
From discussions with the indigenous people of Mankayan, under the leadership of the Mankayan Indigenous People’s Organization (MADIPO)

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

and with the participation and support of the Municipal Government of Mankayan as well as the various barangay councils.

by Gary A. Pekas

July 2006
# Table of Contents

I. OUR HISTORY ............................................................................................................. 1  
   A. Early Settlers ........................................................................................................... 1  
      1. Earliest Named Ancestors .................................................................................. 1  
      2. Succeeding Settlers and Intermarriage with Other Peoples ......................... 2  
   B. Origins of Names of Places ................................................................................... 3  
   C. PRE-SPANISH AND SPANISH TIMES ............................................................... 5  
      1. Gold and Copper ................................................................................................. 5  
      2. Subsistence Economy ......................................................................................... 8  
      3. Trade .................................................................................................................. 9  
      4. Health ................................................................................................................. 9  
      5. Music and Dance ............................................................................................... 10  
      6. Clothing ............................................................................................................. 15  
      7. Belief Systems ................................................................................................. 16  
      8. Sports ............................................................................................................... 19  
      9. Governance and Justice Systems ...................................................................... 20  
   D. American regime (1900-1941) ......................................................................... 23  
      1. Mining ................................................................................................................. 23  
      2. Economic Changes with Mining Boom .............................................................. 23  
      3. The 1904 St. Louis World Fair ........................................................................... 24  
      4. In-Migration and Intermarriage ....................................................................... 24  
      5. Education .......................................................................................................... 26  
      6. Nutrition and Clothing ..................................................................................... 27  
      7. Religion and the Traditional Belief System ..................................................... 27  
      8. “Tribalism” ...................................................................................................... 28  
   E. THE JAPANESE AND THE MINES .................................................................... 28  
   F. Postwar (1945-1970) ......................................................................................... 29  
      1. Reconstruction ................................................................................................... 29

ii
II. INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND PRACTICES (IKSP).....52
A. FOREST AND WATERSHED MANAGEMENT ................................. 53
   1. Belief Systems Associated With Forests .................................. 54
   2. Management Systems ............................................................ 55
   3. Other Protection and Management Mechanisms of Forests and
      Watersheds .............................................................................. 61
B. LAND use, OWNERSHIP and management ............................. 62
   1. Property Concepts ................................................................. 62
   2. Land Uses ............................................................................. 63
C. WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ......................................... 64
1. Belief Systems Associated with Water Systems ................................. 64
2. Irrigation systems as Communal Property........................................... 65
D. MINERAL RESOURCE USE, MANAGEMENT AND PROTECTION .. 65
   1. Belief Systems Associated with Minerals ............................................ 65
   2. Mining Practices .................................................................................. 66
   3. Ownership and Sharing of Benefits..................................................... 66
   4. Taboos ................................................................................................. 67
   5. Mine Management .............................................................................. 68
   6. Hand tools Used in Placer Mining....................................................... 68
E. THE TUNGTUNG SYSTEM ................................................................ 69
III. OUR PEOPLE AND DOMAIN ............................................................. 71
   A. The People .......................................................................................... 71
      1. Customs and Traditions (see also Belief Systems, p. 16) ................... 72
      2. Demography....................................................................................... 75
   B. The DOMAIN ....................................................................................... 79
      1. Location ............................................................................................ 79
      2. Area of the Municipality .................................................................... 79
      3. Topography ....................................................................................... 80
      4. The River System ............................................................................ 81
      5. Climate .............................................................................................. 81
      6. Land Classification ........................................................................... 82
   C. The economy ........................................................................................ 88
      1. Agriculture ......................................................................................... 88
      2. Change in Agricultural Production and Resultant Erosion of Traditional
         Culture ................................................................................................. 89
      3. The General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World
         Trade Organization (WTO) and Vegetable Production ...................... 90
      4. The Mines .......................................................................................... 92
D. Health and Education ........................................................................................................... 93
1. Health ........................................................................................................................................... 93
2. Education ....................................................................................................................................... 94

IV. Current Problems .................................................................................................................... 95
A. Problems affecting community unity and cooperation ............................................................. 95
   1. “Shy” Customary Tradition ....................................................................................................... 95
   2. Value Changes ............................................................................................................................ 98
   3. Sectarianism and the Lack of Understanding and Tolerance ................................................. 100
   4. Problems Arising from Cosmopolitan Character of Mankayan ............................................. 101
   5. Lack of Community Organizations to Promote Ancestral Domain Concerns .......................................................... 103
   6. Need for Domain-Wide Organization ...................................................................................... 106

B. OUR CONCERNS ON THE ENVIRONMENT ........................................................................... 107
   1. Forest Denudation .................................................................................................................... 107
   2. Lack of Waste Disposal System ............................................................................................ 112
   3. Improper Disposal of Mine Waste .......................................................................................... 114
   4. Improper Disposal of Farming Waste ..................................................................................... 117
   5. Lack of Participation in Development Planning ....................................................................... 117

C. Problems Affecting Economic Development ......................................................................... 118
   1. Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities ................................................................. 118
   2. Lack of Capital for Livelihood Activities ............................................................................... 121
   3. Inadequate Production and Marketing Strategies (Vegetable Gardens) .................................. 122
I. OUR HISTORY

We are Igorots. Igorot is a term originally used to derogate the various mountain-dwelling people of the Philippines. But we proudly proclaim this identity, for in so doing we challenge, and ultimately reverse, the negative meanings that the term carries.

We also belong to the ethno-linguistic group of the Kankanaey, a label we shared with other indigenous people of the Cordilleras.

We are the indigenous people of Mankayan.

This is our history.

A. EARLY SETTLERS

1. Earliest Named Ancestors

Several families in the domain of Mankayan can trace a genealogy that they approximate, and claim, to date as early as the 13th century. Specifically, the Mangaldan and Sucayan families name a certain Paula as their oldest traceable female ancestor. The name sounds Spanish, and it may have been Hispanized in the oral transmission of our history.

Other families tell stories of ancestors who have crossed the Namiligan Ridge north of our current domain. These ancestors came from Banao (possibly the present Banao in Bauko, Mountain Province.) They date the migration of these ancestors at around the 15th century. The Pesay clan name their earliest ancestors as Adcapan and Kolling, supposed to have come from Banao.
These are the earliest we can name, but there are most probably earlier settlers that these migrants found in the domain.

Migrants from Banao via the Namiligan ridge established settlements in Panat and Bag-ongan, located at the southern part of the domain, Deccan in Balili, and Ampontoc in Colalo.

More people came to these settlements, but the settlements were later abandoned due to an epidemic. The settlers of Panat and Bag-ongan transferred to Lap-angan, Palasaan, Payeo and Kamanggaan. Others migrated to what is now Bakun. Those who settled in Deccan moved to Sesecan and Baguyos. There were those who returned to the Namiligan area. Those who settled in Ampontoc moved to Camay, Comillas and Quirino.

The place now called Bedbed barangay was first settled by Panday and Kabaon and their families. Colalo on the other hand was settled by 35 people, including Begya, Batiw-an, Sigey, Lopez, Gubi, Agoyos, Dugao, Galidan, Kadlus, and Patangan. These barangays were relatively settled at later times.

There are stories of early developments in the domain, like the discovery of gold. (See Gold and Copper on page 5)

2. Succeeding Settlers and Intermarriage with Other Peoples

From these early ancestors we have named, from unnamed others they might have found and from later migrants came the indigenous peoples of Mankayan. It is notable that Mankayan is a trade route connecting the lowlands to other parts of the present Benguet and Mountain Province, so that traders from the lowlands and other places might have also intermarried with our ancestors. Those of our people who themselves engaged in trade might also have intermarried and enriched the genetic stock of our people.
It is also notable that the Spanish colonizers of the Philippines have been interested in the mineral resources of the area, so that they had several expeditions to the place or nearby areas. While there were patterns of resistance to such incursions, it is not improbable that the expeditionary forces consisting of Spaniards and other Filipinos might have further added to our people’s genetic stock by intermarrying or begetting offspring.

The gold and copper mines in the domain facilitated the entry of people from other areas, too, specially in the past century. At present, it is rare for a family in our communities not to be able to trace some ancestry in other areas. Many trace relations with other Kankanaeys in Benguet and Mountain Province. Some trace ancestors from farther places and other peoples.

The opening of commercial large-scale mining in the last century allowed the entry of many more migrants. Some of them have permanently settled in the domain and are now part of our communities. Most of them have intermarried, or have offspring who intermarried, with the Mankayan people.

B. ORIGINS OF NAMES OF PLACES

The names of places in the domain come from several sources. Some derive their names from the topography and natural formations. Examples of this include: Panad, in barangay Tabio, meaning flat terrain and thus ideal for rice fields; Guinaoang, meaning river, now the name of a barangay; and Bato in Tabio, meaning stone or rock, so named because of the big rock in the place. Exposure to sunlight may also determine the name of a place, like Pabileng, which means that sunlight only shines in the place for a short time, being located in a valley.

---

1 ADSDPP workshops
Cabutaan (literally “place where you get dust in your eyes”) is named because the place may be dusty.

Some other places derive their names from vegetation, animals and other resources in the place. Camanpaguey in Cabiten, for instance is named for the grass that grows there, meaning “like rice.” Labaan in Tabio is named for crows. Suyoc is derived from the “suyak,” the local term for the flower of a hard-stemmed grass with many uses, locally called “pao.” Takki in Cabiten is named for copper.

The way our community uses a place in the domain became the bases of their names. Lamagan in Tabio is so called because our people have to climb up a path on the mountainside; “lamag” means climb. Pas-adan in Colalo is named so because it is located halfway up the mountain.

Dong-as in Cabiten is named so because it was used as a “battleground” during inter-community conflicts. Pakedlan in Tabio is named because it is the place where our people have conducted “pakde,” an indigenous ritual. Sesecan, describes the settlement, as the houses are close to each other. Busan in Colalo is a corruption of “busabusan” meaning intersection; paths intersect in the place.

Events also become a source of names. Patpat, literally meaning “to fell or cut down a tree,” is the name of a place in Tabio because lightning once struck down a house there. Bedbed barangay has a place called Tekdag-baboy, literally translated as “fall pig,” so called because a pig that people were carrying once fell down there.

Barangay Bulalacao is so named because of a shooting star witnessed in the place. Bulalacao means shooting star.
First settlers also become the basis of names of places. Madaymen in Tabio is named that way since the first people who settled there came from Madaymen (a place in what is now Kibungan municipality).

Colalo derives its named from a local lady named Cola who married a Chinese man named Lo, thus Cola Lo.

C. PRE-Spanish and Spanish Times

1. Gold and Copper

Our people are fortunate to have settled in a place that is blessed with valuable mineral resources specifically gold and copper. Many of our stories revolve around these resources.

Our ancestors tell of the story of a woman who took a bath in the river, after which she noticed the presence of gold dust in her hair. This is generally believed to have happened in the 14th century. When the economic value of the dust was realized, the people of the domain eventually used gold as a trading commodity in their trading with the lowlands.

Copper, on the other hand, was discovered by two hunters from what is now Buguias who followed game into the domain. The deer they were tracking fell into a ravine, and the hunters made camp there, cooking some of the meat. The hunters found rocks to make a firestand to roast the deer. The hunters noticed that the rocks melted, and found out that the resulting material was malleable.
We have been extracting the resources even before the Spanish regime, and traded these with other people. Copper was used to make tools, utensils and ornaments. It was also traded with other people for community needs.

There are reports that gold was traded with Chinese junks in the Ilocos prior to the coming of the Spaniards. This continued even as the Spanish established their presence in the Philippine Islands, as Spanish records note that in 1610, Igorots traded gold with Chinese in Tagudin, in present day Ilocos Sur. Gold from the mountains was also traded with lowland peoples, so that the Spaniards, when they reached the Ilocos, came to know of the presence of this valuable metal in the mountains.

It was in 1668 that the Spaniards first came to our domain. The expedition was led by Admiral Pedro Duran de Monforte, with 100 Spaniards (including 3 Agustinian friars) and 2,000 Indios. Another expedition led by Galvey managed to collect geological samples in 1822,

Once the Spanish colonizers learned of the presence of gold in the area, they launched several expeditions in the attempt to control the mines. These expeditions are discussed in William Henry Scott’s “Discovery of the Igorots.” The people of the mountains, including the people of our domain in various ways resisted the Spanish incursion. In fact, resistance in the area prompted the Spaniards to name the copper and gold-rich area Lepanto, because local resistance reminded them of the Turks in the Battle of Lepanto.

The colonizers were limitedly successful, as they were able to establish some political control over the place. In 1837, Mankayan and Suyoc were named as Rancherias and part of the Comandancia Político Militares of the Ilocos. In 1854, Spanish Rancherias Data, Tubo, Tabbak and Suyoc were created in the domain. In 1852, the province of Lepanto was created, with its capital at Cervantes, located in what is now Ilocos Sur. The province encompassed what is now Mankayan and other parts of Benguet and Mountain Province.
In 1850, the Spanish colonial government sent an engineer, Antonio Hernandez, to evaluate mining prospects in the area. His favorable report prompted a certain Senor T. Balbas y Castro to organize a group called Sociedad Minero Metalurgica Cantabro-Filipina in 1862. They reportedly produced 5,500,000 pounds of copper on their best year. Their operations lasted until 1875. In the meantime, it was in 1864 that the Spanish Mining Law came into effect.

Even as the Spaniards wanted to control the resources in the domain, the resistance of our people and other Igorots was a big problem for them, and they were not able to gain control over the domain. The Spaniards were unable to establish large-scale mining operations in the area.

