BAKUN ANCESTRAL DOMAIN
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
AND PROTECTION PLAN
(ADSDPP)

Formulated by the Kankanaey-Bago people of Bakun, under the leadership
of their People’s Organization, the Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization
(BITO)

with the assistance and support of the National Commission on Indigenous
People (NCIP), Cordillera Administrative Region, in particular Atok Service
Center;

with funding support from the Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resource
Management Program (CHARMP),

and with the participation of partner agencies in the CHARMP, specially the
Department of Environment and Natural Resources and the municipal
government of Bakun.

Edited by Gary A. Pekas
March 2004
EDITOR’S NOTE

Working with the people of Bakun to come up with a document such as this has been a rewarding experience, though at times one would feel insignificant amid the magnitude of what should be included in an ADSDPP.

The end-product leaves much to be desired, that’s for sure, but to keep adding to it and refining it is much like going to the end of the horizon. No matter how far you go, the end just recedes to the distance.

This ADSDPP is a continuation of what was begun, and just a transition as the people of Bakun, and those that assist them, explore their horizon.

The material written was mostly taken from numerous workshops with community people. Their sharing was the basis of most statements in this ADSDPP, though there were some we lifted from documents (and footnoted as such). The wealth of information that the participants in the workshop have shared have not all been included, and we apologize for that.

We also note that while the material is from workshop participants, it is entirely possible that they have gathered their knowledge from other sources that might be missed in the footnotes. Should this have happened, we hope to convey that it was not the intention at all. Certainly, future editions of this document must acknowledge sources that we have missed in this one.

Nevertheless, we hope that the material as written is appreciated as the Bakun people’s output, and the editor hopes that the way it is written is coherent, relevant and informative.

Gary A. Pekas

March 2004
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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

We are the people of Bakun, the name given to a municipality in the province of Benguet, Philippines. We call ourselves Kankanaey and Bago, as do other people in the surrounding areas. Such a distinction is necessary in these times, and it is those names that are mentioned in the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) issued that recognizes our territory as our ancestral domain.

The history of our people is mostly unwritten, though our villages abound with stories transmitted orally through generations. Such stories, especially those that describe events and situations long past, are difficult to verify as to accuracy. Even then, we count such stories as part of our history, though we recognize that these stories mostly reflect our people’s subjective view of events. These stories also incorporate our people’s past and present philosophies and belief systems, a clarification we make to readers, the better for us to be understood, we hope.

A. EARLY SETTLERS

Ancestors of the Kankanaey-Bago have settled in the domain for a long time, so that stories of their origin have been lost.

Ampusongan, however, is believed to have been settled first by the spouses Lakaw and Intanap and Ibey and Bongka-ok, although other parts of the domain have already been settled by other people. Ibey is the sister of Lakaw. They are said to have come from Awa, Tinoc, Ifugao, following the Namiligan mountain range, fleeing from a bandit named Samiklay. Samiklay is described to be Caucasian or of Caucasian descent, and whose stealing spree forced Lakaw and company to migrate and settle at Baodan. In other stories, these first settlers migrated because pests believed to be cutworms infested their
crops, and they moved to Bakun following game. ¹ The exact point of origin is also not clear, for other stories would tell that the group came from Kiangan, passing through the Namiligan ridge on their way to Bakun.

The migration may be deduced to have happened in the 1890’s or 1900s.

1. The Myth of the Tellay²

Even as Lakaw and company are the progenitors of the people of Ampusongan, Bakun, and there were ancestors that have settled in the domain before them, there are stories that tell of a people who lived in caves, which our ancestors call the “Tellay.” The stories, as they have reached the present generations, have gained legendary character, so that our people call the story a “myth.”

The caves where the Tellay lived in may be found in what is now known to be Barangay Poblacion. In the caves now are signs of previous dwelling, and it would be good if an archaeological study could be done to find out more about the Tellay, the people who seemed to have originally settled in Barangay Poblacion, or Bakun.

It is told that the Tellay were fair-skinned, and our people found them in the area when they settled there. They were shy and peace-loving people. After

---

¹ Power from the Mountains
² ADSDPP workshops
some time, our people were able to invite the Tellay to a feast, but the Tellay did not eat at all, contenting themselves to sniff the aroma of the food served.

The area around the caves also abounds with fruits and wild vegetables, but the Tellay seem not to harvest these. It mystified our people, for it would seem that the Tellay did not eat at all.

After some time of living with the Tellay as neighbors, some of our ancestors were curious as to the nature of these Tellay. After a feast where tapey or rice wine was served, some of our ancestors caught a Tellay and forcibly undressed the unlucky person. It is told that they found out that the Tellay did not have an anus at all, no posterior opening where excretion could come out.

This seems to explain why the Tellay are not known to eat at all, but is simply content to sniff the steam and aroma of food.

After the incident, the Tellay left the place. What remains about them are the caves, and our mythical story.

2. Succeeding Settlers¹

After the group of Lakaw, our people tell of Dokyog and Daupya. Some of their children eventually migrated to Balili, Mankayan and other children settled at Bagtangan in what now Gambang barangay is to pan and mine gold (labon). One family then permanently settled at Namagtay to cultivate camote during the 1900’s.

Later, the family of Agagem migrated from Kabiten, Mankayan and settled at Longboy, Dalipey to work in the mines around 1910. They later on moved and settled at Dalimsosoy, in present day Dalipey barangay. His son Camodoy married Yagomes, Lakaw’s child.

¹ ADSDPP workshops
The group of Talawa, Taltalyaw and Tagakey, originally from Malaya in Cervantes settled at Anawa. This group traded salt and cloth between the lowlands and the Bagu-Ampusongan area.

B. ORIGINS OF NAMES OF PLACES

Our municipality is now called Bakun, for it was named after Barangay Poblacion, which our people call Bakun. The name “Bakun” is believed to have come from “bakkong”, a kitchen utensil made of wood.

Names of other places within Bakun municipality also come from stories of the supernatural. “Tuadan” is an example.

Other names of places in Bakun were derived from the abundance of certain plants in a particular place. So there is a place called Papasok (for lemon trees), another called Masalin, (meaning abound with a grass called salin), and still another called Lungboy, named for a tree with edible fruit.

Still other names of places are derived from the topography of the place, so that we have Bilig (flat place), Caang (steep mountain ridge), Bay-o and Bayoyo (small valleys like a bowl), Nagitiwan (narrow pathway between rivers), and Biswak (narrow route).

---

1 ADSDPP workshops
Bayoyo was originally a lake in between mountains, the reason it is referred to as a bowl. The lake has dried up, however, but the name remains.

The name Ampusongan comes from a deep pond (pusong). It is believed that during WW II, soldiers came to the place, and met a woman holding a string of insects called osongan. When the soldier asked what the place was called, the woman thought he was asking what she was holding, so she said osongan. This is why in some old maps the place is referred to as “Osongan.”

Peggeyna and Bengdana mean halfway up a mountainside. Tanap is named for its location at the top of a mountain.

Lanas (sand) is the name of a place with sandy soil, Ig-igang for a place with gravel, and Dadag (lake) is the name for a lake.

Other places derive their names from their exposure to sunlight. The place Pabileng means short day, and another place called Sayangan means long day.

**C. OUR EARLY HISTORY**

Our community remembers that during the time of the Spaniards, the Katipunan came to Bakun to recruit for the revolution, and five from Bakun joined them. One other thing remembered in the Spanish era is the imposition of road taxes, and the requirement of cedulas.

1912 is remembered as a time of hunger or famine.

**D. 1930S**
We presume that our situation in the 1930’s reflects our people’s history prior to that time. It is a history of developing a relationship with nature and the land, for it is the land that has nurtured us, making our present generations possible.

In the 1930’s, or pre-war, as the older of our people remember, our community was engaged primarily in agricultural production. It was a subsistence economy, for our people consumed what they produced.

Economic activities were concentrated on “payew” (wet rice farming), and “nem-a” (shifting swidden agriculture). Camote fields were also maintained. The people supplemented their diet with some fishing, hunting and gathering. We made use of the “bito,” (trap) to catch wild game. They fished the rivers for eel. Nature also provided a variety of edible plants that our people gathered. Mushrooms were also harvested in the wild when they were in season.

Livestock was raised, primarily pigs, which were required in the many traditional ceremonies practiced. Chicken was also raised for the same reason. There were some of our people who raised cattle, and these were likewise used in some cañaos.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL RITUALS PRACTICED DURING PREGNANCY AND BIRTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dadawak –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Done during pregnancy and birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To hasten and make delivery safe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Pig butchered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anawang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Done during pregnancy and birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• chicken butchered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• ritual for safe delivery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maksel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• done during pregnancy and birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• welcome rite for baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• bolo and agaldang used during ritual to ensure that the child learns to speak earlier, and for an active baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• chicken as food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abosang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kini–ing (a stew) is served, believed to enhance breastmilk production for the mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Done after birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• To stop mother’s bleeding</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our domain has mineral resources that our people have been extracting for a long time. There is gold, and copper. Gold was panned from the rivers, and for those who were engaged in mining, these metals were mined only when needed. The technology available to our people at time was limited, so that mining was small-scale, really small-scale. People’s concentration was on producing food. Such metals were extracted as a secondary economic activity, and little only small amounts were mined.

There was also some trade, for we bartered with other communities, for we traded for salt, clothing and pottery. In exchange for these, we gave the products of our mines, as well as other products we can spare. “Barter trade existed between the Kankanaeys and their lowland neighbors in the Ilocos. Many Ilocanos migrated to the place after learning that the Kankanaeys had gold to barter for Chinese wares such as porcelain jars, plates and bronze gongs. The Kankanaeys bartered their gold for salt and blankets with the Ilocanos. Boats (junks) from Shanghai used to anchor in Tagudin, where Chinese merchants waited for the Kankanaeys to bring their honey, beeswax, rattan, and gold dust and nuggets in exchange for China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL PRACTICES ASSOCIATED WITH COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tomok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Courtship ritual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• needs parents or guardians’ consent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• actual marriage ceremony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• no sexual contract yet, silib is scheduled by elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• the couple will sleep in separate beds/sleeping flats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teteg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The day after silib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pig and tapey offered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 1 day ngilin, then couples live as one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toltolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 3 pigs feast, when couples have established themselves and could produce what is needed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man – sida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• one week ngilin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• 5,7,9 or 11 (must be odd) pigs butchered</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wares, which became important ornaments during Kankanaey religious ceremonies.”¹

Such trade did not provide people with enough clothing, for some of our people had to wear “Kuba” or g-strings made of tree bark. Clothing of any kind was rare at the time.

Our people did not change much of what nature provided them, disturbing the environment minimally. Trees were only felled when we built houses. Our houses were small, and only enough lumber of what was needed was used. Trees were normally not felled for firewood, for branches and dead trees were enough to provide us with fuel.

**THE TONGTONG SYSTEM** (see also “THE TONGTONG SYSTEM OF JUSTICE,” p. 50)

Crimes and other conflicts were settled through “tongtong” system Papangoan or elders acknowledged to have wisdom and good moral standing decide on the case Shame (bain) is the ultimate sanction of crime Land disputes and other disagreements were settled through tongtong system When penalties were given they were in the following forms:

- Butchering animals for the community to eat
- Kaising system

Nem-a, or shifting swidden agriculture did not make use of very wide areas of the forest, and did little damage, if at all, to the environment.

Fishing, hunting and gathering food were not abusive. Not all of the people hunted, and those who did hunt only did it occasionally. Fishing also was not extensive, and by no means were the rivers abused.

Indeed, the memory of times when food was scarce is retold many times in our communities. Times of little rainfall would affect agricultural production, and our people had to make what was available suffice. Our

¹ Baseline Survey Report, p. 64
people also remember times of epidemics. Kayapa barangay remembers a time when there was a chickenpox epidemic prior to WW II, for instance.

Houses at the time were in “pulok,” or clusters of a few houses. These houses were simple dwellings constructed of wood and roofed with cogon grass.

The lallakay, or old men ran our community life as a whole. They decided on agricultural schedules, and social, cultural and religious activities. Our belief system was part of everything in our lives, and there were many rituals that had to be observed in the course of one’s life. Our elders decided upon these spiritual matters. Nobody was exempt from performing them when needed, but only when they were needed were they performed.

Conflicts in the community were settled through the “tongtong” system, where the disagreeing parties meet together with village elders and come to an agreement, in the interest of fostering harmony in the community.

The people helped each other with many jobs. In times of heavy work in the fields, neighbors and relatives would help each other out. In times of difficulty, neighbors and relatives would also provide assistance. The family helped is in turn expected to help others when they need help.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL RITUALS ASSOCIATED WITH DEATH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Lawit**
- pigs/chicken offered to dead to guide them home

**Pamakan or Legado**
- chicken offered to dead soldiers/group of dead people as interpreted in a dream/bad health

**Lobon**
- 1 pig and blanket offered to dead parent or as a substitute to agamid

**Agamid**
- a ritual to end the “ngilin” (mourning period)
- pigs or carabaos are butchered according to the family’s status
In 1935, the Roman Catholic Church started missions in Barangay Poblacion. It was the first non-traditional belief system or religion that we know to enter our society. The coming in of Christianity helped erode our traditional belief systems, so that some rituals and ceremonies faded from practice.

In 1938, the first public school was established in Ampusongan.

E. WORLD WAR II

During the war, many of our people joined the army. Our people remember that the Japanese came to Bakun around 1944, and people evacuated to Mt. Lubo. The people ate what the forest could offer them. It is remembered that an epidemic of a skin disease we call bultong happened in the year of evacuation. The very young and the very old died in the evacuation due to an epidemic of loose bowel movement (LBM), which we call bayangubong.

The Japanese forces burned the houses our people left behind.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL PRACTICES IN AGRICULTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sipit</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• marker of temporary ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dennet</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• delos di nem – a/payew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• chicken is used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“bless” of crop (rice) after planting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• smoked pork and rice is offered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>during harvest for good harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Epas</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• small piglet is cooked and eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by the family when the granary is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first opened for bountiful storage.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
F. 1940S AND 1950S

World War II did not significantly affect our community and the relationship of our people with each other and with our domain. Though the events during the war were memorable, those stories would have to be told in other retellings.

It was the time of many changes for our people. An elementary school was opened in what is now Poblacion in 1945. The teacher was not from Bakun, but from the lowlands. The pupils in the school did not have supplies like pencils and paper, and so they had to write on banana leaves, writing by making scratches on the leaves using the spines of bamboo.

Barrio schools were also established in Bagu and Palidan in 1946, Sinacbat in 1947, and Ampusongan in 1950.

There were few who attended these early schools, but in the 1950’s, more and more gained interest, and more people attended school.

Education would expose our people to what is happening in the world. It would also change us. It would pave the way for many improvements to our lives, specially in the area of nutrition and health, and would also be the vehicle for employment for many of our people. It would also help us improve on technology, specially agricultural technology.

It was also in 1950 that another Christian denomination, Pastor Luciano Bugtong established the United Church of Christ of the Philippines (UCCP) at Copcopit. Evangelical missions of the UCCP were able to convince many of our people to join the church in the many different villages of Bakun.
The coming in of education and Christianity and the conversion of our people observably lessened our practice of the traditional belief systems. These traditional systems were deemed superstitious, and discouraged.

Butchering of animals in traditional rituals also started to lessen. The many “abig” or taboos covering traditional marriages started fading, as marriages were done in church. Traditionally, children were named for ancestors, but with Christianity, children were baptized in church and given “Christian” names, meaning they are western names.

The Roman Catholic Church, some time in the 1950’s, also started the practice of having a church fiesta, a celebration that varies significantly from indigenous feasts, and would influence the manner that people celebrated occasions.

In the meantime, the settlement pattern also changed. Traditional puloks of several houses joined other puloks to form larger settlements, which would later on be the basis for the barangays we know today.

One reason for the convergence of households was fear of the Hukbalahap, the rebel group that fought the Japanese Imperial Forces and later on the Philippine government.

Another reason for the convergence in specific areas were the establishment of several municipal
The establishment of schools also influenced the convergence of households.

The economic activities prior to the war were maintained by our people. These consisted of payew, nem-a, gold and copper mining, livestock and poultry, camote farming, hunting and gathering, fishing, and trade. In the 1940's, there were some of our people who became laborers outside Bakun. The introduction of metal implements and tools in farming and the availability of technology also allowed some of our people to engage part time as blacksmiths.

In addition, the sugarcane press (dapilan) was introduced, and so sugarcane became a more common crop in the 1940s.

Significantly, vegetable gardening started in Sinipsip in 1948.

The 1950's would see to the continuation of these activities. There also appeared cattle traders, locally called biyahero. More of our people became paid laborers outside Bakun. The old practice of gold mining (labon and abukay) was intensified, since there was now a market for the mineral. The technology that laborers learned in mining towns in Benguet province also enabled more efficient mining methods.

This was the time of logging and mining companies. At the end of the war in 1945, there was a boom in mining claims. In 1950, a Kairuz Lumber sawmill was established in Ampusongan. In 1955, the Heald Lumber Company established operations in Ampusongan.

To facilitate their operations, the logging companies opened roads. In 1956, Kairuz opened the road from Ampusongan to the operations of Gold Star (an exploration company). Gold Star opened the road from Sinipsip to their operations.
Lepanto Mines opened in Mankayan, and many of our people went to work there as miners. Lepanto logging also entered Bakun in Dalipey and Sinacbat.

Increasing interaction with other people made it possible for intermarriages with other cultures.

G. 1960s

The 1960s meant more change.

The continued operations of the logging companies meant jobs, but decimated the forests.

While these logging concessionaires were granted permission to cut down whole forests, government required that our people acquire permits before cutting trees in 1964.

The logging operations resulted in diminishing wildlife in some areas, for the wildlife habitat was affected. However, we believe that this wildlife moved to other barangays where there was no logging, so that there was an observable increase in wildlife in these areas, though the abundance in wildlife in these areas was temporary. After all, the

KAISING (see also THE TONGTONG SYSTEM OF JUSTICE, p. 50)

Traditionally, when there was a disagreement among adults, whatever the disagreement or conflict is, the opposing parties would be subjected to the tongtong system, where they meet with the respected elders of the community and try to come to an agreement or settlement.

Some conflicts are difficult to resolve, and either or both parties might refuse to agree to a settlement.

In these cases, the elders present might come up with a suitable settlement, where the community might fine one party.

It might also happen that the contending parties might agree, or the elders might decide, that the parties will in the future become kaising, meaning that their children shall have to marry each other.

This would mean arranged marriages that are intended to minimize the disagreements of parents.
environment could only support a limited number of wildlife.

The 1960s also heightened commercial gardening. There was a market for highland vegetables, and producing vegetables for sale gained foothold. Many of our people became involved in the vegetable industry. Those who had land close to the Halsema highway started vegetable farming, while others would become laborers in the vegetable farms.

More vegetable farms were opened as the Suyoc to Gambang road was opened.

Commercial vegetable production meant the use of agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides, a departure from traditional farming practices that was mainly organic.

Vegetable farming was welcomed, for it provided a source of livelihood to augment traditional production processes.

It also meant an increase in available money to our people, in addition to the wages of logging workers and laborers outside Bakun,

So it was in the 1960s that the first sari-sari stores were opened in Bakun.

It was in 1964 that the seat of the municipal government was transferred to Ampusongan.

In the field of education, more parents encouraged their children to go to school, and to pursue higher education. The educational system also improved to cover more areas, and to provide high schools. Necessarily, it meant a broader understanding of goings-on in the world, and of other cultures and societies.

The different Christian denominations also increased their congregations. Christian teaching would further erode belief in traditional systems.
With the availability of cash, and with the changing attitudes and values, celebrations of special occasions like birthdays, anniversaries and the like started. Christian holidays like Christmas and Easter were celebrated, replacing the traditional cañaos. The coming in of each New Year was also celebrated.

Baptism of children becomes a common practice, and these are celebrated, too. Except in rare cases were children named after their ancestors. The parties celebrating baptisms would somehow replace traditional rituals associated with childbirth.

Weddings were also performed in church, or in the municipal hall. The celebrations that would follow afterwards replaced traditional rituals associated with marriage. The practice of tomok and kaising as courtship slowly lost ground.

The combined changes in religion, education, and the economy resulted in the further erosion of traditional belief systems and practices.

It also resulted to the further convergence of households in certain areas, which would become the present-day barangays.
Table 1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MAIN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

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<td>nem – a Hunting and gathering</td>
<td>Laborer (in mines, primarily, plus others) blacksmithing cattle trade sugarcane dapilan <em>Copper coins discontinued</em></td>
<td>Laborer (in mines, logging and vegetable farms primarily, plus others) blacksmithing cattle trade sugarcane dapilan sari-sari stores (increase in number) employment in government/professionals commercial vegetable farming employment in urban areas gravel and sand quarrying</td>
<td>Laborer (in mines, logging and vegetable farms, government contracts primarily, plus others) sari-sari stores (increase) employment in government/professionals (increase) commercial vegetable farming (increase) commercial cutflower production coffee growing government contracts employment in urban areas (increase) overseas employment (DH, primarily) Some commercial livestock and Poultry commercialized handicraft</td>
<td>Log ban effected, no more logging sari-sari stores (increase) employment in government/professionals (increase) commercial vegetable farming (increase) commercial cutflower production coffee growing government contracts employment in urban areas (increase) overseas employment (increase) Backyard fish culture Agro-forestry</td>
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1 Unless otherwise indicated, economic activities in previous time periods are continued in succeeding periods.

2 There were Old Spanish copper coins. Some people of Bakun minted their own coins using the copper they mined. These coins, even though not official and would have been counterfeit, were accepted when they used it.
The decade of the 70s further accelerated change.

Instead of cañaos, people would hold family reunions and homecomings. The traditional practice of kaon, or wedding, faded, as weddings were almost completely done in church or conducted by civil authorities.

The traditional practices of denet and pakde, ceremonies associated with agriculture and praying for bountiful harvests, were discontinued as farmers tended to rely on fertilizers and pesticides to increase production. Traditional holidays (ngilin) were no longer practiced. Instead, Sunday became the rest day as Christian belief taught.

Government also came in with projects such as the Kilusang Kabuhayan at Kaunlaran (KKK), animal dispersal projects and trainings on handicraft. These provided additional sources of livelihood for our people.

The 70s also saw the intensification of vegetable farming. Areas that originally were not farmed were cleared to increase farming acreage. The crops planted in the gardens, or farms, were mainly cabbage, potatoes and beans.

The intensification of vegetable production enabled some of the Bakun people to acquire vehicles to transport their products to the market in Baguio City.

The increase in available income resulted in the disappearance of barter as a form of trade. People now paid for everything with money. This also meant the increase in the number of sari-sari stores.

The increase in income is also attributed to the increasing number of people employed in government, as well as those who go out of Bakun to work.
The changing times also saw changes in housing materials. The availability of roofing materials like galvanized iron (GI) sheets, and the availability of implements like saws made it possible for people to build bigger houses roofed and walled with GI sheets.

Permits for cutting of trees were required, and some of our people would go through the process of acquiring permits. Others did not bother. Others would exceed the amount of lumber allowed by the permit.

The change in housing material and the size of houses, as well as the availability of cash diminished the practice of alluyon in the building of houses.

Concrete was also used in building houses, and it provided for an additional source of livelihood for some people who hauled gravel and sand from the rivers.

The general trend of economic proficiency and improved services was not widespread, however. Some barangays were left behind, and they remember the decade of the 70s as a time of difficulty. Kayapa barangay remembers a time of “betil” (hunger) in 1971 and 1978. There were also several epidemics in 1979, with measles, chicken Pox, Typhoid fever and gastroenteritis.

1978 also saw the migration of many people from Poblacion barangay to other parts of Bakun. The reason was that there was no road going there, and no electricity. People migrated to join in the new opportunities of development.

The indigenous justice system and the tongtong system, although still relied upon to settle disagreements between parties in the community, also changed, as agreements or settlements had to be written down and signed so that no party shall renege on the agreement. Church groups also became involved in the tongtong system.
Still, the option of taking cases to court was there, and some would prefer to take the case to court rather than subject themselves to the indigenous way.

This started the erosion of the traditional justice system.

The Barrio councils, recognized by government to be responsible for effecting settlements, were also involved. There was no significant conflict, for the members of the barrio councils were respected members of the community, and mostly were the ones involved in the tongtong system.

The local government units, at the barangay and municipal level, also issued ordinances affecting the community, so that besides the traditional taboos and prohibitions, there were ordinances.

Culture as a whole continually changed, and the change was heightened with the increasing number of intermarriages with other cultures.

More roads were also opened in the 1970s, where the people were required to provide free labor.

I. 1980s

All houses built from 1980 up to the present were no longer roofed with cogon, and no longer following traditional architecture.

Vegetable farms, after years of intensive farming, already needed continuous fertilizer and pesticide inputs. “Nadadael ti daga¹,” (the land is damaged); as the soil’s natural fertility was drained.

Yet such a problem did not discourage vegetable farming. The desire for increased economic proficiency saw the clearing of new areas to construct more farms. Commercial farming has already become the primary livelihood

¹ ADSDPP Workshops
for many. More and more gardeners bought their own vehicles to bring their produce to market.

In addition to the vegetables planted, gardeners also produced cutflowers.

The opening of new roads saw the opening of more vegetable farms, for the residents could now transport their produce to the market in Baguio City.

Small scale gold mining activities, especially placer mining, intensified, with some relying on the industry for their primary source of livelihood.

Education resulted in the employment of more professionals in government service.

Government also had a coffee livelihood project that lasted from 1983-1988, and coffee production as an additional source of income gained foothold. In this project, the KKK provided loans to interested Bakun people in 1982, and helped in the marketing of the produce.

