opportunity' in rural areas push people to relocate in city slums, usually living in poor housing conditions. Mrs. EF was quoted as describing her family's experience as follows:

> *"Our lives in the mountain have become so difficult these days. I have 5 siblings; all of us are married and have children. Three out of the five families have already relocated and now lived in the city, in the squatter's area. I pity them. They lived in poor shelters and most of their children are malnourished. One of my sisters has 4 children; all boys and I have known that all of them are beggars now. I want to bring them home. At least here, we can still grow root crops and survive."*

During food crises, women and the other household dependents—children, the elderly and differently abled persons are more affected by involuntary hunger. This claim is based on the stories of women interviewed in this study. The story of Mrs. OP below describes how she and her children experience hunger and why she thinks her husband is not as hungry as they are. She said:

Photograph taken by Gascon, M., 2013.

Figure 12. Rural community houses like the ones in the picture are built along the fringes of the banana plantations in the Davao Region. People are forced to live in this area, usually in makeshift houses amidst poor access to food, water and social services.

> *"My husband is able to go out in our neighbourhood to look for casual farm jobs available from other landed families. He is able to join other men and they drink alcohol, catch and cook native chicken as appetiser. My husband drinks a lot with his friend when we are desperately poor and unable to find ample source of food from our neighbourhood. While his away almost the*

whole day, my children and I wait for him hoping that he will go home with food. Many times he goes home drunk and empty handed. During this time, I cook cassava for all of us. We eat cassava to replace rice and we eat it with any vegetable available in my garden."

The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (2015a), report this gendered dimension of hunger by saying that women, due to cultural norms and traditions privileging men, are more likely to be affected by hunger. Arsenault (2016) particularly mentions that women farmers find it hard to feed their families in the communities where there is evident inequality in land rights. A woman's inability to provide food for herself during the time of severe crisis could be passed on to her other vulnerable household dependents. Chambers (1983) describes this scenario as a 'deprivation trap' where a cycle of structural violence (Shepherd, 2011) in the form of hunger, extreme poverty, vulnerability, powerlessness, isolation, and physical weakness victimise the poorest and most vulnerable women and their dependents. Women's agency 'to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2011) is severely affected by these structural and complex nature of deprivations (Tay, 2010). Mrs. OP's dependence on her husband for food during seasonal crises and her compromised capability to produce food for her family is brought about by her 'triple burden' (Moser, 2003).

Women in this study, just like Mrs. QR in her story below, are compelled to perform tedious reproductive responsibilities as summarised in Table 16. Participants in this study were asked of their typical time allocation for domestic and farm work in the plantation communities of Mindanao. Individual interviews from Indigenous men and women participants were

initially collated to represent a summary. The summarised time allocation was presented and validated by the focus group discussion participants.

In this study, men and women sleep together at nine pm however, women wake up usually two hours ahead of men, at three AM. Men wake up at five am, and they typically wait for breakfast to be served by their wives before they proceed to graze/feed their carabaos (water buffalo). Men work on the farm starting at eight am and ending at five pm. Women continue their domestic rigmarole like feeding their children, washing dishes and clothes, sending children to school and many other tasks in the next seven to eight hours. At midday, they prepare their husbands' lunch, walk to the farm, and help in any time-and-effort-consuming tasks as outlined in the previous discussion on gender division of labour. Men typically stop working at five pm while women have to prepare dinner, wash dishes and send their children to bed for approximately 2-3 hours.

The analysis on the gender disparity in time allocation between men and women in rural Mindanao confirms that women are time-poor. Women in rural communities perform a complex mix of caring and reproductive roles which are unaccounted and unpaid (ActionAid, 2013; Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2010; Chakraborty, 2010; Ferrant, 2014; Gammage, 2010; Hirway, 2010, p. 23). In this study women confirm that they do not get any form of remuneration or gift for working four to five hours more than men— approximately two hours more in the morning and two to three hours more in the evening. Development scholars have classified and called these

Table 16. Time allocation of men and women participants on the farm

Activities	AM								PM												AM			
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	12	1	2	3
Preparing breakfast	W	W	W																					
Preparing children for school				W																				
Feeding backyard animals				M	M																			
Washing dishes					W																			
Working in the farm					M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M										
Cleaning the house					W																			
Washing clothes					W	W																		
Preparing & sending lunch to farm							W	W																
Helping husband on the farm									W	W	W	W	W	W										
Preparing dinner															W	W								
Washing dishes																	W							
Helping children with assignments																	W							
Sleeping	M	M																W/M	W/M	W/M	W/M	W/M	W/M	W/M

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Legend:

■ Men
▨ Women

various reproductive and caring roles of women as 'nonmarket work' (Chakraborty, 2010, p. 143), 'nonmarket production' and 'unpaid work' (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2010; Chakraborty, 2010; Gammage, 2010; Hirway, 2010). Mrs. QR described her typical day duty in the household as follows:

> *"I've never tried sleeping more hours than my husband. I need to wake up between 3 and 4 in the morning to prepare coffee and food for my family. Cooking, washing clothes and dishes and a lot more bits and pieces that I need to do at home and in the farm are part of my being a wife and mother. Because of these responsibilities, I find it difficult to roam around neighbourhood to socialise and join in any community activity. My world is revolving just around my family, farm, and animals."*

The case of Mrs. QR represents all the other women's disadvantaged status in the non-formal household economy (Kabeer, 1991) in the banana and pineapple plantations in Mindanao. Her capability to socialise, earn a living for herself and other dependents and participate meaningfully in social and political activities are impeded by the structural limitations imposed by the inequality in gender division of labour in terms of time use and effort exerted at the household and farm level. Moser (1989, 2003) argues that women in rural areas of developing countries are deprived of achieving their strategic gender needs (SGN) such as being able to socialise and enter into socio-political decision-making activities outside their households. SGN, according to Moser, would help women emancipate from their disadvantaged status. SGN is more than just responding to the basic needs of women and their dependents at the household level; it includes such opportunities for women to lead their

lives to become productive and meaningful by securing themselves with political and employment positions. Responding to the basic needs or practical gender needs (PGN) of women and their dependents is partially covered by the existing social protection policies in the Philippines. Reyes and Tabuga (2012) reported that 'the current administration's national anti-poverty program's centrepiece is *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino* Program (4Ps) or what is commonly known as the conditional cash transfer (CCT) program. Other current poverty reduction programs include the subsidised health insurance coverage, supplemental feeding program, food for work program, rice subsidy program, among others'. These anti-poverty programs of the Government are responding to the practical gender needs, but not to the strategic gender needs of women, which should be based on inequality in the gender division of labour. Mrs. QR's practical gender needs can be addressed by the state providing a just social minimum provision of opportunity for her to improve her 'combined capabilities' (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 21). Combined capabilities, according to Nussbaum (2011), are comprised of person's internal capabilities developed through education and training, and of the social, political and economic conditions provided by the state.

Based on Nussbaum's (2011) 10 Central Capabilities, Mrs. QR's **life, bodily health, and bodily integrity** are spent performing too many complex and time-consuming caring, reproductive and farm tasks. Her **senses, imagination, and thought** stop at the moment she enters family life living in the community of her husband. Her capability in terms of

feeling **for other persons and things** is limited by her being time-poor (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2010; Hirway, 2010). Mrs. QR surrenders her life chances to enjoy **practical reasoning** to critically reflect and join in any form of social **affiliation** that supports her interests and develops her talent as a human being. Mrs. QR is not able to find time to **play** and join in chit-chat outside the realms of her household and farm. Just like most of the women in her community. Mrs. QR is not provided with equal opportunity to work with pay and to **own** a property (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33-34). For Wolff and De-Shalit (2013), the structural gender inequalities experienced by Mrs. QR are forms of 'corrosive disadvantage'. For Chambers (1983, 1997), this gendered dimension of 'time poverty' (Gammage, 2010) is part of the interlocking 'deprivation trap' that compromises Mrs. QR's life chances and wellbeing to lead the kind of life she values—and have reason to value (Sen, 1999, p. 18).

4.8. Does the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) provision protect land rights among the Indigenous people in Mindanao?

Violations to basic human rights happened despite the presence of local and national laws like the Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC) principle under the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997 (RA 8371) and international covenants like a) United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement (UN Guidelines); b) Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security (Voluntary Guidelines); c) Principles for Responsible Agricultural

Investment that Respects Rights, Livelihoods, and Resources (PRAI); and d) UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

This section explores the issues related to the institutionalisation of free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) under Chapter 2, Section 3.g of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA). The IPRA is supposed to uphold and protect Indigenous peoples' rights to self-determine any development initiative that will be undertaken in rural areas. Hill, Lillywhite, and Simon (2014) reported that the Philippines and Australia are two countries that incorporate FPIC provision in their national law. FPIC is an important provision of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) where the Philippines is one of the signatories (see Oxfam Report at http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/declaration.html).

Indigenous land rights in the Philippines as well as in entire South East Asia are "non-existent or very weak" (Cariño, 2005, p. 19). In the Philippines, land rights of the local people have been violated by the state's political euphemism to achieve economic prosperity at the expense of the Indigenous peoples' welfare and the environment. Under the banner of neoliberalism, the government partners with the business elites and the transnational companies exploit the ancestral lands occupied by the Indigenous people, who they consider are powerless.

The rich North "re-launches" its political power and hefty capital to "re-enter" into the South to grab arable lands under direct foreign investment

portfolios. Debucquios (2014, p. 8) argues that: 'projects implemented by transnational corporations currently pose the main threat to Indigenous land rights and continuing survival on these lands. Developing states generally welcome international corporations and are willing to cooperate with them, even at the expense of the environment and local populations, because they view further involvement with these corporations as a means to advance their own country's economic development'.

In the previous sections, the participants were asked about their problems related to land use and development. This part presents the evidence gathered from the fieldwork related to the extent of participation of men and women in the FPIC process conducted before the repurposing and allocation of ancestral lands, whether in whole or in part, to commercial single cropping of bananas and pineapples in Mindanao. Initially, the participants were asked of the extent of their participation in FPIC deliberation activities. FPIC is a provision under IPRA that seeks to ensure that before any development project can commence, the people in the community must be able to freely gather information from all possible stakeholders about the nature of the project and should be able to make decisions based on their individual and collective preferences. Table 17 summarises the responses of men and women participants in this study. Men have a very high participation in holding community negotiations with project developers and in making decisions as a community as shown by the mean of tabulated responses of 4.65 and 4.59 respectively. They have low participation in finding out who is developing the planned project, and

in conducting ongoing communications with the project developers. Women, on the other hand, have expressed they have very low participation in all seven steps in the FPIC seeking process. On the overall, men have moderate participation while women have a very low level of participation as indicated by the mean score of 3.36 and 1.29 respectively. The results suggest that participation in the FPIC seeking process varies according to gender. Women generally have very low participation in all the steps conducted during the FPIC while men have moderate participation. Manuchehri (2016, pp. 365-366) argues that FPIC, as a provision, continues to reproduce social inequalities impacting mostly on women because most of the FPIC processes are implemented without reference to gender equality. Abrell et al. (2009) confirm that some existing Indigenous customs 'further entrench existing power asymmetries such as the exclusion of women and youth in community decision-making processes'.

Mr. EF, in a follow up interview, revealed that his participation in the FPIC as an ordinary tribal household head, just like most of the ordinary men in the tribe, is just instrumental. Their community leaders or *datus* make decisions most of the time away from their view. For Mr. EF, he likened his instrumental participation to their community's musical instrument called *agong* that is played only in few important occasions. Just like the *agong* he sees himself and other ordinary men as plain instruments that will only be tapped to gather to a meeting purposely to sit, listen and sign or thumb mark the FPIC documents.

"As an ordinary tribal man, I represent my household in the communal FPIC decision-making activities. During the meetings, ordinary people like me just just sit and listen. The officials speak and explain in front of us. Our datus help in convincing us to approve the proposed project. They only call upon us when they need our signatures and thumb marks of approval. Most of the time they negotiate and plan for us. That's the problem here. We are just being played here like our agong. They play the agong occasionally when it is fiesta time."

Cornwall (2003) and Agarwal (2001) argue that people in the informal economy suffer from becoming passive to instrumental participants in the 'participatory' development agenda. For Moser (2003), this happens because of the failure of the state system to promote and protect the genuine strategic gender interests where the existing sexual division of labour is supposed to be closely examined to address such issues that hamper the participation of men and women in relation to power. For Nussbaum (2011), Mr. EF is a victim of the utilitarian approach to development where satisfaction and not entitlement is being given primordial concern. For Nussbaum, (2011 p. 51), 'a nation can get a very high average or total utility so long as a lot of people are doing quite well, even if a few people at the bottom of the social ladder are suffering greatly'. The FPIC processes for the land deals in Mindanao are exclusivist in nature. Mr. EF described that the powerful stakeholders, namely the *datus*, the government officials, experts/planners and the businessmen connive to plan and decide for the local people. This means that 'participation' is defined and promoted by the powerful, as an international orthodoxy of development (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1325) and yet it omits the voice and representation of the poorest and most marginalised people in the actual

social planning process. The domination of expert and powerful decision-makers in the FPIC steps relegate the voice and choice of the poor and vulnerable people in the discourse of the elites (Bacchi, 2010).

Listening from the women participants' stories, Mrs. MN shared her experience of being left unaware of the pineapple expansion project signed up by her husband along with the other men in her tribe as follows:

> *"My husband does not allow me to participate in the community-level discussion and negotiation pertaining to land use. That's the way it is here. It is part of our customs. Women do not actively participate in the consent-seeking and decision-making process before any project can start. Men think that we should only be doing household and farm activities while they are congregating for the FPIC-seeking and other activities."*

Mrs. MN's story reflects her poor political capability to enter into important decision-making processes mostly participated by men. Buxton (2012, p. 72) argues that the participation and deliberation components of the FPIC process are critical to Indigenous peoples' agency. Buxton continues that the FPIC enhances the capabilities of the poor rural farmers to protect their Indigenous knowledge systems and practices. Women have specific strategic gender needs (Moser, 2003) and unique realities (Chambers, 1983) and the constitution of their voice and choice within the dominant discourse of the more powerful men and experts/leaders (Bacchi, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005) disempowers them thereby making it difficult for them to lead the kind of life they value—and have reason to value (Sen, 1999, p. 18). For Kabeer (1999, pp. 1-3), resources, agency and

achievement are the three dimensions of women's empowerment.

Table 17. Participation in FPIC deliberation

Steps (Adapted from Oxfam, 2014 p. 4-5)	Extent of Participation					
	Men n=55		Women n=50		Both N=105	
	Mean	Desc.	Mean	Desc.	Mean	Desc.
1. Finding out who is developing the planned project.	2.35	LP	1.25	VLP	1.80	LP
2. Requesting information from the project developers.	2.43	MD	1.32	VLP	3.09	MP
3. Holding discussion within the community.	4.40	HP	1.29	VLP	2.84	MP
4. Holding community negotiations with the project developers.	4.65	VHP	1.43	VLP	3.04	MP
5. Seeking independent advice.	3.54	HP	1.25	VLP	2.40	MP
6. Making decisions as a community.	4.59	VHP	1.30	VLP	2.94	MP
7. Conducting ongoing communications with the project developers.	1.54	LP	1.18	VLP	1.36	VLP
Overall Mean	3.36	MP	1.29	VLP	2.49	LP

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during focus group discussion conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Legend:
Scale	Range	Description
5	4.50-5.00	Very High Participation (VHP)
4	3.50-4.49	High Participation (HP)
3	2.50-3.49	Moderate Participation (MP)
2	1.50-2.49	Low Participation (LP)
1	1.00-1.49	Very Low Participation (VLP)

A woman has to have a definite set of rights, entitlements and control over land and other movable properties. She has to have agency or the ability to reflect, negotiate and decide over critical matters pertaining to her wellbeing as a person. Lastly, according to Kabeer (1999), she has to have a sense of achievement and be able to actualise her purpose in life in relation to others and the physical environment. Mrs. MN's poor capabilities to assert her social, economic and political rights makes her a passive participant (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) in the FPIC process. Mrs. MN's incapability to participate in the FPIC compromises her strategic gender needs for political recognition and

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participation. For Moser (1989, p. 1803), a woman's inability to participate in social and political decision-making platforms obstructs her strategic gender needs (SGN). SGN is different from practical gender needs (PGN). PGN comprises such basic necessities as food, clothing, shelter, and other immediate needs whereas SGN is the sets of actions formulated and acted by women, in partnership with men and other relevant stakeholders, to help them be emancipated from their subordinated status in the sexual division of labour.

The following interview transcript from one of the participants, Mr. QR, is indicative of contempt and anger for authority among local people who have been stripped of their ability to build a better community for the present and the future. This particularly shows the anguish of a victim who was made an informal settler on his own land—the most important heirloom from his forebears. Mr. QR felt betrayed by the way the banana and pineapple plantations around him operate. He described the limitations of FPIC to guarantee self-determination of his tribe.

> *"Yes, it is true as a community we had been sought of our FPIC but look at us now! We are the victims of our decision. Had we known the right and probably the best thing to do for us, we could have avoided or at least minimise the consequences of our action. We are made mere recipients of these interventions that are sugar-coating the hidden provisions which if were divulged during the initial phases of the consultation could help us go the other way around. The risks and the ways to mitigate them weren't clear at the outset. What is clear to us is that we, the local people, who live and previously own this land, are doomed to suffer the most the consequences of these agricultural ventures. This local government is killing me. These politicians are so cruel, selfish, and corrupt. They dictate. They don't plan with us*

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instead they just plan for us that we need this and that… (sigh). We are like fish in the aquarium waiting to be fed by our masters. We are not fishes in the river that are free to go wherever we want to … I consider this an insult to our being people. It is really a sheer attack to our human rights but since it doesn't look more like it apparently because we are not wounded literary, hence there is no human rights case violation. But look, fooling us by planning for us and charting the plans they say is appropriate for us, is a serious act of treason. The problem is that they feel for us based on what they see we appear to them. We don't look gaudy but rather simple and tribal yet we are not poor because we have our land. Our land is supposed to be our treasure but they stole it from us hundreds of hectares every year ever since. They say we are poor and hence we need these development projects to help us alleviate our poverty but again they are wrong. We used to be so rich that we didn't have problems on food and shelter. We have been living in fully self-sustained environment that we have inherited from our forebears. We used to be contented people practicing our IKSP and we have lived closely knit to nature and Manama, our God."

The participant paused for a while to utter this prayer:

"God please help us here; we are made the sacrificial lambs of this modern day development. We were fooled as we were promised of better outcomes to make our lives and our relationship to land sustainable. Look at your people, we are suffering unnecessarily due to the corrupt practices of our leaders. Grant them Oh Lord the wisdom to know the difference between right and wrong and to act what is just and fair for the present and the future generation. Have pity on my children and my children's children. They deserve to have decent and happy lives in our community."

Oxfam America (2013) suggests that while there is no universally accepted definition of free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC), the principle generally requires that communities must be adequately informed about development projects in a timely manner and should be given the opportunity to approve or reject these projects free from undue pressure.

FPIC is a right held by Indigenous peoples under international law, and is emerging more broadly as a principle of best practice for sustainable development.

The narration of Mr. QR also represents the voice of other men in the Indigenous communities who felt betrayed by the plantation contracts and/or agreements they have signed to grow exclusively either bananas or pineapples. Mr. QR expressed his anger on the inability of the FPIC process to critically identify the socio-economic consequences of the agreements. Co (2008) and Colchester and MacKay (2004) confirmed that FPIC processes vary, and in many instances long term social and environmental impacts were hardly discussed. Colchester and MacKay (2004) confirmed that Indigenous people continue to negotiate for the 'middle ground'. The authors described the middle ground as the predisposition of the Indigenous people to adopt both the national government and their traditional land management systems to uphold their rights of self-determination in land development. Apparently, the national and local government land regimes, the way they are described by the participants, including Mr. QR, are exclusionary in nature. The 'rural development tourists' (Chambers, 1997) equipped with their 'urban biases' (Chambers, 1983) in partnership with the male-dominated tribal councils 'plan for' (Gaventa, 2002; Gaventa & Barrett, 2012; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) the others who are poor and less powerful. Christakis and Bausch (2006, p. 8) argued that 'power dominates over reason, common sense and community wisdom'. Furthermore, Shiva (1993) argues that the

traditional and Indigenous ideas that are non-Western are systematically treated as weeds. A weed is a metaphor for useless ideas, practices and contributions of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people amidst the monoculture commercial farming system.

The monoculture system that has treated as 'weeds' the unique ideas and realities of rural Indigenous people (Chambers, 1983) also turns out to be a means of control to maximise business and profit. Zagema (2011) reported that in most land deals in the developing countries of the South, local leaders connive with corrupt government officials who partnered with the businessmen to circumvent the FPIC process. Mr. ST expressed his views on the FPIC process as "highly politicalised and severely bureaucratised" in the following quote:

> *"There are reasons to believe that the bosses of these people who seek FPIC are pressuring them. They have ulterior motives. The politicians and/or policy makers in our local government obviously have vested interests. They protect the interest for profit of the businessmen. They make business out of our natural resources to our detriment. They are corrupt—the local officials and the plantation financiers partner together to exploit our natural resources. If indeed these development projects are well meant to raise us up above poverty, if indeed our welfare, being the ones directly affected by the projects, is the main goal, why do we suffer much from the consequences of the highly politicalised, severely bureaucratised, and highly corrupt business deals? We are easily fooled. They are not transparent in their business deals. They take advantage over our being ignorant and less knowledgeable about their ways—the bureaucratic ways of making things complex and too technical for us to understand."*

Mr. ST's story represents other Indigenous men like him, who despite the fact that they are more involved than women in the FPIC process, still feel bad about the corrupt practices of their local leaders, government officials and businessmen. In this case, the Indigenous people question the way FPIC is being negotiated in their communities. For Mr. ST, the FPIC process is defective because it is not transparent. Zagema (2011) argues that lack of transparency in land deals may lead to corruption. In this case, lack of transparency is making rural and Indigenous people the passive and non-instrumental participants (Agarwal, 2001; Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) of the FPIC being negotiated for them by their leaders and experts. For Chambers (1997, p. 31), the errors and omissions of the experts and leaders in planning and deciding for rural people can be examined in terms of a) professionalism, b) distance, and c) power dynamics. Professionalism refers to the specialisation held by the leaders and experts. Distance is about the physical gap between experts and leaders who live in urban areas and the local people with their own unique realities. Power of the experts' knowledge treats the local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) of the Indigenous people as 'weeds' (Shiva, 1988) or less important. Mr. ST's statement on the FPIC process: "*making things complex and too technical for us to understand*" can be explained in terms of the three factors mentioned by Chambers (1997). The professionalism of the experts and leaders discourages open and supportive participation of rural Indigenous people like Mr. ST.

The Indigenous people are prevented to actively participate because they know less of the technical and bureaucratic concepts being discussed in the FPIC seeking process. Christakis (2004) explains that the scientific discussion among experts and leaders displaces the local people's enthusiasm to participate and contribute their critical ideas. For Chambers (1997, p. 15) the urban ideologies of the experts and leaders lead to the reproduction of 'embedded errors, which sustains mistakes'. These mistakes permeate in the system of knowledge created by powerful people. In the case of rural Mindanao, Indigenous men are openly invited to participate in the FPIC process but as Mr. ST described, the FPIC process, by being too technical, leaves them behind in the discussion. For Nussbaum (2011, p. 21-22), utilitarian planning policies assume that people have internal capabilities derived from basic entitlements such as education and freedom to participate but these policies have failed to provide 'substantive freedom' or the combined capabilities, which according to Nussbaum should include a decent minimum provision of social, economic and environmental support for people to lead the kind of life they value—and have reason to value (Sen, 1999, p. 18). Mr. ST and the other members in his tribe may have the entitlement to participate in the FPIC deliberations but they are not provided the chance to actively learn, reflect and contribute in the discussions using their own traditional knowledge system. Christakis and Harris (2004) argue that what we need is to 'reinvent democracy' by providing 'true dialogue' for the local people and the involved leaders and experts to enter into a social learning process that respects diversity of ideas. Dobson (2014) as well as

Christakis and Bausch (2006), call for dialogic and sensory democracy that promotes the role of open dialogue and apophatic listening to get to truth. Apophatic listening, according to Dobson (2014 p. 67-70), happens when the listener sets aside her/his prefigured categories and biases on the speaker and topic for the purpose of understanding. Apophatic listening is different from other two types of listening, namely compassionate and cataphatic. Compassionate listening has the tendency to become a monologue when the listener gives up to the powerful speech of the speaker. Cataphatic listening happens when the listener is fixated to her/his biases and categories and is no longer able to enter into open dialogue.

In another story, Datu UV confessed that he was forced to connive with the agents to seek the consent of the other members of the tribal council. In several occasions, he was taken to a city area to meet some politicians and high-ranking officials of the bank. When I asked him about the name of the bank, he said he did not know. He was not given any document containing the profile of the people and the organisations intending to operate an agricultural plantation on their ancestral land. Several weeks later, he noticed the more frequent visits of some government agencies aided by the local government agents in their community. With open arms, they accommodated the agents and cooperated with them in the pre-FPIC preparations. They were given free livelihood and leadership training. He said:

"We don't need these trainings anymore. They are doing the same things over and over again when they need our consent and approval. We know that they need something when they are here doing these preparatory activities… I have been "courted" by one of the agency workers to say yes to the proposal and to give my full support to it for the good of my tribe. He knew then that my nod of support is influential to secure the consent of the majority of the members of the tribal council. I hate him for doing it but at the end of the day they were still able to secure FPIC for the proposed project. I know I have been fooled and being involved in the corruption. I hate it. I hate it being poor and uneducated. I was just afraid that if I did not give in to his request, the entire agency and the good relationship we have built over the years would be destroyed and that they will influence other agencies and groups to waive their support to our community. It was a very difficult decision to make."

Again, it is part of the courting process. The agents knew Datu UV's personal decision was influential to other members in the tribe. The agents equipped with their urban biases and ignorance of the local contexts of issues pertaining to land and poverty, automatically provide training that are not really needed by the Indigenous people. Bennell (1999) confirmed this and called this issue a 'training crisis'. According to Bennel, most of the training projects have successfully engaged with rural people. These expert trainings have helped farmers increase their knowledge and farm productivity but most of them failed to genuinely include the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable rural people such as women, children, the elderly and the differently abled.

FPIC is a means to achieve the right to self-determination among Indigenous peoples to maintain their identity and practice their customary laws and Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) in

managing their natural resources. It is a mechanism that is supposed to genuinely guarantee that Indigenous people are able to make informed decisions pertaining to any development or alteration in their natural resources including their ancestral lands. In the Philippines, Free, Prior, and Informed Consent or FPIC has been practiced since its enactment in 1997. The manner in which it is being carried out, however, is fully subjected to power struggles between and among stakeholders involved in the process. Whenever there is too much imposed or implied power, corruption was made the means to disrupt the system and make things happen. The FPIC, being a highly political process, is not spared of corruption and bribery issues. Agents who are "working for" the transnational companies' interest are taking advantage of the vulnerabilities of the local people who they have been working with closely ever since. Doyle and Cariño (2013, p. 15) in their study on the FPIC process, confirmed the existence of chronic corrupt practices in seeking FPIC in the Philippines by saying: concerns have been raised by United Nations (UN) in relation to the potential for a lack of transparency around benefits, or payments to individuals, as well as bribery and corruption of Indigenous leaders to distort the outcome of consent seeking processes. The issue is also associated with confidentiality in benefit and impact agreements. Conflicts between confidentiality and FPIC arise when members of a community or future generations are denied access to the terms of agreements. Confidentiality also limits access to information across Indigenous communities and as such may, in certain contexts, be at odds with the informed aspect of FPIC operationalisation.

One of the participants, Mr. IJ explained how securing the FPIC process resembles that of courting a woman to agree to a marriage proposal. However, not all informants perceived the relationship as 'courting'. Instead they saw it as a mixture of intimidation and greed. Mr. IJ described the overbearing behaviour of the agency workers and representatives of the proposing groups to their community by ascribing the visitors as 'different' from them—in terms of dressing and looking differently. The agents' appearance and attitude of superiority influenced people to be impressed by their affluence and then they did not feel so confident to speak out about their own concerns because they perceived the agents to be powerful and socially distant. Power differences and social distance seemed to work in the agent's favour. This is an indication that Mr. IJ feels inferior in the presence of the ostentatious appearance and the arrogance of the agents who show little sensitivity to the feelings of the local people. Mr. IJ expressed his doubts about the readiness of his community tribal leaders to cope with the dialogues initiated by the agents/experts let alone their sincerity. He believes that the agents are outsiders who do not understand the Indigenous people's local and complex realities. According to Mr. IJ, there is a "hidden agenda" that the agents are not ready and capable of laying on the table during the discussions. There are possible risks and vulnerabilities in every project that have to be identified and addressed in order for the local people to mitigate the effects of these on their already miserable state of life. Apparently, the way the FPIC process is being carried out is in an unorganised fashion that tends to leave people

in the community as collateral damage. The agents' insensitive demeanour and conduct whilst in the field can jeopardise the vulnerable decision-making capabilities of the local people. Their grandstanding contributes nothing but difference; leaving the simple rural people with the unnecessary realisation that they are indeed second-class citizens and that they certainly need help. This dimension of power could compel them to just follow the agents' wish as the agents appear to know and look better and are more powerful than they are in many ways. Mr. IJ is quoted as saying:

> *"Our elders and tribal leaders are actively participating in the process of reviewing project proposals that will be implemented in our community. Some representatives of the non-government organisations and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples are helping them in understanding the nature of the project that any organisation is proposing. However, I must admit that even myself, a college graduate and now working in one of the organisations active in our community, find it hard to understand fully the whole mechanics of the proposed projects. They are usually tempting and promising but I am afraid of the hidden agenda. I am afraid of the project's silent provisions on addressing the issues posed to our environment. I am in a position to say that whatever we alter in our ecosystem creates a stir and damage to the complex biological support system. These are progressive damages that I am afraid are irreversible. The experts can easily convince our elders and tribal leaders. These experts are usually smart talkers, well dressed and have service vehicles. They provide food or refreshments, which I must say comes from the organisations and groups that back up the proposal. To me the FPIC process is more like pursuing a pretty girl to say yes. It is usually a long painstaking process. These proposing groups try to do initial activities like pre-consultation visits intended to introduce themselves to us. Again, I must say that from that first point of contact, they always bring food for us… (Smiling). We like it. We think that they are friendly and sincere that is why we engage in the other succeeding meetings with them usually in a more formal sense. We join in trainings that they provide to better prepare us in the decision-making workshops*

> *that often commence the signing of consent or of an agreement. But then very few people get to participate in the process."*

The real problem of development is not the imbalances it creates in the existing socio-economic system but the fact that it has trampled people's spirits to defend their own sets of rights for self-determination. Self-determination is better guaranteed at the onset of the consultations for the proposed land development project (Doyle & Cariño, 2013, p. 15). It will ensure that the people involved in the consultations are in the highest position to accept or stop the consultation process. The manner in which rural people are involved in the entire project management process is problematic in many different ways. The local people are made into a passive audience in the consultation process as the following survey data reveals in Table 18. Their roles in the actual decision-making were limited to the haphazard information being given to them. The actual data used in the planning do not match or reflect the conditions of human and physical resources in the community. Both women and men participants in the study described their participation in the various project management activities as low as indicated by the overall mean for both of 1.62. Women indeed struggle in their participation in planning, organising, implementing, controlling, and monitoring and evaluation activities as indicated by the overall mean, for women, of 1.31, which means that they have very low participation in community development activities. Haque (2003) reports that women, in general, in East Asia struggle to claim their representation and participation in various social and political decision-making platforms. Cleaver (1999) added that poor women in rural areas find it difficult to

participate in emancipatory community level activities despite the efforts made by the government and other state actors. In what she calls 'Paradoxes of Participation', Cleaver (1989 pp. 597-612), like Moser (2003), insist that women with small children and involved in performing many other reproductive tasks find it difficult to participate in community development activities. On the other hand, Pacoy (2013), in her study on gender dimension of local budgeting in Mindanao, acknowledged that it is even difficult to persuade local government leaders in the island to prepare 'gender-responsive' budgets that can be utilised to address the disadvantaged state of women. van Staveren (2008, pp. 289-290) agrees that the reason could vary from one case study to another. In some cases, it is the lack of political will and gender expertise among government and other state actors. More importantly Van Staveren (2008, pp. 289) adds that the poverty reduction frameworks developed and implemented at the state and local government levels do not integrate workable gender mainstreaming provisions that should ideally encourage policy makers and other government leaders to make clear and concrete plans to put women's voices, choices and agency at the core of each project management step.

In this current study, men also perceived themselves as being left out in the project management processes, though as the data suggests, they are better off in terms of their participation than their women counterparts. This shows that men, as the head of the family, are considered the official representatives of the households in the various community level activities.

Lastarria et al. (2014) showed similar findings, that community level decision makers are comprised of men. As Moser (1989) argue, women are 'systematically subordinated' performing their 'triple burden', namely reproductive, productive and community tasks. This gendered dimension of participation of the local people in project management in the communities of Mindanao represents the continuing struggle of women to become active participants (Agarwal, 2001; Cornwall, 2003, 2004) in the critical discussions that pertain to their overall welfare and wellbeing. The gendered participation disparity limits women's capability to overcome poverty in partnership with their men.

Table 18. Gendered dimension of participation in the community decision-making process

Project Management Processes	Extent of Participation					
	Men n=55		Women n=50		Both N=105	
	Mean	Desc.	Mean	Desc.	Mean	Desc.
Planning	3.23	MP	1.38	VLP	2.31	LP
Organising	2.50	MP	1.43	VLP	1.97	LP
Implementing	1.32	VLP	1.34	VLP	1.33	VLP
Controlling	1.26	VLP	1.19	VLP	1.23	VLP
Monitoring and Evaluating	1.30	VLP	1.22	VLP	1.26	VLP
Overall Mean	1.92	LP	1.31	VLP	1.62	LP

Source: Face-to-face interview with Indigenous farmers and validated during focus group discussion conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Legend:
Scale	*Range*	*Description*
5	*4.50-5.00*	*Very High Participation (VHP)*
4	*3.50-4.49*	*High Participation (HP)*
3	*2.50-3.49*	*Moderate Participation (MP)*
2	*1.50-2.49*	*Low Participation (LP)*
1	*1.00-1.49*	*Very Low Participation (VLP)*

Chapter 5: Empowering Indigenous people to actualise their voices, choices and agency in rural development planning in Mindanao

5.1. Introduction

This chapter analyses the existing governance and development frameworks based on user-centric approaches to support the wellbeing of rural and Indigenous people in Mindanao. It draws on five axial themes highlighted in 'User-centric Policy design to address complex needs' (see McIntyre-Mills, 2008, 2014b), namely: 'Home safety, Health, Purpose, Connection/belonging (people and place), Self-respect and confidence' which form the basis of this chapter, because the themes based on working with Indigenous men and women in Australia resonate with the findings in this research. My sample comprised of men and women in the rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao who are subsistence farmers (44), contractual workers in banana and pineapple plantations (15), heads of tribal councils (26), local government officials (5), academics/researchers (5) businessmen (5), and NGO workers (5).

Community-based rural development planning should encourage participation among the local people so that they are able to help shape services in ways that enhance their relevance. This thesis addresses the following services: agriculture, health and education using Naila Kabeer's

Social Relations Approach (SRA) and John Gaventa's Power Cube. The two sociological theories address power and control dynamics of the people and institutions bargaining for a voice, choices, rights and agency. It is argued that the poorest and most marginalised groups, comprised of women, young people, the elderly, the sick, and the differently abled are being left out in decision-making processes in policymaking. Their participation in the decision-making process is hindered primarily by gender-blindness (Kabeer, 1999, 2005) and gender-blinkeredness (Cornwall, 2003) of the prevailing practices headed by elite and powerful people and organisations. This thesis adds another dimension of the development issues in Mindanao, namely the capabilities of non-human animals as sentient beings. It is argued that nonhuman animals have inherent rights to survive and furthermore constitute a vital part of the biodiversity and agro-ecological food system. Without biodiversity, a human community is less resilient. Plants and animals are critically linked to the survival of rural and Indigenous people in Mindanao. Nonhuman animals have 'agency or striving accompanied by sentience' that demands protection through an appropriate political theory of justice (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 88). Ethically it requires a systemic stewardship response to sentient others and the environment (McIntyre-Mills, 2014c).

5.2. Reconstructing the power cube

This thesis argues that participatory approaches used in rural development planning in the Philippines are limited in their scope and intention to harness the real and personal voices, choices, agency and

rights of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people, which in this study, comprised of women, young people, elderly, sick and differently abled persons. Participation and development discourses point out that poor and powerless individuals are made invisible at the planning stage. The surveys conducted that serve as basis for the rural development planning skipped and misrepresented the voices and choices of poor and powerless individuals by making them passive participants (Agarwal, 2001; Cornwall, 2003, 2004) in various decision-making opportunities made at the household and community level. The case is made that women and other household dependents are in fact being excluded in the actual making of 'democratic spaces' created and controlled by the different state and non-state actors and organisations.

The prevailing governance and development architectures are proud to promote the 'full participation' of all stakeholders' (Gaventa, 2006) and yet, as evidence would show, poor and powerless women and their dependents are being left out in the decision-making process. Their voices and choices are parroted by able men, in partnership with other powerful and elite men in their society (Bacchi, 2010).

What is wrong with the current emphasis on 'full participation' and 'participation of all stakeholders'? Cornwall argues that most of the time, when this generalised rhetoric is used, the actual voice and representation of the weak, the less powerful and the most marginalised are not heard and often overlooked (2003, p. 1325). The full participation clauses found

in legal and administrative instruments of governments and international aid organisations are in actual fact, voiced out by the powerful and elite members of the society, especially those who hold elective and administrative positions.

Women in Development (WID) and 'participatory development' scaffold neoliberal development programmes while Gender and Development (GAD) and 'participation in development' support the need to address social inequalities by promoting gender-aware and participatory development interventions in order to provide transformatory rights, agency, voice and choice to local people (Cornwall, 2003, p. 1326). GAD has enhanced WID with its commitment to analyse and reduce the counter-effects of power inequalities among all stakeholders at various levels by listening, planning and acting based on the voices and choices of women and other disadvantaged groups in society. The distinct voice and representation of women in particular, as Cornwall argues, are being factored in the social planning processes at the community level. Women's issues at the personal and household are therefore not being listened to in the actual social planning processes (2003, p. 1327). Based on the review of the literature on the area of gender and participation, women and other household dependents are constituted in the discourse of development planning (Bacchi, 2000, 2004, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005) by limiting the boundaries of the decision-making processes to privileged men and more influential people in society, to hold more power leverage and decide for the silenced others. Making women and other disadvantaged groups in

society instrumental and passive participants in decision-making platforms demolishes their enthusiasm and aspiration to step up and exercise their freedoms (Agarwal, 1994a, 2001, 2010). Women and other disadvantaged groups in the rural areas have unique local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable realities (Chambers, 1997), which need to be dealt with locally by providing women the chance to develop ample participation capabilities to exercise their rights to enter into critical community dialogues especially those pertaining to land, food, livelihood, health and education. Improving participation as fertile functioning among Indigenous women in Mindanao is ideal not only in improving their wellbeing, but also in developing their resilience as individuals against manmade and natural hazards.

The importance of participation of women in development discourse is undermined by the existing governance and development paradigms that focus on generalised participation of all regardless of whether women are actively involved or not. Participation has become the 'development orthodoxy' (Chambers, 1997) and it has systematic loopholes being generic rather than disaggregated and being tool rather than action-oriented (Gujit & Kaul Shah, 1998; Mayoux, 1995; Mosse, 1995 cited in Cornwall, 2003 p. 1325). In summary, participation is a negotiated space dominated primarily by those who have the power and wealth. The poorest and the most marginalised local people have victims of development by making them passive participants in the so-called good governance and development endeavours in their local government units.

5.2.1 Deepening participation by making the invisible visible

Genuine participation requires that the local people who are made invisible under the current governance and development frameworks must be seen and allowed to enhance their participastion capabilities to help improve their wellbeing and life chances. Gaventa's (2006) power cube comprises of three factors, namely: a) places/levels (local, national, global); b) spaces (visible, hidden, invisible) and c) forms of power (closed, invited, claimed/created). He identifies the levels of power—from local to global, which are all part of the 'traded' or the 'formal' sector in Kabeer's 'iceberg' view of the economy (2003, p. 28). Kabeer argues that below the local or community level, which comprises the majority in developing countries such as the Philippines, are the invisible informal sectors struggling to claim their rights to land, food, livelihood, health and education. The invisible informal sectors, in this study, I argue are the poorest and the most marginalised households, peers, individuals and their non-human animals that they depend on for survival. The poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people in Mindanao have acquiesced their destitution. Lukes argues that the domination of the powerful people over the powerless leads the latter to accept the miserable conditions as they have already become accustomed to it (2005, cited in Dowding, 2006 p. 137) Even if they experience severe hunger and pain, they would just rather hide or stay in isolation and their powerful leaders take the case as typical.   According to Chambers (1983), these invisible groups and individuals are the victims of development biases, namely spatial bias (tendency of the outsiders to visit and work only in the conspicuous

locations); person bias (preference of male over female participants, also known as male bias); project bias (preference of outsiders on model and successful projects, seasonal bias (absence of the outsiders in the rural area during rainy seasons), and diplomatic bias (tendency of the outsiders to deal closely with the popular and powerful local individuals).

The reconstructed power cube (Figure 13) retains in its analysis Gaventa's spaces and forms of power as bases in examining the issues confronted by the invisible and informal sectors lobbying for their voice, choice and agency in promoting wellbeing and life chances as individuals with the same equal rights or entitlements as men. The main purpose of this analytical framework is not to lock Kabeer's social relations approach and Gaventa's power cube as a fixed representation of the issue of marginalisation of the invisible and informal sectors, but to provide a fluid guide for analysing and understanding the power dynamics of people situated below the formal and market-oriented economy. Those below the formal economy are often invisible and powerless. The reconstructed power cube suggests that the current governance and development frameworks only consider, at the very least, the representation of the household as the basic unit of policy analysis. In most cases social planning considers only, by default, the household and its head of the family. The concerns of partners, individuals and their non-human animals are not considered vital in the social planning. Consequently, they are often left to take care of themselves doing subsistence farming and performing mostly reproductive roles

Production and distribution of resources depend on 'who produced what?' According to Kabeer, if a woman helps in the actual production of any resource, she gets some sort of agency and entitlement to use the resource under her control (cited in March et al., 2005, p. 104). The analysis addresses who actually does what, who is included and who is left out. The purpose of this aspect of the analysis is to show that despite improved rate of generalised participation of the local people in the decision-making, it is paramount to re-examine who in actual fact carries out what particular roles in what type of responsibilities. Women have, to a greater extent, been left out of performing 'triple-roles', namely, reproductive, productive and community responsibilities underneath the purview of the formal economy (Moser, 1989, 2003). The last aspect in the analysis is power; it asks the questions: Who decides what? Who gains, who loses? Social relationships are ruled by power dynamics. It is important to know the extent to which the elite and more powerful rule the poor and the powerless in the actual decision-making process.
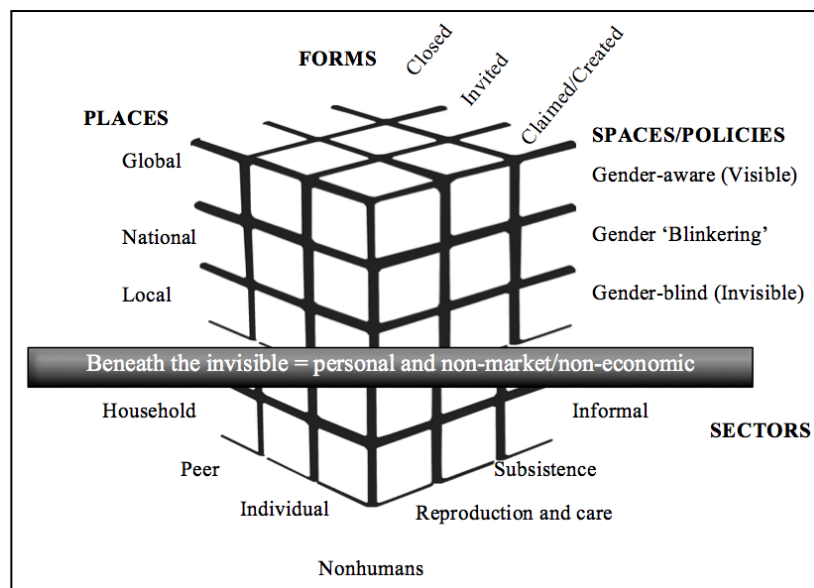
Figure 13. Reconstructed Power Cube: Basis for the proposed empowerment framework for rural and Indigenous farmers in Mindanao, Philippines.

Adapted from Cornwall (2003), Nussbaum (2011), and Gaventa (2006, p. 25).

5.3. The nexus of Capabilities Approach, Moser's and Kabeer's gender mainstreaming theories

This chapter highlights the critical ways in which rural and Indigenous women in Mindanao are able to transform their disadvantaged status by being able to participate with men in rural development planning and improve their wellbeing and resilience.

Nussbaum (2011) and Kabeer (2003) share the same view about development. The former argues that 'development is an a priori guide and the latter also provides a means to assess the extent to which norms are implemented in context increasing human wellbeing' (cited in March, et al.,

2005, p. 101). Kabeer's social relations approach theory argues that wellbeing is not only measured in terms of 'economic growth or improved productivity'. It is covers more than just quantitative parameters of human growth and improvement such as income and wealth, and covers important social anthropological constructs such as ' survival, security, and autonomy'. Autonomy, according to Kabeer, refers to the individual's capability to decide and participate independently in the personal, familial, and community affairs that are deemed necessary to promote one's wellbeing and life chances. Simple forms of autonomy include a woman's ability to make decisions about her own body as well as her capability to achieve strategic goals within the public sphere. This current study tries to extend Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach by theorising and justifying sets of capabilities for women which triggers the cycle or web of opportunities that in turn, encourage and support the development of capabilities of other persons directly under the care of women at both the household and community level. It is argued that capabilities have a multiplying effect, just like functionings, if and only if proper attention is given to put in place governance and development frameworks that increase the boundary of the decision-making process (Midgley, 1997; Ulrich, 1994, 1996) to include voices and representations of the marginalised (Bacchi, 2000, 2010) by making the discourse of the poor, particularly of women, as active and essential components in the 'meaning making' involved in the social planning. Eveline and Bacchi (2005) argue that the way forward is to characterise the discourse of women and marginalised groups as 'action words'. Social planning for women and other marginalised groups call for

the use of forceful 'verbs' in the actual framing of policies to emphasise the need to focus not only on the process but the roles that women can play strategically not merely as unpaid reproductive workers at the household or volunteers at the community level, but as active agents within the state, market and civil society.

Kabeer's Social Relations Approach helps to justify the policy-as-discourse argument in framing the interests of the poor or the 'peripheral rural people' (Chambers, 1983, 1997) by understanding that it is the duty of the state to provide decent and justifiable social minimums based on Nussbaum's ten Central Capabilities. Kabeer's thesis goes to prove that wellbeing captures other or even more important components of a meaningful and dignified life to include 'all those tasks which people perform to reproduce human labour (caring, nurturing, looking after the sick), those which poor people carry out to survive; and those which people perform in caring for their environment which ultimately assures their livelihoods'. All these dimensions are captured as well in Nussbaum's ten Central Capabilities.

Kabeer's concept of 'institutional analysis' provides the framework in which Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach will be further expanded in this study. Kabeer defines an institution as 'a framework of rules for achieving certain social and economic goals' and an organisation as the structure created by institutions (cited in March, et al., 2005, p. 104). In this regard, Kabeer addresses the points where inequality is being produced, reinforced, and

reproduced. She makes the point that one needs to consider the 'institutional realms—the state, the market, the community, and the family/kinship' (pp. 104-105). The state constitutes the government, legal and security frameworks governing the state and the lower government bodies and line agencies. The market includes such institutions as private businesses both local and foreign, operating and/or affecting primarily the state's financial and economic affairs. The community comprises of all organisations directly and indirectly outside the realms of family/kinship. They may be formal and informal groups where families and individuals interact, depend and take leadership roles, when afforded the chance. Lastly, the family/kinship level includes couples/partners, siblings, and extended families related both by consanguinity and affinity.

Kabeer points out that social institutions have distinct characteristics; its form and significance depend on unique cultural contexts. However unique, Kabeer argues that there are at least five common aspects of social relationships to be considered for effective institutional analysis, namely: rules, resources, people, activities and power (cited in March, Smyth, & Mukhopadhay, 2005, p. 104). Rules pertain to 'how things get done'. Rules cover institutional formal and informal 'norms, values, laws, traditions, and customs'. Informal rules include the assumptions and implied meanings of unwritten rules adopted by the institutions. Activities refer to 'what is done' in institutions. Broadly, activities comprise of the practices being done to achieve the goals. Resources pertain to 'what is used' and 'what is produced'.

Kabeer does more than just offer explanation about the dynamics of institutional domains in the production, reinforcement and reproduction of social inequalities as presented previously. There are 'official ideologies' heavily established in the basic institutional domains that have been adversely affecting the design of social actions. These assumptions are said to be obstacles in meaning making to emancipate the poorest and most marginalised people through social deconstruction. These myths or so-called assumptions are comprised of and controlled by the discourse of the elite (Bacchi, 2010) expressed in the texts and speeches controlled by the dominant, influential and powerful groups. Kabeer argues that the common assumptions being predominantly attributed to the state is that it always 'pursues the national interest and national welfare''; that the market 'pursues profit maximisation'; that the community is 'about service provision; and that the family/kinship is 'about altruism' and that it is always 'cooperative, not conflictual institutions (March, et al. p. 103). Policy-as-discourse as a form of systemic social action, must therefore proceed to analyse through 'open dialogue' (Christakis, 2004; Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Christakis & Harris, 2004), and minimise the impact of power in the actual planning process. For Kabeer, reflecting on these sets of neutrality denies entire efforts to include the voice and representation of the poor and the marginalised in the social action. The challenge for policy-as-discourse analysts would be to carry out systemic analysis taking off from Churchman's 'sweeping in' as many interrelated issues as possible (cited in Midgley, 2000, p. 291) and by expanding the sphere of

the decision-making boundary to include the 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1994, 1996) in the actual planning or social designing process.

These institutional levels or domains, are the sources of either fertile functioning and capability (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 44)' or 'corrosive disadvantage' (Wolf and De Shalit, 2013). Fertile capabilities are produced, reinforced and reproduced in Kabeer's 'four key institutional realms' or domains much in the same way corrosive disadvantages are created. Fertile capabilities open up opportunities for other more or less complex capabilities. For example, giving women proper skills, through training them how to safely and creatively process fruit preserves locally, will open up other windows for women to improve other life skills such as (but not limited to) networking, selling, and gaining higher analytical and creative thinking which is required in managing small family businesses. The flip side of this positive story however, is the challenge imposed by so-called corrosive disadvantages. When women are forced to focus only on their reproductive and productive roles, and are inhibited, by virtue of customs and traditions, from performing other important and meaningful roles— spanning productive and community roles, women are being jeopardised ultimately of their agency to 'hold up half of the sky' (Doss, 2014, pp. 69-90). Crehan (1992b, p. 113) further classifies Moser's (1989, 2003) idea of the reproductive burden of women into at least three categories, namely: 'biological reproduction' or childbearing, 'generational reproduction' or childrearing, and 'daily reproduction or maintenance' or the household rigmaroles such as cleaning, feeding, foraging, gardening/farming and

many other countless and hitherto unaccounted time and efforts spent by women to raise their families.

Corrosive disadvantages or institutional barriers are as important as the fertile capabilities in the analysis of this study. They constitute the active processes involved in carrying out policy-as-discourse for 'social deconstruction'. Social deconstruction is the twin sister of policy-as-discourse. The theory is developed through the scholarly works of Bakhtin (1968), Foucault (1970, 1975, 1977, 1980) and Bataille (1985) and supports the need to emphasise the process of generating truths through looking at the processes in which social actions have become relevant or irrelevant to the needs of the poor and the marginalised (cited in Bacchi, 2010, p. 46).

Examining and identifying the institutional barriers confronting women as well as their dependants require reifying the actual processes through the vivid narratives of the local people caught up in a marginalised and pauperised status. Knowing what these barriers are straight from the holders and/or guardians of LCDDU (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities (Chambers, 1997) assures that more ethical social action can take place to help emancipate women and other marginalised groups from the structural barriers created by dissonant versions of inequalities and injustices perpetrated simultaneously or independently within and outside all the institutional frames identified by Kabeer. Another advantage of looking closely at these corrosive disadvantages is to identify

ways in which provision of minimum social capabilities and corresponding resources could be easily directed to the institutional barriers that have adversely affected other supporting structures. The institutional barriers, by their very nature, gather together closely and annihilate the structures belonging to a specific institution and spread across others. Such is the case involved when a woman is restricted to control land and other resources transferred through patrilineal arrangements to her family. Patrilineal transfer of property denies women the actual chance of ownership and control of land and other wealth bestowed through their father or male side of the family (Crehan, 1992a, p. 92 and 114). This family/kinship level barrier is produced, reinforced and reproduced both at the community and state levels. Therefore, giving women an increased access and control over conjugal or partnership properties, regardless of the manner they are acquired, helps to address women's vulnerability to be dragged down into the quicksand of marginalisation and pauperisation. These corrosive disadvantages correspond to Chambers' interlocking 'deprivation trap' (1983, p. 112) and comprises of 'poverty, physical weakness, powerlessness, vulnerability, and isolation'. Chamber's thesis does not build on causality and correlation of these disadvantages but instead offers a conceptual and practical way of using self-critical awareness to understand the dynamics or the process involved in policy-as-discourse and empowering poor and voiceless local people. Nussbaum's ideas of giving each person, rather than the protracted aggregate of family or community units, and of focusing on dignity, rather than satisfaction, reinforce each person's agency to do and to be.

5.4. Listening for empowerment

The previous section highlights the basic concepts of gender and development and participatory democracy. I argue that the poorest and the most marginalised sectors in rural Mindanao are not part of the local decision making process. In other words, it means that they are not being listened to of their local and relevant realities. In this section I argue that listening has an agentic role to play to improve the wellbeing and life chances of the rural Indigenous people in Mindanao.

Sensory democracy provides the impetus for focusing on 'speaking' and 'watching' as critical aspects of political and democratic process nowadays. Conventional emphasis on speaking provides a limited chance for ordinary people to be genuinely heard because speaking is a privileged role of the patriarchy and dominant discourse holders in society (Jenson, 1997). Dobson (2014) argues that sensory democracy must consider not just speaking and watching as aspects to minimise power barriers and empower people. It should also focus on the role of listening in the dialogic process of democracy where people engage in political and democratic actions with the capabilities to enter and enjoy the dynamics of the whole range of the communication process—speaking, watching, feeling, and listening. In the West Churchman Series, *Wisdom, Knowledge and Management* (McIntyre-Mills, 2006), McIntyre-Mills stresses that listening is a priority if we are to build in the 'requisite variety' (Ashby, 1956) when we design responses to complex needs. Dobson (2014) in 'Democratic Deficits' stresses that the powerful dominate and block the political

discourse of those who are marginalised. Listening has an 'active and agentic role to play' in protecting the interests of disadvantaged groups to claim decent democratic space where they can negotiate for their wellbeing (Dobson, 2014, p. 20). Listening is a form of exercising power over those who will be listened to and those who will be refused and marginalised in the political process. Mrs. UV shared how the decision-making process in her local community deprived her the chance to participate and be listened to of her concerns pertaining to livelihood and lack of access to quality seeds and many others.

> *"Our community leaders only listen to those who are influential in the neighbourhood. They (leaders) listen to men only as most of them are men. How I wish I would be part of the decision-making to make sure that I am able to express my concerns for lack of livelihood opportunities, lack of quality seeds, and lack of agricultural technical support to enhance my farm productivity."*

Dobson (2014, p. 22) argues that the 'sensory approach to politics and democracy can entail empowerment' by emphasising the need to listen and see the actual outcomes of the dialogic type of democracy. Entering into dialogic, rather than monologic political discourse, encourages political and democratic actions to focus on the need to consider the whole range of processes involved in the communication system. If Aristotle argues that man is a political animal because he has the capacity to speak, Dobson tries to extend the idea by arguing that sensory democracy includes, apart from capacities for speaking and seeing the idea of listening (2014, p. 18). Dobson stresses the need to implore the power of listening to break the barriers created by power itself. He argues that

listening is a form of power. The listener has the power not to listen, to twist and misunderstand the meaning of verbal and nonverbal messages and to hijack the communication process to favour his/her own self-interests (p. 21).

Dobson's theorising of listening as a missing key in dialogic democracy is used as a lens to critique the existing participatory development framework that supports 'participation of all' and 'stakeholders' participation' (Cornwall, 2003) in rural development planning. It is argued that the existing rural development planning processes in Mindanao subjugate and disempower Indigenous women. Indigenous women and their dependents are made passive and silent participants in the decision-making opportunities for rural development planning that privilege leaders, experts, and men. Their voice, choice and agency as individuals are repressed and underrepresented by undermining their capabilities to enter into the decision-making processes. It is argued that active participation is a fertile capability that must be supported by the state and local governments to allow women and other disadvantaged groups to become part of the whole process of rural development. Moser's framework was used as a tool to analyse gender inequality while Kabeer's social relations approach was used as lens to critique the existing gender inequality in various institutions at a household, community, state and market level.

This chapter addresses the critical role of Indigenous women in helping themselves reverse their disempowered status in the decision-making

processes involved in rural development planning in Mindanao. It is argued that giving Indigenous women agentic voice and choice in the policy-making arenas, namely, household, community, state and market (Kabeer, 2003) must include not just speaking but also listening (Dobson, 2014). This is to ensure that power bases are equally shared and preconceptions of the local people 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1994) are managed in order to co-create an understanding of and solutions to local issues. Providing the Indigenous women are given the chance to actually speak, see and listen to their individual and collective voice and choices will improve the legitimacy of the policies targeted for their wellbeing and life chances as individuals. Legitimacy is a democratic credo that demands governments to be 'responsive' by 'listening' (Ulrich, 1994) to as many people as possible. Engaging with the local people especially women and other disadvantaged groups is a way of expanding the boundaries of decision-making (Ulrich, 1994) by believing that rural and Indigenous women have unique stories, different sets of needs, and complex aspirations that must be listened to and regarded as critically important in improving their wellbeing and life chances.