We remember the that in 1896, the people of the domain resisted attempts of Comandante Yanguas to take over the gold mines.

Even with the presence of the Spaniards, control over the mines was very limited. In fact, our people remember that in 1898 – 1900, Sakdalistas (a religious group rebelling against the Spanish) shared in the gold produced by the mines in the domain, and even made the local inhabitants cargadores.

Nevertheless, the European craving for gold and other metals exhibited by the Spaniards became a central force in the shaping of our communities and the present state of our domain.
2. Subsistence Economy

Even as there was gold and copper, the extraction of these was neither large-scale and nor was it the main economic activity of most of our people. Only those relied on gold mining as their major source of livelihood. On the whole, however, what we had was a subsistence agricultural economy. As far back as our people collectively remember, our ancestors have been engaged in agriculture as their main source of livelihood, supplemented by some hunting and gathering. Mining for gold, and trading the commodity, however, was early on a major source of livelihood for some communities, particularly Panat and Bag-ongan. Mining methods were however crude, and swidden agriculture later became a more reliable source.

Like other communities in the Cordillera, the staple food we had subsisted on included camote and rice. Camote was dried to preserve it for the lean months. Dried camote is called *buko*. Gabi was also a staple food. In addition, our ancestors grew vegetables and fruit trees to supplement their diet. Fruits included bananas, *bankok*, *degway*, *binnok*, *ayyusip* and guavas.

Nem-a, or swidden farms were maintained by our people, where they grew these crops. Wet rice farming became more common in the 19th century. The rice varieties grown include *kintoman*, *ginolot* and *kalyaga*.

They also raised livestock, mainly pigs, which also served as the main ritual animal. Cattle (carabaos and cows) were also raised, the same also being used for rituals. Chicken were also raised domestically and used for ritual purposes. Dogs were also butchered for their meat.

Animals raised domestically were mainly butchered in rituals.
Game, or animals hunted for food was also a source of nutrition. These included wild boar (alingo), deer (ugsa), bango, banyas (large lizard) and birds.

Water fauna were also collected for food. These included ginga and ket-an (snails), bayyek (tadpoles), kadew and bakbak (frogs), dalit and wadingan (fish), soliwet, amkis, pilingan, kadpa and tibek.

Rarely was there surplus production, and indeed our people remember times of famine.

3. Trade

The limited surplus was traded with neighboring communities for other goods. The small amounts of gold extracted was traded for baskets, jars, beads, salt and cloth. In addition to gold, we also traded meat and surplus rootcrops.

Trading continued until the time when the cash economy took root in our communities.

4. Health

Much of the health practices in the past were incorporated in our communities' belief systems. Ritual healing and the use of herbal remedies to cure illnesses worked together, and the two are sometimes inseparable. The general term for the healing ritual is *sida*. More specifically, these rituals include *lubon, kedaw, petad, temengan, liyao, tanong, awil, tumo, sagawsaw, subot, bayas, and an-anito*. Some of these rituals are performed even without physical ailments, however. Rituals are also performed if there are perceived disturbances to the balance and harmony of a person, family or the community.
There are also herbal remedies that our people have been using. The following table lists the herbs and the illnesses they cure or alleviate.

**TABLE 1. SOME HERBAL REMEDIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Herbal Remedies</th>
<th>Illness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dail</td>
<td>Diarrhea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opey</td>
<td>Toothache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangbangsit</td>
<td>Wounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapal</td>
<td>Stomach Ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobosob</td>
<td>Pain Relief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pateteg</td>
<td>Dysentery, Stomach ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dengaw</td>
<td>Gas pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabwena</td>
<td>Loose Bowel Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laya</td>
<td>Cough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guava</td>
<td>Loose Bowel Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avocado seed</td>
<td>Tooth Ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaon</td>
<td>Urinary problems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. **Music and Dance**

Our people have their own music, orally performed, with instruments, or plain instrumental music. Much of the chants and songs we performed were part of rituals. There were songs that had lyrics, and there were others that followed certain tunes but whose lyrics were improvised as the situation allows.
a. Songs and Chants

i. Bayyog

Ritual chants include the bayyog, which is sung during big feasts or cañaos, an-anito or healing rituals. “The bayyog is chanted by the old folks inside the celebrants’ house, forming a semi-circle. The manbonong is seated at the doorway, holding a sugar cane sheet with a cup of wine before him. Five to ten cups of wine are line up in the center of the floor.” The pitik (prayer for the wine) is prayed before the Bayyog, with a lead chanter, followed by everybody. Ten pairs of male and female deities are called, though this may be decreased to five pairs depending on the purpose of the ritual, and as agreed by the elders. The male deities usually include Kabigat, Lumawig, Balitok, Pati and Gatan. The female deities include Bugan, Bangan, Angwan, Mowan and Obang. “Each deity represents a virtue, quality, role or authority or power.”

ii. Day-eng or Liwliwa

This is a chant done for entertainment sung during cañaos. The subjects of the chant are various experiences and stories. Anybody may contribute to the chanting. Rice wine or other alcoholic beverages are passed around (apag).

iii. Ayyeng or Agsanguey

These are chants sung only by men, and during particular cañaos.

---

1 Unpublished Culture and Arts Compilation, Pacita B. Awisan, Mankayan, Benguet
2 Unpublished work, Pacita B. Awisan
3 Unpublished work, Pacita B. Awisan
iv. Aya-ey

This is a dirge for the dead. It is usually a prayer, and expresses grief. It may also include situational stories. It may be a wailing song, or a chant. Some subjects may be with the intention of entertaining the listeners.

b. Musical Instruments

There were also musical instruments that we played in the past, some of which are not part of rituals. These included the kalaleng (nose flute), agaldang, and abistong (bronze or iron juice harp). The tanguyob (horn), was used to summon the community or to signal events. The gangsa (gong), solibao (drum) and takik (metal and rock or metal and metal) were mainly used together during ritual ceremonies. Other instruments included the pistan (small gong), dolele (mouse flute) and piwpiw (split bamboo, beaten on the palm to produce a beat).

Dances include the tallak, gangsa, and ginaldang. These were mainly performed as part of ritual ceremonies.

c. Dances

i. Tallak

The instruments used for this dance are the solibao and three pairs of hardwood sticks (tallak). Native blankets are also used.

\(^{1}\) Descriptions of dances are taken from the unpublished work of Pacita B. Awisan, Mankayan, Benguet
ii. Gangsa or Tayaw

The tayaw is danced during big feasts or sida of three and more than three, as well as the diles and dune cañaos.

Instruments include the solibao, gangsa, takik, and the pistan. A pair of blankets for the male dancer and another blanket for the female dancer is also used. There are ritual cañaos aside from these that do not require the tayaw.

The drummer beats the drum, setting a rhythm. “Then the gangsa, takik and pistan players beat their instruments in unison to establish or attain the desired rhythm of the drummer. Then the players with the main gong player in the lead go around beating their instruments and stomping their feet in a rhythmic fashion.

“After one round, the male dancer with a blanket on each side of his shoulder enters and positions himself in front of the lead gong player. With arms outstretched straight side wise and open palms flapping in a flying fashion in rhythm to the music, stomping his feet with body movements, he dances around before the female dancer joins the dance.

“The female dancer with a blanket wrapped around her enters and positions herself after the third player (pistan) facing the male dancer, with both arms outstretched sideways, with open arms facing upwards, moving them slightly up and down with her body swaying gracefully with the rhythm. She starts the short steps of the salidsid or loccoban (special dance steps) or stops to meet the male dancer.
“When the male and female dancer meet, they slowly bow facing each other, then slowly resume their dancing around in a circle, bowing as they meet. After three or four rounds, the manbasabas gives his basabas (prayer for blessings for the dancers, the celebration, the celebrants, or for prosperity, peace, health and long life) in a loud voice. The dancers stop their rounds, dancing in position while they listen to the basabas, resuming their dance when it is finished, going around once or twice, stopping again for a final basabas and the iyog, a short affirmation chant. The dancers with the blankets exit, but the other dancers continue playing for the next pair of dancers.

“The Kankanaey of Mankayan have three types of gangsa dance: Bina-oyan (slow rhythm), Tinatakyod (fast rhythm), and Ginalding (Ibaloi gangsa dance).

iii. Da-ing

This is a chant and dance performed during begnas (a community ritual), or bayas cañao (healing cañao).

The female dancers (five or more) link arms, forming a semicircle, with the male dancers (also five or more, not necessarily the same number) behind them also in a semicircle. The lead dancer (female) chants a few lines following a set tune, with the final line repeated by the rest. The chant is taken up by the other dancers until the subject is exhausted or concluded. In time with the chants, the dancers bow gracefully with head and body while stomping their feet also in rhythm, moving sideways but generally staying in place.
TABLE 2. MUSIC AND DANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Music</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day-eng or Liwliwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayyog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayeng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayaey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day-eng or Liwliwa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Musical instruments</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalaleng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agaldang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abistong</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pewpew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanguyob</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solibao</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dances</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tallak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangsa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ginaldang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Clothing

Cloth was rare in the olden days, and the cloth and thread came from the lowlands. Our communities wove the thread into blankets, g-strings, belts, and skirts. The rarity of these goods made them an important part of our social structure, and differentiated the different social strata prevailing in our communities.

Those who could not afford clothing either went bare, or contented themselves with bark and animal skin covering. The bark g-string used by our people was called kuba.
7. Belief Systems

We do not have a name for our traditional belief system, although it is now referred to as “ancestor worship” and sometimes as “shamanism” and “animism.” These are descriptive terms, and they may capture some of the characteristics of our belief system.

Indeed, in our belief system we had special relations with the spirits of our ancestors. We also placed great value on our elders, characteristic of ancestor worship. We also among us people with special abilities to communicate with spirits, and to perform special rituals, similar to shamanistic practice. We refer to them as manbuyon, man-ated, or mangkutom. Mangkutom are elders with prestige and integrity who are sought as judges, counselors and interpreters of happenings, dreams and unusual events, and who suggest what to do based on this interpretations.

Man-ated and manbonong are elders who are called upon to say the prayers and otherwise perform the rituals.

Our belief system also assigned spirits to special places and objects, characteristic of animism. These spirits we collectively refer to as “adi kaila,” literally translated as “unseen.” Yet we also believe in the existence of a supreme being, Kabunian.

There being ancestral and other spirits in our domain, our relationship with them has been maintained in the performance of various rituals that our communities have been performing.

The following table lists these rituals and the reasons why they are performed.

**TABLE 3. RITUALS**

---

1 From Draft Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet and ADSDPP workshops
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ritual</th>
<th>Name of Ritual</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thanksgiving</td>
<td>Dawdawat/Es-eset</td>
<td>Offering of pigs as thanksgiving for fortune or good health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sida/Canao</td>
<td>Cañao of prestige, for house blessing, healing or death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sangbo</td>
<td>Appreciation of any lucky event or fortune, success, good omens or dreams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offerings to Ancestors and spirits</td>
<td>Lubon</td>
<td>Offering for ancestors or dead family members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potok</td>
<td>Offering for those who died unnatural deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kedaw</td>
<td>To appease the dead, done after mankutom determines that the dead want something, or may have caused sickness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awil</td>
<td>Offering to wandering spirits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tomengaw</td>
<td>Ritual to appease spirits of nature, and who have caused illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>Tomok</td>
<td>Ritual or mediation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaon</td>
<td>wedding celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kaising</td>
<td>Arranged marriage between the children of disagreeing parites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>An-anawang / Makmaksil</td>
<td>Performed when birth is difficult or unusually painful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dawdawak</td>
<td>Performed before actual childbirth to alleviate pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of Ritual</td>
<td>Name of Ritual</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatag</td>
<td>Performed when the umbilical cord dries and is detached. The baby is brought out of the house by the father or grandfather, facing east, while the morning star (Batacagan) is visible to witness the baby's coming out to the world.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusang</td>
<td>Pakde</td>
<td>Night Ritual, with the heads of families attending</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utop</td>
<td>For peace, good health, prosperity and good fortune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dangtey</td>
<td>For the spirits of the mines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begnas</td>
<td>For a good harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sanga</td>
<td>Community or family ritual after lightning strikes nearby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Construction and Blessing</td>
<td>Boton</td>
<td>Ritual to determine if house site is suitable; a chicken is butchered; suitability is determined by the position of the bile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seg-ak/ Dasadas</td>
<td>Rituals during construction (after roofing) to strengthen materials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Segep</td>
<td>Ritual before the house is occupied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teteg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Type of Ritual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Ritual</th>
<th>Name of Ritual</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other Healing Rituals</td>
<td>Tanong-Pasang</td>
<td>Offering to cure drowsiness, violent temper, sleeplessness, uneasiness, impotence and other maladies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pasang</td>
<td>To remedy childlessness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tomo</td>
<td>Offering to treat mental disturbance or lingering illnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Amlag</td>
<td>For stomach pain, dizziness or fainting spells</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bayas</td>
<td>For a variety of illnesses. Da-ing is performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pakedlan</td>
<td>Expenses are shared by participants. Meat is distributed to households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouncement of Death</td>
<td>Dillos</td>
<td>To pronounce a person dead</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The entry of Christianity, beginning with the Spanish introduction of Roman Catholicism in the 19th century would profoundly affect our practice of these belief systems and the rituals associated with it.

### 8. Sports

Our communities had some sports activities. Indigenous life was necessarily physically demanding, and so sports activities were not for the benefits of exercise. Rather, these were done to pass the time, specially during the lulls in the agricultural cycle and during the holidays attendant to different rituals.
Hunting as an activity may itself be considered a sport, but its main objective is to provide meat on the table. Swimming is also another sport, and children would spend time bathing in the river for the chance to swim.