The availability of cash and the development of modern needs and options saw the establishment of more sari-sari stores in all the barangays, with more and more goods to sell.

Government also had a livestock dispersal project, and a backyard fish culture project, further providing additional sources of income. In addition, the National Irrigation administration had projects improving irrigation facilities throughout the municipality.

The improvement of services and the coming in of new technology allowed for the increase in production, even in the traditional rice culture.

Cooperatives were established by government, which provided loans to its members.
It was also the time when activities of the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New Peoples Army (CPP-NPA) intensified in Bakun. There were massive recruitment activities in the years of 1984, 1985 and 1986, with their activities reaching its height in 1985. The CPP-NPA influence waned after the People Power Revolution that saw the ouster of Marcos.

Traditional rituals and ceremonies became optional, so that while there were wakes for the dead, the accompanying rituals were performed only if the bereaved allowed it so. Even so, traditional mutual help systems like gamal, alluyon and gubo continued to be practiced, although there was some decline. Particularly in the building of houses, one had to pay for the labor of workers, as the alluyon system was not practiced.

In the field of justice and decision-making, the Lupon Tagapamayapa settled disputes in the community. The members of the Lupon are respected members of the community, and thus the tongtong system is not compromised. When the disputes or disagreements are not settled, then the Lupon would refer the case to the courts as required by law.

J. 1990S TO 2003

In places where there were roads, camote farms and rice fields were converted into vegetable farms. Even traditional uma were planted with commercial crops. Forests were cleared to make farms. Bigger and more trucks were bought by producers.

The opening of more roads led to the construction of more farms.

The government imposed a log ban, and the logging operations that provided jobs ceased. Logging workers without jobs added to went back to farming, adding to the expansion of commercial farms.
Aside from local employment, some of the Bakun people went overseas to work as domestic helpers. There was also an increase in out-migration, with many young people aged 20-35 going out of their villages to seek opportunities in the urban centers and elsewhere.

The outflow of working age people saw the abandonment of some traditional rice fields, as there were no hands to work them. Commercial farming was also a more lucrative endeavor, so rice farming was not particularly encouraged by the times.

Government helped in the establishment of cooperatives. The cooperative made available two buses traveling to Baguio, and traffic to the urban center was made regular.

In 1991 and 1992, the HEDCOR opened its hydroelectric plant in Bakun. The construction provided employment. Barangay Poblacion was finally energized in 1992.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) started many projects organize the Bakun people in 1996, and the Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization (BITO) was organized in 1997-1998. This is our organization, and it is now taking on the responsibility for the ancestral domain.

With the passage into law of the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act of 1997, the ancestral domain of the Kankanaey-Bago in Bakun was finally recognized in 2001. The IPRA recognizes, among others, our right to manage resources within the domain.
II. INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND PRACTICES (IKSP)

Our communities are rich with knowledge gained from the experiences of our ancestors. Such knowledge has been passed to us by word of mouth, and by example. The work of documenting these indigenous knowledge systems and practices requires an extended study, and a continuing one. After all, our communities are alive and our culture is continuously evolving.

We are evolving as indigenous people, distinct from other peoples, so whatever knowledge system or practice we develop as time passes becomes part of our IKSP. Even as we absorb knowledge from the rest of the world has to teach us, we mould these and infuse our own experience and knowledge, our belief systems, and our distinct mark as a people. The knowledge becomes part of our people, and our distinctness becomes part of the knowledge.

Indeed we have changed over the years. The peopling of Bakun itself was a major change for Lakaw and company when they left Awa and decided to settle in what later became Bakun. (see Historical Background)

The culture that Lakaw and company brought with them also evolved, molded by the domain itself, for the realities of our domain are not the realities of Awa. The topography, the resources, the unseen forces and spirits have made our knowledge systems and practices unique to our domain.

Even the other introduced knowledge systems and practices with the coming of western influence have become part of our indigenous systems, as we adopted them, even as these have changed the very system they are now part of.

Our knowledge systems and practices are often linked with our belief systems, and are inseparable from each other. With changes in belief systems like the
adoption of the Christian faith, some of the processes and systems would no longer be practiced.

After the rituals required in the building of a house, the actual building is scheduled.

Everybody in the community, when able, is expected to help in the construction of a house.

A. RESIDENCES AND OTHER STRUCTURES

There are knowledge systems and practices we associate with residences.

1. Types of Traditional Houses of the Kankanaey-Bago People

All traditional structures were constructed using indigenous materials. No nails were used, as that material became available later. Parts of the structure were fitted and joined together by making holes or indentations on the wood.

Originally, the Kankanaey-Bago people may use any part of the domain, either as residential area or as a farm or some other purpose so long as other people are not actually using the area, since the domain was communally owned. Rituals may be required, however.

Structures were constructed with the help of ALLUYON

Alluyon is a traditional mutual help system practiced by the people of Bakun. It was done in many types of work in agriculture, and also in the construction of houses.

Labor is divided, with some assigned to fix the foundation and stonework, others to fix the wooden structure, and still others to go and gather cogon grass for the roofing.

Since everybody helped, and with division of labor, the house is constructed in one day. The obligation of the owner of the house is to help others when they need it, and to feed everybody who came to help.
the community in a mutual help system called “alluyon”, and a member of the community was expected to help others when they were constructing houses of their own.

Houses, because of the simplicity of the design and materials, could easily be transferred in the past. The community also helps in the transfer.

If the area where the construction is made is suitable, it is utilized to raise livestock (usually pigs) and poultry. It may also be used as a garden where vegetables and herbs are grown.

a. Kinaong

This is a square type of house with slanted cogon roofing and traditionally a common residence. Walls were either cogon or pinewood with round posts. It has a wider “pagpugawan” or ridge roll than the inalteb.

b. Inalteb or kinlingan

This is also a square type of house but smaller than the kinaong. Walls and posts are also fitted with no nails used. A bolo or ax is used in making a hole in the wood to fit and join the walls and posts. The posts have “libeng”, a measured and fitted wood put in the post so that rats and mice may not climb up the posts and enter the structure.

c. Allaw

This house is a single-storey square structure that has wooden posts. It has a slanted roof with cogon and sticks. Cogon weaved together, called “naapid,” is used as walling. “Anes” a type of bamboo, is used to keep the cogon walls together.
d. Apa

This structure is mostly built in farms far from the village, serving as temporary shelters when the people work their farms. It has cogon roofing called “bellang.” The roof is mostly flat. Walls are made up of cogon or “bellang” that is called “epid,” also woven together.

e. Binangian

This type of house is a three-storey building. The first storey is a multi-purpose hall used as weaving room for women, a place where old folks told their stories and a storage area for the family’s tools and implements. The second storey is the sort of living room or sala, dining room and the sleeping area of the family members. A part of this storey, on the side, is used as a storeroom called a “selig” for their wine jars or “coli” and trunks or “baol”. The third storey is for “baegan” or granary, a storage place for palay grains. This type of house has a more elaborate architecture comparing to the other types of house.

f. Agamang

This is a single-storey building intended for palay storage only.

2. Traditional Rituals Associated with Building Construction

There are some practices that need to be done before, during and after the building of a house or structure. Some of these are no longer practiced, and the person or family constructing the house, may choose whether or not the rituals are performed. However, if there are unexplained disasters, sicknesses, dreams or other like phenomena, house owners may perform some rituals, even if belatedly, to assuage the spirits.
a. Boton

This ritual is performed to ask permission from unseen spirits dwelling in the proposed site if they would allow the family to construct a house or join them.

b. Petad

Building materials are gathered from the surroundings, and brought together away from the construction area. Petad is then performed to cleanse the building materials from all bad luck (buwisit). A chicken is usually butchered during the ritual.

c. Saad

This is the time of construction itself. The community helps in the process through the practice of the alluyon or gubo system. In this system, each family in the community has to contribute something in the form of materials and/or labor. The family that will stay in the house to be constructed has the responsibility to feed the people who participated in the construction.

d. Leting

This is a ritual performed just after the construction proper. No animal is butchered and it is intended to inform the spirits that construction is finished.
e. Padang

This is a ritual performed just after “leting”. Stalks of grass are placed on the four corners of the structure. These stalks of grass are knotted in a “pudong,” hence the term “mapudongan.” It is intended to prohibit the entrance of evil spirits to the newly constructed house.

f. Seg – ak

This is a ritual performed on the evening of the day when the house was finished or constructed. The ritual is performed by a “mambunong” and family members may or may not join. The purpose of the ritual is to cleanse the construction materials from all bad luck (buwisit). A chicken is butchered during the ritual.

g. Segep

This is done after the seg – ak, when the family brings into the newly constructed house food, water and other needed things. This is to make sure that they would not lack for supplies of these until the “lawit” ritual is performed. It is also for abundance in the future. It is performed in the evening and a pig or chicken is butchered.

h. Lawit

On the morning just after the “segep”, this ritual is performed. It is intended to call on the spirits of the occupants of the house to come and dwell with them in the newly constructed house. A “mambunong” performs the ritual with the butchering of an animal (chicken or pig).
i. Allad

Literally meaning “fence”, this is the establishment of physical structures around the house. “Lusod” are usually used to fence the lot and to indicate boundaries. When the family hosts a feast, (“sida” or “cañao”), they practice allad so that the good or “suwerte” of their cañao or sida.


Structures built from the 1970s onwards no longer followed traditional architecture and design. (see Historical Background) Houses now are bigger and non-indigenous materials are used, like nails, cement, galvanized iron (used as roofing and walls). There are no common designs, although the uses or parts of the traditional house become part of the new structure when applicable. Thus a storeroom in the new structure may still be called the selig, for example.

Houses now have many uses other than the traditional. For those engaged in businesses, their houses are used as their offices and shops. Thus sari-sari stores are part of the house, as welding shops, cable TV offices, tailoring shops, and the like are part of the house. In the area surrounding the house, livestock and poultry may still be raised, and some have even constructed fishponds. The traditional practice of keeping vegetable gardens or camote growing may have changed, for some, as these gardens may now be used to grow commercial vegetable crops.

Houses and lots are now declared for taxation purposes. Some residential areas were acquired through the government’s free patent system, but most of the residential lots were inherited. Residential areas in the domain could be sold, but if ever these areas are disposed of, they are to be sold to the nearest relative or clan members. It’s only when these parties could not afford or are not interested that other people in the community could buy the property.
The Kankanaey and Bago people of Bakun have their own way of maintaining their residential areas. Riprap walls are constructed to stabilize erosion-prone areas and flood control structures were constructed on flood-prone areas. Lately, funding usually comes from government or non-government agencies for erosion and flood control.

B. FOREST AND WATERSHED MANAGEMENT

For the indigenous person, there is no distinction between a forest and a watershed. All forests function as watersheds, and one’s use of the forest did not substantially alter the environment, or irrevocably damage it. The indigenous people of Bakun have maintained and managed the forests within the domain since time immemorial.

1. Belief Systems Associated With Forests

Forests are inhabited by spirits called “pinad–ing and tumongaw” which are both good and benevolent unless provoked or displeased. These spirits guard the forest, and wanton destruction of their forest home, or disturbance of their peace, results to various negative happenings to those responsible. Generally unseen, and therefore indescribable, these spirits may take on various forms when they do manifest themselves. There are certain persons in the villages who might be able to see and speak with these spirits, or to divine their messages and also to provide solutions to complications arising from their displeasement.

The Kankanaey-Bago identify quality trees in the forests, and valued as seed trees. Frequently, these trees are the homes of spirits. Some of them have springs or “ubbog” near their bases, springs that are valued for drinking by the forest-going villager. These are pines, ferns, narra, alumit, tewe and other valued species.
The springs or ubbog also have their spirits guarding them, and the indigenous person takes care not to dirty or pollute (though there were few pollutants in traditional society) the water. Since water is associated with life itself, it was considered grave abuse if springs are destroyed or dirtied.

Caves and some rocks are also considered homes of spirits (pinad – ing and tumongaw).

Generally, areas in the forests or otherwise which are considered homes of spirits are places where the people feel some sort of energy or power. The phenomenon is not unique to the Bakun indigenous people, as all indigenous people do believe that certain areas, plants or even animals are spirits themselves or the homes of spirits.

The Kankanaey-Bago valued the forests and the trees in the forest, and before felling trees in pristine forests, rituals such as “payag” are performed. This ritual ascertains whether the spirits of the forest and the tree itself allows the cutting, and a positive result of the payag is necessary before the tree is cut.

Uncalled for noise and pollutants being introduced within forests is prohibited because that would be displeasing the spirits and would result to death or calamity in the nearby villages.

2. Management Systems

While the indigenous person generally does not think of managing a thing that is ultimately bigger and more powerful than he is, such as the forest or nature itself, the indigenous people of Bakun “manage” the forests within their domain by ensuring the continuity and usefulness of the forests and resources in the forests.
a. Communal Ownership of the Forests

Many of the forests in our ancestral domain are communally owned and managed. That is, no single person or group, family or clan claims exclusive right to their use. Even so, every person has certain responsibilities to the forest, for it belongs to the entire community, or conversely, the community depends on the forests, either as a watershed, or the source of various resources that are used by the people.

Government, through the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), has recognized some of these communal forests. The DENR delineated the perimeters of these forests, and prescribed allowed uses. As was the case before government or the DENR, the management is by the whole user community. Recently, as the barangay government has taken a more accepted role in our indigenous communities, they have taken the lead in the management of the communal forests that the DENR recognizes. Now, in these recognized communal forests, residents are only allowed to harvest trees and other forest products after they get permits from the barangay government, conformed to by the Philippine National Police (PNP) Station Officer, and the issuance of a permit by the DENR.

The communal forests that remain “unrecognized” are still being managed by the community, though, guarding against indiscriminate cutting of trees and other possible destructive acts.

b. The Muyong and its Uses

The “muyong” is a tree farming system by either a clan or a family. Certain areas of the domain are considered to be under the care of a clan or family, and they plant and maintain certain tree species in the muyong. The clan or family may
harvest trees in the muyong. They are also expected to maintain it by replanting and to guard against forest fires.

The family or clan that manages the muyong understands that the muyong is not for their benefit alone, but rather it is part of a larger environment and thus contributes to the total well-being of the community and ecology in general.

Muyongs have been declared by owners for taxation purposes. The declaration is mainly to protect their rights to the tree farms, and there is some comfort to the owners who have declared their land, believing that government recognizes their ownership when they pay their taxes.

i. Watershed

The muyong is a tree farm, and having trees, it is part of the watershed system of the domain that retains rainwater and provides a continued supply to the river system in the domain, as well as to ultimately provide for domestic water.

ii. Fuel Source

The family or clan that owns the muyong is allowed to gather fuel from the muyong in several ways. The harvesting process is beneficial to the owners as well as to the forest itself. However, many households using low propane gas (LPG) as fuel, so that harvesting from the muyongs, and the beneficial effect of such harvesting, is minimized.
“Tadaw” is the practice whereby only the branches of the trees are gathered. It is the lower and bigger branches that are gathered, taking care not to take the entire canopy out, which might result to the death of the tree. It improves tree growth, similar to pruning. By taking out the lower branches, the tree is also encouraged to grow upwards, and the knots formed by branches on the wood are minimized, thereby making the timber straighter. With the removal of the bigger branches, the knots they form on the wood are minimized, so that if the tree were to be used for timber, it would be of better quality. Longer boards with fewer knots may be cut.

Deceased and deformed trees are weaned out and used as fuel. Deformed trees are those that do not grow in the desired way, which is upwards. These are weaned out and used as fuel for they interfere with the growth of nearby trees. Deceased trees, or those trees infested by

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Selective Harvesting of Forest Products

The wise use of forest resources is very much a part of the culture and spiritual belief of the Kankanaey and Bago folk. They consider indiscriminate cutting of trees a sin, which can displease the spirits. Angered spirit, they believe, may even make a person ill or cause his death if he fails to follow certain rules or rituals of harvesting forest products.

Such belief system has influenced the Kankanaey and Bago on how to properly use their forest resources. They have thus mastered the use of each tree species. Certain trees are for building homes, some for rituals and medicine, and some for food. Gathering of forest products depends on the particular needs of a person.

Kankanaey and Bago folk observe some rituals before cutting trees for building houses. Once one chooses a tree, he prays before the tree, and if he sees no bad omen, he proceeds with cutting it down. Once the first tree is felled, he removes some branches and goes home to do more rituals. If there are no bad omens, he goes back the following day to cut down more trees. But he fells only what he needs.

In case a bad omen is observed (usually in the position of the liver or bile of the animal butchered in the ritual and offered to the gods and spirits), or if the cutter has a bad dream, he foregoes with the cutting and most often just uses the tree for firewood.

Minor products may not involve elaborate rituals. But Kankanaey and Bago folk must be selective in harvesting any other forest product. The reason is that they believe that Kabunian (supreme god) controls all resources and humans can enjoy nature’s bounty only if they obey the rules that their ancestors have orally handed down.

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1 lifted from PBSR, p. 137
certain pests, are taken out, for they are the source of pathogens or pests that might affect the other trees.

Trees that are uprooted or fall down due to weather or land movement are allowed to be harvested. If the tree is good for timber, boards may be cut from it. Otherwise, it is used as fuel. The Kankanaey-Bago however believes that trees struck by lightning should be left to rot and contribute to the fertility of the soil.

iii. Source of Timber and Other Building Materials

The muyong is also a source of timber, and the tree farms are actually maintained so that community members will not have to go to the pristine forests to get timber. Even the undergrowth in the muyongs has been useful in the construction of traditional houses. These include vines, grasses and shrubs, bamboos (several varieties), sticks (mostly hard stems of grasses) and rattan.

Rattan is not used solely for building, but also used in making many different baskets as well as used in tying things together.

Bamboo also has many uses, as basket weaving material, fencing, trellises and more.

iv. Medicine

The muyongs may also have some varieties of flora that are used by the Bakun people as medicine, or palliatives to some ailments.

v. Nutrition

We can also find in the muyongs various trees whose fruits are edible. There is also undergrowth, or even trees, whose parts are used by the people as food.
The maintenance of the muyong therefore also contributes to the nutritional needs of the people. Mushrooms may also be harvested when in season.

**vi. Grazing Areas**

Cattle are also allowed to graze in the muyongs. Other livestock or poultry may also find things they can eat in the muyongs, specially if the muyong is close to residential areas.

**vii. Animal and Bird Sanctuary**

The muyong also adds to the natural forests a place where animals might take refuge in, or as part of their habitat.

c. **Bebe-an**

Bebe-an is the name given to community-owned and managed pine forests. Community members use it as a source of timber and fuel. They are found mostly on steep mountain slopes, and thereby the maintenance of the forest in these areas contributes to erosion control. Lately, with tax declarations being required by government, the community maintains the traditional use of the bebe-an by not allowing these areas to be declared. These are community owned and managed and not declared by any single resident from taxation.

d. **Watershed or Tong-og**

Areas that host springs or ubbog are specifically protected by the community to sustain community water sources, both for domestic use and farm irrigation.
As an upland technology, swidden farming (nem-a) does not require inorganic chemical fertilizers and pesticides. Diversity is an overriding principle in swidden farms. Crops of various varieties are therefore raised at the same time in the same swidden.

A swidden farm can last for an average of four (4) years depending on the thickness of accumulated humus. During the dry season, upland folk start clearing a chosen space. They cut trees and shrubs and leave these to dry. Depending on the intended farm size, a farming couple takes at least a week or longer to clear an area. Farmers clear sticks, twigs and leaves within the perimeter of the clearing to avoid wild fires when farmers burn the clearing.

Burning is done about one week after the clearing activity or when the trimmed vegetation is seen to easily catch fire. Burning is done mostly at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon when the wind is not

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1 This section on nem-a is lifted entirely from the PBSR, pp. 129-130
strong and is moving towards a single direction. Male members of a village (pulok) usually join hands in this activity to prevent the spread of wild fire. Wild fire is considered a crime when negligence is the cause.

Farmers then clear the area of remaining unburned tree trunks. They either put aside these trunks along the farm’s perimeter or burn these for their ash. Farmers plant special crops such as squash or melon where there is thick collection of ash. No digging is done after burning. To plant seeds, farmers merely prick the ground with pointed rods and drop the seeds in small holes. To control weeds, farmers group in a certain area some crops with common characteristics such as rice, camote, grains and legumes. Climbing plants and bananas are usually planted in gullies. Fruit bearing trees are also planted along the perimeter of the farm both as wind breaks and shade trees of crawling plants. Farmers plant all their seeds, cuttings and tubers shortly before the rainy season starts or when it has just begun.

Bakun farmers maintain their swiddens for an average of four years. During the same period, farmers terrace gullies with stones and continue to plant fruit trees around the farm. When the fertility of central area has been depleted such that burn agriculture, this method makes the clearing process easier and releases nutrients into the soil quickly. Because rain forest soils are nutrient-poor, garden production decreases significantly after a couple of years, at which point the garden is abandoned, and a new plot is cleared and planted. Indigenous peoples have relied on these agricultural methods for thousands of years. In the past, the abandoned plots were allowed to regenerate for many years before they were cleared and farmed again. These traditional shifting cultivation practices did not significantly damage the rain forest because the rain forests were so vast and populations of indigenous peoples relatively small. In the last half of the 20th century, indigenous tribes became vastly outnumbered by colonists migrating to the region. Attracted by seemingly unoccupied land, small-scale farmers and cattle ranchers threaten the survival of indigenous peoples and their rain forest habitat. Logging, mining, and oil and gas extraction have also drastically reduced the size of rain forests around the globe, and as the forests shrink, indigenous peoples are forced to compete for the limited land that remains. In this competitive environment, even the once-sustainable agricultural practices of indigenous peoples
crops are not robust enough to guarantee good harvest, the farm is abandoned for an average of four to six years. In the meantime, farmers clear another area using the same process. The farmer again leaves this area and goes back to clear his old abandoned farm which is by now thick with vegetation again. As practiced by Bakun farmers, swidden farming follows a cycle of clearing and restoration. This farming practice provides the household a steady supply of fresh vegetables, root crops, grain legumes, fruits and even herbal medicine. The fruit trees and stone terraces are permanent fixtures, which show that a clan or family owns a patch of land. Ownership thus comes after working the land.

f. Bine – as

These are the areas left to lie fallow, part of the nem-a cycle (see above). It also applies to rice fields left to lie fallow.

g. Hunting Ground or Paganupan.

This a wider area of forest, usually pristine (nabunet), and it is managed by one or more communities and inhabited by wild game such as animals, fowls, lizards, snakes, bats and many more. Hunting is limited to the use of spears, air rifles and the controlled or restricted use of shotguns and long caliber 22 guns. The indigenous practice of catching wild game such as egel (trap), ebeng (trap), bito (concealed hole), and ba – is or whip is preferred.

h. Practices of Catching Game.

Tagdey – this is a bird trap using a fine string or strong animal hair, set up on a contraption of sticks and another tensely bent stick such that upon alighting on the contraption, the bird’s weight releases the bent stick to spring and tightens the string around the bird’s feet. It is baited with an inset to attract the birds.
Ikik – this is a seasonal practice of catching migratory birds (usually done in September and October). It is done at night, where the birds are attracted to light made by fire. It is preferred that the night is foggy and there is no moon.

Silag – also done at night, it is the practice of catching birds, frogs, fish or eel with the use of lighted torch out of saleng (pine pitch).

3. Other Protection Mechanisms of Forests and Watersheds

Regular cleaning of fire lanes. The Kankanaey-Bago clear areas of the forest, specially fire-prone areas, so that fires, whether spontaneous, accidental or caused by negligence, will be controlled.

Lapulap or Kabite – this involves the control of erosion by constructing walls in steep slopes using stones or rocks (kabite) or soil sod (lapulap). It is done mostly in gullies and other steep erosion-prone areas.

Sade – This is the indigenous term for a practice that involves the planting of deep-rooting crops along and across slopes to control erosion.

Kulog – this is the term for the deep canals made to divert runoff water from erosion-prone areas, and thus control erosion.

Firebreak plants – The Bakun people also purposely plant maguey, which is fire resistant, to act as firebreak. It may also be used to control erosion.
C. LAND USE, OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

1. Concept of Common Property and Worldviews on Land

Common property refers to all natural resources found within the Kankanaey and Bago ancestral domain. These resources are collectively owned and managed by the Kankanaey and Bago folk.

The Bakun people regard their land as their saguday or inheritance from ancestors, which must be passed on from generation to the next. Just as their ancestors took care and nurtured the domain and all its wealth, the present generation of Kankanaey and Bago folk must do the same. One cannot just dispose and sell a terraced rice farm, for example, because he must always consider the ancestors who toiled to carve the terraces. The ancestors carved the terraces not only because they needed to grow rice for themselves but for their children and for their children’s children. And from the terraces that the ancestors built, communities were born. Selling and disposing the work of ancestors such as rice terraces is a no-no in Bakun.

There are cases when someone needs money to settle some bills, and there is not other recourse but to mortgage or sell an inherited piece of land. For the Kankanaey and Bago folk, the one who is in dire straits may mortgage his land to a close relative, and not to an outsider. This is to assure the one who mortgaged the land can take it back when he is able to.

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1 Lifted from PBSR, p. 138
2. Rice Farming

Among Kankanaey and Bago communities, rice farming is as old as swidden farming. (see Swidden Farming on page 38) Bakun farmers cultivate rice in both non-irrigated upland farms called *takdang* or in irrigated terraced fields. Takdang farming is practiced in the western part of the municipality or the barangays of Kayapa, Sinacbat, and Bagu where the climate is affected by the warm air coming from the South China Sea. Preparing a takdang farm is similar to preparing a swidden farm. The difference is that a takdang farm is cultivated for one cropping only, but the cycle is repeated after several years, when the soil regains fertility, just like swidden farms.