The aim of this chapter is to characterise and understand the lcddu (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities (Chambers, 1997) of the rural and Indigenous women in Mindanao. The case is made that the government and non-government officials and experts must work closely with the local women in respectful dialogues to get to truth (McIntyre-Mills, 2006, p. 10). Entering into respectful dialogue requires improved auditory

capacity of the officials and experts to not just hear but listen to the Indigenous women's voices and choices on how their wellbeing should be planned for the current and future generations. The proposed women empowerment framework is anchored on a sensory and dialogic form of democracy that must become the major platform where gender inequality is strategically addressed.

The thesis re-presents the views or perceptions of the participants in the sense used by McIntyre (2006, p. 10) and Hesse-Biber (2010), this is not the same as representing truth. Participants in study were engaged in an open dialogue process wherein they are allowed to ask questions or explore other concerns which tend to be discreet due to culture and taboo. It means that it is their local wisdom, using their indigenous knowledge systems and practices, which prevails in the analysis.

5.5. Socio-economic typology of participants

One-third or 31 percent of the farmer-participants declared that they are landless. Even those who still have marginal landholding under leasing and so-called 'growership agreements' say they have never been able to rise out of poverty, due to being unable to produce and/or access a reliable and sustainable supply of food, and being unable to access basic social services such as health and education. Using the current state of land ownership, household income, unpaid loan balances, their level of education, health, and employment status, Table 17 presents the typology of participants in terms of categories spanning their life chances from being "better-off" to "coping" and from being "coping" to becoming one of

the "poorest and most marginalised". In the survey, each participant is categorised under the status (eg. level of education) and each category is assigned a score starting with zero (0) as the absence or the lowest state, meaning that a participant who has declared that he/she has never been to any formal school is categorised under level of education as 0. To establish the range in each category, for example in land ownership status, the difference between the lowest and highest value in terms of hectares of land was divided into 3, corresponding the typologies.

In terms of household income per month, the majority of the participants have incomes below Php 500 per month (roughly USD12). All of them have average monthly incomes below the poverty threshold set by the Philippine Government of Php8,022 per month for a family of five to sustain its food and non-food needs (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2014b). Financially, what makes income deprivation the worst is the state of indebtedness the participants have experienced as shown in Table 19. The majority or 79 percent of them have existing unpaid loans ranging from Php10,000 and above. These loans were accessed mostly from the "loan sharks" who offer farmers fast and easy access to cash for their household and farm needs. Mrs. ST shared her story as follows:

> "*We have no choice. We cannot go to the cooperative we already owed with money. We are paying a loan through another loan. We are forced to do so to get by.*"

In the rural Philippines, loan sharks are those who provide fast and easy loans to farmers in exchange of a hefty interest rate of 20 percent per

month. The local people called this popular practice as "5-6" (read as five-six; a loan of Php5,000 will gain an interest of 20 percent, making it Php6,000 at the end of the month, hence the term "5-6"). In terms of education, 44 or 41 percent of the participants have not attended any formal education. Thirty-one or 30 percent have been to primary school while 30 or 29 percent attended secondary school to college.

Table 19. Typology of participants according to socio-economic indicators

Socio-economic indicators	Category					
a) Land ownership (in hectares)	>4		1-3		0	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	14	13	58	55	33	31
	Landed		**Marginal**		**Landless**	
b) Household income (in Php per month)	2001 & above		501-2,000		<500	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	15	15	20	19	70	67
c) Unpaid loan balance (aggregated in Php)	<500		501-10,000		10,001& above	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	2	2	30	29	73	70
d) Level of education	Secondary to College		Primary		No formal Education	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	30	29	31	30	44	41
e) Employment status	Employed		Under-employed		Unemployed	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	32	30	37	35	36	34
f) Health status (number of sick family member)	0		1		>2	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
	32	30	31	30	42	40

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Marginal and landless farmers have reported to have 1-2 family member/s who is/are sick and old dependent/s. This data shows that since most of the marginal and landless participants are women, and being a woman means being directly responsible for reproductive tasks, particularly as a

'maintenance role' (Crehan, 1992a, 1992b). Women are socially and culturally expected to concentrate primarily on domestic duties—childrearing, foraging, cooking, feeding, caring for the sick and elderly in the family. Caring for the sick and the elderly, if not shared with any able member in the family, makes women's roles even more burdensome and complicated.

Table 17 also shows the basic food items rural and Indigenous people in Mindanao eat on a regular basis. People with land (10 or 10 percent) have the capability to eat three square meals a day usually comprised of seafood (at least once a week) meat, poultry and vegetables (more than three times a week) and rice or corn (seven times a week). The marginal landholding farmers are capable of eating any type of seafood at least once a week, including both fish and seafood. They are able to afford to feed themselves and their families with meat and poultry twice a week; vegetables, four times; and rice or corn, five to six times a week. The landless farmers, on the other hand, are not capable of feeding themselves with any type of seafood in a week. They barely even eat meat and poultry on a regular weekly basis. Their diet relies primarily on the fruits and vegetables grown in their farms and backyard gardens. In terms of a rice or corn diet, they are only capable of eating either type of grain three to four times a week. The landless and the poorest in the continuum experience hunger seven times and more in the last four weeks. In terms of the most staple food—rice or corn meal, the landless people have a deficit of three to four meals of this kind. When this happens, especially

during the rainy season in the months of June to August, focus group discussion participants reveal that they turn to their local bananas for a source of carbohydrates and fibre.

5.6. Analysing social vulnerability using the interlocking deprivation trap

This section will provide further analysis on the nature and scope of the interlocking deprivation experienced by the rural and Indigenous people in Mindanao. To describe deprivation among the rural farmer-participants, I used Robert Chambers' deprivation trap as shown in Figure 14. This representation of poverty and deprivation entanglement can aid in explaining the complex interconnections of rural poverty and vulnerability of the Indigenous people in Mindanao. According to Chambers, rural people who are materially and food poor suffer from the multiple effects of pauperisation. The poorest and the most marginalised are physically weak due to income and food insecurity. The participants acknowledged the fact that their experience of poverty has lead them to poor health and nutrition as narrated by Mrs. OP below:

> *"The midwives working at the health centre found all my 4 kids malnourished and underweight. I really know the reason why they are suffering from ill health. We are experiencing "seasonal" hunger. When our corn harvest is low and our loan is high."*

A state that is a combination of poor health and poverty leads people to a vulnerable condition. The absence of substantial social protection such as provision of more opportunities for the poorest Indigenous farmers to earn a living other than farming like being able to earn money or food stuff in

exchange of communal manual labour, makes them prone to natural and manmade calamities. The poorest Indigenous farmers, if they choose to remain in the rural areas, have to contend with poor states of housing and poor health due to low to zero farm productivity. If they wish to leave their farmland and relocate in other rural areas where their extended families can support them, the uncertainty can further worsen the vulnerability of the internally migrated families. Mrs. UV described her family's experience of moving away from the civil conflict only to end up hungry in their new location in the plantation community in the following quote:

> *"We came from the hinterlands of Bukidnon. We transferred here in Davao del Norte near our families in 1990. We experienced war, flood and hunger in our previous community. Now, there is no war here but we still fight against hunger and our lives are still threatened by natural calamities."*

The interlocking of poverty, poor health and vulnerability amongst rural Indigenous people in the plantation communities in Mindanao leads to a critical state of powerlessness. The powerlessness of rural people, in terms of not being able to do and to be and to live life with dignity (Nussbaum, 2011), escalates into people's acceptance of their dire living conditions. They tend to isolate themselves away from the vital processes of democratisation, which are supposed to emancipate them from poverty and all other social inequalities. Isolation can be a way to express apathy towards the prevailing social, economic and political system that does not protect the rights of the poor for land, food, livelihood and housing security. Mrs. WX shared her story as follows:

> *"We tend to hide away from any local government-*

sponsored activity because we believe that we have not been able to deliver ourselves out from poverty. It is useless to discuss local government issues, as it is also irrelevant to attend skills training that we have not been able to master and really put to good use when we are hungry. We would rather go to our farms and make sure food is available for our families."

Isolation is one of the limitations of participatory democracy (Pieterse, 2001, p. 410). When people being invited to participate in community activities do not value their presence as important, they tend to disregard and prioritise other more important undertakings such as farming and other livelihoods. This happens when people believe that their participation is not considered valuable enough to justify their own time and effort committed to community activity.

Figure 14. Deprivation trap

Source: Chambers (1983, p. 112)

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5.7. Exploring the status of capabilities of rural and Indigenous farmers in Mindanao

This section explores in further detail the extent to which each of Nussbaum's 10 Central Capabilities indicators are being practiced or not practiced in the rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao. I argue that the voice and representation of the poorest and most marginalised rural and Indigenous farmers in rural development planning should be enhanced to improve their wellbeing and life chances. As can be seen in Table 21, even the Coping participants in the typology, being in the middle, a step higher the Poorest and Most Marginalised, and a notch lower the Better-off, has a higher vulnerability to be dragged further to the bottom— one with the lowest typology, due to any sudden risk and shock. A sudden death of the head of the family or of any member can cause a whole family to fall into a miserable state of deprivation. The same type of undesirable outcome is expected when a farmer gives up his/her control and/or ownership of land due to distress sale, lease and other arrangements that deny a farmer the capacity to till and manage his/her own land. This issue on land is strongly connected to the financialisation of land and other resources in the Philippines, which is part of the globalisation strategies enforced under the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA). AoA is one of the trade liberalisation policies established by the World Trade Organisation (WTO), which according to Panhwar (2001), has encouraged countries to open up their markets by allowing freer importation of products and services. In the Philippines, Mindanao serves as the monoculture plantation hub, with the planting of primarily high-value crops such as

bananas and pineapples (Gutierrez & Borras, 2004).

Nussbaum's list of capabilities starts with life. Nussbaum (2011) defines life as 'being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living'. Living a decent and dignified life is one of basic entitlements or rights protected by state and international laws. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights for example (UDHR) of 1948 declares under Article 3, that 'everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person'. Other vital international laws and legal instruments include among others the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which specifically protects the rights of every child to life (Articles 6, 23, and 29) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 6). The 1987 Philippine Constitution enshrines the right to life in Article 2, Section 5 and Article 3, Section 1. According to Sison (2014), right to life is considered a moral and legal principle in the Philippine Constitution. It guarantees protection of life of each Filipino as 'essential for the enjoyment by all the people of the blessings of democracy'.

In the rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao where this study was conducted, deprivation is continuously challenging the quality and normal length of life of the local people especially the poorest and the most marginalised who are comprised of women, young people, the sick, elderly and different-abled, who by virtue of culture and traditions are left under the direct care of women themselves. According to Moser (1989,

2003), the reproductive roles of a woman take up most of her time and energy. For Crehan (1992a, 1992b), a woman's burgeoning reproductive tasks include not just childbearing and childrearing; it also includes all other household and farm work not ably performed by the husband such as caring for the sick and looking after the welfare of the elderly and differently abled members in the household. These maintenance tasks are part of the subordinated role of women which are produced, reinforced and reproduced in various institutional domains, namely: family, community, market, and state (Kabeer, 2003). According to Kabeer, our society has edified various institutional assumptions, which make efforts to address this form of social inequality extremely difficult if not impossible to address. For example, the family is always considered a 'cooperative, not conflictual institution' and that the community is always 'about service provision' (March et al., 2005, p. 103). These assumptions prevail and developed into rigid political and development discourses.

Dispelling the myths and common assumptions require focus on action or process rather than on the passive state of the issue at hand such as gender mainstreaming. It requires policy-as-discourse (Bacchi, 2010) to socially deconstruct the rigid and passive realities imposed by empiricism in order to hear the voices and gather representation of the powerless and the poor. The goal is to provide process-oriented frameworks of development and governance for the improvement of wellbeing and life chances of the people affected and marginalised by development bias and their effects.

Just how quality of life varies across the different typologies of participants in this study, namely: the "Better-off", the "Coping", and the "Poorest and Most Marginalised"? I make the case that quality of life varies across different typologies. The "Better-off" have control and privileged access to resources to support a choice to live well and longer. As the gatekeepers of the resources and power being distributed by the Government and non-government organisations, they enjoy the privilege of managing, taking advantage of their ranks, and whatever social goods or services falling under their jurisdiction and control. Being predominantly male, the "Better-off" group possesses relative financial and leadership capabilities necessary to maintain their position, being influential leaders in their tribe. The *datus* (male tribal chieftains) have the cultural, political and economic mandate to head their tribes to achieve common welfare and protect their members at all times. The disadvantage of *datuism,* however, is more serious than just the issue of this system maintaining the leadership and communal welfare of the tribal leaders and of the landed and the moneyed members of the tribes in rural Mindanao. The Coping group has a limited chance to protect one's life in order to live longer but is still better-off than the Poorest and the Most Marginalised group. Being in the middle of the continuum, the Coping group struggles to adapt to the practices of the Better-off in order to gain attention and get favoured access to the social goods and services for distribution. The Poorest and the Most Marginalised group have a highly limited and extremely vulnerable state of life that does not allow them to live longer; these rural people rely primarily

on their Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) to survive as evidence would show.

The World Health Organization (2015) data shows that the average life expectancy at birth in 2012 in the Philippines is 69. This is seven years lower compared to life expectancy in the Western Pacific region in the same year. In the Philippines, life expectancy in the country is 60. This means that on the average, Filipinos remain healthy until the age of 60. Through focus group discussion, and on the basis of secondary data collected from the Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan (ADSDPP) of the Matigsalug-Manobo Tribal People Council of Elders in Davao City or MAMATRIPCEDI, Table 20 presents the population distribution in one of the Indigenous communities covered by this study in the Davao City area in 2013. The Indigenous area is under the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) No. R10-KIT-0703-0011. It covers 26,632 hectares of forestland, which is at present faces the danger of being converted to commercial monoculture farms. At present, the community has just signed a land deal for the conversion of ancestral land into a cacao plantation. The whole business operation is under the management of a multi-national company named Kennemer Foods Corporation.

The Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) conducted for this study estimates the population distribution in terms of gender in the five Indigenous communities. The participants' responses as well as the notebooks kept by

the tribal council secretaries were used to come up with the communally produced figures. This means that the actual reckoning of population in each community was based on the local ability of the rural and Indigenous people to count their members of the tribe with better precision compared to the national census conducted every two-three years by the National Statistics Office (NSO). NSO population data in the same year do not match the PRA data on population. As can be seen in Table 20, PRA data are disaggregated according to gender while the NSO is not. More importantly, PRA data on population in these five specific Indigenous communities in Davao City reveal that NSO data differs from PRA by at least 14 percent. Sad to say, it means that 2,830 people living in these communities are not counted in the census, and are thus being excluded in the actual rural development planning in Mindanao and in the entire Philippines. PRA and other types of agricultural census and surveys conducted with the rural and Indigenous people highlight the importance of disaggregating data into gender and other relevant categories to make rural development planning more inclusive and responsive to the local needs of the people (Quisumbing et al., 2014). Chambers (1983, 1995, 1997) describes PRA as a tool to ensure that the realities of the local and poor people prevail.

The average life expectancy, as shown, is based on the estimates of the participants. The data was validated in reference to the notes kept by the tribal councils and through the confirmation of the FGD participants. The NSO, which is the official statistical body for local and national

development planning in the Philippines, do not have data on life expectancy at the local level. The life expectancy estimates of 72 for males and 60 for females were derived from the responses given by some participants and validated during the focus group discussion.

Based on the narrations of some participants, the poorest and remotest Indigenous people die much earlier than those who are "better-off"—those who have access to basic and emergency medical facilities located in the town centre. The participants confirmed that poor women tend to die younger due to fatigue from doing all sorts of reproductive and productive roles specifically household chores, foraging, and farming. These poor women's tasks demand a great deal of time and effort; unlike men, who after farm work are culturally allowed to rest and go to bed early, women need to do menial tasks in preparation for the next day. Studies comparing time use in the reproductive, productive and community roles of men and women show that women work longer hours than men (Juster & Stafford, 1991; Ruth Meinzen-Dick et al., 2014; World Bank, 2001).

Another reason that is believed to compromise women's lives is the poor state of prenatal and maternal care in rural and remote communities. Indigenous women are burdened by childbearing and childrearing responsibilities. As shown in Table 20, on average, Indigenous families have five-six children primarily under the direct care and responsibility of women. The reproductive burden of childbearing and childrearing, as well as doing other more time-consuming and strength-draining household

work such as cleaning, washing clothes, gardening, feeding animals, etc., places women at a higher health risk compared to men (Harris, 2014, p. 267). Women are more exposed to infections while they are pregnant (United Nations Standing Committee on Nutrition, 1990). Poor rural women who do not have control on the use of resources at home end up seriously ill before they are brought to the nearest health facility (Okwa, 2007).

Adding more burdens to this big reproductive responsibility is the fact that poor Indigenous women cannot afford to leave their children and other dependants behind to go to the town centre where the nearest health facility is located. It is typical for a pregnant woman from a remote rural area to postpone and at worst, cancel her appointment at the health centre to avoid the long walk or avoid unsafe travel by horse or *habal-habal. Habal-habal* is the major means of transport in rural Mindanao. It is basically a motorcycle with extended wooden seats on both sides that can carry a load of six-eight persons including the driver. It is a dangerous ride for pregnant women as well as the sick and the elderly to travel 30-60 minutes along off-road terrain.

Another type of gendered shock confronting the poorest and the most marginalised women in rural Mindanao is marriage separation and death of a husband. According to Peterman (2010, cited in Ruth Meinzen-Dick, Nancy Johnson, et al., 2014, p. 102), male divorcees and widows suffer from the loss of a loved one but women suffer even more from the lasting

effects of loss of rights over their husbands' property as commanded by customary laws.

Women in the 'Better-off' category are the wives of the *datus* or tribal chieftains. They perform reproductive and productive roles in the household, farm and community, being good wives and supporters of their husbands who are leaders in their tribe. Their main responsibilities still revolve around reproductive duties, but unlike the poor women, better-off women, being members of royalty, enjoy privileges such as seeking assistance from other members in the tribe for their domestic responsibilities such as cooking, gathering of firewood, foraging, gardening and childrearing. The *bae* (first wife of the *datu*), she is expected to fulfil administrative and cultural duties that may be required of her by her *datu* and the tribe. These responsibilities include, but are not limited to, attending meetings and public functions together with the *datu*, gathering other women for talking, and many others.

Working closely as allies of the 'Better-off' are the 'Coping' men and women. As the ones who live closer to the town centre where the tribal heads live, the Coping group are the easy target participants for administrative and tribal activities of the Better-off such as meetings and caucuses to talk about the plans of the local officials in line with the coming elections, livelihoods, and other community development matters. The Coping group is usually part of the active voting population in the rural area. Even if most of them are illiterate, not able to read and write, they

are easily dragged by any political organisers into meetings and election rallies to make it appear that the local candidate is popular and will be able to garner votes during the proper election. These middling responsibilities commonly expected of the Coping group enable them to take advantage of the communal blessings received by the Better-off. For example, whenever the Government allocates fund to help farmers improve their farm productivity, farm technicians from the urban area locate the *datus* and their families living along the highway and near the town centre. The outsiders conduct training and distribute seedlings and sample fertilisers to the people most accessible and familiar to them. This scenario, according to Chambers (1983), is a flagrant display of the outsiders of their biases, which in this case are spatial, personal, and project biases. When the social goods and services are distributed in bulk at the premises of the Better-off, the immediate people that come to mind are the Coping group. They are the ones called for meetings and forced adoption of the technologies being introduced by the outsider farm technicians to the Better-off. This somehow temporarily alleviates the dire socio-economic condition of the Coping group, by being able to ease the burden caused by poor knowledge to improve productivity and by the high price of farm input.

5.8. The analytical typology of participants and capabilities characteristics

The experiences of the rural and Indigenous people are examined by applying the 'Overlapping Consensus' of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach and the gender mainstreaming theories and approaches of Moser (1989) and Kabeer (2003). The overlapping consensus of these

development approaches are presented and analysed using the analytical typology—which classifies participants in the study according to their social, economic, political, and cultural circumstances. Specifically, the typology demarcates major classification of participants and the extent to which capabilities have been provided by state and non-state actors in the Philippines, particularly in rural Mindanao. The analytical typology is done by plotting in rows (X axis), Nussbaum's 10 Central Capabilities indicators and in columns (Y axis), the classification of people along the continuum. For the purpose of this study, the continuum is presented in three classifications, namely: (A) The Better-off, (B) The Coping, and (C) The Poorest and Most Marginalised. These analytical typologies are based on the typical narratives and socio-economic circumstances of the participants in the study.

Developing a typology is one way of presenting the interrelated and unique variations of participants' circumstances and narratives into categories or classifications. Besra (2014), in his study on the life chances of Indigenous people in Bangladesh, used typology to classify his participants' land ownership, health, employment, and education status. For example, he classified participants' landholding status into three types: landless, marginal, and medium.

Table 20. Population distribution and average life expectancy based on PRA 2013 and National Statistics Office Survey in 2006

Village	Population		NSO 2006.[17]	% Differ-ence	No. of House-holds	Ave. House-hold	Life Expectancy	
	PRA 2013						PRA	NSO

[17] Data available is not disaggregated according to sex.

	M	F	Total	M	F	in total		Size	M	F	M	F
Buda	731	685	1,416	1,612		196 (14%)	309	5	72	60	No data	
Baganihan	683	740	1,423		246	1,177 (83%	238	6			No data	
Tapak	1,172	1,267	2,439		1,509	930 (38%)	406	6			No data	
Marilog	7,283	6,707	13,990		13,071	919 (7%)	2,798	5			No data	
Gumitan	473	557	1,030		843	187 (18%)	147	7			No data	
Total	10,342	9,956	20,298		17,468	2,830 (14%)	3,898	5			No data	

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

In this study, I classified the participants into three, namely: (A) the Better-off, (B) the Coping, and (C) the Poorest and Most Marginalised. The upper part of Table 21 (in grey) presents the summary of socio-economic typology presented in Table 19. In terms of land ownership and other socio-economic indicators, the typology of participants is identified in the continuum as landless, marginal (sliding to landlessness) and landed. These two sets of typologies, namely, 1) the analytical typology presented in Table 21, and 2) the typology of farmer-participants according to land ownership and other socio-economic indicators shown in Table 20, are complementary to each other. Please note that the issue of land ownership presented in Table 19—analytical typology of participants, are classified as medium to landed, marginal to medium, and landless to marginal for the Better-off, the Coping, and the Poorest and Most Marginalised respectively. This means that the 'Poorest and Most Marginalised' participants include not just the landless but also some farmers with marginal ownership of lands. The domains in the typology overlap. They are not rigid and linear constructs (McIntyre-Mills, 2008, pp. 291-292), which means that the characteristics of persons and their

narratives can be classified under a specific domain and can be shared across the typology in the continuum. This is the case for stories of women pertaining to their power to access and control of land in the Indigenous communities. Evidently, landed women who are immediate members of the family of the tribal chieftains still struggle to assert their rights and raise their agentic voices and choices in decision-making pertaining to land use, particularly the land being allocated for commercial monoculture plantations. The 'better-off' women enjoy some level of comfort and enhanced wellbeing as members of the royal family or clan. The coping women as well as the poorest and the most marginalised, are placed in the rather inconvenient social standing of being unaccounted for and unable to elevate their voice for matters that directly impact the use of land, their livelihoods and their wellbeing as a whole. Table 21 presents the summary of the typologies based on the narratives of the participants.

Table 21. Characteristics of capabilities across typology of participants

Capabilities	Typology of Participants					
	BETTER-OFF		**COPING**		**POOREST AND MOST MARGINALISED**	
	15 (14%)		**20 (19%)**		**70 (67%)**	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
	14 (93%)	**1 (7%)**	**18 (90%)**	**2 (10%)**	**20 (29%)**	**50 (71%)**
	Who: comprised of individuals, mostly male tribal chieftains, elected local government leaders, landed farmers, and small store owners ***Where***: These people live along the main roads and/or town centres ***Land ownership:*** Medium to Landed (14 or 13%) ***Household income (in Php per month):*** PhP2001 and above (16 or 14%) ***Unpaid loan balance (aggregated in Php):*** < 500 (2 or 2%) ***Average level of education:*** Secondary		***Who***: comprised of active, healthy male household heads who have limited access to resources such as land and with sparse livelihood opportunities ***Where***: They live in outer communities (1-2 kilometres away from the town centre). ***Land ownership:*** Medium to Marginal (58 or 55%) ***Household income (in Php per month):*** PhP501-2,000 (20 or 19%) ***Unpaid loan balance (aggregated in Php):*** 501-10,000 (30 or 29%) ***Average level of education:*** Primary		***Who***: comprised of mostly women, elderly, sick and differently abled ***Where***: They live in the remotest part of the rural communities (more than 3 kilometres away from the town centre). ***Land ownership:*** Marginal to Landless (33 or 31%) ***Household income (in Php per month):*** < PhP 500 (70 or 67%) ***Unpaid loan balance (aggregated in Php):*** 10,001 and above (73 or 69%) ***Average level of education:*** Nil	
1) Life	-Have control and privileged access to resources to support a choice to live well and longer		-Have limited chance to protect one's life in order to live longer		-Have highly limited and extremely vulnerable state of life ; these rural people rely primarily on their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) to survive.	
2) Health	-Are able to use and access both IKSP and modern medicine for basic health needs such as maternal care, childcare, vaccinations, etc. -52% has visited the nearest hospitals and community health centres in the past 12 months.		-Are able to use and access both IKSP and modern medicine for basic health needs much in the same way the better-off do. In extreme cases such as life threatening emergencies, this group depends on the resources and power of the better-off to seek assistance including loaning money. -41% have visited the nearest hospitals and community health centres in the past 12 months.		-Are able to use and access primarily IKSP for basic health needs. Have become fatalistic and rely heavily on prayers for the fate of sick and disabled state of some members in the family. -7%have visited the nearest hospitals and community health centres in the past 12 months.	

Capabilities	BETTER-OFF	COPING	POOREST AND MOST MARGINALISED
3) Bodily integrity	-Are active and able to move to and fro rural and urban areas. The tribal and community leaders are called regularly by city officials to travel to the urban centres for meetings and for all other official functions. -These active tribal and influential men have the widest and freest choice in selecting partners. Some of the *datus* (male tribal chieftains) have multiple—2-3 wives at the same time with children of up to 15.	-Are active and able to move to and fro rural and urban centres but in limited instances only as their main focus is working on their own farm or working for the farms of the better-off. -Active men in this typology, unlike the *datu*, preferred to practice monogamy. In the tribal communities under study, only the *datu* is allowed to be polygamous.	-Are isolated, remote and almost obscure even in the small rural communities. They prefer to stay most of the time within the limits of their house, their small farm and in the farms of better-off working for wages or in kind goods. -This group, mostly women, do not have much choice to roam around and socialise with others. In terms of selecting life partners, their tendency is to pair with their kind—poor and remote.
4) Senses, imagination and thought	-People in this group are able to access free primary and secondary education offered in schools located within their easy reach. Some of their youth are given privileged access to scholarships in the state university. -32%of the people in this group are literate and numerate -In terms of freedom of expression, the better-off have the capability to voice sentiments, interests and motives for personal and community matters. Their eloquence reflects their confidence and power to influence the decisions of other members in the community.	-People in this group have limited access to free primary and secondary education due to their distance from schools. -only 9 percent of the participants in this typology are literate and numerate. -In terms of freedom of expression, this group know that such freedom exists but opt not to exercise or harness such freedom to improve and protect their social and economic status as they see less meaning in it in relation to the amount of power and influence of the better-off.	-These people have never been to any formal schools for education. They refuse to go to school due to distance (again, more than 3 kilometres or a total of 6 kilometres to and fro the town centre. -only 2% are literate and numerate. -In terms of capability to express one's idea and exercise one's freedom of expression, these group barely even know that such freedom or entitlement exists. They decide based on the whim and interest of the male household heads and of the better-off leaders.
5) Emotions	-This group can have the chance to associate by forming or joining in clubs and organisations that help protect their interests, advocacies, and passions in life. Human organisations are usually active	-On some occasions, this group of people joins in organisations upon strong influence and/or endorsement of the better-off. This is mostly happening to beef up attendance sheets and to produce attractive	-This isolated group ceased to associate themselves with other members in their communities for reasons of distance and absence of leverage such as power and influence over one's interests, advocacies,

Capabilities	Typology of Participants		
	BETTER-OFF	**COPING**	**POOREST AND MOST MARGINALISED**
	and are attracting members within the rural centre only.	documentation for the community development workers and officials representing the government and NGOs.	and passions in life. Fatalism and isolation have brought them to accept the way of life in the remotest rural areas.
6) Practical reason	-People in this group use their social and political leverages to shape the local policies, practices, and traditions.	-People under this typology depend on the institutionalised and dominant laws, practices, and traditions controlled and exercised by the better-off.	-People under this typology depend on the institutionalised and dominant laws, practices, and traditions controlled and exercised by the better-off.
7) Affiliation	-Better-off participants enjoy the privilege of joining in political organisations to express their ideas and interest at the community and state level without fear of humiliation and discrimination. -Active first person "I" in political and development discussions.	-People in this group have delegated their entitlement for free political expression or by joining in political organisation with the better-off. If the need arises, coping participants are the ones called upon by the better-off to rally behind or show support, again, by beefing up human presence or signatures in attendance sheets to make political gatherings and agenda look official and attractive. Signature campaigns needed to back up rural development project petition permeate from the better-off to the coping group levels -Dependent second person "YOU" in political and development discussions.	-People in this typology are usually invisible in the community's political arena. They choose or are prevented to join in political activities in the community to perform such menial roles confined in the household and farm. Due to the spatial bias of the outsider rural development workers, they are not being talked to and listened to about their political interests and views critical to their wellbeing. The dominant discourse treats them as part of collateral damage and sacrificial lambs of development issues confronting the whole community. People in this typology find political affiliation humiliating and discriminatory. The prevailing system remains blind and mute to advance their interests as persons. -Passive third person "THEY" in political and development discussions.
8) Other Species	-Low involvement and concern for nonhuman animals, plants and the world of nature -Reason: high preoccupation doing productive and community roles including but not limited to 'market pricing' (Fiske,	-Medium -Reason: medium preoccupation doing reproductive, productive and community roles; depend on 'communal sharing' and 'authority ranking' to survive (Fiske, 1992).	-High -Reason: high preoccupation doing primarily, reproductive role; depend on 'communal sharing' to survive (Fiske, 1992).

	Typology of Participants		
Capabilities	**BETTER-OFF**	**COPING**	**POOREST AND MOST MARGINALISED**
	1992).		
9) Play	-People in this typology have time to play and enjoy using the basic sports and recreation infrastructures built by the local governments. They have access to electricity, mobile phones and internet. They can watch movies, connect with loved ones through email, Facebook and Skype.	-Coping participants struggle in accessing the basic sports facilities located at the town centre. The common sport that people in this group play in their outer communities is basketball. Their makeshift basketball court is unpaved ground with the metal ring attached to the coconut tree. People in this typology also struggle to possess mobile phones and other communication and entertainment facilities. Some of them use generator sets for 2-3 hours in the evening.	-The poorest and most marginalised people have practically no modern communication and entertainment implements. Common forms of sports and recreation enjoyed by this group are the traditional games both young and old people play such as *tagu-anay* (hide-and-seek), *biros* (a group game played with two teams standing opposite each other, approximately 10 feet away. The rule is to catch each member in the team in order to win). -As an outsider, I enjoyed the most the forms of play and recreation I have participated in these communities
10) Control over one's environment	-People in this typology, mostly men, have privileged access and control over property such as land, house, livestock and all other farm goods. They are the royal *datu*, and some are elected local government leaders in their community. They can shape or can help directly in shaping policies for the entire community as influential and powerful leaders in the tribe.	-Coping participants depend in large part on the wealth and power of their leaders. Their control of land is subsumed under the direct management of the tribal *datu*. In short, they follow the communal decision bestowed by the *datu* regarding the use of land for farming, selling, and leasing. People in this typology have the slim chance to reach positive social mobility, but they have more tendency to slide down the poorest and most marginalised group.	-People in this typology are prevented by tribal customs and traditions to control, manage, and own property such as land, house, livestock and all other farm goods. These are comprised of women who are subordinated by institutions—family, community, market, and state. This group of people is the most vulnerable to natural and manmade disasters.

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

The narratives of the rural and Indigenous people in Mindanao along the 10 domains of Nussbaum's Central Capabilities can be narrowed down into at least four major domains based on the commonality of themes, such that capabilities 1 to 3 are altogether named as Life. The combination of Capabilities 4 to 7 altogether is Affiliation; 8 to 9, Concern for Nonhuman Animals and Recreation; and 10 as Political and Material Control. Summarising the 10 Central Capabilities gives leeway in analysing the interlocking dimensions of health, life and bodily integrity that altogether share the common idea or theme which is life, which can be summarised as being able to live a healthy and generative life.

5.8.1. *Maregyew ne peg egpe*: Exploring the capabilities of the 'better-off'

The following case studies are derived from selected participants who belong to the '*maregyew ne peg egpe*'[18] or the 'better-off' group. Participants in this group comprised of tribal council and local government officials and their families in the Indigenous and rural communities of Mindanao. At least two sets of typical narratives are presented each to represent men and women.

5.8.1.1. Case 1: Datu Umpay, the richest and the most powerful man in the tribe

Datu Umpay represents the 'better-off' group; he is the richest and the most powerful man in the tribe and he enjoys such privileges afforded to

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[18] Matigsalug term for the better-off, living a comfortable and convenient life even if materially poor.

him by the local government and his tribesmen. His decision-making power is considered to be the strongest and most influential amongst all tribal elders/leaders. Being male, powerful and influential, he is the gatekeeper—the main contact point for any development projects 'planned for' (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) them by the local government leaders and experts in government, NGO and business organisations (Chambers, 1997). The existing governance and development paradigms that require 'participation for all' and stakeholders' participation' (Agarwal, 2001) largely depend on him. He has direct access and control of the basic institutions—family, clan, and community as well as other small peoples' organisations initiated by some NGOs operating in the area. He can call upon his members in the tribe, mostly those who belong to the 'coping group' of people, those whose livelihood and survival depends on his communal leadership and resources, to gather in the community centre whenever 'outsiders' or visitors from the Government, NGOs and other groups require their consent, signature and picture documentation. Chambers (1983, 1997) argues that 'rural development tourists'—the experts and leaders who are fixated in their urban biases are 'pervasively ignorant, out-of-touch and out-of-date' of the local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable realities of the rural people especially those whose voices and choices are not being listened to. *Datu* Umpay is the direct representative of his tribe. He expressed his choices for his people. He decides for them in a wide range of activities including land use and livelihood.

Datu Umpay is the head of the Matigsalug tribe in Marilog District bordering the Davao and Bukidnon regions in the Northern part of Mindanao. He is 72 years old and has been the head of his tribe for 30 years now. He has a wife and six children who are now married and have their own families. Two of his married sons and their families live with him in his house thereby making his family size and house the biggest in his community. His house is made of wood with galvanised iron roofing. It has five bedrooms, two living rooms and three toilets and baths. *Datu* Umpay's residence is called the 'grand house' in his tribal community. It does not only house the royal family; it is also serves as a place of worship of a Christian group where *Datu* Umpay is also serving as the pastor.

Being the head of his tribe for political, economic, environmental, and religious affairs, *Datu* Umpay is considered as the most powerful person in his immediate tribal community. His people accord him with high regard and respect for his leadership. All his family members are also proud of being part of the tribal hierarchical structure. People in the tribe extend the *datu's* family with the same respect and honour they give him. This high respect and trust to the leadership of the *datu* becomes more evident during decision-making activities in the tribe. Decisions on land and agriculture development in the tribe rest first of all on the decisions of *Datu* Umpay, in close coordination with the advisory group, the tribal council of elders. The tribal council of elders is comprised of male household heads who are themselves *datus* in their small communities under the headship of the supreme *datu*. They are not necessarily elders; some of them are in

fact, within the age range of 30-40 years old. The younger members of the tribal council of elders have inherited their positions upon the death and/or physical incapacities of the elder *datu* in the family.

Datu Umpay, being the supreme *datu* of his tribe, enjoys the privilege of leading his people in the local negotiations pertaining to land and development. All rural development projects earmarked for his community comes through him. *Datu* Umpay and the rest of the members of the tribal council of elders enter into contract of agreements before any development project can start to operate in the area. *Datu* Umpay and his tribal council are the guardians of the vast tract of ancestral lands measuring 102,324 hectares. The land is under a grouped Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) and is being subdivided to the members of the Matigsalug tribe. The tribal household heads, mostly men, hold the individual titles attached to the groupeded CADT.

Recently, *Datu* Umpay and his comrades in the tribal council of elders entered into an agreement for the operation of the 'agro-forestry plantation', which in fact is a form of monoculture planting of cacao, a raw ingredient for making chocolate. The current Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) covers at least 200 hectares of land for its initial operation and it is expected to expand even more in the coming years. *Datu* Umpay is tasked by the tribal council to submit, transact, negotiate, follow-up and sign the MOA that is entered by and between parties involved, namely the Kennemer Foods Corporation (KFC), a multinational company engaged in

contract-farming of various high-end agricultural crops such as cacao. In the MOA, KFC is described as a company that has the 'technology, management, and marketing capability required to plant, cultivate, harvest, market and export agricultural crops'.

Datu Umpay is able to balance work and life being surrounded by devoted supporters both at the household level and the wider community. His vegetable farm is known as the biggest in the community. His sons and other close family relatives are tending the 6-hectare farm that produces mainly cabbage and tomatoes for the Bankerohan Public Market, the largest public market in Davao City. *Datu* Umpay and his family rely on the proceeds of their farm for food and other needs. *Datu* Umpay describes his life and health as generally fair. He is proud that his family has never experienced involuntary hunger due to absence or lack of food. He said that food for his family could easily be accessed from the neighbourhood. *Datu* Umpay receives gifts from his supporters in the form of rice, corn, vegetables, chickens, goats and even cows especially during the town fiesta**.**

> *'When someone in my family is sick and needs medicine and health checkup, I can send them to the nearest health centre or hospital. I have good friends in these hospitals and some of them are not charging me for the consultation. These doctors who know me even give free medicines and vitamins for me and my grandchildren.'*

Being the supreme *datu*, *Datu* Umpay is able to join all the organisations and clubs he wishes to be part of. He has travelled around the country to represent his tribe in various meetings and conferences. He is always

present in decision-making meetings in his immediate and outer communities. He used to be one of the consultants of the city mayor of Davao for cultural affairs. Even now, he is still invited in major conferences and gatherings to represent his tribe.

At 72, *Datu* Umpay is still healthy and active. His secret is his love for horses and basketball. He has five horses that he uses to take him to remote places in his community to visit his tribe members and family. During the interview, *Datu* Umpay was asked the question: What role do you play in sealing the MOA for the cacao plantation in your community? What do you see are its benefits and risks?

Datu Umpay in reply, says:

> *'I head the entire tribe in finalising the deal or contract between parties involved being the head tribal chieftain. Being the head, I am being given the power to decide for my people who are just like me, poorly educated. Most of us do not know how to read and write. We only communicate orally using either Visayan dialect or our tribal language. I sign for and in behalf of all members of the tribal council elders as you can see on the final MOA.*

> *I believe this project will benefit the people. We will be able to get revenue shares for allowing them to use our land. The project will initially occupy 200 hectares for 25 years renewable for another term. I think the revenue sharing scheme is nice. Our tribe gets 4 percent of the gross revenue of cacao beans. Ninety percent of this share goes to tenurial holders while 10 percent will be allocated for small community projects. The contract provides that revenue sharing is made semi-annually. It will start beginning of the third year after the signing of MOA. For the initial years (at least 3-5 years), we are given the projected revenue of PhP5,000 per producing hectare. Another thing that attracts us to enter into MOA is the signing bonus of PhP2,000 per hectare or a total of*

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PhP400,000 to be divided according to land allocated by tenurial holders.

I believe this project is helping us to alleviate our state of poverty. Most of us have given up to our fight against poor education, poor harvest, hunger, and poor health. My main concern about this project is that we have to demand our people to relocate their farms and other forms of livelihoods to other places. Some even have to move their houses to give way to the project area. I also fear that our rivers, forest and spring water will be adversely affected by the project. I also have heard complaints from my people regarding their possible problems with herding their cows, carabaos and goats. They are in fact prohibited to enter the enclosure with or without their animals."

5.8.1.2. Case 2: Kapitan Tinong and his wife Mitring, the entrepreneurial duo

Case 2 is about the life and capabilities of *Kapitan* Tinong and his wife Mitring. The couple owns a medium-size grocery store in the community centre. *Kapitan* Tinong is highly respected in the community being the *barangay* captain (community chieftain). The couple also operates a sizable land banana plantation. The land they use is leased to them by their poor neighbours, those who are 'coping' and the 'poorest and most marginalised'. For 20 years now, the couple have depended on the cheap manual labour of the poor rural Indigenous people to operate their farm. In an interview, being a small-scale banana operator in the area, the couple pays PhP150 (USD3.50) per day. They employ women, men and young people below 18 years old, especially those who are out-of-school. Mitring, being a storeowner and wife of the political leader, enjoys privileges that have been denied to other Indigenous women in her tribe. She is able to

socialise and join in a women's group. She is able to freely go to the city alone or accompanied unlike other women in her neighbourhood. However, Mitring depends on her husband for almost all decisions especially pertaining to finance and land use. Mitring does not own any land. She claims to co-own the store but not the building and the land where it is established. Kiriti and Tisdell (2002) reported that rural women struggle to claim their rights over landownership and access thereby compromising their wellbeing and life chances.

Kapitan Tinong, as his constituents in the community fondly call him, is the *barangay* captain in one of the remote communities in Davao del Norte. He is of Christian descent and his wife Mitring is an Indigenous woman. *Kapitan* Tinong's family owns the largest *sari-sari* (variety) store that sells all the basic home supplies—foods, soft drinks, toiletries, animal feed and a lot more. Mitring manages the family's store operation while *Kapitan* Tinong focuses mostly on his duties as head of his community.

The family's business started small in the 1990s. All the five children of *Kapitan* Tinong and Mitring were able to graduate from college using the income derived by the couple from their store and other means. *Kapitan* Tinong also operates a 21-hectare banana farm. Ten hectares are titled under his name while the rest are currently under lease agreement with smaller land tenurial holders who are members of the Indigenous tribe. *Kapitan* Tinong hires, as part-time contractual employees, 11 men and 3 women from among those whose land are being leased to him.

Kapitan Tinong and Mitring looks healthy. Both 60 years old, the couple feels fortunate to afford annual medical and dental services at the private hospital in the nearest city. All the children have grown healthy, having been provided with good food and nutrition since childhood.

In the community, the family's house is known to be the biggest and most beautiful, being made of concrete. The house is fully painted, well designed and furnished with good quality furniture and fixtures.

Being the *barangay* captain, Tinong is able to join as many organisations as he like. Mitring is also being given the chance to go out and participate in any social and political activities, especially ones for women. Mitring is now a grandmother. She is proud of what her family has achieved. She gives full support to the political career of her husband. Mitring is able to spend most of her spare time outside the store management doing community projects for women. She is the elected president of the Mother's Club in her community. Mitring explains,

> *'I am now able to do whatever I want. I have free time being a grandmother and now that my children have their own families. Before, it was difficult for me to go out and meet other people outside our home and store premise. Raising kids and maintaining store before kept me away from joining groups that I like.'*

Kapitan Tinong has been in the office for 6 years now. He believes that he has the mandate of his people to lead his community and he sees himself to be re-elected for the last term during the election in 2016. When asked what his next step is when his term of office ends, *Kapitan* Tinong proudly says,

> *'I would like to try higher office. My comrades, and the Municipal Mayor himself, encourage me to seek higher position. Maybe I would run for municipal councilor. I think I will win because of my good influence and relationship with people I meet and work with in the banana industry. As you can see, the mayor needs me to support the banana industry where he and other family members and relatives are currently the bigwigs.'*

Kapitan Tinong is a proud medium-scale banana plantation operator. He believes that the banana industry is able to deliver people from poverty by giving them the chance to earn money from operating, leasing and selling of lands. Indigenous members in my community hold tenurial rights over their lands for as long as they are not leasing and selling it. The main reason why they lease or sell their lands is that they lack the capital and the expertise to operate the farm. They seek the help of those who have the capital. Most of them enter into a lease agreement for the period of 20-25 years, renewable for another term depending on the outcome of the operation and if both parties involved agree.

When asked to describe how the banana plantation has altered the natural landscape in his community, he replied:

> *'Yes, there is a huge difference between before and now as far as the environment is concerned. We have converted our mountainside into banana farms only. In the 1990s, there were only few rich families who have operated the business. They use their families' acquired land assets for the operation. As each year passes, many were attracted to join the bandwagon and that is why we are expanding. Local businessmen engage with leasing agreements with small Indigenous and rural farmers. And for this reason, many of the Indigenous farmers have become part-time contractual employees of these banana farms.'*

When *Kapitan* Tinong was asked whom he thinks loses and wins in the

banana industry, he says,

> *"The Indigenous tenurial land holders, especially those who practically do not have any sizeable land to farm and produce basic foods are the losers in this game. They lack social support after losing control and access to their lands for farming and grazing. I pity them for being so poor and dependent on the minimal support derived from the local governments and NGOs. I know, they have become hungry and many of them as a matter of fact have left their homelands and relocate in the city slums relying on the slim chance of surviving city life."*

5.8.1.3. Case 3: Bai Nelia, the 'controlled' leader

Bai Nelia is a wife of a *datu* (male tribal chieftain). She comes from a non-Indigenous family living in the nearby town. Cram, Chilisa, and Mertens (2013) confirmed that Indigenous status can also be acquired through marriage to an Indigenous person. *Bai* Nelia enjoys such privileges as living in the biggest house in the tribe and being able to lead and gain the respect of other women in the community. *Bai* Nelia advocates for her tribe's reliance of their Indigenous knowledge systems and practices to support their livelihood and identity as people. However, just like Mitring, *Bai* Nelia has a limited leverage over decisions pertaining to finance and land use. In her story, *Bai* Nelia describes her leadership as instrumental and attached to the power and influence of her husband who is the most powerful man in the community. Cornwall (2003) argues that the voice and choice of women become instrumental when their presence and not their decisions are being counted. *Bai* Nelia is required by her husband *datu* to accompany him in social gatherings and meetings.

Nelia comes from a non-indigenous family in Davao City and moved into the Indigenous community immediately after her marriage with the *datu* in 1971. Her Christian family lives in a suburban area. Her father was a fishmonger while her mother is a laundry woman. She said that life before her marriage to the *datu* was worse. At present, her Indigenous community calls her *bai* (wife of *datu*). Being a *bai,* she is respected and highly regarded by her community. She is expected to perform community leadership and social roles, apart from her domestic responsibilities such as being the mother to her seven children and a wife.

> *"I am able to help others in the community being their bai. I am keen of helping other women learn our traditional skills and practices like planting or gardening, cooking, crafts making and many others. I am doing communal activities during my spare time. I am capable of spending more hours for community duties because my children are all grown up now and we have my datu's nephew and his family of 4 living with us in the house. Our nephew and his wife take charge of most of the household chores in exchange of house to live in, food and other basic needs."*

In terms of life and health capabilities, Nelia is able to take advantage of the resources poured in directly and indirectly to her family by the Government and non-government organisations. These resources include free seedlings, fertilisers and pesticides from the Department of Agriculture and other NGOs. Other forms of goods being channelled to her family are food hampers being distributed by the city government to indigent families. Social services such as free health clinics are also usually conducted in the community centre located next to her house; even the cemented basketball court with standard provision of bleachers is located just few

steps away from her kitchen.

> *"My boys love to play basketball". The basketball games every weekend makes me happy seeing my family and other members in the tribe gather and cheer around for their respective teams.*

> *Being a bai comes with heavy responsibilities to my datu, family, clan, and the whole community. Everyone expects me to help the datu in his official and tribal duties. I am more like a personal secretary for the datu. I take that credit of being the right hand. Sad to say, I am not independent. I act only based on the decision of my datu; I mean, in everything—personal to communal matters I refer to him for his decision. Decisions such as providing weekly budget for our food and other needs depend much to our datu. I can't decide on what to buy and how much should I spend for food and non-food items."*

Nelia is limited in her choice on the type of organisations she can join in to help her express her ideas, creativity and intellect. The type of organisations her *datu* and the community expect her to be around are limited to those that have already existed in her community. She is not allowed to join conferences or meetings of women leaders in the city area without the *datu*.

> *"Being a woman is considered a weakness even in my tribe. I hate this feeling of being unable to move around and join in clubs and organisations that I think could help me expand my horizon. This issue, I usually keep it to myself. I don't want to appear bold enough to change the customs and traditions of my community. I still feel fortunate however being in this stature now even if I have limited rights to affiliate myself into other bigger organisations. I feel sad for most of the women of my tribe who are poor and are locked in their household responsibilities in their entire life."*

Being the *bai*, Nelia enjoys the privilege of leading and advocating for her

tribe's adherence to their Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP). She heads other members of the tribe especially women in learning and rediscovering the bountiful flora and fauna left under their care in the forest. They face existential risks and shocks brought about by modern agriculture that has advocated the monoculture planting of bananas and pineapples.

> *"We are afraid our ancestral land will be under the concession of these private plantation companies like Stanfilco and Dole Philippines. Our way of staging protest against the further proliferation of these plantations to ossur communities is by showing them we are truly passionate about protecting our land and all its inhabitants including plants and animals."*

Nelia is able to show her aversion to the ongoing massive land conversion for commercial agriculture in her area. With the help of some NGO workers whose advocacy is focused on sustainable rural agriculture, Nelia and other women in her tribe are conducting informal conversations to discuss their role in protecting their lands and environment as women. The NGO workers and this research has given Nelia and her group another chance to sit together and narrate their stories mostly around their limited roles in entering into the discussion forums and participating in the decision-making for their community's common welfare. Nelia gives her group the assurance that they will continue their efforts to assert their rights as women to discuss any development issues that pertain to their wellbeing as Indigenous people. She said:

> *'Indigenous women must be given the rights to enter into decision-making platforms in our tribe. We should be allowed to express critical ideas for our welfare as women. We should be part of the actual and formal decision-*

> *makers for any rural land development project. We care for our future, they (referring to government and business capitalists) care for their profit at the expense of our environment, food and water system, livelihood and freedom to plan and direct our lives as Indigenous people.'*

> *"Being a woman, I technically and practically don't own any piece of land. My datu owns it being the head of the family and of our tribe. He is going to transfer his power and property to his sons. Our sons will soon inherent the land and I am hoping that my two girls will have their fair share too."*

Nelia shared her experience being *bai* who belong to the landed family of the *datu*.

> *"I still feel fortunate being part of this royal family in the entire community. Even if I don't have a say on anything pertaining to decision on the use and disposal of our lands, I am still able to take advantage of other benefits such as being able to buy new clothes and mobile phones for my own personal use from the money the datu has given me— usually in exchange of a favour or a reward of a good deed. He keeps all our money. That's the way it is since he owns the property—the land, the livestock, the farm, and the two houses we built."*

5.8.1.4. Case 4: Petra, the caring and nourishing babaylan (medicine woman)

Bai Petra is a *babaylan* (medicine woman) who is a close friend of *Bai* Nelia. *Bai* Petra is the health and wellness advocate in her tribe. She depends on her traditional and spiritual healing skills and ethnobotanical resources available in her garden and the forest. Her idea of wellbeing is attached to her capability to maintain a good relationship with other people and the environment. She cares for the medicinal plants that she, and the rest of her tribe, believes can cure any form of illness. She has a spiritual

relationship with the forest and the environment. Polly Walker (2013) argues that Indigenous people live in dialogue and relationship with the place. Place represents 'country', a 'nourishing terrain' for Indigenous people to openly communicate with their land and all its natural components (Bird Rose & Australian Heritage Commission, 1996). Walker (2013) argues that existing research has failed to capture and balance the interdependent relationship of mind, body, spirit, and the natural world suffers from when epistemic violence treats Indigenous knowledge systems and practices as traditional, backward and unscientific (Shiva, 1988, 1993). *Bai* Petra plays a very important role in keeping her family and neighbours safe from any form 'structural violence' (Galtung, 1969 cited in Shepherd, 2011) brought by 'state simplification' (Scott, 1998) and the establishment of monocultural commercial farms that alter the agroecological system of the poorest and most vulnerable Indigenous people in Mindanao.

Petra and Nelia are close friends, being part of the most powerful women in their Indigenous community. They meet whenever their *datus* require them to be around during official and cultural gatherings in the other tribal communities and in city meetings and conferences where they are invited as guests or participants. Petra hails from another royal family of the neighbouring and close ally Bagobo tribe. She has four sons and three daughters. She has taken care of the *datu's* bedridden mother for almost 10 years now. Petra inherited her skills in traditional medicine from the *datu's* mother and she believes her devotion to the old *babaylan* continues

as long as the mother is alive. Until now, she still gets a lot of insights from the old woman. She has been taught and directed what, where, when and how medicinal plants can be derived and used. She has also learned the traditional crafts making particularly weaving rattan baskets and *tikug* bracelets. She teaches how to make these handicrafts to her own children and others in the community so that they too will learn and make money out of it.

> *"I can buy rice out from the proceeds after selling my crafts.' Petra is also teaching younger generations how to find, prepare and use safely the ethnobotanicals she said her community is very proud of using since time immemorial. When asked about the efficacy and safety of using these traditional medicines, confidently she replied, 'We have learned about the power of these herbal and plant medicines from our ancestors. They must have proven these safe and effective after generations of use. We still find our traditional cure system effective and spiritual. It connects us to our ancestors and bridges us to the future generations.'*

Petra believes in the strong connection between her faith in God and the healing wonders of her medicinal plants. She is in fact happy that the Department of Health (DOH) studies have confirmed the efficacy of the herbal plants her community has been relying on. The DOH has in fact endorsed the use of some traditional and herbal plants such as mayana, cogon, hilbas and lagundi for cure of common illnesses. Being a *bai* and at the same time *babaylan*, she is able to use her time freely to practice indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) to promote better health in her neighbourhood. She said she has enough time to rest and take care of herself. She is able to watch television using their family's generator set and is able to communicate with her relatives abroad using

her Facebook account. Petra owns a Samsung tablet and a mobile phone. These gadgets are just some of the products of her hard work in weaving baskets and bracelets for sale at the town centre and in the city. When asked if she is happy with her life in general, she replied:

> *"Yes I am. I find happiness in my limited power as a woman for others. I find satisfaction in what I do as a babaylan, being an instrument of our tribe to enrich our cultural and spiritual heritage. I ask Manama, our God to help me in my goal to keep our traditions alive for the next generations. What will happen to them if all of our lands are converted to modern farms? How will they live without our traditions, our identity as Indigenous people?"*

> *"Because I have free time for myself and to do things for other people, I am able to gain lots of friends and supporters in my community. I am active in most organisations such as Mother's club where I am elected as president in the whole barangay. I am also a barangay health worker. Our neighbourhood gathers around when I call them for traditional skills training. I do this under the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA). NCCA allocates some seed money three years ago to start our weaving project to help develop our traditional skills and also to augment our income."*

When asked if she thinks supply of raw and organic materials will dwindle eventually in the future because of their local crafts making, she said:

> *"Yes, it will come if we are the ones controlling these resources. We need to adapt certain measures to ensure that harvesting of rattan and other plant materials from the forest will not impact negatively on other species relying on them on the food web. We have a team, mostly of men who are skilled and trained in gathering these materials to make sure we don't disturb the balance. We are willing to stop our handicrafts making if we face depletion issues in the future.'*

Establishing these affiliations in her community with other Indigenous peoples, Petra was awarded as the most outstanding farmer in the

province in 2011. Petra promised to dedicate her life for the preservation of her rich culture and the promotion of health and wellness in her tribe.

> *"Being a bai means being responsible for the environment. I love plants and animals. I love nature—forest, mountains, rivers and spring waters. We do our best to protect these natural resources."*

When asked if she has a voice in decision-making pertaining to the use of land and its resources, she replied: 'I can only advice the *datu*. I can't impose upon him what I truly want because that is not what a woman is expected to do to her *datu*. She only supports him in his decisions. Sometimes my suggestions are heard but oftentimes when they are out there, all of them *datus*, on a meeting they decide based on their own interests not wive's or women's.

Petra says that she is happy to take care her of her two dogs and a cat. She is able to feed them sardines and rice. She loves her animals because they entertain her and they relieve her stress from daily activities.

Important decisions on selling or leasing of our lands is not part of being an Indigenous woman. Petra says she can only suggest but not impose upon her *datu* her personal decisions. The main reason is culture and tradition. Indigenous women are inhibited to participate in decision-making platforms. Decisions pertaining to disposal and use of land is left to the full power and discretion of men or *datus* in the tribe.

> *"I wish time will come when our decisions as women regarding the use and disposal of our lands will be heard before it is really too late. Men are good decision-makers but I argue that women's input in the whole decision-making process would yield best outcomes."*

5.8.1.5. Summary of the characteristics of the 'better-off' group

Datu Umpay, the rich and the most powerful man in the tribe; Kapitan Tinong and his wife Mitring, the entrepreneurial duo; and Bai Nelia, the 'controlled' leader described above are typical representations of powerful men and women in the Indigenous tribes I met during my fieldwork in Mindanao. Datu Umpay is the supreme tribal chieftain of his tribe. All the other datus (male tribal chieftains) are under his control and power. Kapitan Tinong is the elective local political leader in his barangay (community). He is rich, as he possesses political power as well as wealth being a medium-scale banana plantation operator. He accumulates cash to acquire the lease of sizable Indigenous lands to plant with bananas mainly from their income in the store he co-owns with his wife Mitring. The couple owns the biggest retail store in the Indigenous community. Bai Nelia, the wife of a datu is relatively powerful and is able to socialise but only in proximity to her husband. Other women in her tribe look up to Bai Nelia but she is not allowed, just like any other women in the tribe, to decide and participate in any tribal decision-making process. Bai Nelia only performs such roles that may be assigned to her by her husband like meeting the wives of other datus and visitors from the local government and other organisations.