Other sports activities and games include arm-wrestling, locally termed *sanggol*, Chinese checkers (*dama*), *gal-o* and *sedkeng*.

9. Governance and Justice Systems

Our ancestors were traditionally autonomous. They had their own governance and justice systems, although these were mostly informal and undocumented.

Decisions affecting the community were done by elders of the community. There was however no formal council of elders. Assemblies of the community at large were called for decisions of major import. Debates on the issues were done in the open, after which the prevailing opinion would be adopted by the community.

Much of the decisions that had to be arrived at involved conflicts and misunderstanding within the community. The primary objective of community decision-making in this regard was to restore or strengthen community unity and harmony. This means maintaining the cooperative mutual dependence that kept the community together. It is this unity and harmony that also ensured accession to the decision arrived at.

Amicable settlement of disputes was always the first option when community members had cases of misunderstandings or disputes. These cases were settled or decided upon in the *tungtung* process.
Elders decided cases after investigation and listening to witnesses. Those present would then discuss the points of the case, and a judgment arrived at by those present. Relationships within the community, specially among those concerned in the case would invariably surface. Distant relations become important in settling these disputes. These relationships are not related to bloodlines and affinity. Even friendships and past economic relationships would be stressed upon, with the thrust of renewing these relationships. The decision-making is therefore relationship-driven.

A significant part of the system was the recognized presence of unseen spirits, who may extract their kind of supernatural justice. There are therefore many instances when confessions are made by the guilty because of this fear of the supernatural. Judgments and settlements may also be pronounced invoking these spirits, and adherence to the decision is further ensured.

Fines are usually in the form of ritual animals or labor. If the case involves stealing, the stolen items are either returned or replaced.

When no settlement is arrived at and no judgment can be rendered by the elders based on available information, the parties may be subjected to “trial-by-ordeal.”

These trials require the invocation of unseen spirits and the supreme being to render judgment on the case. Ritual animals may be sacrificed.

\( a. \text{ Gaweng} \)

Gaweng requires the accused in a particular case to retrieve an object from a pot of boiling water.
b. Sekyang

Elders may require the butchering of a chicken, and the judgment rendered based on the appearance of the gall bladder.

c. Bagto

Both parties are required to try to hit each other with small stones, or camote, at some distance. Whoever hits the other will gain a favorable judgment.

d. Sapata

The parties in the dispute are required to swear to the truthfulness of their innocence or accusations, and ask for the wrath of the spirits should their accusations or pleas of innocence are not true. Grave or even fatal sicknesses and disease are invoked as consequences of untruthfulness.

e. Kepat

The suspects head is felt by elder. Guilt is determined depending on how warm or cold the head is.

f. Kaising

Kaising is a sort of judgment that may be arrived at. Parties in dispute may sometimes be intractable in mutual accusation or denial. Elders may then decide to make the parties “kaising,” by arranging a marriage between their children. In this way, a relationship is cemented between the parties, and thus harmony is restored.
D. AMERICAN REGIME (1900-1941)

1. Mining

The Americans, like the Spanish, were also interested in the mineral resources of the domain. Perhaps the difference between the two colonizers was that the Spaniards' interest in gold was for the crown, but the American lust for the metal was personal. It was therefore during the American regime that claims personal claims over mineral lands started. Charles Pettit made the first claim at Palidan, Suyoc (now Palasaan barangay).

Other claims followed, and American war veterans joined in the rush. There were many prospectors and miners. Among them was Victor E. Lednicky, who later founded in 1936 what is now the Lepanto Mining Company, following the rise in the world price of gold in 1933, thus fueling the mining boom.

Suyoc Consolidated Mining Company was established in 1933 by Marsman and company.

Mining operations facilitated the entry of workers from other parts of the country, and the population of the domain increased. Many of these workers eventually settled in the domain, or intermarried with the local people.

2. Economic Changes with Mining Boom

Many businesses were also established to provide the needs of the growing population. Primary among these are the retail outlets selling a variety of items such as clothing, food, and the like. These businesses provided livelihood opportunities to the population, both the new migrants who came with the mining boom and the locals.
It provided other economic opportunities than agriculture aside from employment in the mines. The mines also meant logging, and many were employed in the logging operations. These opportunities were not limited to the domain, because there were also other mining and logging operations elsewhere, as major mining operations were likewise opened in other parts of Benguet.

Thus some of our people left the domain seeking employment elsewhere, leaving traditional activities like farming and small-scale gold mining.

Much of the employment available to the people of the domain was labor-related, although there were those who developed special skills in such work as carpentry.

Nevertheless, our people continued in their small-scale mining activities, and many continued with traditional agriculture.

### 3. The 1904 St. Louis World Fair

24 delegates from Mankayan, aged 6-50 were brought by Americans to 1904 St. Louis World Fair in Missouri, USA. Along with other delegates from the Cordillera, they constructed an “Igorot Village” and lived in the village for a year, living like they did here. It was a popular attraction during the fair.

### 4. In-Migration and Intermarriage

The attraction of the mineral resources led to the coming in of many other people into the domain. Many of these intermarried with locals becoming active members in the community, and their descendants are now part of the community. These included foreigners, mostly men, who married local women. The following table lists these foreigners.
### Table 4. Foreigners Who Intermarried with Mankayan People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Foreigner</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Name of Wife</th>
<th>Year of Marriage and Stay in Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antonio Hernandez</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>Mayotmotan</td>
<td>1854-1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Dagnayan</td>
<td>1854-1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizardo Pe</td>
<td>Spanish/Chinese</td>
<td>Obanan (Carmen)</td>
<td>1854-1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sy Leung</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Gasema</td>
<td>1856-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling Eng</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Tacayyan</td>
<td>1856-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ng Say (Ngaosi)</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
<td>1856-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eng Sy</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Dangsoyan</td>
<td>1856-1870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pang Hoy (Bugtong)</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Mingmingitan</td>
<td>1850-1856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pua</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Tubod</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Pettit</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Oning Laoyan</td>
<td>1900-1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luke Wright</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Gamaydan</td>
<td>1900-1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Hunter</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Nellie Padicas</td>
<td>1900-1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jefferson Douglas</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Molly Togidan</td>
<td>1902-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Muller, Sr.</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Lani Ngaosi</td>
<td>1912-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Reider</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Maggie S. Bagista</td>
<td>1905-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gafney</td>
<td></td>
<td>Paula</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patrick Dugan</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Martha Agustin</td>
<td>1905-1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Haight</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Susie Alakyang</td>
<td>1904-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Icard Sr.</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Kidin Sacla</td>
<td>1904-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snieder</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Diana Dompilles</td>
<td>1905-1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Gilles</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Minay Maris Sapino</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Foreigner</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Name of Wife</td>
<td>Year of Marriage and Stay in Domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Clark</td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
<td>1905-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Oblika Caligtan</td>
<td>1905-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bran</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Angela Carmen</td>
<td>1905-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Buck</td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
<td>1905-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis Hora</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Margarita</td>
<td>1905-1930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Bruner</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Gasteng Lapiz</td>
<td>1935-1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadutchi Sawatchi</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Ngaydan Lumabas</td>
<td>1935-1945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagata Intaro</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Tacaban Ketem</td>
<td>1910-1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akin</td>
<td></td>
<td>Collibet Goneng</td>
<td>Tacaban Ketem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill William</td>
<td>American</td>
<td></td>
<td>1905-1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ito</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Logamen Wayan</td>
<td>1910-1941</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Education

With the coming of the Americans came education.

The first school in the domain was an informal one, run at Gusadan, with a certain Mr. Wright and Charles Pettit (a prospector and among the first to file a mining claim) as teachers. There were 10 pupils who attended their classes. This school existed from 1904-1908.

In 1914, a school was established in Suyoc (now Palasaan), for Grades 1-3. There were 34 pupils, with 6 teachers. Later on, in 1924, Suyoc Elementary was established, with the first graduates finishing in 1932.
6. Nutrition and Clothing

The American era also meant for us the introduction of new foods, such as bread and Western fruits like apples. Canned goods and processed foods also reached the locality.

Whereas clothing was rare in earlier times, the Americans in their time gave away some clothing, so that those fortunate to receive these gifts had clothing to wear. The money earned by our people in the various employment opportunities were also used to buy ready-to-wear clothes. However, there were still those who were not reached by American magnanimity, or who were not employed in the new industries, and they continued to use the old clothing.

7. Religion and the Traditional Belief System

The Spanish era saw the introduction of Roman Catholicism to our communities. However, it was only in 1935 that the Roman Catholic church firmly established itself in the domain, through the efforts of Fr. Miguel Veys.

The Americans, through their education system also included Christianity in their discussions, so that the traditional belief system became challenged by the new religion.

The entry of other people into the domain to take part in the mining boom also brought to us other belief systems aside from Christianity. Workers in the mines and auxiliary industries brought with them their beliefs, and these had impact on our belief system in the domain. Other indigenous peoples who intermarried with us also had different, albeit similar, belief systems, and so the performance of some ceremonies and rituals, like those in marriages and deaths, may be altered to accommodate their systems. While we can not measure how each culture has affected the other, the cultural interaction certainly has had its effects.
Generally, however, even with the different influences, the traditional belief systems persisted, and our people continued to practice these. Even converts to Christianity would still practice the traditional practices.

8. “Tribalism”

Overall, the mixing of many cultures and belief systems in the mining community allowed for mutual exposure and adjustment, and rejection or acceptance, of the many practices of the different peoples. The differences were sometimes bridged between the interacting cultures, but there were differences that remained. It thus happened that the different peoples developed stereotyped characterizations of each other.

The different peoples therefore tended to stick together, so that even as we existed in one community, the people coming from one place sometimes discriminated against other peoples. This situation led to the development or strengthening of stereotypes that bordered on discrimination.

The consequences of this reality remains up to this day.

E. THE JAPANESE AND THE MINES

As would have been expected, the Japanese were also interested in the mines. In February 1942, the Japanese army immediately took control over the mines in Mankayan. The Japanese Mitsui Mining Company re-opened the mines in Suyoc and Mankayan under the name Mitsui Mankayan Copper Mine, operating until the end of World War II. The mine facilities were bombed and destroyed in 1944 by the US Air Force.
F. POSTWAR (1945-1970)

1. Reconstruction

After the defeat of the Japanese, the mines were revived. It was in 1947 when a new plant, state-of-the art at the time, was installed at Lepanto. Lepanto Mining also entered into a contract with the American Smelting and Refining Company for the smelting of Lepanto ores.

It was at this time that the Americans poured in food aid to the Philippines, and our people remember the corn meal, powdered milk, butter and flour.

2. The Mines

The mines continued to be central in developments within the domain and the communities within.

   a. Continuing In-Migration

Many more people joined the mining community in Mankayan. Many came from the neighboring municipalities in present-day Benguet and Mountain Province, but there were also those who came from the other areas of the Cordillera, and there were those who came from other areas in the Philippines.

Some foreigners also joined the community.

   b. Logging

In the 1950s, logging operations to provide for the timber needs of the mining companies intensified, and some of our people were able to get jobs in the industry. The logging operations also ushered in other people from outside of the domain.
c. Businesses

To provide for the needs of the growing community, many retail stores were opened, and traveling merchants would come to the domain to sell their wares.

d. Road Maintenance

The mining industry helped maintain roads, specially Halsema Road. The Halsema then as now is the major road connecting the domain to the provincial capital town of La Trinidad and to the business, marketing and educational center in Baguio City. The road was prone to landslides, and mining companies cleared the slides and opened washed-out roads. While arguably the mines did it so that the ore would reach smelting plants, it is a fact that the maintenance of the roads also benefited the public.

e. Issues in Relation to Mining

The reopening of the mines and their subsequent expansion would raise several issues affecting the domain and the communities within. Some of these issues would become more apparent later on in our history, but it was at the postwar period, and even earlier, that some of these issues surfaced.

i. Limited Employment of Locals in Mining Companies

It would have been expected that more the communities in the domain would provide much of the employment needs of the mining companies in Mankayan. However, this was not, and is not, to be. The indigenous people of Mankayan feel that more jobs should have been given them, specially since they host the mines.
However, our people recognize that specially at this period, there were hindrances that existed, contributing to the resultant reality that not so many of Mankayan people would be employed in the mines. Foremost of these was the prevalence of indigenous practices like the cañao. These celebrations and the accompanying rituals sometimes took several days, and locals, even if employed in the mines, would miss work leading to their firing.

Another contributory factor for the limited employment of locals was the lack of education or training required for particular jobs. This is specially true to middle and higher management as well as highly technical jobs in the mining industry. Not many of our people had the necessary qualifications for these jobs, and so they were either denied employment or promotion to these jobs.

It also became a reality that those already employed in the mines would favor their friends, family or kababayan, so that even if locals are qualified, if they do not have the necessary support from the inside, they might be bypassed. Some locals go to the extent of claiming discrimination against them in the employment processes.

ii. Restriction of Traditional Uses of Land and Resources

The rights given to the mining companies by government restricted traditional uses of land and resources. This included the restriction or outright prohibition of small-scale mining activities within mining patents. Families traditionally dependent on mining for their livelihood were then displaced.

In retrospect, this is a manifestation of the conflict of the Regallian doctrine and traditional ownership and resource use systems. Government at the time was not cognizant of the rights of indigenous people to lands and resources, so that the many laws disregarding these rights severely limited the people’s access and use of the resources.
iii. Socio-Economic Marginalization of Locals

It was also at this period in history that the local indigenous population of Mankayan increasingly became marginalized. The growing migrant population slowly eased out the locals from their lands in the mining areas, so that they moved out to the outlying areas. Businesses in the more densely populated areas, like the town center were mainly controlled by migrants, too.