The other type is rice farming on terraced rice paddies. These paddies are irrigated by stream waters passing through man-made canals and flumes. Paddies are cultivated for twocroppings every year. The first cropping is planted in January with the preferred variety *kintoman*, and harvested in July. The second cropping is shorter, with the seedlings transplanted in July and harvested in December. The variety planted in this second cropping is *salanay*.

Rice grains are sown on seedbeds for at least a month before these are transplanted. Major activities in terraced rice fields include clearing weeds and grass reeds along ripraps, plowing with the aid of trained animals such as carabaos or cows, and/or manually cultivating the fields with a hoe. In the absence of work animals, farmers also stamp their feet over remaining rice hay and weeds, submerging these under the mud. The practice is called *daynek* or *sadsad*.

Traditional self-help cooperative practices help lighten the burden of farmers in wet rice farming. One is the alluyon system (see boxed item in page 25), under which neighbors help out a family during major activities such as harvesting and

\[1\] Lifted with some editing from PBSR, p. 130
planting. The family in need of help takes charge of the lunch for the working crew. The family being helped, in return, is obliged to help their neighbors by also working in their farms. Paying labor with money, therefore, is not compulsory.

3. Soil Conservation and Erosion Control

In the Kankanaey and Bago domain, the most evident sign of previous cultivation of a certain parcel of land is the presence of kabite or riprap. This technology involves the lining of stones, fitted together on top of the other without the support of clay or mortar. These ripraps form the terraces that produced leveled plots that retain fertile soil, which the hardy Kankanaey and Bago folk dumped to grow crops on, in low-lying areas, such terraces can hold water so that the area could be planted to rice, which needs plenty of water throughout its growing stage.

Terracing is also done in between slopes and gullies to prevent soil erosion and collect the topsoil for crop production. The heights of ripraps depend upon the location. Most terraces are 1.5 meters high on the average. Their lengths depend on the contour of the site. These terraces are among the evidences of ancestral ownership. The Kankanaey and Bago folk developed the terracing technology to tame their tough mountainous terrain.

\footnote{lifted from PBSR, p. 137, with some editing}
D. WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

1. Belief Systems Associated with Water Systems

Bakun folk believe that spirits called pinten zealously guard bodies of water. Putting dirt, garbage or merely throwing rocks into bodies of water may irk the pinten and may cause a person to get sick or die by drowning.

Every member of the community is free to fish in Bakun’s four major rivers and several springs and creeks. But no one should poison the water. Poison is considered dirt, thus displeasing to the spirits. Taking a bath or fishing while under the influence of liquor is also considered taboo. It invites accidents.

The presence within the area of a certain black bird with black colored head and tail and red-colored neck and abdomen suggests the existence of spirits in that part of the water system. The bird is small, just the size of the common house bird. It feeds on water insects. It is never found around dirty or polluted waters. The Kankanaeys call this bird kingking. They also discourage residing just above springs or where water is coming out. Doing so will bring the family abdominal and respiratory ailments.

2. Irrigation systems as Communal Property

Irrigation systems are communal property. Farmers in contiguous areas commonly own an irrigation system that commonly services their farms. They repair the system is repaired and cleared of vegetation at least once a year, or when needed. The maintenance activity usually takes days, and affected

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1 PBSR, p. 148 (lifted in full, with some editing)
farmers are expected to help. The rest of the group sanctions those who do not help in the activity.¹

3. Rituals to Ward off pests and destruction

Bennat/Dangtey – the sacrificing of healthy female and black colored pig to reclaim receding or decreasing volume of water sources.

Balagbagan – the sacrificing of white – colored pig along bodies of water to appease the spirits to allow the diversion or management of water.

Denet – ritual involving the sacrificing of a chicken in a newly planted nem-a to enjoin the spirits to shield/protect the farms form pests and disease and for robust crops in order to have good harvest.

Sanga or lodok – sacrificing of a black pig near trees or structures struck by lightning to ask the great unseen to stop striking the area and give blessings to the area.

E. MINERAL RESOURCE USE, MANAGEMENT AND PROTECTION

The domain has mineral deposits of gold and copper in extractable quantity particularly in Barangays Gambang, Dalipey and Ampusongan.

1. Belief Systems Associated with Minerals²

“The Kankanaey and Bago culture dictates that “gold is to be taken only when needed.” Extracting gold, therefore, is not a full time activity for the Kankanaey

¹ PBSR, p 130
² PBSR, p. 134
and Bago household. Family members go to their mine to extract gold, which they use to buy basic household necessities and farm tools.

Among the Kankanaey and Bago folk, mining gold is not simply an economic activity. Gold extraction is also governed by a religious belief system that Kabunian or God is believed to be the sole gold-keeper. With this belief, a miner who has failed to extract gold from his channel/canal is believed to have displeased or offended Kabunian in some way. The offender has to do rituals by sacrificing and offering some animals to gain back Kabunian's grace.

2. Mining Practices

As far back as can be remembered, the Kankanaey-Bago people have already been doing abukay and sayo (placer and lode mining, see box in page 91) as a method of ore extraction for their livelihood. Processing of these minerals was originally done by simply cleaning by hand and washing. Most of the time, it was the women who processed the ore into gold. The final process is smelting in an earthenware crucible called “gangi”. If needed, borax, when it became available, was applied to clean the gold, but this is seldom done. Processing ore extracted through the lode mining technology is simple. Rocks containing the ore are broken manually using a double headed hammer on a space covered with rubber or sack called “baliwengweng” to prevent fragments of ore from scattering. These small pieces are further crushed in the “alintegan” (large mortar). With the use of “alinteg” (grinder) by rolling it back and forth until the pieces have turned to dust. These are collected into a bucket and then washed on a “sabak” (separator) where the slurry is panned and the gold separated from the mud. This sabak contains a burlap sack laid over it that catches the fine metal that is then washed into a holding tank called the “dayasan” the gold grains are manually collected with the use of sieve. This are wrapped in plastic then
sprinkled with flux and then smelted in the earthenware crucible. The processed gold is then measured and weighed and sold.¹

3. Ownership and Sharing of Benefits

It is a common knowledge that a group, family, clan or even individual who first finds a deposit and actually mines it in an area has rights to the find. (Most often, they are the owner of the site or area). Those with rights do not just let other people to do mining activity in his mining area. The owner passes may share or transfer rights to their immediate relatives, clan, or family members.

Over generations, the Kankanaey and Bago folk have devised ways and systems on how to divide and share gold finds. A family may do the labor all by themselves and all proceeds go to the family. Another option is for several households under the kinship line to undertake the mining activity as a group and divide whatever gold extracted proportionately among themselves. The proportion maybe based on the number of family members who worked, or according to the capacity of the individual.

In some instances, however, non-kin/owner members join in the activity. This is part of a Kankanaey and Bago tradition to share with others God’s grace and bounty. When non-kin/owner members strike a jackpot, a minor portion of the gold will be set aside for the kin group/owner. But the lion’s share goes to and is divided equally among the finders. A kin/owner elder keep the portion set aside for the kin/owner group and is used for rituals. It is the culture of Kankanaey and Bago to extract gold only when needed.

¹ PBSR, p. 136
4. Taboos

Part of Kankanaey and Bago culture is some taboos miners observe while engaged in either placer or lode mining. This includes abstaining from sex, avoiding abusive language, refraining from eating fish and buffalo meat, not gambling and not scattering garbage within the mine site.¹

5. Mine Management

The Kankanaey and Bago have their simple way of placer and lode mining management. Owners of mine area who are not able to manage the activity will let others to administer/manage the business. The parties will have equal shares of the proceeds from the mining business. Other way of mining management by the Kankanaey and Bago people is the so-called financing system (supply) wherein the owner will provide all the inputs/materials and a certain group or individual will do the manual work. In terms of sharing the proceeds derived from the mine, all the expenses during the operation will be deducted from the gross income and whatever remains and/or the remaining will be shared equally by the owner and worker/s.

6. Hand tools Used in Placer Mining²

Balkis (sluice box) is made of galvanized iron fitted with a burlap sack and covered with a coarse screen to catch the fine particles containing the gold nuggets or dust.

Sampulan (vanning pan) collects river sediments.

Kalid (coconut shell) is used to scoop and collect and move fine particles or sediments.

¹ PBSR, p. 136
² PBSR, p. 134
Saluddan (coarse screen) catches residues.

Akiyak (metal tray sieve) filters fine particles from the coarse ones.

Ballita (steel digging bar) is used to dig the soil or sand and to move rocks.

Pala (shovel) is used to construct channels and scoop sand.

F. THE TONGTONG SYSTEM OF JUSTICE

The domain of the Kankanaey and Bago tribes of Bakun is practically peaceful. The Kankanaey and Bago society is generally crime-free. Thanks to an age-old custom law and justice system called the tongtong, which decides and settles cases of misbehavior and disputes through a process to come up with a consensus.

This oral customary law and justice system has been practiced since time immemorial. Venerated ancestors have passed down the practice from generation to generation. The system is accepted as partly sacred and unchanging. Nobody knows who first devised this customary law and justice system, which has never been amended. The system simply existed in the memory of wise, old folk who have proved to be the best arbiters of the villages. Their verdict and decision are effectively enforced by public opinion.

Shame is the ultimate sanction for a crime. A convicted party, therefore, finds it intolerable to live in a unanimously reproachful community. This tribal law covers all aspects of behavior and its adjudication process is participatory. No one is a judge. No one presides.

\[1\text{Lifted from PBSR, p. 139}\]
Together with their relatives, both contending parties go to the tongtongan or community court and sit among elders and leaders of the community or village. As soon as both parties are duly represented, an elder may start (the) session by presenting the background or the bone of conflict of a case or may immediately call upon the complaining party to present its case.

A complainant, who cannot speak for himself, may appoint a relative to present the complaint. The other party is then called to argue, deny or admit the complaint.

Both contending parties can argue freely. But any of the elders can speak out to guide and direct the arguments when these are going nowhere or when arguments become heated. All speakers remain seated during the tongtong process. The elders’ council and the community folk gathered can reprimand anyone who stands or points a finger at somebody. The elders’ council and the community folk gathered also strictly observe silence. Anybody who desires to talk makes a signal and speaks only when it is his or her turn to do so.

Every elder (man and woman alike) who joins in the discussion, actually helps interpret the custom law under the tongtong system. But the custom law interpreter has no power except to persuade or mobilize public opinion to back his argument. And anybody who joins in the tongtong deliberations acts essentially as a moralist. As such, he or she advises the disputing parties or mediates with tact and diplomacy. If necessary, he or she even scolds to help repair the breach between the two parties.

The tongtong system is participatory and no particular person or persons has or have been assigned beforehand to make judgment. The tongtong is done in public in view of as many people as possible. This setup makes transparency the norm and lying defacing.
An agreement or decision is made only after both parties have presented their sides and the temper of the discussion has calmed down. At this point an elder may call for a break to give elders and participants a chance to answer the call of nature. At the same time, elders and representatives from both parties huddle in a corner to arrive at a common decision. The decision has to be unanimous for voting is not a norm.

Once it reaches a decision, the group meets again, and an elder with a clear, loud voice announces the verdict. As both parties accept the decision, the second part of the tongtong is to decide the penalty.

Setting the penalty is also participatory. The party to be penalized may bargain until a final penalty is made. Only then can the tongtong rest the case.
III. ANCESTRAL DOMAIN PROFILE

A. THE PEOPLE

We are often referred to belong to the Kankanaey and Bago tribes. The term “tribes” in this instance is used loosely, and not similar to the original African application of the term, which refers to peoples who have well-defined social and political structures, and African tribes have kings. Kankanaey refers to the ethno-linguistic group in Northern Benguet and Western Mountain Province, while Bago is that group referring mostly to the indigenous peoples on the western slopes of the Cordilleras, whose language has relatively more in common with Ilocano, and who have intermarried with these lowland people.

Our people are of Malayan-Indonesian stock, and their agriculture, housing and livestock raising technology are similar to these peoples. Light brown is the general complexion, “and only those who work less or not at all in the fields are fairer. Hair is mostly straight, with a few exceptions who have wavy or curly hair. Generally, our people have little hair on their bodies or faces. Eyes are brown.

We are indigenous people who have become historically differentiated from other Filipinos because we retained much of our traditional ways while others, specially lowland Filipinos assimilated Spanish colonial culture. For this reason, our difference with them became the basis for discrimination against our people.

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1 Participatory Baseline Survey Report, p. 17
2 ibid, p 18
3 ibid.
The Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act of 1997 (IPRA), defines indigenous people to refer to

“a group of people or homogenous societies identified by self ascription and ascription by others, who are continuously live 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 people who are regarded as indigenous on accounts 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”

Our people fits the definition, and our territory, our domain is what we call our “saguday.”

1. Clothing

Long ago, our people had little cloth, and so had to make do with g-strings called “kuba” and other covering made from bark. Later on, as trade with lowland communities and as weaving technology was learned, the common clothing used for the men wore hand-woven loincloths called “wanes”, and a “shorter strip worn around the head as a turban called bedbed.” At present,
however, clothing is westernized, and the wanes is only used as a dead man’s attire.¹

The women traditionally wore a wrap-around skirt called “eten.” This was secured around the waist with a thick woven belt called “bakget.” A long-sleeved blouse called caba is also worn. “Women’s hair are held in place by colorful beads or bainges some of which are made of agate stone cut in varied shapes, white tapering and oblong-shaped ivory, and tiny red, white and blue or yellow porcelain beads. Other beads are made of snake bones. Kankanaey and Bago folk believe that those who wear snake-bone beads are protected from lightning. Women rarely wear earrings or other body ornaments. Men do not have ornaments, not even rings.²

These traditional costumes are now worn only during special occasions such as traditional feasts or in cultural presentations. The present generations dress much like other modern Filipinos now. Traditional hand-woven cloth is much more expensive than the mass-produced clothing in the market, and even traditional costumes are not common, so that our people have to borrow these from one another when needed. The older generation are more likely to maintain these traditional clothing.

2. Social Organization

a. Dispersed Settlements, the pulok

Settlements in the early days were dispersed, though households tended to relate with other nearby households in clusters called “pulok”. Houses were

¹ ibid.
² ibid.
mostly located near the family’s fields, for the Bakun people believe that “crops yield more when constantly smoked and touched by human hands.”\(^1\)

Now, there are concentrations of houses in each barangay, although some households are still dispersed. The pulok system still exists, however.

“A circle of relatives living within a pulok shares economic and social activities. Common among the Kankanaey and Bago households is the role of the papangoan (men and women of acknowledged leadership) as the nucleus of a corporate descent group. During their lifetime, except when trust and confidence has been lost due to immorality or unpopular decision, they are held in high esteem. When they die, they join the ranks of ancestors and their graves are considered sacred.”\(^2\)

The circle of relatives is actually the extended family, and it is normal for Kankanaey and Bago people to trace bilateral descent groups up to four or more generations. Marriages may actually happen between “cousins,” though many times removed. The tendency in the past was to marry within the community, so that everyone became related to each other in some way, and in many ways.

Divorce was allowed for several reasons, including infidelity on the part of either spouse, or impotence. Divorce cases are settled or heard in the tongtong system.

3. Religion

Christianity is now the present dominant religion in Bakun, although there are several Christian denominations. Except for Ancestor Worship (the term used to describe the indigenous religion or belief system) and Islam all the other

\(^1\) ibid, p 24
\(^2\) Participatory Baseline Survey Report, p. 23
entries in the table on the next page are Christian denominations. This means that there are only 730 who continue to practice the old ways, and the others have accepted other faiths. However, even while practicing Christianity, there are those who still follow the old ways, and a mix of the traditional religion and Christianity is followed.

**Indigenous Belief System**
(lifted from Participatory Baseline Survey Report, p. 28)

The Kankanaey and Bago tribes worship their ancestors. Most of their fowls and animals are reserved for religious sacrifices. They are also preoccupied with their worldly existence as shown by their overwhelming loyalty to their kinship group. In this realm an individual feels freed because he knows he is bound and held by something much bigger than himself, to which his well-being lies secured. The same worldview reflects the Kankanaey and Bago attitude towards the supernatural being.

Both the spirits of Kankanaey and Bago ancestors and the vague unknown, they call KABUNIAN in their prayers. But during rituals, sacrifices are dedicated only to the spirits. KABUNIAN’s name may be invoked, but no particular sacrifice is made to him. The indigenous folk believe that it is beyond man to manipulate Kabunian’s ways. But for the worldly spirits, any strained relationship with them is believed to cause disasters to the living.

The Kankanaey and Bago also believe that animal blood is needed to fertilize the soil for crops, animals and humankind. Any product of the soil has to be correspondingly shared back to the earth. Small wonder, the Kankanaey, as with other indigenous folk, pour a drip of wine to the soil before one takes a drink. This is called pitik or libation.

All traditional rituals are done not only to benefit one individual. They also seek to bring peace and serve the well-being of the pulok or community. This is manifested in their assembly, Relatives and pulok or ili members assemble not only to enjoy mystical communion but also to resolve conflicts, do business, meet special needs or maintain their solidarity by fulfilling their obligations and responsibilities to one another.
Table 2. Population by Religion\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion/Denomination</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>4944</td>
<td>39.451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCCP</td>
<td>3177</td>
<td>25.3511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly of God</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>10.3495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestor Worship</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>5.82509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>3.75838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Spiritists in the Phil.Inc.</td>
<td>422</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>2.80881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baligi</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>2.25024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus Mountain Praise Ministry</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>1.7954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible Baptist Church</td>
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<td>1.54804</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>1.173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Day Adventists (Sabatists)</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0.60645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jehovah’s Witnesses</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>0.59847</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFKKMI</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.47877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethel</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0.30322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazarene</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.15959</td>
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<td>Holy Spirit Movements</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.05586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Believers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.04788</td>
</tr>
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<td>CDCCP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.03192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iglesia ni Kristo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.03192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Ancestor worship refers to the rites conducted in honor of deceased relatives by their descendants. Related to animism, such worship is based on the idea that the dead continue to influence the world of the living.” (David C. Yu, 1997 Grolier Multimedia Encyclopedia)  

\(^1\) PBSR, p. 31
“Ancestor Worship, reverence granted to deceased relatives who are believed to have become powerful spiritual beings or, less frequently, to have attained the status of gods. It is based on the belief that ancestors are active members of society and are still interested in the affairs of their living relatives.

The cult of ancestors is common, although not universal. It has been extensively documented in West African societies (the Bantu and the Shona), in Polynesia and Melanesia (the Dobu and the Manus), among several Indo-European peoples (the ancient Scandinavians, Romans, and Germans), and especially in China and Japan. In general, ancestors are believed to wield great authority, having special powers to influence the course of events or to control the well-being of their living relatives. Protection of the family is one of their main concerns. They are considered intermediaries between the supreme god, or the gods, and the people, and can communicate with the living through dreams and by possession. The attitude toward them is one of mixed fear and reverence. If neglected, the ancestors may cause disease and other misfortunes. Propitiation, supplication, prayer, and sacrifice are various ways in which the living can communicate with their ancestors.

Ancestor worship is a strong indication of the value placed on the household and of the strong ties that exist between the past and the present. The beliefs and practices connected with the cult help to integrate the family, to sanction the traditional political structure, and to encourage respect for living elders. Some scholars have also interpreted it as a source of individual well-being and of social harmony and stability. Because it is practiced by family groups, ancestor worship excludes proselytizing and rarely involves a separate priesthood. It has no formal doctrines and is ordinarily an aspect of some larger religious system.”

4. Gender Roles, the youth.

In the traditional Kankanaey and Bago community, there were expected gender roles, particularly in the production process and in household jobs. However, women and men “share the various tasks in the swiddens and wet rice fields.”¹ While there are some roles or tasks expected of a particular gender, it is not uncommon to observe role reversals or both genders performing the tasks.

Men are expected to do the plowing and harvesting (specially in the wet rice fields), and the gathering of, and splitting, firewood. This task was expected of every male adult, regardless of social status. Women, on the other hand, were tasked with cooking, cleaning, doing the laundry, and tasks in the swidden farm, and child care.

Children when old enough are expected to share in caring for their younger siblings, and to help in most household chores, including work in the fields. This is a training process for the young to prepare them for adulthood.

Gender Roles in the Sida
(Quoted from the Participatory Baseline Survey Report, p. 24)

In community cultural activities, men and women share in maintaining community facilities, resources and social functions. This is best illustrated in a traditional festivity called the sida, during which men and women share in the preparation and activities of the festivity itself.

One important element of the sida is tapey or rice wine, which is not only served as a social drink but is also as a sacred offering to the gods and spirits. It is the elderly women who prepare tapey.

While the women are preparing tapey, the men are gathering firewood for the sida.

On the day of the sida, both men and women, including children, have roles to play, such as fetching water and preparing other materials for the celebration. Younger men butcher the animals to be offered. And an elder called the mambunong recites prayers to the gods and spirits. For their part, some women would be cleaning and washing the intestines of butchered animals because these intestines are also cooked and served as part of the sida menu.

¹ ibid.
These gender roles continue to be followed in present-day Bakun, though there is more sharing in the accomplishment of tasks. Further, the introduction of non-traditional sources of livelihood has empowered women, who have become employed.

Even in the traditional setting, women in Bakun may participate in decision-making, and they do inherit property. Women now engage in many non-traditional trades and industries. Further, the present political system does not exclude them from seeking office.

As soon as the meat is cooked, the women set the yard for a late lunch. The women set up on the yard a line of banana stalks or plates with rice or and soup, around which community folk and visitors sit around as they wait for the cooked meat, which some men will later distribute. In some villages, such as in Barangay Poblacion, it is the women who distribute the meat to the children. After the first batch of partakers in the lunch (are) done, both women and men mostly from the younger age bracket, fix the used materials and set the ground again for the next batch and so on until all had taken their lunch. And after they have had their fill, the community folk wait for their share of raw meat, which some men in charge will distribute.

Men and women also share in the other rituals of the *sida*. Both men and women participate in ritual dances as the men play gongs and drums.

### 5. Bakun Organizations and Institutions

There are many organizations in Bakun at present, as may be seen in the following table. These organizations “can be strengthened and mobilized to help implement projects for the ancestral domain.”

Government organized many of the cooperatives and organizations as part of its many programs. There is a continuing need to improve upon the capabilities of these organizations, especially so that they could be mutually helpful to each other.
Table 3. EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS/INSTITUTIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BARANGAY</th>
<th>COOPERATIVES</th>
<th>YOUTH</th>
<th>Women's Associations</th>
<th>OTHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>Bakun Employees and Farmers Cooperative</td>
<td>Ampusongan 4-H</td>
<td>Ampusongan Women's Club</td>
<td>Ampusongan Farmer Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bakun Livelihood Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td>Sangguniang Kabataan</td>
<td>Namagtey Rural Women's Club</td>
<td>Bakun Development Center Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bay-o Camiling Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td>Ampusongan Catholic Youth Organization</td>
<td></td>
<td>Namagtey Agricultural Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gabay Beta-a Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sangguniang Kabataan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bagu Community Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bagu Catholic Youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Movement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Bakun Integrated Social Forestry Multi-Purpose Cooperative</td>
<td>Sangguniang Kabataan</td>
<td>Sipitan Rural Women's Club</td>
<td>Bayoyo Dalipey Farmer's Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dalipey Multi-Purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Masalin Farmers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Palidan Farmers Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 PBSR, pp 26-27
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BARANGAY</th>
<th>COOPERATIVES</th>
<th>YOUTH</th>
<th>Women's Associations</th>
<th>OTHERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>Fold Farms Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td>Sangguniang Kabataan</td>
<td>Gambang Women's Association</td>
<td>Batanes Community Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sookan Farmers Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Alibacong Women's Organization</td>
<td>Pilando - Inabba-Pangawan Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gambang Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sookan Women's Organization</td>
<td>Pulag Gambang Farmers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pilando-Gambang Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bakun Center Women's Development Assistance Program</td>
<td>Mogao Vegetable Growers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Junction Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goldstar Pocket mines association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bay-o Multi-purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Western Gambang Council of Elders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bagtangan Farmers Multi-Purpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bolbolo-Bayoyo-Yugo Surface Owners Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa</td>
<td>Kayapa Multipurpose Cooperative</td>
<td>Sangguniang Kabataan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kayapa Neighborhood Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legab Consumers cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BARANGAY</td>
<td>COOPERATIVES</td>
<td>YOUTH</td>
<td>Women's Associations</td>
<td>OTHERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>Bakun Central Multi-purpose Cooperative Credit/Trucking Service</td>
<td>Sangguniang Kabataan</td>
<td>Beyeng Mother's Association</td>
<td>Poblacion Farmer's Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dada Consumers Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lobo-Dada-Taliling Multipurpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taliling-Lobo Farmers Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>Sinacbat Community Multipurpose Cooperative, Inc.</td>
<td>Sinacbat 4-H Club</td>
<td>Sinacbat Rural Improvement Club</td>
<td>Sinacbat Farmer's Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamew Multipurpose Cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Luponan-Dalingoan Credit Union, Inc.</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. DECISION MAKING AND JUSTICE SYSTEM

The traditional political system centered around the “dap-ay,” a small hut which serves as the gathering place for men, and where matters of the community were decided in informal gatherings. But these gatherings may take place outside or away from the dap-ay. Older men were respected, and their counsel valued, and became the bases of decisions. Most decisions were by consensus. Respect was accorded to those elders who have married off their children, as this was an indication of maturity and responsibility.