Male tribal leaders constitute the better-off group. They are able to control and lead their lives by taking advantage of the 'rules, resources, people, activities and power' (Kabeer, 2003 cited in March et al., 2005, p. 104) which they have a privileged access to being leaders. They partner with

the 'outsiders' (Chambers, 1983) who are expert planners, engineers, and agriculturists of the Government and non-government agencies to 'plan for' (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) for the 'passive and instrumental' (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) participation of the poorest and most vulnerable women, children, elderly and differently abled. Women and their dependents being the poorest and most vulnerable even in the 'better-off' group are not able to lead their lives socially, economically, and politically as the stories above show. *Bai* Nelia, even if she is considered to be the most powerful woman in the tribe, being a *bai* or wife of a *datu*, struggles to make independent decisions for her own wellbeing. She is not allowed to socialise and participate in the tribe's decision-making meetings or gatherings. Her husband mostly needs her presence when visitors arrive. *Bai* Nelia, even if she enjoys the good house, good food and good name being provided by the *datu*, still feels empty, as she is unable to own land and other movable property and unable to participate socio-politically to enter into 'open dialogue' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006), to listen and be listened to (Dobson, 2014) in rural development planning. Her strategic gender needs (SGN) to actualise her voice, choice and agency and emancipate herself, and the other persons closely dependent on her from their disadvantaged status, are not being addressed under the current 'participation for all' (Agarwal, 2001) framework. Hence, in this particular typology comprised of the 'better-off' group, women and their disadvantaged status have a high tendency to become 'coping' or to become one of the 'poorest and most vulnerable' amongst the 'better-off'.

5.8.2. *Eleg eleg de ne peg egpe*[19]: In constant danger of sliding down to the bottom (Coping)

This section presents the two case studies about two women whose lives are typical representations of people of their kind who are 'coping' or those whose lives are continuously being threatened by sudden risks and shocks such as ill health and death of a member in the family, dispossession of land, poor harvests, indebtedness, and natural disasters. The coping group comprised of Indigenous people living along outer areas, away from the town centre (some 1-2 kilometres away). The 'coping group' is the close ally of the 'better-off', as they live in close proximity to the latter. The 'coping' group is composed of poor Indigenous people who have medium to marginal landholding. In this study, they make up the majority, 55 out of 105 participants or 55 percent of the total. The 'coping' group is in constant danger of being dragged back to extreme poverty once they lose their land and livelihood. They constantly depend on or claim the limited chances or opportunities held and controlled by the 'outsiders' (Chambers, 1997) and experts/leaders who dominate the discourse (Bacchi, 2010) of rural development planning, those who 'plan for' them (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002). Eveline and Bacchi (2005) argue that the poor and marginalised people in the society have become victims of development by being excluded in the decision-making arenas tackling social and political issues. Ulrich (1994) has a similar view and argues that the existing social planning frameworks fail to engage the 'involved' and

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[19] Matigsalug term for the coping group, those whose living conditions are easily threatened by sudden risks and shocks such as disease or loss of a family member, poor cropping and indebtedness.

the 'affected' to expand the boundaries of decision-making and include those who are made 'passive and instrumental' participants (Agarwal, 2001) paradoxically in the 'participatory development' framework.

5.8.2.1. Case 5: Juan and Nelly, the coordinating couple

Presented as Case 5 is the story of a couple, Juan and Nelly. Juan is the political coordinator working locally for the *barangay* captain but is being paid by the city Government. During election season, he is the campaign coordinator for the administration or ruling party. Being one in the 'coping' group means that Juan and his family's survival largely depends on the power and influence of his boss, the *barangay* captain and the higher city administration officials who pay his salary. If by chance the ruling or administration candidates lose in the election, Juan and his family will become poorer. The couple narrated that before, for six years, when their mayoral candidate lost the election, Juan became jobless and all the family experienced extreme poverty and hunger.

Juan is a father of three kids aged 15, 14 and 11 years old. His wife, Nelly is three months pregnant during the interview. All the kids are studying in a public school, which is five kilometres away from their house. Juan uses a motorcycle lent to him by the *barangay* council, as a service vehicle used in patrolling around the community. Juan is appointed as a *barangay* policeman because he is a passionate supporter of the incumbent *barangay* captain. Juan shares that giving all his time and effort for the party pays him the privilege of being able to get casual and co-terminus

Government jobs from time to time.

Juan works for the *barangay* captain as a special adviser on security. Being so, he heads the *barangay* police task force in the community and receives a meagre allowance for performing his duty of patrolling the community especially at nighttime. Apart from this, he also receives a salary for being a 'ghost' employee of the city. When asked about the reason why he calls himself a 'ghost' employee, he explains that he receives PhP5,000 monthly salary from the city Government payroll because he is endorsed by his *barangay* captain as one of the five 'quota' personnel that each *barangay* captain, who is supporting the mayor, can get as a form of reward for the successful election campaigning.

> *"I am not doing any official duty in the city government offices being appointed as casual employee. I only take errands from the barangay captain. I am not required to report to work everyday. Most of the time I am in the barangay council office when the captain is there, usually on Mondays. We would be there for meetings lasting about 3-5 hours each time. I love it being there because I feel I am one of the powerful leaders in our community. I get to talk to every barangay official and get to enjoy the comfort of their office amenities and services. I am also served with snacks and lunches whenever I am around with my community leaders."*

Juan is proud about his interpersonal skills. He has been able to make good network of friends because of his friendly and supportive attitude. He thinks that what helps him become likeable and popular to peers is his being close to the city mayor and the *barangay* captain.

> *"It is easier for me to access free medical goods and services in my barangay. I know everyone in the medical team. They are my friends too. They give me free vitamins and non-prescription medicine whenever I*

need for my family and myself. When any member in my family is sick, I know where to go for help. I usually use my Philhealth (Philippine Health) card, which gives me the benefit of paying only the gap of about 20-30 percent of the total hospital bill."

Juan is an experienced election coordinator of the dominant political party that is also closely affiliated with the national administration party (the political party of the current president, the Liberal Party). Being a trusted coordinator, he is sought after for his service to support party candidates to conduct house-to-house 'talks' in the community. Political party campaigns are conducted only in the town centre where basic physical infrastructures are present such as the town hall, a stage, bleachers/chairs, electricity and a sound system. Town centres are the favourite locations of the political wannabes because they are assured that many rural and Indigenous people can gather around during their campaign talks. The political candidates are not reaching people who live in the remotest areas, and that is why they rely on the services of people like Juan. Juan brings sample ballots and asks the household heads to vote only for the candidates their *barangay* captain endorses. Poor households in the remotest areas in Mindanao rely on their male head's decision on who to vote. Usually the decision is based on the endorsement of the incumbent local Government officials.

"You know how it operates, right?" Juan laughs shyly. Apparently, he pretends not to care about what he is going to say next. He believes that I am not ignorant of the issue of vote buying. I assured him that I know and have already researched and published articles in my university's journal about the topic. He seems satisfied and goes on to say, "Maybe this time is another case. Vote buying here in the rural and remote areas is different and even worse than your case in the city. Here I am part

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of the deal of "buying" the whole clan or family. We can even set up "buying" the whole purok (a group of clans; the political unit below the barangay level). As a coordinator, I negotiate with the local leaders of the tribal clans and families. It is vote buying really because it involves giving of money in exchange for the "solid" or "block" voting. Solid or block voting means that individuals, families and clans only vote for those on the list. We pay PhP500 per voting individual. And the male household heads are the entry points of these transactions. To simplify the process and to avoid legal and electoral complications, we give the money not to individuals but to the purok leaders who in turn will distribute the payout to the household heads. We can easily monitor whether clans and families complied with solid and block voting. We check on the number of votes per voting precinct (location). Families and clans living together closely in one place constitute voting precinct. See? In the city it is hard to monitor whether paid voters comply to their promise to vote a candidate because your voting precincts are comprised of individuals from different families and locations. Here in the rural areas, it is very easy."

He laughed and begged for understanding and that he remain anonymous.

"I am not happy as you see doing this. I am not proud of this. I am only proud of the influence I get but on the things that I have to do get this influence and power."

5.8.2.2. Case 6: Bonie's uncertain about the latest development project craze, the cacao plantation

Bonie is a father aged 42 whose livelihood and food for his family are largely dependent on his farm produce. Currently, he has 0.8 hectare of land that is about to be given up for planting cacao under a lease agreement with a multinational company. Bonie has five children who are all honor students, are ambitious, and would like to finish college degrees. Bonie is unsure whether the cacao land deal he has already signed up to will become successful. He has been persuaded by his friend, *datu* to

follow his other mates who would be trying their luck under the current land deal with the whole tribe. The cacao plantation project in Marilog District, Davao City initially covers at least 200 hectares of ancestral land, which have already been subdivided to individual landholders under the name of the male household heads. The project will operate for the next 25 years and the local people believe that the area will eventually be expanded just like the case of banana plantations in nearby district of Paquibato and in many areas in Bukidnon.

Being the patriarch of his big family with promising and ambitious kids, Bonie finds it hard to settle for anything less than what he needs, to support his dear family. He is afraid that the last parcel of land he is giving up for the cacao plantation might not be enough for the food, education and health needs of his family. He has been working closely with the *datus* around his village, which means he has a good connection and relationship with them. Bonie is designated by the *barangay* captain as the *purok* leader[20] because of his active engagement with the tribe's and local Government's activities. He is an outgoing person who has gained lots of friends outside his immediate surrounding. He is able to access free medical check-ups easily. He is actually health conscious. He plays basketball with his friends almost every weekend.

As an extroverted person, Bonie is well connected with other people. He

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[20] *Purok* leader is a designated community leader by the *barangay* captain to oversee and represent the whole community, usually made up of clans, in the local governance. In some cases, the community constituents elect a *purok* leader at large.

gains lots of friends because of his pleasant personality. He smiles and takes life's difficulties as lightly as possible. He finds time to give other farmers advice on how to deal with life in general. He is a skilled swine breeder. He used to have two boars for hire but he lost them to diarrhoea a year ago. He intends to restart his small community livelihood if the cacao venture will turn out to be successful.

> *"I miss my frequent visits to houses everywhere for the boar service. That's how I gained lots of friends in my community."*

As head of his family, he decides matters for his wife and children. He represents them in community meetings. As a matter of fact, he is proud that the attendance sheet of government workers visiting his community for short training have already encoded his name for him to sign just like his tribal chieftains.

> *"I am the man in the house, I represent my family and I believe they respect my decision."*

If the new cacao venture would be able to help alleviate Bonie's state of deprivation, he is positive that one of the first things he is going to purchase is a boar to bring him back into business. He is hoping that things will be a lot better in the coming two-three years so that he can send all his children to college. There are scholarships available for Indigenous people's youth offered in the state university in the city but it only convers tuition and matriculation fees. According to him, board and lodging is very costly these days. He believes he cannot afford the expense considering he has five children and he has no means of

producing funds for the purpose. When asked if he still finds time to play,

he gladly said:

> *"Yes, I do. I love to play basketball despite many problems. I can release my stress through playing basketball.'*

When asked about his concerns regarding farming as his main livelihood,

he shared that:

> *"Farming these days is really worst. I lost the courage to take seriously planting vegetables for selling in the nearby public market. Prices of fertilisers and pesticides have gone up and we cannot afford to purchase these unless through loans. For the past three years, I forced myself to engage in farming because I didn't have any choice. I do not have formal education, no employable skills and no capital to start up a small business. I needed to get money from "loan sharks" in the community. They are those who offer you money for loan for an interest of 20 percent at the end of each month. Until now, I'm still paying the debt I owe from different people and the cooperative."*

When asked how much is his outstanding loan balance in

total, he said,

> *"The total amount of my loan is almost the same as the estimated price of our piece of land when it is sold at current prices."*

He looked sad and shy after revealing his debt to different people and the

cooperative. When asked why, he continued:

> *"I'm not ashamed being poor and powerless in our community but I am very ashamed when these people chase me in my house to force me to pay the money I owed them. I have thumb-marked the promissory notes they have given before because they required me to. And when the promise is due, they get in my house and harass me in front my family to compel me to pay. Several times before, my wife and I have given them instant relief*

by allowing them to take our pigs and goats. We have never talked about collaterals in the loans we have gotten from them. Suddenly, these people out of desperation change their minds and try to put value, usually negligible and unfair price to our livestock just so they can get something from us when they come to our house."

Bonie, just like other male household heads, enjoys his privileged access to public and private resources made available for everyone. There is one last piece of land under his name. He inherited the land from his Indigenous father. It used to be 5.4 hectares, but in less than 10 years he lost most part of his land to banana plantation. Christians or non-Indigenous people rented his parcels at different times and prices, primarily for them to plant banana under growership agreement. A growership agreement gives farmers the chance to enter into business with the big banana companies. The growers who have medium-sized capital, have finance for the renting or buying of lands, the purchase of seedlings, human labour and other costs.

5.8.2.3. Case 7: Leoning, the struggling mother

Leoning is a mother of six and takes care of two elderlies who are the parents of her husband. Her husband works in the banana plantation as a contractual worker. The family's farmland left under their care is less than 600 square metres which they have planted with vegetables and corn that is not enough for the food requirements of her family. Only two of her children were able to graduate from high school. The four older children did not because they help her husband work in the farm. The two elder brothers also take part-time farm work from the pineapple plantations, two

to six days in a month. Leoning describes her family as poor and is always at risk of becoming ultra-poor—she is afraid of not being able to feed, clothe, give decent housing and being able to treat sick family members. She describes her life prior to the coming of plantation companies in her community. She says that life was better before even if they were poor. There were lesser times they experienced hunger. She laughs at the fact that before, her family only experienced foodlessness during the rainy season when they were least able to forage or cultivate their farm to produce a sustainable food supply. After this her husband decided to give up 80 percent of his landholding initially for leasing and then five years later for selling. She remembers how her family was robbed of its rights to control their farmland in exchange of a selling price of PhP8,000 per hectare (USD190). She says that the only thing her family is able to acquire to start life anew after selling most of her husband's land is a carabao.

Having a big family size but with only a small piece of land to depend on for livelihood and food is extremely difficult according to Leoning. Her life is solely dedicated to performing reproductive roles to save her family from intermittent hunger. She remembers how her poor kids had survived being malnourished 10 years ago.

Leoning describes her everyday life as a continuous fight against deprivation. The farm produce is not enough for her big family. She tried her best to help her husband build stable vegetable and roots crops

garden but since they only have limited land left, they are forced to resort to other means of livelihood to survive. Her elder daughter used to work for a family in the city as housemaid even when she was just 15 years old. Leoning cried almost all night feeling sorry for her daughter's miserable working conditions. The husband (whom her daughter worked for six months) molested her. She filed a case but they ended up settling prior to a court hearing after the perpetrator's family paid PhP10,000 (USD238).

> *"They took advantage of my daughter's weakness being uneducated and young. I promise to family not to allow any of my two daughters to work as housemaids again. I would rather that we live poor as poor as life gets but I can't give away my kids to sexual predators again."*

Being a mother whose life is spent performing purely reproductive tasks such as childbearing, childrearing, foraging, gardening, cooking, and a lot more, this denies Leoning her the chance of being associated with the other people outside her immediate family or clan. She doesn't find time to be part of the wider community activities. She is only obligated by her tribal leaders to participate in cultural activities and in local elections. Leoning shares that she used to be the lead tribal dancer but everything has stopped after her marriage, and now all she cares about is her family and how they can survive.

> *"Being a wife and mother is really hard especially when everyone in the community expects me to be able to give good life and care for my family. When something happens to my family just like when my neighbours knew about my daughter's case, they ridicule me. They blame me, not anyone else in the family for the ill fate of my kid. I believe it was unfair of them to judge my choice of letting my daughter work as a housemaid at a young age. But you know, it already happened."*

Leoning is in a difficult situation trying to make both ends meet for her family to survive. She cannot rely only on her husband to provide them food and medicine whenever someone is ill. She has to focus all her time and effort looking for ways in which her family can gather food to eat. She is spending at least four hours daily in her vegetable garden. She sells and barters some of her good produce to her immediate neighbours in order to buy corn feed for her four hens and a rooster. Her family depends on her chickens for their protein requirement. They eat fish at one-two times a month. Fish is a lot more expensive in the rural area of Mindanao where fish cars have to travel 60-80 kilometres to vend.

> *"I love my chickens and I want to raise more so that my family would have a steady supply of meat for our meals. I also want to raise goats and cows but the problem is we can't afford to buy them. I used to raise goats before. It was fun and lucrative because we were able to produce milk and meat once in a while. Our only carabao, the one we bought after selling our land is now sickly. We are afraid to lose him. He is very close to my husband and sons. We wanted some help from the veterinarian but sad to say that the doctor comes to our town centre only once a year. If only a sick carabao can be treated with our medicinal plants, we would give him some but the problem is the abscess in his right hind leg has really grown big now. We need the right animal medicine to give our carabao the second chance in life."*

After some deep reflections on the things Leoning has narrated so far to me, she exclaims:

> *"I am really poor! God, please help me help my family!"*

After a pause for about one minute, she continues by saying,

> *"The only possession I can truly call my own is my family.*

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I don't have land title under my name, no house, no carabao, no farm. I only have these little things that have great help and significance to the survival of my big family. The chickens and the vegetable patch I nurtured and maintained are my last hope to ensure that we have food on our table."

5.8.2.4. Summary of the characteristics of the 'coping' group

The stories of Juan and Nelly, Bonie and Leoning as described above illustrate how the wellbeing and life chances of the 'coping' Indigenous people depend on the 'better-off' people—the male leaders who have the privilege of ownership, access and control of the 'rules, resources, people, activities and power' (Kabeer, 2003 cited in March et al., 2005, p. 104) in rural Mindanao. Their survival is intimately linked to the reigning power of their political leaders in the local Government. Juan and Nelly's family experienced severe and prolonged hunger during the time their local government politician lost in the mayoral election. Leoning, on the other hand, relied on her daughter to help her get out of poverty. She sent her daughter to the city to work as domestic helper but she was terrified knowing the male house owner sexually molested her daughter. Leoning transitioned from being one of the 'coping' to becoming one of the 'poorest and most marginalised' when her family decided not to allow any one of their daughters to work as domestic helpers in the city. Her family has been left with a small parcel of land due to a distress sale and Leoning's small vegetable garden's produce is not enough for her big family.

The 'coping' group of Indigenous people is the close ally of the 'better-off'.

They live in inner communities next to the town centre where the 'better-off' Indigenous people live. They can readily take advantage of the resources being poured by the Government and non-government organisations at the town centre. They are also the easiest ones to access by their leaders to gather as an audience on any seminar or project of the outsiders in their area.

They are in the 'coping' group because their survival and life chances is intimately linked to their limited landholding and capabilities to claim their rights over the resources centrally controlled by the 'better-off'. Their wellbeing and life chances as poor people are continuously at risk of becoming the 'poorest and most marginalised' as their voices, choices, and agency as individuals are constituted in the discourse of the powerful leaders who are male and expert outsiders (Bacchi, 2010; Chambers, 1983). The nature of their participation in rural development planning, as the stories suggest, is 'nominal' (Agarwal, 2001, pp. 1624-1625). Agarwal describes nominal participation as being 'a member of a group'. It means that when someone's participation is nominal, one is not able to exercise her/his social and political capabilities to enter into decision-making opportunities. On the hand, Cornwall (2003, p. 1327) argues that the least important mode of participation is called functional participation where participants are needed only to show up and be counted in the documentation of the project management team. Participants in this mode of activity are viewed as objects of the project. For Nussbaum (2011), this is an instance where people are considered as means not as an ends of

development.

5.8.3. *Malisen ne peg egpe*: Living a life of destitution in rural Mindanao

This section presents the three case studies illustrating the living conditions of the poorest and most marginalised groups the so-called '*malisen ne peg egpe'*[21] participants in this study. These persons are the ones classified as the worst off in terms of being the least supported and protected to maintain their health and to possess material and political control over property and livelihoods necessary for their wellbeing. This group of participants is comprised mostly of rural Indigenous women who have limited rights and negligible capability towards improvement of their wellbeing and life chances as citizens. Women who belong to this category in the typology are wives in the marginal and poorest rural families who perform subordinated roles mainly associated with their reproductive responsibilities at home. These poorest Indigenous people are those who are living in the remotest areas in rural Mindanao. They have poor access to basic services as the Government and other state actors pour most of their resources into the town centre and to people they are usually in contact with—the *datus* (male tribal leaders). Chambers (1983) argues that leaders and expert planners who are 'outsiders', use their urban ideologies in rural development planning. The outsiders carry

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[21] Matigsalug term for the Poorest and Most Marginalised group, those whose living conditions are considered in the worst off cases due to loss of control and access to farm land, disease or loss of a family member, poor cropping and indebtedness. In this study, they comprised mostly of women whose lives are subordinated by household, community, market and state systems and rules (Kabeer, 2003).

with them spatial, project, person, dry season, diplomatic and professional biases. Spatial bias happens when the outsiders prefer to visit only the town centre and leave the remote areas behind. Project bias is the tendency of the outsiders to frequently focus on model projects for ease of documentation and to 'guarantee success'. Person or male bias is the preference of the outsiders to deal mostly with local leaders or the *datus* (male tribal chieftains). Dry season bias refers to the outsiders' tendency of visiting the rural area during the non-rainy season only. Diplomatic bias refers to the tendency of according unnecessary amount of politeness to senior staff by the junior staff assigned in the field. This diplomacy is also happening between the relationship of junior outsiders and the local people. Lastly, professional bias refers to the propensity of the outsiders who are trained in universities to adhere to their specialisation bias. The engagement of outsiders who belong to the same field, for example, agricultural science fields such as animal husbandry, crop protection, plant pathology, etc, leaves other dimensions of rural poverty unaddressed.

Spatial bias, as well as the other biases described above, are considered to be 'corrosive disadvantages' (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013) that hamper rural people, especially women, children and the differently abled in Mindanao to become active partners of men and elite groups in development. Missing out on actual social action, even in a simple meeting or community gathering, means that aa woman does not have the chance to listen and be listened to (Dobson, 2014) about her realities reflected through her 'self-critical awareness' (Chambers, 1997, p. 32).

5.8.3.1. Case 8: Jun-jun, the poorest widower

Jun-jun is an Indigenous father of four kids, ages 8 months, one, two and four years old. His wife Teling was sick and was left undiagnosed until her death in 2013. According to Jun-jun, Teling suffered from *bughat* (relapse). The *comadrona* (traditional midwife) during the separate interview, says that Teling was suffering from eclampsia. She reportedly had a high fever some few weeks before her scheduled child delivery. The *comadrona* confirmed that Teling was severely malnourished. She did not have any prenatal checkup done at the health centre. The nearest health centre is 10.5 kilometres away from the remote tribal village where Jun-jun's family lives. Jun-jun looks so sad and flimsy just like his kids who are walking around the bamboo house without sandals. The three kids move around the village without short pants and are wearing tattered Sandoz that look like they have not been washed for weeks. The family lives in a very small bamboo house that has no toilet and water facilities. The kids have been trained to find their places in the bushes to pass their waste, and Jun-jun does the same.

Jun-jun feels sorry about losing his wife. He regrets being poor and unable to give his wife and children decent and comfortable lives. Jun-jun has never attended any formal school just like his wife Teling. When Teling was still alive, the couple helped other Indigenous farmers in the community in either *bayanihan* (community harvesting based on reciprocity) or paid casual work on the banana farm. They usually took their kids with them

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whenever they could find occasional farm work. They left their kids playing usually under the fruits trees while they worked. Now that Jun-jun is a widower and being left with four lonely and malnourished kids, he feels like giving up. He shares his desire to find a better job for his kids but he does not know how since he cannot leave his kids with his mother who is sickly and old.

Jun-jun has not bought or received any free clothes for himself for three years now. When Teling was alive, Jun-jun loved to buy his wife a new duster or blouse every Christmas time. During the same time, he also bought his kids some pairs of sandos and short pants from the town's public market. Jun-jun relies from pre-loved clothes shared to him by his aunt who lives in the city. However, or several years now, his aunt has not came back to visit their village. Jun-jun says he does not care whether he only has two pairs of pants and three t-shirts for as long his kids are alive.

Doing the same casual work as before his wife's death, Jun-jun has to take his kids to the farm except the baby. He has to ask his neighbours who are willing and available to look after the baby while he is out at work.

> *"I am just blessed to have neighbours who truly care and understand my needs. As long as they are available, they would take my baby girl for a day's care. Some neighbours would even like me to leave all the kids with them while I am away without asking anything in return. But because my three older kids would now cry when left to my neighbours, I take them to work. I think they like it there because we can eat snacks and lunch offered by the host farmer who invited us for bayanihan. I don't want to lose any of my kids.'*

5.8.3.2. Case 9: Besing

Besing is pregnant and a mother of six kids. She lives in the innermost part of the pineapple plantation in the Bukidnon area. She was diagnosed with goiter (otherwise known as Grave's disease) five years ago and her husband is sickly and she fears that if something happens to him, her family will be a total wreck. Her husband works in the pineapple plantation as a labourer. Lately, because of chest pain, her husband is unable to work. She wants to take him to the nearest hospital for a medical check-up but is unable to do it, as she doesn't have money for the transportation, snacks, and payment for the doctor's fee. She said that she has been borrowing money from almost all people she knows in her neighbourhood. Her family also has an outstanding loan from the "5-6" [22] being offered by some moneyed locals. Her family's total amount of loan is close to PhP60,000 (USD1,428). Besing and her husband are members of the Indigenous tribe in Bukidnon. They used to have a farmland measuring at least 1.5 hectares but they sold it to local pineapple businessman. They thought selling their land was a good strategy to overcome poverty. They intended to start up a small business, particularly a *sari-sari* [23] store. They did not realise their plan. They spent most of their money saving the life of their son who they lost to pneumonia last year.

Having been physically weak, food poor and isolated, Besing finds it really hard to meet her family's daily basic needs. Her house made of plastic

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[22] Otherwise known as "loan sharks" or those who provide easy loan and charge hefty interest rate of 20 percent per month on top of the principal loan amount.
[23] A Filipino term for variety store selling all sorts of basic commodities such as rice, canned goods, dried fish, toiletries, etc.

tarpaulin wall and roofing, which is probably one of the worst in the community. She says, 'We don't own the lot where this house is built. The owner of the farm allows us to live here while my husband is still working in this farm. These materials we used to build this house—the tarpaulin are from the election banners used by politicians.' Her children whose ages range from below one to nine years old look physically weak and malnourished just like their parents. The kids were happy to receive my presents for them, a bag of bread, peanut butter and cookies. In one sitting, all the food I offered them was gone. Besing tearfully recalls her departed son. She says that the only hope left for her to hold on to life is her other kids. Besing describes how hard it is to see her children cry because they are hungry. When her husband is not working, they won't be able to buy rice. Even the daily wage from the farm work of her husband amounting to PhP150 (USD3) is barely enough for their daily food requirements. She said that her big family consumes at least two kilos of rice for about PhP100 (USD2) and her husband, for his cigarettes, keeps PhP50 (USD1). When asked how she feels about her husband's smoking habit, she said:

> *"Cigarette smoking is the cause I know why my husband is ill nowadays. We are not certain yet about his medical condition but his chest pain and frequent cough indicate that something really is wrong. I ask him to stop smoking because we need to spend more money for food but he refused to take heed of my advice.'*

Besing forgets her responsibility to herself and the child in her womb. She is in the last trimester of her pregnancy but she said that she never gone

to the nearest clinic for prenatal and vitamin supplement needs. She cannot leave her small children unattended. Besing appears sickly with her protruding thyroid gland. She speaks and walks slowly during the time of the first interview. I asked her to give me another chance to see her in the following week so that I could coordinate with the nearest health centre for her immediate health needs. I was successful at getting her and her husband's approval to meet them again in their house.

A few weeks after, Besing was happy to inform me that she went to the clinic with a neighbour. Her husband did not go to work that day to take care of the kids.

> *"The nurse told me I'm at risk for this pregnancy because of my goiter and low haemoglobin count. They have given me vitamins and a dose of tetanus toxoid. I hope me and my baby would be fine."*

Being poor, isolated, and physically weak, Besing has been given a very poor chance to improve her capabilities in terms of associating herself with other people. Inasmuch as she dreams of a life being closely surrounded and supported by peers, she cannot materialise whatever she aspires as she is locked into her deprivations. Her family's survival depends on her time and efforts, however flimsy and difficult it is for her to make both ends meet. She depends heavily on her small vegetable patch for food.

> *"We learn to eat these pineapples in various ways. We cook it with other vegetables mixed with coconut milk, just to survive. I cry every time my kids complain hunger. I pity them."*

Besing is dependent on the scanty produce of her small vegetable garden.

'"I am very close nature because it gives me hope and assurance that when something grows from the bowel of the earth, it will become our food."

She used to have more than 10 mature chickens but she lost them after a virus outbreak in the neighbourhood. She longs for someone to help her start raising chickens again. She told me, each hen costs PhP200 (USD4). I refused to grant her right there and then her wish. Instead, I coordinated with a local government official to help her to start raising chickens in her backyard. After two weeks, a neighbour offered Besing a chance to grow her own chickens in the backyard through the *batun*.[24] system. The arrangement expects her to return the pair of chickens on the second time the hen weans its juvenile chicks. In this case, the good neighbour does not expect more than a pair to be given back to his family. The usual arrangement when neighbours enter into a *batun* agreement involves the receiver's responsibility of returning the full value (ratio of 1:1) plus 1/3 of the total value of the first progeny.

Besing is desperate to help family to at least achieve food sufficiency. Her family does not own land and any material things. Their survival is continuously being challenged by the interlocking deprivations they experience. Besing's family is a typical example of Robert Chamber's explanation about how the poorest become and stay poor without change from the bottom, meaning from the local people, who can define and construct their ideas and plans based on their local issues reflecting their lcddu (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities Chambers

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[24] A local arrangement of entering into shepherding cows, carabaos, goats, chicken, geese, etc., for other families.

(1983). The family cannot overcome the interlocking deprivations caused by poverty, physical weakness, powerlessness, vulnerability, and isolation. Besing is completely trapped and in unable to move up the social mobility ladder unless and until rural development planning is changed to focus on the rural and Indigenous people's needs. The family has lost their land through stealthy land deals. Their ignorance has lead them to into the hands of treacherous and unscrupulous local businessmen who support modern monoculture plantation. Losing their land, houses and livelihoods to monoculture pineapple plantations does not give them any social and economic benefit. Besing and her husband did not have any formal education. The couple is illiterate and innumerate just like their children.

In terms of Besing's participation in community affairs such as meetings, elections and festivals, she said,

> *"I don't attend in any activities in our town centre. I can't leave my kids behind. I would rather find some staple food in my neighbourhood rather than attending in any activities outside our home. My husband is active in almost all community affairs. He can go out from the house anytime he wishes being the head of the family. He spends a lot of time chatting and drinking with his friends while I'm attending to the needs of my children. During elections, he is the only one able to participate. I have not been able to vote since."*

5.8.3.3. Case 10: Nida, the impoverished, depressed widow and mother

Nida is a mother of five children whose ages range from six to 16. She lost her husband three years ago to a heart attack. With almost nothing to call her own except for her kids, Nida feels like giving up her fight against

extreme poverty. For food, she is depending on whatever her kids will give her after a long day of playing and collecting fruits and vegetables from the neighbourhood. Nida looks messy and acts disorderly but she could at least keep her composure during the interview. Her neighbours are helping her cope from the depression she is experiencing. Lately, her neighbours have observed Nida's melt down. She can cry all day regardless of reason. Yet when Nida is in a good mood, her neighbours describe her as pleasant, helpful and friendly. This interview with her happened only after one of her neighbours introduced me to her.

All her school-age kids are out of school. The children, two girls and three boys, look flimsy and weak and yet their faces are beaming, reflecting their innocence. During the interview the kids were playing and I have in fact witnessed that after being gone for three hours, the eldest son came back with a basket full of corn and coconuts. The son said he got them from helping a neighbour harvest his corn. His son participated in the *bayanihan* (communal work) harvesting of corn. Nida is very proud of her children, especially his elder sons. Her 16 and 14 year-old sons are accepting manual labour jobs wanted by the banana growers in the community.

The family used to own at least 500 square metres of land planted to bananas. They sold their land distressfully to save the life of her husband who was comatose for two months in the hospital. The only land left for the family now is the one where their house stands. The house was built in

1991. It is made of bamboo stilts and nipa leaves for roofing. Nida shows the interior part of her house. There is no flooring but the earth. It is muddy because it rained the night before the interview. She shows how they slept and got wet the previous night with the severely damaged roofing above them.

Nida is in a state of depression. She needs mental health support apart from her other needs but she has never been to the hospital or the clinic for help with her anxiety. She is not mothering her children well because she sleeps and cries a lot. She is worried about her children's future. She is thinking that they are going to die after all. The neighbours, who are also impoverished, have tried their best to support the poor family. Nida's depression has locked her inside the house while her children roam around the community to survive. When any of the kids are sick, the neighbours offer their help wholeheartedly to the family. No one in the neighbourhood thinks that Nida needs medical treatment to help her get well and be back to her feet again for her poor little kids. I thought she needs mental health support first so that she can at least stand up and support herself and her children.

The problem is, mental health care in rural Mindanao is totally unheard of. The local people would only be able to identify one who is mentally sick when someone manifests overt signs of severe mental illness usually associated with violent behaviour, obscenity, and talking to oneself. Depression among rural Indigenous people is hard to detect. I used my

basic social skills and knowledge to co-ordinate with a good friend who is a practicing psychologist to address the anxiety issues confronted by Nida. I accompanied Nida to the city while I asked the neighbours to look after the kids. After the first visit, the psychologist confirmed that Nida is in a state of depression. She needs anti-depressant medicines to help her get well. She needs good nutrition too. We were able to manage the first treatment as well as the first two weeks' medication. The regional hospital in Southern Mindanao, with the help of a politician, has continued the treatment of Nida while her kids are still being looked after her good neighbours.

Due to her poor mental state, Nida has isolated herself by staying inside the house sleeping and crying. She forgets to associate with her neighbours to get social support. Her incapability has forced her children to wander for food in the neighbourhood for almost a year now. When asked if she has opened up her emotional distress to anyone including any local official, she said:

> "No, I am fine. I just need to be alone most of the time. I am losing hope but I know I'll be fine soon."

> "I can't afford to go out and play and have a chat with my neighbours. I can't see myself enjoying while in fact I'm hurting. I can't be who they want me to be because I lost hope. I lost my husband and our land. And all I want to do now is wait until we are all gone."

It is hopelessness that leads Nida to isolation and depression. Her neighbours, who are obviously unfamiliar with depression and anxiety, think that someday soon she is going to get up. Even Nida is in a state of

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denial of her own experience of pain exacerbated by extreme deprivations. She needs help but the Government and non-government actors are nowhere to be found in her remote rural community. She needs mental support to help her claim her full right to live and save her children. When asked about what are the most important needs of her family at present, she said:

"Food and roofing for our house."

Nida did not think about addressing her mental condition as important. She thought only of the immediate needs of her hungry children.

Nida, being a poor widow and a mother of five physically weak children is severely impoverished and feels completely hopeless after losing her husband and their only piece of land. Losing her land through a distressful sale just to save her husband's life was the only choice she was left with, being unable to access reliable medical and other social services in rural Mindanao.

"I did not know what else to do when I lost my husband. I am not prepared to take his responsibilities for our family. I am just trained and skilled doing domestic duties."

5.8.3.4. Summary of the characteristics of the 'poorest and most marginalised' group

The stories of Jun-jun, Besing and Nida represent the characteristics of the 'poorest and most vulnerable' people in the plantation communities of rural Mindanao. Their destitution is a result of their being deprived

systematically—poor social services and poor capabilities to lead their lives out of extreme poverty and hunger. They live in the remotest rural area and they have been left out in rural development planning. Their wellbeing and life chances depend delicately on their poor agroecological resources and *bayanihan* (communal work and sharing). The resources being poured out from the town centre do not reach them simply because they are expected to go out from their remote communities and walk long kilometres to claim their rights over scanty social services available at the centre. Nida represents the poorest Indigenous mothers/women in the community. Her poor mental health is left unaddressed as her community leaders think she only represents a minority and hence, has no voice and choice to assert her rights to be helped by any means to save herself and her poor little children. The life of Nida is a life not worthy of living at all. Nussbaum (2011) argues that everyone in a democratic state should be afforded a decent social minimum level of support to build up one's capabilities to do and to be. Nida, and the rest of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people who are mostly women, children, the elderly and the differently abled, are the victims of the structural and positivist 'development project' (McMichael, 2008) promoting modern monoculture plantations.

The prevailing 'monocultures of the mind' (Shiva, 1993) marginalised the poorest rural Indigenous people and dispossessed them of their land rights. The lcddu (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities Chambers (1983) of the poorest and most marginalised rural people are

not being listened to (Dobson, 2014) and included in the existing framework for open dialogue. Christakis and Bausch (2006) argues that what we need in order to reinvent democracy to work for the poorest and most marginalised is to take their collective wisdom as part of the whole human development efforts through open dialogue. For Girardet (2015), giving the poorest rural people their chance to improve their local food and livelihood systems means giving them the chance to regenerate their rural communities under the so-called regenerative development framework. A regenerative development framework is more than just sustainable development. It is a form of critique of the existing practices surrounding the global sustainability development agenda. The idea supports Dobson's (2007, p. 2) ecologism principle, which holds that 'a sustainable and fulfilling existence presupposes radical changes in our relationship with the nonhuman natural world and in our mode of social and political life'. It is a form of critique on the prevailing 'environmentalism' movement that is usually managerial in its approach. Environmentalism is anthropocentric in nature. It supports the idea that nature is just an object of development for humans to use. This idea, according to Schneider and McMichael (2010), is form of metabolic rift, a serious threat to our survival and this happens when there is a huge discrepancy in the relationship between human production and nature. The monoculture plantations in Mindanao causes major metabolic rifts as the case studies illustrate. The Indigenous women have lost their seeds, and they now have poor soil fertility due to a heavy reliance of the plantation communities for commercial petrochemical fertilisers and pesticides. These forms of metabolic rifts are evident in the

works of Gonzales (2006) and Shiva (2001). They reported that modern agro-industrial modes of production that have exploited Indigenous soils in the South to support the food security agenda favouring the market and business interests of the North has caused the rural communities too much ecological and human stress. Soil fertility has depleted and diverse crop seeds have disappeared as the monoculture system favour only the crops/seeds they have prepared in their laboratories.

5.9. "They hold not just half but most of the power and resources"

Community, market and state level platforms, with legal and administrative regimes, dominate the visible, formal and powerful structures of decision-making in the Philippines. Participation in development undertakings is often limited to people who are active, educated, men, landed, moneyed and influential. Negotiations made in the public sphere related to health, food, land, livelihood and education in the rural areas in Mindanao are perceived as directly influenced by the interests of the more powerful individuals and institutions on the island. The Venn diagram shown in Figure 15 illustrates how the participants perceived the extent to which rural development planning has proceeded mostly in the absence of individual and household participation in rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao. The diagram came out as a result of the consensus of the participants during the focus group discussions.

The Venn diagram as a participatory rural appraisal (PRA) tool is an

effective graphic representation of nominal resource/wealth, power, and influence distribution in a given community. The size of the circles indicates the magnitude of power or status of individuals and groups in the negotiated space, in this case participation in rural development planning. As shown, the participants of this study describe rural development planning as a social action that is predominantly entered into and negotiated by their community leaders and experts of various state and non-state organisations. In this study, community leaders are comprised of men as the head of their tribal councils. They are called *datus* (male tribal chieftains). Some of them are elected and appointed leaders in the various local government units and agencies. This finding coincides with Chambers' (1997) idea that rural development tourism of the outsiders manipulates and coerces lcddu (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities by them being negligent and disinterested in their approaches to ensure local people's participation in development. The local people, as shown in the diagram, believe that the voices and choices of their leaders dominate in the whole decision-making process to come up with a local development plan.

Figure 15 shows the participants' perception on the extent of their participation in rural development planning in Mindanao. As indicated, the participants see women as partners of men in most of the household and community activities. However, women's bargaining power in the decision-making at the community level is but a marginal claimed space in the rural development planning and needs to be part of the wider discussion for

various personal, household and community concerns. This 'claimed space' (Gaventa, 2006), is also known as the facilitated social and political space initiated by civil society groups that have begun to change the mindsets of the local people pertaining to promoting women's voices and choices in local policymaking. As shown, the claimed space of women (indicated by the common point created between the red and green circles) is a marginal space in the whole process of rural development planning. Joining the impoverished and powerless rank of women are their dependents – young people, the elderly, sick and differently abled persons. The physical weaknesses of these vulnerable groups place them as passive recipients of the decisions of the state and local leaders. Being poor, physically and mentally weak renders them insignificant in the existing decision-making platforms. Therefore, the outsiders have the 'power-over' (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) the weak and the powerless rural people to plan for them (Bacchi, 2004, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005) and constitute them in the development discourse as passive objects and problems in policy-making (Bacchi, 2004, 2010) rather than as persons with voices, choices and agency (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001; Nussbaum, 2011). Mr. WX described below how he is being excluded from any sort of socio-economic planning in rural Mindanao.

> *"As handicapped, I have not been able to participate in the local planning. I feel that I am not needed. They give some sort of social and medical support for my maintenance medicine but there never was a time when I am asked of my idea about the services they provide and of ways to improve them."*
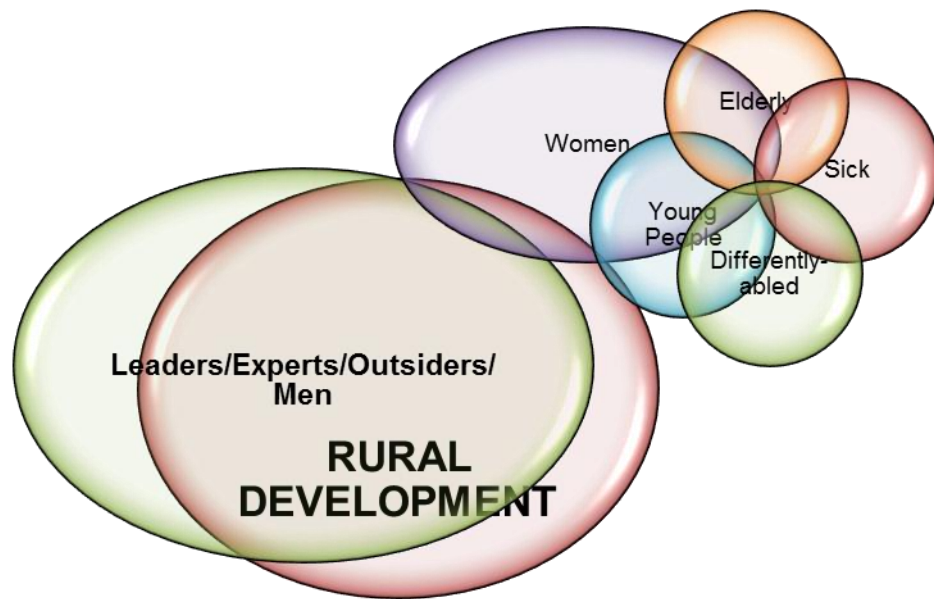
Figure 15. Venn diagram illustrating the extent of participation of men, women and their dependents in rural development planning in Mindanao.

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

During the focus group discussion, specifically on the deliberation on Venn diagram, participants say that women and their dependents are just 'decorations' on the 'hat' made-up predominantly of leaders, experts and men who partake in rural development tourism. One of the women participants, Mrs. YZ, narrated as follows:

> *"We are asked to participate sometimes in community-wide projects as women. They call us to join meetings, mainly to thumbmark and/or sign in their attendance sheets. They ask us to prepare the town hall before everyone arrives. They even asked us to prepare an intermission number. We feel that our presence is valued but honestly, I feel disgusted being unable to sustain my participation in community activities. Men are the preferred and expected attendees of community meetings in our tribe. Men are being listened to."*

The narrative depicts a glaring weakness of participatory development approaches in rural Mindanao that have proceeded under the idea of 'stakeholders' participation' or 'participation for all'. Agarwal (2001, p. 1623) argue that participatory development projects espouse 'participatory exclusion' by putting up seemingly participatory activities that in fact quell women's voices and choices in the actual decision-making platforms promoting their wellbeing. Women become incidental and at worst, accidental participants in various community projects when they are limited to perform only mundane roles like signing or thumb marking attendance sheets, seating in the last rows, rendering dance and song numbers, and preparing refreshments and venues. Table 22 shows the typical sequence of activities performed by men and women during a community meeting and/or gathering. Men at the community level decision-making platforms enjoy the privilege of being served by women starting from the house, some few hours before the community meeting. In terms of number and time required to finish various activities before the meeting, women run out of both time and stamina to prepare and assert their views and ideas during the meeting after they perform a multitude of reproductive tasks at home. In this study, women are found to wake up at least one hour before their husbands, primarily to cook and feed their families. They typically do not arrive at the meeting hall at the exact time for the meeting. They are either late or way too early in advance to arrive. Latecomers have been over burdened by household chores. The early birds take some key responsibilities for cleaning, arranging the seats and tables, fixing the

sound system and stage or backdrop, etc.

During the meeting, women are seated in the last rows while men are usually allotted seats next to other men especially the *datus* (male tribal chieftains). The tribal council comprised of *datus* is seated at the presidential table facing the other participants. During the meeting, women perform another round of subordinated duties to men by serving refreshments and offering special production numbers to entertain other participants.

Women do not talk and participate in the discussions as they expect their men to do the talking for them. The practice of men doing the talk for women has repressed the latter's capability to express their ideas and concerns, which have not been heard and addressed collectively at the community level. This passive form of participation in rural development activities prevents women's concerns from being elevated and discussed at the community and higher policy arenas. This study found that women either arrive late or come prior to meetings and spend more time and physical effort than their male counterparts. The multiple burdens of women at the household level resonates at the community level decision-making platforms where women are losers in the process of being physically exhausted before, during and after the community meeting or gathering.

Figure 16 shows a sample of an attendance sheet in a seminar conducted

by a Government agency. The figure shows that only two or nine percent are women (both named Catalina) who joined in the activity together with 22 other men. This shows that women as minority in the planning platforms feel overwhelmed and intimidated to actively speak if they are given the chance to partake in the discussion. As shared by one of the women leaders, Mrs. ABC states:

> *"I feel shy being surrounded by active male leaders in our community. I stammer because of shyness whenever I'm asked to introduce myself. I don't have the confidence to speak and express my opinion on the issue or topic we are called to discuss."*

While there is no agreement across studies conducted worldwide to date on gender and participation, Agarwal (2001, pp. 170-171) report that at least one-third of the proportion of women in a single committee work constitutes 'critical mass' and has been proven to significantly improve the effectiveness of women's participation. More than this suggested proportion is indeed ethical. Providing more diversity in a respectful dialogue (McIntyre-Mills, Goff, & Hillier, 2011) to discuss diverse issues pertaining to rural development expands the boundaries (Midgley, 1997; Ulrich, 1994, 1996) in which the local people can actively and interactively participate (Agarwal, 2001) and be able to see their diverse ideas and collective consensus moving progressively with them. This is also about sharing responsibilities for the inevitable risks and failures brought about by collective social action. Promoting diversity on the aspect of participation of men and women, as well as the other members in society who are constituted in the discourses of development, requires moving

beyond the isolationist and imperialist mode of getting to the truth (Flood & Romm, 1996, pp. 82-84). The way forward is to adopt complementarism in the set of strategies to address marginalisation of the voices and choices of the disadvantaged groups by listening and engaging with them in a truly respectful dialogue, in an eclectic way (McIntyre-Mills et al., 2011).

5.10. Typology of participation: depicting the democratic space deficit in rural and Indigenous Mindanao

Efforts to make participation a viable tool for inclusive and accountable development can be traced from at least two major demands. The first demand for participation comes from the need of the direct stakeholders or local citizens to help shape relevant public policy, targeted to improve citizens' participation, make better decisions, and better government (Mansbridge, 1990 and Warren, 1992, cited in Cornwall, 2004 p. 1). The next demand for participation comes from opportunities being provided by elected and appointed public officials by listening to and engaging with the people who have put them in their offices. In this study, I argue that participation is an open democratic space that should be activated at the individual, peer and family levels; treating each individual person as an end in itself and not as means for the welfare of others (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). Participation as a process of earning and claiming the negotiated democratic space is crucial to analysing the role of power relations amongst participants in the creation of knowledge and truth (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001).

Table 22. Typical sequences of activities performed by men and women during community meeting and/or gathering

Activities by Time	Man	Woman
Before	At home: -wakes up -eats -feeds animals -grooms self -walks to meeting hall	At home: -wakes up ahead of her husband -cooks -feeds children -washes dishes -prepares clothes for husband and herself -walks to meeting hall *(Pending and continuing tasks)* -washes clothes -feeds children -feeds animals -forage food/gardening
During	At the meeting hall: -meets/greets other men -signs/thumbmarks attendance sheet -sits in front and middle rows -participates in discussion signs/thumbmarks official documents such as contracts leaves the meeting hall	At the meeting hall: -arrives usually late; early to arrive to help prepare the meeting hall -signs/thumbmarks attendance sheet -sits in last rows, timid and shy -does not participate in discussion -serves refreshment -renders dance/song numbers with other women -does not sign/thumbmark official documents
After	At the community centre: -hangs around with other men for chatting, drinking and playing basketball -goes home at nighttime	Still at the meeting hall: -helps in restoration of the meeting hall -goes home directly to perform pending and continuing tasks at home

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Figure 16. Sample attendance sheet in a training conducted by a government agency.

Source: Secretary of the Matigsalug-Manobo Tribal People Council of Elders Davao City (MAMATRIPCEDI).

This section presents the typical narratives of the rural and Indigenous people participants on the nature, types and extent to which they are able/not able to participate in various community, city, provincial and national gatherings tackling rural Mindanao development. The case studies provided here include the actual stories of men, women, young people, the elderly and the sick, and differently abled persons. The purpose of this analysis is to describe the issues confronted by rural and Indigenous people in Mindanao as they negotiate for ideal democratic spaces that will support their land rights, livelihood, food and water systems, health and education. The case is made that those who are at the bottom of the socio-economic and political hierarchy—the poorest and

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the most marginalised, are neglected and deprived of their rights to participate in various decision-making platforms at the community, market and state level. The typology of participation, as shown in Figure 17, illustrates that across types of participants, namely the better-off, coping and the poorest and most marginalised, the nature and extent of participation vary.

Types of Participants	Participation			
	Empowered	Active	Marginal and Passive	Negligible
Better-off				
Coping				
Poorest & Most Marginalised				

Figure 17. Typology of participation across types of participants

5.11. The passive to negligible participation of the better-off

Agarwal describes participation in a typology —nominal, passive, consultative, activity-specific, active, and interactive participation (2001, p. 1624). Nominal participation takes place when men and women are grouped and called members of the various community organisations such as the mother's club, the farmers' organisation, etc. Passive participation happens when farmers, especially women, are called to participate in community meetings to simply sit and listen. Consultative participation

happens when the participants are asked about their ideas and opinions on the issues at hand. Usually, this sort of community activity requires the male local leaders and elders' participation. In this study, women are prevented by the existing norms, customs and traditions to partake openly in the discussions at the community level. Women can, however, find their place in activity-specific projects. These are projects developed by the outsiders comprised of leaders and technical experts of the local government and national government agencies. Active participation happens when the participants are able to express their opinions and ideas unhampered. Their exercise of free speech denotes power and agency to affect proposed social action. In this instance, just like the next typology called interactive participation, inhibits women's direct, open and definitive participation in the decision-making processes that shape policies and program implementation. Interactive participation requires voice, choice and agency of the actual participants to affect the shaping of policies through their critical ideas considering the rural and Indigenous people's local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable realities (Chambers, 1997).

Gaventa and Valderrama (2001, cited in Cornwall, 2006) offer vital explanations about the modes of participation and the reasons and treatment of participants in each mode by the sponsoring institution. First is **the *functional mode of participation***. People are being invited and enlisted as passive participants in the development projects (for example in training). The community organisers who are targeting compliance and

agreement to the proposed intervention usually seek their participation. Participants in this mode are being treated as objects of the project. Next is the ***instrumental mode of participation.*** This mode requires people to participate and take some hands-on responsibility in the project. The participants are being treated as instruments to make the project become successful. The ***consultative mode of participation*** invites the participants to express their views and opinions about the proposed social action. The participants are being viewed as actors and/or direct stakeholders of the project. Lastly, the ***transformative mode of participation*** enhances people's capabilities and allows them to exercise their rights and claim their basic entitlements as individuals to help transform social inequalities and improve their wellbeing. The participants are being viewed in this mode as agents of development. They are being given the chance as individuals rather than just mere representatives of their households and/or communities. In this mode, participants being agents are considered as the ends rather than the means of development. It is apparent that the first three modes have become the norm of the prevailing participatory development approaches. The local people are being treated as a means to development.

When development projects require only representatives of each basic unit, households, women and their dependents such as young people, the elderly, the sick and differently abled persons are extremely limited in their chance to participate and be heardto promote their agency as individuals with dignity. Focusing on dignity rather than mere satisfaction, according to

Nussbaum (2011), supports wellbeing and life chances for the disadvantaged members of the household and the wider community to be represented, heard and included in the decision-making process pertaining to issues of life, land, food, livelihood, education and health. Extending the notion of human dignity 'to do to be' (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999) in participatory development approaches for rural development planning requires women and their household dependents to be given the chance to enter into 'respectful dialogues' (McIntyre-Mills et al., 2011; J. McIntyre, 2002, p. 30). This study finds that rural development planning in Mindanao as a whole, which focuses on households and not individuals, gives extremely limited participation chances to women and other disadvantaged groups. Their participation is just limited to nominal, passive and consultative levels of participation, where according to the study conducted by Ruth Meinzen-Dick, Behrman, Pandolfelli, Peterman, and Quisumbing (2014), is due largely to women's burdens of performing their reproductive roles such as child bearing, child rearing, gardening, foraging and other household tasks.

Participation of rural and Indigenous people in rural development planning in this study includes some aspects such as land development, farming or agriculture, livelihood, food and water security, health and nutrition, education, and family planning (Table 23). In terms of gender, men have generally high participation in all aspects. The overall mean of 4.56 indicates that men have a very high participation level in rural development planning in Mindanao. Comparatively, women perceived their

participation in the decision-making as very low in land development, farming/agriculture, food and water security, and education planning components. The overall mean of 1.59 indicates that women participants in this study perceived their participation in the rural development planning in Mindanao as low or marginal.

Table 23. Participants' perception on the extent of their participation in some aspects of rural development planning in Mindanao

My level of participation in rural development planning for…	Men		Women	
	Mean	Description	Mean	Description
Land development	4.56	Very high	1.20	Very low
Farming/Agriculture	4.67	Very high	1.89	Very low
Livelihood	4.51	Very high	2.11	Low
Food and water	4.54	Very high	1.23	Very low
Health and nutrition	4.52	Very high	2.32	Low
Education	4.54	Very high	1.22	Very low
Family planning	4.58	Very high	1.54	Low
Disaster planning	4.57	Very high	1.19	Very low
Overall Mean	4.56	Very high	1.59	Low

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Legend:

Scale	*Range*	*Description*
5	*4.50-5.00*	*Very high*
4	*3.50-4.49*	*High*
3	*2.50-3.49*	*Moderate*
2	*1.50-2.49*	*Low*
1	*1.00-1.49*	*Very Low*

Chapter 6: 'Putting the last first': analysis of the way in which development biases affect social inclusion of the most marginalised Indigenous people in Mindanao

6.1. Introduction

This chapter explores rural development planning biases in the plantation communities of Mindanao impacting on the wellbeing and life chances of the Indigenous people, particularly their capabilities to actively participate in the decision-making processes. This thesis argues that the poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people in the banana and pineapple plantation communities in Mindanao are passive participants in rural development planning.

The Indigenous people in this study were engaged in a participatory systemic inquiry (Burns, 2007, 2012). Burns (2012, p. 99) argued that 'to unlock the issues, inquiry has to follow the issues'. It means that participatory systemic inquiry engages with the different stakeholders at all organisational levels. Each level has a unique set of realities and stories to share for the participants in the study to identify and learn about the interrelationships of issues and concerns they are confronted with. Participatory systemic inquiry is a deeper approach than any participatory action research (PAR) tool. It analyses more seriously the power

asymmetry across all organisational levels where stakeholders are being invited to participate and actualise their voice, choice and agency. Participatory systemic inquiry process does not end at the problems and issues identified by the local participants unlike PAR. It navigates and digs deeper to analyse the interrelationships of issues as perceived and told by the local people directly concerned about them.

The landless Indigenous farmers, who are mostly women, young people the sick and differently abled, are the poorest of the poor whose representation and interests are excluded by the privileged and powerful decision makers as evidenced by the proceeding analysis. The existing rural development planning frameworks tend to further the deprivation and marginalisation experienced by the poorest Indigenous people by passively locating them within the discourse instead of making them active part of the 'meaning making' through meaningful social and political actions for change (Max-Neef, 1991, pp. 15-16). This chapter uses Bacchi's policy-as-discourse theory to help unravel the covert and static meanings of social and economic issues confronted by the poor rural farmers in Mindanao. This means that the narrative of the poor and peripheral rural people is heard and acted upon by the rural people themselves with the administrators as facilitators in an open 'discursive space' (Habermas, 1989) and iterative social process to empower the poor Indigenous smallholder farmers primarily to become active participants in the decision-making process to protect their land rights which are intimately linked to sustaining their rights to food, decent housing,

livelihood, education and health. But this analysis is more than just rights and entitlements. As Nussbaum (2011) argues, we need to put in place a mechanism to move beyond human rights and entitlement approaches as rights themselves can be static where the problems and issues of the poor and marginalised are basically constructed in the grammar of the administrators' texts and speeches (Bacchi, 2000, 2010; Chambers, 1983, 1997; Habermas, 1978, 1984 1989). Human rights, according to Nussbaum are 'only words unless and until they are made real by government action' (2011, p. 65). Thus, again, the purpose of this study is to help affect the current governance and development frameworks by contributing deeper theorisation on rural poverty and Indigenous people's wellbeing using Capabilities Approach theory lens to justify the much-needed reframing of and rethinking about the current dominant social planning.