One contributory factor for this marginalization was the tendency of locals to withdraw to the outskirts, preferring to associate with other locals. Thus when the migrant population in an area grows, the locals would leave and move to where their people are – the communities outside of the mining areas and the business and government center.

This outward movement of locals would further deny them opportunities made available in the population centers.

iv. Concentration of Mining Claims Among a Few

The new ownership concepts prevailing in government at the time allowed the concentration of mining claims and rights among a few. Government recognized claims and granted rights even to non-locals, so that the traditional systems governing resource use lost relevance. Even as there were locals whose claims were recognized or who were granted rights, there are too few of them, and it was only those who applied for claims and rights.
This is another reflection of the inherent contradiction between the indigenous resource use and management concepts and those introduced by the colonizing powers. Traditional resource use and management does not subscribe to individual and absolute ownership over lands and resources. The unwritten concept was that the community may make use of the resources in the domain, but not own it absolutely, much less for individuals to actually claim rights over the resources and lands.

Proceeds from resource use or extraction traditionally found their way back to the community in the various social, cultural and economic interdependent relations between the indigenous people. However, the new system stressing on absolute ownership severely limited this sharing in the benefits of resource use, and more so if the claims of non-Mankayan people are recognized.

It is also a fact that not many of our people at the time agreed to the new systems of ownership. Not many would claim to own the resources, for the prevailing belief was of a community collective management of the domain and its resources, not ownership as defined by the colonial systems. Thus our people, by adhering to their traditional relationship with the domain, did not enthusiastically claim rights over the lands and resources.

v. Limited Benefits from Taxation of Mining Operations

Central to this issue is the fact that national laws allow taxes of mining corporations to be paid at their headquarters and not at the actual places where they are operating. Most of these corporations have head offices in Makati, and thus they pay corporate taxes there. From the time that large-scale mining operations were allowed in Mankayan, taxes of the mining companies have been paid in Makati.
The share of the local government in these taxes were therefore limited. Development in the area arising from such taxes was also limited.

**vi. Environmental Issues**

The environmental issues surrounding mining operations begun to surface at this time in history. What was specially felt at the time however was the shortage of water. Contributory factors include the growing population, so that available water was no longer enough for the people in our domain. However, we can not discount the fact that mining operations do alter natural formations underground, so that water tables may be disturbed, or ground water diverted by the tunnels.

A major cause of the shortage may also be attributed to the denudation of watersheds. The logging operations of the mining companies was responsible for the decimation of much of the original growth in our forests, and thus has reduced the water-retaining capacity of the watersheds.

**3. Education**

More schools were established after WWII. The people of Colalo remember that beginning in 1958, a temporary school was maintained at the Liquite’s house. This continued until 1963, when Colalo Elementary School was finally completed.

Most of the other barangays in the domain also had elementary schools established in the period. The concentration of people in the mining community of Lepanto made it possible for the opening of schools earlier, with Lepanto High School being opened in 1952.
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.

Higher education in the cities was also available, and a number of our people got educated in the cities, with some getting college degrees.

4. Other Economic Developments

The postwar economy provided other opportunities for employment other than the mines.

a. Employment in Government

Like in the rest of the Philippines, government became a major employer for our people. Many of our people became employed in government agencies. For those who were able to finish higher education, many were employed as professionals in the civil service. Elective offices from the barrio to the provincial level also provided some of our people with employment.

Government projects implemented in and outside the domain also provided employment opportunities for our people.

b. Self-Employment and Entrepreneurship

The concentration of people within the domain allowed some of our people to engage in businesses. Some were involved in buying and selling goods, and others in crafts like pottery, weaving, basketry, and carpentry. Some also grew livestock and poultry to provide for the food needs of the growing community.
c. The Vegetable Industry

It was in 1948 that growing of temperate vegetable crops for commercial purposes started along the Halsema Road. As the market for the crops grew, more and more of our people converted their camote farms into vegetable farms.

Initially, it was mainly those close to the Halsema who engaged in the industry, as proximity to the road made it easier to transport goods to the main market in Baguio City. In present-day barangay Taneg, vegetable farms were first set up by Chinese in 1964. More farmers from our communities were drawn to the industry later on. As more and more people acquired the taste for the products, specially in Manila, vegetable farms expanded. Even communities not found along the Halsema were drawn into the industry.

5. Religion

The period after the war saw the increase of local inhabitants converted to Christianity. Aside from the Roman Catholic Church, other Christian sects also established churches or gained converts from the local population.

Our people remember that in 1947, a Roman Catholic Church was established in Guinaoang, and in 1950, the Assembly of God congregation built a church in Taneg. Also in 1950, the Iglesia ni Kristo established presence in Bedbed. Earlier, in 1949, Jehovah’s Witnesses began evangelization in Bedbed.

Other congregations, like the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the Philippine Episcopal Church, Baptist congregations and others also entered or increased following at this time.
6. Erosion of Traditional Belief Systems

The confluence of many factors would result in the erosion of our traditional belief systems. The educational system has not been so receptive of indigenous culture and the belief systems behind the culture. The educational system either disregarded traditional culture, not including it in the curriculum, or it discouraged the practice of traditional systems by introducing new concepts and stressing on the discussion of foreign cultures and religions. It is a fact that the educational system then as now is biased in favor of Christianity, so that it discouraged the continuing practice of traditional belief systems.

The evangelization and subsequent conversion of many of our people to Christianity was a major influence towards the erosion of traditional systems, for Christianity inherently rejects other belief systems.

Economic development also contributed greatly to the cultural change, as the new economic activities no longer required the mutual help systems that partly defined the relationship-driven traditional religion.

The extent of the contribution of these and other factors could not be quantified independent of each other, but we do note that at the time from the end of the war up to 1970s and beyond, our traditional belief systems slowly lost influence.

The death of the old practitioners also contributed to the situation. Being the culture holders, much of the practices and the beliefs behind them are lost when our elders pass away.

We only note the erosion of traditional belief systems, and we do not say that the loss is either good or bad.
G. 1970S AND 1980S

The changes that came with the postwar period continued and intensified in the 70s and 80s.

1. Mining and Emergence of Environmental Concerns

Operations of the mines in the domain continued. However, the limitations of resources to be extracted begun to be felt at this time. In 1976, Lepanto retrenched 1,500 employees. In 1977, Suyoc Mines stopped operations. The non-renewable mineral resources are being depleted. In addition, world prices for metals also disrupted operations, as was the case in 1976 and 1984.

The growing recognition, and assertion, of labor rights in the national front also reached the domain, as employees of the Lepanto, the remaining company in operation, were unionized.

Consistent with developments elsewhere in the country, and the world, the decades of the seventies and eighties were marked by growing concern regarding the environment, specially with non-renewable resources like minerals. Concern was also raised regarding methods of extraction of ore, as well as the processing of the ore and the use of pollutants. Concern was also raised, although belatedly, on the deforestation of areas in the domain to supply the timber needs of the mines.

Of specific concern to our people and the communities was the growing lack of water, which we fear to have been partially caused by disturbances in the earth due to mining operations. We also fear that the same disturbances are causing areas of the domain to sink.
Water pollution is also a major concern, specially because the Abra River and its tributaries are not so healthy now, and mining operations have certainly contributed to the demise of the water habitat.

2. Continuing In-Migration and Population Growth; Out-Migration to Other Areas

Many more people came to Mankayan and settle there. Some of those retrenched in 1976, or who lost jobs because of the closing of the Suyoc mines remained in the community, specially those who intermarried with locals. The business opportunities in the domain did not diminish, and many businesses continued to flourish.

The intensification of the vegetable industry also created more jobs, and people from other areas came in to fill these jobs.

On the other hand, many of our people left the domain seeking employment elsewhere. In the seventies, particularly, other mining operations in the province allowed many of our people to be employed. Opportunities in overseas employment also drew away some of our people. The increase in the number of professionals among our people also gave them employment opportunities in the cities.

3. Increasing Influence of Christianity and the Persistence of Traditional Religion

Christian congregations increased membership, and even more sects attempted to gain adherents in the communities. It would also happen that the various churches would compete with each other, seeking converts from other congregations.
Traditional religion persisted, with our people practicing the rituals and ceremonies alongside Christian practices. The social values of these rituals and the resultant social stratification that arise from the conduct of the rituals also persisted, so that traditional baknang, who attained their status of respect by completing various ritual offerings (sida) retained the status. Others who wanted to attain the same status could also go thru the same process. In a way, therefore, the persistence of traditional religious practices is because of the social belongingness that comes from the completion of these rituals.

Healing rituals also persisted, as those with afflictions, specially when “modern” healing practices fail, as traditional healing rituals would be resorted to. There are success stories that tell of the curing of diseases that “modern” medicine could not cure. Some of our people also practice the healing rituals, coupled with herbal remedies, to cure simple ailments. The offering of chicken is not considered particularly un-Christian by some, as prayers are also often accompanied by references to the Christian God. The offered animal is also eaten by the family, and in cases of bigger animals, by the clan or the entire community, so that economically the offerings are not considered a waste but welcomed as a chance for the people to augment their protein needs.

The performance of rituals are also important social occasions, where the people get to meet and know each other better. It is an opportunity to strengthen relationships and to develop new ones. For a culture that is relationship-driven, traditional religious belief systems and the accompanying ceremonies and rituals are crucial ingredients. Because of this, the Christian denominations have to adapt to the cultural realities.

One adaptation is for the traditional prayers to take on Christian meanings and symbolisms, and even the traditional prayer leaders invoke on the Christian God to grant the appeals of those gathered in the traditional ceremonies.
4. Emergence of Practices that Replace Traditional Ones

The social functions that the traditional systems perform, or their function as family and clan reunions, or occasions for strengthening community relations, began to be replaced by introduced activities. Thus celebrations of birthdays, anniversaries, or thanksgiving would replace the traditional ritual offerings. These new activities also perform the functions of the traditional rituals, but the reasons for the gatherings are different.

As early as the seventies and more so later, members of our communities would prefer clan reunions over the traditional ritual offerings (sida). Even sida are scheduled during special occasions like birthdays, anniversaries and the like, indicating a change in the values of our people.

Major social gatherings like weddings and wakes for the dead have their traditional color, but some members of the community increasingly insist on following new practices and standards. Church weddings and formal celebrations therefore began to replace traditional weddings. The dances in the wedding celebration also changed, with the introduction of western music and dance.

Traditional practices for the dead are more adhered to, although Christian services are made part of the rituals.

Community gatherings like fiestas also served to accomplish some of the objectives of the traditional gatherings.

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.

Healing rituals also lost ground with the availability of health facilities. The seventies saw the establishment of barangay health centers, and the education of many of our people meant preference for western medicine.

5. Justice Systems

One other aspect of the indigenous systems that survived is the justice system. The justice system is also relationship-driven, banking on the cultural need for family and for harmony within the community. The system seeks to amicably settle differences among and between community members, and in the process restore harmony and damaged relationships.

It is a fact that even as the domain hosts a large mixed mining community, there are few crimes that reach the courts for litigation, owing to the strength of the indigenous justice system that settles cases, rectifying the wrongs committed.

One reason why the indigenous system has persisted is the cost of court litigations. For some of our people, amicable settlements are agreed to to avoid the costs of formal court hearings.

The settlement of differences has taken of Christian colors, specially in cases where the basis for the settlement is not punishment or fines, but because aggrieved parties forgive the infractions, and the erring parties repent and ask forgiveness.
Significantly, when the parties of a case may not agree on a settlement, the traditional practices in determining liability or guilt (See Governance and Justice Systems, p. 20) were discontinued. The elders who traditionally led in the prayers for such practices recognized the gravity of the prayers, which call upon the spirits and even the almighty being to identify the guilty and to exact punishment. It was also believed that these prayers calling the spirits to cause illness might also rebound, specially if the party being judged is not the guilty one, so that the one calling upon the spirits will suffer the illness prayed for. If indeed one of the parties is not telling the truth, then the illness may also affect members of his family, so that innocent persons may be affected.

The people of Tabio remember that in 1979, there was a case of physical injuries, and there was an attempt to determine guilt through sapata. However, there was no elder present who wanted to perform the ritual for the reason mentioned above. Since then, even if the parties sometimes like to determine guilt through sapata, the elders discourage it.

Later, in 1992, there was a case in Paco where the parties wanted sapata to determine the guilty party. However, no one wanted to say the prayers and call upon the spirits to cause illness on whoever is not telling the truth. However, for fear that the curse invoked may affect others, the ritual was not performed.

Much earlier, in 1968, a case of stealing cattle was brought before the elders, and since the suspect denied involvement, there was an attempt to determine guilt through bagto, so that the accuser and the accused, after the necessary ritual was performed, tried to hit each other with stones. No one was hit, so the case was ruled to be a draw, or tabla. The result seems to have discouraged our people from resorting to the practice to determine guilt, as that was the last time we remember that it was done.
Of course there are cases that still reach the courts, specially if the parties would not prescribe to the indigenous process. This points to a change in the perceptions and values of some members of the community, the effect of the many influences brought about by education, the media and religion.

The difference in the national legal system that formally tries the cases and the indigenous system is that the former’s objective is retribution, while the latter’s is rectification. Candelaria notes that:

“Criminal penalties under the national law are based mainly on the classical theory that the purpose of criminal penalty is retribution. Punishment is standardized and proportioned to the gravity or nature of the offense. But in Indigenous Peoples customary law, the purpose is rectification, “to restore whatever social relations between clans of the offender and the offended party that was destroyed.” The main approach behind customary laws and processes in criminal cases is social and clan pressure to maintain peace and order within the community. Clan members of the offender contribute to the penalty paid to the family of the victim. Penalties may be in the form of cash, animals, ancestral land or combination of any of these.”¹

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.