Though generally it was the men who carried on with discussions and seemed to make the decisions, the counsel of women were also sought. The men discussed matters in their households with their wives, and on matters where women might have a strong opinion, they involve themselves in the discussion.

There was no permanent council that decided on matters. Rather, most anybody could listen to, or join in, the discussions. Only when one was particularly concerned or considered experienced on the matter was this person particularly sought to give an opinion or view.

The loose group of respected elders (male and female) whose opinions mattered also decided on many other things, such as agricultural schedules (times of planting and other work in the fields), times of feasts or ceremonies, settlement of disputes or misunderstandings, and others. “Acting as a group of wise, experienced persons of age, these elders have the power to hear, review, and judge disagreements and controversies in their respective puloks/villages. They also impose fine(s) and give corresponding punishments to offenders during tongtong sessions when cases are submitted for decision.”

1 ibid.
This group is referred to as the “papangoan,” (leaders) or “panglakayen” (old men). It is not a hereditary title or function. “Any community leader, man or woman and not necessarily old who is acknowledged to have wisdom and good moral standing becomes one by acclamation. But senior members of the community are preferred.”

The ili (community) is composed of several puloks, and if several or all the puloks are involved in a controversy, a general council of those affected is convened. After “members of the members of the council of various puloks carefully deliberate on points of disagreements and controversies and cite past precedents or examples of similar disputes,” they would reach upon a compromise or decision. The compromise or decision has to be by consensus so that all concerned would accept and respect the result of the decision.

The justice system, or more accurately, conflict settlement, was done through the “tongtong system”. Conflicting parties were called together to a dialogue with the elders. After much discussion on the facts and nature of the conflict or misunderstanding, the elders would elicit a solution from the protagonists, or they might suggest a solution. For offenders, “shame” or bain is the “ultimate sanction of a crime. A convicted party, therefore finds it intolerable to live in a unanimously reproachful community. This tribal law covers all aspects of behavior and its adjudication process is participatory. No one is a judge. No one presides.” Ostracism is not uncommon when offenders are intractable.

At present, the tongtong system is still being followed. However, the Barangay Lupon is also involved, as required by law. It is fortunate that the members of the Lupon are respected members of the community, and are the same who would be involved in the tongtong system. So when a case is presented, the group first

1 ibid.
2 ibid.
3 ibid, p 139
tries the tongtong system, and would go through the process of looking for a settlement or compromise between the parties, and come up with a decision using customary law and practice. However, if the parties fail to agree, then the group would perform its function as the Lupon and go through the prescribed processes required of it.

It has been observed that there are more and more people of Bakun who choose to elevate cases to the courts, though the tongtong system is still active.

There are decision points in traditional society that have become obsolete. For instance, the elders previously decided on the agricultural calendar, including ritual holidays (ngilin). However, at present, with many people involved in vegetable farming, the rituals associated with the rice cycle do not apply, and thus the elders could not set the calendar. Further, with the Christianization of the community, the various rituals are steadily being lost, so that not many people subscribe to the rituals. Ritual holidays are then replaced with the Sabbath, as many of the people do not work on Sunday in observance of this Christian tradition.

1. Demography

As of December 2002, Bakun has a population of 13,700 composed of 7,132 males and 6,568 females as per Municipal Health Office (MHO) annual report. It is distributed to the different barangays as follows:
Table 4. Population by Barangay\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>2,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>2,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>3,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa</td>
<td>1,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>1,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>1,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,700</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barangay Gambang has the highest number of population with 3,842, followed by Barangay Dalipey with 2,149 and third is Barangay Ampusongan with a population of 2,024. These three barangays have roads, specially Gambang, which is traversed by the main highway. Proximity to the road makes it possible for the residents to more easily transport their products, so more people in these barangays are engaged in commercial vegetable production.

\(^1\) Municipal Health Office 2002 Annual Report
The other four barangays have a smaller population. These are far from the
road. Vegetable gardening has just recently started to become popular in barangays Poblacion and Sinacbat. Although far from the main highway, there are roads going to these two barangays. Kayapa and Bagu, on the other hand, are far from the road, as there is no road going to Kayapa while the recently-opened road going to Bagu is closed during the rainy season.

Bakun is also composed of 2,251 households with an average household size of 5.57 as of December 1998\(^1\) distributed per barangay as follows:

**Table 5. Number of Households by Barangay**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th># of Households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>609</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2251</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than one-fourth (28.15\%) of the population of Bakun is found in Barangay Gambang, although its land area is only 12.57\% of the domain. 15.74\% of the Bakun population is found in Dalipey, 14.83\% in Ampusongan, 13.13\% in Poblacion, 11.02\% in Kayapa, and 6.93\% in Bagu.

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\(^1\) PBSR
### Table 6. Population Density by Barangay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>1998 Population</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Land Area (ha)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Density (No. of persons per ha)</th>
<th>Average Area per person (ha)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>2,024</td>
<td>14.83</td>
<td>4391.14</td>
<td>14.31</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>2.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>946</td>
<td>6.93</td>
<td>5161.25</td>
<td>16.82</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>2,149</td>
<td>15.74</td>
<td>3701.25</td>
<td>12.06</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>3,842</td>
<td>28.15</td>
<td>3856.62</td>
<td>12.57</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>11.02</td>
<td>5901.68</td>
<td>19.24</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>3.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>1,792</td>
<td>13.13</td>
<td>3031.09</td>
<td>9.88</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>1,393</td>
<td>10.21</td>
<td>4635.70</td>
<td>15.11</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13650</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>30678.74</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The population density table shows that Gambang is the most densely populated, followed in order by Dalipey, Poblacion, Ampusongan, Sinacbat, Kayapa and Bagu. There are, on average, 1.0 persons for every hectare of Gambang, while there are only 0.20 persons for every hectare in Bagu.
Figure 2. Average area in hectares per person (by barangay)

The average area per person would show that each person has 5.46 hectares in Bagu, 3.92 hectares in Kayapa, 3.33 hectares in Sinacbat, 2.17 hectares in Ampusongan, 1.69 hectares in Poblacion, and 1.0 hectare in Gambang.

2. Education

There is a variation in the literacy rate per age bracket of the people of Bakun. According to the 1998 Participatory Baseline Survey Report, 1487 of those in the age bracket of 16-21 yrs. are literate, and 35 are illiterate. 1953 of the age of 22-30 are literate, while 115 are illiterate. 1780 of the age of 31-44 are literate while 216 are illiterate. Those at the age of 45-60 have 896 literates and 320 illiterates. Finally, 202 in the age bracket of 61 and above are literate and 336 are illiterate. The biggest number of those surveyed is in the 22-30-age bracket,
a range of 9 years, so the number would be expected to exceed the 16-21-age bracket, which spans only 5 years. Many at the age of 31-44 (a span of 15 years) are expected to be outside Bakun earning a living, so there were fewer surveyed. There are fewer respondents in the age brackets of 45-60 for the same reason, and deaths would have affected this bracket and that of 61 and above.

Figure 3. Literacy by Age Bracket
It is interesting to note that the percentage of literacy is higher in the younger age brackets, and it is an indication that more and more people are going to school. While there are more illiterates (62.45%) than literates (37.55%) in the age bracket of 61 and above, the percentage has consistently raised in the younger age brackets, so that 97.70% of those between the ages of 16-21 years of age

**Figure 4. Literacy and Illiteracy Rates**
are literate, and only 2.30% are illiterate.

The people of Bakun value education, and these figures illustrate that reality.

In the survey of those aged 17-60 years old, conducted in 1998, a total of 546 people of Bakun finished various courses in college. (see table below) Among the identified courses (there are 70 who graduated but the course finished is unspecified), those who finished BS elementary Education numbered the most with 84. There are an additional 29 who finished BS Education, 19 with BS Agricultural Education and 8 with BS Industrial Education. After Education, Midwifery follows as the next most numerous, with 53 graduates. Commerce, Banking and Accountancy graduates are also numerous, with 41 finishing BS Commerce, 6 BS Accountancy, 2 Banking and finance and 1 in Business Administration. Those who finished BS Nursing number 26. Graduates in the field of agriculture include 22 in BS Agriculture, 1 BS Agricultural Engineering, 1 in BS Animal Technology and 3 in Veterinary Medicine. There are also 19 BS Forestry graduates, as well as 20 who finished Civil engineering and 19 who graduated Theology studies. There are other courses finished, these seem to be the favorites so far.

3. Health

Pneumonia continues to be the leading cause of death, and cardiovascular diseases and hypertension are also a concern.¹ Pneumonia is also the cause of the single infant death noted in the 1998 Participatory Baseline Survey Report, and the report cites the need to give attention to maternal and infant health care so that the disease may be prevented or responded to in time. There is also a mention of the various causes of morbidity, which includes pneumonia, diarrhea, gastro-intestinal disorders, parasitism, scabies, bronchitis and respiratory infections, among others. These diseases could be prevented or cured at their

¹ PBSR p. 50
earlier stages, and so there is a need to improve the health conditions of the people of Bakun.

Nutrition problems are still a reality that needs to be addressed, the 1998 PBSR also notes, as there are still cases of malnutrition among children.
Table 7. POPULATION BY COURSE FINISHED ACCORDING TO GENDER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Finished</th>
<th>Number of Graduates</th>
<th>Course Finished</th>
<th>Number of Graduates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB Economics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BS Home Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB Political Science</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BS Industrial Education</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AB (Unspecified)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>BS Industrial Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Geodetic Eng'g</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>BS Industrial Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS in Fisheries &amp; Aquatic Resources</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BS Information and Computer Science</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor of Secondary Education</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>BS Marine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Accountancy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>BS Mechanical Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Agr - business</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>BS Medical Technology</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Education</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>BS Mining Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Engineering</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BS Nursing</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>BS Nutrition and Dietetics</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>BS Police Science</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BS Public Administration</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking and Finance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BS Tourism</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>BS Veterinary Medicine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Administration</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>College graduate(Unspecified)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Civil Engineering</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Commerce</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Forest ranger</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Computer Science</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Criminology</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>MA in Education</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Education</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Medical Doctor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Electrical Engineering</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Midwifery</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Electrical Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Theology</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Electronics and Communication</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Vocational Agri-Mechanic</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Elementary Education</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>Vocational Basic Seamanship</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Forestry</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Vocational Community Development</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Geodetic Engineering</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Vocational Computer Secretarial</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BS Home Economics</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Total Graduates</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 PBSR, p. 112-116. Note: Age range covered by this report is from 17-60 yrs. Old
C. THE ECONOMY

1. Traditional Agriculture

Agriculture continues to be the primary source of livelihood of most Kankanaey and Bago people in Bakun. Wet rice farming is practiced, specially on the lower slopes and along river valleys where there is water and the climate is warmer. Kintoman, a local variety, is the preferred crop. There are two cropping seasons for wet rice farming, one from January to July, and a shorter cropping season from July to November or December.

Upland rice farming, which where the crop relies on the rains for water, is also practiced, with one cropping per year, specially in the lower elevations.

Shifting swidden agriculture, or what is locally termed as nem-a (meaning the technology and the actual farm) is also practiced, with camote, taro, sayote, pineapple, peas, ginger, peanuts, corn, cassava, squash, spinach, string beans, pepper, onions, barley, and other vegetables are planted.

The table on the following pages shows the crops planted and the area planted to each crop by barangay.
Table 8. Areas devoted to Traditional Farming and Crops Planted by Barangay\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Crops Planted</th>
<th>No. of Households Planting</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
<th>Area in hectares planted</th>
<th>Average area per household in sq.m.(^2)</th>
<th>Total Area (ha)</th>
<th>% of Barangay area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>23.99%</td>
<td>10.587600</td>
<td>1,275.614</td>
<td>74.6668</td>
<td>1.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>31.79%</td>
<td>12.428320</td>
<td>1,129.847</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>35.84%</td>
<td>17.825920</td>
<td>1,437.574</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>23.99%</td>
<td>12.151520</td>
<td>1,464.039</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>47.98%</td>
<td>21.535040</td>
<td>1,297.292</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.76%</td>
<td>0.138400</td>
<td>106.462</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>42.56%</td>
<td>49.865830</td>
<td>6,007.931</td>
<td>140.526054</td>
<td>2.72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>56.41%</td>
<td>26.880750</td>
<td>2,443.705</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>63.59%</td>
<td>16.014920</td>
<td>1,291.526</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>42.56%</td>
<td>9.471967</td>
<td>1,141.201</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>85.13%</td>
<td>27.422420</td>
<td>1,651.953</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pigeon Pea</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16.41%</td>
<td>5.427500</td>
<td>1,696.094</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bush Sitao</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>16.41%</td>
<td>5.442667</td>
<td>1,700.833</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td>46.725000</td>
<td>3,738.000</td>
<td>201.2875</td>
<td>5.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>73.33%</td>
<td>54.375000</td>
<td>1,977.273</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>29.87%</td>
<td>20.937500</td>
<td>1,869.420</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>36.53%</td>
<td>27.062500</td>
<td>1,975.365</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>40.00%</td>
<td>45.937500</td>
<td>3,062.500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squash</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>3.125000</td>
<td>2,604.167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>3.125000</td>
<td>2,604.167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
<td>0.290000</td>
<td>207.143</td>
<td>0.870000</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Table abridged from PBSR, pp. 72-78

\(^2\) Average area computed in PBSR is based on total households. In this table, it is the total area planted to the crop divided by the ACTUAL number of households planting the crop.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Crops Planted</th>
<th>No. of Households Planting</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
<th>Area in hectares planted</th>
<th>Average area per household in sq.m.²</th>
<th>Total Area (ha)</th>
<th>% of Barangay area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barangay Area in hectares= 3,856.61</td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.76%</td>
<td>0.580000</td>
<td>200.000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Households= 609</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>72.39%</td>
<td>21.900180</td>
<td>1,128.875</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barangay Area in hectares= 3,031.09</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>45.15%</td>
<td>27.043640</td>
<td>2,235.012</td>
<td>246.41718</td>
<td>8.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>54.48%</td>
<td>63.771820</td>
<td>4,367.933</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>27.24%</td>
<td>62.992180</td>
<td>8,629.066</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>53.07%</td>
<td>70.709360</td>
<td>5,843.749</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>75.00%</td>
<td>39.729000</td>
<td>2,323.333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barangay Area in hectares= 4,635.70</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>25.00%</td>
<td>2.109000</td>
<td>370.000</td>
<td>73.2108</td>
<td>1.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19.74%</td>
<td>0.609900</td>
<td>135.533</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.91%</td>
<td>2.394000</td>
<td>704.118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>69.74%</td>
<td>28.368900</td>
<td>1,784.208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa</td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>80.97%</td>
<td>84.494740</td>
<td>3,893.767</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barangay Area in hectares= 5,901.68</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>68.26%</td>
<td>5.247320</td>
<td>334.224</td>
<td>144.459633</td>
<td>2.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>46.96%</td>
<td>4.593947</td>
<td>425.365</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>36.52%</td>
<td>6.524737</td>
<td>776.754</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>89.13%</td>
<td>38.814320</td>
<td>1,893.381</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pigeon Pea</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.43%</td>
<td>1.755263</td>
<td>731.360</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.22%</td>
<td>3.029306</td>
<td>2,524.422</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If all households were engaged with generally the same production processes and planted the same crops, the area planted would be proportional to the population of the barangay. This is because agriculture was the sole major source of livelihood. At present, however, there are other sources, so that not all households engage in traditional agriculture. As mentioned elsewhere in page 22 of this book, some of the areas originally planted with traditional crops were converted to vegetable farms.

This is very apparent in Barangay Gambang, which now has just 0.87 hectares devoted to traditional crops. This is much lower than the areas cultivated by other barangays for traditional crops. Kayapa, despite having a population of 1,504 persons, (Please see Table 4. Population by Barangay, p. 68) plants 144.459633 hectares with traditional crops. Poblacion, having a population of 1792, and devotes 246.4178 hectares to traditional agriculture.

Bagu, with a population 946, cultivates 140.526054 hectares for traditional crops. Ampusongan, however, despite having a population of 2024, cultivates just 74.668 hectares for traditional crops. This would indicate other sources of livelihood other than traditional farming, as is the case with Gambang. Both these barangays have commercial vegetable production, with more than half of Ampusongan households (see Table 11., p. 87) engaged in commercial vegetable production. The same is true with Gambang (Table 10, p. 85), which devotes 781.3688 hectares to commercial farms.

Despite having a large area devoted to commercial farms, (408.57298 hectares), fewer of the households of Poblacion are engaged in vegetable production, and so the others still rely on traditional agriculture to provide for their needs.
Table 9. Total Area Devoted to Traditional Agriculture in the Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>% of Households</th>
<th>Area Planted</th>
<th>% of Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>887</td>
<td>39.40%</td>
<td>253.592350</td>
<td>0.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>36.87%</td>
<td>128.084030</td>
<td>0.42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peanut</td>
<td>659</td>
<td>29.28%</td>
<td>123.754007</td>
<td>0.40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>21.95%</td>
<td>120.596904</td>
<td>0.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camote</td>
<td>996</td>
<td>44.25%</td>
<td>233.367540</td>
<td>0.76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pigeon Pea</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>2.49%</td>
<td>7.182763</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>3.029306</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barley</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>3.125000</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td>0.138400</td>
<td>0.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush Sitao</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1.42%</td>
<td>5.442667</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squash</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.53%</td>
<td>3.125000</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>881.437967</td>
<td>2.87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Households in Bakun = 2251
Bakun Municipal Area = 30678.41

The total area devoted to traditional agriculture in the domain is 881.437967 hectares, or 2.87% of the municipal area. In contrast, the total area devoted to commercial vegetable production is 1619.809813 hectares, or 5.48 percent of Bakun's total area (see Table 13, p. 89).

2. Commercial Farming

A major industry in the municipality, specially in Gambang, and growing in other barangays, is commercial farming. Crops planted are mostly vegetables, but there are those who plant cutflowers. The industry is expected to further grow when roads are opened to other barangays, and even more if the roads are improved.
Energization has made it possible for some to set up greenhouses for cutflowers, and this industry is still growing.

The technologies in commercial farming are mostly acquired through experience and farmer-to-farmer sharing. Government, specially the Department of Agriculture, may provide some assistance and trainings, but the farmer most often learns the industry on his own.

There has been a steady expansion of the area devoted to vegetable farms. The mountainsides have been bulldozed to open new farms, and rice fields have been converted to vegetable farms.

Below are tables abridged from the 1998 Participatory Baseline Survey Report that identifies garden crops planted in Bakun. The survey was done in 1998, and the figures would have changed. The survey also did not find out how many of the households planted two or more crops, and which crops these were, but the available data would illustrate vividly how commercial vegetable farming is a major industry.
Table 10. Commercially-Cultivated Crops and Areas Planted in Barangay Bagu and Sinacbat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Crops Planted</th>
<th>No. of Households Planting</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
<th>Area in hectares planted</th>
<th>Average area per household in sq.m.</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>% to Barangay area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.89%</td>
<td>2.70833</td>
<td>2708.333</td>
<td>2.708333</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.65%</td>
<td>5.70</td>
<td>2590.909</td>
<td>2514.709</td>
<td>14.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.91%</td>
<td>8.55</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Barangay Kayapa does not have commercially cultivated gardens there. Barangay Bagu has only one commercial crop, peas, and it is planted by only ten (10) households. Sinacbat has two commercial vegetable crops, potatoes and carrots, with 22 and 34 households cultivating them, respectively. No roads reach these three barangays, so that commercial vegetable farming has not yet permeated. However, it is to be expected that should roads be opened, vegetable farms will be opened.

1 Table abridged from PBSR, pp. 66-71
2 Average area computed in PBSR is based on total households. In this table, it is the total area planted to the crop divided by the ACTUAL number of households planting the crop.
Table 11. Commercially-Cultivated Crops and Areas Planted by Barangay Gambang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Crops Planted</th>
<th>No. of Households Planting</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
<th>Area in hectares planted</th>
<th>Average area per household in sq.m.</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>% to Barangay area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>35.63%</td>
<td>163.12500</td>
<td>7517.281</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>35.63%</td>
<td>152.25000</td>
<td>7016.129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Cabbage</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>23.81%</td>
<td>72.50000</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>54.68%</td>
<td>228.55630</td>
<td>6863.553</td>
<td>781.3688</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.82%</td>
<td>32.62500</td>
<td>4531.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bell Pepper</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.82%</td>
<td>32.62500</td>
<td>4531.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plastic Pepper</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.82%</td>
<td>32.62500</td>
<td>4531.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radish</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>11.82%</td>
<td>32.62500</td>
<td>4531.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>34.43750</td>
<td>3958.333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gambang is the barangay that devotes more than one-fifth (20.26%) of its total land area to commercial gardens, and more than half of the households are engaged in the industry. For carrots alone, 333 households out of the 609 households (54.68%) farm 228.55630 hectares, or an average of 6,6864 square meters planted by each household. There are fewer households planting cabbage and potatoes (217 each), but the area devoted to cabbage is 163.125 hectares, or an average of 7517 square meters planted by the 217 households; and the area devoted to potatoes is 152 hectares, or an average of 7016 square meters for the 217 households. The 145 households planting Chinese cabbage farm an average of 5000 square meters or half a hectare each for wongbok (the

1 Table abridged from PBSR, pp. 66-71
2 Average area computed in PBSR is based on total households. In this table, it is the total area planted to the crop divided by the ACTUAL number of households planting the crop.
local term for Chinese cabbage), or a total of 72.5 hectares. The other major vegetable crops have lesser hectarage and fewer households cultivating them, but they add to the total area devoted to commercial gardens in Gambang, for a total of 781.3688 hectares out of the total barangay area of 3856.61 hectares.
Table 12. Commercially-Cultivated Crops and Areas Planted by Barangay Ampusongan and Dalipey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Crops Planted</th>
<th>No. of Households Planting</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
<th>Area in hectares planted</th>
<th>Average area per household in sq. m.</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>% to Barangay area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>51.73%</td>
<td>46.91760</td>
<td>2621.095</td>
<td>196.597</td>
<td>4.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>43.93%</td>
<td>40.48200</td>
<td>2663.289</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Cabbage</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.94%</td>
<td>18.68400</td>
<td>2707.826</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>39.88%</td>
<td>29.96360</td>
<td>2171.275</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>15.90%</td>
<td>15.57000</td>
<td>2830.909</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Bell Pepper</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.85%</td>
<td>10.38000</td>
<td>2531.707</td>
<td>196.597</td>
<td>4.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plastic Pepper</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7.80%</td>
<td>6.92000</td>
<td>2562.963</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Radish</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.85%</td>
<td>8.65000</td>
<td>2109.756</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>19.94%</td>
<td>15.22400</td>
<td>2206.377</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Green Onions</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.76%</td>
<td>1.73000</td>
<td>1330.769</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.76%</td>
<td>2.07600</td>
<td>1596.923</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>53.33%</td>
<td>75.00000</td>
<td>3750</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>20.00%</td>
<td>14.87500</td>
<td>1983.333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Chinese Cabbage</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>29.87%</td>
<td>22.06250</td>
<td>1969.866</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>49.87%</td>
<td>46.00000</td>
<td>2459.893</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
<td>35.75000</td>
<td>14300</td>
<td>216.3125</td>
<td>5.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Bell Pepper</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6.67%</td>
<td>7.00000</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Plastic Pepper</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>6.25000</td>
<td>5208.333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>6.25000</td>
<td>5208.333</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
<td>3.12500</td>
<td>2604.167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Table abridged from PBSR, pp. 66-71

2 Average area computed in PBSR is based on total households. In this table, it is the total area planted to the crop divided by the ACTUAL number of households planting the crop.
Dalipey and Ampusongan, two other barangays with a road connecting it to the urban centers, have more than half of their total households planting commercial crops. 53.33% of the households in Dalipey cultivate cabbage and 49.87% cultivate carrots. In Ampusongan, 179 out of 346, or 51.73%, cultivate cabbage. However, compared to Gambang households, they devote fewer hectares. They also plant other commercial crops, but to a lesser degree than Gambang, though Ampusongan has have crops that Gambang does not cultivate. Dalipey cultivates the same crops as Gambang.

The total area devoted to commercial vegetables in Dalipey is 316.2125 hectares, or 5.84% of the barangay area, while 196.5972 hectares are commercially farmed in Ampusongan, or 4.48% of the total barangay area.

Table 13. Commercially-Cultivated Crops and Areas Planted by Barangay Poblacion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Crops Planted</th>
<th>No. of Households Planting</th>
<th>% of total households</th>
<th>Area in hectares planted</th>
<th>Average area per household in sq.m.</th>
<th>Total Area</th>
<th>% to Barangay area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion Area in hectares= 3,031.09 No. of Households= 268</td>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17.91%</td>
<td>57.86364</td>
<td>12054.93</td>
<td>12689.39</td>
<td>13.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13.43%</td>
<td>45.68182</td>
<td>12892.24</td>
<td>13.48%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Cabbage</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>17.91%</td>
<td>45.70009</td>
<td>9520.852</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22.39%</td>
<td>51.95545</td>
<td>8659.242</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.96%</td>
<td>42.63636</td>
<td>17765.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bell Pepper</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.96%</td>
<td>42.63636</td>
<td>17765.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plastic Pepper</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.96%</td>
<td>42.63636</td>
<td>17765.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radish</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.96%</td>
<td>42.63636</td>
<td>17765.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13.43%</td>
<td>36.82654</td>
<td>10229.59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Table abridged from PBSR, pp. 66-71
2 Average area computed in PBSR is based on total households. In this table, it is the total area planted to the crop divided by the ACTUAL number of households planting the crop.
Barangay Poblacion is another barangay with a road, but road conditions are worse than those of the road going to Ampusongan and Dalipey. Moreover, Poblacion is considerably farther from the main road than Ampusongan and Dalipey. The number of households engaged in commercial farming in Poblacion is fewer, but the area they devote on average is larger than even Gambang for some crops. Each of the 24 families that cultivate carrots for instance farm 8659.242 square meters or 0.866 hectares on average. The 24 families who cultivate bell pepper on average devote to the crop some 1.7765 hectares.