6.2. Demystifying rural poverty issues in Mindanao

This section of the analysis starts with the discussion about the pitfalls of rural development planning in Mindanao as a social action dominated and controlled by the political and social interests of the elites—policymakers, administrators, engineers, economists, statisticians and others called 'outsiders' or 'rural tourists' in the words of Robert Chambers in his book *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (1983). The purpose of this is to identify what, where, when, how and why errors or omissions in the process of examining the local realities in rural development in Mindanao happen. To this effect, a deeper understanding of the errors in constituting

truth and knowledge as affected by power dynamics between the discourse of elite and non-elite (Bacchi, 2010) will help to identify the extent to which capabilities of each person is being given importance in the actual social action such as designing policy frameworks to provide a justifiable and moral minimum provision of capabilities for a person to do and to be (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999).

It is important to examine Indigenous peoples' ideas, wisdom, values and beliefs that are attached to their way of life in the monoculture plantations in Mindanao. For Christakis and Bausch (2006), deepening democracy requires that local wisdom be integrated in the whole range of planning, implementing, and evaluation activities through open dialogue. Dobson (2014) argued that 'listening for democracy' demands that the local people should be listened to 'apopathically' (Waks, 2010 cited in Dobson, 2014 p. 69). Apopathic listening requires that the people 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1996) by the rural development planning are engaged in a truly 'respectful dialogue to get to truth' (McIntyre-Mills, 2006, p. 10). Apopathic listening gives both the listeners and the speakers, especially the 'othered' or 'subalterns' (McEwan, 2009), the opportunity to share power in knowledge creation by setting their biases or preconceived categories aside in order for the voice of both listeners and speakers to come through in its 'authentic' form. For Dobson (2014), this is the essence of sensory and dialogic democracy where power is shared by appreciating the viewpoints of the local people.

The participants in this study comprised of smallholder Indigenous farmers in the banana and pineapple plantation communities of Mindanao. Many of them are performing various social and political roles in the communities. Male participants (55), are heads of their families. They are also performing such roles as representatives of their households in community affairs. Of the 55 male participants, 15 are tribal chieftains (*datu*). They are the heads of tribes and communities. Two of the male participants are barangay captains [25]. Of the 50 female participants, 8 are *babaylans* (traditional medicine women) and 4 are NGO workers.

When the participants were asked of their main problem in the rural communities, their quick response would always be 'poverty' or '*kapubrihun*' in Visayan and Indigenous language. This shows that the rural people in Mindanao acknowledge the magnitude of deprivation they experience like what is being described below by Mrs. DEF, an Indigenous farmer participant living in one of the pineapple plantation communities covered in this study:

> *"We are poor and powerless. We will stay this way until we die or unless our political and economic systems change. They don't' involved us directly in the decision-making process simply because we are women."*

Rural and Indigenous poverty is probably the least understood development issue nowadays. McEwan (2009) argued that the development texts and discourses twisted the social, political, economic

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[25] Barangay captains of locally known as *punong barangay* in Filipino and *barangay kapitan* in Visayan are the highest elective official in the barangay (community). Barangay is the lowermost local government unit in the Philippines.

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and environmental realities of the local people. For McEwan, 'development texts are written in a representational language, using metaphors, images, allusion, fantasy and rhetoric to create imagined worlds that arguably bear little resemblance to the real world' (2009, p. 121). The local collective wisdom (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) or the local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) of the rural Indigenous people are not being listened to (Dobson, 2014) and hence, their issues and concerns are constituted in the development agenda and discourses of the powerful and elite officials, planners and engineers (Bacchi, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005).

Chambers (1983) succinctly cites that the reason why we misrepresent local peoples' realities is that the experts and powerful elites in our communities dominate and occupy the privileged decision-making space to 'plan for' (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) the poor local people. In his book *Rural Development: Putting the Last First,* Chambers argues that development workers who are 'outsiders', use their urban ideologies in their work with the rural and Indigenous communities. He termed these ideologies as 'urban cores' and these are more specifically known in terms of the six biases, namely: spatial, project, person, dry season, diplomatic and professional biases.

In this study, the local peoples' realities are being misrepresented; their problems and concerns are constituted in the discourses and interests of those who hold the power. For Shiva (1988), those who hold the power

aggrandise their dominance and treat as 'weeds' the local ideas and knowledge. To describe and analyse how these local perspectives and wisdom from the participants have been twisted and misrepresented in the rural development planning in Mindanao, I used as guides Chambers' six outsiders' biases in rural development work. The purpose of this analysis is to, again, describe the extent to which policy-as-discourse is dominated and controlled by the so-called 'upperclass' (Chambers, 1995, 1997) and powerful elites (Bacchi, 2010). The case is made that these prevailing urban biases in rural development planning in Mindanao deters local, discursive and active participation of the poorest and most vulnerable members in the Indigenous communities who are mostly comprised of women, children, elderly, sick and differently abled.

6.2.1. Conceptual and spatial biases

The first bias to be discussed is professional bias. It refers to the propensity of the outsiders who are trained in universities to adhere to their specialisation bias. The engagement of outsiders who belong to the same field, for example, agricultural science fields such as animal husbandry, crop protection, plant pathology, etc., leaves other dimensions of rural poverty unaddressed. The ideal scenario is still a good mix of outsiders who represent other distinctive fields, to be pluralistic in their approach and to better understand rural poverty in partnership with the local people who possessed the traditional knowledge and practices since time immemorial.

The prevailing approaches to rural development planning in Mindanao are still largely positivist. Chambers (1983, pp. 2-23) described positivist approaches to rural development as 'unperceiving' rural development by being partial (as opposed to being pluralist) in the development approach to address the multidimensional poverty experienced by the Indigenous peoples. Different programs of the Government and other state actors are not synchronised, as these types of interventions in the rural communities of Mindanao are mostly temporary, exclusivist, and positivist. Fischer (2000) argued that the conflict between local and expert knowledge often results in generalisation and rationalisation of our public policy making processes. For Scott (1998), it is a form of 'state simplification' where local realities and conditions of the people are constructed by the experts using their reductionist approach. Shiva (1988) argued that the neoliberal reductionist approach is a linear and positivist way of looking at local problems. It glorifies a misdirected version of science and technology along with anything Western as the panacea to all local problems. The experts' scientific and rational knowledge dominates or silences the 'agentic voice and choice' (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) of the local people by disarming them of the capability to enter the 'open dialogue' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and 'public discursive space' (Habermas, 1989). Habermas (1978, pp. 301-302), in his book *Knowledge and Human Interests,* argues that 'the only knowledge that can truly orient action is knowledge that frees itself from mere human interests and is based on ideas.' The technical and expert-dominated rural development planning in Mindanao is made even more evident in the following quote

derived from the interview with Mr. DEF:

> *"We have been accommodating different groups of experts from the government and other organisations. The agriculture specialists visit us to conduct their random and usual training. In another month, the health specialists of the local government would visit for another round of training and infrequent free health check-up. University researchers also get here to conduct their surveys. We are already confused as our visitors are. We have not seen any significant improvement in our lives despite these several visits."*

The problem with not having a clear goal specified in the engagement framework necessary to address the multidimensionality of rural and Indigenous poverty in Mindanao makes the rural and Indigenous communities as the 'laboratory' for the hodgepodge interventions of different institutions. The partiality of disciplines and expertise of people make understanding of poverty even more difficult. The government and science practitioners stand on the edge opposite the political economists camp (Chambers, 1983, pp. 30-33; Fischer, 2000). On the one hand, the positivist outsiders insist that to address poverty is to train people how to raise livestock in their backyard. According to Chambers, these professionals are reductionist in their approach to rural development planning, as if 'there is no alternative' or TINA (Shiva, 1988). On the other hand, the critical camp of the political economists (social science academics) question the underlying social, economic, political, and cultural aspects of poverty such as, but not limited to, access and control of resources, gender disparity, etc. It explores the formation of development discourses based on the texts and narratives embedded in the social, political, economic and environmental contexts of the local communities

rather than on the global hegemonic ideas institutionalised in our systems (McEwan, 2009, pp. 120-122). It also harnesses the local collective wisdom' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and gives axiological value to local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) of the local people.

In terms of spatial biases, outsiders (development workers) tend to focus more on projects located in community centres and passable locations. The remote and 'dirty' communities are usually being left out as the people living there are expected to meet the outsiders in the most conspicuous locations found along the highways and main roads in rural Mindanao. Mr. UV described his difficulty in meeting these outsiders in the following quote:

> *"I usually have to walk 15 kilometres to meet the Department of Agriculture (DA) staff at the community session hall. That means, walking rugged terrain under the sun and slippery footpath during the rainy season. I have no choice. I need to do this to get some technical and financial support from the DA."*

Isolated communities have become invisible in the rural development undertaking. Outsiders like me tend to be overly protective of ourselves by adopting short cuts that prevent rural people, especially those living in far and remote locations to be counted, understood, and included in the rural development planning (Mosse, 2007). The invisibility of the rural people rest first of all on the choice of the outsiders to avoid remote places and speculate on the living conditions of the people intentionally being made invisible in the survey or census (Chambers, 1983, p. 14).

Women, children, elderly and sick people are the victims of spatial biases. Active and healthy men are always on the go to ride on their *carabaos* (water buffalos) or horses to go to the nearest rural development project sponsored by Government and non-government organisations. Aside from the fact that they are the 'automatic' representative of the household, as part of their community role (Moser, 1989), men perform more flexible responsibilities in reproductive and productive roles as described below by Mrs. GHI:

> *"I have 4 children and my 64-year old mother is sick and lives with us. I cannot attend trainings and meetings called for by the government and other groups because of my tedious responsibilities in the family and farm. My husband is the 'automatic' representative of the family in community meetings and gatherings. When my husband is away, I also do other farm responsibilities like de-weeding, and a lot more together with my children."*

In my experience doing the fieldwork as an outsider, I had to familiarise the local map given to me by one of the *datus* (male tribal chieftain) in order to reach other participants, most especially women, sick and differently abled persons. I acknowledged the reasons why these rural people have been made 'invisible' in the rural development planning—outsiders like me have given them limited and supporting roles under the control of men, who have the privilege access to time and other capital resources in the household and community level (Kabeer, 2003; March et al., 2005). While crisscrossing the rural communities, I have become familiar of the networks of footpaths and *kangga*[26] trails leading to and fro my locations to reach other participants living in very remote places. I

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[26] A carabao-drawn wooden cart used by farmers to transport heavy loads.

remained optimistic most of the time by reminding myself that the rugged road would lead eventually to the participants. Another source of motivation was hearing the stories of people who are neglected by planners and practitioners representing both the Government and non-government organisations. Mrs. JKL described her limited encounters with the outsiders in the following quote:

> *"Ah… dili naman na sila manulod diri. Didto rana sila sa centro magtambay. Pagmagpatawag na sila ug training o meeting, naa ra na sila mag pundo didto sa centro or sa balay sa datu o kapitan. Mahadluk man na sila malapukan ila mga sapatos ug sakyanan. Igo na sa ila nga makatigum sila ug pipila lang, labi na mga bana namo o lalaki na myembro sa tribu."*

> *Translation:*

> *"Ah.. they don't come here to see us. They just stay at the community centre. Whenever they call for training or meeting, they just stay at the community centre or at the house of the datu or of the barangay captain. They don't like their shoes or their service car to be muddied. It is okay for them to gather just anybody, any number of participants, especially our husbands and other men in the tribe."*

These narratives derived from the case studies relating to spatial biases show that amongst the invisible rural poor, 'rural development tourists' or outsiders (Chambers, 1983 p. 10) failed to look at the more serious consequence of excluding the remote rural communities where women, children, sick, and differently abled people thrive. The voice in the stories being heard in rural development planning in Mindanao is being dominated by the active and healthy men—husbands, fathers, brothers and *datus* (male tribal chieftains) who are more active and mobile in performing reproductive, productive and community roles (Moser, 2003).

The invisibility of the poorest and remotest Indigenous people in rural development planning makes their concerns and problems as passive representation of their actual local realities. Nussbaum's (2011) thesis provides that in order for the government policy to work out best for its members in the society, it has to provide a just social minimum of human capabilities. In the case of the poorest and remotest women, children and sick people in rural Mindanao, Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach suggests that it is the responsibility of the state to provide equitable capabilities to individuals with different levels of needs. Providing social minimum of capabilities through policy does not mean that each individual receives the same minimum level of capabilities support. Other people with special needs, like the case of women, children, elderly, sick, and differently abled persons in rural Mindanao must be allotted with more support, enough to let them stand on their feet—'to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). This means that as a consequence of being poorest and remotest of the rural people, women, children, elderly and sick people in rural Mindanao must be given the chance to develop their fertile functioning (Wollf & de Shalit, 2013) in order for them to overcome the complex deprivations they experience in the monoculture plantations. Fertile functioning refers to 'beings and doings that are the outgrowth of capabilities', hence developing capabilities is more important than developing policies that support functioning which could only be realised when just minimum provision of central capabilities are put in place (Clark, 2013; Nussbaum, 2011). Spatial bias, as well as the other

biases characterised in this chapter are considered to be 'corrosive disadvantages' (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013) that hamper rural people, especially women, children and differently abled in Mindanao to become active partners of men and elite groups in development. Being missed out in the actual social action, even in a simple meeting or community gathering neglects a woman the chance to listen and be listened to (Dobson, 2014) of her realities reflective through her 'self-critical awareness' (Chambers, 1997, p. 32).

When the outsiders prefer to visit and highlight only the experiences of 'model' and 'best practice' communities, they are guilty of the so-called project bias. The tendency of the outsiders to focus myopically on familiar and known projects, while leaving behind those that are ugly in the documentation or report to the higher boss and funding agency, could jeopardise rural peoples' welfare. The local people within the model project underrepresent the majority who are by choice of the outsiders, mostly by convenience, are being excluded in the rural development planning. The peripheral or the rural people (Chambers, 1997, p. 32) develop some form of jealousy, apathy and distrust towards the outsiders who avoid close encounters with those who are outside the 'model community project'. Such is the case being shared by some Indigenous participants who live outside the Agro-Forestry Development Program (ADP) in Marilog District, Davao City. This program is a partnership among the Matigsalug tribe, a university in the Philippines, and an international company to grow cacao called Kennemer Foods Corporation (KFC). Outsiders focus on the heavily

funded, high-yielding, and award-winning projects and leave excluded rural people envious and apathetic about the way the Government and other state actors respond to their state of deprivation.

Mr. YZ, one of the farmer leaders who live outside of the ADP zone described his feelings towards the model project as follows:

> Visayan:
>
> *"Burag sila ra man ang mga anak sa Ginoo! Kami nga wala naapil sa proyekto nangahadluk ug samut sa among kaugmaun. Unsaun na lang kung magpabilin ming ingun ni ani hangtud mi mamatay?"*
>
> *Translation:*
>
> *"It looks like they are the only children of God! We, who are not part of the project, we fear of our future. What will happen ahead of us if we stay this poor until we die?"*

"They", referring to those who happen to live within the ADP community, are the automatic beneficiaries of the multinational Kennemer Foods Corporation's business tie up with the Matigsalug tribe in growing and harvesting cacao as main ingredients for chocolates that will be exported and processed overseas. McMichael (2012a) described this supply chain process under the food security regime as 'global factory' system where the local raw materials are processed and/or assembled in different factories around the world. The Agro-Forestry Development Program in Marilog initially involves leasing of more than 200 hectares of land for 25 years under the contract agreement signed by the *datus* (male tribal chieftains) and other parties involved. Project bias deliberately coerces the desire of other members in the community to be equally engaged in the

project. The outsiders, being selective in their approach is arbitrarily twisting the local social and political realities embedded in the structures created by family, clan, community and ecological relationships (Douglas, 1990). It is in fact a form of assault to the uncounted and excluded individuals outside of the project zone that according to Nussbaum is one of the weaknesses of utilitarian approach espoused by Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 53).

The outsiders perpetuate person biases through neglecting class, gender, education and health categories of the rural people; as if failure to take all sides of the categories is not inimical to the interest of the poorest Indigenous people and of the rural development in general. Chambers (1983, p. 22) further classified person biases as elite bias, male bias, user and adopter bias, and active, present and living bias.

The participants in this study narrate the incidences when development workers, particularly farm technicians and NGO workers tend to communicate closely only with the wealthy and more powerful members in their tribe. The *datu* or the tribal chieftain and his family or clan are the easy and most convenient drop off point or target for any group of government staff riding in their service vehicle. The head office of the staff going to the rural community usually communicates with the *datu* beforehand for him and his family and clan members to prepare for the arrival of the officials. The preparation is usually unnecessarily grandstanding just like what is being described below by Mrs. MNO, one

of the Indigenous women interviewed for this study.

> *"I am part of the welcome team in the tribe. I am tasked to render festive atmosphere for government staff and other visitors who would like to talk to us. We are preparing anything nice and delicious that we can offer especially corn and assorted fruits. We ask our youth tribal dance group to entertain our visitors. We do this as required by our datu… because we love our datu and we would like to please our visitors from the city."*

The quote, as narrated, reflects the practice among rural development workers of elite and male biases. Elite bias refers to the focus of the outsiders on those who are well-known and powerful in the rural communities while male bias is the preferential focus being given to the privileged men being the head of households. This case shows a gaping gender disparity in terms of who decides for what (March et al., 2005). The male and elite biases elide the true state of deprivation experienced by poorest and most marginalised women, youth, elderly and differently abled. These biases, being produced and reproduced in the various community institutions, deprived the invisible women and others who are not men of the chance of being able to voice and participate in critical community discussions. When the rural people are trapped in their deprivation (Chambers, 1983), they are likely to accept the miserable state. They tend to adapt the collective gains of their community by reflecting on the positive social capital values and norms as their source of strength and inspiration (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 35). The outsiders have to acknowledge their person biases to maximise time, efforts, and resources they are being held accountable to in line with their service and commitment to the rural folks. Another type of person bias highly evident in rural Mindanao that is

being practiced by development workers is the so-called user adopter bias. This bias refers to the outsiders' constant focus given to people who are able to benefit from their current and previous projects (Chambers, 1983, p. 18). This bias takes the form of loyalty between outsiders and rural people as the quote below from one of the study participants, Mr. YZ, suggests:

> *"That Kennemer Project involves only those who are living within the perimeter fence. We who live outside do not get enough attention from the group of government, NGO and private business groups who considered the site (Agro-forestry Development Project) as their working laboratory."*

Active, present and living bias pertains to the outsiders' practice of including only the local people who are physically and mentally active. This bias is posing real dangers to the lives of those who are weak and sick and left unattended to suffer and die prematurely. The utilitarian principle of gathering the majority into rural development undertaking misses the important point of protecting the welfare and upholding the dignity of each person, especially those who at the time and place of the rural intervention are weak and incapable. Leaving the differently abled, the youth, the elderly and the sick invisible in the actual rural development planning would mean leaving their survival only under pure chance and luck relying mainly upon the whim of the local government administrators and business elites.

Mr. ABC, shared his story about how his parents suffer and died being deprived of access to basic medical care in the following quote:

> *"My sick 70-year-old mother stays in her bed for almost a year now. She's suffering from paralysis after a heart attack last year on her birthday. We were not able to get any medical help after her hospital confinement last year because the health workers do not like to walk to and fro our house that is 5 kilometres away from the centre. My father died 2 years ago of the same health condition. Just like my mother now, he was not also visited by any health professional."*

For Nussbaum (2011, p. 33), it is the duty of the Government and other state actors to provide a social minimum of the policy to protect the welfare and wellbeing of each person to live a life free from physical danger and harm and 'die prematurely'. Furthermore, Nussbaum (2011, p. 33) argued that the state should strive to provide a just minimum level of social support to each individual even in the face of tragic dilemmas. A tragic choice can be made such as allocating more health budget for people who needed more serious and urgent care while giving the same just social minimum amount of care to other people who suffer various diseases. This means that spending more or allocating more time and effort to rural people who are severely sick is a sound public policy judgment that will help the sick people to get back on their normal life track. Setting of a bare social minimum, equal for everyone according to Nussbaum, is a formidable task. It requires the Government to reflect on its norms and values to carry on a decision that will be to the best interest of the rural poor and sick people.

6.2.2. Seasonal biases

Dry season biases of the outsiders refer to their tendency to avoid rainy season, as much as possible, in doing their rural fieldwork. This bias corrupts the quality of data outsiders are supposed to gather to understand the multidimensional poverty experience of the rural Indigenous people during their community immersions. ActionAid International (2006) confirmed that 'immersions make poverty personal' through deepening the dialogue between the host rural community people and the development workers. Immersions focus on depth rather than breath of community development work by preventing the rural development planning to be written in the urban offices of the Government and non-government experts. For VeneKlasen and Miller (2002), it is a form of unethical 'planning for' the local people. The problems and concerns of the local people are made passive representations in the texts and narratives written and voiced by the dominant and powerful decision-makers. For Nussbaum (2011), making the local people as passive recipients of Government and other institutional dole out interventions 'infantalises' their life chances to do and to be. It violates their basic rights to enhance their life's capabilities to support their functionings to become active participants in the broader, inclusive and open dialogue (Christakis, 2004; Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Christakis & Harris, 2004), to be listened to (Dobson, 2014) as they exercise their full rights to actualise their voice, choice and agency as individuals.

According to Chambers, rural peoples' circumstances change according to

seasons. The characteristics of rural issues pertaining to cropping, food and health shift according to season (Ellis, 1998, p. 11) and the outsiders' inability to look into how things have changed leads to problematic assessment of the real state of rural poverty.

Mr. ABC described how desperate their lives are in the hinterlands of Mindanao especially during the rainy season in the following quote:

> Visayan:
>
> *"Diri sa bukid, way gobyerno kung ting-ulan ug tinglapuk. Manganhi rana sila kung maayong panahon. Ganahan na sila magfield kung ting harvest na kay syempre mas sadya ang tyempo and ug mas abunda ang among mahalad sa ila…" (smiling)*
>
> Translation:
>
> *("Here in the mountainside, there is no government if it is rainy and muddy. The government workers only come here when the weather is fine. They like to get here during harvest season because the atmosphere is festive and there is abundance of food crops that they like to take home with them after the short visit…" (smiling)*

This common issue of season bias in rural development work undermines the actual living conditions of the Indigenous people during the rainy season. The rural people's health and other social concerns shift as seasons change (Chambers, 1983). Farming activities, particularly harvesting becomes problematic during the rainy months. It is the time of the year when crops get inundated and pests and fungi infest the farms. In terms of health, the rural peoples' usual concern in Mindanao is the rampant incidence of mosquito-borne malaria and dengue diseases (Gascon, 2011a, 2011b).

Mrs. DEF described in the quote below how the rainy season in their community could turn into a disaster with the rising incidence of mosquito-borne diseases plaguing mostly their children.

> *"Definitely things could change during the rainy season. It is the time of year when malaria and dengue cases could go up and yet health workers dislike serving our communities. They would like us to go to the nearest hospital that is approximately 20 kilometres away from here."*

The first confirmed case of dengue haemorrhagic fever (DHF) was recorded in the Philippines in 1953 (WHO, 2011, p. 1). Rajiah et al. (2014) reported that DHF cases in the Philippines increased dramatically from 37,101 cases in 2006 to 118,868 cases in 2010. A consolidated data on the occurrence of common diseases dreading the rural Indigenous people in the communities covered by this study reveal that the heavy rain months occurring in June to August is the time of year when mosquito-borne diseases like dengue and malaria are most prevalent. During this time, colds and flu and allergies are at elevated rates as well. Figure 18 shows the seasonality calendar of common illnesses, including malaria and dengue, in the Indigenous communities covered in this study. The data was gathered through the notes and reports maintained by the barangay health workers (BHW) assigned in the communities. BHWs serve as the frontline of the senior health professionals employed by the local Government in the Philippines. The BHWs help in administering health surveys, vaccination, and promoting maternal and childcare in both rural and urban communities. In this study, BHWs comprised of

Indigenous mothers who are allocating some of their free time for community service helping other women and children to maintain good health and nutrition. In the Indigenous communities, they are usually volunteers who are being given food allowance during the days they are on the field helping for others' health needs.

During the rainy months, when morbidity rates are higher, urban administrators and experts avoid community fieldwork as they abhor 'being muddied'. Mrs. DEF narrated how she and the rest of the women in her community help each other in times of malaria and dengue outbreak in the quote that follows:

> *"We are the ones being deployed to the field as volunteers providing primary health intervention to people sick with either dengue or malaria. Sad to say, we are very limited in terms of our capacity to medically help the patients. We also do not have much time for helping others as we need to help and prioritise our own families too. We rely on our traditional medicines. We believe it is effective. Our locally prepared concoctions and ointments made primarily from lemongrass are proven safe and effective to repel mosquitoes."*

Reliance by the rural people on their traditional knowledge in maintaining health and fighting diseases is a good indication that they are capable of delivering themselves out from the dangers of various forms of illnesses using their local resources. However, the more important aspect of this issue is the intermittent and seasonal characteristic of the presence and focus of the accountable government officials to be delving closely with the rural people in times of great need. Leaving the rural people behind, by refocusing their time and efforts in the urban offices writing reports and

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conducting trainings in hotels and resorts in the city area during the rainy

season, seriously undermines the health and welfare of the sick rural

people.
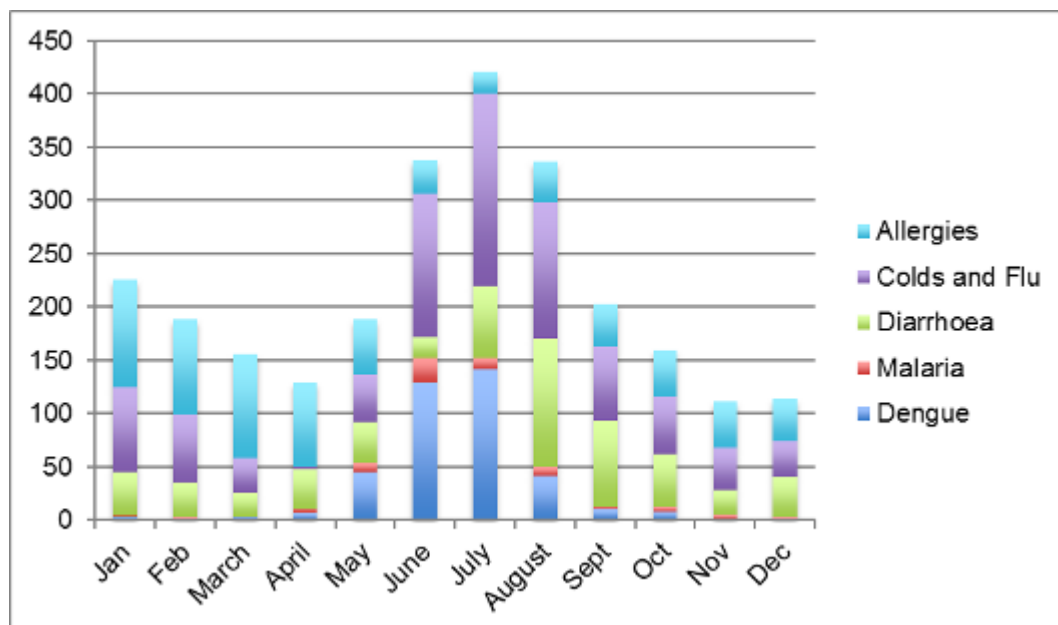
Figure 18. Year-round seasonal calendar of common illnesses in
communities surveyed in Mindanao.

*Source: Notes and logbooks of Barangay Health Workers assigned in the
communities covered during the fieldwork. Data was validated during the FGD.*

6.2.3. Diplomatic biases

Another form of urban bias is the so-called diplomatic bias. This type of

partiality in assessing rural development refers to the tendency of

according unnecessary amount of politeness to senior staff by the junior

staff assigned in the field. This diplomacy is also happening between the

relationship of junior outsiders and the local people. The latter give high

regard to the former and other community visitors. This bias cuts off some

more important trusting relationship between rural development workers

as outsiders and the rural people as the 'peripheral' (Chambers, 1983, p.

11). In this study, this bias becomes evident both prior and immediately after project termination — the time when the Indigenous and rural people in Mindanao are commonly invited to gather for the project assessment and/or evaluation. The process is usually dodgy. The tribal and local government officials will call upon the heads of the households comprised of men to gather at the town hall to meet up with the evaluation team. The local community leaders assigned some few members of the community to speak nice things about the project in order to please the bosses, usually the senior government officials and other dignitaries representing the business and civil society groups. The rural people also have to please the junior staff by "sugar coating" the problems or limitations of the project to show courtesy for the hard work done by the former, as the following quote from Mrs. YZ would show:

> *"We prepare the whole town hall for the coming of our visitors during project evaluation. Our leaders advised us that we should impress our visitors with our pleasantries, food and friendly responses to their evaluation questions. They take photographs of us and of anything nice about their projects. They don't ask us serious questions about the limitations of their project. Actually, this is the first time someone has come to ask us questions that are real and critical. It's not that we are afraid to be critical at our leaders and the way they serve us. It is just that no one has ever afforded us the good chance to be heard about our issues and how to address them I now realise how important it is to question and communicate with anyone about our deprivation."*

The way forward seems obvious at this point, that in rural Mindanao, to understand and address Indigenous people's deprivation, we need to come up with a pluralist and inclusive empowerment framework for Indigenous smallholder farmers to assert and stand up for their rights and

dignity to realise food security, decent livelihood and access to basic education and health services. Another important point to consider in empowering smallholder Indigenous farmers is to include not just the household unit but more importantly the individual members in the family whose needs and capabilities vary (Nussbaum, 2011 pp. 35-36). Nussbaum argued that the traditional way of consolidating household data to characterise the overall welfare status of the family, misses the critical aspects of wellbeing of the individual members in the family unit. Any rural development analysis must not just focus on communal and household constructs but on individual members of the household and/or communities. It is the collective wisdom (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) argued that the collective wisdom of the local people

6.3. How the Indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) promotes regenerative development to support life chances and wellbeing in Mindanao

The section highlights the social, political, economic, and environmental strategies and arrangements used by the Indigenous people in Mindanao. Using the Polanyian principle of 'double movement', a dichotomy between 'social embeddedness' (Granovetter, 1985; Wang & Altinay, 2010) or the emphasis on the importance of social and cultural relationships and transactions on one hand and the commodification of land and labour under competitive market values on the other (Cotula, 2013 p. 1606; Guthman, 2007, p. 458), weaknesses of the governance and rural development paradigms that focus on 'commodification' (Araújo & Godek, 2014, p. 72; Brilmayer & Moon, 2014; Monbiot, 2015) rather than 'social

embeddedness' of exchange of goods and services in the banana and pineapple plantation communities of Mindanao, have become very obvious.

If the previous section explores the limitations of governance and rural development planning and implementation in relation to 'who counts realities' (Estrella & Gaventa, 1998) in Mindanao, this part of the analysis describes the existing indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) that are intimately linked to the local peoples' wellbeing and survival. In the words of Chambers, this portion of the analysis preliminarily asked the question: 'whose reality counts?'[27]. Counting local realities means locating peoples' collective wisdom in relation to power (Bacchi, 2000, 2004, 2010; Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005).

Many of these Indigenous practices are unique to the plantation communities covered by this study in Mindanao. When the participants were asked the question: *What are the practices in your community that you consider important for your wellbeing?* Their responses are shown in Table 24. The participants identified, from rank one to four, their practices of *bayanihan*[28], traditional health, care for forest/nature, and Indigenous justice system as critical factors to promote wellbeing and life chances in

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[27] *Whose Reality Counts: Putting the first last* is a book written by Robert Chambers in 1997, which is the deepening on the previous thesis put forward in *Rural Development: Putting the last first* published in 1983.

[28] A Filipino term, which in this case refers to the strong community support for farming and other communal activities such as hauling a small bamboo house especially by the rural men. The word comes from the Filipino term *bayan,* which means nation or community, hence *bayanihan* is otherwise described as community action.

their communities. This finding contradicts the so-called 'good governance' constructs heralded by the World Bank as reported by Kaufmann and Kraay (2002). Good governance is embedded in the value system of the local people. It is strongly attached to the core principles of land and wellbeing or at the very least, survival. This finding coincides with the works of Bovaird and Loeffler (2003), in that the so-called good governance, for the local people, means life-enhancing processes such as reducing unfreedom (Sen, 1999), by building on human capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011) to improve wellbeing and life chances of every individual. Girardet (2015) argued that protecting rural peoples' collective and individual rights to produce their own food, protect and enhance their diverse means of livelihood and enhance human and physical environment relationship is a form of regenerative development. Regenerative development is a local/rural means to counter anthropocentric strategies in which humans relate with nature. Dobson (2004, 2012) argued that we need to have a serious rethink of our sustainability strategies by promoting 'ecologism' rather than 'environmentalism'. The latter concept represents the anthropocentric approach of managing the environment or 'domination of nature' (Dobson, 2004, p. 2). It is a form of 'state simplification' (Scott, 1998) where nature is exploited for human's socio-economic gains. It disenfranchises local people's initiatives to support their livelihood and agroecological system by considering their diverse traditional crops as 'weeds' under the monoculture system that favours only the "best" crop varieties earmarked for exportation (Shiva, 1993).

Ecologism promotes regenerative development by being ethical in its approach to establishing a close relationship between how the local people must relate with nature. Ecologism is a means to counter the so-called 'metabolic rift' or the disconnection of the relationships between human production and nature (Schneider & McMichael, 2010). The monoculture plantations in Mindanao causes major metabolic rifts as the case studies illustrate in the previous chapters. The Indigenous women have lost their seeds, they clamour against poor soil fertility resulting from heavy reliance of the plantation communities on commercial petrochemical fertilisers and pesticides. These forms of metabolic rifts are evidenced in the works of Gonzales (2006) and Shiva (2001). They reported that modern agro-industrial mode of production that exploited Indigenous soils in the South to support the food security agenda favouring the market and business interests of the North has caused the rural communities too much ecological and human stress. Soil fertility has depleted and diverse crop seeds have disappeared as the monoculture system favour only the crops/seeds they have prepared in their laboratories.

The following discussion based on the evidences gathered from the fieldwork in Mindanao's banana and pineapple plantations support the idea that we have indeed mismeasured our lives (Stiglitz et al., 2010) in such a way that we forget to critically reflect on the ways we should treat our human and natural communities. The Indigenous communities in Mindanao have local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu)

realities (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) supporting their wellbeing and life chances. These socio-cultural aspects are closely linked to their identity and survival as people. I argue that these indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) serve as critical buffers helping the rural Indigenous communities to support their wellbeing and life chances as people directly affected by the modern monoculture farming system. These practices, though feared of being wiped-out by the influx of modernised farming, provide them the chance to claim their dignity and pride as people. More importantly, as the following evidences would show, IKSP of the rural people in Mindanao fits well in the whole agenda of local regenerative development (Girardet, 2015). Girardet (2015) argues that regenerative development is battling against anthropocentrism by establishing the principle of regeneration rather than mere sustainability. Regenerative development is about enhancing the relationship between human and natural communities through 'honest give-and-take' between man and nature. It is also about strengthening local communities by encouraging them to produce goods and services and consume their bounty based on their socio-cultural relationships.

Globalisation has set aside local communities to regenerate itself to become sustainable source of truly local, natural and cultural food, livelihood and wellbeing (Girardet, 2015). Thus, this analysis provides proof that the Indigenous people in Mindanao adhere to their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) to survive as a community. More so, IKSP is a form of 'ecologism' (Dobson, 2012) and environmental

citizenship (Cao, 2015; Dobson, 2012). The Indigenous people, as the following stories would show, utilise their IKSP in close harmony with nature and the spirits they believe have helped them in their daily household and livelihood activities. Walker (2013) argued that Indigenous peoples' knowledge is comprised of a balanced interdependent relationship of mind, body, spirit, and the natural world. Hence, any form of inquiry into the IKSP could suffer from epistemic violence if it treats Indigenous knowledge systems and practices as traditional, backward and unscientific (Shiva, 1988, 1993).

6.3.1. *Bayanihan*

Every Filipino is proud of the country's strong *bayanihan* spirit. It is being practiced heavily in the rural areas—in the farming and Indigenous communities where people rely on their extended families, friends, and tribe for some vital household and communal activities. *Bayanihan* or 'good neighbourliness' (Benson, 2009) is best described as a group of men and women helping each other move a small bamboo or *nypa* house in the rural areas (see Figure 19). The practice of *bayanihan* depends on some local unique traditions in both rural and urban communities in the Philippines. In some areas like in rural Mindanao, men, due to stereotypical role of being the ones possessing brawn, take the heavy load of hauling the entire house structure while women prepare food and water for communal feast after the tiresome work.

Table 24. Top 5 responses on the question: What are the practices in your community that you consider important for your wellbeing?[29]

Top 5 Responses		Male		Female		Both	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1	*Bayanihan*	41	75	35	70	76	72
2	Practice of traditional health	33	60	32	64	65	62
3	Care for forest/nature	22	40	31	62	53	50
4	Practice of indigenous justice system	24	44	22	44	46	44
5	Freedom of religion	20	36	22	44	42	40

Source: Face-to-face interview with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao and validated during FGD conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Bayanihan is a communal activity that strengthens the bond and the social support system among neighbours in the rural Philippines (Luna, 2000; Oracion, Miller, & Christie, 2005). It is based on the principle of reciprocity that is sustainable as it is still being practiced today. Men who hauled the load expect their companions to help them as well in their heavy work in the future. For these men, participation and cooperation with other men and women in the neighbourhood is paramount. It is a community practice that has survived the violent waves of colonisations—from Spanish to American and then Japanese to present (Luna, 2000). The participants in this study revealed that *bayanihan* transcends the concept of participation as anyone who partakes in the activity is driven by his/her motive to help others in his/her community. The motive to participate is anchored first on communal welfare then to his/her individual or household interest of gaining social support stock when the need arises.

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[29]Frequency counts presented in this table are based on multiple responses of participants. It is typical that some participants may have stated the common or top reasons presented resulting to counts not equal to the number of participants, which is 105.

6.3.1.1. Bayanihan as form of gift

The practice of *bayanihan* is a form of gift embedded in the social networks in the community where every individual who partakes get the equivalent share of the *mana*.[30] or 'spirit of the gift'. Being so, it has become imperative for all members of the Indigenous communities in Mindanao to participate in *bayanihan* as a form of expression of solidarity and support to the general interest and festivity of the tribe. *Bayanihan* is a form of cultural festival. House hauling for example is usually scheduled and coordinated by the tribal chieftain few days prior to the activity. The host family, as well as the whole clan and community, prepares food for all those who are going to participate. Men prepare physically by staying healthy while the women prepare food and other attractions so that the whole community may enjoy.

The value of the whole preparation is not quantified in terms of money. The head of the patrilocal family, discusses the preparation with his *datu* (male tribal chieftain). The *datu* is trusted by his members to give good and fair advice regarding the extent to which the host family is going to prepare food and drinks at the banquet offered after the *bayanihan*. This opportunity to discuss prior to the actual activity is to ensure, just like the case of Melanesians and Maoris in the Pacific islands (Douglas, 1990, p. 5), that the sacrifice of men, who partake in hauling, and of the women who muster foodstuffs for meals and drinks, can be recompensed justly

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[30] In Marcel Mauss's book *The Gift,* mana is described as the Polynesian term for spirit of the gift which can be transferred to people involved in the 'total system' transactions of exchanging food and commodities outside the modern market and economic system.

and fairly. This seriously means that sacrifice for the common welfare and good of neighbours is considered a paramount gift of each person who participates in the *bayanihan*. The local people believe that their inability to reciprocate the kindness, effort and time as gifts of other members in their community is a serious sign of weakness that is abhorred by the tribe. *Bayanihan* responds to the practical needs of both men and women in terms of the tribal community's collective effort to ensure their welfare. The main reason Indigenous people move their houses in rural Mindanao is to get near their agro-ecological source of food, security, and livelihood. It is also a means of mitigating disaster risk as people help each other secure relocate in safer locations (Benson, 2009). In terms of strategic needs, *bayanihan,* which exists since time immemorial in patriarchal Indigenous communities in Mindanao, is still largely considered a man's work. The planning and actual hauling of the house is left to the care of the men. Rural and Indigenous women are still passive participants as they only wait and take action upon the advice of their husbands and/or *datu.*

Deneulin and McGregor (2010), in relation to Sen's and Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, argue that the term wellbeing or 'living well' must be reframed to include the social and cultural constructs developed from people's interaction with others in the communities and other social organisations. Thus, the term "living well together" can be a good way to enhance both the theory Capabilities Approach and the practice in the agricultural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao where people rely on each other to take communal action for common welfare. Capabilities

of each individual to lead his/her own life depend heavily first, on household and then on the communitywide structures and systems that help develop and promote wellbeing. One participant, Mr. GHI was quoted saying:

> *"We enjoy committing ourselves to bayanihan. We get to reconnect with people we haven't seen for a while. We get to help our families and neighbours. This is our way of showing sympathy and care; by participating in something we love doing. Our burden is lightened up by the merrymaking and food we prepare for those who gather around us. Bayanihan is truly Indigenous."*

If *bayanihan* and all its various forms such as community planting/harvesting, moving houses, *dayung*[31], *batun*[32], and food barter system are self-sustaining forms of collective gift giving, then these are helping the Indigenous people in Mindanao to cope up with the pressures brought about by poverty and marginalisation. It is giving the Indigenous people a sense of ownership and pride since time immemorial. These practices possess the spirits of their ancestors who have handed them these traditions to live and be proud of their identity as tribal people. In relation to Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, valuing the true worth of gift of life and of limitless possibilities that each person can contribute to individual and collective welfare transcends mere physical survival. The *mana* of the gift in the form of capabilities of each person in the tribe never ceases to affect the 'system of total services'[33] (Mauss, 1990, p. 65) of

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[31] *Dayung* is a Visayan and Indigenous term for carrying together a burden or load.
[32] *Batun* is an inter-household arrangement of shepherding of livestock for other families who have more than what they can tend.
[33] Mary Douglas, in her Foreword in the book *The Gift*, describes Maussian concept of 'system of total services' as the obligation of each person to give and to receive.

social transactions elevating individual's dignity at a just and decent level. *Bayanihan* is a form of 'potlatch' (Douglas, 1990, p. 5; Mauss, 1990) where individual's self-interest is to be part of the exchange system being created by the total services of social and economic transactions that have been proven and tested through time to support favourable social capital and dependable social bond between and among members of the rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao. Being part of the gift system necessitates each member in the community to contribute and reciprocate the gifts received and build up strong bond of friendship, mutual support, and camaraderie. In the gift system, it is also a spiritual responsibility to return and recompense the favour or item received so that the *mana* goes on and on (Henaff, 2013; Mauss, 1990).

Valuing the gift of reciprocity and redistribution of goods and services immensely embedded within the social system in the rural communities in Mindanao is tantamount to giving the rural people their dignity to flourish and practice their unique traditions without any fear of reprisal and rejection for being dubbed as traditional, unscientific and backward. According Shiva (1989, 1993), treating traditional knowledge as backward results to massive biodiversity depletions and serious identity crisis among people in the poor and developing countries. The dominant discourse has been dominated and saturated by the powerful and wealthy outsiders (da Silva, 2008; Macaraan, 2013; Shimazono, 2008). The poor and the marginalised rural people are made part of the discourse as passive recipients and witnesses (Bacchi, 2010; Cornwall, 2003, 2004; Eveline &

Bacchi, 2005) in various social actions that pertain to their wellbeing and life chances. *Bayanihan* is and will be a good form of reversal to help counter the dominance of powerful and modern discourses that seriously put at stake cultural integrity, identity and survival of the rural Indigenous people in Mindanao. In this current study, the Indigenous people are not delved with as ordinary participants. They are the storytellers in their own unique and open narratives. I took the role of being one of them as an outsider who is more than committed than their local government leaders to hear their stories for the purpose of analysing what constitute gains and losses in their engagement with the development capitalists encroaching their communities. My research engagement in the communities I studied is a step forward into the actual *bayanihan* process to help the local people, as well as myself, to understand ourselves in a reflexive and transitive manner the issues we are altogether confronted in the rural communities. This research engagement is not yet a full-blown *bayanihan*. I still bear the brunt of giving back to the rural communities of Mindanao a discursive analysis and deeper understanding of the 'local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable' (lcddu) realities of the rural and poor people (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) and to bring on the *mana* of the gift to the broader policy realms using the Capabilities Approach concepts to help improve the current frameworks of development and governance in Mindanao, Philippines.

Figure 19. Painting of the Philippine National Artist Carlos "Botong" Francisco titled *Bayanihan.*

Photo credit: Ayala Museum (http://www.ayalamuseum.org/2015/05/05/botong-francisco-a-nation-imagined/)

6.3.1.2. Bayanihan philosophy enables intergenerational responsibility

The participants described *bayanihan* as a general term for other social transactions where they help each other based on friendship, camaraderie, and trust. These transactions happen away from the mechanism and control of any market or pricing system. The local people cooperate with each other seamlessly to generate enough support through reciprocation. Reciprocity as a socio-economic arrangement is not fixed (Henaff, 2013). It is not always quantified like the modern society's reliance on accounting and finance that treats each factor in the economy a commodity with a price tag that only money value can compensate. In the traditional and tribal communities in Mindanao, money is being used generally for all other socio-economic transactions that are directly outside the realm of

culture or traditional social arrangements. Inasmuch as the local people experience deprivation, the role of reciprocation and redistribution to help some individuals and families in need can never be underrated. A farmer participant, Mr GHI, described the process as follows:

> *"I always volunteer to help my neighbours in need of moving their houses or even in farming. In my community, we help each other say, harvest the crops where at the end of the day, I get no money but an agreed share from akat.[34]. In planting rice or corn, the community agrees that whoever works for akat will still get his/her fair share. The standing community agreement on these farming practices varies but our effort for sure is well paid off and we enjoy nevertheless, being able to help our community."*

The practice of *bayanihan* is part of the long-standing traditions of the local people in rural and agricultural communities in Mindanao. It enhances their social capital (Putnam & Goss, 2002; Sander & Putnam, 1999) by connecting the local people in rural Mindanao in the loop primarily for social, economic, and environmental support. Table 25 summarised some of the existing *bayanihan* activities that the farmer-participants still do and depend until now.

The *bayanihan,* as a good local governance practice, represents Polanyi's principles of reciprocity and redistribution as transactional modes not based on market pricing mechanism but by kinship, friendship, and trust (Dalton, 1968; Granovetter, 1985) for being a member of the society. This study finds that *bayanihan* is a form of material and nonmaterial 'sentimental gift' (Dalton, 1968; Valeri, 2013), it is primitive and socially

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[34] A Visayan and Matigsalug word which means share from working together. It is always in the form of goods like rice and corn grains in exchange of labour spent in planting and harvesting.

embedded (Mauss, 1990; Shimazono, 2008) evolving to support the local needs of the people away from the complex free market competition where everything comes with price tags. Labour supplied in *bayanihan* is based on reciprocity. Polanyi (cited in Dalton, 1968) defines reciprocity as "obligatory gift-giving between kin and friends". Because of these anthropological dimensions of *bayanihan*—being able to stand the test of time and waves of conflicts between modern and primitive cultures, it is important to highlight as well the relevance of this communal practice in promoting gender sensitive measures to ensure that men and women benefit from the process. If the poorest in the rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao are women, youth, sick people, differently abled and the elderly, then *bayanihan* as a practice, is the last frontier in which survival and wellbeing of these poorest most marginalised groups heavily depend upon. Being so, understanding the gender dynamics from couple level to family/clan up to the community and regional and state level is paramount (Kabeer, 2003; March et al., 2005). *Bayanihan* as described above appears in several instances as a male-dominated activity—where women usually take and perform secondary roles reeling mainly around reproductive and productive roles such as, but not limited to, foraging food and housekeeping. The *datuism* or the local governance system that inhibits women to be appointed as the tribal chieftain is one area that definitely needs some rethinking if and only if the tribal communities concerned would allow as a form of learning from the experience being able to engage in this study and in all other social learning means. However, just like Nussbaum (2011 p. 109) and other Capabilities

Approach theorists, this current study avoids 'establishment of culture and religion'. *Datuism* may not be a good indicator of a tribal system in Mindanao but the processes beneath the household and local communities where women interact with men needs careful assessment if the way to get to the truth of giving women their voice and representation in the policy-as-discourse (Bacchi, 2010) is indeed paramount to providing women fair and equal chance to co-design plans for their wellbeing. In this tragic dilemma, Nussbaum, suggests that women should be given more priority in providing a minimum social provision to raise their underclass or subordinated status. Giving Indigenous women the right opportunity to improve their capabilities to do and to be as individuals uplifts 'fertile functioning' to overcome 'corrosive disadvantages' (Wolff & De-Shalit, 2013). Fertile functionings of women related to the practice of *bayanihan* and its derivatives in the rural communities of Mindanao may well include giving women the chance to enter the community decision-making and/or social action platforms without being humiliated and reproached by their husbands and male relatives and friends in the community. It is a fertile functioning as it leads to other capabilities which would then turn into another interlocking functionings that could best support the women and their family as well as the entire *bayanihan* system as a whole.

Table 25. Other major *bayanihan* activities in rural Mindanao

Other *bayanihan* activities in rural Mindanao	Description	Transactional Mode.[35]
Planting of rice and corn	Men and women are both engaged in this practice they locally called *akat*. The farm owner or co-farmer invites his/her neighbours to participate in the communal planting of rice or corn. Each participating individual will be given at least 5-10 *gantang*[36] to sow in the field. Whatever is left of the grains after a day of sowing will be given to the participating neighbour. In some instances, surplus or leftover grains will be equally divided among all planters. In this occasion just like any other form *of bayanihan,* the host farmer provides meals and snacks.	Reciprocity
Harvesting of crops	Just like in the planting or sowing season, the farm owner calls upon the help of his/her extended family members and neighbours to harvest crops. This is primarily done in rice, corn, and coffee harvesting. Every participant gets 10 to 25 percent of the total volume harvested. Local people use *bukag*[37] or sack to approximate their share from the harvest.	Reciprocity
Communal house building	This age-old tradition in the Philippines is a popular community practice especially in the rural areas where farmhouses are made of light materials—usually of bamboo, cogon, *nypa* and *anahaw* leaves. Men and women help each other gather Indigenous construction materials from the forest and pasture lands usually during the rainy months of June to August, when the organic materials—	Reciprocity

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[35] Adapted from Polanyi's framework on primitive transactional mode based on reciprocity and redistribution (cited in *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies: Essays of Karl Polanyi* edited by George Dalton (1968).

[36] A volume measuring box made of wood used for dry contents such as rice and corn. One *gantang* approximately holds up to 3 litres of grains.

[37] A wicker basket made of rattan used by farmers in the Philippines to carry dry loads such as corn. Its content is almost equivalent to a standard 50-kilogram jute sack.

Other *bayanihan* activities in rural Mindanao	Description	Transactional Mode
	bamboo and the grasses are abundant. They store them in the backyard for drying especially during the dry season month of March to April. House construction is delegated to men while women takes charge of meals and snacks and other duties that may be deemed necessary to make the communal house construction lively and productive.	
Food barter	This practice is popular among rural women who are expected to prepare food for their families, engage into inter-household or community level bartering of food crops. The local women reported that they barter foods with others in order to compensate some lacking food ingredients and distribute surplus vegetables, spices, and fruits. When there are really abundant supply especially of perishable food crops, women give their neighbours ample share and they do this with the expectation that the neighbours will share theirs in the coming days when they too have surpluses.	Reciprocity and redistribution
Dayung	*Dayung* means carrying together a burden or load. It is known in other derivatives in different dialects across rural Philippines such as *dayong* and *yayong* but every Filipino farmer knows what it means. It is helping each other. *Dayung* builds up community level effort to help a grieving family of a death of a loved one. Each family contributes at least 1 kilo of rice or corn, 1 bunch of firewood, and PhP50 (approximately USD1.25) money contribution towards vigil and burial service expenses. *Dayung* helps the rural families recover from financial and emotional stress. In the communities covered in the study, all families are enlisted as members of *dayung*. The officers, with the members composed of families and neighbours, gather at least 1 hour prior to interment for some announcement and discussion. The organisation is primarily based on	Reciprocity and redistribution

Other *bayanihan* activities in rural Mindanao	Description	Transactional Mode
	trust. The officers do not maintain any bank account to keep the fund for the members. They give directly to the aggrieved family the money collected from members. The total amount collected and the rice and corn gathered from the membership would be sufficient to help the family gets on their feet again.	
Batun.[38] and *ambit*.[39]	*Batun* is an inter-household arrangement of shepherding livestock for other families who have more than what they can tend. In this arrangement, usually by men, agree with each other to herd animals based on kinship, friendship, and trust. In exchange of herding, men get approximately 50 to 75 percent of the total proceeds if the livestock is sold or butchered to supply meat in the community flea market on Sundays. Families and friends, to make sure that they get good quality but cheaper priced stock of meat for the upcoming fiesta or community festival, enter into *ambit*. Each family head contributes equal amount of money to purchase local cows, carabaos, and pigs. Each share cost about PhP 500 (USD11). The local people say they get more than 100 percent more meat supply than buying it from the market. The reason being, men help each in butchering for free. In exchange of the labour provided by butchers, the community agrees that the head and the internal organs of livestock will be cooked or grilled for men to feast on after the work usually with alcoholic drinks such as rum and gin.	Reciprocity and redistribution

Source: Face-to-face interview and focus group discussion with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

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[38] A local arrangement of entering into shepherding cows, carabaos, goats and other livestock for other families.
[39] *Ambit* is a Visayan word that is also known in the Indigenous communities of Mindanao as partake or share.

Dayung. [40], as discussed in Table 25, is a popular form of not just reciprocity but also of redistribution. Redistribution is 'obligatory payment' (Dalton, 1968; Luna, 2000; Valeri, 2013) or in kind contribution to the community level organisation for social services especially in times of death and emergency. It is completely non-stock and non-profit. No bank account is required for the funds collected. The monetary and in-kind contributions are collected and monitored by officers of *dayung.* The entire collection is turned over directly to the aggrieved family to help them recover from the emotional and financial stress of a death of a loved one. An NGO worker who lives in the banana plantation community in Bukidnon, Mindanao describes *dayung* as follows:

> *"Dayung is a voluntary organisation. All its officers are elected at large annually. We don't keep funds or any property. We only make sure that the money, rice, and firewood collected go directly to the bereaved family. The organisation is very important for us. We can't afford to purchase life and funeral insurance for our families. We only depend on the collective support of our neighbourhood or tribe in times of death of a family member."*

The practice of *bayanihan* in communal farming, supports kin and neighbours for labour and food supply on a sustainable basis since time immemorial. However, the practice is now being challenged by the onslaught of massive commercial farms, which required market and pricing mechanisms as the valid transactional mode. Despite this challenge, the local people in Mindanao still practice it in order to cope and survive as a community wherein their slim chance of succeeding in life

[40] A Visayan and also a tribal term for *bayanihan* in the rural Philippines.

relies heavily on the social support embedded in their rural communities.

The financialisation of land and labour in Mindanao through the mechanised monoculture banana and pineapple plantations has impacted directly on the local people's socio-economic and socio-ecological arrangements. By transforming vast tracts of agricultural lands that were used before to produce traditional food crops for domestic consumption, the poor Indigenous farmers no longer have access to forest foods or space to grow their own traditional foods once they become part of the plantation system. One of the Indigenous farm leaders, Mr. JKL, described the scenario as follows:

> *"As our lands were sold or leased for the banana and pineapple plantations, we are forced to dance to their tune. We follow whatever they say."*

Existing laws regulating the banana and pineapple industry fail to protect human rights and the environment. Land is being treated a commodity (Araújo & Godek, 2014; Borras, 2006; Borras & Franco, 2005) that can be purchased at a nominal cost. Costing of land is often insensitive to the actual social, economic, cultural and environmental costs of the monoculture plantations.

Bartering food and other similar social arrangements to distribute food surplus and to compensate for the lacking food requirement, being entered into by kin and friends help support food security in the rural communities. Bartering food and other items is a form of 'potlatching' (Henaff, 2013; Mauss, 1990; Valeri, 2013). According to Kottak (2011, p. 177), potlaching

is a 'cultural adaptation to alternating periods of local abundance and shortage'. In the case of Mindanao, this study finds that women are the ones expected to do the task to ensure that families get their share of the seasonal harvest primarily of fruits and vegetables in abundance. This finding shows that bartering food and other household commodities is part of the main responsibilities or roles of rural and Indigenous women who participated in this study. These women, engaged in bartering of food and other commodities as part of their productive and community roles, which are extensions of their main role—the reproductive role (Lastarria et al., 2014; Ruth Meinzen-Dick et al., 2014; Moser, 1989, 2003; Quisumbing et al., 2014). This finding also supports Shiva (1988) when she reported that a women's organisation called Chipko in India supported the fostering of their relationship with the land and the environment on which they depend for foraging for food for their families. They also appreciated that the land was vital to support all animal life and hence their own wellbeing would be compromised without protecting the land and all the animals (Lastarria et al., 2014). The women share anything in excess or in abundance within the local community. This provides social support system for members of the community and including the land and the animals on which they depend for farm work and for food. So all the sentient beings outside of the complex market system are protected. Their shared survival in the traditional economy does not require extensive money transactions. This is entirely different from the neoliberal market economy that treats everything, including land and labour, as objects of commodification and profit (Araújo & Godek, 2014; Cotula et al., 2009). Bartering therefore

gives a sense of meaning to rural and Indigenous women for being able to depend upon others and to extend a helping hand to other members in the community who need help. Women, more than the men, take bartering as form of gift to the potlatch of overall community welfare and while they do this, they take upon themselves the triple role/burden (Moser, 1989, 2003).