¹ Atty. Sedfrey Candelaria, “Jurisdiction Issues Concerning Cases Arising from the Application of IPRA before Courts, the NCIP and the Indigenous Justice System”, p. 12
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

The Lupong Tagapamayapa, organized by government at the barangay level, recognized by government to be responsible for effecting settlements, were also involved in settlement of conflicts in the community. There was no significant conflict with the traditional system, for the members of the Lupon were respected members of the community, and mostly were the ones involved in the tungtung system.

There developed dual roles for the members of the Lupon. AS elders of the community, they could settle cases in the community. In this role, even cases beyond the jurisdiction of the Lupon according to law are amicably settled. However, if the case is formally referred to them by the courts or the Fiscal’s office, and if the parties so desire, the formal processes and paper work of the Lupon may also be followed.

6. Education

The 70s and 80s saw many of our people pursuing higher education. The limited arable land in our domain would encourage farming families to send their children to school, and the youth themselves choose to go to school to take advantage of the many opportunities otherwise unavailable to them if they are unschooled.

Yet education itself is costly, and though many would have wanted to pursue the more economically-rewarding courses, the cost of education has limited choices for some. The establishment of high schools in the domain however gave many youth the chance to finish this stage, though not all go to college to finish degree courses.
7. Changes in Property Concepts

Traditional property concepts also started to erode. Particular here is the ownership concepts over land. Because government and other institutions like banks recognized titles, and where titles were not possible, tax declarations, people started to rely on these documents to signify ownership. Some of our people, aware of this attitude of government, would declare portions of the domain, although these areas are not, in the traditional concept, theirs to own.

Absolute ownership over land slowly gained prominence as the ownership concept, and this resulted in more and more conflicts among our people regarding land ownership. What is particularly lamentable is that relations between families and otherwise closely related members of our communities were affected. Along with land ownership, conflicts also arose regarding ownership of water rights, a concept alien to the traditional systems.

H. 1990S TO THE PRESENT

1. The Economy

As in the past, two industries dominate the economy in Mankayan. Mining and agriculture remain the major economic activities that our people are engaged in. Other economic activities like transportation, commerce and light industries serve to provide the necessary services to the agricultural and mining communities in the domain.

The cash economy has permeated into all parts of the domain and the community, so that almost all needs and services have monetary value. Our people are thereby motivated to earn money through their economic activities.
The standards of living have also changed, with more and more needs developed over time. As we are drawn into the nation and the world, 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, as was the case in the past. Even basic needs like clothing and nutrition are attached to social expectations, and because these have to be bought, our people have increased the amount they use on such items. What was adequate in former times are often inadequate at this time. Education, specially higher education, is another expense that our people have to answer in the attempt to make the future brighter for the coming generations. There are other auxiliary costs attached to economic development, like the cost of transportation, communication and utilities like electric power.

All these are dependent on money, so that the traditionally subsistence agricultural economy has been transformed into a cash crop economy. Much of the agricultural production is now done so that the products will be sold so that the family’s needs may be purchased.
a. Expansion of Vegetable Farms

One resource available to our people that they could use to produce ever-increasing needs is the land. More and more of this resource is therefore devoted to cash crops. The industry that has proven a reasonable degree of success is the growing of semi-temperate vegetables. Because of this, land traditionally devoted to subsistence crops were converted to vegetable farms. Even lands not traditionally devoted to agricultural production like pasturelands and tree farms were cleared for vegetable farming. What is most lamentable is that forest and watersheds were also cleared for commercial vegetable farming. With the entry of heavy machinery like bulldozers, this was made easier. With the decline of traditional ownership concepts and systems and the growing dominance of private absolute ownership over land, our people have had difficulty in discouraging encroachment on forest lands, as even these lands were declared for taxation purposes.

b. Intensification of small-scale mining

As our people struggle to provide for their needs in the modern and post-modern world, small-scale mining as an activity was intensified. The technology available made this possible. With the available tools and equipment, our people are able to dig deeper. The processing of the ore is also more efficient, and thus more proceeds may be realized in the activity.

But after having dug deeper, small-scale miners also noticed a decline in production, and so some of the miners shifted to vegetable farming.
c. Development in the Mining Industry Union; Labor Unrest

Even wage earners find it more difficult in these times to make their earnings suffice for growing needs. Perhaps this is the reason why the workers in Lepanto opted to join a more militant union affiliated with NAFLU-KMU. The worker’s union became more assertive of their demands, most of which are economic like the increase of wages. This resulted in several impasses with management, the latest of which was a strike in 1995, which resulted in the termination of 100 employees, including union officials, in 1995.

Labor unrest is not only because of wage matters. Earlier, in 1993, Lepanto terminated many employees. Job security is therefore another important issue.

d. Business Establishments

With the growth of the cash economy came many business establishments that offer the goods that our people need. Engagement in commerce itself then became a source of livelihood, and many more stores were opened in the barangays.

The town center also became a business center where many goods are sold. In addition, our people also patronize the businesses in Abatan and in Baguio City.
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

---

e. Transportation

The transportation sector also experienced a boom, as the economic activities require the transport of goods and people. More and more vehicles were therefore acquired by our people, so that goods could be brought to the markets in Baguio City and so that the people could conduct business or go to work in the cities. Inter-barangay trade and employment also makes the transportation sector an important part of the economy.

2. Social and Cultural Development

The last decade of the twentieth century also saw many developments in the social and cultural sphere, although these were mainly continuations of previous developments.

The necessity of education in these times encouraged more and more of the youth to pursue higher education. This enabled many of our people to finish college degrees. Employment outside the domain of these educated members of our communities followed.

Health facilities were also improved, with the barangay health centers becoming more and more effective in helping our people with their health problems.

The times also facilitated more intercultural exchange with the outside world, and our people have adopted many practices and beliefs from other cultures. The growing patronage of media like newspapers, radio, television and movies is a major factor for the learning and adoption of other cultural practices.
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.
II. INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS AND PRACTICES (IKSP)

Mankayan is rich with knowledge gained from the experiences of our ancestors. By example, our forefathers taught us the different technologies necessary for our communities to survive and flourish in the domain. There is however limited documentation of the indigenous knowledge systems and practices, and we recognize the necessity to continue documenting these, specially those IKSP that are no longer being practiced. Even as we recognize the need to document IKSP, and for the people of Mankayan to revisit their age-old practices, we also recognize the need to incorporate knowledge systems and practices of other cultures, and to develop new ones as our people adjust to ever-changing conditions.

Our people shall continue to evolve, and whatever knowledge system or practice we develop as time passes becomes part of our IKSP. Even as we absorb the knowledge the rest of the world has to teach us, we modify these and infuse our own experience and knowledge, our belief systems, and our distinctiveness as a people. The knowledge becomes part of our people, and our distinctness becomes part of the knowledge.

Necessarily we have changed over the years. Our forefathers have accepted the necessity of change, themselves making many adjustments to the changing conditions of their own time. We can only empathize with the momentous decisions needed by our forefathers as they decided to migrate to the place they have imparted unto us as a domain.
The culture of our forefathers also evolved, changed by the conditions of the domain. The topography, the resources, the unseen forces and spirits in present-day Mankayan 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.

A.  FOREST AND WATERSHED MANAGEMENT

For the indigenous people of Mankayan, we make no distinction between a forest and a watershed. All forests function as watersheds, as we know it. Our use of the forest also did not substantially alter the environment, or irrevocably damage it. Our people have maintained and managed the forests within the domain since time immemorial, through systems that have persisted through time.
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 or the community. 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. (See Belief Systems, p. 16)

Our people believed that springs have spirits guarding them, and we took care not to dirty or pollute the water. We associate water with life itself, and the balance necessary for life, and our relationship with nature, would be disturbed if the springs are destroyed or dirtied.

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 Mankayan indigenous people, as all indigenous people do believe that certain areas, plants or even animals are spirits themselves or are the homes of spirits.

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 our people generally do not think of managing a thing that is ultimately bigger and more powerful than we are, such as the forest or nature itself, the indigenous people of Mankayan “manage” the forests in the 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 have traditionally been communally owned and managed. That is, no single person or group, family or clan has 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.

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. Now, in these communal forests, residents are only allowed to harvest trees and other forest products after they get permits from the barangay government.

The harvest of trees in communal forests was allowed, although the lumber harvested may only be used for personal purposes like the construction of houses, and not for sale.
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.

With the intensification of vegetable farming, many of these traditional tree farms were converted to vegetable farms.

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.

For firewood, we only harvested the branches of the trees, specially the lower and bigger branches that are gathered, taking care not to take the entire canopy, which might result to the death of the tree. The practice 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. If the tree were later on 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 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 however believe 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 Mankayan 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. Communal Forests

Our communities still have communal forests. We maintain these primarily as watersheds, but community members use it as a source of timber and fuel, with the permission of the people. These communal forests 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 these forests by discouraging declaration for these areas for taxation purposes.

d. Watershed

Areas that host springs or ubbog are specifically protected by the community to sustain community water sources, both for domestic use and farm irrigation.

e. Swidden Farming

Like other indigenous communities in Benguet and elsewhere, our people have been practicing swidden farming for a long time. There are negative impressions on swidden technology, termed the kaingin system. The system has been blamed for forest fires and unwarranted denudation of forest areas. However, if the technology is carefully practiced, it is really a sustainable practice that does not destroy the forest but rather enhances it.
The misplaced impression that swidden farming, or shifting swidden agriculture is destructive of the forest has been debunked, and the prevailing school of thought is that if the technology is properly practiced, it actually helps in sustaining the forest by rehabilitating certain areas.

The practice involves clearing certain areas of the forest, later on burning the trees and shrubs cut. Care is taken so that the fire started will not spread to other parts of the forest. Members of the community usually help each other in the clearing and burning stages, to ensure that the fire does not spread.

After clearing and burning, the area is planted with a variety of crops. As a necessary part of the technology, there must be diversity in the crops planted. The crops planted consist of the staple crops like rice, camote, gabi, cassava and millet. Legumes are also planted, as well as a variety of fruit trees, specially at the perimeter.

The swidden is maintained for about four years, until such time that the fertility of the farm has been depleted. The farm is then allowed to lie fallow for about five years, while the swidden farmer clears another area with the same process. After the newer swidden loses its fertility, the old one is once again cleared, except for the fruit-bearing trees which are simply rejuvenated.

Swidden farming provides the farmers with many nutritional needs, like vegetables, root crops, grain, legumes, fruits and 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. Hunting Ground or Paganupan.

This traditionally included the many forests of the domain, when wildlife was more abundant and hunting methods and practices limited the harvest of game. With the denudation that occurred with logging operations, however, the loss of habitat also meant the decline of wildlife. At the moment, hunting is not a widespread practice in the domain, although there are some in our communities who occasionally do hunt game such as wild boar, deer, fowls, lizards, snakes, bats and others. The use of guns unfortunately has contributed to the decline of wildlife.

3. Other Protection and Management Mechanisms of Forests and Watersheds

Clearing of fire lanes. Our people now clear fire lanes around our communal forests and watersheds. Some non-government organizations are involved in this management activity, like the Saleng Organization in Cabiten. These fire lanes are cleared so that so that fires, whether spontaneous, accidental or caused by negligence, will be controlled.

Replanting of trees – This is now done by owners of tree lots.

Selective harvest of trees and pruning of branches – Although harvest of trees is allowed for timber and lumber, our people encourage selective harvest, so that massive denudation does not happen. For firewood, only branches are gathered. Now, our communities have prohibitions regarding the cutting of trees. There are also prohibitions regarding forest fires and harvest of forest products without permission from the owners.

In Cabiten, lumber in communal forests may be harvested, provided that permission is granted by the people through the barangay chairman. Sale of the lumber harvested is prohibited.
Penalties imposed by the communities in cases of unauthorized harvest of forest products or starting forest fires include warnings, payment, or replanting of trees as the tungtung system may determine. In some cases, adjudication in the courts is resorted to.

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

**Erosion Control** – Our people also plant trees in erosion-prone areas.

**Drainage Maintenance** – Canals are dug to divert runoff water from erosion prone areas.

### B. LAND USE, OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

#### 1. Property Concepts

Traditionally, our communities collectively owned the domain, with each community members allowed to use portions of the domain to provide for their needs. Introduction of improvements confers rights to members of the community, and these improved lands become ancestral lands. Actual development and use of the land are the basis of ownership rights. There was no need to claim wide areas, because the traditional farming and mining practices were not extensive, considering that the economy was a subsistence economy.

Ownership over ancestral lands was transferred through inheritance. The eldest inherits most of the lands, while the youngest usually inherits the parent’s house.
However, with the developments in our history, these concepts evolved. Much of the ancestral lands are now declared for taxation purposes, so that ownership is sometimes determined by the tax declaration. Some of the residential areas are tilted, and the rest are mostly covered by tax declarations. Some lands are issued CLOA. Even forested areas have been declared.

Now, our communities allow ownership to be transferred to the spouses of Mankayan indigenous peoples, even if these spouses are not from Mankayan. Even non-indigenous persons may own lands provided they have married into the community. The sale of land to outsiders is now allowed, except for Colalo barangay, where sale is allowed only if the buyer is a member of the community. Generally, relatives have the priority right to buy property being sold.

Despite these changes, our people assert their ownership over the domain.