All in all, the total area devoted to commercial vegetables in Poblacion is 408.57 hectares, or 13.48% of the total barangay area.

For the entire domain, the total area devoted to commercial vegetable production is 1619.8089 hectares. This amounts to 5.28% the total Bakun municipal area of 30,678.410 hectares.

Table 14. Total Households and Area Devoted to Commercial Vegetable Crops

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops</th>
<th>No. of Households</th>
<th>% of Households</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>% of Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cabbage</td>
<td>644</td>
<td>28.61%</td>
<td>342.906240</td>
<td>1.12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>22.30%</td>
<td>258.988820</td>
<td>0.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Cabbage</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>16.61%</td>
<td>158.946590</td>
<td>0.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrot</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>33.41%</td>
<td>365.025350</td>
<td>1.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettuce</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>7.82%</td>
<td>126.581360</td>
<td>0.41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Pepper</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>7.20%</td>
<td>92.641360</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plastic Pepper</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>6.00%</td>
<td>88.431360</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radish</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>6.09%</td>
<td>83.911360</td>
<td>0.27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peas</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>9.51%</td>
<td>95.446373</td>
<td>0.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Onions</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
<td>1.730000</td>
<td>0.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beans</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.11%</td>
<td>5.201000</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1619.809813</td>
<td>5.28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Households in Bakun = 2251
Bakun Municipal Area = 30,678.410
3. Market Information

Most products sold in the market are cabbage, Chinese cabbage, potatoes, carrots, pepper, onions, legumes, banana, cauliflower, lettuce and sayote. The actual volumes of produce is difficult to determine, as there are many dispersed families engaged in the industry, and no centralized monitoring system. The choice of what the farmer plants is based on what crop technology they are familiar with, and on hunches as to what crops will fetch a high price at harvest time.

Buyers, mostly middlemen who take the products to retailers, dictate prices of these products. Producers have no control of the price. It is not uncommon that the price of a crop may rise and fall within hours, so that sales are described as “tama,” meaning a “hit,” for a high price. The opposite is termed “bagsak,” or a “drop,” for a low or losing price. It may happen that successive harvests are “tama,” and the farmer gains affluence. Otherwise, successive “bagsak,” often results to the farmer trying other ventures. Nevertheless, commercial farming is the only alternative for many, and so the industry continues to grow.

Majority of the farm outputs are being sold at the La Trinidad Trading Post. Farmers are informed about product prices and other product marketing information through the mass media, mainly radio. They may also get information from friends and contacts through handheld radios and lately, through cellular phones. Middlemen, and trading post people also provide information, and farmer to farmer sharing is also significant.
4. Small-scale mining

Bakun is blessed with mineral deposits that the people have been extracting since time immemorial. However, whereas in the past when traditional agriculture was enough to provide for one’s needs, mining was not a major activity. With modernization, there came a lot of developed needs. Many of the items that one needs in modern times have to bought, and people have to look for sources of income, not just sources of sustenance. Mining for gold, to be sold for cash, then became an alternative activity.

Now there are those who engage primarily in gold mining. In families where mining is a source of livelihood, not all of the members of the family engage in the activity full-time. Agriculture is still relied upon to provide for the family, but some members work the mines more. When a rich lode is found, other members of the family would then participate in mining.

5. Other Sources of Livelihood

There are others, specially women, who augment income in commerce by

Labon and Abukay

(lifted from Participatory Baseline Survey Report, p. 63)

The Kankanaeys, in particular engage in placer and lode mining. Called labon or sayo, placer mining or panning gold is done along rivers and creeks. The whole family mines or pans when there are more gold particles to extract. To catch gold, channels are excavated along riverbanks to, which function as water troughs to catch sediments brought along by water from open veins or slides on mountainsides. Aside from these channels, miners also build small diversionary walls with stones to divert water to one side where sediments are deposited in the process. Miners then collect the sediments for processing.

The Kankanaeys have another way of extracting gold through a practice called abukay. They build tunnels in mountainsides or in mountain foothills. New tunnels are the result of painstaking prospecting. Old but productive tunnels are inherited from past generations. These tunnels are approximately 4.5 feet high and 3.5 feet wide.

As in agriculture, traditional mining involves some rituals. Each time they open a tunnel and each time they find some gold, miners do rituals, which include butchering a black pig and offering the animal to the spirits.

In both types of mining gold, ownership is communal, particularly the corporate kin of the first locator. Non-members of the corporate kin may acquire temporary rights for their use of the channel or tunnel, for that matter, is for a limited period.
maintaining sari-sari stores.

Many of Bakun folk also go out of their villages to look for jobs, to work as laborers in the vegetable farms or in the big mining operations. Those who have finished college also look for professional employment where their profession is needed.

Employment in government is supporting many families.

With electricity coming to some barangays, there are some families who opened furniture shops, machine shops, welding shops, and cable networks.

6. Income

On the whole, the people in areas that are far from the road (Barangays Bagu, Kayapa and part of Poblacion) rely on traditional farming to support their families. However, traditional agriculture is a subsistence economy, where produce rarely had surplus. The families in these areas then have lower income than the other barangays who have the option of vegetable farming. Proximity to the road also gives more opportunities to look for jobs elsewhere.

7. Credit Facilities

Cooperatives in the domain provide credit to their members. Many cooperatives are organized by or with the help of the government, and sometimes a seed fund is provided to the cooperative. With the exception of Bagu barangay, all others have cooperatives (see table Organizations and Institutions above).

The Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization (BITO) has a Revolving Loan Fund (RLF), which it loans to members at reasonable interest, “applying indigenous way of lending.”

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1 ADSDPP Workshops
There are many individual lenders in the community also. They lend money to those in need, at interest. Loans may also be extended by family, relatives or friends with no or little interest, especially in times of difficulties. This process of helping is a development of the indigenous mutual help system, for the one borrowing is expected to return the favor when able.

Loans from banks are also availed of, if the person borrowing could put up a collateral. As is often the case, the collateral put up is real estate, either a house and lot, or the limited landholdings available.

8. Employment and Unemployment

The Participatory Baseline Survey Report considers those aged 18-60 as the labor force of the 12,532 enumerated population, there were 6,261 or 49.96%, who were of working age. Those below 18 years of age numbered 5,733, or 45.75%, and those above age 60 numbered 538 or 4.29%.

The survey found out that 4,257 of the labor force were engaged in farming, either self-employed or working as laborers. This comprises 67.99% of the total labor force. Other occupations listed in the survey had much fewer numbers. In the survey, there were 218 whose occupations were inadequately described and therefore were not classified. There were also 140 workers seeking employment.

In the labor force, there were 583 were students, There were 154 who identified their occupation as laborer, 115 housekeepers, 108 teachers, 56 legislative officials (elected to the local governments), 55 drivers, 39 drivers, 39 traders, 31 carpenters, 31 protective service workers, and 28 workers in religion. The occupations identified have less than 20 each.

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1 Participatory Baseline Survey Report, pp 98-101
The survey also found out that 853 unemployed at the time of the survey, or 13.62%. The survey however does not distinguish if those employed were fully employed or underemployed, or whether they were working part-time or full-time.

D. THE DOMAIN

1. Location

Our ancestral domain is part of the province of Benguet, itself found in the southern part of the Gran Cordillera Central, the mountain range that is the backbone of Northern Luzon. We share boundaries with Mankayan and Buguias, also parts of Benguet, in the East; with Mankayan and Cervantes (Ilocos Sur) in the North; with Sugpon and Alilem (also of Ilocos Sur) in the West; and with Kibungan, Benguet in the South.

2. Access

Bakun can be reached by land transportation from Baguio City following the Halsema Highway going north through La Trinidad, Tublay, Atok and Buguias municipalities of Benguet. The road to Bakun separating from Halsema is at Sinipsip, Buguias, going left and down the mountainside. At that junction, which straddles a ridge, the boundary of Buguias and Bakun is found, so that the left of the highway coming from Baguio is part of Barangay Gambang of Bakun and the right side is part of Buguias.

The road going down from Sinipsip reaches Ampusongan, the municipal capital, a road separating on the right reaches Dalipey, while another road separating further down the mountain, going right reaches Poblacion.

There is an alternate route going to Bakun that passes through Kapangan and Kibungan, Benguet, and this road separates at the Acop, Tublay toll gate. This alternate route however is rough and bumpy. Another rough road that may be
taken goes through Madaymen, Kibungan, It separates from the Halsema before Sinipsip is reached, at that part of Madaymen near the Halsema.

With the improvements on the Halsema Highway, travel to Sinipsip is no longer so rough, and one only has to endure the road from the Halsema going to the Bakun barangays.

Like the routes passing through Kapangan and Kibungan, as well as the road through Madaymen, the road from Sinipsip is also rough and landslide-prone.¹ In the typhoon season, these roads might be closed by landslides and Bakun’s Barangays, with the possible exception of Gambang, would be isolated. “Farm products could not be marketed as a result” and “often left to rot in the farms when these roads are closed during typhoons.”²

Unfortunately for the people of Bakun, these are the only roads we can take. There are no airstrips in the municipality, and although helicopters may land in several areas, our people cannot afford that type of transportation.

3. Topography³

Bakun is generally mountainous. Its topography is generally rolling to very steep with 25° up to 85° slopes. Ampusongan proper and Gambang Proper sit on a rolling foothill, each of which is 1,400 meters above sea level. Poblacion proper and Bagu proper are each situated in a valley elevated at 1,100 meters and 900 meters above sea level respectively. Dalipey proper and Kayapa proper are relatively rolling with an elevation of 1,800 meters and 1,600 meters above sea level, respectively.

¹ PBSR, p. 1
² ibid
³ Lifted from PBSR, p. 1
Sitio Tagaling, extreme west of Barangay Sinacbat, is the lowest part, which is only 200 meters above sea level. Extreme south of barangay Gambang is Mount Osdong, which is 2,618 meters above sea level.

High mountains dot the domain. These peaks include Mount Osdong in the Ampusongan and Gambang border, Mount Kabunian in the border of Poblacion and Kayapa, Mount Tenglawan in Sinacbat, and Mount Lobo in Poblacion. All these rise thousands of feet above sea level.

Carved around the foothills of these mountains and along river valleys are centuries-old rice terraces. Noted among them are Tanap in Bagu; Bolbolo-Labilab in Gambang; Anawa in Ampusongan; Papassok in Dalipey; and Biluan-Banngan in Poblacion, Bakun. The bowl-shaped plateau in Kayapa is another rice bowl. Other rice terraces are found in the hillsides of Lamew, Dalingoan, Sameyao, Barbarit, Ca-ang, Longboy and Teguing. The northeastern and southern part, where the climate is cooler, produces tropical vegetables.
## Table 15. Elevations\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACES</th>
<th>ELEVATION (meters above sea level)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan Proper</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu Proper</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey Proper (Palidan)</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambang Proper</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa Proper</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion Proper</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat Proper</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinipsip, Gambang</td>
<td>2,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Osdong</td>
<td>2,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cagam-is, Gambang</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alibacong, Gambang</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Gatiley, Bagu</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Toking</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabbak, Ampusongan</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Teplaw, Dalipey</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Kel, Dalipey</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Kabunian, Poblacion</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Lobo, Poblacion</td>
<td>2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takadang, Sinacbat</td>
<td>1,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagaling, Sinacbat</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tagpew, Kayapa</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) PBSR p. 7
Figure 5. Environment and Natural Resources Map

1 Courtesy of DENR Benguet PENRO
Figure 6. ENR map, Northwest Bakun
Figure 7. Northeast Bakun ENR
Figure 8. Southwest Bakun ENR
Figure 9. Southeast Bakun ENR
4. Resources within the Domain

An assessment of the resources of the domain is difficult to undertake. The ADSDPP workshop participants understand that a more precise measurement or evaluation of the resources in the domain is needed, and that this can only be done with extensive study.

a. Forests and Watersheds

The maps on the previous pages would show that the domain is covered mostly with forests. Note, however, that the areas identified by the DENR as “communal forests” are only the ones that it has delineated as such. There are other communal forests within the domain, though these have yet to be delineated and classified as such by the DENR.

The “existing forest cover” also includes areas that the people are cultivating as swidden farms, and though it is true that the swidden has become part of the forest habitat, it should also be clear that the people have rights as individuals or families over the swidden farms.

There are varied actual uses of the forests that may not be observed in the ENR map, and these include use as pasturelands or grazing areas, source of timber, firewood and other forest products, hunting grounds, source of food and medicine, and as sacred areas, among others.

The muyongs (see The Muyong and its Uses, page 33), are also not identified in the map, and while indeed the muyong could be considered as existing forest cover, it is also true that Bakun people maintain these as tree farms.

Our forest (communal) and watersheds have been encroached upon by some individuals. There are cases of illegal (not allowed by community AND government) cutting of trees done by individuals. Despite of these illegal
activities, government units and the community are on the process of strengthening some measures to abort such illegal activities on the forest and watershed.

Government and non-government organizations implement reforestation projects.

The areas identified in the map as agricultural areas are not solely used for agriculture, because there also tree farms, residences areas, and forest cover in these areas. With the mountainous terrain of the domain, land suitable for agriculture is limited, and steep and rocky areas, as well as founts of springs are maintained as such. The people even intentionally protect these areas. (see Bebe-an and Watershed or Tong-og, page 37, Bine – as, page 40, Other Protection Mechanisms of Forests and Watersheds, page 41)

On the other hand, it should also be noted that recent openings of vegetable farms may not be included in the ENR map.

b. Timber Species

Forests in Bakun are generally pine and deciduous forests. There are many different tree species and varieties found in the ancestral domain, and the following table identifies some of them.
Table 16. Timber Species in the Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>FAMILY NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Batang/Bebe</td>
<td>Benguet Pine</td>
<td>Pinus Kesiya</td>
<td>Pinaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Narra</td>
<td>Narra</td>
<td>Pterocarpus indica</td>
<td>Mimosceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tikem</td>
<td>Talisai</td>
<td>Terminalia catappa L</td>
<td>Combretaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Palayen</td>
<td>Oak</td>
<td>Quercus macroplepsis</td>
<td>Proteaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Anadong</td>
<td>Anabiong</td>
<td>Trema orientalis</td>
<td>Ulmaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Alimet</td>
<td>Hagimet</td>
<td>Ficus magnifolia</td>
<td>Moraceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Liwliw</td>
<td>Tibig</td>
<td>Ficus nota</td>
<td>Moraceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Tewe</td>
<td>Fiddled fig</td>
<td>Ficus pandurata</td>
<td>Moraceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Ul-ek</td>
<td>Loquat</td>
<td>Enobotrya japonica L</td>
<td>Rosaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Apas</td>
<td>Upling gubat</td>
<td>Ficus ampelas</td>
<td>Moraceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ipin-ipil</td>
<td>Ipin-ipil</td>
<td>Leucaena glauca L</td>
<td>Fabaceae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Digway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Baokok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Annatil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Lusong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Atelba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 PBSR, p. 12
c. **Floral Undergrowth**

In the undergrowth of the forests of Bakun, we can find many different species of flora that are useful to the people of Bakun. The table below identifies some of them. By no means are those on the list the only floral undergrowth, but the ones listed here are the ones particularly useful to our people.

**Table 17. Useful Floral Undergrowth**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>USES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tonapo</td>
<td>Giant fern</td>
<td>Angioptens palmiformes</td>
<td>Building material and ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ap-apat</td>
<td>Common sword fern</td>
<td>Nephrolepsis cordifolia</td>
<td>For ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pako</td>
<td>Pako</td>
<td>Diplazium esculentum</td>
<td>For food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bagingey</td>
<td>Kilob</td>
<td>Dicranopteins linearis</td>
<td>Handicraft and ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bantala-an</td>
<td>Nito</td>
<td>Lygodium aunculatum</td>
<td>For handicraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pinit</td>
<td>Wild strawberry</td>
<td>Rubus rsaefolius</td>
<td>For food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Tayo-o</td>
<td>Pitcher plant</td>
<td>Lygodium japonicum</td>
<td>For medicine, insect trap and ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ayosep</td>
<td>Black berry</td>
<td>Ampelopsis heterophylla</td>
<td>For food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Belleng</td>
<td>Stick leaves</td>
<td>Miscanthus sinensis</td>
<td>Animal food, building material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tiligo</td>
<td>Wire grass</td>
<td>Eleusine indica L.</td>
<td>Animal food, medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Amosting</td>
<td>Ornamental banana</td>
<td>Musa omata</td>
<td>For handicraft, ornamental, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Akbab</td>
<td>Narrow leaf heliconia</td>
<td>Heliconia psittacrum L</td>
<td>For ornamental, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Gayenggeng</td>
<td>Hairycap moss</td>
<td>Gollania philippinensis</td>
<td>For ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Olkid</td>
<td>Ground orchids</td>
<td>Geodurum sp.</td>
<td>For ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Giwanes</td>
<td>Tiger grass</td>
<td>Cytisus scopanus</td>
<td>For handicraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Alam-am</td>
<td>Bracken fern</td>
<td>Ptendium acquirilum</td>
<td>For medicine, ornamental</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 PBSR, p. 13
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>USES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17. Ga-on</td>
<td>Cogon grass</td>
<td>Imperata cylindrica</td>
<td>Animal food, medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Gansib</td>
<td>Mat grass</td>
<td>Nardus stricta</td>
<td>For animal food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Pepetti</td>
<td>Banig-usa</td>
<td>Marsilea crenata</td>
<td>For medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Takadang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>For handicraft, windshield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Magey</td>
<td>Maguey</td>
<td>Sacchaum spontaneum L.</td>
<td>For handicraft, ornamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Kawayan</td>
<td>Bamboo</td>
<td>Bambusa blumeana</td>
<td>For animal food, handicraft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Bolo</td>
<td>Bolo</td>
<td>Gigant tochloa aspera</td>
<td>For handicraft, food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Anes</td>
<td>Anos</td>
<td>Schizostachym lima</td>
<td>For handicraft, animal food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Bika</td>
<td>Bikal</td>
<td>Schizostachym diffusum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Owey</td>
<td>Rattan</td>
<td>Calamus sp.</td>
<td>Handicraft, house construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Taogtog</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Beket</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. *Medicinal Plants in the Domain*

Found in the forests, grown in backyards or swidden farms, growing wild in riverbanks and elsewhere in the Bakun ancestral domain are many plant species that are used as medicine by our people. Below is a table of some of these species and the ailments or conditions that our people use them.
### Table 18. Medicinal Plants in the Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>USES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gipas</td>
<td>Wild tea</td>
<td>Parmelia Scortelia</td>
<td>Internal medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pinya</td>
<td>Pineapple</td>
<td>Ananas comosum</td>
<td>Deworming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ga-on</td>
<td>Cogon</td>
<td>Imperatta cylindrica</td>
<td>Diarrhea, diuretics, urinary tract infection (UTI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pepetti</td>
<td>Banig-pusa</td>
<td>Centella asiatica L.</td>
<td>Boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Subusob</td>
<td>Sambong, camphor</td>
<td>Blumea balsimifora</td>
<td>Abscess, boil and disinfectant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bebengsit</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hyptis capitata, Hyptis suveloens</td>
<td>Open wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Banaba</td>
<td>Banaba</td>
<td>Lagerstromia speciosa</td>
<td>cuts and wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Saba</td>
<td>Banana</td>
<td>Musa paradisiaca L.</td>
<td>Diarrhea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Laya</td>
<td>Ginger</td>
<td>Zingiber officinale</td>
<td>Cough, sore throat, UTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Al-ip</td>
<td>Wild grape</td>
<td>Polygonum sp</td>
<td>Oral thrush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Alam-am</td>
<td>Bracken fern</td>
<td>Pteridium acruinum</td>
<td>Open wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Kamaelaw</td>
<td>Sunflower</td>
<td>Helianthus annuus</td>
<td>Open wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Lantana</td>
<td>Lantana</td>
<td>Lantana camara</td>
<td>Skin disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Tugi</td>
<td>Sweet potato</td>
<td>Ipomea batatas</td>
<td>Deworming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Kalunay</td>
<td>Amaranth</td>
<td>Amaranthus spinosus</td>
<td>Skin disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Niyog</td>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>Cocos nucifera</td>
<td>Diarrhea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Papaya</td>
<td>Papaya</td>
<td>Canca papaya</td>
<td>Constipation, induces breast milk production</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Gayabas</td>
<td>Guava</td>
<td>Psidium guajava L.</td>
<td>Diarrhea and skin diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Enwad</td>
<td>Bidens pilosce</td>
<td></td>
<td>Food and goiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Etab</td>
<td>Lima bean</td>
<td>Dolichhos lablab</td>
<td>Tinea flava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Palya</td>
<td>Ampalaya</td>
<td>Monordica charantia</td>
<td>Tinea flava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Cacao</td>
<td>Cacao</td>
<td>Glincidia sepium</td>
<td>Skin disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Bawang</td>
<td>Garlic</td>
<td>Allium satiium</td>
<td>Toothache, hypertension, UTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Mais/Tigi</td>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>Zea mays L</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Kasimon</td>
<td>Cucumber</td>
<td>Cucumis satiium</td>
<td>Internal cleansing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Kaliptus</td>
<td>Eucalyptus</td>
<td>Eucalyptus terticorns</td>
<td>Cough and skin diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Gumamela</td>
<td>Gumamela</td>
<td>Hibiscus rosaseninsis</td>
<td>Boils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Dalayap</td>
<td>Lemon</td>
<td>Citrus Lemon</td>
<td>Cough</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 PBSR, p. 14
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>USES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29. Danggo</td>
<td>Onion</td>
<td>Allium cepa</td>
<td>cough and measles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Patatas</td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>Solanum tuberusum</td>
<td>soreyes and burns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Awpey</td>
<td>Fish berry</td>
<td>Anamirata cocculus</td>
<td>&quot;teba&quot;-fish poisoning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Dengaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stomach ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Tagumbaw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Burms and wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Manggo</td>
<td>Mangga</td>
<td>Mangifer indica</td>
<td>Dysentery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Avocado</td>
<td>Abocado</td>
<td>Persea americana</td>
<td>Toothache, hypertension, UTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Dael</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Diarrhea, abdominal pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Pangototen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intestinal pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Ba-ottiak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chest pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Bagiw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>open wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Bebe</td>
<td>Benguet Pine</td>
<td>Pinus kesiya</td>
<td>Dysentery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Baokok</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Loose Bowelmovement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Digway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Gallod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stomach ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. Sabsab-beng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**e. Animal Species**

We can also find several animal species in the domain. The table below lists SOME of them.
Table 19. Some Animals in the Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ka-ag</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>Macaca philippinensis</td>
<td>Found in forested areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bowet</td>
<td>Philippine tree</td>
<td>Callosciurus philippinensis</td>
<td>Found in forested areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ugsa</td>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Cervus sp.</td>
<td>Found in forested areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Tabaw</td>
<td>Wild cat</td>
<td>Viverra tangalunga</td>
<td>Found in forested areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bango</td>
<td>Wild pig</td>
<td>Sus barbatus</td>
<td>Found in forested areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kibkibalot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Found in caves, nocturnal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Baniyas</td>
<td>Monitor lizard</td>
<td></td>
<td>Found in nearby areas, rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fields, and rocky areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Buklat</td>
<td>Common king snake</td>
<td>Lampropetis getulus</td>
<td>Found in forested areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Otot</td>
<td>Common Philippine</td>
<td>Rattus sp.</td>
<td>Found in the trees and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rat</td>
<td></td>
<td>grassland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tangka</td>
<td>Chameleon</td>
<td>Chamaleo sp</td>
<td>Found in the trees and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>grassland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Minnong</td>
<td>Rough green snake</td>
<td>Boiga dendrophila</td>
<td>Found in grassland areas and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Aluti-it</td>
<td>Turkish gecko</td>
<td>Palmatogecko ranger</td>
<td>Found in rocky areas and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. Avian Species

The domain also hosts many bird species, some migratory, some not. The following table identifies these species.

---

1 PBSR, p. 15 (Note: the PBSR title for the table is “Mammalian Species,” but some species listed are reptiles)
Table 20. Avian Species\(^1\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>REMARKS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sabag</td>
<td>Wild chicken</td>
<td>Found in agricultural and forest areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ba-og</td>
<td>Nutmeg imperial pigeon</td>
<td>Found in forest areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Gayang</td>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Found in agricultural areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kop</td>
<td>Screech crow</td>
<td>Found in forest areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bengag</td>
<td>Fruit bat</td>
<td>Found in tree crops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Laba-an/Banog</td>
<td>Philippine falconet</td>
<td>Found in forest areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Pa-ong</td>
<td>Little egret</td>
<td>Found in the rivers and rice fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Balisuso</td>
<td>River king fisher</td>
<td>Found in rivers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Gungay</td>
<td>Pygmy wood pecker</td>
<td>Found in woods and forest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Olis</td>
<td>Parakeets</td>
<td>Found in forest areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Liklik/Dikdik</td>
<td>White necked stork</td>
<td>Found in rice field and grass land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Labey/ Labeg/ Bugan</td>
<td>Cramie</td>
<td>Found in forest areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Pipingew</td>
<td>Sparrow</td>
<td>Found in caves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Tala</td>
<td>Whiskered tern</td>
<td>Found in forest and grass land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Kiling</td>
<td>Ruby-throated humming bird</td>
<td>Found in forest and open areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Martinez</td>
<td>Magpie</td>
<td>Found near animal/pasture lands and trees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Actual Land Use

Despite official classification of the lands in Bakun, the Kankanaey-Bago have a different classification. While official classification and the people’s may have some similarities, it is important to understand that the people’s classification is much more relevant especially in their management of the domain as a whole. It also reflects the ACTUAL use of the lands from the people’s view point.