Indigenous women's role in keeping close relationship between human and natural communities 'nourishes the country' (Bird Rose & Australian Heritage Commission, 1996). It is a form of 'ecologism' (Cao, 2015; Dobson, 2004, 2012) as the Indigenous women's way of feeding their families and animals directly regenerate (Girardet, 2015; Jacques, 2015) the countryside.

In summary, *bayanihan* in the rural and Indigenous communities of Mindanao support the wellbeing and life chances of the poorest and the most marginalised people. *Bayanihan* helps provide a sense of home and security. The poorest of the Indigenous people in Mindanao can still call upon their neighbours to help them literally haul and move their house and transfer to a new farm lot or avoid an imminent disaster.

6.3.2. Practice of traditional health

The participants in this study identified their traditional health practices that are still popular in their communities these days. The knowledge and skills

of the *babaylan*[41] and elders help them to adapt to their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) in healing and in maintaining good health. This happens despite the influx or popularity of modern medicine in the remote areas in Mindanao (Gascon, 2011 pp. 151-167). The participants' reasons for their adherence to IKSP on health and wellness is summarised in Table 26. They believe that their traditional medicines, which are predominantly made of concoction of coconut oil and herbal plants, and the "healing power" of *babaylan*, ward off diseases the natural way as the following quote from Mrs. DEF shows:

> *"We have faith in our traditional ways of healing and of maintaining good health. These herbal medicinal plants we rely on for all sorts of ailments have been widely used in our tribe. We are healed with the help of these natural ingredients and with the intercession of our God."*

Table 26. Reasons given for adhering to IKSP for healing and maintenance of good health

	Reasons	Male		Female		Both	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1	Efficacy	40	73	43	86	83	79
2	Availability/ Affordability	36	65	41	82	77	73
3	Natural (no chemicals)	28	51	38	76	66	63
4	Cultural pride	30	55	27	54	57	54

Source: Face-to-face interview and focus group discussion with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

The participants highlighted the fact that their reliance on traditional medicine is also brought about by issue on access to basic commercial and modern medicine. They say they cannot afford the price of

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[41] The *babaylan* is an Indigenous medicine woman who knows the different kinds and uses of medicinal plants in the tribal community. She is highly revered by the local people for her healing hands and magical chants. The *babaylan* offers her prepared herbal medicines and services for free to the tribe though through reciprocity, the people who benefit the service give cash or in kind donation.

commercial medicines. They can only rely on freebies being distributed by the local government units (LGUs) but as Mrs. DEF said:

> *"The variety and supply of LGU medicine is always limited. We have to rely on our traditional medicine, as we can't afford to buy the commercial ones."*

Other participants say they are proud of their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) and will hold on to it as long as they live. They believe that their practice of traditional and natural medicine is sustainable, assuming that they would still continue to hold control of the forest left under their care. The local people fear of their slim chance of survival. They are worried that the commercial farming is going to take away and leave nothing of their cultural practices and artefacts to help promote health and wellbeing. Mrs. STU, a *babaylan* (medicine woman), shared her feelings towards the negative effects of the expansion of commercial banana and pineapple plantations in her community as follows:

> *"I pity my future grandkids. They may not be able to identify themselves as people with rich cultural heritage. I am certain that if we do not do something to stop this commercial agricultural expansion in our ancestral lands, we will lose our food, our herbal/medicinal system, our life, and our future generation."*

In this study, women fear of losing the Indigenous medicinal plant varieties more than men. Their anxiety is borne out of the need for them to perform the community's expectation of providing primary health care for their children and other members in the family (Kottak, 2011; Lastarria et al., 2014, p. 123; Ruth Meinzen-Dick et al., 2014). The source of their fear therefore, is twofold: first, is due to lack of access to modern and costly

medicine, as earlier discussed; and second, for loosing many of the ethno-botanicals their forebears have introduced them to massive expansion of commercial banana and pineapple plantations. Mrs. STU is quoted as saying:

> *"I was not made part of the planning process of converting our lands into plantation just like any other women in our tribe. Our community expects men to fulfil that role. But look, the mothers and our children suffer the most. Women like me are expected to forage for medicinal plants. We now face serious extinction problems. Some of those plants our forebears had used can no longer be found these days. Because of this, we tend to lose sight of what our future will be without these plants we use for medicine and for food."*

To describe the extent to which the Indigenous people in Mindanao have in reality, relied on their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) for health and wellness, some highlights in the exploratory ethno-botanical studies conducted by Gascon (2011, pp. 151-180) in Mindanao entitled *Traditional and Modern Practices Enhance Health Knowledge of the Bagobo Tribe and Traditional Ecological Knowledge System of the Matigsalug Tribe in Mitigating the Effects of Dengue and Malaria Outbreak* and *Traditional and Modern Practices Enhance Health Knowledge of the Bagobo Tribe* reported that the Indigenous people living in the Malagos Watershed in Mindanao, which has also become part of the expansion area of the banana plantation, use different medicinal herbal plants to cure minor pains, skin diseases, burns, and other common ailments. The traditional and scientific names of these plants, and the ways to prepare and apply them are presented in Tables 6.3 and 6.4. Data presented on these tables were adapted from the said studies and were updated using

key informant interviews with the *babaylans* in other areas that were covered in this current study (see Gascon, 2011 pp. 151-167).

The local people's reliance on their traditional medicines, with the use of herbal plants and coconut oil as basic raw materials, is directly linked to their land, health, and wellbeing. The massive ancestral land conversion to give way to commercial farms results to depletion of the forest trees and cover crops including the herbal plant varieties that the local people have been using since prehistoric times. Another *babaylan,* Mrs. VW described how she copes up the present challenges imposed by commercial farming in her community. Being the *babaylan* means that the whole community expects her to be a reliable source of most of the herbal plants her community people have been using since time immemorial. She is quoted as saying:

> *"We plant mayana, kila-kila, tawa-tawa, and other common herbal plants in our garden as herbal medicine and as ornamental. This is our way of ensuring we have good supply of these plants for our family and neighbours. Sad to say, we have lost a lot of medicinal plants our ancestors had used before."*

Mrs. VW strongly feels about the loosing chance of her tribe and of its rich IKSP to survive. She feels hatred towards the Government and the business sector for allowing the plantations to take away her "basic survival kit"—the term she used to describe the forest and the Indigenous plants species she depend on to keep her tribe healthy. She felt guilty for her husband's poor resolved, for giving in to temptations of the commercial plantation system, which resulted mainly to local people's loss of control of

their land. She weeps for failing their forebears and for the lost plant food and medicine varieties because as she said:

> *"My husband is the supreme tribal chieftain, the head of the other male tribal chieftains (datus) in our tribe. He is one of the signatories to the contract that allowed these plantations to take over our land. Because of the decision of our men and husbands in the tribe, women and children suffer in more ways than they can imagine. Things have immensely changed in our community. It is hard, harder than before, harder than I thought."*

For Mrs. VW, the importance of her land, culture, and tradition is intimately linked to her community's survival. She knows when the land development induced by commercial farming has already gone wrong. She recalls how her tribe before had lived peacefully with the healthy forest, verdant mountains, and crystal clear river and spring water. She values land and people's freedom to access and control agricultural production more than anything the commercial plantation system could offer. For her, the difficulty and inability she experienced in gathering raw materials to prepare her traditional medicine is a proof that the monoculture plantation has indeed altered her community in extremely bad way. She felt miserable being unable to step up and enter the decision-making platform for land management and rural development. She continued by saying:

> *"I do not have direct control and decision over the use of all our resources being a woman. My datu controls everything. He holds the land title, as it is under his name not mine. We just follow what he wishes to do with our land."*

Indigenous women in the Philippines, just like in the rest of the world, do not hold direct ownership of the communal lands (Meinzen-Dick et al.,

2014). Men own and control these lands that is why they are the ones entering into the community decision-making called for by the 'outsiders' (Chambers, 1983) comprised of government officials/experts and the businessmen. Women's inability to own and directly control the management of communal land results to massive and continuous biodiversity loss (Shiva, 1988, 1993; Shiva & Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, 1994).

Photograph taken with consent and permission by Mervin Gascon, 2013.

Figure 20. The *babaylan* (medicine woman) of the Bagobo tribe in Malagos Watershed in Davao City, Mindanao.

Photograph taken by Gascon, 2013.

Figure 21. *Alhu* and *lusong* or the giant mortar and pestle made from tamarind tree is probably the most important implement of the *babaylan* used for pounding and grinding of herbal plants to be mixed with coconut oil.

Table 27. Medicinal herbal plants and oils used by the Indigenous people in Mindanao

Herbal plants	Target ailment	Preparation/Method of use
Mayana (Coleus Scutellarioides)	cough	extract the juice of the leaves then drink a spoonful at least twice a day.
Lagundi (Vitex Negundo L.)	cough	drink a decoction of leaves liberally.
Tawa-tawa (Euphorbia Hirta Linn)	cough, fever and dengue	drink a decoction of the plant liberally.
Kila-kila	stomach ache	drink a decoction of leaves liberally.
Anonang (Anana Reticulata Linn)	relapse and cough	drink a decoction of barks liberally.
Kugon	fever	drink a decoction of bulb liberally.
Ispada-ispada	wound	peel off the outer layer of the leaves and apply to the wounded part.
Pagana flower	appetiser	drink a decoction of the flower liberally.
Panyawan (Tinospora Rumphii Boerl)	itches	place the leaf or vine on top of fire to extract the juice then apply to the affected area.
Gotocola (Centalla Asiatica)	high blood pressure	place the leaves in the glass with water and drink liberally.
Guava leaves (Psidium Guajava)	wound	wash the wounded area with the heavily boiled decoction of leaves.
Avocado leaves (Persea Americana Mill)	diarrhoea	drink a decoction of the leaves liberally.
Domokkot	wound	obtain the leaves extract and apply into the wound area.

Herbal plants	Target ailment	Preparation/Method of use
Banaba *(Lagerstroenii Speciosa)*	kidney disease	Drink a decoction of leaves liberally
Hilbas *(Meutha Arvensis Linn)*	fever	drink a decoction of leaves liberally
Aswetes *(Bixa Orella Linn)*	muscle strain	cover the affected area with leaves.
Tuba-tuba *(Intropha Cureas)*	stomach ache and arthritis	cover the affected area with leaves.
Bagon	skin allergies	wash the affected area with boiled leaves and roots.
Dulaw *(Curcuma Xanthorrhiza Naves)*	snake bite	obtain the plant extract and apply into the bitten part.
Gabon *(Synsepalum Dulcificum)*	wound	wash the wounded area with the heavily boiled decoction of the leaves.
	fever and other body pains	drink or bath a decoction of the leaves liberally
Peppermint *(Mintha Piperita)*	colds and other respiratory ailments	use the leaves as inhaler by placing them on top of the hot water
Pure coconut oil	body pains and muscle strains	massage to the affected area
Buyo *(Piper Betle L.)* leaves with pure coconut oil	body pains and muscle strains	Massage to the affected area
Kinagis nga Madre Cacao *(Gliricidia Sepium)* plus pure coconut oil	skin allergies	apply to the affected area
Dulaw *(Curcuma Xanthorrhiza Naves)* with pure coconut oil	body pains and muscle strains	massage
Pangilog with pure coconut oil	body pains and muscle strains	massage
Herbabuena *(Mentha Cordifolia Opiz)* with coconut oil	body pains and muscle strains	massage
Pure coconut oil with "*36 roots from the forest*"	body pains and muscle strains	massage
Tubli *(Derris Elliptica Benth)* plus coconut oil	stomach ache	boil the plant and mix with the coconut oil then massage to the abdomen area

Note: Data presented in the table were adapted from and updated through the key informants interview particularly with the babaylans in other areas of Mindanao.

The local people's reliance on their IKSP for food and herbal medicine sustains them through generations. However, the expansion of the commercial plantation system and other forms of development projects encroaching the ancestral lands endangered the whole community's "life kit", as one participant described above referring to biodiversity support system the community has been depending on for survival. This finding is

consistent with Shiva's (1993, p. 159) when she critiques the Biodiversity Convention's many structural loopholes particularly on the aspect of ensuring that the people in poor and developing countries must be protected of their rights to preserve their seeds and plant genes to better support not just survival but also wellbeing. The Indigenous people, being the holder of the seed and gene bank, must be respected of their IKSP to pursue their life's path that are in consonance with the policies of the state and international laws/conventions.

The Philippine Government has not directly enacted any law declaring these medicinal and food plant varieties that the local people depend on ever since as weeds. It has not also established appropriate measures to protect biodiversity particularly seeds and plant genes. At the very least, Shiva (1988) argues that the state should ensure that plant varieties are protected in natural and in managed environments such as in small backyard or big botanical gardens or vast forest reserves as these are highly essential in ensuring food, fuel, and health security in the rural and forest communities.

In actual fact, Indigenous plant varieties in Mindanao disappear as a result of continuous expansion of the commercial banana and pineapple plantations in the island. The local people have reported loss of seeds and plant varieties while they continuously depend on forest and ancestral lands for food, fuel and medicinal plants. One of the farm leaders, Mr. MNO, has this to share about this case:

"The local government as well as the national agencies have provided little to no effort and resource toward protecting our forest, land, and its flora and fauna. The Department of Agriculture (DA) technicians, when they are in our communities, they introduce certain vegetable varieties that they say are proven to be more productive and highly resistant to pest and fungi infestations. We used to have rich supply of indigenous varieties of for example eggplants and tomatoes, but now we have been left with just the few varieties they introduce to us. We suspect that the seeds they gave us are the ones introduced by the agricultural scientists who also endorse and support the monopoly of petrochemical fertilisers and pesticides market in our country."

Table 28. Medicinal herbal plants and oils used to prevent and cure dengue fever and malaria by the Indigenous people in Mindanao

Herbal plant	Preparation/Method of use
Mayana *(Coleus scutellarioides)*	extract the juice of the leaves then drink a spoonful at least twice a day until cured
Lagundi *(Vitex negundo L.)*	Drink a decoction of leaves liberally until cured
Tawa-tawa *(Euphorbia hirta linn)*	Drink a decoction of the plant liberally until cured
Anonang *(Anana reticulata linn)*	Drink a decoction of barks liberally until cured
Kugon	Drink a decoction of bulb liberally until cured
Hilbas *(Meutha arvensis linn)*	Drink a decoction of leaves liberally until cured
Gabon *(Synsepalum dulcificum)*	Drink or bath a decoction of the leaves liberally until cured
Lemongrass with pure coconut oil	Apply liberally to the exposed body parts (including hair/head) in the morning and evening
Madre de cacao *(Gliricidia sepium)* and pure coconut oil	Apply liberally to the exposed body parts in the morning and evening
Pure coconut oil with *"36 roots from the forest"*	Apply liberally to the exposed body parts in the morning and evening (for children only)
Tubli *(Derris elliptica benth)* and coconut oil	Boil the plant and mix with the coconut oil then apply to the abdomen area

Note: Data presented in the table were adapted from Gascon (2011a, 2011b) and updated through the key informants interview particularly with the babaylans in other areas of Mindanao.

6.3.3. Care for nature, floras and faunas

If the previous discussion underscores how the participants in this study

value their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) for food

and traditional medicine, this section describes the traditional care and protection for the environment of the local people. For the Indigenous people interviewed in this study, forest or their environment is their ultimate source of not just food and fodder but of life and future in general. It gives them a sense of connection with their gods and ancestors. Mr. MNO is quoted as saying:

> "We value nature in the same way we value our lives. We treasure whatever is inside the forest—animals and plants, fresh air and water…"

The local people asserted that they value their land, water, and air more than they value "modernisation"—the term they use with certainty, to describe the presence and continuous expansion of the banana and pineapple plantations in their villages and ancestral lands. Mrs. PQR, who is an NGO worker, said:

> "We would like to give justice to the environmental loses we have ended up with in the misleading and treacherous agreements we were made to sign. They (referring to the agents of development projects comprise of government officials, transnational, and local businessmen), did not clarify in the terms and conditions, their responsibilities for the damages they have caused to our environment."

When Mrs. PQR was asked what she means by "give justice for the environmental loses", she clarified that her tribe takes the non-violent stance in claiming their rights for the use of the remaining forest left under their care. She explained:

> "Part of our protest is our commitment to protect and preserve our remaining forest and ancestral lands as much as we can so that this government will not declare our area as non-productive, arable land that they prey on for plantation expansion."

This finding shows how Indigenous women, as well most of the men, fulfil their duties for the protection of the remaining forest and/or ancestral land left under their care and control. Their great concern for the environment is linked to their identity and survival as people. However, they acknowledge that poverty is still their worst enemy in environmental protection. They give in to the temptations of the development project even if it is causing them serious concerns like environmental degradation and loss of land management rights to plant the basic and Indigenous crops they directly depend on for food and animal fodder. One of the farmer participants, Mr. PQR described how his community turned into a commercial farm from a purely diversified traditional farming. He is quoted as saying:

> *"Many of our people are experiencing severe poverty. They lack food for their families. They are hopeless with their poor farm productivity. Being poor and hopeless is the common reason why people are signing in the agreement. They wished for comfortable life and they thought selling or leasing their land is the way to get it."*

During the second phase of the fieldwork in the Indigenous communities in Bukidnon–Davao (BUDA) region in Mindanao, the Obu Manuvu tribe, known in the country for their colourful culture and deep concern for their ancestral land, has entered into an agreement with a transnational corporation to grow cacao. The agreement (attached as Annex C), is facilitated by a state university in the Philippines that claimed the Marilog Reservation Area (MRA) for its research and extension projects, under Presidential Proclamation 1253 dated 15 June 1998; and the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) regional office XI.

Photographs taken by Gascon, M., 2013.

Figure 22. Common herbal plants used by the Indigenous people in Mindanao.

The agreement entered into by two main parties, namely the Indigenous peoples belonging to the Obu/Manuvu-Tarawhug or Obu Manuvu tribe and the Kennemer Foods International (KFI), a multinational company, establishes the "Agro-Forestry Development Program (ADP)". In actual fact, the project targets the MRA's 200 hectares for exclusive, therefore monoculture plantation of cacao. The agreement specifies in minor details that the project would encourage planting of "other" crops along the buffer zone or in the peripheral area but the scale and density of cacao planting materials would require massive alterations in both living and biodiversity communities.

For security purposes, the ADP, which the local people are in fact calling "cacao plantation", requires fencing and guarding. The system inhibits people's freedom of movement especially in gathering food and fodder, and grazing.

Some of the local people, particularly the tribal leaders, are confident that they will succeed in this biggest business venture their Indigenous community has ever entered. But some are worried about the outcomes of the project (See chapter five for a detailed critique on the planning process, particularly on observing the free, prior, and informed consent or FPIC prior to this particular land deal).

In summary, the participants in this study rely on their indigenous knowledge system and practices to survive. But more than survival, they

depend on their ethnobotanical resources because they believe they are better prevented and/or cured of their ailments than using commercial medicines. Apparently, the challenge is that many of these plants have become extinct because the modern agribusiness system considers them as weeds.

6.3.4. Practice of Indigenous justice system

Since time immemorial, the Indigenous people of Mindanao rely on their traditional justice system to settle social, economic, and cultural disputes. However, this study finds that men dominate the traditional justice system to settle domestic and communal issues pertaining to land and other property, relationships and many others. Women are still instrumental participants in the justice system dominated by men in the Indigenous communities covered in this study. It is difficult for women to get justice in the *talabian gantangan* (Indigenous justice court) as membership of the court is comprised of *datus* (male tribal chieftains) representing all the Indigenous villages within a local government unit. The *talabian gantangan* is considered an outgrowth of the administrative duties of all the powerful and popular *datus* in the tribe. Women, in this case, struggle to get justice whenever needed. One of the women leaders in the pineapple plantation community in Bukidnon area, Mrs. XYZ shared her experience in the recent past when an elderly man in her neighbourhood allegedly sexually molested her daughter as follows:

> *"I did not expect the outcome of the trial made by the talabian gantangan to be on my favour. The men in that tribal council are good friends of the elderly man we wanted punished and be held responsible for corrupting*

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my young daughter. We will go outside of the traditional court. We will try our best to get justice using regional justice system in the city. What scares me though is the legal cost. My husband is afraid he might not be able to support us in this legal battle. He is starting to convince me to stop, forget and move on…. But I can't. I pity my daughter. I want her to feel okay."

The *talabian gantangan* should have been the most accessible justice system available at the village level but as it is, the Indigenous court has some serious structural flaws that prevented women to get justice (Giovarelli, 2009). The Indigenous court being male-dominated tramples Mrs. XYZ's spirit to fight for justice.

In the interviews, participants revealed that they adhere to their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) on justice system due to the following reasons: "it is part of our identity as IP, it is for free and/or highly accessible, participatory, sustainable, and accountable" (Table 29). The practice of traditional justice system of the Indigenous people in the Philippines is promulgated under the Section 15, Chapter IV of RA 8371 (Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997), to wit:

> The Indigenous people shall have the right to use their own commonly accepted justice systems, conflict resolution institutions, peace building processes or mechanisms and other customary laws and practices within their respective communities and as may be compatible with the national legal system and with internationally recognised human rights.

The Obu-Manuvu, Bagobo, and Matigsalug tribes in the Davao Region use their IKSP on justice to settle conflicts mostly pertaining to land or farm conflict, theft, and *duway* or polygamous relationship. The tribes used

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their *talabian gantangan* or the so-called court of justice headed by the tribal *datus* or male chieftains as the adjudicators. The *talabian gantangan* is usually conducted in an open public place where any adult member of the community can witness. The head *datu* calls upon other *datus* or members of tribal council to gather once a complaint is being referred to the tribal council or if the conflict between individuals or groups in the community becomes serious and imposes danger to other members. *Talabian gantangan* is carried out in a ceremony wherein the people offer their prayers to *Manama,* their God. In most instances, there will be chants and tribal dance depending on the purpose of the gathering. For example, warrior dance will be performed for the *talabian gantangan* held for the mysterious death of a member of the tribe.

Table 29. Reasons given on why the Indigenous people in Mindanao prefer IKSP on justice

	Reasons	Male		Female		Both	
		Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1	It is part of our identity as IP	44	80	43	86	87	83
2	Free of charge/highly accessible	40	73	40	73	80	76
3	Participatory	41	75	32	64	73	70
4	Sustainable	40	73	29	58	69	66
5	Accountable	33	60	30	60	63	60

Source: Face-to-face interview and focus group discussion with the Indigenous farmers in Mindanao conducted from 28 September 2013 to 10 May 2014.

Talabian gantangan is intimately attached to the identity of the Indigenous people especially those who are in Mindanao. The process has given them sense of pride for being IPs—for being able to live harmoniously together as a community independent from the complex and highly bureaucratic justice system in the Philippines. Ever since, the practice has been sustainable as it operates without money being involved. Before, as

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the local people are saying, punishment is based on the principle of "*ngipon sa ngipon*" or "tooth for a tooth", which means death begets death. In the modern times, with the influence of the Government and international laws on human and Indigenous peoples' rights, imposition of death penalty to anyone found guilty of murder, rape and any other serious crime in the tribal communities has been stopped.

After the verdict, punishment is identified by the *talabian gantangan* using the community agreed set of value equivalent to the damage or crime. The penalty can be a combination of animals and other valuable household and farm items that must be produced by the family of the one found guilty beyond reasonable doubt by the *talabian gantangan*. Common combination of penalty that must be paid to the victim and family comprise of a horse, a carabao, and 4 pigs or goats. It can also be a carabao, a cow and a karaoke machine, as long as the *talabian gantangan* approves the wish of the victim or his/her family. Currently, the punishment afforded to anyone involved in *duway*[42] or adultery is set at Php 100,000 equivalent of farm and household items. An elderly man, Mr. STU, stated:

> "We are proud to practice our *talabian gantangan because it is easy to operate as a process to deliver justice to crimes or conflict involving our people. Our forebears lived up to age of 90-100 years old with the system that has been passed on to many generations. We would like to continue this IKSP as it is linked to our identity as IP. It is also "open" and fair for all our people."*

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[42] Among the Indigenous peoples interviewed, they revealed that polygamy is culturally sanctioned among men who are financially and emotionally capable of providing decent life to their families. For the Indigenous peoples, *duway* is a crime when it involves single or married woman in a sexual relationship with a married man. A man who is not capable of tending more than one family is also considered an offender.

The *talabian gantangan,* being the communal court of justice including family affairs, makes decisions on matters pertaining to *duway* but not on the polygamous relationships among men. The fact is, most of these men who have multiple wives at the same time are members of the tribal council themselves. They are the influential and landowning *datus* in the tribe.

The powerful tribal hierarchy in this case considers the Indigenous women as objects. Due to power and influence of their *datu*, many women are made second or third wives. This arrangement allows women to withdraw from the marriage, but poor landless women often do not do so or else they will suffer from rejection and pauperisation with their children. For the Indigenous people who participated in this study, women are usually "locked" and compromised to be on the side the of their *datu* primarily for reasons of food, housing, and social security as narrated by Mrs. GHI below:

> *"I have no choice; I'm locked up in my marriage. I have to stand by my man (referring to a Matigsalug datu) or else I will suffer from social scorn and poverty. I don't have any property. The land, that land we farm is not mine. I don't have a share of that single property my children and I have called our own."*

In summary, the Indigenous people of Mindanao rely on their indigenous knowledge system for food, livelihood, housing and conflict settlement. They consider these aspects of their lives as critical to their survival and wellbeing as people. The poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people basically depend on their social and ecological capital to eat and become functional in performing their farm works daily. They depend on

their *bayanihan* and all its other forms in the rural communities such as *batun*, food barter and *dayung* to exchange goods and services according to their families' and neighbours' needs. In essense, this is what Dobson (2012) called ecologism wherein the local community survives and becomes contented and happy with their lives using the resources available and/or produced in the community.

Chapter 7: Deepening democracy, participation and agency through systemic thinking

7.1. Introduction

This participatory systemic inquiry was conducted to explore what constitutes wellbeing amongst the Indigenous people of Mindanao. The systemic study includes the voices, choices and agency of the silenced members of the Indigenous communities in the banana and pineapple monoculture plantations. The study used Ulrich's (1994) Critical Systems Heuristics (CSH) 12 boundary questions to explore the limitations of the current rural development frameworks in Mindanao. The existing issues were co-identified by the participants in this study and are presented in 'is' mode while the ways in which the issues will be systemically addressed are presented in 'ought' mode. A multilevel analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats involved at the household, clan, community, state and market level offered the different stakeholders in this study the chance to participate.

The gender sensitive narratives expressing the lived experience of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous participants including young people, the elderly and differently abled were listened to during a series of research conversations (individual interviews and focus group discussions) involving 55 men and 50 women in the Indigenous communities of Mindanao. The process of generating ideas of what constitute wellbeing

was conducted in an active and open dialogue process where the participants were able to freely interact with their community leaders and talk about the main problems or themes derived from the multilevel discussions with other groups. Separate discussions were conducted for women, men, leaders and a mixture of any group. It means to say that the generation of the main axial concerns, that help form the flow of this thesis, did not stop during the face-to-face interview and focus group discussion. The learning and sense making processes went on and on until the participants are able to agree and understand what everyone is trying to say and contribute in the final report.

The current 'participatory development agenda' does not promote gender equality. As evidence in this study suggests, women are not able to enter into emancipatory 'open dialogue' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006); and not able to engage in 'apophatic listening' (Dobson, 2014) wherein they can have the opportunity to listen and be listened to more effectively. Indigenous women and their unique realities and circumstances do not matter under the monoculture regime and the existing governance framework. Women's ideas, as well as their traditional crops and animals, are being treated as 'weeds' (Shiva, 1993), a form of 'metabolic rift' of modern agriculture (Schneider & McMichael, 2010) where social production is not adaptive to ecological conditions. The metabolic rift brought about by commercial plantations of banana and pineapple resulted in loss of seeds, poor soil fertility and an inability to 'care for country' (Bird Rose & Australian Heritage Commission, 1996) and practice

traditional and diversified livelihood to help build a strong connection between wellbeing and 'regenerative development' (Girardet, 2015). Regenerative development is more than sustainability. In green politics, it is a form of 'ecologism' (Dobson, 2004, 2012), an ethical approach to seriously rethink our social, political, and cultural relationships with the natural environment (Cao, 2015). Regenerative development as an episteme supports Chamber's (1983) 'putting the last first' or giving rural people their voice and choice in rural development planning and Christakis and Bausch (2006) 'collective wisdom and power to construct the future in co-laboratories of democracy'. It gives importance to local and traditional knowledge systems and practices, a regional and decentralised development approach that provides the local and Indigenous people the basic capabilities to care for their country and support their local needs.

The poorest of the Indigenous people are women and their household dependents. They have become the poorest and most vulnerable people as their practical gender needs (PGN) have been the constant focus of the policy-makers, rather than their emancipatory sets of capabilities supporting their strategic gender needs (SGN) to improve their 'functionings' (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 25). For Nussbaum (2011), 'functionings comprise which people are able to be and become what they are able to do. Being able to enter socio-economic and political decision-making opportunities that would help women emancipate themselves from their disadvantaged status, such as entering in the free, prior and informed consent (FPIC) seeking deliberation, is a critical requirement for a state to

be able to respond to women's strategic gender needs.

Using the case studies and narratives and the secondary data derived from databanks and other resources, women under the monoculture system turned out to be the most vulnerable victims of the 'development project' (McMichael, 2012a, 2014b), specifically in the market-orientated 'land deals' (Borras & Franco, 2005; Borras et al., 2011; Cotula, 2013; McMichael, 2012b, 2013; Vellema et al., 2011) that privilege men because men, by cultural norms, are the owners of the land and holders of the land titles (Bang-ao, 2009). Women do not have direct ownership and have very limited access and control over land and other movable properties. If they do, just like the case of Indigenous women in Mindanao who tend livestock and other small animals, they risk losing them to loans solely entered into and decided by men. Livestock and other small animals grown by women and their children are easy collateral for loans accessed by men to buy seedlings, fertilisers and pesticides. Men also spend a considerable amount of money buying liquor and cigarettes while women do not have direct control of the finances for household and farm activities. They still have to ask for spare money from their men every time they need to purchase food and other household items. Kiriti and Tisdell (2002) reported that under the commercial agriculture regime, men control family cash income.

The monoculture system perpetuates gender inequalities that disadvantage women and children. In this study, women and their children

and other dependents experience more and prolonged episodes of involuntary hunger. Women are deprived of many life chances to lead their own lives to become productive individuals as they are 'time-poor' (Antonopoulos & Hirway, 2010; Hirway, 2010) compared to men.

Theorising participation based on inequality in the existing division of labour enabled the different stakeholders to identify and address the key issues confronted by women and their dependents. The case studies presented in chapter four points out that the 'monocultures of the mind' (Shiva, 1993), 'state simplification' (Scott, 1998), 'rural development tourism/urban biases' (Chambers, 1997), 'environmentalism' (Cao, 2015; Dobson, 2004, 2012) and 'proletarianisation' in rural Mindanao (Figueroa, 2015; Kottak, 2011) have disadvantaged the poorest and most vulnerable Indigenous people especially women and children.

This study argued that the monoculture banana and pineapple plantation system compromises the life chances and wellbeing of the Indigenous people who are displaced and dispossessed of their ancestral land, livelihoods and agroecological resources. Women's disadvantaged status is produced, reproduced and reinforced in the institutions, namely, family, community, market and state (Kabeer, 2003) thereby creating a complex web which constitutes a 'deprivation trap' (Chambers, 1997). Women's strategic gender needs (SGN) (Moser, 2003) are not being responded to and supported by the state and other sectors. Most of the socio-economic policies especially those supporting the monoculture system perpetuate

structural inequalities in the gender division of labour. Women's participation, voice and choice in the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) seeking deliberations is compromised by gender-blind cultural norms and expectations as well as by the national policies that perpetuate reductionist and utilitarian approaches to development that relies on economic parameters and satisfaction but not the overall state of multidimensional wellbeing comprised of, according to Stiglitz et al. (2010, p. 15): 1. Material living standards (income, consumption and wealth), 2. Health, 3. Education, 4. Personal activities including work, 5. Political voice and governance, 6. Social connections and relationships, 7. Environment (present and future conditions), 8. Insecurity, of an economy as well as a physical nature. This study is about finding out what constitute Indigenous peoples' wellbeing in Mindanao. Participants, as discussed in chapters four, five and six co-learned and co-identified the main axial themes, which form the flow of arguments of this thesis. In terms of material living standards, the participants identified issues on land use and management as the source of complex deprivation. Proletarianisation or the peoples' inability to hold their basic land rights against the commercial monoculture farming system led them to become peasants on their own land. In terms of health, the Indigenous people value their traditional knowledge systems and practices in healing. They value their indigenous medicinal plants and ways of knowing how to cure common illnesses as they value their culture and life as indigenous since time immemorial. In terms of education and livelihood, the participants value their capabilities to enhance their Indigenous ways of knowing anchored on nature and

spirituality (Polly Walker, 2001; Polly Walker, 2013) review to produce collective wisdom (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and inform the ways in which they help generate their rural development plan. In terms of political voice and governance, the Indigenous people of Mindanao, especially the poorest and most marginalised women and their dependents value their needs for enhanced capabilities to participate in the decision-making process at the household, community and state level. In terms of social relationships, the participants value their *bayanihan* or 'good neighbourliness' (Benson, 2009). *Bayanihan* supports rural social capital by allowing individuals to partake in the continuous flow of the 'gift' through reciprocity and redistribution of goods and services (Douglas, 1990; Granovetter, 1985). In terms of environment, the participants value their Indigenous ways of caring for their land and nature. They maintain intimate relationship with the environment as a way to care for the future generation (Bird Rose & Australian Heritage Commission, 1996). In terms of insecurity for both manmade and natural disasters, the Indigenous people in Mindanao value resilience as a capability and they explore ways in which the poorest and most marginalised people are provided with voices and choices in the decision-making process to enhance their wellbeing.

My relationship with the participants did not stop immediately at the end of my fieldwork. I went back to the communities at least three times while writing up this thesis in Adelaide, Australia. I needed to continuously interact with the participants and facilitate their local leaders in summing

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up of ideas, generated as comments to the charts and tables (reflecting the summary of themes in the previous discussions) which I left hanging on the walls at the town centres. The process of generating ideas through listening from people at various levels allowed me to engage with more Indigenous people especially women and their dependents in the remotest areas in rural Mindanao. As stories developed and thick narratives build up, I began to see changes in the ways in which local participants are able to genuinely exercise their listening and participation capabilities as a form of practicing dialogic democracy (Dobson, 2014). Towards the end of my fieldwork, women in the Indigenous communities started to go out and talk more frequently to their neighbours. They listen and talk about their personal life and political views more openly now. They also listen and talk about how they can improve their farming or livelihood while they are engaged in the discussions relevant to rural development planning in Mindanao.

Men and women in the Indigenous communities, where I conducted the study, started to acknowledge the critical voice and choice of each individual in local development. Their mindsets towards roles of powerful men and leaders have significantly changed and they have now allowed women and other marginalised members in the communities, especially those who are poorest and who live in the remotest area, to contribute in the local generation of ideas and plans to help improve their wellbeing.

The entire range of changes in the ways in which rural development

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planning in Mindanao could be systemically generated enhances Indigenous peoples' capability to participate and actualise their voices, choices and agency in the decision-making process.

To sum up, this systemic action research explored the daily issues and concerns that confront the Indigenous people in rural Mindanao. It is hoped that this participatory systemic study has provided those who participated a deeper experience of democracy through listening and opening up a dialogue that has helped to provide the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people the opportunity to exercise agency, thereby empowering them by giving them an opportunity to express their views.

7.2. Rethinking participation as a capability to help empower the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people

Addressing the local problems confronted by the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people in Mindanao especially women, young people, the elderly and differently abled is a form of deepening democracy. The Western orthodoxy of participation which supports the typical 'participation for all' is adapted by the 'rural development tourists' (Chambers, 1983) in Mindanao. Rural development tourists are the politicians, expert planners, engineers and agriculturists who use their urban biases to try to silence the local and collective wisdom of the Indigenous people. Current participatory approaches to local development

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planning in Mindanao are limited to involving only the male household heads and the *datus* (male tribal chieftains). As the case studies presented in chapter four and five suggest, the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women and their dependents are made passive participants by leaving them uncounted without recognising their realities in the framing of rural development plans in Mindanao. This thesis makes the case for giving the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people the opportunity to enhance their participation capabilities in order to support social and environmental justice in the rural areas of Mindanao. The idea is to give the rural Indigenous people the chance to share other ways of knowing with professional developers at the local level so as to co-create and co-determine development that takes into account present and future generations (McIntyre-Mills, 2014a,b). It is form of ecologism (Dobson, 2012). Ecologism is a critique on the prevailing 'environmentalism' movement that is managerial in its approach. Environmentalism is anthropocentric in nature. It supports the idea that nature is just an object of development for humans to use. This idea, according to Schneider and McMichael (2010), is form of metabolic rift, a serious threat to our survival and this happens when there is a huge discrepancy in the relationship between human production and nature. The monoculture plantations in Mindanao causes major metabolic rifts as the case studies illustrate. The Indigenous women have lost most of their seeds, and they now have poor soil fertility due to the heavy reliance of the plantation communities for commercial petrochemical fertilisers and pesticides. These forms of metabolic rifts are evident in the works of

Gonzales (2006) and Shiva (2001). They reported that modern agro-industrial modes of production that have exploited Indigenous soils in the South to support the food security agenda favouring the market and business interests of the North has caused the rural communities too much ecological and human stress.

Rethinking the theory of participation requires that the local government must be able to support its local needs by enhancing individual capabilities regardless of her/his age, gender, ethnicity and physical ability to exercise agency in giving voice and choice in the decision-making platforms. It means that participation is an active and transformatory process of giving each person the capability to identify and learn her/his limitations to enter the decision-making platforms. The existing inequality in the gender division of labour (Moser, 2003) must be addressed systemically if we want genuine participation. It means to say that women and all the 'othered' (McEwan, 2009) household dependents must be included in the decision-making processes in the local communities. They have to be allowed to speak for their truths and be listened to. They also need to see how their personal ideas resonate with others and the collective whole.

This systemic inquiry enabled the participants to experience transparently the 'unfolding of events'. I reported back to them partially the highlights of the research report during the three occasions I went back to their communities. I also assured the participants that their time, efforts, ideas and learning are valued and this research will be shared with others to

enable their voices to be heard more widely.

7.3. Enhancing dialogic democracy through open dialogue and listening

Chapter five argues that the existing participatory development discourses that focus on 'participation for all' and 'stakeholder's participation' (Cornwall, 2003) in rural development planning, privilege men and experts in the actual democratic and political platforms. Gender and development (GAD) approaches in developing countries like the Philippines still regard 'gender' as a passive problem to be solved rather than as a discourse to be actively participated in by both men and women (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005) in order to help transform the disadvantaged and disempowered status of women and their dependents.

Giving women a voice, choice and agency in the decision-making process in rural development must consider their 'strategic gender needs' (Moser, 2003) to help them become active partners of men in all political and democratic arenas ranging from personal, household, community, market and the state (Kabeer, 2003). This means that women must be empowered to perform their role in rural development planning as individuals. Their discourses need to become active that are <u>NOT</u> controlled by the elites in the society (Bacchi, 2000).

Giving women voices, choices and agency is one basic requirement to

actually see and hear women's critical ideas, representation and identity as political agents. Women have distinct sets of needs and aspirations that must be decently supported and protected by appropriate policies. The role of the state and the local government must be to help provide a just social minimum provision of resources that will help build the basic human capabilities of women in order for them to function as healthy and able individuals (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). Providing Indigenous women the chance to be heard in the decision-making platforms also requires changing the way we provide democratic spaces for them. Expanding the boundaries of decision-making means that policy-makers (who are involved) should acknowledge the critical role of women and other disadvantaged groups (who are affected) (Ulrich, 1994) in learning and problem solving together as a human community. The role of listening as a tool to strengthen the agency and capabilities of Indigenous women requires that state and non-state actors, working as outsiders or 'rural development tourists' (Chambers, 1997) in Mindanao, must co-learn with the women and other people in the rural communities. By adding listening (and responding) in the 'sensory democracy' (Dobson, 2014), it means that political and democratic projects in rural Mindanao are meant to be dialogic—that the Indigenous women's agentic voice is delivered and heard, and their presence is actually seen.

It is argued that active participation is a fertile capability that must be supported by the state and local governments to allow women and other disadvantaged groups to become part of the whole process of rural

development. Moser's (1989) framework was used as a tool to analyse gender inequality, while Kabeer's (2003) social relations approach was used as lens to critique the existing gender inequality in various institutions—at the household, community, state and market level.

The approach needs to address prevention planning through enhancing opportunities to prepare and voice concerns about safety at home as well as rapid response measures that encompass both technocratic and institutional preparations informed by user-centric approaches to support 'Home safety, Health, Purpose, Connection/belonging (people and place), Self-respect and confidence'. This is undertaken through considering what resources people have, what they need, what they are prepared to add or discard from their lives, and turning points for the better and worse in social, economic and environmental terms (see McIntyre-Mills & de Vries, 2013; McIntyre-Mills, De Vries, & Deakin, 2008) these are the 'a posteriori' consequences of change and needed to address socio-cultural and political barriers to change and to develop information and resources that are readily accessible to the community. In times of crisis, according to Professor Paul Arbon of the Torrens Resilience Institute at Flinders University, the first people to respond are members of the community. So, developing ways to respond to local issues needs to start with the community by 'expanding the boundaries' (Ulrich, 1994, 1996) of participation platforms to include the poorest and the most marginalised members of the local communities. Women must work in close partnership with men to discuss, plan and act on critical issues pertaining to social,

economic and environmental vulnerabilities to stress the importance of addressing the strategic gender needs (Moser, 1989, 2003) of men and women. Social vulnerabilities, characterised in this study as extreme poverty, landlessness, involuntary hunger, physical weakness and isolation confronted by the Indigenous people in Mindanao, particularly women, are worsening as shown in the case studies. These vulnerabilities are complex and interconnected and require reversal by 'putting people first' or by 'putting the last first' (Chambers, 1983, 1997) in rural development planning. Gender and Development (GAD) constructs and processes, which rely primarily on 'participation of all' (Cornwall, 2003) must be challenged by empowering women and their dependents to actually 'hold half of the sky' (Doss, 2014). Women need to be empowered—to be seen and be able to speak, and be listened to 'apophatically' (Waks, 2010 cited in Dobson, 2014 p. 69). Apopathic listening gives both the listeners (experts and officials) and the speakers (women) the opportunity to share power by setting their biases or preconceived categories aside, in order for the voice of both listeners and speakers to come through in its 'authentic' form. For Dobson (2014), this is the essence of sensory and dialogic democracy where power is shared by the appreciation of the viewpoints of people 'involved' in and 'affected' by the area of concern (Ulrich, 1994).

Another way to ensure empowered participation of women in rural development planning is to put in place a gender quota for participation in democratic and political decision-making platforms. Agarwal (2010)

stresses that at least one-third of women in a political decision-making platform constitute a critical mass for them to gain confidence to engage with men in active dialogue where both speaking and listening can be present. The current participation framework mainly emphasises the voice or the speaking aspect. It does not guarantee that the limited voices and choices of women are indeed being included in the actual policy decisions as rural development experts and local government officials are trapped in their urban/rural biases being 'rural development tourists' (Chambers, 1997). In the same vein, women have to be empowered by strengthening their capabilities 'to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999) and to engage in democratic and political dialogues dealing with issues regarding their wellbeing. Rural development planning is a social action that requires women's voices, choices and agency. Women must be allocated just and decent social minimum provisions of policy support to overcome their current state of passive and instrumental participation (Cornwall, 2003; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2001) in political decision-making to help improve their wellbeing and life chances. The Indigenous women, must be given the chance to represent themselves in higher decision-making platforms, should they find their local governments' and/or tribal councils' decisions unsatisfactory.

7.4. Enhancing participation to improve wellbeing through local regeneration of resources

Chapter six outlines the rural development biases of politicians and expert planners working in rural Mindanao. These elite and expert planners are

the 'rural development tourists' (Chambers, 1983) whose education, training and work were completed from the institutions located in the city and whose family and friends lived in the city as well. These rural development biases prevent the Indigenous people to 'harness their collective wisdom' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) in the actual sense making of the issues they face in the banana and pineapple monoculture plantation communities in Mindanao. Chapter six highlights the ways in which the Indigenous people survive through valuing their intimate relationship with the land and by using their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) to cope up with the pressures resulting from further expansion of banana and pineapple monoculture plantations in their area. It discusses the relevance and importance of primitive exchange of goods and services in the rural and Indigenous communities in Mindanao for survival. The Indigenous people's adherence to their *bayanihan* or 'good neighbourliness' (Benson, 2009) helps them to build good relationships with other people, the land and the environment. *Bayanihan,* being a local and Indigenous channel for 'gifts' (Douglas, 1990; Henaff, 2013; McCormack, 2015; Valeri, 2013), is being practiced in rural Mindanao as a means to achieve regeneration of local resources supporting agroecological and livelihood systems. The Indigenous people depend on their local human and natural resources to sustain their local daily needs. The idea of building strong and intimate connection between human and nature is a form of regenerative development (Girardet, 2015), a form of 'ecologism' (Dobson, 2004, 2012). The ecologism principle holds that 'a sustainable and fulfilling existence presupposes radical changes in

our relationship with the nonhuman natural world and in our mode of social and political life'.

7.5. More than just participation: exploring the implications of the decision-making boundary critiques to help deepen democracy

This systemic action research explores the different layers of social, economic, political, cultural and environmental issues confronted by the Indigenous people living in the banana and pineapple plantation communities of Mindanao by expanding the current decision-making boundaries (Burns, 2007, 2011, 2012; Midgley, 2000; Ulrich, 1994).

In this study, expanding the boundaries of decision-making in rural development planning in Mindanao is explored using the three boundary critiques identified to be critical in deepening democratic and development frameworks anchored on participation to improve wellbeing and life chances. The three boundary critiques explored are a) people; b) problem and c) process.

The powerful decision-makers dominate 'participation' and development discourses in rural Mindanao as presented in chapters four and five. The poorest and most marginalised rural people especially women are regarded (Shiva, 1993) as 'others' and 'subalterns' (McEwan, 2009). The positivist public policy models (based on monocultures of the mind which disregards other forms of knowledge) prevent the poorest Indigenous women to voice their choices as individuals with agency and enter the

decision-making platforms at the community, state and market levels. The expert-oriented planning approaches passively constitute the voices and choices of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous women in the discourse of the elite policy-makers and expert planners (Bacchi, 2000, 2004, 2010; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005). Cornwall (2003) described this passive representation of the poorest and most marginalised women as part of the prevailing 'international orthodoxy of development' that promotes popular participation by using women and other disadvantaged groups as 'instrumental' and 'passive' participants of development.

7.5.1. People critique: engaging with the involved and the affected

Making the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people passive participants of development 'infantalises' their full potential to improve their wellbeing and life chances. The positivist and linear approaches in rural development planning fails to identify the issues of individuals in rural and Indigenous Mindanao especially the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people who live in the remotest rural areas. The 'urban cores' or biases of the 'rural development tourists' — politicians and expert planners and engineers dominate in the constitution of any development discourse in Mindanao. The collective wisdom' (Christakis, 2004; Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) are being treated as 'weeds' under the banner of monoculture system (Shiva, 1993) and 'state

simplification' (Scott, 1998).

'Whose reality counts?' (Chambers, 1997) is the basis of this thesis main argument stated above. 'By putting the last first' it means that the rural Indigenous people, who possess unique realities and practices, must be the ones to be 'listened to' (Dobson, 2014) and be brought into the formal and informal decision-making platforms through 'open dialogue' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and deepen the whole range of meaning and practice of democracy and help improve the wellbeing of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women and their dependents. Ulrich (1996) argued that social planning must include the 'involved and affected' by the policy. In this study, the idea requires that the Indigenous people, especially the poorest and most marginalised women and their dependents, being the affected, must be included in the open and discursive dialogue to get to truth (Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Habermas, 1984 1989; J. McIntyre, 2005a). They should be genuinely 'listened to' (Dobson, 2014) because their knowledge is valuable for sustaining diverse practices and ideas in keeping seeds and crops to help ensure local food security. Their voices and choices are critically important in ensuring that the rural development in Mindanao will respond to their 'strategic gender needs' and not just to their practical or basic needs for food, shelter and education (Moser, 2003). The idea is to provide a dignified minimum provision of social support to individuals for them to improve their capabilities to locally manage their agroecological resources and support their regenerative strategies to produce diverse traditional crops and to

maintain good relationship with the land and environment. Nussbaum (2011) argued that it is the duty of the state to provide social support system to enhance individual capabilities and improve their functionings. In this study, functionings are the outcomes of the process of improving Indigenous peoples' capabilities. In particular, Indigenous women, young people, the elderly and differently abled are able to actualise and practice their political participation capability in this systemic action inquiry. The process helps them to explore what constitute wellbeing among Indigenous people in the banana and pineapple plantation communities in Mindanao. This systemic inquiry as a starting point, offered the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people a chance to continue to transform their disadvantaged status in rural Mindanao by learning to enter the political decision-making platforms concerning the use of their land and environment.

7.5.2. The problem critique: sweeping in as many issues

The second decision-making boundary critique comes from the need to 'sweep in' the problems or issues from the point of view of the silenced stakeholders to foster dialogue. I would call this the **problem critique**. Systemic inquiry allows us to see only a partial portion of what constitute the whole system. What we need to do to improve our current rural development planning approach is to systemically ask relevant questions based on the issues and identify the resonance of these issues at various levels in terms of social, economic, political, cultural, and environmental contexts of those who are engaged in the systemic action research.

> 'We can only ever see a part of the whole' (Churchman, 1970; Ulrich, 1983; Midgley, 2000 cited in Burns, 2007 p. 21).

'Sweeping in' (Churchman, 1979; McIntyre-Mills, 2006) as many issues as possible in trying to address the state of rural deprivation experienced by the Indigenous people in Mindanao led me to address poverty, foodlessness, landlessness and the lack of political voice especially among Indigenous women.

This systemic inquiry process has implications for 'cosmopolitan democracy' (Archibugi & Held, 2011) where the voices and choices of the silenced local Indigenous people especially women and their dependents are included in the process of sense making in rural development planning in Mindanao. Archibugi and Held (2011) argued that cosmopolitan democracy values the voices and choices of the local people to address global issues. The idea is supporting 'citizenship beyond states' as the local people through the international monitoring bodies can freely identify and elevate their issues to the global level. Cosmopolitan democracy underpins the empowerment framework proposed in this study. Through 'open' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and 'respectful' (McIntyre, 2005a) dialogues and by 'listening' (Dobson, 2014) to the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people in a systemic action inquiry (Burns, 2007), we are able to expand the current boundaries of problem or issues identification and include those views that are totally unheard of before coming from women and their dependents. This study included the ideas,

realities, feelings and dreams of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous women, young people, the elderly and differently abled who lived in the remotest area. Including the story of Nida is in this systemic action research is an example of expanding the current ways in which we identify the problems and issues in rural Mindanao. It can be recalled that Nida is a mother of five who lost her husband and subsequently her land through a distress sale and is now managing her depression. Her anxiety causes her to lock herself inside her house and sleep for most of the day and cry from time to time. She depends on her two under aged sons who are taking any manual labour available in the community. The young boys work and find food to eat for their mother and other siblings. Her neighbours, who are also poor, help her family in many different ways. They also help provide food and occasional care to children being left to wander and play around by Nida. Amongst all the participants, Nida is probably one of the poorest and most marginalised rural people who are left to fend for themselves with extreme poverty, hunger and depression in the remotest part rural Mindanao.

7.5.3. Critical Systems Heuristics: the process critique

The third decision-making boundary critique is the so-called **process critique.** Engaging myself in this systemic action research that tries to see a portion of the 'whole system' (Burns, 2007) allows me to improve the ways in which I do the case study (Chambers, 1984, 1997). Systemic action inquiry allows me to do more than just profiling the 'unique realities' (Chambers, 1983) and the 'collective wisdom' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006)

of the rural Indigenous people and other stakeholders I have worked with during the fieldwork in the plantation communities in Mindanao. The systemic inquiry gave me a deeper understanding on the ways in which the Indigenous people especially the poorest and most marginalised women, young people, the elderly and differently abled must be supported to improve their wellbeing and life chances as individuals. Systemic action inquiry provides a means to give each Indigenous person her/his dignity. For Nussbaum (2011, pp. 30-31), 'a focus on dignity (instead of satisfaction) will dictate policy choices that protect and support agency, rather than choices that infantilise people and treat them as passive recipients of benefit.' The systemic action inquiry processes allow the individual participants in this study, including myself, to co-identify and colearn the issues critical to our wellbeing as people living in the banana and pineapple plantation communities. The Critical Systems Heuristics (CSH) process allows us to reflect from our initial grounding of the issues as basis to our sets of workable solutions to improve the wellbeing and life chances of the most vulnerable people in rural Mindanao.

7.6. Using the Critical Systems Heuristics to improve rural development policy design

This section presents the ways in which rural development policy designs and processes in the Indigenous communities of Mindanao can be enhanced to be more inclusive, gender-sensitive, accountable and relevant to the local and unique needs and realities of the poorest and most marginalised women and their dependents. Policy implications on

enacted and the international laws adopted by the Philippines such as the national free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) principle under the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA) of 1997 (RA 8371) and international covenants like a) United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement (UN Guidelines); b) Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests in the Context of National Food Security (Voluntary Guidelines); c) Principles for Responsible Agricultural Investment that Respects Rights, Livelihoods, and Resources (PRAI); and d) UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples are presented in shaded rows in Table 30.

The Critical Systems Heuristics 12 boundary questions is used as guide to summarise the themes based on the case studies and the theoretical lens that I used to understand the 'thick narratives' (Geertz, 2000) during the fieldwork in the banana and pineapple monoculture plantations in Mindanao. An analysis of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) is also provided to systemically identify the policy implications of the issues in rural development planning in Mindanao in various decision-making arenas (household, community, state and market).

7.6.1. Ecologism approach as a means to enhance rural regenerative development policies

Dobson's (2004) ecologism principle ensures that social, economic, political and environmental policies must be relevant to the needs of the

local communities. It is about giving the local people the opportunity to live harmoniously with nature for the purpose of utilising natural resources sustainably based on their local needs. The ecologism principle is related to regenerative development (Girardet, 2015) concept in which we try to pursue development according to the needs, capabilities and unique realities of the local people. Regeneration is about enhanced capabilities of the local people to exercise agency in the production goods and services using primarily their local and indigenous resources.

A closer examination of the enacted national laws and adopted international treaties on environment and agriculture reveal some structural and conceptual loopholes that must be addressed to help ensure that Indigenous communities are able to protect their rights to control their lands, engage in diverse and sustainable livelihood, and help ensure that food is always available for the local people. The Philippines is a signatory to the UN Convention on Biological Diversity, and has enacted various national laws in consonance with the principles promulgated in the UN Convention. It has passed into law the Republic Act 7308, otherwise known as Seed Industry Development Act of 1992 to promote and develop the seed industry in the Philippines and create the National Seed Industry Council amongst other purposes. Other enacted laws that support the Convention are: a) RA 7586: National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) Act of 1992; RA 7900: the High-Value Crops Development Act of 1995; and RA 8371: Recognising the Rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples. These laws based on international

covenants must: **First,** recognise the sovereignty rights and the rights to self-determination of the Indigenous people and other stakeholders in the rural agricultural areas to protect and nourish their relationships with the land and the environment for survival. These laws and guidelines must seriously take into consideration the local unique realities and wisdom of the Indigenous people for them to pursue their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) in farming and seed keeping. The Indigenous people do not need modern monoculture plantations that do not directly contribute to their wellbeing and life chances as individuals. Hence, their customary rights to undertake grassroots actions, to conserve their plant varieties and safeguard diverse sources of livelihood, food and nutrition, must be protected by the community, state and market institutions. In her analysis, Shiva points out that the gene banks and the botanical gardens of the North store some 90 percent of the most important crop varieties from all over the world. However, the Convention is silent on how these genetic materials can be patented, implying that the North can proceed with patenting these materials without any violation. 'The consequence of patenting these seeds, is that developing countries would have to pay high prices for seeds and genetic materials in these gene banks and for the modified genetic materials. At the same time, they would not be compensated for the knowledge of their farmers and forest peoples, which is the source of the evolutionary use of the seeds and other materials in agricultural production. The Biodiversity Convention does not recognise the right of informal innovators (including farmers) to be compensated', according to (Shiva, 1993, p. 156). **Secondly**, related

environmental international treaties and national laws reveal some inconsistencies such as, but not limited to, the following: 1) no provision for open participation in the decision-making process of the general public; and 2) some provisions are discriminatory and are not gender-sensitive; the marginalised groups, *inter alia*, women, young people, the elderly and differently abled are not made part of the seed governance framework to support food security in the rural areas. The provisions must be amended to include other important clauses in the UN Biodiversity Convention, to which the Philippines is a signatory. It must clearly emphasise through a guideline that women, young people, the elderly, differently abled and other silenced and disadvantaged groups in the rural areas must be represented as individuals with voice, choice and agency to participate in the decision-making processes. ***Thirdly***, RA 7586 provides limited opportunity for Indigenous peoples to participate in the decision-making process pertaining to identification and management of the National Integrated Protected Area System (NIPAS). The rights of Indigenous people to protect their economic, social, environmental, and cultural interests in the land and its natural resources is not clearly specified under the current law. This law (RA 7586) should integrated Indigenous land rights and cultural and/or spiritual perspectives in identifying environmentally protected areas. Indigenous people's beliefs, practices, customs, and traditions are intimately linked to land and its resources since time immemorial. The Indigenous people know best the history and cultural values of their land and environment, including spiritual tales and legends that help them to build harmonious relationship with nature. The

current process of decision-making to establish NIPAS is dominated by experts' knowledge. The local people, civil society, NGOs, local government officials, and other community stakeholders are represented at the bottom of the decision-making level under the NIPAS guidelines. This provision therefore has limitations as it involves only a few and select leaders and/or representatives of the communities. It does not specify the need for ordinary men and women, especially the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people to be fairly represented in the process. NIPAS is a critical environmental law that is connected to food and water security, safe housing, and a sustainable environment. It should therefore be amended to include non-discriminatory, participatory, gender-sensitive, highly accountable, and transparent principles to carry out negotiations and consultations involving the voice and choice of the silenced and disadvantaged groups in the rural communities. The interest of the small-farm holders or family farmers, especially women and their dependents must be upheld at all times in order to enhance local means of production of diverse livelihood and food to support wellbeing and life chances especially of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people.