2. Land Uses

a. Residential Areas

Areas in the domain used by our people for residential purposes also were agricultural areas. Livestock and poultry were also raised in the residential areas.

Now, new uses of the residential areas include commercial vegetable farming, and tilapia raising. Some parts of the residential areas are also presently used for commerce, others have become institutional lands for government offices, churches and schools. Still some areas are being used for recreational purposes like playgrounds and basketball courts.
b. Burial Grounds

Parts of the domain are utilized by our people as burial grounds. These burial grounds are located in residential and agricultural areas.

c. Agricultural Areas

These are the areas further away from the residential areas devoted to fruit trees, rice fields, camote farms and swidden farms. At present, many of these have been converted to vegetable farms.

d. Forests

Forests were maintained as watersheds, and were used for pasture lands, hunting, source of lumber and firewood (through selective harvest), and as source of food like edible plants, mushrooms and fruits.

e. Tree Lots

These are forested areas maintained by families or family groups in the domain. (Please see The Muyong and its Uses, p. 56)

C. WATER RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

1. Belief Systems Associated with Water Systems

Like other Kankanaeys, Mankayan people believe that spirits live in and guard bodies of water. Putting dirt, garbage or merely throwing rocks into bodies of water may disturb the spirits and may cause a person to get sick or other disharmony in the community.
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. The system is repaired and cleared of vegetation at least once a year, or when needed. The maintenance activity usually takes days, and affected farmers are expected to help. The rest of the group sanctions those who do not help in the activity.

D. MINERAL RESOURCE USE, MANAGEMENT AND PROTECTION

1. Belief Systems Associated with Minerals

The people of Mankayan believe that the minerals and the extraction of the minerals affect our people’s relationship with nature, the spirits and Kabunian. In order not to disrupt this relationship, various rituals are performed. Miners among our people also have many taboos regarding their operation.

If the mines are unproductive, it is believed that the spirits are displeased, and the necessary offerings are made. If the mines are productive, offerings of thanksgiving are also made. These rituals serve to have the community share in the bounties of nature.
2. Mining Practices

Our people have been mining, through abukay and sayo 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. If needed, borax, when it became available, was applied to clean the gold. Processing ore extracted through lode mining is simple. Rocks containing the ore are broken manually using a double headed hammer on a space covered with rubber or sack called to prevent fragments of ore from scattering. These small pieces are further crushed in a large mortar, with the use of a 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 separator where the slurry is panned and the gold separated from the mud. This separator is most often a burlap sack that catches the fine metal that is then washed into a holding tank. The gold grains are manually collected with the use of a 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.

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, our people 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 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 larger 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.

4. Taboos

Part of Kankanaey culture are 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.
5. Mine 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 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 Mining

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.

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.
E. THE TUNG TUNG SYSTEM

The tungtung system involves oral customary law and has been practiced since time immemorial. Our ancestors have passed down the practice over generations. The system is accepted as partly sacred, specially since it traditionally involved the invocation of spirits and Kabunian. The system has developed over time with the purpose of restoring harmony within the community and our relationship with nature and the spirits. The community's trust in the system ensures its success.

Social rejection is a standard sanction for the commission of a crime. Guilty parties often find it intolerable to live in a unanimously reproachful community. The tungtung system covers all aspects of bad behavior and the process of determining guilt and punishment is participatory. The community at large hears the case, and judgment is arrived at through a consensus of those present.

A party to a case will raise his complaints with elders, who then bring the matter before other elders. The elders may then talk to the parties and attempt to settle the differences. If no immediate settlement is possible, the parties are brought before the community, where they present their case.

The complainant 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. The elders or the community folk gathered can reprimand anyone who becomes emotional in the exchange.
Every elder (man and woman alike) who joins in the discussion, actually helps interpret the custom law under the *tungtung* system. However, the public gathered must be convinced of the interpretation of the custom. Relationships of the contending parties are invoked, in the attempt to make these relationships prevail over the disagreement.

An agreement or decision is made only after both parties have presented their sides and the temper of the discussion has calmed down. At the same time, elders and representatives from both parties come together to arrive at a common decision as to who is guilty among the parties. Decisions are mostly unanimous.

Setting the penalty is also participatory. The party to be penalized may bargain until a final penalty is made.
III. OUR PEOPLE AND DOMAIN

A. THE PEOPLE

The indigenous peoples of Mankayan belong to the Kankanaey ethnolinguistic group. Kankanaey is the dialect that is most widely spoken in the domain. History has allowed the entry of other people in the domain, people of other cultures who have settled in the domain, some of whom have married into our communities (See Succeeding Settlers and Intermarriage with Other Peoples, p. 2 and Continuing In-Migration, p. 29). Our communities are therefore mixed communities now, specially in the mining areas, and these communities have developed dynamics in a mutual support. The domain now hosts these mixed communities, and the communities have responsibilities to the domain.

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.

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 fit the definition and our territory. Our domain is Mankayan.

1. Customs and Traditions (see also Belief Systems, p. 16)

a. Marriage and Separation

Traditionally, parents were the ones who selected spouses for their children. These arranged marriages are done to cement or strengthen previous relationships like economic cooperation and friendships, or to fix destroyed relationships or settle disagreements. (See Kaising, p. 22) At present, however, arranged marriages are very rare, and even if some marriages are arranged, the children might not agree to it.

The male members of the community most often are the more aggressive in courtship, and in selecting mates.
i. Tomok

If a man has identified a prospective mate, he makes known his intentions to his elders, who then call upon a third party to help. The third party then visits the parent of the woman to inform them of the man’s intentions. The woman’s parents then call her and ask her if she is amenable to the proposition. The third party would extol the prospective groom to convince the prospective bride and her parents to agree. The parents sometimes help in convincing the prospective bride specially if the groom’s family is close to them, or there are social or economic benefits that might arise from the marriage. If the prospective bride agrees to or turns down the proposal, the third party would then report the development to the prospective groom’s family.

ii. Segep

If there is agreement, the couple then build a house where they shall dwell. A pig is offered in a ritual called segep, conducted before they occupy the new house. The ritual asks for blessings from Kabunian and ancestral spirits.

iii. Lawit

This ritual is sometimes performed with segep. This ritual calls upon the spirits of the couple to come together in the new home. If the couple already have children, whether theirs together or from previous marriages, the spirits of the children are also called upon with the same entreaty. The couple are then encouraged to raise animals or to earn so that they could perform the cañao toltolo.
iv. Toltolo

This ritual is conducted preferably before the birth of the couple’s first child. It precedes all other cañao or sida. It enhances the status of the couple in the community.

v. Present practices

When marriage is agreed to, the marriage is either conducted using traditional practices, in church or through civil authorities. The requirements of government for all marriages to be registered has encouraged most couples to be married in civil proceedings or in church, although indigenous rites may follow or have been done earlier.

vi. Separation

Polygamy was not allowed in our communities, although couples may separate. Separations are arrived at with the participation of elders and the community. Reasons for separations include childlessness, poverty, extramarital relations and other grave misunderstandings. Separated couples may remarry after some years.

b. Deaths

The dead of wealthy or baknang are placed in sangadil. Ritual chants (see Songs and Chants, p. 11) are sung in death wakes regardless of economic status. Rituals like the Dillos and Bugso-an, as well as other cañaos, are performed. The length of the wake depends on the socio-economic status of the deceased.
Traditionally, the men mourn by not having their hair or beards cut for three to six months, with some refraining from taking baths or changing clothes during the period.

2. Demography

a. Population and Population Density

As of 2004, there are 36,265 people in the domain of Mankayan, with 6,491 households. The barangay with the most residents is barangay Paco, with 6995 residents. This is expected, as most of the barangay is within the mining concession of Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company, and the barangay hosts a large part of the company workforce and their families. Barangay Balili has the second highest number of residents with 4,771. Sapid, another barangay hosting the mining communities of Lepanto, is the barangay with the third highest number of residents, 4,048. Tabio, comes next with 3,412, then Bulalacao with 3,098, then Palasaan with 2899. Poblacion has 2,831 residents, but because it has the smallest area, it has the highest population density at 54.97 people per hectare. Guinaoang and Cabiten follow with 2,200 and 2,115 residents respectively. Taneg, Colalo and Bedbed have the less than 2,000 residents as of 2004, with Bedbed having only 1,059.

If Poblacion is the most densely populated, Cabiten is the least dense, at 0.47 persons per hectare. Domain-wide, the population density is 2.07 persons per hectare. Paco barangay is also densely populated, at 14.37 persons per hectare. This is expected, because most of Paco is within the operations area of Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company, and it hosts most of the workforce of the company and their families.

1 2004 survey of Municipal Health Office, Mankayan, Benguet
Table 5. Area, Population and Population Density

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Barangay</th>
<th>Area in Has.</th>
<th>2004 Population</th>
<th>Population Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balili</td>
<td>3,655</td>
<td>4,771</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedbed</td>
<td>1,768</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulalacao</td>
<td>1,032</td>
<td>3,098</td>
<td>3.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabiten</td>
<td>4,458</td>
<td>2,115</td>
<td>0.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colalo</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>1.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinaoang</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>2,200</td>
<td>3.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paco</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>6,955</td>
<td>14.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>51.50</td>
<td>2,831</td>
<td>54.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapid</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>4,048</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palasaan</td>
<td>1,322</td>
<td>2,899</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabio</td>
<td>836</td>
<td>3,412</td>
<td>4.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taneg</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17,494.50</td>
<td>36,265</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned previously, the smallest barangay according to area is Poblacion, with an area of 51.40 hectares. The barangay with the biggest area is Cabiten, with 4,458 hectares, followed by Balili, with 3,655 hectares.

---

¹ Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

Figure 1. Areas of Barangays

b. Population Projections

The Municipal Planning and Development Office of Mankayan made population projections for the different barangays in the domain. The projections anticipate that the population of Mankayan by 1996 would be 38,106, and by 2009, the population would number 41,035.

---

1 Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet
Table 6. MPDO Population Projections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balili</td>
<td>4842</td>
<td>4771</td>
<td>5013</td>
<td>5267</td>
<td>5398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedbed</td>
<td>1065</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>1169</td>
<td>1199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulalacao</td>
<td>2694</td>
<td>3098</td>
<td>3255</td>
<td>3420</td>
<td>3506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabiten</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2115</td>
<td>2222</td>
<td>2335</td>
<td>2393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colalo</td>
<td>1044</td>
<td>1175</td>
<td>1235</td>
<td>1297</td>
<td>1330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinaoang</td>
<td>2118</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>2312</td>
<td>2429</td>
<td>2490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paco</td>
<td>7230</td>
<td>6955</td>
<td>7308</td>
<td>7677</td>
<td>7869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poblacion</td>
<td>3540</td>
<td>2831</td>
<td>2975</td>
<td>3125</td>
<td>3203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapid</td>
<td>3834</td>
<td>4048</td>
<td>4253</td>
<td>4469</td>
<td>4580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palasaan</td>
<td>2085</td>
<td>2899</td>
<td>3046</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>3280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabio</td>
<td>3314</td>
<td>3412</td>
<td>3585</td>
<td>3767</td>
<td>3861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taneg</td>
<td>1514</td>
<td>1702</td>
<td>1789</td>
<td>1879</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35228</td>
<td>36265</td>
<td>38106</td>
<td>40034</td>
<td>41035</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Religious Affiliations

Among Christian denominations, Roman Catholics predominate, with 61.33% of domain households. 14.5% of the households are members of the Episcopal Church, while 5.29% are members of the Assemblies of God, and the other churches a little over 11%. Kankanaey religious beliefs are observed by many people in the domain despite Christian affiliation.¹

B. THE DOMAIN

1. Location

The Mankayan ancestral domain is located at the northernmost part of the province of Benguet. The domain shares boundaries with Cervantes, Ilocos Sur, and with Tadian and Bauko, Mountain Province, and with Buguias, and Bakun of the Province of Benguet. It is approximately 90 kilometers by road from Baguio City, or roughly 340 kilometers by road north of Manila.

2. Area of the Municipality

The municipality of Mankayan has a total area of 17,494.50 hectares. The area of our domain has yet to be determined at the time of the formulation of this ADSDPP. The actual survey of the domain has yet to be finished at the time of writing.

¹ Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet, p. 2
Nevertheless, while the Mankayan political boundaries are not necessarily the boundaries of the domain, the municipal area approximates the area of the domain. The actual area and bounds of the domain shall be best documented in our ancestral domain papers.

3. Topography

Our domain is located in the Cordillera Mountain Range of Northern Luzon, and as such is mostly mountainous. More than half of the terrain have slopes of more than 30% or 27°. These steep areas have an approximate area of 11,705.6 hectares, or 66.91% of the domain. Included here are the very steep areas of the domain that have slopes of more than 50% or 45°, which comprise 5378.11 hectares or 30.74% of the domain.

On the other hand, only 505 hectares, or 2.89% of the domain have slopes lower than 8% or 7.2°. 13.25% of the domain, representing 2300.43 hectares, have slopes ranging from 9-18%. Another 2875.98 hectares or 16.44% of the total domain area have slopes of 19-30%.

Table 7. Topography

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slope</th>
<th>Area in has.</th>
<th>% of Total area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-8 %</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>2.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-18 %</td>
<td>2300.43</td>
<td>13.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19-30 %</td>
<td>2875.98</td>
<td>16.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-50 %</td>
<td>6327.49</td>
<td>36.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet, p. 16
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Value 1</th>
<th>Value 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 50 %</td>
<td>5378.11</td>
<td>30.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>106.5</td>
<td>0.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL TERRAIN</td>
<td>17493.51</td>
<td>100.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. The River System

The domain is located within the catchment basin of the Abra River. Tributaries of the Abra River, the Mankayan, Camanpaguey, Gambang, Guinaoang-Suyoc, and the Guillong-Bayyos may be found in the domain.