\(^1\) PBSR, p. 15
There is a classification for “virgin agricultural land” which are areas that may in the future be opened for agriculture, specially with heightened vegetable and other commercial crop production.

Residential land areas in the table in the next page will not be used solely for residences, but includes backyard gardens and other uses that may add to the livelihood of the households.
### Table 21. Land Classification of Bakun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Vegetable Land</th>
<th>Camote Land</th>
<th>Rice Land</th>
<th>Fruit Land</th>
<th>Virgin Agr'l Land</th>
<th>Forest Land</th>
<th>Residentia l Land</th>
<th>Pasture Land</th>
<th>Gov't Lots</th>
<th>Church/</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ampusongan</td>
<td>163.7116</td>
<td>198.2845</td>
<td>27.1674</td>
<td>16.8562</td>
<td>1408.088</td>
<td>2373.5366</td>
<td>15.2919</td>
<td>142.7771</td>
<td>44.4515</td>
<td>0.9771</td>
<td>4391.1419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagu</td>
<td>4.5094</td>
<td>174.7791</td>
<td>110.9437</td>
<td>0.653</td>
<td>1877.0069</td>
<td>2545.3047</td>
<td>9.8925</td>
<td>433.9339</td>
<td>2.748</td>
<td>1.4829</td>
<td>5161.2541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalipey</td>
<td>394.1314</td>
<td>286.299</td>
<td>65.8572</td>
<td>18.7648</td>
<td>853.5487</td>
<td>2003.6536</td>
<td>16.4635</td>
<td>44.2418</td>
<td>17.5408</td>
<td>0.7492</td>
<td>3701.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambang</td>
<td>1316.1501</td>
<td>91.6206</td>
<td>25.3882</td>
<td>7.7132</td>
<td>650.5979</td>
<td>1643.0067</td>
<td>20.0273</td>
<td>68.2718</td>
<td>32.1638</td>
<td>1.6773</td>
<td>3856.6169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayapa</td>
<td>2.919</td>
<td>127.8669</td>
<td>159.7829</td>
<td>4.519</td>
<td>1419.2191</td>
<td>3513.6363</td>
<td>11.3177</td>
<td>651.5517</td>
<td>5.2829</td>
<td>5.588</td>
<td>5901.6835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>95.9537</td>
<td>252.6199</td>
<td>125.7612</td>
<td>2.5862</td>
<td>930.9674</td>
<td>1108.5836</td>
<td>9.7025</td>
<td>487.3162</td>
<td>15.8488</td>
<td>1.7554</td>
<td>3031.0949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinacbat</td>
<td>184.504</td>
<td>328.7689</td>
<td>74.5252</td>
<td>1.4419</td>
<td>1088.6453</td>
<td>2459.5017</td>
<td>10.1713</td>
<td>474.5252</td>
<td>12.7808</td>
<td>0.8354</td>
<td>4635.6997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2161.8792</td>
<td>1460.2389</td>
<td>589.4258</td>
<td>52.5343</td>
<td>8228.0733</td>
<td>15647.223</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>92.8667</td>
<td>130.8166</td>
<td>13.0653</td>
<td>30678.741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>7.05%</td>
<td>4.76%</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
<td>0.17%</td>
<td>26.82%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>0.30%</td>
<td>7.51%</td>
<td>0.43%</td>
<td>0.04%</td>
<td>114%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 PBSR, p. 11
6. Water Resources

a. River Systems

Sharing with the rugged terrain and greenery are thread-like waterfalls and streams that form part of the four main river systems in the domain, namely:

- the Bakun River with headwaters in Mount Osdong following a deep snake-like gully to Alilem, with confluence at Dalawa, Ilocos Sur with the Amburayan River;

- the Gambang river with headwaters also in Mount Osdong, which joins the Suyoc River in Siplocan, Barangay Dalipey, and finally joining the bigger Abra River downstream;

- the Bagu River which is supplied by the various watersheds in Sinacbat and Bagu, and which joins the Amburayan River in Alilem; and

- the Kayapa River which is formed by the various creeks from Mount Tagpaw passing thru Legab then to the Amburayan River in Sugpon, Ilocos Sur.

The Bakun River is home to three mini hydro electric power plants owned by the Northern Mini Hydro Corporation and one small hydro power plant owned by the Luzon Hydro Corporation under a build and operate transfer scheme with the National Power Corporation. Recently, the people have consented to the construction of another one in Dalipey.
b. *Aquatic Species in the Domain*

Found in the rivers, pools, and rice fields (which are part of the water system of the domain) are various species, some of which form part of the diet of the people of Bakun.

**Table 22. Aquatic Species in the Domain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOCAL NAME</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>SCIENTIFIC NAME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. FISHES:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Dalit</td>
<td>Fresh water eel</td>
<td>Anguilla Rostata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Udang</td>
<td>Lobster</td>
<td>Centricus Scutatus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Yoyo, Susay</td>
<td>Mudfish</td>
<td>Amia Calva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Geyaw</td>
<td>Mudskipper</td>
<td>Penopthalmus Scholossen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Campa</td>
<td>Puller</td>
<td>Chromis Xanthuris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Carpa</td>
<td>Crappie</td>
<td>Promoxis Annularis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. MOLLUSKS, CRUSTACEANS &amp; ALGAE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Gaki</td>
<td>Fiddler crab</td>
<td>Uca Bugnay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Compiyas</td>
<td>Mud clam</td>
<td>Tridacna Gigas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ginga</td>
<td>Whelk</td>
<td>Baccinum Undatum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ket-an</td>
<td>Tooth Shell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Golliweng</td>
<td>Diving Beetle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dayap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Bakate</td>
<td>Fresh Water Sponge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bubudong Gadgadey</td>
<td>Sheeps Wool Sponge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. AMPHIBIANS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bakbak</td>
<td>Green Frog</td>
<td>Rana Clamitans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kadew</td>
<td>Leopard Frog</td>
<td>Rana Papiens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 PBSR. p. 8
IV. Development Needs

Like any other community, indigenous or otherwise, Bakun has many problems and needs. There are those problems that are being solved or resolved on their own in natural community dynamics, some are being responded to by government, but some others need particular attention so that they may be resolved.

For the purpose of formulating the ancestral domain sustainable Development and Protection Plan (ADSDPP), we the people of Bakun listed down some concerns we feel are relevant to the domain, our being indigenous people, and the relationship of our people with the domain and the resources within.

A. ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS

Environmental concerns are no small matter, and they encompass many different aspects of our lives. In our workshops, we have identified several key issues and problems that affect our people and domain.

1. Forest Denudation

There are several reasons why the forests of Bakun are being denuded.

a. Indiscriminate Cutting of Trees

The forests in the domain are threatened by indiscriminate cutting of trees. By this we mean that there are those entities who harvest timber from the forests without following the rules set by the community or government. Of particular concern are those who harvest timber with the intention of selling these. They market the lumber mostly in Baguio City and its suburbs.
i. Lumber for Sale

Lumber is expensive in the urban areas. Many also prefer the lumber from indigenous timber species, so there is no lack of customers for those who harvest lumber from Bakun forests to sell. We understand that the problem is not unique to Bakun, as other indigenous people also share that commercial logging is decimating their forests.

This is different from the logging operations that we have experienced. Of course the large-scale logging operations in the 60’s and 70’s were much more environmentally destructive, but the current problem may yet be solved, and our forests saved.

ii. Need to Strengthen Traditional Values

Some perpetuators of indiscriminate logging are also Bakun people, and thus the problem is not limited to the act of logging itself, but also a manifestation that some of our people have ceased to appreciate the value of the forests and the relevance of the resources to our people. This would reflect the need to revive or strengthen traditional values, to educate our people of their dependence on the forests, both traditionally and in the present.

This is also in recognition of the reality that traditional kinship ties have been misunderstood in this problem. Instead of community interest being the concern of kinship ties, some are reluctant to discipline their relatives who practice commercial logging because these people are kin. The interest of the individual (the logger) is protected by relatives.

The strengthening of traditional values, of prioritizing the interest of the community, would also substantially counter the disregard that some of us have for our community. For we recognize that some indiscriminate loggers are so arrogant as to forget their people because they have powerful “backers”. These
“backers” derive power from the current political and social norms, and our strengthening of the traditional may perhaps convince them of their priorities.

iii. Need to Provide Sources of Livelihood

We understand that one major reason, if not the only one, for indiscriminate logging to harvest lumber for sale is the inadequacy of economic opportunities available to the people of Bakun. Truly, one needs much cash to purchase the many basic things needed in life today. The cost of living, we know, spurs some of us to forget or forego the interest of the community. It is therefore essential that in order for this problem to be solved, adequate opportunities be provided to our people.

b. Expansion of Vegetable Farms

Another reason for the denudation of the forest is the expansion of vegetable farms. Having mountainous terrain, the available agricultural land in Bakun has long ago been utilized in traditional farming activities. However, with the introduction of commercial vegetable farming and its technologies, the slopes of the mountains may now be developed into farms.

i. Limited Agricultural Lands

Since the arable land is already being cultivated by traditional agriculture, many of those who enter into commercial vegetable production have converted these areas into vegetable gardens. However, these lands are limited, and gardeners or farmers saw the need to expand in order to produce enough to support their families.

Expansion areas necessarily included the forests, specially if these are close to the road. So the forests suffered.
It is no wonder that Barangay Gambang now supports the most number of people (see Table 4. Population by Barangay, p. 68) although its land area is just 4391.14 hectares, (see Table 6. Population Density by Barangay, page 71) and is the most densely populated. The reason is that it is in Barangay Gambang where commercial crop production is the main economic activity, and where the widest area is utilized for non-traditional agriculture (see Commercial Farming, p. 82 upwards). At the sacrifice of the forest, unfortunately.

ii. Need to Provide Sources of Livelihood

The people go into commercial crop production to provide for the cost of living, and it is difficult to discourage encroachment upon forest areas because we cannot provide people with other sources of livelihood. Yet that is the obvious solution. That, or to provide technologies that will enable our people to support their growing population and ever-increasing needs without having to expand their farms.

c. Forest Fires

Forest fires are another cause for the denudation of the forests. Fires are either caused by spontaneous combustion, by accident, or by negligence or mischief. There is a need to institute measures to minimize these.

There is also a need to strengthen traditional practices that control the spread of wildfire.

d. Effects of Forest Denudation

We are concerned with the denudation of the forest, which is by itself very bad. We also note the effects it has on our people and the environment as a whole.
i. Soil Erosion

We are aware that with the denudation of the forest, lands within the domain will be more prone to erosion. There will be more runoff water because there will be less tree roots to hold water, and the soil will be washed away because the same tree roots are not there to hold them.

ii. Lack of Water

For the same reason, rainwater will not be retained by the soil, and thus the springs that give us water will dry up, specially during the dry season.

iii. Diminishing Habitat

The forests are ecosystems that provide the habitat for many organisms, such as flora and fauna. The denudation of the forests will mean that wildlife will diminish, and the habitat that hosts many traditional medicines will be lost. We fear that there may be some undiscovered species that could be relevant and useful now and in the future, and it may be lost because of forest denudation.

2. Unsafe Fishing Practices

While we still have our rivers and a water system that provides for our people, we are concerned with the practice of some that damages the system. Of particular concern are unsafe fishing practices that are potentially damaging to the water habitat. These include the use of electricity to fish (kuryente), and the use of chemicals (alkampor or cyanide). These practices do not distinguish between small and big fish, and also affect all other species in the water.

While the problem is not a major one, we see the need to strengthen existing measures to limit these illegal fishing activities.
3. Improper Disposal of Mine Waste

There are mines in the domain. Gold is taken out of the rivers and from tunnels that cut into the mountains. A lot of soil is dug out to come up with an ounce of gold. The soil is finds its way to the rivers, adding to the siltation. This should be avoided. There is a need for proper disposal of mine tailings.

The processing of gold from ore also involves chemicals, specially the element mercury, and these are not properly disposed of. The effects of these chemicals to the environment are bad, and so we see the need for the proper disposal of mine wastes.

What is needed, we see, is for us to sufficiently educate the miners among us of the dangers of improper disposal of mine waste. If they will see the negative effects of their old practice, they shall then find new disposal schemes that will minimize or even totally remove damage to our environment.

With the miners, we should also come up with an acceptable policy that is practicable under the circumstances. This would ensure that they themselves shall be responsible for their actions.

4. Lack of Waste Disposal System

This is the problem all communities have with their waste. Today’s patterns of living create much more waste than in the past. Moreover, the environment could not absorb the waste we create without damaging it. Whereas in the past waste was minimal and the kind of waste was readily absorbed, now our waste includes many materials that are non-biodegradable, and some are even toxic.

We know that the problem is bigger than us. We understand that people all over the world are concerned with waste management, yet every solution offered, from landfills to incinerators have their detractors. It is a problem for humanity,
and we shall not be so brash as to say we have a solution even for the relatively small amount of waste that come from Bakun households.

Yet we see the problem and the need for us to continually educate our people so that the effects of improper waste disposal would be minimized.

5. Lack of Policies on Environmental Protection

We see that in order for us to sufficiently protect the environment, it is necessary for us to formulate policies that are both practical and practicable. There are traditional policies, although these are in the form of taboos or the general concept of “inayan,” a moral prohibition against offending others, or going against the interests of the community.

In the past, also, people had a tendency to rely on government, specially the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, to formulate and implement policies on the environment. There are many policies in existence, in the form of laws and directives and the like, but the attitude of many has resulted in a legalistic approach to environmental protection. By this, we mean that people may comply with legal requirements, but it may also happen that environmental damage still occurs even if legal requirements are followed. In other cases, compliance with legal requirements does not ensure protection of traditional rights. After all, most policies of government have not considered indigenous rights.

We see the need to formulate policies at the community level that incorporates our traditional practices, national and internationally accepted environmental standards, and with the objective of sustaining the intergenerational responsibility we have over the domain.

We shall do what we can to implement such policies as a people in our communities, but we shall also have these adopted as formal policy by
government in the form of ordinances and laws where practicable, so that
government shall help us implement the policies.

6. Lack of Participation in Development Planning

In the past, proponents of development, whether it be government, or private
corporations, or both, did not see the need for consultations before development
projects are undertaken. Thus many projects were implemented without
consulting our people.

On the other hand, our people did not see the need for consultations, believing
such matters to be beyond them specially if they are not personally affected.

Now government has liberalized, and there are many laws and directives that
require the consultation of local people before development is undertaken.
People’s participation is required from the planning to the post-implementation
stage of each project or program.

On the side of the Kankanaey-Bago, the enactment of the IPRA recognizes their
right to manage their domain and the resources within, and also recognizes
customary practices. While their rights as indigenous people are recognized, the
IPRA also gives them the responsibility to manage their domain, and that means
that they must participate in development planning.

We see the need to educate ourselves on matters affecting development
planning, so that we shall be sufficiently empowered in consultations, and so that
our participation is both substantial and relevant.

7. Lack of Land Use Plan

Local government, specially the municipal government, is required to come up
with a land use plan. The ADSDPP is also expected to have one.
We see the need for a land use plan, but we do NOT see the need to have two. Our concern is that traditional systems be incorporated in the land use plan, so that our management systems will not be disregarded. We shall therefore participate fully in the municipal government’s formulation of the land use plan, and help government come up with a plan that is reflective of our interest as a people, and also our rights to the ancestral domain.

B. PROBLEMS AFFECTING SELF-RELIANCE AND SUSTAINABILITY

Our communities have traditionally been self-reliant and self-sufficient. Through many difficulties, our people have had to manage on their own. We do not presume that Bakun should be an island in the world, and its people isolated from the rest of humanity.

But we see the need for us to be self-reliant, to solve our problems on our own, and to provide for our needs without relying on others. It would be good for our collective self-esteem, so that we can face the world with dignity. Yet beyond esteem, only when we are self-reliant could we contribute to humanity in more substantial ways.

But there are threats to self-reliance, and we see these problems.

Our traditional self-reliance was not a matter of choice. Our traditional communities had limited exposure to other peoples and cultures, and they had to survive on their own because of this. In current times, the outside world is at our doorstep, and for anybody to survive in society, that person must be part of humanity at large. The needs of the human person now are substantial, and not all of these are available in one’s backyard. Even then, while we see the need for us to import from the outside, we also see the need for us to be able to
acquire these by maximizing our efforts and sustainably use our domain to provide for us.

1. Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities

Foremost among our concerns on self-reliance is the lack of opportunities in our communities. This is another problem bigger than us, for unemployment and underemployment is a national concern, and the concern of many nations. But we see this problem as a problem that resonates in all other problems we have identified.

If we only had more opportunities, then we would be significantly more self-reliant. (See also Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities, page 130, under Problems Affecting Economic Development)

2. Dependence on Cash Crops

Cash crops, or more particularly the vegetables we produce in our farms, have been a boon for many of us. With these vegetables we sell in large quantities, many of our households have been able to survive. Some of us have even attained a level of affluence not possible without cash crops.

Yet that affluence is the result of dependence on the outside market. That dependence has its negative side, and has spelled disaster or lost efforts. Many times, for many farmers, the products they bring to the market (see Market Information, p. 90) bring in prices that do not compensate for their labor. Yet the tons of carrots do not become a single grain of rice, or a piece of Grade One paper unless it is sold in that market.

A dilemma arises, for we need a market, yet we should have more control over that market.
We therefore see the need to organize our farmers in order for them to have more control over the prices of their produce, and for them to minimize competition among and between themselves. For we see that one reason why they do not have market control is that buyers of their produce play on the fact that they have the same goods to sell.

We also see the need for more crop diversification, and for our farmers to produce more locally marketable goods so that we answer our needs first. It would also invigorate the domain’s local economy.

3. Erosion of Positive Traditional Values and Community Mutual Help Systems

We also see that our communities have changed, and not always for the better. There are many positive values that existed in traditional society.

These values include a sense of community, of the need to mutually help each other. This sense of community arose, in part, from the relative isolation of our villages in the past. There was an obvious need to help each other because our people were less numerous, and all they had were each other. Our understanding of the world was also limited to the collective experiences of our people. At all times, we had to draw from these experiences, and there was no single person or group who would claim to know most, or who was above the others.

4. Misinterpretation of Christian Values

The sense of community also arose from the indigenous belief systems that were common to all, particularly ancestor worship. Ancestor worship encourages respect for living elders (see Ancestor Worship, p. 59), integrates the family and kinship ties, sanctions existing social and political structures, and promotes a mixed fear and reverence for dead ancestors. The Christian belief systems have
eroded ancestor worship, and though not in full, enough to consequently erode the sense of community.

We understand, however, that even if ancestor worship is not part of Christian belief, to disregard positive values that arise from it, such as the sense of community, is wrong. We believe that there is some misinterpretation of some Christian values as we have practiced it. Of course early missionaries were not so liberal so that there was a tendency to immediately dismiss traditional values and belief systems as “pagan,” so these were unwittingly rejected, even if their relevance and inherent good persisted.

5. The Bias of the Educational System

Education also had its effect upon the traditional belief systems and values. It is generally recognized that the Philippine educational system has been biased against indigenous systems. First, it has been biased against indigenous peoples per se, treating them as anachronisms or worse, as backward peoples whose only direction for development should be assimilation or integration. Second, the educational system is western in orientation, and thereby carries a rejectionist attitude versus our Asian, or more particularly, Filipino, systems and values. Third, the orientation towards logical, scientific thought also rejects matters beyond the explanation of science as “superstitious,” so that among the educated in indigenous communities, it is not uncommon to label traditional systems and values as “superstitious,” and thereby should be rejected. Finally, the educational system has on the whole refused to perpetuate an understanding of traditional systems. The curriculum does not include studies on traditional systems. Oh, there are some teachers who would integrate discussions on indigenous matters, but these are limited to specific practices like the making of rice wine, dances, songs and the like, but not a total view of the indigenous system that would reinforce values.
6. Economic Individualism

The development of the economy also contributed a large part to the erosion of traditional systems. Traditional economy was necessarily cooperative because of its nature as a subsistence economy, so that people had to help each other to make ends meet. Surplus or relative affluence was effectively distributed through the various practices such as feasts and mutual help systems. Subsistence economy was a system of “produce for use” and since needs in traditional society were limited, there was little chance of households having more than others.

The present economic system developed from western modules, is not necessarily wrong. In fact it has brought to our communities immeasurable progress. However, it has also had negative effects, including individualism.

Economic activities have a “produce for sale” orientation. In order for one to enjoy the fruits of one’s labor, the produce has to be converted to cash, and the cash subsequently used to purchase one’s needs.

This has to the erosion of mutual help systems like alluyon (seen page 25), since those with cash would rather pay for labor. One would then NOT be obliged to work with others in turn.

The pursuit of individual (even if it includes the family) economic affluence has become the reason for many to forego community interest, such as in the case of indiscriminate cutting of trees (see Lumber for Sale, page 118).
C. PROBLEMS AFFECTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

We see the need for economic development, but we also see several problems in our communities that hinder our people to develop. These problems also affect most other problems, and are sometimes the cause of other problems. Overcoming economic development problems would therefore significantly help solve other problems.

1. Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities

The physical situation in the domain, specially its terrain and location (proximity to markets), severely limits opportunities. Arable land is limited, and these have long been developed already for use in traditional agriculture. It might even be averred that our ancestors have already maximized the domain, and have attained a sustainable relationship with the environment. Our indigenous knowledge systems and practices express such a relationship.

However, while traditional land and resource use was sufficient for a subsistence economy and for the limited needs in the past, it is definitely not enough to provide for the needs of our people now, specially with the growing needs of a modern household. Population growth also demands other sources of livelihood other than traditional economic activities.

We must therefore seek other economic opportunities. The opening of vegetable farms was a necessary adjustment on our part as a people to provide for our needs. However, we must look for other opportunities so that the negative effects of the vegetable industry (see Expansion of Vegetable Farms, page 119 and Dependence on Cash Crops, page 126) shall be minimized or altogether eradicated.
We therefore see the need to provide alternative sources of livelihood, and to encourage industries that generate local employment. We also see the need for crop diversification, so that the dependence on current crops is minimized.

Employment outside the domain is also an option, so that the resources in the domain will not be unnecessarily stressed or overexploited.

2. Other Problems

There are many other problems that affect our communities, including problems in health and nutrition, problems in public utilities, problems on the road system, educational facilities, and many others. While we are concerned with these, some of these problems are the proper responsibility of other entities, specially government agencies. We believe that these other entities are doing what they can, and though we would prefer more immediate responses to the problems, our participation in their solutions shall be to participate and cooperate with agencies responsible.

__________________________ a. Incidence of Social Iills

However, we take special concern with the incidence of social ills in our communities, particularly with the vices of drunkenness and gambling.

We have this special concern because these ills have affects our community life by eroding family relations and contributing to the causes of low standards of living.
V. THE ANCESTRAL DOMAIN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND PROTECTION PLAN

Preliminary Note: The Bakun Indigenous Tribes Organization (BITO) has previously prepared an Ancestral Domain sustainable Development and Protection Plan (ADSDPP) the contents of which were considered in the planning workshops to produce this document. Statements from this previous ADSDPP adopted en toto or with minor revision are indicated as such.

Additional Notes: BITO is the formal people's organization spearheading ancestral domain management, and is the organization that has taken the primary responsibility in the implementation of the ADSDPP. While the Bakun people as a whole own the domain, and thereby have the responsibility for its management, the BITO (whose membership includes all members of the community, whether they are active or not in the organization) manages the domain in the name of the people.

The contents of this ADSDPP include what the BITO could accomplish in the medium term with their limited resources and capabilities. Should more resources be available, the scope of the activities and magnitude of objectives may be increased.

In the actual implementation of programs and projects, specially when these are supported by funding or support institutions with particular requirements, the statements in this ADSDPP may be revised, added to, subtracted from or otherwise altered in the project documents. However, care should be taken so that the main points in this ADSDPP will not be compromised.
A. VISION

With the implementation of this ADSDPP, we, the Kankanaey-Bago people, envision ourselves fully exercising our right to develop and sustainably manage our communities and natural resources with culturally driven management systems under an environment of peace, harmony and progress.¹

B. MISSION

We, the owners and stewards of this ancestral domain, consistent with our inherent culture conspire for unity, enlightened and progressive communities; socially and economically domain under a dynamic and inspiring leadership and enjoying a sustained rich and satisfying environment.²

C. GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

To respond to the development problems and needs we have identified (see Development Needs, pp. 115-129), this ADDSDPP shall guide us to attain the following goals and objectives:

1. On the Environment

   1. To facilitate the conduct of continuing information and education campaigns on environmental concerns;

   2. To assist local government units in the formulation and implementation of policies on the environment; and

¹ Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development and Protection Plan (ADSDPP) of the Kankanaey-Bago of Bakun, Benguet, Philippines, p. 10
² BITO Mission
3. To reforest denuded areas within the domain.