Table 30. Exploring ways in which people, problem and process critiques can improve the existing rural development planning policies in Mindanao using Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
1. Who is the actual **client** of the systems design?	All Mindanawons as every citizen is a client (Ulrich, 1983, p. 393). The business elites, government officials, and multinational corporations who possess wealth and power to influence the policies on modernising agriculture for economic development.	The Indigenous people— especially the poorest and most marginalised women, young people, the elderly and differently abled living in the remotest rural area and displaced by the banana and pineapple monoculture plantations in Mindanao.
Policy implications	Section 26. Women. — ICC/IP women shall enjoy equal rights and opportunities with men, as regards the social, economic, political and cultural spheres of life. The participation of Indigenous women in the decision-making process in all levels, as well as in the development of society, shall be given due respect and recognition. The State shall provide full access to education, maternal and childcare, health and nutrition, and housing services to Indigenous women. Vocational, technical, professional and other forms of training shall be provided to enable these women to fully participate in all aspects of social life. As far as possible, the State shall ensure that Indigenous women have access to all services in their own languages. Indigenous women are expected, as a cultural norm, to focus primarily on reproductive tasks. Men are over represented in rural development planning in Mindanao.	Providing participation capabilities to enhance women's agency is not just simply about rights of women written in words. For Nussbaum (2011, p. 65), these fundamental rights must be concretised and made more meaningful by real government action. This means that women should be able to exercise voice, choice and agency in the decision-making platforms as a vital requirement to transform the disadvantage status of women**.**
2. What is the actual **purpose** of the systems design?	Promote economic development in the Philippines through modern agricultural plantation system.	The ideal systems design for Indigenous rural development planning should genuinely consider the voices, choices and agency of the poor. The baseline data from which any rural development plan is made should use the Indigenous people's 'collective wisdom' Christakis and Bausch (2006) and the lcddu (local, complex, diverse, dynamic, and unstable) realities Chambers (1983). Using the

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
		critical systemic inquiry process to critique the existing decision-making boundaries, this study is able to engage with the multiple perspectives of the different stakeholders both the 'involved and affected' (Ulrich, 1996). Specifically, the voices, choices and agency of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous women, young people, the elderly and differently abled were included in the iterative and heuristic sense making to 'try to see the whole system' (Burns, 2007, 2011, 2012; Burns, Harvey, & Ortiz Aragón, 2012).

This participatory systemic study was able to include the voices and choices of the Indigenous people who lost ownership and control of their lands and relocated in the remotest rural areas, where basic social services are non-existent.

Mrs. PQR/NGO Worker:
Bayanihan is a way of life among the poor Indigenous people in Mindanao. We rely on each other for our immediate needs for food, shelter, medicine and many others. Without our neighbours, many of us who are really poor would die from hunger and malnutrition. |
| **Policy implications** | Section 3.g: Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) — as used in this Act shall mean the consensus of all members of the Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples (ICCs/IPs) to be determined, in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference and coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of the activity, in a language and process understandable to the community. | The FPIC under Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 (RA 8371) failed to specify provisions for management of social and environmental risks and damages. It should also give importance to voices, choices and agency of the poorest and most marginalised women, children, the elderly and differently abled in FPIC process to be inclusive, participatory, gender-sensitive and accountable. |

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
3. What is its built-in **measure of success**?	Wealth from profit that is not equitably distributed among citizens; income inequality among those directly and indirectly working under the plantation system is widening. The local people affected by the monoculture farming have been denied opportunities to shape the development of their land, resources, livelihoods, and agro ecological systems. *Mr. MNO: "We value nature in the same way we value our lives. We treasure whatever is inside the forest—animals and plants, fresh air and water…"*	The system design must ensure that the affected local people have access and control over their land, resources, and productive agricultural practices to support food security, health, education, livelihood, and sustainable environment. The idea is for the Government and other institutions to provide a decent and dignified social minimum of provision for individuals in the Indigenous communities of Mindanao to improve their capabilities and be able to function as productive individuals (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). Developing individual capabilities means that the state must be more supportive and should allocate more governmental resources to the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people. The idea of developing capabilities and improve human functionings can help address rural development issues in Mindanao especially relating to participation. Indigenous women by customs and traditions are made 'passive' (Cornwall, 2003) participants in all phases of rural development planning. Improving their participation capabilities by actually allowing them to enter into 'open dialogue' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and be 'listened to' (Dobson, 2014) in the decision-making processes would help in deepening democracy to improve their wellbeing and life chances. This study has found out that improvement in wellbeing and life chances among the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people is not measured in terms of the positivist gross domestic

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Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
		product (GDP) of the city or country in general. It is measured in terms of how the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women, young people, the elderly and differently abled are able to participate in the actual decision-making for them to own the process of improving their wellbeing and life chances. For the Indigenous people in Mindanao, protecting their land and environment is critical to their livelihood and agroecological system.

The idea is to help build vibrant rural communities where the Indigenous people are able to exercise their full rights and control on the use of their ancestral land and environment. This is a form of 'ecologism' (Cao, 2015; Dobson, 2004, 2012) where the Indigenous people enhance their relationship with the land and environment as if land has life that needs to be nurtured. Deborah Bird Rose called this intimate relationship between humans and their land as a means of 'caring for the country' (Bird Rose & Australian Heritage Commission, 1996). Girardet (2015) described this intimate human-ecology relationship as a means to regenerate the resources critical to rural communities. The idea is called regenerative development. Regenerative development is more relevant than sustainable development. It is a form of critique of the existing practices surrounding the global sustainability development agenda.

Mrs. PQR: *"We would like to give justice to the environmental loses we have ended up with in the misleading and treacherous* |

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
		agreements we were made to sign. They (referring to the agents of development projects comprise of government officials, transnational, and local businessmen), did not clarify in the terms and conditions, their responsibilities for the damages they have caused to our environment." *"Part of our protest is our commitment to protect and preserve our remaining forest and ancestral lands as much as we can so that this government will not declare our area as non-productive, arable land that they prey on for plantation expansion."*
Policy implications	Section 34. Right to Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices and to Develop own Sciences and Technologies. — ICCs/IPs are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership and control and protection of their cultural and intellectual rights. They shall have the right to special measures to control, develop and protect their sciences, technologies and cultural manifestations, including human and other genetic resources, seeds, including derivatives of these resources, traditional medicines and health practices, vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals, indigenous knowledge systems and practices, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literature, designs, and visual and performing arts.	The intellectual and cultural property rights of the Indigenous People must be protected at all times. The story of the lost seeds reported by Indigenous women participants discussed in chapter four is an example of domination of western science as the only best way to manage land and rural livelihood.
4. Who is actually the **decision-maker**?	-The *datus* (male tribal chieftains). -The powerful and wealthy policy makers in partnership with the local business elites. In many instances, just like the case in Mindanao, politicians come from the powerful ranks of business and influential wealthy clans. They comprise a substantial number and have the broadest influence in the local and national policy	The Indigenous people including the poorest and most marginalised women, young people, the elderly and differently abled and those who lived in the remotest rural areas. By "putting the last first" (Chambers, 1983), they have to be the source from which voices, choices, ideas and aspirations to be included in the system design must

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	making being elected to national positions such as becoming members of the House of Representatives; and in the local government units by becoming mayors, governors, and members of the legislative body.

Mrs. VW: *"I do not have direct control and decision over the use of all our resources being a woman. My datu controls everything. He holds the land title, as it is under his name not mine. We just follow what he wishes to do with our land."* | emanate from. The role of the involved policymakers must be limited to facilitating the iterative learning process while pursuing the system design or participatory systemic inquiry to help expand the boundaries of decision-making using people, problem and process critiques.

The ideal decision-makers should include the voices and choices of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people. They should be able to actively and genuinely participate in the systems design that will use 'open and discursive dialogue' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006; Habermas, 1984 1989) and agentic 'listening' to deepen the meaning and practice of democracy. |
| **Policy implications** | Section 16. Right to Participate in Decision-Making. — ICCs/IPs have the right to participate fully, if they so choose, at all levels of decision-making in matters which may affect their rights, lives and destinies through procedures determined by them as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous political structures. Consequently, the State shall ensure that the ICCs/IPs shall be given mandatory representation in policy-making bodies and other local legislative councils. | This right is still hampered by the limitations imposed by customs and traditions. Women's time and effort at the household and community level are still limited to performing their reproductive roles. Poorer and lesser powerful members of the Indigenous People's community are still underrepresented in the decision-making process. Most of the decisions are still made by the tribal councils comprised of *datus* (male tribal chieftains). |
| 5. **What conditions of successful planning and implementation** of the system are really controlled by the decision-maker? | -The *datus* (male tribal chieftains) comprised the Supreme Tribal Council. All the male household heads have direct ownership and control of the ancestral lands.

-The powerful business and political elites have broad influence over policies. They have the money and use it together with power to influence decisions on how to allocate the highly limited resources available in rural Mindanao. | The poorest and most marginalised women, young people, the elderly and differently abled persons must be provided with voice, choice and agency in the decision-making processes involved in rural development planning.

The gendered participation quota (at least one-third of the total participants needs to be represented by women and their dependents) can serve as a bare minimum requirement. |

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
		However, the participants in this study described the need for Indigenous women, the elderly and differently abled to be equally represented in the decision-making processes in land management and rural development planning in general.
6. **What conditions are not controlled by decision-maker**? (e.g. what represents environment to him) (Everything that coproduces a system's performance but is not controlled by the systems decision maker.)	The existing system design allows leaders, experts, and planners to control practically all conditions within the decision-making environment. The laws and statutes promoting and regulating the banana and pineapple industry in the Philippines provided more leeway for the leaders and experts to exercise their power and influence the policies to serve their vested interest. Such is the case among politicians who, with their agents consult random consultations at the community levels but do so in a way that discourages people to participate and vent their voice. Often, the platform provided by the leaders and experts to the local people is either irrelevant or too technical for them to understand and participate in the sense making process of identifying the issues. The power differential between the involved and the affected local people is highly emphasised to the extent that latter kowtow to the vested interest of the former.	What resources and conditions ought to be part of the system's **environment** (i.e. not be controlled by the system's decision maker? The local people as the ones affected by the monoculture plantation system in Mindanao need to be part of the decision-making environment (Ulrich, 1983, p. 408). This mechanism can help ensure that their needs and interests pertaining to land, livelihood, food security, education and health are not compromised. Their active participation and voice in the ideal system designing must be made integral part. This means that their traditional and sustainable IKSP must be acknowledged as highly essential for their wellbeing and life chances as people with remarkable past, present and future. The ideal system design must respect above all their identity as people with a unique set of social capital stock. It must protect their interests as people who have lived intimately linked to their cultural and environmental roots. By doing so, the ideal system design can ensure that the local peoples' rights to land, food, health, education and employment will be protected at all times.
Policy implications	Section 17. Right to Determine and Decide Priorities for Development. — The ICCs/IPs shall have the right to determine	A clear-cut rural development framework or an amended provision in the IPRA must indicate the need to include

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	and decide their own priorities for development affecting their lives, beliefs, institutions, spiritual wellbeing, and the lands they own, occupy or use. They shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies, plans and programs for national, regional and local development which may directly affect them.	the interests of the poorest and most marginalised women, children and the elderly to exercise their agency and participate in rural development planning.
7. Who is actually involved as **planner**?	-The *datus* (male tribal chieftains). -The officials and experts at the local government units and the national government agencies. In coordination with the local development planning bodies represented by the business, church, academia, etc.	The Indigenous people must be provided a voice and strategic participation in the planning bodies. This can be made possible by ensuring that the poorest and most marginalised rural and Indigenous farmers, including women, are given the most relevant platform or opportunities to enhance their capabilities to direct their own lives and improve their wellbeing. Currently, the local people are made passive recipients of the development activities conducted by national and local government agencies.

8. Who is involved as **expert**, and of what kind is the expertise?	The "outsiders" (Chambers, 1983) and the "involved" (Ulrich, 1983) who are: Politicians/policy-makers and Government agency officers:
	  Planners
	  Medical experts
	  Engineers
	  Agriculturists
	  Economists
	  Scientists
	  Etc.
		The Indigenous people who have their indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP). These traditional systems have been proven to support their wellbeing and identity. For the Indigenous people, protecting their welfare is possible only by upholding their land and human rights to ensure food security, health, education, and sustainable environment.
		
		Mrs. VW: *"We need to have a voice in the decision-making concerning land use and management. There has to be law or guidelines that will help ensure that women's voice is heard in the decision-making. No one in the tribal council composed of men can protect our specific interests as women for food, livelihood and health."*

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
Policy implications	Section 3.i: Indigenous Political Structures — refer to organisational and cultural leadership systems, institutions, relationships, patterns and processes for decision-making and participation, identified by ICCs/IPs such as, but not limited to, Council of Elders, or any other tribunal or body of similar nature.	The Indigenous political structures must recognise the voices and choices of women as well as the elderly, young people and differently abled to engage in rural development planning.
9. Where do the involved seek the guarantee that their planning will be successful?	The current system design allows the local and national government officials to bypass the interests of the local people by complying just the minimum standards or requirements of seeking consensus with the local stakeholders who may be directly and indirectly affected by the proposed development project. Positivist epistemology dominates planning methodologies in the Mindanao. Planners, who are highly technical and administrative play the role of Messiah, as well as their consultants—statesmen, retired experts, Aid organisations, NGO partners in 'planning for' (VeneKlasen & Miller, 2002) the local people.	a) The Indigenous people must be consulted being the victims of the banana and pineapple monoculture plantations. The rural and Indigenous farmers who have been deprived of full control of their farms and livelihoods especially women, who were marginalised by the rural development paradigm, must be included, first, by making them integral part of the free, prior, and informed consent (FPIC) requirement before any development project could proceed; second, they have to be provided with the fair and equal opportunities as men to engage in the ideal systems design that highlights their strategic participation; third, they have to be capable as men to perform, beyond the rigmarole of reproductive duties, to include productive and community roles. The ideal measure of success of the systems design must be based on the actual development of capabilities of individuals in the Indigenous communities of Mindanao 'to do and to be' (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). The idea is to emphasise the importance of measuring rural development design in terms of how the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people are able to improve their wellbeing and life chances.
10. Who among the involved **witnesses** represents the	-The *datus* (male tribal chieftains) represent the voice and choice of the poorest and most marginalised women, young	Ideally, the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women, young people, the elderly and

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concerns of the affected? Who is or may be affected without being involved?	people, the elderly and differently abled. The male household and tribal leaders represent women and other dependents in the household in the decision-making processes. -The politicians and expert planners, agriculturists, statisticians and engineers as 'rural development tourists' pick up the ideas of the male tribal leaders. They leave the rural areas with their data and write up the plan in their offices in the city. **Mr ABC:** *"My sick 70-year-old mother stays in her bed for almost a year now. She's suffering from paralysis after a heart attack last year on her birthday. We were not able to get any medical help after her hospital confinement last year because the health workers do not like to walk to and fro our house that is 5 kilometres away from the centre. My father died 2 years ago of the same health condition. Just like my mother now, he was not also visited by any health professional."* *"Diri sa bukid, way gobyerno kung ting-ulan ug tinglapuk. Manganhi rana sila kung maayong panahon. Ganahan na sila magfield kung ting harvest na kay syempre mas sadya ang tyempo and ug mas abunda ang among mahalad sa ila…"* (smiling) *("Here in the mountainside, there is no government if it is rainy and muddy. The government workers only come here when the weather is fine. They like to get here during harvest season because the atmosphere is festive and there is abundance of food crops that they like to take home with them after the short visit…"* (smiling)	differently abled must be able to participate or at least represented by at least one-third of the total participants in a 'purposeful system design' that is 'autonomous and emancipatory (Ulrich, 1983 p. 414). Autonomy means that the local people must be provided an ideal local platform to directly discuss and address their local concerns or issues in the same manner that their local leaders, planners and experts plan *with* them. The epistemological stance of systemic inquiring system must be used to highlight the importance of "critical heuristic and normative framework in planning" (Ulrich, 1983, p. 415).
11. Are the **affected** given an opportunity to emancipate themselves from	The current participatory framework makes the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women, young people, the elderly and differently	The poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women, young people, the elderly and differently abled as the

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
the experts and to take their fate into their own hands?	abled as either 'instrumental' or 'passive' (Agarwal, 2001; Cornwall, 2003) participants. When they are required by the politicians and expert planners to participate in any project, their participation is limited to signing/thumb marking the attendance sheets to comply with the documentation requirement of the Government and funding agencies. Women, as discussed in chapter four are also tasked to prepare the meeting venue and later at the end of the activity, to do the aftercare. **Mrs. BA**: *"Our participation in community activities and decision-making is often limited to the things that our husbands are not able to do. These activities are preparing the venue and snacks for our visitors. They include us in the picture-taking and thumb marking/signing the attendance sheets but they never ask our opinion or ideas because we are only women."*	affected must be supported to get them out from the deprivation trap—poverty, isolation, physical weakness, powerlessness and vulnerability (Chambers, 1983, pp. 111-114). They should be provided the chance to improve their individual capabilities to exercise voice, choice and agency to enhance: 1) **life** by acquiring the basic capabilities to live a decent and normal life span; 2) **Bodily health** by being able to maintain good health and satisfy basic needs; 3) **Bodily integrity** to help guarantee that she/he is able to use her/his physical body to move, protect herself/himself from any form of harm and assault, and be able to enjoy sex and procreation; 4) **Senses, imagination, and thought** to be able to enjoy and use imagination and reason, and through training and education, to improve one's life chances to exercise freedom; 5) **Emotion** to feel for other persons and other sentient beings; 6) **Practical reason** to help guarantee that she/he is able to enter into critical reflection to make decisions for her/his own life; 7) **Affiliation** to exercise freedom of speech and to be freed from any form of discrimination; 8) **The other species** to enjoy and care for other nonhuman animals and plants; 9) the capability to **Play** and enjoy all sorts of recreation; Lastly, 10) **control over one's environment** to be able to use one's voice, choice and agency in political decision-making platforms and to be able to work for one's own living and own land and other goods (Nussbaum, 2011, pp. 33-34).
Policy implications	Section 23. Freedom from Discrimination and Right to Equal Opportunity and Treatment. — It shall be the right of the ICCs/IPs	This basic human right is violated under the monoculture plantation labour system. The local and Indigenous People

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
	to be free from any form of discrimination, with respect to recruitment and conditions of employment, such that they may enjoy equal opportunities for admission to employment, medical and social assistance, safety as well as other occupationally-related benefits, informed of their rights under existing labour legislation and of means available to them for redress, not subject to any coercive recruitment systems, including bonded labour and other forms of debt servitude; and equal treatment in employment for men and women, including the protection from sexual harassment. Towards this end, the State shall, within the framework of national laws and regulations, and in cooperation with the ICCs/IPs concerned, adopt special measures to ensure the effective protection with regard to the recruitment and conditions of employment of persons belonging to these communities, to the extent that they are not effectively protected by laws applicable to workers in general. ICCs/IPs shall have the right to association and freedom for all trade union activities and the right to conclude collective bargaining agreements with employers' organisations. They shall likewise have the right not to be subject to working conditions hazardous to their health, particularly through exposure to pesticides and other toxic substances.	working in the banana and pineapple plantations in Mindanao are forced to accept contractual working status to disenfranchise their rights to join unions and deprive them of tenured positions in the labour force. In effect, they are repressed and coerced to redress their grievances for unsafe work environment and low wages. The labour law does not protect the local peoples' welfare especially those who are directly affected by the monoculture system.
12. What **worldview** is actually underlying the design of the system? Is it the worldview of some of the involved or some of the affected?	-The existing design is based on utilitarianism principle—for the good of majority. The principle is de facto "accepted" by both the involved and the affected thereby promoting a culture of silence and/or status quo in the actual practice of the principle. -The existing system design treats the minority as collateral damage. This happens because	The system design must represent the worldview of the affected—the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people especially women, young people, the elderly and differently abled. The idea is that the Indigenous 'collective wisdom' (Christakis & Bausch, 2006) and the local, complex, diverse, dynamic and unpredictable (lcddu) realities

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
	development project in Mindanao undermines the interests, participation and voice of the local people especially the poorest and most vulnerable rural and Indigenous farmers, women, and children. -Modern and scientific agriculture as the only best way (Shiva, 1993). -Financialisation of land, labour and market as the more important driver of economic development.	of the poorest and most marginalised Indigenous people (Chambers, 1997 p. 32) must be respected, valued and be 'listened to' (Dobson, 2014) to help improve their wellbeing and life chances specifically in terms of being able to 'care for land' (Bird Rose & Australian Heritage Commission, 1996), live in constant harmonious relationship with the environment (ecologism) and being able to promote 'regenerative development' (Girardet, 2015) to help ensure that rural development planning is systemic in that it challenges the current decision-making boundaries to include more people, (people critique), to unlock more issues using the issues from multiple perspectives (problem critique) (Burns, 2012), and to expand the current public policy processes by applying Ulrich's (1996) Critical Systems Heuristics (process critique). The Critical Systems Heuristics allows the participants in this study to experience emancipation by being able to speak in open and discursive dialogue, listen and deliver their agentic voices and choices on critical matters concerning their wellbeing and life chances.
Policy implications	Section 5.d: Right in Case of Displacement: In case displacement occurs as a result of natural catastrophes, the State shall endeavour to resettle the displaced ICCs/IPs in suitable areas where they can have temporary life support systems: Provided, That the displaced ICCs/IPs shall have the right to return to their abandoned lands until such time that the normalcy and safety of such lands shall be determined: Provided, further, That should their ancestral domain cease to exist and	There has to be clear guidelines on how the process of relocation or resettlement of affected Indigenous People, with their homes and farms will proceed. It must specify measures to be adopted to handle the welfare and wellbeing of the affected in terms of their food, water, housing, employment and other social services. The displacement by development must look into the specific critical needs of the poorest and most marginalised

Ulrich's 12 Boundary Questions	"IS"	"OUGHT"
	normalcy and safety of the previous settlements are not possible, displaced ICCs/IPs shall enjoy security of tenure over lands to which they have been resettled: Provided, furthermore, That basic services and livelihood shall be provided to them to ensure that their needs are adequately addressed.	members of the community—women, children, differently abled, and the elderly.

Sources: Case studies, Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997 and relevant international laws.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

At this point, it is worth asking again: What constitute wellbeing among the Indigenous people living in the monoculture plantations in rural Mindanao? As presented and analysed in the preceding chapters, land, livelihood, food and enhancement of capabilities turned out to be crucial in ensuring wellbeing and life chances among them who I happened to work with during the whole duration of this research. I would like to highlight in this concluding part the story of Nida whose life with her five kids is considered worst of all I came across with. She lost her land and husband in the same year and she got no one else to turn to for help because she is depressed, untreated, hungry and isolated.

The current rural development framework that advocates the use of science did not obviously work for the poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people in Mindanao. The agribusiness or the use of modern technologies in the farm lands of Mindanao which put up the monoculture banana and pineapple plantations fails to protect the interests of those who are powerless and suffering the most.

There is no denying the fact that the international development framework, under which the global agribusiness operates, fails to take into consideration the critical aspects of the lives of the poorest and the most marginalised Indigenous people. This study finds that agribusiness is problematic at the local, national and international levels. It may increase the GDP but it sacrifices local people's quality of life and may face loss of land and

destitution.

The existing participatory frameworks and discourses are not in fact truly participatory. For instance, the free, prior and informed consent provision under which development projects are being decided in rural Mindanao does not value the voice, choice, agency and rights of those who are not men, leaders and powerful. Women and young people are not in fact being listened to of their ideas as their roles are only considered instrumental and attached to the privilege status of their husbands or fathers.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1: Participant Documents in English and 3 Dialects)

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LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Sir/Madam

This letter is to introduce Mervin Gascon who is a Doctor of Philosophy student in the Department of Politics and Public Policy, School of Social and Policy Studies at Flinders University. He will produce his student card, which carries a photograph, as proof of identity.

He is undertaking research leading to the production of a thesis or other publications on the subject Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines: A Critical Case Study. He would be most grateful if you would volunteer to assist in this project, by granting an interview which covers certain aspects of this topic. No more than one hour would be required.

Be assured that any information provided will be treated in the strictest confidence and none of the participants will be individually identifiable in the resulting thesis, report or other publications. You are, of course, entirely free to discontinue your participation at any time or to decline to answer particular questions.

Since he intends to make a tape recording of the interview, he will seek your consent, on the attached form, to record the interview, to use the recording or a transcription in preparing the thesis, report or other publications, on condition that your name or identity is not revealed, and to make the recording available to other researchers on the same conditions (or that the recording will not be made available to any other person). It may be necessary to make the recording available to secretarial assistants for transcription, in which case you may be assured that such persons will be advised of the requirement that your name or identity not be revealed and that the confidentiality of the material is respected and maintained.

Any enquiries you may have concerning this project should be directed to me at the address given above or by telephone on +61 8 8201 207 5 or e-mail janet.mcintyre@flinders.edu.au. Thank you for your attention and assistance.

Yours sincerely

Assoc Prof Janet McIntyre
Supervisor

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INFORMATION SHEET

Title: Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines:
A Critical Case Study

Investigator:

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Description of the study:

This research project endeavours to explore the structure of concepts of good
governance practices in the local government units (LGUs) in Mindanao, Philippines. This
study argues that any attempt to measure good governance, whether in-country or
internationally-driven should be inclusive and sensitive to the unique characteristics of the
involved communities. This project is supported by the Department of Politics and Public
Policy of the Flinders University.

Purpose of the study:

This project aims to:
- identify the constructs of good governance of the Indigenous Peoples, Muslims
  and Mainstream Christians in Mindanao, Philippines;
- find out and highlight some of the best practices of the groups understudy in
  promoting good governance in the local government units in Mindanao,
  Philippines;
- determine the challenges of the groups understudy in promoting good
  governance in the local government units in Mindanao, Philippines;
- develop an action plan on good governance at the local government units
  concerned; and
- identify the underlying factor structure of constructs of good governance practices
  among people in Mindanao, Philippines.

What will I be asked to do?

You are invited to attend a one-on-one interview with the principal researcher who will ask you a few questions about your views and experiences with the local government unit (city, municipality and province). The interview will take about 30 minutes. The interview will be recorded using a digital voice recorder to help with looking at the results. Once recorded, the interview will be transcribed (typed-up) and stored as a computer file and then destroyed once the results have been finalised. This is voluntary.

What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?

The sharing of your experiences will improve the planning and delivery of future programs. We are very keen to deliver a service and resources which are as useful as possible to people.

Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?

We do not need your name and you will be anonymous. Once the interview has been typed-up and saved as a file, the voice file will then be destroyed. Any identifying information will be removed and the typed-up file stored on a password-protected computer that only the principal researcher (Mr. Mervin Gascon) will have access to. Your comments will not be linked directly to you or your organisation.

Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?

Other group members may be able to identify your contributions even though they will not be directly attributed to you.
The principal researcher anticipates few risks from your involvement in this study. If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with him.

How do I agree to participate?

Participation is voluntary. You may answer 'no comment' or refuse to answer any questions and you are free to withdraw from the focus group at any time without effect or consequence. A consent form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree to participate please read and sign the form and send it back to me at my Philippine address shown above.

How will I receive feedback?
Outcomes from the project will be summarised and given to you by the principal researcher if you would like to see them.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH
(by Face-to-Face Interview)

Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines: A Critical Case Study

I _____

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the face-to-face interview for the research.

1. I have read the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future   reference.
5. I understand that:

   - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.

   - I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to answer particular questions.

   - While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, I will not be identified, and individual information will remain confidential.

   - Whether I participate or not, or withdraw after participating, will have no effect on any treatment or service that is being provided to me.

   - I may ask that the recording/observation be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.

6. I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

Participant's signature:_____ Date:_____

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name: <u>Mervin Gascon</u>_____

Researcher's signature: _____Date: _____

7. I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read a transcript of my participation and agree to its use by the researcher as explained.

Participant's signature:_____ Date:____ _____

8. I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read the researcher's report and agree to the publication of my information as reported.

Participant's signature:_____ Date:_____

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH
(by Focus Group Discussion)

Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines: A Critical Case Study

I _____

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate as requested in the focus group discussion (FGD) for the research.

1. I have read the information provided.

2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.

3. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.

4. I understand that:

    - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
    - I am free to withdraw from the project at any time and am free to decline to complete the FGD.
    - While the information gained in this study will be published as explained, I will not be identified, and individual information will remain confidential.
    - Whether I participate or not, or withdraw after participating, will have no effect on any treatment or service that is being provided to me.
    - I may ask to withdraw at any time from the FGD or the research without disadvantage.

5. I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

Participant's signature:_____ Date:_____

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name: Mervin Gascon_____

Researcher's signature: _____Date: _____

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NB: Two signed copies should be obtained. The copy retained by the researcher may then be used for authorisation of Items 6 and 7, as appropriate.

6.   I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read a transcript of my participation and agree to its use by the researcher as explained.

Participant's signature:_____ **Date:**_____

7.   I, the participant whose signature appears below, have read the researcher's report and agree to the publication of my information as reported.

Participant's signature:_____ **Date:**_____

GOOD GOVERNANCE IN MINDANAO

(This is a guide only as the interview questions may be further refined).
To be read to participants, with an interpreter for Indigenous language speakers as required.

Preliminaries: Introduction | Confirm Consent and Rights | Advise about intention to record interview.

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed for this research. This study is looking at what constitutes good governance in the local government level. Please feel free to comment or express your opinion as a plain citizen or leader in any organisation or group in the province, city or municipality where you live or work at present. Please let me reiterate that this interview is highly confidential. Should you wish to withdraw, you may do so any moment. Thank you very much.

Exploratory Questions:

What makes you and your family happy? Why?
How do you cope with your problems?
Are you part of the decision-making process to look for solutions to your problems at a personal, household and community level? Why/Why not?

Do you believe that there is good governance in our local community? Why/Why not?
What do you know are its forms?
Do you think we need good governance in our local councils? Why/Why not?
What do you think are the direct benefits of good governance?
What are the good governance practices (that you know) of your local council?
Do you value good governance? Why/Why not?
Are you doing your part in your own capacity to promote good governance? Can you cite some examples?
How much more are you willing to give to promote good governance?
Would you take risk to promote good governance?
Why are you doing these acts? What do you think are its benefits? What do you think are its dangers?

What do you feel about officials being involved in bad governance practices?
Do you tend to understand their bad acts? Why/Why not?
Do you think that bad governance practices like graft and corruption are inevitable and thus, can be tolerated? Why/why not?
What do you think went wrong in the process of achieving good governance in our local councils?

Do you think that there is still hope for our community and country as a whole to improve its governance system?
Do you believe that the future is more promising for better governance to thrive and improve next generation's quality of life? Why/Why not?
Would you stand to promote good governance before others? Why/Why not?
Would you feel bad/not feel bad if they will just disregard you? Why/Why not?

1. What are the goods and services in your local government that you and your immediate family have availed? Please fill in the following table with your responses.

Goods and Services Availed in your LGU	Frequency (everyday, weekly, monthly, yearly, never)	Level of Satisfaction (please tick appropriate box)							Reasons / Comments (Please highlight some of your ratings on satisfaction especially if you rated 5 or 1)
		very highly satisfied	5	4	3	2	1	not satisfied at all	
		very highly satisfied	5	4	3	2	1	not satisfied at all	
		very highly satisfied	5	4	3	2	1	not satisfied at all	
		very highly satisfied	5	4	3	2	1	not satisfied at all	

2. We are affected by the macro-level policies (international treaties, national laws, decrees, statutes and policies), but focusing closely our attention to our LGUs, what do you consider are the things or issues that must be dealt with by the leaders of the different stakeholders locally? Please supply the following table with information.

Things to be Changed	Things to be Enhanced	Things to be Preserved
1.	1.	1.
WHY?	WHY?	WHY?
2.	2.	2.
WHY?	WHY?	WHY?
3.	3.	3.
WHY?	WHY?	WHY?

3. I am going to name a number of organisations and institutions. For each one could you tell me how much trust you have in them: is it a great deal of trust, quite a lot of trust, not very much trust or none at all? Please fill in the following table with your responses.

Organisations/Institutions	Level of Trust (please tick appropriate box)							Reasons / Comments (Please highlight some of your ratings on trust especially if you rated 5 or 1)
Regional Trial Court	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Government Service	very	5	4	3	2	1	not	

Insurance System	highly trusted						trusted at all	
Department of Justice	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Department of Interior and Local Government	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Department of Trade and Industry	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Civil Service Commission	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Social Security System	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Philippine National Police	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Philippine Army	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Provincial Government	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
City Government	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Barangay Council	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
State universities	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Public schools	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Public hospitals	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Commission on Election	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Media	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Business	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Church	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Non-Government Organisation	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	
Others (please specify)	very highly trusted	5	4	3	2	1	not trusted at all	

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4. Good governance is defined in many different ways all over the world. It is said to be dependent on various cultural contexts that include community history, religion, political system, beliefs system, traditional knowledge system and others. It is frequently being measured in terms of accountability, transparency, rule of law, efficiency and effectiveness. Good governance is directed towards improved policy outcomes by improving the processes and systems not just by the government but by all sectors involved in our society.

What do you consider are vital in promoting good governance in our LGU? Please supply the following table with information.

Things/Factors that are vital in promoting good local governance	Reason (Why?)	Who (Persons involved, if applicable)	Your specific doable proposal on how to promote the factor/s of good governance

5. Whether your role in the community is being an ordinary citizen or a leader, you have become aware of the projects, programs and policies undertaken by the different organisations, groups and individuals that directly impact on the general welfare of the people. Examples of these are constructing day care centres and playgrounds; opening of more convenience stores and pharmacies; repair of roads and bridges; organising farmers and women's group; and among other things.

What do you consider are the BEST PRACTICES in promoting good governance in your LGU? Please provide the following table with information.

Best Practices toward Good Governance	Description	Person/Organisation Involved	Location

6. Alongside with the best practices in promoting good governance, there are also

challenges or issues that hamper the process and achievement of desired outcomes of projects, programs and policies at the local level. Red tape, graft and corruption are its common broad examples. They are called challenges because they put to test the endurance of the organisations and people involved and learn from the process of overcoming it. They are oftentimes called the "necessary evils" in our systems. They have to be monitored and controlled to bolster their impacts on peoples' lives in general.

What do you consider are the CHALLENGES that impede promotion of good governance in your LGU? Please be specific in your response. Good examples of answers are: un-liquidated cash advance by local officials, receiving bribe, unwanted cutting of trees, under-representation of women, elderly and farmers in the decision making process and a lot more. Please supply the following table with the needed information.

Challenges in Good Governance	Description	Person/Organisation Involved	Location (if applicable)

Thank you for your time and effort!

Other relevant questions that may be added in the interview, if time allows:

About Local Leaders:

How do you describe the way local government leaders do their tasks in the council?
What are their strengths and weaknesses?
How did you come to know their strengths and weaknesses?
Do you feel bad about their weaknesses? Why/Why not?
Do you feel that your council deserves better leaders?
What do you think are the ideal qualities of leaders that we need in the council? Can you give specific reasons for each? (Optional)
What do you think about the way our leaders were chosen? Is it fair? Why?
What do you think about partisan politics?
Do you feel that only those who have money and/or power have been elected to the councils? Why/Why not?

About Policy Areas:
What policy areas do you feel should be prioritized by your local councils?
Please supply with information the spaces provided in the table below.
You may or may not fill it completely.

Policy Areas	Indicator/s	Priority *(Please write 1st, 2nd, and so on)*	Remarks
1. Employment			
2. Health and sanitation			
3. Housing			
4. Agriculture			
5. Business			
6. Education			
7. Environment			
8. Peace and security			
9. Gender and development			
10. Institutional capability			

Be part of the change you want!

Join us in our research that tries to find out how we can promote good local governance and make our communities responsive and relevant to our needs.

We hope to hear your voices, in a highly supportive manner, with your local government

We need you! IF YOU ARE

-of legal age (at least 18 years old)
-willing to share 10-30 minutes of your time
-an Indigenous person or working with an Indigenous community in Mindanao

Good Governance Study in Mindanao

This project is launched and funded by the Flinders University of South Australia in partnership with the College of Governance and Business of the University of Southeastern Philippines, Davao City, Philippines.

Every Filipino citizen regardless of his/her personal and cultural circumstances deserves to be heard of his/her voice in the decision making process in the local government units to make life more useful and meaningful. This research will seriously explore on matters concerning the promotion of good local governance in an active, supportive and sustainable manner. Transformation of culture is inevitable but highly tractable in a way more beneficial to the welfare and happiness of citizens. Participants in this study are the local government officials and representatives of the civil society, academe, business and church and members of the Indigenous communities in the banana and pineapple plantation communities of Mindanao.

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SULAT PARA SA PAGPAPAKILALA

Mahal na Binibini/Ginoo:

Ang sulat na ito ay para ipakilala si Ginoong Mervin Gascon na isang estudyante na kumukuha ng kursong Doktor ng Pilosopiya sa Department of Politics at Public Policy, School ng Social at Policy Studies sa Flinders University ng South Australia. Ipapakita nya sa po inyo ang kanyang skul ID na may litrato para proweba ng kanyang pagkakakilanlan.

Siya ay gumagawa ng isang pag-aaral para makagawa ng thesis o libro at iba pang lathalain na may titolung "Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines: A Critical Case Study".

Magiging kanaisnais para sa kanya kung isa ka sa mga tutulong sa kanya sa pamamagitan ng pagbigay ng iyong pahintulot upang ikaw ay makapanayam tungkol sa mga bagay-bagay na may kinalaman sa kanyang pag-aaral. Hindi lalabis ng isang oras tatagal ang isang panayam.

Amin pong sinisugarado na ang lahat ng impormasyon na iyong ibibigay ay aalagaang mabuti para itoy maging tiyak na sekreto. Walang sino mang pagkakakilanlan ang mapabilang sa libro na masusulat at maiilathala. Maari po kayong huminto sa inyong partisipasyon anu mang oras. Pwede rin po kayong hindi sumagot sa ibang tanong.

Nais din po ng mananaliksik na kumuha ng tape recording ng panayam sa inyo. Bago po mangyari ito, kailangan po nyang kunin ang iyong pahintulot, sa pamamagitan ng pagkuha ng iyong lagda sa papel na nakakabit sa sulat na ito. Nakasaad po sa papel ang iyong pagbibigay ng pahintulot para gamitin ang nilalaman ng panayam sa paglikom ng mga impormasyon na gagamitin sa pag-aaral at paglalathala ng libro at sa iba pang katulad na paraan na may istriktong panuntunan upang maitago ang iyong pagkakakilanlan. Kung kailangan po namin na ipasa ang iyong recording sa aming secretarial staff para sa transkriksyon, asahan nyo po na amin pong gagabayan sila at tiyak na ipaintindi sa kanila na dapat po naming alagaan ang iyong pangalan at pagkakalinlanlan sa lahat ng oras.

Kung meron po kayong tanong tungkol sa proyektong ito, maari po ninyo akong tawagan sa +61 8 8201 207 5. Pwede rin po inyo akong sulatan gamit ang adres na nasa taas o di kaya i e-mail sa janet.mcintyre@flinders.edu.au.

Maraming salamat po sa iyong atensyon at pagtulong.

Lubos na gumagalang,

Assoc Prof Janet McIntyre
Superbisor

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IMPORMASYON

Title: Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines: A Critical Case Study

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Deskripsyon ng pag-aaral:

Ang proyektong ito ay nais na malaman ang estruktura ng mga konsepto ng maayos na pamamahala sa local na pamahalaan sa Mindanao, Pilipinas. Paniniwala po ng proyektong ito na mas mabuting pag-aralan ang maayos na pamamahala (ito man ay mula sa ibang bansa o loob nito) na hango sa mga saloobin at mga katangian ng mga mismong komunidad na pinag-aaralan.

Ang proyektong ito ay sinusuportahan ng Department of Politics at Public Policy ng Flinders University.

Layunin ng pag-aaral:

Ang pag-aaral na ito ay may layunin na:
- malaman ang mga konsepto ng maayos na pamamahala ng mga katutubo, Muslim at Kristiyano sa Mindanao, Pilipinas;
- maisalarawan ang mga pinakamabuting gawain ng mga grupong nabanggit sa pagsasagawa ng maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan sa Mindanao, Pilipinas;
- malaman ang mga balakid o problema ng mga grupo sa pagtataguyod ng maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan sa Mindanao, Pilipinas;
- makabuo ng action plan para sa maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan; at
- malaman ang angkop na estruktura ng mga konsepto ng maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan sa Mindanao, Pilipinas.

Anung mga bagay ang kailangan kong gawin?

Ikaw ay pina-aanyayahan na dumalo sa isang one-on-one na panayam kasama ang manaliksik na magtatanong sa iyo tungkol sa iyong mga nalalaman, saloobin at karanasan sa lokal na pamahalaan (syudad, munisipalidad, at probinsya). Ang panayam at tatagal ng mga 30 minuto. Ito ay i-rerekord sa isang digital voice recorder kung iyo pong mararapatin. Pagkatapos ng panayam, gagamitin po ang iyong boses sa gagawing transkripyon (pagsulat) at ito po ay lalagay sa isang ligtas na kompyoter file. Lahat po ng impormasyong nakalap mula sa iyo ay sisirain pagtapos ng proyektong ito. Ang panayam na ito ay boluntaryo.

Anu ang pakinabang ng aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral?

Ang pagbibigay ng iyong mga nalalaman, saloobin at karanasan tungkol sa lokal na pamahalaan ay makakatulong upang maisayus o mapabuti ang mga plano at pagsasagawa ng mga programa sa hinaharap. Kami po ay nasisiyahan sa pagunlad ng ating mga kumunidad sa pamamagitan ng maayos na pamamahala.

Ako ba ay makikilala sa aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral na ito?

Hindi po namin hihingin ang iyong pangalan o anu mang bagay na maaring matunton ang iyong pagkakalinlanlan. Pagkatapus po na masulat ang boses mo sa panayam, sisirain po naming ang voice file. Ang transkripsyon po ay ilalagay sa isang ligtas na kompyuter file na gagamitan ng password na tanging ang prinsipal na mananaliksik (Ginoong Gascon) lamang ang may alam.

Anu ang mga panganib ng aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral na ito?

Maari na ang ibang tao ay makilala ka sa iyong nagawang partisipasyon sa pag-aaral kahit na hindi naman direktang patungkol sa iyo. May mga bagay na naiisip ang prinsipal na mananaliksik tungkol sa mga panganib, aktwal man o inaasahan pa lang, na maaring mangyari dahil sa iyong partisipasyon sa pag-aaral. Mas nakabubuti kung iyo itong masangguni sa kanya.

Paano ako sumang-ayon sa aking partisipasyon?

Ang iyong partisipasyon ay boluntaryo. Maari kang sumagot ng "walang komento" o di kayay di ka sasagot sa mga tanong at ikaw ay malayang umalis sa iyong partisipasyon sa pang grupong talakayan o indibidwal na panayam. Ang pagkuha ng iyong pahintulot ay kasama ng papel na ito. Kung ikaw ay sumasangayon sa iyong partisipasyon sa pag-aaral, maari po lamang na pirmahan ang papel ng paghingi ng konsento at ibalik ito sa Philippine adres na nakalagay sa taas.

Paano ako makakuha ng impromasyon tungkol sa kahihinatnan ng proyekto?
Ang resulta ng pag-aaral na ito ay gagawan ng buod ng prinsipal na mananaliksik at iibigay ito sa iyo kung iyong nanaisin.

Maraming salamat po sa panahon na iyong ginugol sa pagbabasa nitong information sheet. Sana ay tatanggapin mo ang imbitasyon na maging partisipante sa pag-aaral na ito.
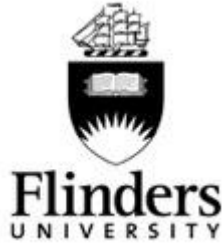
**PORMA PARA PAGBIBIGAY NG PAHINTULOT PARA MAGING
PARTE NG PAG-AARAL
(para sa Harapang Pakikipanayam)**

Ako si _____

bilang may edad na 18 taong gulang pataas ay nagbibigay ng aking pahintulot/pagpayag na maging partisipante sa gagawing harapang pakikipanayam para sa pag-aaaral.

1. Nabasa ko ang mga impormasyong binigay.
2. Ang mga detalye ng mga gagawin at mga kaakibat na mga panganib ay aking naiintindihan.
3. Ako ay sumasayang-ayon sa pag audio rekord ng mga impormasyon na aking ibibigay.

6.   Alam ko na dapat akong magtabi ng kopya ng Information Sheet at Porma para sa Pagbibigay ng Pahintulot para magamit sa hinaharap.

7.   Aking naiintidihan na:

- Hindi direkta ang pakinabang na maiibigay sa akin ng pag-aaral na ito.
- Maari akong huminto sa aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral anu mang oras. Maari din akong hindi sumagot sa ibang tanung na ayaw kong sagutin.
- Ang aking pagkakakilanlan ay mananatiling konpedensyal sa paglalathala ng pag-aaral na ito.
- Hindi maapektuhan ang pakikitungo o ang pagbibigay ng serbesyo sa akin ng gobyerno kung ako ay sasali man o hindi sa pag-aaral na ito.
- Maari kong ipahinto ang pagrerekording at pwede akong huminto sa aking partisipayon sa pag-aaral anu mang oras.

8. Nagkaroon ako ng diskusyon sa aking pamilya tungkol sa aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral.

Lagda ng partisipante:_____ **Petsa:**_____

Ang aking lagda ay nagpapakita na aking naipaliwanag sa aking partisipante ng buong-buo ang pag-aaral.

Prinsipal na mananaliksik: <u>G. Mervin Gascon</u>_____

Lagda: _____   **Petsa:** _____

9. Ako, bilang partisipante na may lagda sa ilalim, ay nabasa ang lahat ng nasulat tungkol sa aking panayam at ako ay pumapayag na gamitin ng mananaliksik ang mga impormasyong ito sa kanyang pag-aaral.

Lagda ng partisipante:_____ **Petsa:**_____

10. Ako, bilang partisipante na may lagda sa ilalim, ay nabasa ang report ng mananaliksik at ako ay pumapayag na malatlahala ito gaya ng pagkareport.

Lagda ng partisipante:_____ **Petsa:**_____

PORMA PARA PAGBIBIGAY NG PAHINTULOT PARA MAGING
PARTE NG PAG-AARAL
(Para sa Pang-grupong Diskusyon)

Ako si _____

bilang may edad na 18 taong gulang pataas ay nagbibigay ng aking pahintulot/pagpayag na maging partisipante sa gagawing pang-grupong diskusyon para sa pag-aaaral.

1.   Nabasa ko ang mga impormasyong binigay.

2.   Ang mga detalye ng mga gagawin at mga kaakibat na mga panganib ay aking naiintindihan.

3.   Ako ay sumasayang-ayon sa pag audio rekord ng mga impormasyon na aking ibibigay.

4.   Alam ko na dapat akong magtabi ng kopya ng Information Sheet at Porma para sa Pagbibigay ng Pahintulot para magamit sa hinaharap.

5.   Aking naiintidihan na:

- Hindi direkta ang pakinabang na maiibigay sa akin ng pag-aaral na ito.

- Maari akong huminto sa aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral anu mang oras. Maari din akong hindi sumagot sa ibang tanung na ayaw kong sagutin.

- Ang aking pagkakakilanlan ay mananatiling konpidensyal sa paglalathala ng pag-aaral na ito.

- Maari kong ipahinto ang pagrerekording at pwede akong huminto sa aking partisipayon sa pag-aaral anu mang oras.

6.   Nagkaroon ako ng diskusyon sa aking pamilya tungkol sa aking partisipasyon sa pag-aaral.

Lagda ng partisipante:_____ **Petsa:**_____

Ang aking lagda ay nagpapakita na aking naipaliwanag sa aking partisipante ng buong-buo ang pag-aaral.

Prinsipal na mananaliksik: G. Mervin Gascon_____

Lagda: _____   **Petsa:** _____

7. Ako, bilang partisipante na may lagda sa ilalim, ay nabasa ang lahat ng nasulat tungkol sa aking panayam at ako ay pumapayag na gamitin ng mananaliksik ang mga impormasyong ito sa kanyang pag-aaral.

Lagda ng partisipante:_____ **Petsa:**_____

8. Ako, bilang partisipante na may lagda sa ilalim, ay nabasa ang report ng mananaliksik at ako ay pumapayag na malatlahala ito gaya ng pagkareport.

Lagda ng partisipante:_____ **Petsa:**_____

MAAYOS NA PAMAMAHALA SA MINDANAO

Ito ay babasahin sa harap ng partisipante kasama ang interpreter para sa mga katutubo.

Pambungad: Introduksyon | Pagkuha ng Kompirmasyon ng Pagsang-ayon | Pagpapalam ng Pag-rekord ng Panayam

Maraming salamat sa iyong pagsang-ayon na maging partisipante sa pag-aaral na ito. Ang proyektong ito ay titingin sa mga bagay na bumubuo sa maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan sa Mindanao. Ikaw ay malayang makapagsabi ng iyong opinion o komento bilang isang simpleng mamayan o opisyal sa anu mang klaseng organisayon o grupo sa iyong kumunidad. Paalala po lamang na ang panayaw na ito ay konpedensyal. Kung nais po ninyong huminto sa pagsali, maari po ninyong gawin ito anu mang oras. Maraming salamat po.

Mga Paunang Tanung:

Anu ang nagpapaligaya sa iyo at ng iyong pamilya? Bakit?
Paano nilalampasan ang iyong mga problema?
Parte o kasali kaba sa proceso ng pagawa ng desisyon para masolusyunan ang mga problema mong personal, sa pamily/bahay at kuminidad? Bakit?
Naniniwala po ba kayo na may maayos na pamamahala sa iyong kumunidad? Bakit?
Anu-ano po ang maituturing ninyo na halimbawa ng maayos na pamamahala? Sa tingin po ba ninyo meron ito sa lokal na pamahalaan? Bakit?
Anu sa tingin mo ang mga direktang benepisyo ng maayos na pamamahala?
Anu-ano ang mga alam mong ginagawa ng lokal na pamalaan na masasabi mong halimbawa ng maayos na pamamahala?
Kailangan mo ba (o natin) ng maayos na pamamahala? Bakit?
Ikaw ba ay gumagawa ng mga hakbang para maisulong ang maayos na pamamahala? Anu-ano ang mga ito?
Anu ang kayang ibigay para maisulong ang maayos na pamamahala?
Susuungin (o sinusuong) mo ba ang panganib para lang maisulong maayos na pamamahala?
Bakit mo ginagawa ang mga ito? Anus a tingin mo ang benepisyo nito?
Anu ang nararamdaman mo sa nalalaman mong hindi magandang ginagawa ng mga opisyal sa lokal na pamahalaan?
Iniintindi mo na lang ba ang mali na kanilang ginagawa? Bakit?
Sa tingin mo ba ay parte na ng pamamalakad ng ating mga lokal na pamahalaan ang katiwalian at kurapsyon? Bakit?
Anu sa tingin mo ang mali sa prosesong ginagawa para makamit ang maayos na pamamahala sa ating mga lokal na pamahalaan?
Sa tingin mo ba ay may pag-asa pa para ating makamit ang totoo at tumatagal na maayos na pamamahala?
Naniniwala ka ba na ang ating kinabukasan ay mas gaganda pa para sa mga sumusunod na henerasyon at kanilang mas mataas na antas na kalidad na pamumuhay? Bakit?
Ikaw ba tatayo sa harap ng iba upang isulong ang maayos na pamamahala? Bakit? Masisiraan ka ba ng loob kung hindi ka papansinin ng iba? Bakit?

1. Anu-ano ang mga bagay at serbisyo sa lokal na pamahalaan na natanggap mo

at ng iyong pamilya? Pakisulat po ng mga ito sa loob ng mga kahon sa ibaba.

Mga Bagay at Serbisyo sa Lokal na Pamahalaan	Dalas (Araw-araw, Kada Linggo, Buwan-buwan, Taon-taon, Wala)	Antas ng Satispaksyon (paki bilugan ng numerong angkop sa iyo)							Rason / Komento (Magkomento lamang po sa mga bagay na may antas na 5 at 1)
		napakataas na satispaksyon	5	4	3	2	1	walang satispakyon	
		napakataas na satispaksyon	5	4	3	2	1	walang satispakyon	
		napakataas na satispaksyon	5	4	3	2	1	walang satispakyon	

2. Tayo po ay apektado ng mga mas malawak pa na mga palisiya (triting pang-internasyonal, batas pambansa at kasulatan), sa ating lokal na pamahalaan, anus a tingin mo ang mga bagay o isyu na dapat ayusin at iprayuridad ng mga lider sa ating lokal na pamahalaan? Pakisulat po ng mga ito sa loob ng mga kahon sa ibaba.

Mga bagay na dapat baguhin	Mga bagay na dapat gawing mas maayos	Mga bagay na dapat ipreserba
1.	1.	1.
Bakit?	Bakit?	Bakit?
2.	2.	2.
Bakit?	Bakit?	Bakit?
3.	3.	3.
Bakit?	Bakit?	Bakit?

3. Papangalanan ko ang iba sa mga organisasyon at institusyon sa ating lipunan. Kada isa dito, pwede mo bang sabihin kung gaano mo sila pinagkakatiwalaan? Ito ba ay pinakamataas na pagtitiwala o walang pagtitiwala? Pakisulat po ng mga ito sa loob ng mga kahon sa ibaba.

Organisasyon/ Institusyon	Antas ng Pagtitiwala (paki bilugan ng numerong angkop sa iyo)	Rason / Komento (Magkomento lamang po sa mga

								bagay na may antas na 5 at 1)
Regional Trial Court	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Government Service Insurance System	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Department of Justice	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Department of Interior and Local Government	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Department of Trade and Industry	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Civil Service Commission	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Social Security System	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Philippine National Police	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Philippine Army	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Provincial Government	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
City Government	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Barangay Council	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
State universities	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Public schools	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Public hospitals	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Commission on Election	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Media	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Business	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Church	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Non-Government Organisation	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	
Others (please specify)	pinakamataas na pagtitiwala	5	4	3	2	1	walang pagtitiwala	

4. Ang maayos na pamamahala ay may ibat-ibang kahulugan saan man sa buong mundo. Ito ay depende sa mga pangkultural na konteksto kabilang ang kasaysayan ng kumunidad, relihiyon, sistemang pampulitikal, sistema ng paniniwala, sistema ng tradisyonal na kaalaman at iba pa. Ito ay karaniwang

sinnusukat sa pamamagitan ng pananagutan, pagiging klaro, pagsulong sa batas, pagiging maayos sa gawain at at pagiging epektibo. Ang maayos na pamamahala ay tumutugon sa mas mabuting resulta ng mga polisiya sa pamamagitan ng pagsasaayos ng mga sistema di lang ng pamahalaan kung di pati na rin ng lahat ng sector sa ating lipunan.

Anung mga bagay sa tingin mo ang kailangan natin para magkaroon ng maayos na pamamahala sa ating pamayanan? What do you consider are vital in promoting good governance in our LGU? Pakisulat po ng mga ito sa loob ng mga kahon sa ibaba.

Mga bagay na kailangan natin upang maisulong ang maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan	Rason (Bakit?)	Sino? (Mga taong kasapi)	Ang iyong konkretong mungkahi o plano para maisulong ang maayos na pamamahala

5. Ikaw man ay isang simpleng mamamayan o lider sa lipunan, meron kang alam sa mga programa, proyekto at polisiya na sinusulong ang mga organisasyon, grupo at indibidwal na nagkakaroon ng impak sa pangkalahatang kaayusan ng pamumuhay ng mga tao. Ang mga halimbawa nito ay ang pagpapatayo ng mga day care centres at playgrounds; pagbubukas ng mga convenience stores at parmasya; pagsasa-ayos nga mga daan at tulay, pag-organisa ng mga magsasaka at kababaihan; at marami pang iba.

Anu-ano ang mga alam mong PINAKAMABUTING GAWAIN (BEST PRACTICES) na ginagawa o nagawa ng iyong lokal na pamahalaan? Pakisulat po ng mga ito sa loob ng mga kahon sa ibaba.

PINAKAMABUTING GAWAIN (BEST PRACTICES)	Deskripsyon	Tao/Organisasyon na Sangkot	Lokasyon (kung kailangan)

6. Kung merong mga PINAKAMABUTING GAWAIN meron ding mga tinatawag nating HINDI MABUTING GAWAIN o di kayay mga BALAKID sa pagsasagawa ng maayos na pamamahala sa ating local na pamahalaan. Ang mga karaniwang halimbawa nito ay red tape, katiwalian at kurapsyon. Ang mga ito sumusukat sa tibay ng loob at pasensya ng mga tao o organisasyon na naapektuhan nito. Ang mga ito ay tinatawag din na mga "necessary evils" sa ating sistema. Kailangan silang siyasatin at kontrolin para hindi makapaminsala sa buhay ng mga karaniwang tao sa lipunan.

Anu sa iyong palagay ang mga BALAKID sa pagsulong natin ng maayos na pamamahala sa lokal na pamahalaan? Magbigay po lamang ng payak na kasagutan. Ang payak na halimbawa na sagot ay: un-liquidated cash advance ng mga lokal na opisyales, pagtanggap ng suhol, iligal na pagputol ng kahoy, di pagpapasali ng mga kababaihan, matatanda at magsasaka sa pag-gawa ng mga desisyon sa lipunan, at marami pang iba. Pakisulat po ng mga ito sa loob ng mga kahon sa ibaba.