5. Climate

The type of climate that prevails over the domain, according to the weather bureau, is of Climatographic Map Type 3, with an average temperature of 65°F, with an average rainfall of 4,230 millimeters per year.¹

By our reckoning, there are two seasons of the year, de-am, or the rainy season from October to March, and tiagew, the dry season from October to March.

The typhoon season has special significance for us, for we respect these powerful storms that we call powek. We identify powek with the migratory birds that visit our domain, like tiway (late July), wa-o, (August) adog (September), kiling (late October) and siyet, (November).²

¹ Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet, p 17.
² Unpublished compilations, Pacita B. Awisan, Mankayan, Benguet
6. Land Classification

The MPDO of Mankayan identified several land classifications, and came up with estimates of the areas in each barangay that fall under each classification. The table below shows these classifications and the corresponding areas.

   a. Mineral Lands

According to the MPDO data, mineral lands are found in the barangays of Paco, Sapid, Poblacion, Palasaan and Taneg. The total area of these mineral lands is 854.59 hectares, comprising 5% of the domain area (Figure 2. Land Classification, p. 85, and Table 9. Land Classification by Barangay, p. 86). These areas identify the surface areas known to have been devoted to mining, past and present. In the case of Paco, Sapid and Poblacion, the areas indicated here are those included in the LCMC Mining Concession. Mining operations underground are not necessarily limited to the areas indicated here. In addition, other unexplored, or explored areas but where mining has yet to commence, are not included here. Of particular note is Guinaoang, which hosts the Guinaoang porphyry, a known deposit of gold.

The following table presents the gold and copper reserves in the domain presently known by the MPDO of Mankayan.
Table 8. **Gold and Copper Reserves**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mining Reserves</th>
<th>Mining Company</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Total Reserve</th>
<th>Grade Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gold Ore Reserves</td>
<td>Lepanto Consolidated</td>
<td>Mankayan</td>
<td>12,510,000</td>
<td>6.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper Ore Reserves</td>
<td>Far Southeast Gold Resources, Inc.</td>
<td>Mankayan</td>
<td>207,200,000</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Company</td>
<td>Palasaan</td>
<td>5,575,760</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Company</td>
<td>Mankayan</td>
<td>307,000,000</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet, p. 19
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

b. Agricultural and Pasture Lands

The total agricultural land identified by the Mankayan MPDO comprises 25% of the total domain area, or some 4,318 hectares. Pasture lands cover 22% or 3,900 hectares. (Figure 2. Land Classification, p. 85, and Table 9. Land Classification by Barangay, p. 86) Even as areas may be identified as pasture lands, in reality some of these lands are being used as agricultural land. The MPDO data of the actual area cultivated for the different crops when totaled exceed the area indicated in Table 9. Table 10 indicates that 7,821.2 hectares are actually cultivated, or 44% of the total domain area.

c. Residential Land

The MPDO of Mankayan estimates that 13% of the domain area is used for residential purposes, or an area of 2,283 hectares (Figure 2. Land Classification, p. 85, and Table 9. Land Classification by Barangay, p. 86). As may be gathered from the actual land use practiced by our people (see Residential Areas, p. 63), these residential areas are also used for livestock raising and for agricultural purposes.

d. Forest Land

This classification comprises the remaining communal forests in the domain. It does not include the muyongs or tree farms that are privately owned and declared for taxation purposes. It does not include areas classified as pasture land and agricultural land that have previously been tree farms. In addition, 9% of the domain is classified as “idle land.” These idle lands may be utilized to augment the forest cover in the domain.
The total area of forest land as classified by the MPDO is 3,852 hectares or 22% of the domain (Figure 2. Land Classification, p. 85, and Table 9. Land Classification by Barangay, p. 86). Parts of these identified Forest land are partially denuded, and in some areas there is some encroachment by expanding vegetable farms.

![Pie chart showing land classification]

**Figure 2. Land Classification**
Table 9. Land Classification by Barangay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Classification</th>
<th>Balili</th>
<th>Bedbed</th>
<th>Bulalacao</th>
<th>Cabiten</th>
<th>Colalo</th>
<th>Guinaoang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Area %</td>
<td>Area %</td>
<td>Area %</td>
<td>Area %</td>
<td>Area %</td>
<td>Area %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral Land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Land</td>
<td>1487.58</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>265.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>732.72</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Land</td>
<td>544.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>176.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Land</td>
<td>1257.32</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>35.36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>154.8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasture Land</td>
<td>109.65</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1060.8</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20.64</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utility/ Reserved</td>
<td>255.85</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.68</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30.96</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idle Lands</td>
<td>212.16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1114.5</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spaces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.29</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infra/Utility</td>
<td>41.28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3655</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1768</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Classification</th>
<th>Paco</th>
<th>Poblacion</th>
<th>Sapid</th>
<th>Palasaan</th>
<th>Tabio</th>
<th>Taneg</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mineral Land</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25.75</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>138.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>230.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Land</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>416.4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>284.11</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>289.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest Land</td>
<td>43.56</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.635</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>555.2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>11.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Land</td>
<td>19.36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>208.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasture Land</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27.76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>691.92</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>4.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional/Utility/Reserved Lands</td>
<td>19.36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.76</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idle Lands</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>92.25</td>
<td>6.98</td>
<td>56.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational Spaces</td>
<td>19.36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.76</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>69.41</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infra/Utility</td>
<td>19.36</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>7.725</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.88</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>69.41</td>
<td>21.605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1388</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1321.97</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL: 854.59, 4318.44, 3852.285, 2283.395, 3900.31, 455.3, 1652.79, 69.41, 80.8, 21.605, 17488.93
C. THE ECONOMY

1. Agriculture

Agriculture is still the major economic activity and source of livelihood of our people. The MPDO of Mankayan has data on the areas actually cultivated to raise certain crops in the domain. If these areas are totaled, the following conclusions can be obtained:

Only Barangays Paco and Poblacion do not have extensive crop-raising activities;

Domain-wide, the total area devoted to crops is 7,821 hectares, or 44.71% of the total domain area. Of this area, 7104 hectares are planted with vegetables. The different barangays devote a large part of their cultivated land to vegetables;

According to area cultivated, Balili cultivates the most, at 2874.52 hectares, followed by Palasaan, 816.98 hectares; Bulalacao, 758.79 hectares; Bedbed, 725.72 hectares; Taneg, 653.39 hectares, Cabiten, 514.71 hectares; Tabio, 445.16 hectares; Sapid, 422.12 hectares, Guinaoang 320.35 hectares; Colalo, 288.46 hectares; and finally Poblacion and Paco;

According to percentage of barangay area cultivated, Balili has the highest percentage at 78.65% of the barangay area, followed by Bulalacao at 73.53%, Palasaan at 61.80%, Taneg at 60.11%, Tabio at 53.25%, Guinaoang at 47.67%, Bedbed at 41.05%, Colalo at 38.93%, Sapid at 30.41%, Cabiten at 11.55%, Poblacion at 1.94% and Paco, where crop production is limited to home consumption only;
Cabiten, Bedbed, Colalo and Tabio are the barangays that continue to plant rice. Tabio plants only 5 hectares with the crop, with Cabiten planting the widest area at an estimated 100 hectares, followed by Bedbed at an estimated 50 hectares and Colalo at an estimated 34 hectares. We have no statistics as to the area traditionally planted with rice. However, the observation that 8 barangays no longer plant the crop indicates the magnitude of the shift from traditional agriculture to cash crop (vegetable) production.

As the road network widens in our domain, we expect that more and more of our people would shift to commercial vegetable production, and thus traditional cropping systems would even more be set aside for cash crop production.

2. Change in Agricultural Production and Resultant Erosion of Traditional Culture

Rice production, or the rice agricultural cycle, defines or sets the calendar for many of our rituals, specially the community thanksgiving ritual begnas. Like most other indigenous peoples in the Cordilleras, our belief system is inextricably linked to the rice agricultural cycle. It therefore follows that the cessation of traditional rice crop production will translate into the erosion of the traditional practices and the belief systems that go with it.

Thus ancestral worship, and the reverence for elders that go with it, has also lost some relevance. The overall effect, and the extent of the cultural changes that came with new economic activities have to be realized yet, but already we observe the changing of values within our communities.
3. The General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Vegetable Production

Our people, specially those engaged in commercial vegetable production, have already felt the effects of the GATT that the Philippine government has entered into. Already, when imports of vegetable crops, both illegal and legal, have entered the Philippine market, our products had to compete with imports that are relatively cheaper than what we can produce. The risks of loss in our vegetable industry has been increased.

We have therefore identified the GATT and WTO as situations that we have to consider in our future plans for the domain.
Table 10. Crops Raised and Area Cultivated per Crop by Barangay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crops Raised</th>
<th>Area Cultivated per Crop by Barangay</th>
<th>Domain-wide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balili</td>
<td>Bedbed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palay</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root Crops</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>2856.77</td>
<td>633.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruit Trees</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legumes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation Crops</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutflowers</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Area Cultivated</td>
<td>2874.52</td>
<td>725.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barangay Area</td>
<td>3,655</td>
<td>1,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of area cultivated</td>
<td>78.65%</td>
<td>41.05%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Compiled from various tables in Barangay Profiles, Mankayan Socio-Economic Profile, MPDO, Mankayan, Benguet
4. The Mines

Our history has shown that developments in our domain could not be detached from the mineral resources found here. Ever since the discovery of the minerals, our people have benefited from their extraction. First, our people traded copper and gold with other people to procure goods that our simple lives demanded. Later, with the introduction of large-scale mineral extraction that came with the Spanish and later on the Americans, our domain consequently acquired a metropolitan character where many different peoples converged. We have also changed with this economic change. Our people have realized the economic benefits that they could reap from the minerals in the domain, and so we ourselves have intensified our mining activities.

At the moment, the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act has recognized our right to the domain and the right to manage the resources within, and requires our Free and Prior Informed Consent (FPIC) before the existing mining operations may expand, and before new mining ventures are allowed in the domain.

The known reserves give us an idea as to the amount of minerals that can be extracted. However, there is the distinct possibility that these reserves are not the only ones present in the domain. (See Table 8. Gold and Copper Reserves, p. 83) We therefore see the continuation of mining activities in the domain for generations yet to come.

In view of this, we would like to see more benefits accrue to our people and to our communities, lest we fail in our intergenerational responsibility of sustainably developing our domain so that our descendants might continue to reap the blessings that nature and Kabunyan has given us.
D. HEALTH AND EDUCATION

1. Health

The health facilities in the domain need some improvement. The establishment of more hospitals to serve the growing population of the domain would certainly be welcome. Our barangay health system, with the dedication of the Municipal Health Office and volunteer workers, have been able to provide services within their resources. However, bigger support from government is needed so that these services may be improved.

The documentation and adaptation of indigenous herbal remedies will be an improvement, to lessen our dependence on expensive medicines. Health consciousness is also needed among our people, as the affluence that came with economic developments has exposed us to many foods that are known to increase health risks. This include the fatty foods and the many additives being used in current recipes. The quantity and availability of many foods at present have also aggravated the appearance of many maladies like hypertension, diabetes, gout and the like. These maladies were rarely manifested in past times when the diet of our people was more healthy.

Ultimately, however, the health situation in the domain would be better addressed if our people are more economically able, so that cures and remedies would be more affordable.
2. Education

As with health, the educational facilities are adequate, though these need to be added to and improved upon. The growing population would demand the increase in the number of teachers and classrooms. The number of high schools in the domain certainly need to be increased at the moment, so that our children will not have to walk large distances or travel just to finish high school.

Again, the need for economic prosperity, when answered, would in many ways enable our people to pursue the education that our children desire and deserve. While the people remain poor, the availability of educational facilities would not respond to the concerns we have regarding education.

The health facilities in the domain need some improvement. The establishment of more hospitals to serve the growing population of the domain would certainly be welcome. Our barangay health system, with the dedication of the Municipal Health Office and volunteer workers, have been able to provide services within their resources. However, bigger support from government is needed so that these services may be improved.
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

IV. CURRENT PROBLEMS

A. PROBLEMS AFFECTING COMMUNITY
UNITY AND COOPERATION

1. “Shy” Customary Tradition

Our people have developed a trait of “shyness.” This trait we can describe as a
lack of assertiveness, the tendency to withdraw in the face of adversity, or a
feeling of inferiority. There are various manifestations of this cultural attitude.
We root out several contributory factors to this social phenomenon.

a. Failure to meet social expectations

i. Sida

Our communities have expected our people to celebrate certain rituals that
determine social standing. These rituals demand the successive offering of
animals to the spirits and our ancestors. The number of animals butchered in the
ritual called sida progressively increases, until the final sida is conducted. These
rituals have served many functions in the past, not the least of which is the
redistribution of the bounties of nature, for only those who have received such
bounty have been able to perform these rituals in the past. The other osical
function is the strengthening of family, clan and community relations that
naturally result from the gatherings and interaction during the cañaos.

It is however unfortunate that we have come to equate social acceptance to the
performance of these rituals. We have developed an attitude that those who
have not performed the rituals are somehow inferior to those who have.
The long history that gave this attitude makes it very difficult for us to reverse or change the attitude. By failing to meet the expectations of sida, therefore, our people have accepted a sort of inferiority. On the other hand, those who have performed the sida have wittingly and unwittingly reinforced this inequality.

In traditional society, therefore, there are those who are considered higher and lower. Unfortunately, the discrepancy has not been erased to this day.