2. **On Self-Reliance and Sustainability**

1. To strengthen existing organizations and cooperatives in the domain through the conduct of capability-building activities;

2. To strengthen relevant traditional leadership structures to steer and coordinate resource management activities and continue empowering the communities towards self-reliance;\(^1\)

3. To strengthen indigenous mutual help systems;

4. To conduct continuing information and education campaign on development issues and enhance participation in development planning;

5. To work for the issuance of land tenure instruments (Certificates of Ancestral Land Titles) over ancestral lands;

6. To revive and/or strengthen positive traditional values through information and education campaigns; and

7. To develop community awareness for the promotion and development of indigenous culture, intellectual property rights, and indigenous knowledge systems and practices.\(^2\)

3. **On the Economy**

1. Enhance community livelihood activities that would increase family income and sustain employment opportunities;

2. Encourage crop diversification in commercial farms;

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\(^1\) ADSDPP, p. 10

\(^2\) ibid
3. To encourage local investors to engage in sustainable businesses;

4. To facilitate the conduct of trainings on alternative industries in the domain; and

5. To promote the domain as an eco-tourism site.

4. On Social Ills

1. To lobby for the enactment of an ordinance to curb gambling; and

2. To facilitate the conduct of continuing information and education campaign on the effects of vices.

D. STRATEGIES

1. Information and Education Campaigns

Many of the components of the ADSDPP are dependent on people’s awareness of the problems and situations affecting our domain. It is therefore necessary to keep our people informed of the many issues confronting us. The BITO shall therefore conduct information and education campaigns to support program and project implementation. IECs are also needed to generate the most widespread support for and participation in projects and activities.

2. Empowerment

There are some components of the programs and projects that need prior development of skills among our people and even the BITO staff and leadership. Needed skills and attitudes shall be developed among our people, especially implementers of various projects.
3. Fund Sourcing

Many of the programs, projects and activities require funding. The BITO shall therefore look for funding support from agencies, organizations and other entities willing to support components of this ADSDPP.

4. ADSDPP, Program and Project Time Frames

This ADSDPP is planned for the medium term, or five years. However, many activities are dependent on the availability of resources, specially funding. The implementation of the various programs, projects and the conduct of activities are affected by this reality.

Because of this, even as the time frames of the ADSDPP components are set, it is possible that these time frames may be shortened if resources are made available. The periods may however be lengthened if resources are not available.

5. Organization

The BITO shall be the organization primarily responsible for the implementation of this ADSDPP. However, other organizations in the locality shall be enjoined to participate in the programs and projects of the ADSDPP.

Organizations and agencies from outside of the domain shall be solicited for their support, whether this be in the form of services and expertise, funding, or the provision of materials.

6. Revisions of the ADSDPP

This ADSDPP shall be reviewed by the BITO staff after one year and evaluated as to its implementation. The staff shall present the results of the evaluation to
the BITO leadership, which shall decide on whether the ADSDPP needs adjustments or revisions.

At the instance of the BITO papangoan, major changes in this ADSDPP may be made, upon consultation with the community people.

The ADSDPP shall however be assessed in its entirety after five years, and with the participation of the community, a new five-year ADSDPP formulated.

7. Policy Statements

a. Sharing of Responsibilities and Benefits

*Sustainable management of the entire ancestral domain is the responsibility of the communities.* Every household or clan has their respective land: residential, agricultural, muyong, and/or mineral lands. Community members share common areas as their watershed, communal forests, fishing grounds and religious as well as institutional centers, the likes of which are burial grounds, churches, government centers and school sites.

In the context of this ADSDPP, the concerned households, clans, villages and organizations perform direct land and resource management functions in the specific areas allocated to them. For each family, clan, village and/or organization, this arrangement represents its share of the overall responsibility of sustainably managing the entire ancestral domain while enjoying the corresponding benefits therefrom.

\[1\] Lifted from ADSDPP, “Sharing of Responsibilities and Benefits, p. 12-13, unless otherwise indicated

\[2\] “Clan” as used here and elsewhere in this document refers to the kinship or bilateral descent groups
In this sharing of responsibilities and benefits, BITO as the people’s organization is responsible for domain-wide management and operations. Part of this responsibility is the task of sourcing out funds needed to pursue the identified activities to attain the objectives of this ADSDPP. Primary considerations in this sharing of responsibilities and benefits are the observance of *badang*, (mutual help); *gubbo* (community work); and *alluyon* (labor loan). However, all benefits subject to government laws and policies, such as payment of obligations must be religiously observed. In summary, *our management responsibilities will be pursued from a perspective of self reliance*.

**b. Resource Management Principles**

Our customary laws and indigenous knowledge systems and practices (IKSP) shall be observed in the management of the natural resources of our ancestral domain. From these customary laws and IKSP, the following management principles shall be pursued as regards land and other natural resources within the ancestral domain.

a. Sale, lease or mortgage of lands within the ancestral domain to non-members of the Kankanaey-Bago of Bakun or persons not related by blood to any Kankanaey or Bago shall be actively discouraged;  

b. Boundaries of ancestral lands shall be delineated and Certificates of Ancestral Land Titles (CALT) applied for. The BITO shall assist members in the follow-up of applications for CALT;

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1 ADSDPP, p. 13  
2 After discussion, the original prohibition (ADSDPP, p. 13) was deemed to be unconstitutional, and thus the BITO shall merely discourage the practice by stressing on the traditional wisdom of retaining property within the tribe.
c. Sharing of resources within *sinabag* (parcels of land inherited by individuals) among clan members shall be promoted and encouraged in the indigenous practices of cooperativism; 

d. Burial grounds are held sacred by our tribe wherever they are. Owners of lands where burial grounds are found must respect this; 

e. Villages must maintain and protect their respective watersheds and communal forests for future generations; 

f. Every member of the tribe shall show respect for the environment by observing customary laws and practices and policies formulated by the communities, as well as government laws and policies; 

g. Our traditional methods of hunting and fishing shall be encouraged and promoted as a means of protecting wildlife and aquatic resources; 

h. The traditional rights of use of the forests, including the harvest of trees and non-timber products from muyongs, communal forests and other forested areas must be properly observed and respected. The concept of sustainable utilization must be observed at all times. 

Harvesting of trees for lumber shall be allowed, provided that the necessary permits are acquired from the DENR. The BITO and 

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1 ADSDPP, p. 13, paragraph f.  
2 ibid, p. 14, paragraph g.  
3 ibid, p. 14, paragraph h.  
4 ibid, p. 14, paragraph i.  
5 ibid, p. 14, paragraph j.  
6 ibid, p. 14, paragraph k.
local government may only endorse applications for permits if the lumber is used by the applicant, and NOT for sale.

The BITO, having no police power, shall work closely with the authorities concerned for the apprehension and prosecution of violators.

i. Agricultural practices, cropping systems, and technology incorporating modern and indigenous practices shall be promoted\(^1\);

j. The traditional nem-a technology shall be promoted and encouraged as a means of sustainable forest use and as a means of conserving bio-diversity\(^2\);

k. Agro-forestry shall be promoted in the muyong areas\(^3\);

l. Extraction of minerals must observe traditional methods and practices. Mineral areas cannot be sold or leased to corporate entities (see paragraph a, this section). Extraction operations by non-members of the Kankanaey-Bago will be allowed only through product-sharing agreements involving the communities, landowners and the municipal government and barangays concerned, with the participation of concerned government agencies\(^4\);

Large scale mineral extraction shall have to undergo the FPIC process as prescribed by the IPRA.

m. All bodies of water such as rivers, creeks, springs and lakes shall be protected and preserved through traditional and government

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\(^{1}\) ibid, p. 14, paragraph l.
\(^{2}\) ibid, p. 14, paragraph m.
\(^{3}\) ibid, p. 14, paragraph n.
\(^{4}\) ibid, p. 14, paragraph o.
laws, policies and processes for posterity. Tapping of water sources for beneficial uses shall observe the following order of significance:

1\textsuperscript{st} priority  Domestic use

2\textsuperscript{nd} priority  Agricultural Use

3\textsuperscript{rd} priority  Industrial Use

Diversion of water from its natural course may only be allowed with the free and prior informed consent of the concerned communities, our people’s organization (BITO), with the concurrence of the local government units and other government agencies concerned\textsuperscript{1};

n. Earth moving activities such as road construction; ground leveling for agriculture or industrial purposes; and irrigation or drainage must consider mitigating measures to prevent erosion and siltation. Parties involved must observe responsible development\textsuperscript{2};

o. Terracing and other practices (indigenous and otherwise) that control erosion and siltation are encouraged\textsuperscript{3};

p. Planting and replanting of trees in muyongs and communal forests and other suitable areas in the domain is the concern of all residents. Economic benefits from tree farming shall accrue to the planters, the clan and the owners of parcels of land planted\textsuperscript{4};

\textsuperscript{1} ibid, p. 14, paragraph p.
\textsuperscript{2} ibid, p. 15, paragraph q.
\textsuperscript{3} ibid, p. 15, paragraph r.
\textsuperscript{4} ibid, p. 15, paragraph s.
q. With the assistance of BITO, additional policies that are culturally-inspired, transparent, fair and equitable shall be formulated by communities concerned.

r. Violators of community policies shall be held responsible under the processes of the tongtong system.

c. **Ancestral Domain Management Concept**

We shall continue managing our ancestral domain anchored on the concept of responsible ownership. Every family, village, barangay and any institution residing within the ancestral domain is considered a distinct and autonomous management entity with a degree of interest and responsibility over the territory.

The whole ancestral domain has been issued a title in the name of the Kankanaey-Bago tribe of Bakun. Individual ancestral land titles shall be secured also for the qualified persons to perfect their claims over their respective ancestral lands. Following the universal assertion of indigenous peoples that “land is life,” every parcel of land and the resources within and surrounding it has to be taken cared of by the owner (title holder) like every good and responsible father of a family.

d. **Communal Forests and Watersheds as Protected Zones**

Communal forests and watersheds shall be considered forest reserves by the community. These will be managed in the traditional ways, with enhancement by modern methods, under the concept of protected zones. As protected zones,

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1 ibid, p. 16, paragraph t.
2 ibid, p. 16
3 Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP, p. 31
only protective management activities, researches and community rites shall be allowed.

These areas will be delineated (See “Land Tenure Program,” p. 159) and marked for posterity.

Enforcement of the general restrictions on human activity in the areas will be the primary responsibility of the villages concerned. Environmental guards (See “Bantay Saguday Project,” p. 153) may be fielded by BITO in coordination with concerned government agencies and institutions.

e. Policies On Cultural Landmarks, Scenic Places And Special Use Areas

Cultural landmarks include, but are not limited to, places like Gadagad Padi in Kayapa; Mount Kabunian in Poblacion; Mount Tenglawan in Sinacbat; Mount Osdong in Ampusongan and Gambang; Bandilaan in Poblacion; Baey di iyon-a in Poblacion; Baey di Telas in Poblacion, etc. In particular, burial caves in the entire municipality fall under this classification. All these areas taken together will be classified as cultural zones.

Scenic areas unique to our domain are classified as tourism and special use areas.

The villages where these are located shall exercise primary protective responsibility over these treasures. Special use areas such as school sites, church sites, government centers and other similar areas of general concern

\[ \text{Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP, pp. 32-33} \]
shall be respected and protected. Community support to these areas shall be encouraged for their protection and sustainability.

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**f. Mineral Resource Development Policies**

Mineral resources have been known to exist in our domain since time immemorial, and our people have been practicing placer and lode mining for a long time. The activity persists up to the present.

The true extent of mineral resources within the domain can only be ascertained if a systematic exploration program using modern methods is carried out. The decision to proceed with any mineral development will be made upon the completion of a mineral exploration program. The Philippine Mining Act of 1995 requires prior informed consent and the Indigenous Peoples rights Act of 1997 requires free and prior informed consent before any mineral resources development is undertaken. Should consent be granted, occupation fees due to the municipality and any future royalty shall be used for programs and projects of the ADSDPP.

Any exploration or mineral resource extraction activities, if allowed, shall be conducted in a manner that gives due regard to the environment, respect for customs and traditions, and concern for the safety and health of employees and host communities. Employment of local residents shall also be required. Transparency between the host community and any mining company allowed to have operations shall be required to ensure a mutually beneficial relationship.

Mining experts may be invited to help develop small-scale mining operations with approved standards.

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1 Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP pp. 33-34
Small-scale mining activities will be regulated so that there will be no adverse effects to the environment.

Continuing consultations on mining-related issues and concerns shall be conducted.

\[ g. \textit{Policies on Water Resources}^{1} \]

There are several river systems in the domain. These river systems have the potential for generating hydropower. (See “River Systems,” p. 115)

The power companies operating the existing hydropower plants are doing so under build, operate and transfer (BOT) agreements with the National Power Corporation (NPC). Nonetheless, the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act was enacted and signed into law after these agreements, and the IPRA recognizes our rights over our ancestral domain, and subsequent processes caused the issuance of a Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT). Such rights include our right to benefit from the use of natural resources, and that includes the river systems. Therefore, it follows that we, the people of Bakun are entitled to share from the use of the resource in the form of funding or royalties.

In this regard, we shall actively seek support from the power companies within the domain support for programs and projects of the ADSDPP.

The opening of additional power plants shall be subject to the processes outlined in the IPRA on Free and Prior Informed Consent, and the benefits that shall accrue to the community shall be set in these processes. We specifically identify scholarships as a priority program for these royalties to fund.

\[ ^{1} \text{Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP pp. 34-35} \]
h. Policies on Research and Documentation in the Domain

We recognize the need for deeper research and documentation on our people and domain. We shall therefore initiate research and documentation projects.

We also welcome initiatives to do research by students, research institutions, government, and other entities. We shall assist researchers as best we can, so that the process and the product material shall be culturally-sensitive, and so that these shall also assist us in our continuing task of compiling information on our people and domain.

The Free and Prior Informed Consent required by the IPRA on researches will not be waived on these researches. However, if the BITO through its leadership or Project Management Staff requests for such researches in accordance with this policy, then the request shall serve as an expression of the FPIC itself. For the same reason, communications from the BITO giving permission for the conduct of research and documentation activities shall serve as expressions of FPIC.

The people of Bakun, through their people's organizations, primarily the BITO, reserve the right to negotiate with researchers the terms and conditions governing the process, and product material of research and documentation conducted. These terms and conditions may be made part of a memorandum of agreement or similar form, as needed. The BITO further reserves the right to stop the conduct of research and documentation activities should the researchers violate previous agreements, when they violate community policies, or when activities adversely affect the community or domain, and for other justifiable purposes.
Present priorities (in this ADSDPP) on research and documentation include the following:

1. Indigenous Knowledge Systems and Practices, especially on resource use and resource management systems, indigenous crops, cropping systems, decision-making and justice systems, leadership systems, land ownership and land use systems, property rights regimes, traditional medicine, and cultural practices. This shall not, however, limit outside initiative to document other aspects of IKSP.

2. Historical Research. Much of our history is oral, and added research and documentation is needed, the better for us, and other people, to understand the people of Bakun, and other people and territories that relate with us.

3. Anthropological Research. While IKSP research (see above) is partially or as a whole also anthropological research, we separate anthropological research as a priority concern in research and documentation.

4. Gender-related Research.

5. Resource Inventory and/or Resource Mapping.

   i. Intellectual Property Rights

The concept of intellectual property is not a traditional concept of indigenous peoples. It is a development that came with western property concepts, and gaining importance because of the current trends of trade liberalization, globalization and other realities alien to our communities. Nevertheless, we are
affected because we are part of the global community, and so we lay claim to these rights.

We do not at the moment set specific policies regarding intellectual property, but we do take note of the how the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act of 1997 recognizes the need for the protection of community intellectual property. The provisions of the law shall serve as policy, until such time that we shall be able to more specifically define the expressions of such legal provisions in our communities and domain.

Section 10 of the IPRA, under the heading “Protection of community Intellectual Property,” provides:

The ICCs/IPs have the right to own, control, develop and protect the following:

a. the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as but not limited to, archaeological and historical sites, artifacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature as well as religious and spiritual properties;

b. Science and Technology including, but not limited to, human and other genetic resources, seeds, medicines, indigenous knowledge systems and practices, resource management systems, agricultural technologies, knowledge of the properties of flora and fauna, and scientific discoveries; and

c. Language, music, dances, script, histories, oral traditions, conflict resolution mechanisms, peace building processes, life philosophy and perspectives, and teaching and learning systems.
In partnership with the ICCs/IPs, the NCIP shall establish effective mechanisms for protecting the indigenous peoples’ community intellectual property rights along the principle of first impression first claim, the Convention of Bio-Diversity, the Universal Declaration of the Indigenous Peoples’ Rights, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.¹

### j. Institutional Development²

Recognizing that the success in the implementation of this ADSDPP depends on a united and organized community, institutional development shall be a continuing concern. In pursuing this, the changes taking place in our socio-economic, cultural, political and spiritual including the apparent weakening of our traditional leadership structure shall be considered. Organizational development shall always be made within the framework of our indigenous leadership system wherein the elders, irrespective of their socio-economic status will remain the wellspring of our indigenous knowledge systems and practices.

Village level informal organizations will be strengthened. Cooperatives shall be supported to improve their management structures. Further, associations that are existing or to be organized shall be encouraged to incorporate culturally-inspired modes of cooperative relationships and leadership. The barangay councils of leaders will serve as focal points in each barangay.

The Papangoan in coordination with the municipal government shall handle the whole domain. The Papangoan collectively functions as the policy-formulating body through its officers.

The continuous and harmonious cooperation and interface between BITO and the local political leadership, as well as the other agencies of government and

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¹ Indigenous Peoples’ Rights Act of 1997, Sec. 10
² Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP pp. 37-38
non-government organizations shall be pursued and strengthened. The services of young intellectuals from the communities who will serve as village animators or extension workers will always be encouraged. The task of helping community leaders initiate planning and implementation activities is a vital link towards the harmonization of indigenous practices with appropriate modern/scientific approaches and technical skills. They can always act as consultants for various operational concerns such as documentation and training.
E. PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS

1. Environment and Natural Resources Program

   a. Statement of the Problem

   (Please see “Environmental Problems,” pp. 117-123.

   b. Reforestation Project

   i. Objective.

       1. To reforest denuded areas in the domain.

   ii. Project Activities

       1. Funding and Support Generation

       In order for many of the activities of this project to be implemented, the BITO
shall seek the support of other organizations, funding institutions, and support
agencies. This activity shall take a year from the approval of this ADSDPP.

       2. Reforestation of Denuded Areas

       The BITO seeks to reforest areas within the domain to be identified by each
barangay. Each of the seven barangays shall reforest ten (10) hectares of
their communal forests. There shall also be a municipal-wide activity to
reforest an additional ten (10) hectares. A total of eighty (80) hectares shall
therefore be reforested. The target hectarage is set based upon the limited
resources available. If there are organizations or institutions willing to support
other reforestation activities, these targets may be modified.
To do this, the following specific activities shall be conducted.

1. Nursery Establishment and Management

Eight (8) nurseries shall be established for reforestation purposes, one (1) in each of the seven (7) barangays, and one (1) municipal nursery. The following specific activities shall be implemented in a six-moth period.

a. Identification of tree species to be planted

b. Identification of persons to be primarily responsible for nursery establishment and management

c. Training on Nursery Establishment and Management

d. Acquisition of Materials

e. Actual Establishment - this shall include the physical construction of the nursery and the propagation of planting materials

f. Actual Management – this shall include the maintenance of the planting materials, bagging, and general maintenance like fertilization, watering, and the like

b. Distribution of Seedlings. Seedlings shall be distributed to members of the community tasked to do the actual reforestation activity, to be organized by the BITO pulok leaders.
c. Planting (Actual Reforestation). This shall be done by community members organized by BITO

d. Maintenance of Reforestation Areas. The community shall be responsible for the maintenance of reforestation areas until such time that the trees planted.

e. Muyong reforestation. This component of this project involves the encouragement of muyong owners to reforest their muyongs. If nursery production is sufficient, planting materials may be provided to muyong owners.

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**c. Bantay Saguday Project**

This component of our Environment and Natural Resources Program is a continuation of the traditional practices of protecting the resources in the domain. It has been institutionalized by BITO, and shall be continued under this ADSDPP.

This project seeks to guard the forests against indiscriminate cutting of trees, and forest fires; the rivers against destructive fishing methods like kuryente and the use of poisons; and to guard against other environmental destruction like improper disposal of wastes.

**i. Objective**

To protect the resources in the domain.
ii. Project Activities

- Identification of volunteers. Volunteers for this project may include the Barangay Tanod and other members of the community.

- Training and orientation of volunteers. The subjects to be discussed in this activity include general environmental concerns, community and government policies, paralegal skills on apprehension and prosecution of violators, and others. Knowledgeable agencies like the DENR and the LGUs shall be invited to assist in this activity.

- Provision of equipment to volunteers. If the BITO would be able to solicit support for equipment for volunteers, these shall be distributed. Equipment initially identified include flashlights, raingear, rubber boots, and hand-held radios.

- Actual Bantay Saguday activities. This involves the actual patrolling of the different parts of the domain by volunteers, and is a continuing activity.

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d. Natural Forests Management Project

i. Project Description

Indigenous communities including our tribe have successfully managed forests in a sustainable way. Over time, however, we have lost control of the forestlands largely because of the entry of licensed forest users/TLA (Timber License Agreement) holders and lumber extractors. Having regained our right to manage our ancestral domain, once again we have resumed the responsibility to rehabilitate, protect and conserve these forestlands. We shall continue to draw inspiration from our IKSPs (See “Communal Ownership of
the Forests,” p. 33; “Bebe-an,” p. 37; “Watershed or Tong-og,” p. 37; “Swidden Farming,” p. 38), which have, through time, proved to be reliable and sustainable.¹

Through assisted natural regeneration, we shall seek to improve upon the timber stock in these areas and enhance biodiversity, as these have expectedly been adversely affected by the intensive logging activities conducted in the past.²

**ii. Objective**

1. Improve timber stock through assisted natural regeneration;

2. Enhance biodiversity in natural forests; and

3. Promote forest management IKSP.

**iii. Activities**

The activities in this project shall be undertaken by the concerned villages, under the leadership of pulok leaders. If there are benefits from the selective harvesting, the community shall decide on how these shall be distributed. The traditional practice is for those who participated in the activity to share in the benefits, but the community may decide otherwise.³

1. Clearing of forests of elements that impair the speedy growth of trees and other flora. These elements include defective trees, over-matured trees, destructive vines and overcrowded non-timber products. We shall enlist the assistance of naturalists for this purpose. It shall be done in the context of *liwas*, our indigenous practice of selective

¹ Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP, p. 26
² Lifted with some editing from ADSDPP, p. 27
³ ibid
harvesting, and shall be done with extreme care so that young trees will not be sacrificed. If replacement is required, young trees will be planted.¹

2. Protection of forests from fires, unwarranted harvesting of forest products and unsustainable resource use practices.

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e. Muyong Forest Management Project

i. Project Description

Family/clan owned and managed forests are generally recognized in our communities. Their practical management of the areas were however interrupted and eroded when Timber License Agreement (TLA) holders usurped management (more like mismanagement) and disregarded the rights of traditional owners. Muyong owners, however, maintained their claims of ownership recognized by the community. Most of them continued to affirm this ownership by paying their tax declarations, even though the muyongs were classified not as tree farms but as virgin agricultural land. Not long after the logging companies left the areas, the muyong owners resumed management of the second growth forests. These have been protected until the present. However, because of fear of apprehension by government for illegal harvest of forest products, the muyong owners have done limited pruning and culling (which are traditional practices).

Nevertheless, the muyong system is a sustainable management and resource use system anchored in the context of ownership. (See “The Muyong and its Uses,” p. 33)

¹ ibid
This project seeks to revive and enhance the muyong system. Muyongs shall be delineated and claims properly recognized. (See “Land Tenure Program,” p. 159)

ii. Objective

To revive and enhance traditional muyong management practices.

iii. Activities

1. Cleaning (as needed). If the muyongs need cleaning in order for them to regain their traditional uses, then owners should clean the areas. Traditional mutual help systems may be employed in the activity.

2. Replanting (as needed). If the muyongs need replanting, then owners will take on the responsibility to do so. Mutual help systems may also be employed.

3. Enhancement (when preferred). Should owners seek to have other uses for the muyongs aside from the traditional ones, then they may choose to enhance their areas by engaging in environment-friendly and sustainable activities that will not diminish the traditional uses of the muyongs. Enhancement activities may include making use of the area for alternative economic activities like bee-keeping, mushroom culture, or replanting with fruit trees instead of the traditional pine. These are mere examples and should not limit the options of owners for enhancing their use of the muyong.
f. Habitat Management Project

i. Project Description

Forests in the domain have been traditionally used as hunting grounds, and the rivers, lakes and lagoons as fishing grounds\(^1\). However, wildlife and aquatic resources are in danger of depletion for a variety of reasons, including improved hunting equipment (such as guns), denudation of forests (damaging wildlife habitat), and the general increase in population (more people hunt and fish).

This component of the ADSDPP seeks to increase wildlife population in the context of habitat management, and in the process improve upon the biodiversity of the domain. Forest areas shall be put under the definition of sanctuaries and protected, with the following policies to be adopted\(^2\):

1. Targets of hunting activities shall be animals and birds destructive to crops. Hunting of identified endangered species is specifically prohibited.

2. Traditional hunting and fishing methods shall be allowed, with some modern additions. For hunting, air rifles, spears, traps and small bore rifles (caliber .22) in specific instances may be used. For fishing, fishing nets (the traditional pal-it), fish traps (gubo), hook and line, and temporary water diversion (sa-ep) are the methods that may be employed. The use of electrical gadgets and poisonous substances are specifically prohibited as fishing methods.