Balakid sa pagsulong ng maayos na pamahala	Deskripsyon	Tao/Organisasyon na Sangkot	Lokasyon (kung kailangan)

Maraming salamat sa iyong panahon at kontribyusyon!

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Suwat para Makaila

So ini no sulat idbunoy ni Mervin Gascon sobuka na Doctor of Philosophy away Departamento Politics away Public Policy. Buloy si kanelim to card no so in buna.

So ini no research din od oyan to maopiya no production para od kakita sika so subject Critical Ethnography away Exploratory Study no od oyam to mga otaw pagdumala kaye to Mindanao, Pilipinas. Si kanain amana no kaupiyam to mga ottaono od tabang to so ini no prodjek.

Sika so impormasyon od oyem to stricto aliyo to mga otaw no ni apil kaya no. Pwai kow od padayon kon kono maopiya sika so kaye.

Od bonuy si kaalim to tape to interbyo rin. To id duna no tape away interbyo od gamitan to record para kaye no report. So ini no report kailangan para to sekretaryal assistant.

Kon dono kaw pad concern kayo no prodyek kontak kow eta kodi to so ini no numero +61 8 8201 207 5. i e-mail sa janet.mcintyre@flinders.edu.au.

Salamat amana,

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Papel sa Impormasyon

**Title: Democracy, Governance, and Development in Mindanao, Philippines:
A Critical Case Study**

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Nangono to so ini no:

Ingkani rin no maopiya kos pomolakad kaye to Mindanao. Pina-agi kaye
kotaw-o ko nokay ko in kahi rin.

Katuyuan:

So ini:

-kakita sikas so maopiya no pagdumala to mga umad away sika so lahi no
tribu.
-kakita as maoipya no in to mga grupo diyo to Mindanao.

-nokoy-a sika so mga hagit diyo to Mindanao.

Nokoy-a kod Pulungan:

Si kaniyo kahiyaan ko to ad apil kayi no enterbyo to mga otaw no ob-o experyensya do-o to local no pang gobyerno. So ini I record para kakita sika so resulta.

Nokoy-a kos benepisyo kaye?

Dakol kos ko-imuom kaye pod inguman to masuum.

Kono mopiya kaye:

Kono kalikayan iya no doo problema kaye.

Mono-on tad apil?

Pag-apil kaye kono pinagsamay, pwede kay od lugwa kaye kon kono kaw o gemanon.

Salamat amana to panamon to pabasa kaye.

KOTOGUTAM TA PAG-APIL KAYE
(para sa Personal na Interbyo)

Siggudi_____ do-o pangidarun ta sobaka away walo pamatood to od apil kaye no enterbyo.

1. In basa ko so ini.
2. In kani sika so detalye amana.
3. Pogutam to sika so pod record to boses.
4. Cos kape kaye pwede og kagamit kaasulom.
5. Kasabot a:
   -kono sikodi cos direkta no od katabangan kaye.
   -bo-o katungod ko no kono-o od padayun to so ini no.
   -so impormasyon od uyam to strikto diyo to mga ottaw.

6. Pwede ko id kahi so ini diyo to pamilya away sulod ko.

Perma to hin-apil:_____   **Petsa:**_____

In pamatood no nakasabot kaye to in-apilan ko.

To inkimo kaye: <u>Mervin Gascon</u>

Perma: _____   **Petsa: _____**

NB: Darawan perma sika so od kailangan. No do-o otorisasyon to pilo away walo no otaw.

7. Sikodi cos do-o perma do-o to diralom, pamatood no in bas away togot a kaye.

Perma to hin-apil:_____ **Petsa:**_____

8. Sikodi cos do-o perma do-o to diralom pamatood no in basa away id togot a kaye.

Perma to hin-apil:_____ **Petsa:**_____
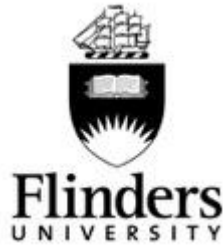
KOTOGUTAM TA PAG-APIL KAYE
(para sa Langon ta Interbyo)

Siguddi_____ do-o pangidarun ta sobaka away walo pamatood to od apil kaye no enterbyo.

1. In basa ko so ini.
2. In kani sika so detalye amana.
3. Pogutam to sika so pod record to boses.
4. Cos kape kaye pwede og kagamit kaasulom.
5. Kasabot a:
   -kono sikodi cos direkta no ad katabangan kaye.
   -bo-o katungod ko no kono-o od padayun to so ini no.
   -so impormasyon od uyam to strikto diyo to mga ottaw.

6. Pwede ko id kahi so ini diyo to pamilya away sulod ko.

Perma to hin-apil:_____ **Petsa:**_____

In pamatood no nakasabot kaye to in-apilan ko.

To inkimo kaye: <u>Mervin Gascon</u>

**Perma:** _____ **Petsa:** _____

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NB: Darawan perma sika so od kailangan. No do-o otorisasyon to pilo away walo no otaw.

7. Sikodi cos do-o perma do-o to diralom, pamatood no in basa away idtogot a kaye.

Perma to hin-apil:_____   **Petsa:**_____

8. Sikodi cos do-o perma do-o to diralom pamatood no in basa away id togot a kaye.

Perma to hin-apil:_____   **Petsa:**_____

Giya sa Pag-Interbyu
MOOPIYA NO PAGDUMALA DIYO TO MINDANAO

(So ini giya diyo to inso in basa away do-o innubad no tribu)

Amaman salamat to pagtugot kaye. Pwede og kani ko nokoy sika so do-o to pusong niyo manitungod pagpanuki.

Mga Paunang Tanung:

In to-o kabo no do-o ma-opiya no pagdumala kaye to komunidad ta?
May na-a? Maynat kano?
Nakay-ak alam no kaye?
Do-o to kauulongun no nintoo kaba to kailangan ta cos maopiya no pagdumala?
May na-a?
May naat kono?
Nokoy-a cos direkta no benepisyo to maopiya no pagdumala?
In bunayan no ba to importansya?
Unsa imo nahibaloan na mga porma sa maayo na pagdumala kaye komunidad?
May na-a? Maynat kano?
Kinahanglan ba nato ang maayo na pagdumala? May na-a? Maynat kano?
Nagabuhat k aba ug mga lakang para makab-ot ang maayo na pagdumala? May na-a? Maynat kano?
Unsa ang imo pwede mahatag para makabot ang maayo na pagdumala?
Pwede ka ba mabutang sa pilegro para lang makbot ang maayo na pagdumala?
May na-a? Maynat kano?
Unsa imo mga nahibaloan nga mga dili maayo na ginabuhat sa ato mga opisyales sa local na panggamhanan?
Nakasabot ka ba na lang ba sa ilang gipangbuhat? May na-a? Maynat kano?
Sa paminaw ba nimo parte na sa pang gobyerno ang pagpanikas ug kurapsyon?
May na-a? Maynat kano?
Unsa sa imo paminaw ang mali sa mga proseso na ginabuhat para unta makab ot ang maayo na pagdumala sa atong lokal na panggamhanan?
Sa paminaw ba nimo may pag-asa pa para makab-ot ang maayo na pagdulamala?
Nagatoo ka ba na may pag-asa para sa umaabot na mga henerasyon na mas manindot pa ang ilang kinabuhi? May na-a? Maynat kano?

1. Nokoy-a cos in boli no para ta pamilya no?

Butang ug Serbisyo sa Lokal na Pamahalaan	Tyempo (Araw-araw, Kada Linggo, Buwan-buwan, Taon-taon, Wala)	Layat to Opiyan (Lingini lang ang dapat)							Rason / Komento (Magkomento lang sa mga butang na gibutangan ug 5 at 1)
		amanan no-opiyan	5	4	3	2	1	no opiyan	
		amanan no-opiyan	5	4	3	2	1	no opiyan	
		amanan no-opiyan	5	4	3	2	1	no opiyan	
		amanan no-opiyan	5	4	3	2	1	no opiyan	

2. To so-inin isyu amana kin na-igo kaye, aliya to lahi nasud pad. In sulat no kaye deta lam.

Nokoy	Butang no in pabilin	In padayun
1.	1.	1.
May naa?	May naa?	May naa?
2.	2.	2.
May naa?	May naa?	May naa?
3.	3.	3.
May naa?	May naa?	May naa?

4. Nagraman ko sika so mga organisasyon. Id nangon no ko nokoy-a sika

Organisasyon/Institusyon	Layat to Pagsalig (linguini lang ang dapat)							Rason / Komento (Magkomento lang sa mga butang na gibutangan ug 5 at 1)
Regional Trial Court	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Government Service Insurance System	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Department of Justice	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Department of Interior and Local Government	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Department of Trade and Industry	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Civil Service Commission	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Social Security System	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Philippine National Police	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Philippine Army	amanan to	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	

	pagsalig							
Provincial Government	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
City Government	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Barangay Council	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
State universities	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Public schools	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Public hospitals	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Commission on Election	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Media	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Business	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Church	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Non-Government Organisation	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	
Others (please specify)	amanan to pagsalig	5	4	3	2	1	waro to pagsalig	

4. Ma-opiya no pagdumala to kamta no nasud kakita diyo to masulog no dalam. Nokoy-a cos sistema away tradisyon man.
Nokoy-a cos ikatabang no kaye?

Nokoy-a	Rason (May naa?)	Ontaw-a	Monowon

5. Nokoy-a cos in gimo no diyo komunidad, doo prodyek o programa no in apilan no.
Nokoy-a cos maopiya no in gimo to maoipyan pagdumala kanta?

Maopiyam in Gimo	Deskripsyon	Otaw/Organisasyon na Apil	Lokasyon (diin?)

6. Kon naa man mga maopiya na pagdumala, naa pud mga dili maayo na nahimong babag sa pagkabot sa maayong lokal na panggamhanan. Ang mga ehemplo niini mao ang red tape, pagpanikas ug kurapsyon. Ginahagit niini ang pasensya sa otaw na apil niini. Kini ang ginatawag usab na mga "necessary evils" sa atong sistema. Kinahanglan silang tan-awun kontrolin para dili makadaut sa kinabuhi sa yanong otaw sa komunidad.

Unsa sa imo paminaw ang mga lakang na dapat buhatun para makb-ot ang maopiya na pagdumala sa komunidad? Palihug ug hatag ug tataw na ehemplo. Ang tataw na ehemplo niini mao ang dili pag liquidate sa mga gastos nga gipang advance sa mga opisyales, pagdawat ug suhol, iligal na pagputol sa kahoy, dili pag-apil sa mga kababaihan, katigulangan, ug mag-uuma sa pagbuhat ug mga desisyon sa komunidad ug uban pa. Pakisuwat sa imong tubag dindi sulod sa kahon sa ubos.

Babag sa Maopiya na Pagdumala	Deskripsyon	Otaw/Organisasyon na Apil	Lokasyon (Diin?)

Amanon salamat to pamanon niyo!

Assoc Prof Janet McIntyre
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CRICOS Provider No. 00114A

SULAT KOG TEKUDAN

Para ke Sir/Madam /Ngadan:

Ne sulat ni eg tekud ke Mervin Gascon na Doktor ka Philosophy ka Department of Politics asta Public Policy, eskwelahan ka Social asta Policy Studies duton ta Flinders University. Sekanden e magbagge ka card na duwan bonnong ka mga estudyante den na magpamatuod.

Sekanden gemu ka istade para kató kanden thesis o duma publication para kato subject nga critical ethnography asta exploratory study ka andin e Constitute Good Governance duton ta Mindanao, Pilipinas. Sekanden kadayawan na kuna magbolunter para makatabang. Kani project ni, ukit pag-insa na mahitungod kato topic din. Na diri madugo ka sabad oras.

Siguradon nato mga impormasyon mabage na dili kabulusan kato duma manobo to mga tubag kato mga insa. Tungod kato kandin kakalyag na maggamit ka tape recorder kalyag din minsa kato niyo pagnunug para marecord to mga tubag ka insa. Para to ngadan asta agtikudan yu di kakilalaan. Asta para magamit tun ta duma istadi.

Agad andin to mga concern kani project na madiritso duton kanak na to tikudan na agbage tun datas o sa +61 8 8201 207 5; e-mail sa janet.mcintyre@flinders.edu.au.

Salamat katu panahon yo tun ta pagtabang.

Tibuk pusong ko,

Assoc Prof Janet McIntyre
Superbisor

MERVIN GASCON
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Sulat ka Inpormasyon

Title: 'Critical Ethnography Asta Exploratory Study ka Andin e Constitute Good Governance duton ta Mindanao, Pilipinas'

Taga-ginsa:

MERVIN GASCON

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Diskripsyon kato Istadi:

Ne istadi kato project kalyag makakita kato tibuok konsepto ka madegar na pagpiid ka local na Government Unit dini ta Mindanao, Pilipinas. Ni istadi ag ginsa na ale ander to tistingan na kasodoran tun ta madegar na pagpiid, Na dini ta nasod o tun ta gawas na apil sta duton ta talagsaon na pamatasan kato apil na komunidad. Ne proyekto ag tabangan ka Dept. of Politics asta Public Policies a Flinders University.

Katuyuan kato istadi:
- Kasudduran to kabuuwan na madegar na pagpiid kato mga nitibo, muslim asta kristyano dini ta Mindanao, Pilipinas.
- Ituran to duma na madegar na agluman na grupo para ton ta pag-endorso kato madegar na pagpiid kato loka na government units dini ta Mindanao.
- Kasudduran to duma na kalisod kato mga grupo ton ta pag-endorso kato madegar na pagpiid.

- Pagpadegar ka mga lumo asta mga plano ton ta madegar na pagpiid ton ta local government unit.
- Kasudduran to lain na kalumuan ka madegar na pagpiid kato mga manobo dini ta Mindanao, Pilipinas.

Andin to mga paluman ko?

Kuna gimibetahan ko na mapil kato interview kato taga insa ton ta mga pagsalag no asta panghitabo ton ta local gov't units (city, Municipality asta province). Nemo ni 30 minutos dad. Ne interview gamitan ka digital voice recorder para makatabang ton ta paggemo ka resulta. Ka marecord ni interview asta matago ton ta computer file.

Andin e makange ko kane pag emo kani study ni?

To pagbag'e ka mga experience no makatabang kato mga imon na proyekto para ka umaabot na programa par aka mga manobo.

Kakilaan a ba kani paggemo kani istadi ne?

Dere de kinahanglan to ngadan yo pagkapanga katu interview na magdalem duton ta tape recorder, andaan dan. Asta to megdalem ha file duton ta computer butangan ka password na si Mr. Gascon dad e makasuddor.

Duwan ba mga problema kung sakkan mapil kane?
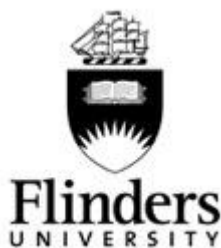
To duma mga miyembro maka suddor kato ag lumo yo agad diri sunod konkreto. Ne tag-iya kani research ne se kanden dad e maka tubag kato ensa asta pwede ka diri da numunog kani estadi ne.

Nunan ko pagdawat ka mga tubag?

To gemo kani estadi ne magge kaninyo ka resulta.

Salamat kato oras yo to pagbasa kane sulat ka impormasyon kame ag laom na keyo mapil kane estadi ne.

**PORMA PARA SA PAGHATAG KAG PAGTUGOT NA
MAPARTE SA GINSA
(para sa Tag-isa nga Panag-istoryahay)**

Sakan si _____ na sobra ka edad na 18 ag gapil kane tag-isa kag panag-istoryahay para kane estady ne.

1. Ag basa ko ne agbage na impormasyon.
2. Ag passodor dan kanak to mga impormasyon para mas masudduran ko.
3. Ag nunog a kato recording ka impormasyon asta pag apil ko.
4. E kassador a dapat duwan a'sa impormasyon sheet asta sulat ka pagnunog para kato sunod na pag estady.
5. E kagpat a:
   - Diri a maka basta basta maka kange ka benepisyon ton ta pag apil ko kane na estady.
   - Pwede diri magpadayon o diri tumubag ka mga insa
   - To mga impormasyon na menange na pwede ipakita na diya kassodoran asta to mga impormasyon na magpabilin na confidential.
   - Pwede ah kumagi na undangan to recording o obserbasyon ale andin orase asta pwede a mundang tunta session na anda madat na mahetabo.
6. Duwan katungod ko mestorya kane estady ton ta kanak pamilya asta kadumaan.

 Pirma kato mga aggapil:_____ **Petsa:**_____

 E kassador a ma sakkan eg kage tunta mga ag volunteer asta e kassodor a na si kandan.

Taga insa: Mervin Gascon_____

Lagda: _____   **Petsa: _____**

NB: Duwa na kopya e dapat mabagger to kopya magpabilin ton ta researcher o taga

insa para maggamit na otorisasyon ton ta item 7 asta 8 na narga.

7.   Sakan, to gapil na duwan pirma kitanan ton ta baba. Ikabasa a kato kasunduan kato kanak na pag-apil asta ag nunog na mainterview.

Pirma kato mga aggapil:_____ **Petsa:**_____

8.   Sakan to gapil na duwan pirma kitanan ton ta baba. Ikabasa kato report asta agnunog na ipakita ne mga impormasyon na agbagge.

Pirma kato mga aggapil:_____ **Petsa:**_____
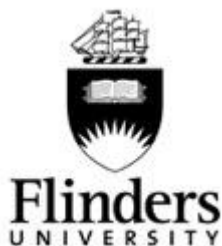
PORMA PARA SA PAGHATAG KAG PAGTUGOT NA MAPARTE SA GINSA
(para sa Sabad-sabad na Pagginsa)

Sakan si _____ na sobra ka edad na 18 ag gapil kane sabad-sabad na pagginsa para kane estady ne.

1. Ag basa ko ne agbage na impormasyon.
2. Ag passodor dan kanak to mga impormasyon para mas masudduran ko.
3. Ag nunog a kato recording ka impormasyon asta pag apil ko.
4. E kassador a dapat duwan a'sa impormasyon sheet asta sulat ka pagnunog para kato sunod na pag estady.
5. E kagpat a:
    *   Diri a maka basta basta maka kange ka benepisyon ton ta pag apil ko kane na estady.
    *   Pwede diri magpadayon o diri tumubag ka mga insa
    *   To mga impormasyon na menange na pwede ipakita na diya kassodoran asta to mga impormasyon na magpabilin na confidential.
    *   Ma apil a o diri magpadayon anda memo na madat kato serbisyo na agbagge kanak.
    *   Pwede ah kumagi na undangan to recording o obserbasyon ale andin orase asta pwede a mundang tunta session na anda madat na mahetabo.
6. Duwan katungod ko mestorya kane estady ton ta kanak pamilya asta kadumaan.

Pirma kato mga aggapil:_____ **Petsa:**_____

E kassador a ma sakkan eg kage tunta mga ag volunteer asta e kassodor a na si kandan.

Taga insa: Mervin Gascon_____

Lagda: _____ **Petsa:** _____

7.   Sakan, to gapil na duwan pirma kitanan ton ta baba. Ikabasa a kato kasunduan kato kanak na pag-apil asta ag nunog na mainterview.

Pirma kato mga aggapil:_____ **Petsa:**_____

8.   Sakan to gapil na duwan pirma kitanan ton ta baba. Ikabasa kato report asta agnunog na ipakita ne mga impormasyon na agbagge.

Pirma kato mga aggapil:_____ **Petsa:**_____ __

Giya ka Pag-insa
MADIGAR NA KAPIID DINE TA MINDANAO

Salamat kato pagnunug yu na mainsa kani istadi. Ne istadi agsalag ka pagpiid tun ta local na gobyerno. Yaka agkayaan ag kagi akneko mga komento o mg airing na sabad kadumaan o leader ka ale anda Organisasyon o gropo ka probinsya, lunsod o minicipyo na akneko guduan o agtrabahuan. Ni paginsa sunod agkatago so ale andin orasi pwede ka mag-undang o dere ipadayon e pagtubag. Dakal salamat.

Mga Insa:

Agtuo ka na duwan madigar pagpiid dine ta local na panggoberno?
manan or Manan ka dere?
Andin e mga isuduran nu na mga porma kane?
Agtuo k aba na kailangan ki ka madigar na pagpiid dine to local na council?
Manan o Manan ka dere?
Andin basi e makange o benepesyo ka madigar na pagpiid?
Andin e esuduran no na madigar na pagpiid (Na isuduran nu)
Ka akniyo local na council?
Agbagayan no b aka importansya e madigar na pagpiid?
Manan o Manan ka dere?
Agimon no ba e neko memo tun ta agneko kaya para maka promote ka madigar na pagpiid? Pwede nu ba ka grin?
Andin e kaya nu mabage para ka pagpangusog ka madigar pagpiid?
Manan ka gimon nu ni? Andin base mange nu? Andi basu e makadat kani?
Andin basi e makagi nu katu mga tagadumala na apil ka dere madigar na pagpiid?
Ekasudor ka man kun manan ka iglumo dan yan? Manan o Manan ka dere?
Agtuo ka ba na ang madat na pagpiid iring ka graft asta kurapsyon na diri gka undang asta agpadayon? Manan o Manan man?
Andin base e menemo madigar tun ta pagkab-ot katu madigar pagpiid tunta local na Counci
Agtuo kaba na duwan pa paglaum para katu aknita comunidad asta Nasod par aka pagpadigar kame sistema ka Goberno?
Agtuo kaba na tu umaabot pa duwan mas madigar na pagpiid tun ta pagpadigar ka sunod na henerasyon na kadigaran ka kinabuhe?
Manan o Manan ka dere?
Kaya nu ba tindigan to pagpromote ka madigar na pagpiid na dere pa tu duma?
Manan o manan ka dere? Agkasakitan k aba o dire kun dere ka agpaminagan tun ta pagpromote ka madigar pagpiid

1. Andin e mga makatabang asta serbisyo ta local na gobyerno na sikuna asta tu pamilya nu ekaapil? Butang nu kanun ta table na duwan taba nu.

Serbisyo ka Lokal na Gobyerno	Dalas (Kada Allo, Kada Semana, Kada Buwan, Kada Tuig, Anda)	Agtammanan						Rason / Komento (Magkomento lamang po sa mga bagay na may antas na 5 at 1)
		sunod agka na ngaan	5	4	3	2	1	dire agka nangaan	

		sunod agka na ngaan	5	4	3	2	1	dire agka nangaan	
		sunod agka na ngaan	5	4	3	2	1	dire agka nangaan	

2. Kami agkaapektuhan ka mga madakal-level ka policiya (International Treaties, National laws, decrees, statutes and policies) pero agkatutukan de sunod tu mga LGU's, andin tu mga agkonsiderasyon no mga butang o issues na dapat salagan ka mga taga dumala ka local. Palihog dugange nu ni table ka mga impormasyon.

Mga butang na umanan	Butang na padigaran	Butang na Pabilinan
1.	1.	1.
Manan?	Manan?	Manan?
2.	2.	2.
Manan?	Manan?	Manan?
3.	3.	3.
Manan?	Manan?	Manan?

3. Ngadanan ko ka numero tu mga organisasyon asta institusyon. Matag sabad pwede kagin kanak tun agtuo ka kandan. Sunod ba ni tuo; dire sunod agtuo idire agtuo. Palihog ug butang ka mga tubag nu.

Organisasyon/Institusyon	Sunod ba ni Too (paki lingin sa numerong dapat)							Rason / Komento (Magkomento lamang po sa mga bagay na may antas na 5 at 1)
Regional Trial Court	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Government Service Insurance System	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Department of Justice	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Department of Interior and Local Government	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Department of Trade and Industry	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Civil Service Commission	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Social Security System	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	

Philippine National Police	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Philippine Army	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Provincial Government	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
City Government	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Barangay Council	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
State universities	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Public schools	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Public hospitals	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Commission on Election	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Media	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Business	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Church	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Non-Government Organisation	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	
Others (please specify)	pinakataas na pagtoo	5	4	3	2	1	walay pagtoo	

4. Tumadigar pagpiid duwan lahe-lahe na pagsabot tibuok kalibutan. Agbase ni tunta lahe-lahe na kultura asta contexto na aggapilan ka sinugdan ka kumunidad, relihiyon, sistema ka politika, pagtuo, tradisyon na kahibalo asta duma pa. Madigar na pagpiid diretso tun ta pagpadigar ka policiya tunta pagpamanto ka proseso asta sistema dire dad pang gobyerno pero asta tu langun secta na apil tun ta society.

Andin base e agkasudduran muna importante tan ta pagpromote ka madigar pagpiid ka LGU? Butange nuka tubag.

Butang/mga importante tun ta pagpromote ka madigar pagpiid ka gobyerno	Rason (Manan?)	Sadan? (Mga Manobo na apil)	Mga pwede imon kung pamanon e pagprmote ka madigar pagpiid

5. Ale ordinaryo kana manubo ka komunidad o tagapamahala dapat ka makasudur ka mga projek asta policiya na aglumon ka mga lahe-lahe na Organisasyon o grupo asta mga tagasabadsabad na deretso na mabage na kadigaran tun ta mga manobo. Halimbawa, tu pag-imo ka mga iskwelahan ka DayCare asta kalinganan. Pagabri ka mga tindahan,

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pagpiya ka mga dalan asta tulay; Pagsabad ka mga mag-uuma asta mga gabayèn asta duma pa.

Andin base to madigar tun ta pagpromote ka madigar pagpiid tun ta a niyo LGU? Palihog tubag yu to mga ins aka mga tubag.

Madigar Aglumanan tun ta Madigar Pagpiid	Deskripsyon	Manobo/Organisasyon na Apil	Lokasyon

6. Kaduman ka mga agiumun tun ta madigar pagpiid duwan ginapon mga problema na agdalang tun ta pagkab-ot asta kakalyag na agkangen tun ta mga proyekto, programa, asta policiya tun ta local na Goberno. Red tape, graph, kurupsyon, ta duma mga example. Agtawaran sikandan na hagit so ring sikanda na testing para katu mga apil na manobo asta organisasyon tun ta pagsudur ka proseso tun ta pagkange kani. Panagsa agtawaran yan na "kailangan na kadatan" tunta sistema. Kailangan salagan asta kontrolan to impact tun ta kinabuhe ka manobo.

Andin to mga makage no na problema na makadalang tunta pagpangusog tun ta madegan pagpiid kato mga LGU? Palihug e spicipic noto tubag. Madegan halimbawa: unliquidated cash advance ta local na opisyales, panikas, putol kahoy, di pag dala tingog kababayhan, tiguwang ug magbabaol sa desisyon. Palihog tubag yu to mga ins aka mga tubag.

Problema tun ta madigar pagpiid	Deskripsyon	Manobo/Organisasyon na Apil	Lokasyon

Salamat kato oras asta hago yo!

ANNEX 2: The Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997.

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES
CONGRESS OF THE PHILIPPINES
METRO MANILA

REPUBLIC ACT NO. 8371
AN ACT TO RECOGNIZE, PROTECT AND PROMOTE THE RIGHTS OF INDIGENOUS CULTURAL COMMUNITIES/INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, CREATING A NATIONAL COMMISSION ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, ESTABLISHING IMPLEMENTING MECHANISMS, APPROPRIATING FUNDS THEREFOR, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

CHAPTER I
General Provisions

SECTION 1. Short Title. — This Act shall be known as "The Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997″.

SECTION 2. Declaration of State Policies. — The State shall recognize and promote all the rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples (ICCs/IPs) hereunder enumerated within the framework of the Constitution:

a) The State shall recognize and promote the rights of ICCs/IPs within the framework of national unity and development;

b) The State shall protect the rights of ICCs/IPs to their ancestral domains to ensure their economic, social and cultural well being and shall recognize the applicability of customary laws governing property rights or relations in determining the ownership and extent of ancestral domain;

c) The State shall recognize, respect and protect the rights of ICCs/IPs to preserve and develop their cultures, traditions and institutions. It shall consider these rights in the formulation of national laws and policies;

d) The State shall guarantee that members of the ICCs/IPs regardless of sex, shall equally enjoy the full measure of human rights and freedoms without distinction or discrimination;

e) The State shall take measures, with the participation of the ICCs/IPs concerned, to protect their rights and guarantee respect for their cultural integrity, and to ensure that members of the ICCs/IPs benefit on an equal footing from the rights and opportunities which national laws and regulations grant to other members of the population; and

f) The State recognizes its obligations to respond to the strong expression of the ICCs/IPs for cultural integrity by assuring maximum ICC/IP participation in the direction of education, health, as well as other services of ICCs/IPs, in order to render such services more responsive to the needs and desires of these communities.

Towards these ends, the State shall institute and establish the necessary mechanisms to enforce and guarantee the realization of these rights, taking into consideration their customs, traditions, values, beliefs, interests and institutions, and to adopt and implement measures to protect their rights to their ancestral domains.

CHAPTER II
Definition of Terms

SECTION 3. Definition of Terms. — For purposes of this Act, the following terms shall mean:

a) Ancestral Domains — Subject to Section 56 hereof, refer to all areas generally belonging to ICCs/IPs comprising lands, inland waters, coastal areas, and natural resources therein, held under a claim of ownership, occupied or possessed by ICCs/IPs, by themselves or through their ancestors, communally or individually since time immemorial, continuously to the present except when interrupted by war, force majeure or displacement by force, deceit, stealth or as a consequence of government projects or any other voluntary dealings entered into by government and private individuals/corporations, and which are necessary to ensure their economic, social and cultural welfare. It shall include ancestral lands, forests, pasture, residential, agricultural, and other lands individually owned whether alienable and disposable or otherwise, hunting grounds, burial grounds, worship areas, bodies of water, mineral and other natural resources, and lands which may no longer be exclusively occupied by ICCs/IPs but from which they traditionally had access to for their subsistence and traditional activities, particularly the home ranges of ICCs/IPs who are still nomadic and/or shifting cultivators;

b) Ancestral Lands — Subject to Section 56 hereof, refers to land occupied, possessed and utilized by individuals, families and clans who are members of the ICCs/IPs since time immemorial, by themselves or through their predecessors-in-interest, under claims of individual or traditional group ownership, continuously, to the present except when interrupted by war, force majeure or displacement by force, deceit, stealth, or as a consequence of government projects and other voluntary dealings entered into by government and private individuals/corporations, including, but not limited to, residential lots, rice terraces or paddies, private forests, swidden farms and tree lots;

c) Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title — refers to a title formally recognizing the rights of possession and ownership of ICCs/IPs over their ancestral domains identified and delineated in accordance with this law;

d) Certificate of Ancestral Lands Title — refers to a title formally recognizing the rights of ICCs/IPs over their ancestral lands;

e) Communal Claims — refer to claims on land, resources and rights thereon, belonging to the whole community within a defined territory;

f) Customary Laws — refer to a body of written and/or unwritten rules, usages, customs and practices traditionally and continually recognized, accepted and observed by respective ICCs/IPs;

g) Free and Prior Informed Consent — as used in this Act shall mean the consensus of all members of the ICCs/IPs to be determined in accordance with their respective customary laws and practices, free from any external manipulation, interference and coercion, and obtained after fully disclosing the intent and scope of the activity, in a language and process understandable to the community;

h) Indigenous Cultural Communities/Indigenous Peoples — refer to a group of people or homogenous societies identified by self-ascription and ascription by others, who have continuously lived as organized community on communally bounded and defined territory, and who have, under claims of ownership since time immemorial, occupied, possessed and utilized such territories, sharing common bonds of language, customs, traditions and other distinctive cultural traits, or who have, through resistance to political, social and cultural inroads of colonization, non-indigenous religions and cultures, became historically differentiated from the majority of Filipinos. ICCs/IPs shall likewise include peoples who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, at the time of conquest or colonization, or at the time of inroads of non-indigenous religions and cultures, or the establishment of present state boundaries, who retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, but who may have been displaced from their traditional domains or who may have resettled outside their ancestral domains;

i) Indigenous Political Structures — refer to organizational and cultural leadership systems, institutions, relationships, patterns and processes for decision-making and participation, identified by ICCs/IPs such as, but not limited to, Council of Elders, Council of Timuays, Bodong Holders, or any other tribunal or body of similar nature;

j) Individual Claims — refer to claims on land and rights thereon which have been devolved to individuals, families and clans including, but not limited to, residential lots, rice terraces or paddies and tree lots;

k) National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) — refers to the office created under this Act, which shall be under the Office of the President, and which shall be the primary government agency responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies, plans and programs to recognize, protect and promote the rights of ICCs/IPs;

l) Native Title — refers to pre-conquest rights to lands and domains which, as far back as memory reaches, have been held under a claim of private ownership by ICCs/IPs, have never been public lands and are thus indisputably presumed to have been held that way since before the Spanish Conquest;

m) Nongovernment Organization — refers to a private, nonprofit voluntary organization that has been organized primarily for the delivery of various services to the ICCs/IPs and has an established track record for effectiveness and acceptability in the community where it serves;

n) People's Organization — refers to a private, nonprofit voluntary organization of members of an ICC/IP which is accepted as representative of such ICCs/IPs;

o) Sustainable Traditional Resource Rights — refer to the rights of ICCs/IPs to sustainably use, manage, protect and conserve a) land, air, water, and minerals; b) plants, animals and other organisms; c) collecting, fishing and hunting grounds; d) sacred sites; and e) other areas of economic, ceremonial and aesthetic value in accordance with their indigenous knowledge, beliefs, systems and practices; and

p) Time Immemorial — refers to a period of time when as far back as memory can go, certain ICCs/IPs are known to have occupied, possessed in the concept of owner, and utilized a defined territory devolved to them, by operation of customary law or inherited from their ancestors, in accordance with their customs and traditions.

CHAPTER III
Rights to Ancestral Domains

SECTION 4. Concept of Ancestral Lands/Domains. — Ancestral lands/domains shall include such concepts of territories which cover not only the physical environment but the total environment including the spiritual and cultural bonds to the areas which the ICCs/IPs possess, occupy and use and to which they have claims of ownership.

SECTION 5. Indigenous Concept of Ownership. — Indigenous concept of ownership sustains the view that ancestral domains and all resources found therein shall serve as the material bases of their cultural integrity. The indigenous concept of ownership generally holds that ancestral domains are the ICC's/IP's private but community property which belongs to all generations and therefore cannot be sold, disposed or destroyed. It likewise covers sustainable traditional resource rights.

SECTION 6. Composition of Ancestral Lands/Domains. — Ancestral lands and domains shall consist of all areas generally belonging to ICCs/IPs as referred under Sec. 3, items (a) and (b) of this Act.

SECTION 7. Rights to Ancestral Domains. — The rights of ownership and possession of ICCs/IPs to their ancestral domains shall be recognized and protected. Such rights shall include:

a) Right of Ownership. — The right to claim ownership over lands, bodies of water traditionally and actually occupied by ICCs/IPs, sacred places, traditional hunting and fishing grounds, and all improvements made by them at any time within the domains;

b) Right to Develop Lands and Natural Resources. — Subject to Section 56 hereof, right to develop, control and use lands and territories traditionally occupied, owned, or used; to manage and conserve natural resources within the territories and uphold the responsibilities for future generations; to benefit and share the profits from allocation and utilization of the natural resources found therein; the right to negotiate the terms and conditions for the exploration of natural resources in the areas for the purpose of ensuring ecological, environmental protection and the conservation measures, pursuant to national and customary laws; the right to an informed and intelligent participation in the formulation and implementation of any project, government or private, that will affect or impact upon the ancestral domains and to receive just and fair compensation for any damages which they may sustain as a result of the project; and the right to effective measures by the government to prevent any interference with, alienation and encroachment upon these rights;

c) Right to Stay in the Territories. — The right to stay in the territory and not to be removed therefrom. No ICCs/IPs will be relocated without their free and prior informed consent, nor through any means other than eminent domain. Where relocation is considered necessary as an exceptional measure, such relocation shall take place only with the free and prior informed consent of the ICCs/IPs concerned and whenever possible, they shall be guaranteed the right to return to their ancestral domains, as soon as the grounds for relocation cease to exist. When such return is not possible, as determined by agreement or through appropriate procedures, ICCs/IPs shall be provided in all possible cases with lands of quality and legal status at least equal to that of the land previously occupied by them, suitable to provide for their present needs and future development. Persons thus relocated shall likewise be fully compensated for any resulting loss or injury;

d) **Right in Case of Displacement.** — In case displacement occurs as a result of natural catastrophes, the State shall endeavor to resettle the displaced ICCs/IPs in suitable areas where they can have temporary life support systems: Provided, That the displaced ICCs/IPs shall have the right to return to their abandoned lands until such time that the normalcy and safety of such lands shall be determined: Provided, further, That should their ancestral domain cease to exist and normalcy and safety of the previous settlements are not possible, displaced ICCs/IPs shall enjoy security of tenure over lands to which they have been resettled: Provided, furthermore, That basic services and livelihood shall be provided to them to ensure that their needs are adequately addressed;

e) Right to Regulate Entry of Migrants. — Right to regulate the entry of migrant settlers and organizations into the domains;

f) Right to Safe and Clean Air and Water. — For this purpose, the ICCs/IPs shall have access to integrated systems for the management of their inland waters and air space;

g) Right to Claim Parts of Reservations. — The right to claim parts of the ancestral domains which have been reserved for various purposes, except those reserved and intended for common public welfare and service; and

h) Right to Resolve Conflict. — Right to resolve land conflicts in accordance with customary laws of the area where the land is located, and only in default thereof shall the complaints be submitted to amicable settlement and to the Courts of Justice whenever necessary.

SECTION 8. Rights to Ancestral Lands. — The right of ownership and possession of the ICCs/IPs to their ancestral lands shall be recognized and protected.

a) Right to transfer land/property. — Such right shall include the right to transfer land or property rights to/among members of the same ICCs/IPs, subject to customary laws and traditions of the community concerned.

b) Right to Redemption. — In cases where it is shown that the transfer of land/property rights by virtue of any agreement or devise, to a non-member of the concerned ICCs/IPs is tainted by the vitiated consent of the ICCs/IPs, or is transferred for an unconscionable consideration or price, the transferor ICC/IP shall have the right to redeem the same within a period not exceeding fifteen (15) years from the date of transfer.

SECTION 9. Responsibilities of ICCs/IPs to their Ancestral Domains. — ICCs/IPs occupying a duly certified ancestral domain shall have the following responsibilities:

a) Maintain Ecological Balance. — To preserve, restore, and maintain a balanced ecology in the ancestral domain by protecting the flora and fauna, watershed areas, and other reserves;

b) Restore Denuded Areas. — To actively initiate, undertake and participate in the reforestation of denuded areas and other development programs and projects subject to just and reasonable remuneration; and

c) Observe Laws. — To observe and comply with the provisions of this Act and the rules and regulations for its effective implementation.

SECTION 10. Unauthorized and Unlawful Intrusion. — Unauthorized and unlawful intrusion upon, or use of any portion of the ancestral domain, or any violation of the rights hereinbefore enumerated, shall be punishable under this law. Furthermore, the Government shall take measures to prevent non-ICCs/IPs from taking advantage of the ICCs/IPs customs or lack of understanding of laws to secure ownership, possession of land belonging to said ICCs/IPs.

SECTION 11. Recognition of Ancestral Domain Rights. — The rights of ICCs/IPs to their ancestral domains by virtue of Native Title shall be recognized and respected. Formal recognition, when solicited by ICCs/IPs concerned, shall be embodied in a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT), which shall recognize the title of the concerned ICCs/IPs over the territories identified and delineated.

SECTION 12. Option to Secure Certificate of Title Under Commonwealth Act 141, as amended, or the Land Registration Act 496. — Individual members of cultural communities, with respect to their individually-owned ancestral lands who, by themselves or through their predecessors-in-interest, have been in continuous possession and occupation of the same in the concept of owner since time immemorial or for a period of not less than thirty (30) years immediately preceding the approval of this Act and uncontested by the members of the same ICCs/IPs shall have the option to secure title to their ancestral lands under the provisions of Commonwealth Act 141, as amended, or the Land Registration Act 496.

For this purpose, said individually-owned ancestral lands, which are agricultural in character and actually used for agricultural, residential, pasture, and tree farming purposes, including those with a slope of eighteen percent (18%) or more, are hereby classified as alienable and disposable agricultural lands.

The option granted under this section shall be exercised within twenty (20) years from the approval of this Act.

CHAPTER IV
Right to Self-Governance and Empowerment

SECTION 13. Self-Governance. — The State recognizes the inherent right of ICCs/IPs to self-governance and self-determination and respects the integrity of their values, practices and institutions. Consequently, the State shall guarantee the right of ICCs/IPs to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

SECTION 14. Support for Autonomous Regions. — The State shall continue to strengthen and support the autonomous regions created under the Constitution as they may require or need. The State shall likewise encourage other ICCs/IPs not included or outside Muslim Mindanao and

the Cordilleras to use the form and content of their ways of life as may be compatible with the fundamental rights defined in the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines and other internationally recognized human rights.

SECTION 15. Justice System, Conflict Resolution Institutions, and Peace Building Processes. — The ICCs/IPs shall have the right to use their own commonly accepted justice systems, conflict resolution institutions, peace building processes or mechanisms and other customary laws and practices within their respective communities and as may be compatible with the national legal system and with internationally recognized human rights.

SECTION 16. Right to Participate in Decision-Making. — ICCs/IPs have the right to participate fully, if they so choose, at all levels of decision-making in matters which may affect their rights, lives and destinies through procedures determined by them as well as to maintain and develop their own indigenous political structures. Consequently, the State shall ensure that the ICCs/IPs shall be given mandatory representation in policy-making bodies and other local legislative councils.

SECTION 17.   Right to Determine and Decide Priorities for Development. — The ICCs/IPs shall have the right to determine and decide their own priorities for development affecting their lives, beliefs, institutions, spiritual well-being, and the lands they own, occupy or use. They shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies, plans and programs for national, regional and local development which may directly affect them.

SECTION 18. Tribal Barangays. — The ICCs/IPs living in contiguous areas or communities where they form the predominant population but which are located in municipalities, provinces or cities where they do not constitute the majority of the population, may form or constitute a separate barangay in accordance with the Local Government Code on the creation of tribal barangays.

SECTION 19.   Role of Peoples Organizations. — The State shall recognize and respect the role of independent ICCs/IPs organizations to enable the ICCs/IPs to pursue and protect their legitimate and collective interests and aspirations through peaceful and lawful means.

SECTION 20. Means for Development/Empowerment of ICCs/IPs. — The Government shall establish the means for the full development/empowerment of the ICCs/IPs own institutions and initiatives and, where necessary, provide the resources needed therefor.

CHAPTER V
Social Justice and Human Rights

SECTION 21. Equal Protection and Non-discrimination of ICCs/IPs. — Consistent with the equal protection clause of the Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines, the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights including the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and International Human Rights Law, the State shall, with due recognition of their distinct characteristics and identity, accord to the members of the ICCs/IPs the rights, protections and privileges enjoyed by the rest of the citizenry. It shall extend to them the same employment rights, opportunities, basic services, educational and other rights and privileges available to every member of the society. Accordingly, the State shall likewise ensure that the employment of any form of force or coercion against ICCs/IPs shall be dealt with by law.

The State shall ensure that the fundamental human rights and freedoms as enshrined in the Constitution and relevant international instruments are guaranteed also to indigenous women. Towards this end, no provision in this Act shall be interpreted so as to result in the diminution of rights and privileges already recognized and accorded to women under existing laws of general application.

SECTION 22.   Rights During Armed Conflict. — ICCs/IPs have the right to special protection and security in periods of armed conflict. The State shall observe international standards, in particular, the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, for the protection of civilian populations in circumstances of emergency and armed conflict, and shall not recruit members of the ICCs/IPs against their will into the armed forces, and in particular, for use against other ICCs/IPs; nor recruit children of ICCs/IPs into the armed forces under any circumstance; nor force indigenous individuals to abandon their lands, territories and means of subsistence, or relocate them in special centers for military purposes under any discriminatory condition.

SECTION 23. Freedom from Discrimination and Right to Equal Opportunity and Treatment. — It shall be the right of the ICCs/IPs to be free from any form of discrimination, with respect to recruitment and conditions of employment, such that they may enjoy equal opportunities for admission to employment, medical and social assistance, safety as well as other occupationally-related benefits, informed of their rights under existing labor legislation and of means available to them for redress, not subject to any coercive recruitment systems, including bonded labor and other forms of debt servitude; and equal treatment in employment for men and women, including the protection from sexual harassment.

Towards this end, the State shall, within the framework of national laws and regulations, and in cooperation with the ICCs/IPs concerned, adopt special measures to ensure the effective protection with regard to the recruitment and conditions of employment of persons belonging to these communities, to the extent that they are not effectively protected by laws

applicable to workers in general.

ICCs/IPs shall have the right to association and freedom for all trade union activities and the right to conclude collective bargaining agreements with employers' organizations. They shall likewise have the right not to be subject to working conditions hazardous to their health, particularly through exposure to pesticides and other toxic substances.

SECTION 24. Unlawful Acts Pertaining to Employment. — It shall be unlawful for any person:

a) To discriminate against any ICC/IP with respect to the terms and conditions of employment on account of their descent. Equal remuneration shall be paid to ICC/IP and non-ICC/IP for work of equal value; and

b) To deny any ICC/IP employee any right or benefit herein provided for or to discharge them for the purpose of preventing them from enjoying any of the rights or benefits provided under this Act.

SECTION 25. Basic Services. — The ICCs/IPs have the right to special measures for the immediate, effective and continuing improvement of their economic and social conditions, including in the areas of employment, vocational training and retraining, housing, sanitation, health and social security. Particular attention shall be paid to the rights and special needs of indigenous women, elderly, youth, children and differently abled persons. Accordingly, the State shall guarantee the right of ICCs/IPs to government's basic services which shall include, but not limited to, water and electrical facilities, education, health, and infrastructure.

SECTION 26. Women. — ICC/IP women shall enjoy equal rights and opportunities with men, as regards the social, economic, political and cultural spheres of life. The participation of indigenous women in the decision-making process in all levels, as well as in the development of society, shall be given due respect and recognition.

The State shall provide full access to education, maternal and child care, health and nutrition, and housing services to indigenous women. Vocational, technical, professional and other forms of training shall be provided to enable these women to fully participate in all aspects of social life. As far as possible, the State shall ensure that indigenous women have access to all services in their own languages.

NOTE: IP women are still forced to perform reproductive roles as empirical evidences show.

SECTION 27. Children and Youth. — The State shall recognize the vital role of the children and youth of ICCs/IPs in nation-building and shall

promote and protect their physical, moral, spiritual, intellectual and social well-being. Towards this end, the State shall support all government programs intended for the development and rearing of the children and youth of ICCs/IPs for civic efficiency and establish such mechanisms as may be necessary for the protection of the rights of the indigenous children and youth.

SECTION 28. Integrated System of Education. — The State shall, through the NCIP, provide a complete, adequate and integrated system of education, relevant to the needs of the children and young people of ICCs/IPs.

CHAPTER VI
Cultural Integrity

SECTION 29. Protection of Indigenous Culture, Traditions and Institutions. — The State shall respect, recognize and protect the right of ICCs/IPs to preserve and protect their culture, traditions and institutions. It shall consider these rights in the formulation and application of national plans and policies.

SECTION 30. Educational Systems. — The State shall provide equal access to various cultural opportunities to the ICCs/IPs through the educational system, public or private cultural entities, scholarships, grants and other incentives without prejudice to their right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions by providing education in their own language, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning. Indigenous children/youth shall have the right to all levels and forms of education of the State.

SECTION 31. Recognition of Cultural Diversity. — The State shall endeavor to have the dignity and diversity of the cultures, traditions, histories and aspirations of the ICCs/IPs appropriately reflected in all forms of education, public information and cultural-educational exchange. Consequently, the State shall take effective measures, in consultation with ICCs/IPs concerned, to eliminate prejudice and discrimination and to promote tolerance, understanding and good relations among ICCs/IPs and all segments of society. Furthermore, the Government shall take effective measures to ensure that the State-owned media duly reflect indigenous cultural diversity. The State shall likewise ensure the participation of appropriate indigenous leaders in schools, communities and international cooperative undertakings like festivals, conferences, seminars and workshops to promote and enhance their distinctive heritage and values.

SECTION 32. Community Intellectual Rights. — ICCs/IPs have the right to practice and revitalize their own cultural traditions and customs. The State shall preserve, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures as well as the right to the restitution of cultural, intellectual, religious, and spiritual property taken without their free and prior informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and

customs.

SECTION 33. Rights to Religious, Cultural Sites and Ceremonies. — ICCs/IPs shall have the right to manifest, practice, develop, and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect and have access to their religious and cultural sites; the right to use and control of ceremonial objects; and, the right to the repatriation of human remains. Accordingly, the State shall take effective measures, in cooperation with the ICCs/IPs concerned, to ensure that indigenous sacred places, including burial sites, be preserved, respected and protected. To achieve this purpose, it shall be unlawful to:

a) Explore, excavate or make diggings on archeological sites of the ICCs/IPs for the purpose of obtaining materials of cultural values without the free and prior informed consent of the community concerned; and

b) Deface, remove or otherwise destroy artifacts which are of great importance to the ICCs/IPs for the preservation of their cultural heritage.

SECTION 34. Right to Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices and to Develop own Sciences and Technologies. — ICCs/IPs are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership and control and protection of their cultural and intellectual rights. They shall have the right to special measures to control, develop and protect their sciences, technologies and cultural manifestations, including human and other genetic resources, seeds, including derivatives of these resources, traditional medicines and health practices, vital medicinal plants, animals and minerals, indigenous knowledge systems and practices, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literature, designs, and visual and performing arts.

SECTION 35. Access to Biological and Genetic Resources. — Access to biological and genetic resources and to indigenous knowledge related to the conservation, utilization and enhancement of these resources, shall be allowed within ancestral lands and domains of the ICCs/IPs only with a free and prior informed consent of such communities, obtained in accordance with customary laws of the concerned community.

SECTION 36. Sustainable Agro-Technical Development. — The State shall recognize the right of ICCs/IPs to a sustainable agro-technological development and shall formulate and implement programs of action for its effective implementation. The State shall likewise promote the bio-genetic and resource management systems among the ICCs/IPs and shall encourage cooperation among government agencies to ensure the successful sustainable development of ICCs/IPs.

SECTION 37. Funds for Archeological and Historical Sites. — The ICCs/IPs shall have the right to receive from the national government all funds especially earmarked or allocated for the management and preservation of their archeological and historical sites and artifacts with the financial and technical support of the national government agencies.

CHAPTER VII
National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP)

SECTION 38. National Commission on Indigenous Cultural Communities/ Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). — To carry out the policies herein set forth, there shall be created the National Commission on ICCs/IPs (NCIP), which shall be the primary government agency responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies, plans and programs to promote and protect the rights and well-being of the ICCs/IPs and the recognition of their ancestral domains as well as the rights thereto.

SECTION 39. Mandate. — The NCIP shall protect and promote the interest and well-being of the ICCs/IPs with due regard to their beliefs, customs, traditions and institutions.

SECTION 40. Composition. — The NCIP shall be an independent agency under the Office of the President and shall be composed of seven (7) Commissioners belonging to ICCs/IPs, one (1) of whom shall be the Chairperson. The Commissioners shall be appointed by the President of the Philippines from a list of recommendees submitted by authentic ICCs/IPs: Provided, That the seven (7) Commissioners shall be appointed specifically from each of the following ethnographic areas: Region I and the Cordilleras; Region II; the rest of Luzon; Island Groups including Mindoro, Palawan, Romblon, Panay and the rest of the Visayas; Northern and Western Mindanao; Southern and Eastern Mindanao; and Central Mindanao: Provided, That at least two (2) of the seven (7) Commissioners shall be women.

SECTION 41. Qualifications, Tenure, Compensation. — The Chairperson and the six (6) Commissioners must be natural born Filipino citizens, bona fide members of the ICCs/IPs as certified by his/her tribe, experienced in ethnic affairs and who have worked for at least ten (10) years with an ICC/IP community and/or any government agency involved in ICC/IP, at least 35 years of age at the time of appointment, and must be of proven honesty and integrity: Provided, That at least two (2) of the seven (7) Commissioners shall be members of the Philippine Bar: Provided, further, That the members of the NCIP shall hold office for a period of three (3) years, and may be subject to re-appointment for another term: Provided, furthermore, That no person shall serve for more than two (2) terms. Appointment to any vacancy shall only be for the unexpired term of the predecessor and in no case shall a member be appointed or designated in a temporary or acting capacity: Provided, finally, That the Chairperson and

the Commissioners shall be entitled to compensation in accordance with the Salary Standardization Law.

SECTION 42.   Removal from Office. — Any member of the NCIP may be removed from office by the President, on his own initiative or upon recommendation by any indigenous community, before the expiration of his term for cause and after complying with due process requirement of law.

SECTION 43. Appointment of Commissioners. — The President shall appoint the seven (7) Commissioners of the NCIP within ninety (90) days from the effectivity of this Act.

SECTION 44.   Powers and Functions. — To accomplish its mandate, the NCIP shall have the following powers, jurisdiction and function:

a) To serve as the primary government agency through which ICCs/IPs can seek government assistance and as the medium, through which such assistance may be extended;

b) To review and assess the conditions of ICCs/IPs including existing laws and policies pertinent thereto and to propose relevant laws and policies to address their role in national development

c) To formulate and implement policies, plans, programs and projects for the economic, social and cultural development of the ICCs/IPs and to monitor the implementation thereof;

d) To request and engage the services and support of experts from other agencies of government or employ private experts and consultants as may be required in the pursuit of its objectives;

e) To issue certificate of ancestral land/domain title;

f) Subject to existing laws, to enter into contracts, agreements, or arrangement, with government or private agencies or entities as may be necessary to attain the objectives of this Act, and subject to the approval of the President, to obtain loans from government lending institutions and other lending institutions to finance its programs;

g) To negotiate for funds and to accept grants, donations, gifts and/or properties in whatever form and from whatever source, local and international, subject to the approval of the President of the Philippines, for the benefit of ICCs/IPs and administer the same in accordance with the terms thereof; or in the absence of any condition, in such manner consistent with the interest of ICCs/IPs as well as existing laws;

h) To coordinate development programs and projects for the

advancement of the ICCs/IPs and to oversee the proper implementation thereof;

i) To convene periodic conventions or assemblies of IPs to review, assess as well as propose policies or plans;

j) To advise the President of the Philippines on all matters relating to the ICCs/IPs and to submit within sixty (60) days after the close of each calendar year, a report of its operations and achievements;

k) To submit to Congress appropriate legislative proposals intended to carry out the policies under this Act;

l) To prepare and submit the appropriate budget to the Office of the President;

m) To issue appropriate certification as a pre-condition to the grant of permit, lease, grant, or any other similar authority for the disposition, utilization, management and appropriation by any private individual, corporate entity or any government agency, corporation or subdivision thereof on any part or portion of the ancestral domain taking into consideration the consensus approval of the ICCs/IPs concerned;

n) To decide all appeals from the decisions and acts of all the various offices within the Commission;

o) To promulgate the necessary rules and regulations for the implementation of this Act;

p) To exercise such other powers and functions as may be directed by the President of the Republic of the Philippines; and

q) To represent the Philippine ICCs/IPs in all international conferences and conventions dealing with indigenous peoples and other related concerns.

SECTION 45. Accessibility and Transparency. — Subject to such limitations as may be provided by law or by rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto, all official records, documents and papers pertaining to official acts, transactions or decisions, as well as research data used as basis for policy development of the Commission shall be made accessible to the public.

SECTION 46. Offices within the NCIP. — The NCIP shall have the following offices which shall be responsible for the implementation of the policies hereinafter provided:

a) Ancestral Domains Office — The Ancestral Domain Office shall be

responsible for the identification, delineation and recognition of ancestral lands/domains. It shall also be responsible for the management of ancestral lands/domains in accordance with a master plan as well as the implementation of the ancestral domain rights of the ICCs/IPs as provided in Chapter III of this Act. It shall also issue, upon the free and prior informed consent of the ICCs/IPs concerned, certification prior to the grant of any license, lease or permit for the exploitation of natural resources affecting the interests of ICCs/IPs or their ancestral domains and to assist the ICCs/IPs in protecting the territorial integrity of all ancestral domains. It shall likewise perform such other functions as the Commission may deem appropriate and necessary;

b) Office on Policy, Planning and Research — The Office on Policy, Planning and Research shall be responsible for the formulation of appropriate policies and programs for ICCs/IPs such as, but not limited to, the development of a Five-Year Master Plan for the ICCs/IPs. Such plan shall undergo a process such that every five years, the Commission shall endeavor to assess the plan and make ramifications in accordance with the changing situations. The Office shall also undertake the documentation of customary law and shall establish and maintain a Research Center that would serve as a depository of ethnographic information for monitoring, evaluation and policy formulation. It shall assist the legislative branch of the national government in the formulation of appropriate legislation benefiting ICCs/IPs;

c) Office of Education, Culture and Health — The Office on Culture, Education and Health shall be responsible for the effective implementation of the education, cultural and related rights as provided in this Act. It shall assist, promote and support community schools, both formal and non-formal, for the benefit of the local indigenous community, especially in areas where existing educational facilities are not accessible to members of the indigenous group. It shall administer all scholarship programs and other educational rights intended for ICC/IP beneficiaries in coordination with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports and the Commission on Higher Education. It shall undertake, within the limits of available appropriation, a special program which includes language and vocational training, public health and family assistance program and related subjects.

It shall also identify ICCs/IPs with potential training in the health profession and encourage and assist them to enroll in schools of medicine, nursing, physical therapy and other allied courses pertaining to the health profession.