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\(^1\) ADSDPP p. 31
\(^2\) ibid, p. 32
ii. **Objective**

To increase wildlife population and enhance bio-diversity in the domain;

iii. **Activities**

Being mostly regulatory, activities in this project are included in our Bantay Saguday Project, that project that shall guard against abuses of the domain and its resources.

2. **Land Tenure Program**

   **a. Project Description**

This project involves the delineation and titling of ancestral lands and the identification and delineation of communally-owned lands.

There are many areas of the domain that are the rightfully owned by individuals, families and clans, or ancestral lands. There are also lands already ceded to institutions like religious denominations, government and other entities. The rest of the domain is communally owned by the Kankanaey-Bago.

With the delineation and titling of ancestral lands, as well as institutional lands, we shall then know what is left of the domain as communally owned. This will enable us to identify community uses of these areas, such as communal forests watersheds, pasturelands, sacred areas, and the like (existing and recognized areas may be expanded). This shall prevent future abuse by members of the community should they seek to have wider areas of the domain included as ancestral lands.

Since the actual titling process is the official function of the NCIP, however, BITO and community activities in this project shall be limited.
b. Objectives

a. To work for the titling of ancestral lands in the domain; and

b. To delineate communally-owned lands.

c. Activities

a. Information and Education Campaign – this seeks to inform the community on the titling process

b. Filing of Applications for Certificates of Ancestral Land Titles (CALT) – this shall be done by members of the community, with applications to be filed with the NCIP

c. Completion of Requirements – this is also the responsibility of community members, and dependent on the NCIP, which may require additional documentation as needed.

d. Follow up of applications – community members, to be assisted by the BITO, shall follow up applications

e. Delineation of communally owned lands – Parts of the domain not claimed and titled as ancestral lands shall be delineated as communally owned.

3. Economic Development Program

a. Program Description

Our municipality is part of a province that is considered one of the poorest of the country. Bakun itself is considered a poor municipality. These
classifications are because of the income levels, revenues collected, standards of living, and other economic indicators of the national government.

Our people have traditionally relied on subsistence farming as their source of livelihood. With the increasing needs of current society, our people have difficulty responding to them.

It is therefore necessary for us to improve upon our economic conditions, so that our people could be better able to support themselves and be more productive members of society.

This program has no intention of making BITO a major employer, or even for this organization to engage in businesses that will provide more jobs to our people.

This program, rather, would enhance our people’s adaptability, for them to engage in more economic activities that are sustainable and contribute to community self-reliance.

b. Statement of the Problem

There are several problems and needs we have identified in relation to economic development. Please see “THE ECONOMY,” pp. 78-93; “Need to Provide Sources of Livelihood,” p. 119; “Need to Provide Sources of Livelihood,” p. 120; “Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities,” p. 126; “Dependence on Cash Crops,” p. 126; and “Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities,” p. 130.

c. Program Objectives

1. To encourage community members to invest locally in employment-generating businesses;
2. To facilitate the conduct of trainings on existing industries, and on other feasible industries, in the domain; and

3. To promote Bakun as an eco-tourism site.

d. Program Strategies

i. Facilitation of Information, Education and Training Activities

The main function of BITO in this program is to provide the people with adequate information, education and training on various economic livelihood activities. The organization shall coordinate with concerned government and non-government entities with the expertise to conduct or share in information, education and training activities.

For industries that are already in Bakun, we shall provide needed information and training to enhance and improve upon existing technologies and processes. For other industries, we shall provide interested community members with the necessary information and skills for them to engage in the industries. If there are agencies or organizations that are willing to provide support (funding or services) to any particular undertaking, the BITO will assist community members in availing of this support.

Economic livelihood industries are expected to start small, first employing only an individual or household, but we expect that in the future these endeavors will create more employment opportunities.
ii. Encouragement of Entrepreneurship and Local Investment

Benefits from economic livelihood activities shall accrue to the families and individuals engaged in various livelihoods\(^1\). The quantity and quality of the benefits is dependent on their industry and diligence, and so they shall gain more if they invest more effort and capital, and thus help the community as a whole by creating jobs.

The BITO shall therefore encourage entrepreneurship and local investment, so that the industries shall be more diligently managed, and the chances of success and sustainability improved.

\(^1\) ADSDPP, p. 38, 39, 40
**e. Skills and Operations Training Project**

**i. Project Description**

There are many government agencies that provide different kinds of support to economic livelihoods. There are also many private institutions like service organizations, NGOs, and companies and corporations that provide support. International agencies and institutions may also be tapped to help community people in activities that seek to improve upon the economic conditions of the people.

The BITO shall tap these many different entities so that the people of Bakun shall be provided with the necessary information and skills in order for them to engage in these economic undertakings.

BITO itself shall not develop the expertise and run the business. Its main concern shall be to coordinate with support agencies and facilitate matters for the conduct of information and training activities.

**ii. Activities**

1. Identification of Industries. There are many industries and support services that are already existing or may be feasible in Bakun. Following are those initially identified.

   a. Bee keeping or apiary – The culture of bees (local and domesticated species) is environmentally important specially for their contribution to the pollination of flora in the domain. The honey and wax products gathered also contribute to the nutritional needs and to the cash requirements of tending families³.

³ Discussion is lifted, with some editing, from ADSDPP, pp. 38-39
This technology in order to gain wider acceptance has to be institutionalized through trainings and the provision of start-up colonies and equipment\(^1\).

b. Mushroom culture – Mushroom culture would also contribute to the nutritional needs of our people, as well as provide another source of livelihood.

c. Sericulture – The mulberry tree has been found to be endemic in the locality. This tree species has been observed as a deep-rooted plant and ideal for erosion control and slope protection, (aside from being easily propagated). Nutritional benefits can be derived from its fruits, and these or preserves may also be sold to generate cash. The leaves of the tree are also recommended as feed for silkworms. The silk produced by silkworms may be sold to the textile industry and thereby enhance economic conditions\(^2\).

d. Green and Black Tea growing – The Japanese green tea has been proven to be suited to the local climate and observed to be very good as hedgerows for slope protection. Likewise, the endemic “gipas” which could be processed into black tea has the same environmental advantages\(^3\).

e. Resin Collecting – This involves the collection of pine tree resin. This activity was tried in the past, but because of processing and marketing problems, it was discontinued. If there are agencies that will help in these matters, the activity could be revived and provide economic livelihood to the people.

\(^1\) Discussion is lifted, from ADSDPP, pp. 39
\(^2\) Discussion is lifted, with some editing, from ADSDPP, p. 40
\(^3\) Discussion is lifted, with some editing, from ADSDPP, p. 39
f. Management of Cooperatives – There are several cooperatives in the domain. However, their operations need to be enhanced so that they shall be better able to provide support to the members of the community.

g. Rice Production – Rice production remains a major activity in barangays Bagu, Poblacion and Kayapa, and a secondary activity in the other barangays. (See “Traditional Agriculture” starting on page 78.) However, production is at subsistence level. The BITO shall facilitate the conduct of trainings to enhance production by coordinating with concerned agencies.

h. Food Processing – Processed food products may also fetch better prices in the market, as well as make use of surplus and plant parts that are not marketable as fresh produce.

2. Coordination with Concerned Agencies. After the industries and the specific training needs are identified, the BITO shall look for agencies and other entities with the necessary expertise so that they could be tapped to conduct trainings for the communities. If these agencies have programs or projects that answer needs, activities shall be patterned after these agency programs and projects. If the support of agencies cover only specific requirements or needs, then several agencies may be involved in this ADSDPP project.

The BITO shall try to look for total support for identified economic endeavors (initial skills development, technical support, post-harvest technology and marketing support; provision of start-up funds and equipment), whenever possible, so that community members entering the industry will be better able to gain from it.
3. Actual Conduct of Trainings and Provision of Additional Support. With
support agencies, the trainings shall then be scheduled and conducted. If
additional support will be provided, the mechanics shall be arranged so
that the community may avail of these.

If possible, trainings shall be conducted per barangay to enhance
participation. But should there be limiting circumstances, trainings may be
conducted at the municipal level with participants from all barangays.

4. Continuing Assistance. After the initial trainings and additional support,
the BITO shall facilitate matters so that agencies will continue to provide
technical and other support to the community. Specific needs arising from
actual operations shall be considered. Included here will be post-harvest
technology and marketing assistance.

5. Conduct of Field or Exposure Trips. An effective way of transferring
technology to farmers is the conduct of exposure trips so that they could
see how the technology is applied in areas outside Bakun. This
educational experience will prompt them to realize many things otherwise
missed, and the opportunity to ask other practitioners on practical and
theoretical aspects of technology.

f. Commercial Crop Diversification and Technology
Enhancement Project

i. Project Description

The planting of commercial crops (presently concentrated on several species of
vegetables) is a major industry in Bakun and nearby municipalities. The
vegetable industry however has developed a dependence on cash crops (see
“Dependence on Cash Crops,” p. 126), and has fostered problems in marketing
see “Market Information” p. 90).
Further, if allowed to expand indefinitely, the damage on the environment may become irreversible (see “Expansion of Vegetable Farms,” 119).

To help alleviate these problems, we see the need for crop diversification in commercial farms. With more variety in crops planted, marketing problems will be minimized, and profit margins increased because of less competition. The diversity would also help limit other problems like pest and disease control, and help in maintaining soil viability.

Again, the role of BITO will be to provide opportunities so that community members may gain information and learn skills in order for them to diversify their crops. To encourage diversification, there shall be a continuing effort to inform the people of the negative effects of the current practice of intensive farming and unbridled expansion.

ii. Objectives

1. To provide opportunities for farmers to learn about other viable commercial crops;

2. To provide opportunities for farmers to gain skills in the production of other crops;

3. To enhance production of current crops;

4. To increase returns to farmers and limit expansion of farms to forest areas; and

5. To promote environment-friendly technologies.
iii. Activities

1. Identification of alternative crops and technologies. Viable crops other than the ones currently being cultivated shall be identified. Initially, those identified include the following.

   a. Cutflowers – there are already some farmers in Bakun who grow cutflowers commercially, but there is a need to generate more interest in this form of commercial farming. The production area needed for cutflower production is less than the area needed for vegetables.

   b. Fruit-bearing trees – The different areas of Bakun are suitable to varied species of fruit-bearing trees whose fruits may be sold commercially. Fruit trees have the added advantage of also supplementing the forest functions as watersheds and for erosion control. Further, trees may be planted in those areas that are otherwise difficult to utilize as agricultural areas, such as steep slopes.

The market for fruits is also already developed, but the products sold in the market are mostly imported from outside the country. With proper marketing strategies, locally-produced fruits could develop a comparative advantage and thereby increase returns to farmers. Fruit trees initially identified that could be cultivated in the domain include pears and Japanese pear (persimmon) for the medium to higher elevation areas, lychees and longans for low and medium elevations, passion fruit, citrus (different varieties may be cultivated at different altitudes), and mulberry (see also “sericulture,” p. 165).
Other fruits and similar crops that may be planted include jackfruits (also a citrus variety), strawberries, gooseberries, and alumani (endemic blueberries). These were grown traditionally in swidden farms. (See “Nem-a Enhancement Project,” 172)

c. Other vegetables and similar crops. The crops being planted now are concentrated on a few species (see “Table 14. Total Households and Area Devoted to Commercial Vegetable Crops,” p. 89). Bito shall try to identify other suitable vegetable crops that may be planted so that competition among and between farmers in Bakun and nearby municipalities will be minimized.

Other crops previously identified include ube, gabii/yam, cassava, peanut, ginger, tea, onions, garlic, millet (locally termed sabog), sorghum (locally termed bakakew), corn, kidney beans, string beans, peas, soybeans, mongo, cadios, and patani. These have been traditionally grown in swidden farms. (see “Nem-a Enhancement Project,” 172)

d. Production-Enhancing Technology. The current trend of intensive farming is taxing the environment, resulting to depletion of soil viability. The usual practice of increasing production by increasing the cultivated area is also resulting to the denudation of forests. However, if technology were available so that the same volume could be produced in lesser areas, or the returns for planting the same area were increased, then the need for expansion would be significantly alleviated.

Such technology may include out-of-season production through the use of greenhouses or glasshouses. There are sure to be other technologies that would attain these objectives, and the BITO shall identify these.
Also included are post-harvest technologies like handling and processing.

e. Environment-Friendly Technologies. These include:

i. soil and erosion control technology like kabite and lapulap;

ii. organic farming to reduce dependence on commercial fertilizers and pesticides; and

iii. integrated pest management;

2. Coordination with concerned agencies. Agencies with the expertise or interest to provide support shall be identified and approached and their support gained.

3. Conduct of information and training activities. With the support of agencies, the BITO shall facilitate the conduct of information and training activities. If the information and technology is locally available (see examples of technology above), then local speakers will be tapped.

4. Provision of Additional Support. If support agencies and institutions are able to provide other support other than information and skills, such as capitalization, market support, technical support and the like, then these shall also be maximized. Possible additional support to be generated include:

a. cold storage facilities;

b. opening and improvement of farm-to-market roads;
c. seed storage facilities;

d. primary processing facilities;

e. construction and maintenance of tramlines;

f. construction and improvement of irrigation systems; and

g. credit facilities.

5. Conduct of Field or Exposure Trips. An effective way of transferring technology to farmers is the conduct of exposure trips so that they could see how the technology is applied in areas outside Bakun. This educational experience will prompt them to realize many things otherwise missed, and the opportunity to ask other practitioners on practical and theoretical aspects of technology.

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**g. Nem-a Enhancement Project**

**i. Project Description**

Nem-a technology is by far recognized as a sustainable farming system. Its viability is however based on the practice of cultivating only small sections of the forest, so that an increase in the area of swidden farms currently being utilized might result in environmental damage. In order to utilize the same swidden farms and improve upon the livelihood of our people, therefore, we see the need to enhance the nem-a.

**ii. Objectives**

1. Increase production in swidden farms and limit opening of more swidden farms by introducing pest- and disease-resistant varieties; and

2. Promote and encourage traditional environment-friendly practices;
## iii. Activities

1. Continuing information and education campaign on nem-a technology to increase awareness and appreciation of sustainable traditional practices like bench terracing (using lapulap and kabite), the control of wildfire, crop diversification, etc. (See “Swidden Farming,” page 38)

2. Introduction of pest-resistant varieties.

### h. Coffee Marketing Project

## i. Project Description

Marketing of products is a general concern among farmers in Bakun. We envision better marketing arrangements for most products, specially the major ones, in the future. However, we recognize that there are so many things that need to be done among our people, like organizing farmers, zoning and scheduling of crop production, and the like. There are also some factors like national policies (vegetable importation, for instance) and market realities (monopoly of several middlemen of Manila markets, for instance) and others that are beyond our control. These shall perhaps be resolved and thus make it easier for us.

Yet we fully recognize that part of the problem ahhs to be solved at our level as producers, and so we must start responding to the problem.

For the moment, in this ADSDPP, we shall concentrate on a particular product, a product where we have had experience in organized marketing – coffee. It is but one product, and we hope that when we have had instituted an effective marketing strategy and network for this product, we shall have learned enough so we could apply our lessons to other products.
ii. Objectives

1. To develop post-harvest handling and technologies among producers;

2. To identify market outlets for end products;

3. To organize a marketing cooperative for coffee growers; and

To market coffee in an organized manner.

iii. Activities

1. Organizing. The BITO shall organize coffee growers and establish organization objectives to include marketing.

2. Identification of market outlets or buyers. Concurrent to organizing, market outlets shall be identified, and their preferences (quality and quantity) noted. The organization will also be introduced to these buyers.

3. Post-harvest handling and processing training. After the buyers preferences are known, the necessary post-harvest technology shall be imparted to coffee growers in the form of a training or a series of trainings. Funding for activities shall be sourced from support agencies and institutions, or even from potential buyers.

4. Execution of Memorandum of Agreement with Buyers. When the organization feels itself capable, it will then execute a memorandum of agreement with buyers, assuring them of a steady outlet of their produce and at a profit. This will remove the risks in a market where prices are dictated by day-to-day realities, as the agreement shall ensure a profit for producers considering all known factors.
5. Continuing Marketing Activities. Upon the execution of the MOA, the coffee growers shall abide by it, and if needed, to negotiate changes in the agreement, or to renew it when it lapses.

4. Socio-Cultural Program

   a. Program Description and Statement of the Problem

This component of the ADSDPP seeks to address various concerns in the social and cultural spheres. There are many problems that can be identified from our workshops, including illiteracy, even if this is decreasing in younger generations (See “Education,” p. 72). There are also problems on health (See “Health,” p. 75). However, we have considered problems on health to be within the responsibility of the Department of Health, and we recognize our limited capacity to respond to health problems. This ADSDPP shall not dwell on the problem, therefore. Should we acquire the needed capabilities, we shall incorporate programs addressing the problems on health as well as other problems that we are currently deficient in.

Aside from illiteracy, other socio-economic problems that we have identified and that we feel we can respond to. Of specific concern is the erosion of positive traditional values and community mutual help systems (See “Need to Strengthen Traditional Values,” p. 118; “Erosion of Positive Traditional Values and Community Mutual Help Systems,” p. 127) and the problems arising from the vices of gambling and drunkenness (See “Incidence of Social Ills,” p. 131).

We also take note of the need to uplift the status of women as a general reality, though we do not have specific statistics or studies to illustrate realities in our communities.

This program seeks to respond to these problems.
b. Program Objectives

1. To revive and/or strengthen positive traditional values and mutual help systems;

2. To reduce the incidence of illiteracy; and

3. To reduce the incidence of social ills.

c. Program Activities

Program activities will be described in the specific projects.

d. Functional Literacy Project

i. Project Description and Statement of the Problem

The incidence of illiteracy is decreasing in younger age brackets as compared to older age brackets. However, these members of our community who are not functionally literate, no matter how few they are, need to be assisted so that they shall be able to function more ably in society, and to empower them so that they shall not be victims of unscrupulous persons who seek to take advantage of their condition.

This project seeks to enroll interested members of the community in functional literacy classes that will provide them with basic literacy skills.

ii. Objective

To facilitate the conduct of functional literacy classes in the different barangays of Bakun.
iii. Activities

1. Fund and material sourcing. Like most activities in this ADSDPP, funding shall first be sourced out by the BITO. The funding and material requirements for this project are comparatively minimal, and thus will be sourced locally. Specifically, the power companies shall be approached to fund this project. Local people shall also be solicited.

2. Identification of animators. Animators are those people who shall act as facilitators in the functional literacy classes. We shall tap literate members of the community who are willing to take on the role. If the funding raised makes it possible, animators will be provided with compensation for their efforts.

3. Identification of participants or enrollees and setting of schedules. All members of the community who are not functionally literate shall be invited to join in the classes, and efforts shall be made by the BITO and animators to convince them of the benefits of the activity. However, they shall not be forced to attend the classes. Schedules of classes shall then be set based on the common availability of animators and participants.

4. Actual conduct of classes.

5. Project evaluation. After some time, the project will be evaluated as to its effectivity and the benefits of participants for posterity, and to provide lessons for future activities of the same sort.
i. Project Description and Statement of the Problem

This project seeks to respond to the erosion of positive traditional values and community mutual help systems. The causes of the erosion we have identified, such as misinterpretation of Christian teachings, education, and economic changes (See “Misinterpretation of Christian Values,” p. 127; “The Bias of the Educational System,” p. 128; and “Economic Individualism,” p. 129) are not negative conditions, but have also infused many positive developments in our communities. It follows that the erosion of positive traditional values may be reversed, and these may co-exist with the very conditions that we have identified to cause the erosion.

In this way, the positive in the traditional and those in the modern will complement each other and make the Kankanaey-Bago, as individuals and as a people, better members of humanity.

ii. Objective

1. To revive and strengthen positive traditional values and mutual help systems; and

2. To maintain a library of materials on Bakun, its people and related subjects.

iii. Activities.

1. Research and Documentation. While we have an understanding of traditional values and mutual help systems, and that understanding is sufficient for most of us to continue with the practice, it would be better if these were properly documented (beyond the descriptions and
documentation in this document). We expect to understand the traditional
better with such documentation, including the logical and/or spiritual bases
of beliefs and practices.

2. **Information and Education Campaign.** Even without further research and
documentation, a continuing information and education campaign on
culture shall be undertaken. Village elders shall be encouraged to
continually conduct informal discussions when possible, and schools shall
be requested to devote some time for the discussion of the subject. If
sufficient funds are raised for this activity, then more creative approaches
using various media shall be employed.

We expect that the IEC shall generate interest on the subject, and other
issues that we have yet to see shall surface. Discussions on these issues
shall be documented so that we can learn from them, and they shall
contribute to the material we have on our people.

3. **Compilation of Information Materials on Bakun and its People.** The BITO
shall compile various materials on Bakun and its people.

4. **Maintenance of Library.** The materials compiled shall be maintained as a
library of resources that will be made available to the public. Policies on
library use will be prepared by the BITO staff. Schools and institutions in
the domain shall also be encouraged to maintain similar libraries, and for
the different libraries to share resources.
f. Reduction of Social Ills Project

i. Project Description and Statement of the Problem

We have observed some incidence of gambling and drunkenness in our communities. These ills have adversely affected family relations, and overall relations in the communities.

ii. Objective

As part of this ADSDPP, we seek to reduce the incidence of such vices.

iii. Activities.

1. Information and Education Campaign. The incidence of vices is largely dependent on the individual’s sense of morality and values. Properly informed of the effects of vices, most individuals would naturally limit the practice of vices, or altogether stop the practice.

   There are activities already instituted by government agencies like the Department of Social Welfare and Development and the Department of Health that address the need to keep our people informed. We shall coordinate with these agencies to continue with their campaign. If needed, the BITO shall sponsor similar activities.

2. Assist LGU to formulate applicable ordinances. The BITO shall also assist the LGU (barangay and municipal) to come up with ordinances seeking to reduce the incidence of these social ills.
5. Research and Documentation Program

a. Project Description and Statement of the Problem

We continually seek to understand ourselves as a people. We also need to know matters about our domain. These have also to be related to the outside world – the nation and the task of nation-building, national and international conventions and standards, and institutions and processes that affect us. This understanding shall make us more able to manage our domain and set directions for our people. In turn, this shall empower us to better contribute to the task of nation-building, and to the general concerns of humanity and world environmental concerns.

Research and documentation shall be guided by policies set in our ADSDPP (See “Policies on Research and Documentation in the Domain,” p. 146).

i. Objective

To generate as much information as possible on our people and domain.

ii. Activities.

1. Continuing documentation by BITO. Much of our documentation is not governed by the standards of academic research. In the main, these are simply the writing down of orally-transmitted information concerning our people and domain. We shall continue to do this type of documentation, until such time that we develop the skills and capability to conduct more conventional research and documentation.

2. Active solicitation for research assistance. There are many research institutions that share the same interest as we do, and the BITO shall actively solicit their support in the conduct of research and documentation.
3. Active participation in the conduct of research and documentation in the domain. We shall, as an organization, actively participate in the processes of research and documentation. Our people, as communities and individuals, will be encouraged to do the same. This participation shall be true for studies that we solicited or requested for, as well as studies that are initiated by other entities.

6. Advocacy Program

   a. Program Description and Statement of the Problem

There are many problems, needs and concerns of our people and domain that are dependent on other people, especially decision-makers and policy makers, at higher levels of government. For instance, the problem of waste management is a national problem, and a national solution, or a solution of national application, is needed. In cases like these, the Kankanaey-Bago shall adopt a position of advocacy, to input their particular situation, and contribute to discussions looking for lasting solutions.

Another example is the need for more and better roads. Funding for road projects are decided at different levels of government. However, experience shows that the roads to and in Bakun are not priorities. In this instance, the position of advocacy takes expression in lobbying for road improvement, and convincing policy and decision makers of our locality’s needs.

Some problems affecting us could not be solved in the short term, and what we can do at the moment is to advocate the discussion of certain issues, so that our people may attain a level of unity to effect a solution, remedy, or adjustment. An example of this situation is the gender question. Gender inequality is born out of long tradition, based on deep cultural patterns that do not change overnight.
Solutions to the problem are also cultural, and so the people must, collectively establish conventions that would address the concern.

b. Objectives

1. To initiate the continuing discussion of relevant issues;
2. To actively participate in the discussion of relevant issues and concerns;
3. To advocate special positions on issues that affect our domain; and
4. To generate financial and material support for Bakun.

c. Activities

1. Sponsor discussions and sharing (formal and informal) on relevant issues. When there are issues that confront our community, the BITO shall sponsor activities that will provide a venue for the community to discuss, and eventually unite on a common position. An example of instances when such discussions are needed is when there are development proposals are put before our people, and we need to arrive at a common position. The gender inequality question is another example.

2. Active participation in the discussion of relevant issues. There are numerous forums, symposiums, conferences and other meetings and assemblies where issues concerning indigenous peoples and their rights are discussed. There are also similar gatherings that discuss issues affecting the general public, such as environmental issues. The BITO shall actively participate in these activities. Our participation shall ensure that our particular conditions are considered.

3. Actively lobby for government and other institutional action of problems and needs. Sometimes government and other institutions need to be reminded to
act on our problems and needs. BITO and community members shall therefore actively lobby for the support of these institutions. For example, the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) is the government agency primarily responsible for the protection of IP rights. One right is the right to ancestral land. In this example, BITO shall actively lobby so that the NCIP shall assist our people in the titling of their ancestral lands.

4. Advocate special positions. There might be issues when our communities have arrived at unities on certain issues. It is part of our program to advocate such positions and gain outside public and institutional support for our position. For example, this ADSDPP was arrived at after extensive discussions among our people, and thus our positions, expressed as policies, programs and projects, need to be advocated so as to generate support for them. The support generated might be expressed in many forms, including concrete financial and material support.