Towards this end, the NCIP shall deploy a representative in each of the said offices who shall personally perform the foregoing task and who shall receive complaints from the ICCs/IPs and compel action

from appropriate agency. It shall also monitor the activities of the National Museum and other similar government agencies generally intended to manage and preserve historical and archeological artifacts of the ICCs/IPs and shall be responsible for the implementation of such other functions as the NCIP may deem appropriate and necessary;

d) Office on Socio-Economic Services and Special Concerns — The Office on Socio-Economic Services and Special Concerns shall serve as the Office through which the NCIP shall coordinate with pertinent government agencies specially charged with the implementation of various basic socio-economic services, policies, plans and programs affecting the ICCs/IPs to ensure that the same are properly and directly enjoyed by them. It shall also be responsible for such other functions as the NCIP may deem appropriate and necessary;

e) Office of Empowerment and Human Rights — The Office of Empowerment and Human Rights shall ensure that indigenous socio-political, cultural and economic rights are respected and recognized. It shall ensure that capacity building mechanisms are instituted and ICCs/IPs are afforded every opportunity, if they so choose, to participate in all levels of decision-making. It shall likewise ensure that the basic human rights, and such other rights as the NCIP may determine, subject to existing laws, rules and regulations, are protected and promoted;

f) Administrative Office — The Administrative Office shall provide the NCIP with economical, efficient and effective services pertaining to personnel, finance, records, equipment, security, supplies and related services. It shall also administer the Ancestral Domains Fund; and

g) Legal Affairs Office — There shall be a Legal Affairs Office which shall advice the NCIP on all legal matters concerning ICCs/IPs and which shall be responsible for providing ICCs/IPs with legal assistance in litigation involving community interest. It shall conduct preliminary investigation on the basis of complaints filed by the ICCs/IPs against a natural or juridical person believed to have violated ICCs/IPs rights. On the basis of its findings, it shall initiate the filing of appropriate legal or administrative action to the NCIP.

SECTION 47. Other Offices. — The NCIP shall have the power to create additional offices as it may deem necessary subject to existing rules and regulations.

SECTION 48. Regional and Field Offices. — Existing regional and field offices shall remain to function under the strengthened organizational structure of the NCIP. Other field offices shall be created wherever appropriate and the staffing pattern thereof shall be determined by the NCIP: Provided, That in provinces where there are ICCs/IPs but without

field offices, the NCIP shall establish field offices in said provinces.

SECTION 49. Office of the Executive Director. — The NCIP shall create the Office of the Executive Director which shall serve as its secretariat. The Office shall be headed by an Executive Director who shall be appointed by the President of the Republic of the Philippines upon recommendation of the NCIP on a permanent basis. The staffing pattern of the office shall be determined by the NCIP subject to the existing rules and regulations.

SECTION 50. Consultative Body. — A body consisting of the traditional leaders, elders and representatives from the women and youth sectors of the different ICCs/IPs shall be constituted by the NCIP from time to time to advise it on matters relating to the problems, aspirations and interests of the ICCs/IPs.

CHAPTER VIII
Delineation and Recognition of Ancestral Domains

SECTION 51. Delineation and Recognition of Ancestral Domains. — Self-delineation shall be the guiding principle in the identification and delineation of ancestral domains. As such, the ICCs/IPs concerned shall have a decisive role in all the activities pertinent thereto. The Sworn Statement of the Elders as to the scope of the territories and agreements/pacts made with neighboring ICCs/IPs, if any, will be essential to the determination of these traditional territories. The Government shall take the necessary steps to identify lands which the ICCs/IPs concerned traditionally occupy and guarantee effective protection of their rights of ownership and possession thereto. Measures shall be taken in appropriate cases to safeguard the right of the ICCs/IPs concerned to land which may no longer be exclusively occupied by them, but to which they have traditionally had access for their subsistence and traditional activities, particularly of ICCs/IPs who are still nomadic and/or shifting cultivators.

SECTION 52. Delineation Process. — The identification and delineation of ancestral domains shall be done in accordance with the following procedures:

a) Ancestral Domains Delineated Prior to this Act. — The provisions hereunder shall not apply to ancestral domains/lands already delineated according to DENR Administrative Order No. 2, series of 1993, nor to ancestral lands and domains delineated under any other community/ancestral domain program prior to the enactment of this law. ICCs/IPs whose ancestral lands/domains were officially delineated prior to the enactment of this law shall have the right to apply for the issuance of a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) over the area without going through the process outlined hereunder;

b) Petition for Delineation. — The process of delineating a specific

perimeter may be initiated by the NCIP with the consent of the ICC/IP concerned, or through a Petition for Delineation filed with the NCIP, by a majority of the members of the ICCs/IPs;

c) Delineation Proper. — The official delineation of ancestral domain boundaries including census of all community members therein, shall be immediately undertaken by the Ancestral Domains Office upon filing of the application by the ICCs/IPs concerned. Delineation will be done in coordination with the community concerned and shall at all times include genuine involvement and participation by the members of the communities concerned;

d) Proof Required. — Proof of Ancestral Domain Claims shall include the testimony of elders or community under oath, and other documents directly or indirectly attesting to the possession or occupation of the area since time immemorial by such ICCs/IPs in the concept of owners which shall be any one (1) of the following authentic documents:

1) Written accounts of the ICCs/IPs customs and traditions;
2) Written accounts of the ICCs/IPs political structure and institution;
3) Pictures showing long term occupation such as those of old improvements, burial grounds, sacred places and old villages;
4) Historical accounts, including pacts and agreements concerning boundaries entered into by the ICCs/IPs concerned with other ICCs/IPs;
5) Survey plans and sketch maps;
6) Anthropological data;
7) Genealogical surveys;
8) Pictures and descriptive histories of traditional communal forests and hunting grounds;
9) Pictures and descriptive histories of traditional landmarks such as mountains, rivers, creeks, ridges, hills, terraces and the like; and
10) Write-ups of names and places derived from the native dialect of the community.

e) Preparation of Maps. — On the basis of such investigation and the findings of fact based thereon, the Ancestral Domains Office of the NCIP shall prepare a perimeter map, complete with technical descriptions, and a description of the natural features and landmarks embraced therein;

f) Report of Investigation and Other Documents. — A complete copy of the preliminary census and a report of investigation, shall be prepared by the Ancestral Domains Office of the NCIP;

g) Notice and Publication. — A copy of each document, including a

translation in the native language of the ICCs/IPs concerned shall be posted in a prominent place therein for at least fifteen (15) days. A copy of the document shall also be posted at the local, provincial and regional offices of the NCIP, and shall be published in a newspaper of general circulation once a week for two (2) consecutive weeks to allow other claimants to file opposition thereto within fifteen (15) days from date of such publication: Provided, That in areas where no such newspaper exists, broadcasting in a radio station will be a valid substitute: Provided, further, That mere posting shall be deemed sufficient if both newspaper and radio station are not available;

h) Endorsement to NCIP. — Within fifteen (15) days from publication, and of the inspection process, the Ancestral Domains Office shall prepare a report to the NCIP endorsing a favorable action upon a claim that is deemed to have sufficient proof. However, if the proof is deemed insufficient, the Ancestral Domains Office shall require the submission of additional evidence: Provided, That the Ancestral Domains Office shall reject any claim that is deemed patently false or fraudulent after inspection and verification: Provided, further, That in case of rejection, the Ancestral Domains Office shall give the applicant due notice, copy furnished all concerned, containing the grounds for denial. The denial shall be appealable to the NCIP: Provided, furthermore, That in cases where there are conflicting claims among ICCs/IPs on the boundaries of ancestral domain claims, the Ancestral Domains Office shall cause the contending parties to meet and assist them in coming up with a preliminary resolution of the conflict, without prejudice to its full adjudication according to the section below.

i) Turnover of Areas Within Ancestral Domains Managed by Other Government Agencies. — The Chairperson of the NCIP shall certify that the area covered is an ancestral domain. The secretaries of the Department of Agrarian Reform, Department of Environment and Natural Resources, Department of the Interior and Local Government, and Department of Justice, the Commissioner of the National Development Corporation, and any other government agency claiming jurisdiction over the area shall be notified thereof. Such notification shall terminate any legal basis for the jurisdiction previously claimed;

j) Issuance of CADT. — ICCs/IPs whose ancestral domains have been officially delineated and determined by the NCIP shall be issued a CADT in the name of the community concerned, containing a list of all those identified in the census; and

k) Registration of CADTs. — The NCIP shall register issued certificates of ancestral domain titles and certificates of ancestral lands titles before the Register of Deeds in the place where the property is situated.

SECTION 53. Identification, Delineation and Certification of Ancestral Lands. —

a) The allocation of lands within any ancestral domain to individual or indigenous corporate (family or clan) claimants shall be left to the ICCs/IPs concerned to decide in accordance with customs and traditions;

b) Individual and indigenous corporate claimants of ancestral lands which are not within ancestral domains, may have their claims officially established by filing applications for the identification and delineation of their claims with the Ancestral Domains Office. An individual or recognized head of a family or clan may file such application in his behalf or in behalf of his family or clan, respectively;

c) Proofs of such claims shall accompany the application form which shall include the testimony under oath of elders of the community and other documents directly or indirectly attesting to the possession or occupation of the areas since time immemorial by the individual or corporate claimants in the concept of owners which shall be any of the authentic documents enumerated under Sec. 52 (d) of this Act, including tax declarations and proofs of payment of taxes;

d) The Ancestral Domains Office may require from each ancestral claimant the submission of such other documents, Sworn Statements and the like, which in its opinion, may shed light on the veracity of the contents of the application/claim;

e) Upon receipt of the applications for delineation and recognition of ancestral land claims, the Ancestral Domains Office shall cause the publication of the application and a copy of each document submitted including a translation in the native language of the ICCs/IPs concerned in a prominent place therein for at least fifteen (15) days. A copy of the document shall also be posted at the local, provincial, and regional offices of the NCIP and shall be published in a newspaper of general circulation once a week for two (2) consecutive weeks to allow other claimants to file opposition thereto within fifteen (15) days from the date of such publication: Provided, That in areas where no such newspaper exists, broadcasting in a radio station will be a valid substitute: Provided, further, That mere posting shall be deemed sufficient if both newspapers and radio station are not available;

f) Fifteen (15) days after such publication, the Ancestral Domains Office shall investigate and inspect each application, and if found to be meritorious, shall cause a parcellary survey of the area being

claimed. The Ancestral Domains Office shall reject any claim that is deemed patently false or fraudulent after inspection and verification. In case of rejection, the Ancestral Domains Office shall give the applicant due notice, copy furnished all concerned, containing the grounds for denial. The denial shall be appealable to the NCIP. In case of conflicting claims among individuals or indigenous corporate claimants, the Ancestral Domains Office shall cause the contending parties to meet and assist them in coming up with a preliminary resolution of the conflict, without prejudice to its full adjudication according to Sec. 62 of this Act. In all proceedings for the identification or delineation of the ancestral domains as herein provided, the Director of Lands shall represent the interest of the Republic of the Philippines; and

g) The Ancestral Domains Office shall prepare and submit a report on each and every application surveyed and delineated to the NCIP, which shall, in turn, evaluate the report submitted. If the NCIP finds such claim meritorious, it shall issue a certificate of ancestral land, declaring and certifying the claim of each individual or corporate (family or clan) claimant over ancestral lands.

SECTION 54. Fraudulent Claims. — The Ancestral Domains Office may, upon written request from the ICCs/IPs, review existing claims which have been fraudulently acquired by any person or community. Any claim found to be fraudulently acquired by, and issued to, any person or community may be cancelled by the NCIP after due notice and hearing of all parties concerned.

SECTION 55. Communal Rights. — Subject to Section 56 hereof, areas within the ancestral domains, whether delineated or not, shall be presumed to be communally held: Provided, That communal rights under this Act shall not be construed as co-ownership as provided in Republic Act No. 386, otherwise known as the New Civil Code.

SECTION 56. Existing Property Rights Regimes. — Property rights within the ancestral domains already existing and/or vested upon effectivity of this Act, shall be recognized and respected.

SECTION 57. Natural Resources within Ancestral Domains. — The ICCs/IPs shall have priority rights in the harvesting, extraction, development or exploitation of any natural resources within the ancestral domains. A non-member of the ICCs/IPs concerned may be allowed to take part in the development and utilization of the natural resources for a period of not exceeding twenty-five (25) years renewable for not more than twenty-five (25) years: Provided, That a formal and written agreement is entered into with the ICCs/IPs concerned or that the community, pursuant to its own decision making process, has agreed to allow such operation: Provided, finally, That the NCIP may exercise visitorial powers and take appropriate action to safeguard the rights of the ICCs/IPs under the same

contract.

SECTION 58. Environmental Considerations. — Ancestral domains or portions thereof, which are found to be necessary for critical watersheds, mangroves, wildlife sanctuaries, wilderness, protected areas, forest cover, or reforestation as determined by appropriate agencies with the full participation of the ICCs/IPs concerned shall be maintained, managed and developed for such purposes. The ICCs/IPs concerned shall be given the responsibility to maintain, develop, protect and conserve such areas with the full and effective assistance of government agencies. Should the ICCs/IPs decide to transfer the responsibility over the areas, said decision must be made in writing. The consent of the ICCs/IPs should be arrived at in accordance with its customary laws without prejudice to the basic requirements of existing laws on free and prior informed consent: Provided, That the transfer shall be temporary and will ultimately revert to the ICCs/IPs in accordance with a program for technology transfer: Provided, further, That no ICCs/IPs shall be displaced or relocated for the purpose enumerated under this section without the written consent of the specific persons authorized to give consent.

SECTION 59. Certification Precondition. — All departments and other governmental agencies shall henceforth be strictly enjoined from issuing, renewing, or granting any concession, license or lease, or entering into any production-sharing agreement, without prior certification from the NCIP that the area affected does not overlap with any ancestral domain. Such certification shall only be issued after a field-based investigation is conducted by the Ancestral Domains Office of the area concerned: Provided, That no certification shall be issued by the NCIP without the free and prior informed and written consent of ICCs/IPs concerned: Provided, further, That no department, government agency or government-owned or -controlled corporation may issue new concession, license, lease, or production sharing agreement while there is a pending application for a CADT: Provided, finally, That the ICCs/IPs shall have the right to stop or suspend, in accordance with this Act, any project that has not satisfied the requirement of this consultation process.

SECTION 60. Exemption from Taxes. — All lands certified to be ancestral domains shall be exempt from real property taxes, special levies, and other forms of exaction except such portion of the ancestral domains as are actually used for large-scale agriculture, commercial forest plantation and residential purposes or upon titling by private persons: Provided, That all exactions shall be used to facilitate the development and improvement of the ancestral domains.

SECTION 61. Temporary Requisition Powers. — Prior to the establishment of an institutional surveying capacity whereby it can effectively fulfill its mandate, but in no case beyond three (3) years after its creation, the NCIP is hereby authorized to request the Department of

Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) survey teams as well as other equally capable private survey teams, through a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA), to delineate ancestral domain perimeters. The DENR Secretary shall accommodate any such request within one (1) month of its issuance: Provided, That the Memorandum of Agreement shall stipulate, among others, a provision for technology transfer to the NCIP.

SECTION 62. Resolution of Conflicts. — In cases of conflicting interest, where there are adverse claims within the ancestral domains as delineated in the survey plan, and which can not be resolved, the NCIP shall hear and decide, after notice to the proper parties, the disputes arising from the delineation of such ancestral domains: Provided, That if the dispute is between and/or among ICCs/IPs regarding the traditional boundaries of their respective ancestral domains, customary process shall be followed. The NCIP shall promulgate the necessary rules and regulations to carry out its adjudicatory functions: Provided, further, That any decision, order, award or ruling of the NCIP on any ancestral domain dispute or on any matter pertaining to the application, implementation, enforcement and interpretation of this Act may be brought for Petition for Review to the Court of Appeals within fifteen (15) days from receipt of a copy thereof.

SECTION 63. Applicable Laws. — Customary laws, traditions and practices of the ICCs/IPs of the land where the conflict arises shall be applied first with respect to property rights, claims and ownerships, hereditary succession and settlement of land disputes. Any doubt or ambiguity in the application and interpretation of laws shall be resolved in favor of the ICCs/IPs.

SECTION 64. Remedial Measures. — Expropriation may be resorted to in the resolution of conflicts of interest following the principle of the "common good". The NCIP shall take appropriate legal action for the cancellation of officially documented titles which were acquired illegally: Provided, That such procedure shall ensure that the rights of possessors in good faith shall be respected: Provided, further, That the action for cancellation shall be initiated within two (2) years from the effectivity of this Act: Provided, finally, That the action for reconveyance shall be within a period of ten (10) years in accordance with existing laws.

CHAPTER IX
Jurisdiction and Procedures for Enforcement of Rights

SECTION 65. Primacy of Customary Laws and Practices. — When disputes involve ICCs/IPs, customary laws and practices shall be used to resolve the dispute.

SECTION 66. Jurisdiction of the NCIP. — The NCIP, through its regional offices, shall have jurisdiction over all claims and disputes involving rights of ICCs/IPs: Provided, however, That no such dispute shall be brought to the NCIP unless the parties have exhausted all remedies provided under

their customary laws. For this purpose, a certification shall be issued by the Council of Elders/Leaders who participated in the attempt to settle the dispute that the same has not been resolved, which certification shall be a condition precedent to the filing of a petition with the NCIP.

SECTION 67. Appeals to the Court of Appeals. — Decisions of the NCIP shall be appealable to the Court of Appeals by way of a petition for review.

SECTION 68. Execution of Decisions, Awards, Orders. — Upon expiration of the period herein provided and no appeal is perfected by any of the contending parties, the Hearing Officer of the NCIP, on its own initiative or upon motion by the prevailing party, shall issue a writ of execution requiring the sheriff or the proper officer to execute final decisions, orders or awards of the Regional Hearing Officer of the NCIP.

SECTION 69. Quasi-Judicial Powers of the NCIP. — The NCIP shall have the power and authority:

a) To promulgate rules and regulations governing the hearing and disposition of cases filed before it as well as those pertaining to its internal functions and such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

b) To administer oaths, summon the parties to a controversy, issue subpoenas requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses or the production of such books, papers, contracts, records, agreements and other document of similar nature as may be material to a just determination of the matter under investigation or hearing conducted in pursuance of this Act;

c) To hold any person in contempt, directly or indirectly, and impose appropriate penalties therefor; and

d) To enjoin any or all acts involving or arising from any case pending before it which, if not restrained forthwith, may cause grave or irreparable damage to any of the parties to the case or seriously affect social or economic activity.

SECTION 70. No Restraining Order or Preliminary Injunction. — No inferior court of the Philippines shall have jurisdiction to issue any restraining order or writ of preliminary injunction against the NCIP or any of its duly authorized or designated offices in any case, dispute or controversy arising from, necessary to, or interpretation of this Act and other pertinent laws relating to ICCs/IPs and ancestral domains.

CHAPTER X
Ancestral Domains Fund

SECTION 71. Ancestral Domains Fund. — There is hereby created a

special fund, to be known as the Ancestral Domains Fund, an initial amount of One hundred thirty million pesos (P130,000,000) to cover compensation for expropriated lands, delineation and development of ancestral domains. An amount of Fifty million pesos (P50,000,000) shall be sourced from the gross income of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office (PCSO) from its lotto operation, Ten million pesos (P10,000,000) from the gross receipts of the travel tax of the preceding year, the fund of the Social Reform Council intended for survey and delineation of ancestral lands/domains, and such other source as the government may deem appropriate. Thereafter, such amount shall be included in the annual General Appropriations Act. Foreign as well as local funds which are made available for the ICCs/IPs through the government of the Philippines shall be coursed through the NCIP. The NCIP may also solicit and receive donations, endowments and grants in the form of contributions, and such endowments shall be exempted from income or gift taxes and all other taxes, charges or fees imposed by the government or any political subdivision or instrumentality thereof.

CHAPTER XI
Penalties

SECTION 72.   Punishable Acts and Applicable Penalties. — Any person who commits violation of any of the provisions of this Act, such as, but not limited to, unauthorized and/or unlawful intrusion upon any ancestral lands or domains as stated in Sec. 10, Chapter III, or shall commit any of the prohibited acts mentioned in Sections 21 and 24, Chapter V, Section 33, Chapter VI hereof, shall be punished in accordance with the customary laws of the ICCs/IPs concerned: Provided, That no such penalty shall be cruel, degrading or inhuman punishment: Provided, further, That neither shall the death penalty or excessive fines be imposed. This provision shall be without prejudice to the right of any ICCs/IPs to avail of the protection of existing laws. In which case, any person who violates any provision of this Act shall, upon conviction, be punished by imprisonment of not less than nine (9) months but not more than twelve (12) years or a fine of not less than One hundred thousand pesos (P100,000) nor more than Five hundred thousand pesos (P500,000) or both such fine and imprisonment upon the discretion of the court. In addition, he shall be obliged to pay to the ICCs/IPs concerned whatever damage may have been suffered by the latter as a consequence of the unlawful act.

SECTION 73.   Persons Subject to Punishment. — If the offender is a juridical person, all officers such as, but not limited to, its president, manager, or head of office responsible for their unlawful act shall be criminally liable therefor, in addition to the cancellation of certificates of their registration and/or license: Provided, That if the offender is a public official, the penalty shall include perpetual disqualification to hold public office.

CHAPTER XII
Merger of the Office for Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC) and

the Office for Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC)

SECTION 74. Merger of ONCC/OSCC. — The Office for Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC) and the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), created under Executive Order Nos. 122-B and 122-C respectively, are hereby merged as organic offices of the NCIP and shall continue to function under a revitalized and strengthened structures to achieve the objectives of the NCIP: Provided, That the positions of Staff Directors, Bureau Directors, Deputy Executive Directors and Executive Directors, except positions of Regional Directors and below, are hereby phased-out upon the effectivity of this Act: Provided, further, That officials and employees of the phased-out offices who may be qualified may apply for reappointment with the NCIP and may be given prior rights in the filling up of the newly created positions of NCIP, subject to the qualifications set by the Placement Committee: Provided, furthermore, That in the case where an indigenous person and a non-indigenous person with similar qualifications apply for the same position, priority shall be given to the former. Officers and employees who are to be phased-out as a result of the merger of their offices shall be entitled to gratuity a rate equivalent to one and a half (1 ½) months salary for every year of continuous and satisfactory service rendered or the equivalent nearest fraction thereof favorable to them on the basis of the highest salary received. If they are already entitled to retirement or gratuity, they shall have the option to select either such retirement benefits or the gratuity herein provided. Officers and employees who may be reinstated shall refund such retirement benefits or gratuity received: Provided, finally, That absorbed personnel must still meet the qualifications and standards set by the Civil Service and the Placement Committee herein created.

SECTION 75. Transition Period. — The ONCC/OSCC shall have a period of six (6) months from the effectivity of this Act within which to wind up its affairs and to conduct audit of its finances.

SECTION 76. Transfer of Assets/Properties. — All real and personal properties which are vested in, or belonging to, the merged offices as aforestated shall be transferred to the NCIP without further need of conveyance, transfer or assignment and shall be held for the same purpose as they were held by the former offices: Provided, That all contracts, records and documents relating to the operations of the merged offices shall be transferred to the NCIP. All agreements and contracts entered into by the merged offices shall remain in full force and effect unless otherwise terminated, modified or amended by the NCIP.

SECTION 77. Placement Committee. — Subject to rules on government reorganization, a Placement Committee shall be created by the NCIP, in coordination with the Civil Service Commission, which shall assist in the judicious selection and placement of personnel in order that the best qualified and most deserving persons shall be appointed in the reorganized agency. The Placement Committee shall be composed of seven (7) commissioners and an ICCs'/IPs' representative from each of the first and second level employees association in the Offices for

Northern and Southern Cultural Communities (ONCC/OSCC), nongovernment organizations (NGOs) who have served the community for at least five (5) years and peoples organizations (POs) with at least five (5) years of existence. They shall be guided by the criteria of retention and appointment to be prepared by the consultative body and by the pertinent provisions of the civil service law.

CHAPTER XIII
Final Provisions

SECTION 78.   Special Provision. — The City of Baguio shall remain to be governed by its Charter and all lands proclaimed as part of its townsite reservation shall remain as such until otherwise reclassified by appropriate legislation: Provided, That prior land rights and titles recognized and/or acquired through any judicial, administrative or other processes before the effectivity of this Act shall remain valid: Provided, further, That this provision shall not apply to any territory which becomes part of the City of Baguio after the effectivity of this Act.

SECTION 79. Appropriations. — The amount necessary to finance the initial implementation of this Act shall be charged against the current year's appropriation of the ONCC and the OSCC. Thereafter, such sums as may be necessary for its continued implementation shall be included in the annual General Appropriations Act.

SECTION 80. Implementing Rules and Regulations. — Within sixty (60) days immediately after appointment, the NCIP shall issue the necessary rules and regulations, in consultation with the Committees on National Cultural Communities of the House of Representatives and the Senate, for the effective implementation of this Act.

SECTION 81. Saving Clause. — This Act will not in any manner adversely affect the rights and benefits of the ICCs/IPs under other conventions, recommendations, international treaties, national laws, awards, customs and agreements.

SECTION 82.   Separability Clause. — In case any provision of this Act or any portion thereof is declared unconstitutional by a competent court, other provisions shall not be affected thereby.

SECTION 83. Repealing Clause. — Presidential Decree No. 410, Executive Order Nos. 122-B and 122-C, and all other laws, decrees, orders, rules and regulations or parts thereof inconsistent with this Act are hereby repealed or modified accordingly.

SECTION 84. Effectivity. — This Act shall take effect fifteen (15) days upon its publication in the Official Gazette or in any two (2) newspapers of general circulation.
Approved: October 29, 1997

ANNEX 3: Sample Memorandum of Agreement between and an Indigenous Community and a transnational corporation

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

This Memorandum of Agreement (hereinafter the "Agreement") entered into by and among:

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES ("UP"), the national university of the Philippines, a public and secular institution of higher learning, created by virtue of Act No. 1870, as amended, and reorganized and operating by virtue of Republic Act No. 9500, with office address at 2nd Floor (North Wing) Quezon Hall, UP Diliman, Quezon City represented herein by its President, **ALFREDO E. PASCUAL**;

KENNEMER FOODS INTERNATIONAL ("KFI"), a corporation organized and existing under Philippine laws, with address at Purok 3, Calinan, Davao City represented herein by its President, **SIMON A. BAKKER**;

THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES BELONGING TO THE OBU/MANUVU-TAHAWROG TRIBE ("Obu Manuvu TRIBE"), collective holders of the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT), which includes the Land Reservation in Marilog District, Davao City, under the stewardship and administration of UP, represented herein by **DATU LUIS A. LAMBAC, SR.**, their duly authorized representative in accordance with tribe's customs and traditions, and by virtue of its community resolution attached hereto as *Annex "A"*.

-and-

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ("NCIP"), a government agency under the Office of the President, created by virtue of Republic Act No. 8371 or the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997, and mandated to protect and promote the interest and well-being of the Indigenous Peoples with due regard to their beliefs, customs, traditions and institutions, with address at Elias B. Lopez St., Sandawa Plaza, Matina SIR, Davao City and represented in this act by its Regional Director for Region XI, **DR. LILIBETH D. MALABANAN.**

RECITALS:

WHEREAS, Presidential Proclamation No. 1253 dated 15 June 1998 was signed by then President Fidel V. Ramos reserving a parcel of land located at Marilog, Davao City (hereinafter referred to as the Marilog Land Reservation) for research, extension and instruction purposes, watershed and forest rehabilitation and protection, biodiversity (flora and fauna) conservation, crops and livestock production and management, including, upland communities training and development center under the administration of UP Mindanao, a constituent university of the University of the Philippines (*Annex"B"*);

WHEREAS, prior to the issuance of Presidential Proclamation No. 1253, the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) had issued tenurial instruments

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granting certain rights to utilize the area for a long-term period to individuals or organizations;

WHEREAS, Presidential Proclamation No. 1253 provides that "all Indigenous Peoples (IPs) located inside the reservation shall not in any way waive or transfer their claims/rights to the land";

WHEREAS, said Presidential Proclamation further provides "that all beneficiaries of existing tenurial rights/claims located inside the reservation prior this Proclamation shall be respected and accommodated for their long-term security and stability";

WHEREAS, on 12 November 2008, the Obu Manuvu Tribe was granted a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) embracing an ancestral domain which includes the entire Marilog Land Reservation under the administration of UP Mindanao, thus, vesting upon the Obu Manuvu Tribe the right "to have and hold in ownership", as well as, "to develop, control, manage and utilize" their ancestral domain (*Annex "C"*);

WHEREAS, UP, in the development of the Marilog Land Reservation, is committed and dedicated to the enhancement of the common good of the indigenous cultural communities in the area, as well as, to the protection and conservation of its natural resources;

WHEREAS, UP, through its constituent university, UP Mindanao, in the exercise of its management function as steward of the Marilog Land Reservation, has the right to link/partner with proper private and government entities and organizations and the indigenous peoples and other individuals for the purpose of introducing suitable agro-forestry and other projects in the area and consequently, uplifting the economic conditions of the local community;

WHEREAS, in recognition of the Obu Manuvu Tribe's ownership over the Marilog Land Reservation, UP hereby respects the tribe's rights inherent to property ownership which includes the right to use and the right to enjoy the fruits. Likewise, UP hereby respects the Obu Manuvu Tribe's rights to its ancestral domain as enshrined in Republic Act No. 8371 or the Indigenous People's Rights Act (IPRA);

WHEREAS, KFI is engaged in corporate and contract-farming of various agricultural crops, including but not limited to cacao, and has the technology, management expertise, and marketing capability required to plant, cultivate, harvest, market, and export agricultural crops;

WHEREAS, KFI is interested in becoming a partner in the development of the Marilog Land Reservation by establishing thereon, and developing it into, an agro-forestry plantation of up to an aggregate total of 200 hectares ("Development Area");

WHEREAS, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, as the registered holder of the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) which covers the Marilog Land Reservation, agrees to a multi-partnership endeavor aimed at the development of an agro-forestry within its ancestral domain through a "*sulat hangyo*" (solicited project/letter request) passed by its governing council addressed to NCIP-XI (*Annex "D"*);

WHEREAS, the selected elders and leaders and IP members at Sitio Ladian, Marilog, Marilog District, confirmed and validated said "*sulat hangyo*" through a Community Resolution passed for this purpose (*Annex "A"*);

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WHEREAS, RA 8371 (IPRA) and its Implementing Rules and Regulations (IRR) requires the Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) of the concerned indigenous peoples before any project is introduced in any area covered by the ancestral domain in accordance with the procedures laid down under NCIP Administrative Order (AO) No. 3, series of 2012 or "The Revised Guidelines on Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) and Related Processes of 2012";

WHEREAS, in compliance with the aforementioned law and administrative order, a series of consultative meetings by all concerned parties was held, apart from a string of consensus building processes separately undertaken by the Obu Manuvu Tribe in accordance with their customary laws and practices, which resulted in the tribe's collective decision and stand to grant, as it did, its FPIC in favor of KFI to undertake the agro-forestry development program (*Annex "E"*);

WHEREAS, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, during its meeting held on 25 March 2013, passed a Resolution confirming that it has agreed to the terms and conditions of the partnership for the agro-forestry development project which are embodied in this MOA, including the revenue sharing, benefits and other considerations (*Annex "F"*);

WHEREAS, in the same resolution, the Obu Manuvu Tribe has designated Datu Luis A. Lambac, Sr. to be its duly authorized representative, in accordance with its customs and traditions, to submit, transact, negotiate, follow-up and sign this MOA;

NOW, THEREFORE, for and in consideration of the above premises, their mutual consents herein set forth, the parties have agreed to the following terms and conditions:

ARTICLE I – LAND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Section 1.1 The Development Area shall be strictly and exclusively used for agro-forestry development (the "Project"). Agro-forestry development shall refer to the management of forestlands that increases their productivity by proper combination of forest trees and agricultural crops (annual, biennial, and perennial crops) including livestock, simultaneously or sequentially over time through the application of compatible management practices. The selection and use of agro-forestry crops shall be determined based on site suitability, existing technology, cultural considerations, and market potential, among others. The Agro-Forestry Development Program (ADP) prepared by KFI is hereto attached as **Appendix 1.**

The ADP for the Development Area contains, among others, the timetable for the development of the area, strategies and activities to be undertaken in the establishment and development of agro-forestry farms and plantations; funding source(s); production, marketing, and profit sharing schemes; research, extension, and instruction facilities; training and development of communities in the Development Area; rehabilitation and protection of the forest/s and watershed/s in the Development Area; and protection of bio-diversity found in the Development Area.

Section 1.2 In the selection of suitable crops, the control maps of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and the Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO) will be used as guides. Moreover, the development must be consistent with the Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan (ADSDPP) to be formulated by the Obu Manuvu Tribe. The ADSDPP shall incorporate the ADP which is an integral part of this Agreement. The Project shall not involve the conversion of existing forests or the cutting of any naturally-growing trees.

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Section 1.3   KFI shall establish and develop, in accordance with the ADP, an agro-forestry plantation in the Development Area which shall consist of not more than two hundred (200) hectares of contiguous plantable hectarage from the areas held or occupied by the individual members of the Obu Manuvu Tribe or the tenurial holders who shall individually grant their consent to the development of their respective areas as shall be shown and indicated by their signatures in the master list that the Committee created under Section 1.4 hereof shall generate and submit to KFI within three (3) months from the date of signing of this Agreement. Once secured, the master list shall become an integral part of this Agreement.

Plantable hectarage is herein defined as the area determined by KFI as usable for planting crops. Plantable hectarage shall be calculated as gross available hectarage less unusable/unplantable hectarage (e.g. roads, bodies of water, disputed hectarage, etc.).

Section 1.4   There shall be created a Committee composed of the Obu Manuvu Tribe, UP, NCIP, KFI and other appropriate government agencies tasked to, among others, validate the tenurial claims on, and identify other landholders of, the Development Area. The Committee shall furnish KFI with a list of or other pertinent data on the concerned Obu Manuvu members and tenurial holders, their individual areas and locations, among others. The other functions of the Committee are provided in Section 6.2 hereunder.

ARTICLE II – TERM

Section 2.1   This Agreement shall be for a term of twenty-five (25) years commencing from the date of signing by all parties of this Agreement. It may be renewed for the same or other period upon a written agreement of the parties executed at least one (1) year before the end of the original term.

ARTICLE III – REVENUE SHARING, BENEFITS AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Section 3.1   In consideration of the use of the Development Area by KFI for the Project, KFI shall pay UP Mindanao and the Obu Manuvu Tribe a share equivalent to 2% and 4%, respectively, of the gross revenue, or a total of 6% of the gross revenues, that KFI earns from the sale of cacao, cardaba, and any other crops planted and cultivated in the Development Area.

Section 3.2   The 4% share of the Obu Manuvu Tribe shall be deposited by KFI in a government bank in the name/account of the tribe which shall be represented by its members to be chosen and identified in a tribal assembly. The funds so deposited shall be allocated as follows: 90% to the tribe members and tenurial holders included in the master list prepared under Section 1.3 and 10% to the identified programs and projects under the tribe's ADSDPP. The Committee created under Section 1.4 shall disburse the funds allocated to the concerned land owners and tenurial holders pursuant to Section 6.2. Funds allocated for the programs and projects of the tribe shall be disbursed by the Committee only upon submission of a proposal and the passing of an appropriate resolution by the tribe.

Section 3.3   For crops or any agricultural products other than cacao, gross revenue means total revenue arising from sale of these crops/agricultural products in their original or unprocessed state, before taxes, and without deductions, such as, for cost of production or other business expenses.

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Gross revenue is computed based on the yield (harvest), in its unprocessed state, multiplied by the actual price received.

For cacao, gross revenue means the total revenue arising from the sale of the dried cacao beans, before taxes, and without deductions, such as for the cost of production or other business expenses except for transportation or delivery charges. Transportation/delivery charges only include expenses from the Philippines (Davao) as point of origin to its destination where such transportation or delivery charges are included in the selling price of the cacao beans.

Also for cacao, gross revenue shall be computed based on the quantity harvested and sold in metric tons of dried cacao beans multiplied by (a) the actual price received from KFI's trading affiliates, or (b) 85% of the prevailing world price as of the date when the harvest is sold, whichever is higher. The world price shall be the daily price in US dollar per metric ton as posted in the ICCO DAILY PRICES OF COCOA BEANS of the International Cocoa Organization (ICCO) appearing in the webpage *http://www.icco.org/statistics/cocoa-prices/daily-prices.html*. The ICCO daily price for dried cocoa beans is the average of the quotations of the nearest three active futures trading months on NYSE Liffe Futures and Options and ICE Futures US at the time of London close. The US dollar gross revenue shall be converted to Philippine pesos using the exchange rate as of the date the harvest is sold as posted by the Treasury Department of the Bangko Sentral ng Pilipinas in its Reference Exchange Rate Bulletin appearing in the webpage *http://www.bsp.gov.ph/statistics/sdds/exchrate.htm*. It is understood that as and when the reference provided for herein for the world price or the exchange rate is no longer available, its successor reference or an appropriate new reference shall be used as agreed upon by the parties to this Agreement.

Section 3.4   All revenue share payments shall be made semi-annually or twice a year, i.e., on the first working day of April (to cover the period July to December) and the first working day of October (to cover the period January to June). KFI shall submit a report on its gross earnings for the immediately preceding semi-annual period to UP, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, and NCIP, identifying the gross revenues from each kind of crop (annual, biennial, perennial). Together with such report, KFI shall remit the appropriate share to each party.

Section 3.5   A production incentive share equivalent to 2% of the gross revenue that KFI earns from the sale of cacao, cardaba, and any other crops planted and cultivated in the Development Area shall be given to the rank-and-file workers of the corporate farm. Rank-and-file workers refer to the non-executive and non-managerial farm workers employed by KFI for the Project. This production share is over and above their basic salary and mandatory benefits.

For this purpose, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, UP, and KFI shall set up a Production Incentive Fund, and shall jointly administer and decide on the method and distribution of the production incentive payment.

Section 3.6   Beginning on the third (3rd) year of this Agreement and in the succeeding years thereafter, the aggregate revenue share payable consisting of the combined total under Sections 3.1 and 3.5 above, shall not be less than Php10,000.00 for every producing hectare, computed based on the actual number of hectares planted. The amount payable shall be shared among UP, the tribe, and the rank-and-file workers according to their respective revenue share of 2%, 4% and 2% (e.g. out of an aggregate revenue share of Php10,000, PhP2,500 goes to UP, PhP5,000 to the tribe, and PHP2,500 to the rank-and-file workers). The aggregate revenue share shall be increased by five percent (5%) on the fifth year and every three years thereafter.

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Section 3.7   An upfront payment of Php2,000 for every hectare, or a total of Pesos Four Hundred Thousand (Php400,000) shall be made within sixty (60) days after the signing of this Memorandum of Agreement, to be distributed in accordance with the sharing given in Sections 3.1 and 3.5 herein, and subject to the submission to KFI of the master list provided for in Section 1.3.

ARTICLE IV – OBLIGATIONS OF THE PARTIES

Section 4.1   KENNEMER FOODS INTERNATIONAL, INC.

KFI shall:

a. Implement the Agro-Forestry Development Program (ADP) for the Development Area.

b. Develop the Development Area strictly in accordance with the ADP and this Agreement without prejudice to any amendments that may be mutually agreed upon by the parties through a written instrument executed for that purpose.

c. Establish an agro-forestry plantation for cacao, cardaba and other crops in the Development Area in accordance with the ADP and this Agreement.

d. Provide mitigating measures relative to the project that will ensure environmental sustainability.

e. Pay the respective revenue shares of UP, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, and the rank and file workers, including the upfront payment in accordance with Article III.

KFI shall be relieved of its obligations under Section 4.1.e and its obligations shall be considered suspended, if and when an unforeseen and/or unavoidable event (or *force majeure* defined as any circumstance beyond the control of the parties, which directly prevent the parties from performing their obligations) materially affects the production and/or the income-generating capacity of the Development Area or a portion thereof. Relief of KFI from said obligations shall be based on an assessment undertaken by the Committee created under Section 1.4 to evaluate the effects of the *force majeure* and to determine the extent of the damage and its implication on the production. The Committee shall set the appropriate guidelines/criteria for a declaration that KFI is exempted from paying the shares and to determine the extent or duration of suspension of payment if such be the case, and when the payment will resume. Partial payment may be an option in cases where the calamity and its effects are not so severe.

KFI shall send a written notice to the Committee as well as to UP, through its constituent university, UP Mindanao, the Obu Manuvu Tribe and the rank-and-file workers, and NCIP of such an occurrence. The Committee shall conduct an assessment using the established guidelines. The parties, through the Committee, will immediately convene and mutually agree on the length of the suspension, or the amount of partial payment, especially taking into consideration the required period of time for the affected portion of the Development Area to recover its production or income-generating capacity.

f. Furnish UP, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, the NCIP, and the Committee with financial statements and related documents in such form that they may reasonably require

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from time to time, and agree to a reconciliation of accounts when so requested by any of the parties.

g. Provide additional benefits to the Obu Manuvu Tribe as follows:

1. Extend financial support to the Obu Manuvu Tribe for the formulation of its ADSDPP in the amount of Php 10,000.00 on the second year of operation.

2. Provide annual financial contribution for the purchase of materials for the School of Living Traditions starting on the third year of operation.

3. Provide honoraria for TESDA and other government personnel deployed to conduct certain skills-based trainings from time to time related to, or necessary for, the operations of the farm in the Development Area. KFI shall collaborate in this endeavor with NCIP considering the existence of the MOA between the NCIP and TESDA on the subject.

4. Extend assistance to the Obu Manuvu Tribe in setting up and maintaining its plant and seedling nursery for the propagation of forest trees, plantation crops (except cacao), vegetables and ornamental plants starting on the second year of operation.

5. Set up a scholarship program to cover tuition fees for an agricultural degree of at least two (2) children originating from the Obu Manuvu Tribe at a Mindanao-based educational institution every two (2) years starting on the second year of operation.

6. Extend assistance either financial or in-kind in the procurement of some of the school supplies for the Tribe's Kindergarten, Elementary and High School.

7. Hold an Annual Medical and Dental Mission starting on the third year of operation.

8. Extend support in tribal village building projects by contributing materials provisions for building and construction needs.

9. Subject to the company's employment policies, give priority to potential workers who are members of the Obu Manuvu Tribe to work in KFI's corporate farms. KFI shall likewise give highest priority to the hiring of qualified workers from among the members of the Obu Manuvu Tribe. Whenever such labor need arises, KFI shall communicate its manpower requirements to UP which shall, in turn, convey the same to the tribe, through its Ladian Farmers Multi-Purpose Cooperative, to select the members to be recommended for hiring.

10. Offer the Obu Manuvu Tribe the option of entering into contract growing agreements with KFI on top of and outside the 200-hectare Development Area comprising a total area equivalent to at least 10% of the managed farm area (or 20 hectares), the terms of which are, among others: (1) the members will plant, cultivate and care for the trees, plants, and crops to be determined by KFI, and sell the crop yield or products exclusively to KFI; (2) KFI shall provide training, supervision, and planting materials at regular planting density; and (3) KFI shall purchase from the contract growers the crop yield or products at market prices.

h. Introduce improvements in accordance with the Agro-Forestry Development Plan with the consent of UP and the Obu Manuvu Tribe, and remove at its expense all

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machineries within six (6) months from expiration or termination of this Agreement. All buildings and permanent structures and fixtures shall be owned by and turned over to UP without need of any consideration.

i. Be prohibited from transferring, exchanging, selling or conveying its rights or obligations under this Agreement nor any assets used in connection with the Agro-Foresty development, unless it is with prior written consent of UP as confirmed by the UP Board of Regents, and the Obu Manuvu Tribe.

j. Pay all taxes, assessments and other government fees and charges, national and local, related to and arising from this Agreement, the ADP, and the crops and improvements introduced by KFI. None of these shall be borne by UP nor by the Obu Manuvu Tribe.

k. Maintain a satisfactory working relationship with the workers committed to the project and abide by the applicable laws, rules, regulations, city ordinances, and social legislations and strictly respect relevant customs, traditions, indigenous knowledge skills and practices (IKSP) of the tribe insofar as they pertain to farm operations.

l. Be cognizant at all times of local and national environmental laws in the development of its project pursuant to the ADP.

m. Provide its own security guard(s)/ security system(s) for the protection of the Development Area at its own cost and expense, subject to the liability clause found in Article VIII hereunder.

n. Secure all necessary consents and authorizations from the NCIP, including the indigenous people's Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) to the project subject of this Agreement. Once secured, the Certificate of Pre-Condition shall from an integral part of this Agreement.

o. Secure the consent of concerned parties, i.e, the tribe members and/or tenurial holders within the designated Development Area, with the assistance of the Obu Manuvu Tribe and UP in order to ensure that KFI may exercise all its rights and obligations under this Agreement, particularly the development, use and management of all areas covered by the Development Area, as well as, for the purpose of including their areas within the coverage of the Project pursuant to this Agreement.

p. Assist the Obu Manuvu Tribe in the regulation of the free entry and passage of migrants within the territory and allow such Obu Manuvu migrants to pass through any of the roads leading through the Development Area provided the appropriate security policies, which are aimed at protecting the safety of the commercial crops, are followed.

q. Render assistance in the event of calamities/disasters in the community; and,

r. Secure membership in organizations requiring ethical standards in agroforestry development.

Section 4.2   **UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES (through its Constituent University, UP Mindanao)**

The University of the Philippines through its constituent university UP Mindanao shall:

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a. Assist KFI, together with the Obu Manuvu Tribe, in securing the proper consent of any party, i.e, the tribe members and/or tenurial holders within the designated Development Area in order to ensure that KFI may exercise all its rights and obligations under this Agreement, particularly the development, use and management of the Development Area.

b. Assist the Obu Manuvu Tribe in ensuring the Project's social acceptance among the tribe members and their compliance with the terms and conditions of this Agreement.

c. Lead the Committee which will monitor the progress of the Project as set forth in Article VI. Technical assistance shall be continuously provided to ensure adherence by the parties concerned with the provisions of this Agreement and applicable laws, standards, procedures, rules and regulations of the DENR, the local government unit/s concerned, and other government agencies.

d. Make available to KFI such research facilities and technical experts as may be necessary for the Project, subject to UP rules, regulations and policies; provided, that any expenses that may be incurred in connection with the use of the facilities and the work of the technical experts shall be borne solely by KFI.

e. Inform KFI, the Obu Manuvu Tribe and NCIP of developments or amendments in UP policies, programs and projects to ensure consistency of understanding of sustainable management concerning sustainable land reservations management.

Section 4.3 THE OBU MANUVU TRIBE

The Obu Manuvu Tribe shall:

a. Upon the execution of this Agreement, grant to KFI: (1) access to and custody of the Development Area and (2) all rights as a usufructuary over the Development Area, for the term of this Agreement, to the extent necessary to enable KFI to undertake the development and management of the Development Area pursuant to this Agreement. The Obu Manuvu Tribe shall maintain KFI in the peaceful, undisturbed, unimpeded, and continuous possession and use of the Development Area during the entire term of this Agreement, including any renewal or extension thereof.

b. Warrant KFI's right to enter and remain in the Development Area at any time for the duration of this Agreement, and any extension(s) or renewal(s) thereof. The Obu Manuvu Tribe further warrants to refrain from doing any act which may be inimical or prejudicial to the interest or operations of KFI in the Development Area, and from constructing and/or planting thereon without informing and securing the written consent of KFI.

c. Grant the necessary rights of way and other forms or easements to KFI for the purpose of using existing (or constructing new or additional) roads, irrigation and drainage ditches, telephone and power lines, and other installations/improvements, as may be determined necessary by KFI.

d. Allow KFI exclusive use of the Development Area. The Obu Manuvu Tribe shall not transfer or encumber the Development Area or any portion of its rights, title, or interest therein without prior written notice to KFI, and without disclosing to the third party the existence and contents of this Agreement. In any event, the contract with the third party will contain a condition for it to respect this Agreement.

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e. Ensure the Project's social acceptance among the tribe members and their compliance with the terms and conditions of this Agreement.

f. Exert best efforts to ensure the safety and protection of all parties involved in the development of the described area;

g. Coordinate with UP and the NCIP in securing the necessary consents and approvals of concerned parties, i.e., Obu Manuvu Tribe members and/or tenurial holders within the identified Development Area or any government agency for the purpose of including their areas within the coverage of the Project pursuant to this Agreement.

h. Participate in the forest conservation and sustainable development. The tribe shall ensure that the development plan for this purpose shall comply with the limitations and conditions imposed by Presidential Proclamation 1253 with respect to the rights and claims of existing occupants and comply with Republic Act No. 8371 (IPRA);

i. Coordinate with UP in securing from the NCIP the approval of the tribe's Free and Prior Informed Consent to the Project.

j. Facilitate the acquisition of the consent of the tribe members and tenurial holders within the designated Development Area in order to ensure that KFI may exercise all its rights and obligations under this Agreement, particularly as regards the development, use and management of all areas within the Development Area. It shall coordinate with the Committee in this endeavor as a member thereof.

k. Extend any assistance required for the implementation of the development phase.

l. Cooperate with KFI in all programs as stipulated in this MOA, where tribe members will be given preference in employment opportunities in the Project, including allied services, provided that the members qualify for the jobs and/or services available as determined by KFI.

m. Be responsible for the distribution of their 4% revenue share to all rightful claimants in accordance with Sections 3.1 and 3.5.

Section 4.4   THE NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The NCIP shall:

a. Protect and promote the interest and well-being of the Indigenous Peoples with due regard to their beliefs, customs, traditions and institutions.

b. Ensure that all the terms and conditions stipulated in this Agreement shall be respected and implemented. It may impose sanctions or penalties for non-compliance with and/or violations of the same.

c. Conduct visitation of sites/areas of the project in relation to the programs of KFI in order to safeguard the conditions and well-being of the IPs.

d. Prepare the Work and Financial Plan (WFP) for the monitoring activities in compliance with its visitorial power and submit the same to KFI for the funding requirements.

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ARTICLE V - POSTING OF BOND

Section 5.1   Pursuant to Section 23 of NCIP AO No. 3, Series of 2012, before the start of any activity to implement the project, KFI shall deposit a cash bond with NCIP in the amount of ONE HUNDRED PESOS (Php 100.00) PER HECTARE, to answer for damages, violation of terms and conditions which the Obu Manuvu Tribe may suffer and claim on account of the said project. The amount of the bond has been agreed upon by the Obu Manuvu Tribe per Resolution attached herewith as *Annex "G"*.

ARTICLE VI – MONITORING, FUND UTILIZATION AND PROVISION OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

Section 6.1 UP and the NCIP having the visitorial power shall monitor the progress of the project. Technical assistance shall be continuously provided to ensure adherence by the parties herein with the provisions of this Agreement and applicable laws, and the standards, procedures, rules, and regulations of the DENR, NCIP, the local government unit/s concerned, and other government agencies.

Section 6.2 The Committee created under Section 1.4 above shall be headed by UP. It shall monitor the progress and development of the area, manage the distribution of the revenue shares and other incentives for each claimants/holders, provide avenues for mediation and settlement of disputes among the members of the tribal community affected by the development and provide channels to thresh out and address other concerns of the tribal community relating to the Project.

ARTICLE VII –CERTIFICATION PRE-CONDITION

Section 7.1   Upon signing of this agreement, KFI, with the assistance of UP through the Land Management Officer of UP Mindanao, shall secure from the NCIP the Certification Pre-Condition. Once secured, the Certification Pre-Condition shall form an integral part of this Agreement.

ARTICLE VIII – LIABILITY

Section 8.1   KFI assumes full responsibility for the acts, omissions, or negligence of its employees, workers, and agents, as well as for all other persons doing work under this Agreement.

KFI shall hold UP and the Obu Manuvu Tribe free and harmless from liabilities, losses, damages and injuries and all expenses of whatever kind and nature arising from and by reason of this Agreement, due to its negligence, act, omission, delay, conduct, breach of trust of, or non-observance or violation of this Agreement, or those of its employees, agents, and representatives.

ARTICLE IX – ARBITRATION

Section 9.1   Any person who willfully violates or fails to comply with his/her duty or obligation under the provisions of this Agreement may be dealt with in accordance with the customary laws and practices of the concerned indigenous cultural community and sanctions may be imposed in accordance herewith. However, any complaint involving the

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interpretation and implementation of this Agreement and any revisions thereof shall be filed with the appropriate NCIP Regional Hearing Office for proper resolution.

Section 9.2   Once any dispute between the parties cannot be mutually settled, the dispute shall be submitted to arbitration pursuant to the rules provided in R.A. No. 9285, otherwise known as the "Alternative Dispute Resolution Law", and the decision shall be binding on both parties.

ARTICLE X – PRE-TERMINATION

Section 10.1   UP and the Obu Manuvu Tribe may jointly terminate this Agreement upon notice to KFI of any of the following events:

a. Failure of KFI to develop the designated area in accordance with the ADP or other development phase, or to fulfill or perform any one of its duties, obligations or responsibilities in this Agreement, which failure is not settled within thirty (30) Days from receipt of the written notice from UP, the Obu Manuvu Tribe and/or the NCIP;

b. Any assignment by KFI of any interest in this Agreement or delegation of its obligations without the written consent of UP and the Obu Manuvu Tribe;

c. Conviction in a court of competent jurisdiction of a principal officer or major stockholder of KFI for any violation of law that, in UP's charter, rules and policies, and in the Obu Manuvu Tribe's customary laws and traditions, will adversely affect the operation or business of KFI or the good name, goodwill, or reputation of UP and the Obu Manuvu Tribe;

d. Submission by KFI to UP, the Obu Manuvu Tribe, the NCIP or the Committee of fraudulent reports or statements.

Section 10.2   KFI may terminate this Agreement upon written notice to UP and the Obu Manuvu Tribe in case any of the latter two parties fails to fulfill or perform any one of its duties, obligations or responsibilities in this Agreement, which failure is not settled within thirty (30) days from receipt of the written notice from KFI.

Section 10.3   Pre-termination of this Agreement for any cause shall relieve the parties of all their respective duties and obligations under this Agreement, except those accruing prior to the pre-termination which shall be settled and paid within thirty (30) days from receipt of written demand.

ARTICLE XI – AMENDMENTS/ PARTIAL INVALIDITY

Section 11.1   All amendments or revisions of any provision of this Agreement shall be upon the prior written mutual consent of all parties subject to the execution of an appropriate instrument for the purpose;

Section 11.2   If any of the provisions in this agreement is declared by a competent court or quasi-judicial body to be null and void or unenforceable, the remaining provisions not affected by the defects shall nevertheless continue to be in full force and effect without being impaired or invalidated in any way.

ARTICLE XII – COMPLIANCE IN GOOD FAITH

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Section 12.1 All the parties to this agreement hereby bind themselves to exercise utmost good faith in the performance of their duties, particularly on those directly affecting the Project and other related activities.

ARTICLE XIII – TRANSLATION INTO LOCAL DIALECT

Section 13.1 This Agreement is explained in the vernacular and in a dialect common to all parties and is entered into voluntarily by all the parties herein, without force or duress, under NCIP supervision.

ARTICLE XIV – NOTICES

Section 14.1 All notices, requests, consents, and other documents required under this Agreement shall be given or served either by personal delivery, in writing, by facsimile through registered mail or sent through reputable courier services, return receipt requested, postage prepaid and properly addressed to the party or its designated agent/representative. Notices shall be addressed to the following and shall be deemed served or given:

To the UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES:

The President of the University
Through: The Chancellor
University of the Philippines Mindanao
Mintal, Davao City

To KFI:

SIMON A. BAKKER
President
Penaño St., Calinan, Davao City

To the OBU/MANUVU-TAHAWROG TRIBE:

DATU LUIS A. LAMBAC, SR.
Marilog, Davao City

To the NCIP:

DR. LILIBETH D. MALABANAN
Regional Director
Valeroso Bldg., Lopez St., Sandawa Plaza, Davao City

ARTICLE XV - GENERAL PROVISIONS

Section 15.1 This Agreement is non-transferable.

Section 15.2 In case of merger, reorganization, transfer of rights, acquisition by another entity, joint venture or the like on the part of KFI, a new FPIC process shall be conducted and a new MOA shall be made to cover the new obligations and stipulations.

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Section 15.3   KFI commits itself to abide by the requirements and provisions of RA 8371 (IPRA), its Implementing Rules and Regulations, and Administrative Orders of the NCIP.

ARTICLE XVI – ENTIRE CONTRACT

Section 16.1   The parties acknowledge that this Agreement constitutes the entire Agreement between them and shall supersede all other previous communications or contracts, oral or written, between and among the Parties with respect to the subject matter thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have affixed their signatures this _____ day of _____ 2013 at Davao City, Philippines.

UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES

ALFREDO E. PASCUAL
President

KENNEMER FOODS INTERNATIONAL, INC.

SIMON A. BAKKER
President

OBU/MANUVU-TAHAWROG TRIBE

DATU LUIS A. LAMBAC, SR.
Chairman/Authorized Representative

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

DR. LILIBETH D. MALABANAN
Regional Director, NCIP

Signed in the presence of:

DR. SYLVIA B. CONCEPCION
Chancellor, UP Mindanao

GUADALUPE C. OCIAL
KFI Area Manager

CRISTITO D. INGAY
Provincial Officer, NCIP Davao City Provincial Office

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

REPUBLIC OF THE PHILIPPINES)
CITY OF DAVAO) S.S.
x---/

BEFORE ME, a Notary Public for and in the City of Davao, personally appeared:

NAME	GIID No.	DATE & PLACE ISSUED
Alfredo E. Pascual		
Simon A. Bakker	Passport R N° ABLCF80	
Datu Luis A. Lambac, Sr.	TIN # 179-375-200	
Dr. Lilibeth D. Malabanan	TIN# 85-532-45	

all known to me to be the same persons who executed the foregoing instrument, consisting of sixteen (16) pages including the pages wherein the acknowledgements are written and its annexes, duly signed by the parties together with their instrumental witnesses, and they acknowledged to me that the same is their own true act and deed.

WITNESS MY HAND AND SEAL, this _____ day of **NOV 2 1 2013** at Davao City, Philippines.

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Series of 2013

EDWIN O. MENDOZA
Commission No. 057-2012
Notary Public - City of Davao
Until 31 December 2013
PTR No. 2426876 · Davao City · Jan. 4, 2013
IBP No. 884568 · Davao City · Jan. 4, 2013
Roll of Attorneys No. 38746

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