For those of us who have failed in this social expectation, the tendency to withdraw became and expected attitude.

ii. Traditional social classifications

To further add to this inferiority, there were traditional social classifications of rich and poor in our societies. The rich or baknang were given more attention to, so that the poor have also acceded to them.

iii. Poverty

Continuing poverty has increased this feeling of inferiority. Despite the changes in lifestyle and improvement of living conditions, it remains true that there are economic inequalities that have for the most part been maintained, and in some cases been aggravated by the unequal exploitation of opportunities present in the modern world. The traditional rich have been more able to adjust, and thus their relative economic advantage has remained. Meanwhile, the traditional poor have more or less maintained their relative economic subordination.
iv. Lack of education

Education in many cases has erased these traditional inequalities. Those of us who have finished higher education have bridged the gap. Whether or not such education has translated into economic affluence or not, those of us who finished degree courses are accorded respect equivalent to the traditional respect we had for the rich and the socially accomplished (read those who had hosted the necessary feasts).

But because education has bridged the gap, the lack of education has further added to the feeling of inferiority among those of us who have not attained higher education.

b. Reaction to discrimination

The “shyness” may also be attributed to the various forms of discrimination that we have experienced as a people.

i. Discrimination by non-IPs

It is a historical fact that indigenous peoples have been discriminated against. This discrimination has made some of our people less assertive. In a way, the discriminatory stereotypes have become accepted and misconstrued as true, so that some of our people would not be so assertive when associating with non-IPs. Some of us would choose not to associate with these “superior” beings at all, and choose to limit relations and associations with our kind.

ii. Discrimination by other IPs

Yet discrimination has not been practiced by non-IPs only. We ourselves have developed discriminatory stereotypes of other indigenous peoples. Examples of these include our perception of the Bontoc and Kalinga peoples as busol, or enemy, as headhunters, or just unnaturally violent.
On the other hand, these other IPs have stereotypically labeled us as “shy,” and easily intimidated. The mutual stereotyping has added to the development of the current attitude of some of our people. It has become expected of us to be so.

2. Value Changes

With the many developments in our history, changes in values were also inevitable. These value changes we label neither good nor bad in themselves, but we do note that these changes have resulted in some problems afflict our communities at the moment.

a. Relationships vs. Material Properties

Like other indigenous peoples, our traditional society has been ruled by relationships. We valued relationships more than anything else. It was also these relationships that allowed our people to survive. While our relationships with our families, our clans, and our communities remained harmonious, cooperation naturally followed, so that sharing, empathy, sympathy and mutual help was a given.

Historical change has however brought in other values besides relations. Foremost in our minds is the value that current society affords to material possessions. Money and property are now given a lot of value, so that the pursuit of these have resulted in many disagreements. Even the relationships that we previously expected to help us have become affected. The concept of absolute ownership over land has permeated our society, so that ownership over land has lost the traditional concept that stressed on common use and management of the resource. There are many among us now who claim ownership over areas that traditionally were common property. Ancestral lands are now the bone of contention in many disputes in our communities, so that even close relatives disagree on ownership.
b. Education/Economic superiority

While education has been very helpful in bridging the gaps of rich and poor, and provided a relatively equitable way to attain prestige in the community, it has also become a new basis for superiority. Some of the educated among us have used their education, and the respect that goes with it, to exploit the less educated among us.

Thus it has happened that the more educated among us sometimes are the ones who use their influence to disown their fellow Mankayan of their lands, or who would abuse the respect accorded them to enrich themselves.

c. Individualism

Perhaps the singular most adverse net effect of all the value changes is the growing individualism among our people. Individualism, we see, partly arose from the economic changes we have undergone. While the old economic activities in agriculture and mining required the efforts and cooperation of many people, sometimes of the entire community, many economic activities at present may be done by fewer people, or even by one person alone. Thus the natural mutual dependence in the old economy became passé. Further, if in older times the fruits of labor are naturally shared with the rest of the community owing to the cooperative efforts, now the fruits of labor, being individually acquired, may not be shared with others.

Individualism does not only pervade economic activities and sharing, but even social obligations in the indigenous system are also subordinated to individual wants and needs. Cooperation in the community is therefore undermined.
d. “Respect for Elders” and the need for assertion

We have noted earlier the problem of “shyness,” and we see the need for our people to be more assertive, overcoming this “shyness.” However, on the other hand, such assertion also challenges some traditional values, particularly “respect for elders.” In the indigenous system, our elders were accorded a level of respect that sometimes bordered on blind obedience or acquiescence. We see the need for respect of our elders, as it is this cultural trait that has bound our communities together for so long. The reciprocation of the respect was the more responsible nurturing that our elders have accorded us, and built upon the intergenerational responsibility that is so necessary in indigenous society.

But as the young become more assertive, the old values are challenged, and in fact many of these values have already changed.

We therefore see the need to balance these seemingly contradictory values that we deem our people need.

3. Sectarianism and the Lack of Understanding and Tolerance

The entry of Christianity into the domain has brought in many changes in our communities. Christianity as part of its nature rejects traditional belief systems, and thus has been a major cause for the erosion of traditional belief systems and practices. This change we neither laud nor condemn. We only fear that we shall only realize what we had when we lose it.

However, one other aspect in the entry of Christianity is the sectarianism that came with it. There are many different Christian denominations in the domain, and the differences between these denominations sometimes translate into disunity in the community.
Sectarianism manifests itself in many ways. The Christian rejection of traditional religion is one such manifestation. The persistence of some of our people in the indigenous belief systems has been assailed from all sides by Christianity. We recognize that many of us are practicing Christians, and we ourselves have assailed the belief systems of our ancestors.

One other manifestation of sectarianism are the disagreements between the various denominations. These disagreements most often arise from the feeling that salvation is reserved to the believers of one faith. This has caused condemnation of other faiths at the most, and ridicule of their practices at the least.

As we see it, the root of the problem is the lack of understanding of others' belief systems or faith. While we do not see complete comprehension of each other, we only hope that there is enough perception so that while we may not agree with the other’s beliefs, we shall not interpret elevate these disagreements that they shall undermine unity and cooperation in the community. Tolerance of each other’s beliefs is needed in order for us to find uniting factors other than denominational beliefs.

4. Problems Arising from Cosmopolitan Character of Mankayan

a. Reasons

There are various reasons we have identified that have contributed to the situation. We do not see these reasons or causes as problems because we cannot see how these can be reversed. We also do not see the cosmopolitan character of our communities as a problem in itself, but rather as a reality that we have to contend with as we look to the future.
Mining, specially large-scale mining, has been the major cause for the influx of migrants, whether transients or later to become part of our communities. The employment opportunities in the mining industry has attracted many migrants, and the migrants have in their own way contributed to making Mankayan what it is now.

The businesses that were needed to cater to the population in our mining communities also attracted people to join our people in the domain. These businesspeople have provided us with goods and services, and in their own ways have also contributed to the realities of Mankayan today.

Another opportunity for employment and for the entry of other people to the domain is the vegetable industry. At the moment, this industry is supporting many of our people, and the workers and investors in the industry have also become part of the Mankayan we know today.

b. Effects

The convergence of people with different cultural and geographical backgrounds in the domain has given rise to some problems that we have felt and continue to feel to this day.

i. Tribal Conflicts Imported (see also “Tribalism”, p. 28)

Many of those who came into the domain to work are also indigenous peoples that have different cultural practices. Others are non-indigenous people, but who also have their own cultural practices. The tendency to associate with kababayans, arguably a national trait, exists among those who have joined us in the domain. Thus there existed from the start this localism, or tribalism.
What is unfortunate is that sometimes the different groups or tribes have conflicts with other tribes. These conflicts sometimes extend into the domain, although the initial cause of the conflict may have happened elsewhere.

ii. Incompatibility of cultural practices

The different groups have brought with them cultural practices different from our own. Although merely differing is not a problem, some of the other groups would insist on their cultural practices. This is particularly in the resolution of conflicts or disagreements in the domain. Some groups would insist on their own processes of settlement, so that speedy resolution of conflicts is sometimes not possible. The punishments, fines or other requirements for resolution are also insisted upon, having the same effect.

While ultimately the disagreements have been resolved, through the mutual adaptation or adoption of opposing groups, the insistence of one’s cultural practices have caused tense moments of relationships while the cases are still being resolved.

5. Lack of Community Organizations to Promote Ancestral Domain Concerns

a. Non-Functioning Organizations and Cooperatives

Our communities do not lack for organizations and cooperatives. Many of these have been organized by private individuals, government and by institutions such as churches and the mining companies. However, many of these organizations are no longer functioning. We trace the reasons for these.
i. Lack of Trainings specially on management

Many organizations are set up in order to seize opportunities presented by organizers. These opportunities include funding, aid or other immediately available resources. However, these resources eventually run out, sometimes due to mismanagement of the resources. Upon the depletion of the resources, the organizations cease to function.

One reason is that the leadership and membership of the organization are not supplied with the necessary skills to manage the organization and the resources given it.

Most of the organizing institutions and support agencies do provide leadership and management seminars and trainings. However, the reality that after these trainings organizations are still mismanaged, in our view, indicates that these trainings were either inadequate or inappropriate. We note that most of these trainings are short-lived, and no follow up is done, due also to the depletion of funds for these kinds of activities. We realize that organizational or management skills are best learned in an extended process, and that these skills grow as the organization itself grows. Most trainings consider the basic skills, but specialized skills are most often not imparted upon the organizations and their members.

The lack of management and leadership skills also manifests itself in the lack of “lack of discipline of members” (see Lack of Discipline among Members, p. 106). We notice that some organizations have failed due to the inability of the leadership to collect dues or obligations from its membership, or the inability to unite the membership for organizational activities.

ii. Lack of Support by Government

Even as there are organizations and cooperatives, even as there are trainings on organizational skills and management, the lack of support of government contributes to the demise of these organizations.
The Indigenous People of Mankayan, Benguet

The objectives of most organizations tend to contribute to the objectives of government itself. In fact it is government that organizes many of these organizations. However, after organizing, the support of government eventually runs out. Many of the organizations are attached to special projects or programs being implemented by government agencies. After the completion of the special project or program, support by government most likely stops.

Organizations and cooperatives always look to government for support in the form of technical assistance, financial or funding support, or for the use of facilities. However, government has its own mechanisms for the attainment of objectives, so that the facilities, funding and technology are channeled through these mechanisms. The organizations are therefore left on their own, resulting in the loss of enthusiasm and eventual demise of the organizations.

The lack of management and leadership skills also manifests itself in the lack of “lack of discipline of members” (see next item). We notice that some organizations have failed due to the inability of the leadership to collect dues or obligations from its membership, or the inability to unite the membership for organizational activities.

Government needs to institutionalize the involvement of peoples’ organizations in the performance of its functions.
b. Lack of Discipline among Members

Organizations are only as good as its members. In our experience, we lament that some of the members of the various organizations in the domain have not been diligent in their obligations and in their responsibility as members. It thus happened that cooperatives would have their initial funds borrowed by members who would then fail to pay back the loans, resulting in the depletion of the funds. Goods in consumers’ cooperatives are also bought on credit, but members would patronize the cooperative only when they do not have the cash. Worse, members would fail to pay for their credit.

In other instances, organizational activities are not supported by members, so that the objectives of the activity are not attained.

c. People are discouraged/frustrated with organizations

The net effect of these negative experiences with organizations is a feeling of frustration and discouragement in the community. If there are attempts to form new organizations, not many would become members at the outset, even if the objectives of the organization shall benefit the membership and the community. There arises a “kita-pati” attitude, or to wait and see if the organization succeeds before people become members. Even if organizations show some success, the attitude of other community members who retain the negativist frustration would be to look for shortcomings of the newer organizations, or to discourage others from becoming members.

6. Need for Domain-Wide Organization

We also see the need for a domain-wide organization that will champion domain concerns and indigenous peoples’ rights. For this reason, our organization, the Mankayan Indigenous People’s Organization, or MADIPO, was organized.
B. OUR CONCERNS ON THE ENVIRONMENT

1. Forest Denudation

   a. Timber Concessions

   Our domain has limited forested areas remaining. The denudation of our forests was largely due to the logging operations of the mining companies, a sad but past event that we could no longer reverse. Nevertheless, we point out that the timber concessions of the mines were mainly responsible for forest denudation in the past. It also serves as a lesson for our people and other people so that it may not be repeated elsewhere.

   Besides the past reasons for denudation, there are current concerns that we would like addressed.

   b. Indiscriminate Cutting of Trees

   i. Lumber for Sale

   Sadly, our people themselves indiscriminately cut trees. While harvesting lumber for the building houses is allowed by our communities, there are those among us who have harvested lumber for sale. When the ultimate objective of logging is for sale, loggers tend to be indiscriminate, sometimes cutting down whole stands of trees. Worse, after the trees have been cut, there is no replanting done. This is specially true when the trees were cut in communal forests.

   The market for lumber, specially pine lumber is a lucrative one. There are some of our people who have derived livelihood from logging to sell the lumber, and it has further aggravated the denudation of our forests.
Even if the trees were cut from the lands owned by loggers, it is rare that the previously forested areas are replanted. Our people have lamentably preferred to convert the areas into farms where short-term crops would be planted.

**ii. Irresponsible Mining Practices**

One other reason why so many trees are cut in our domain is the irresponsible practice of miners. Timber and lumber is needed for the mining operations of even the small-scale miners, for the technology of tunneling has allowed them to go beneath the surface in search of gold. The timber and lumber is used by miners to support the tunnels they dig.

**c. Need to Strengthen Traditional Values**

Some perpetuators of indiscriminate logging are also Mankayan 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.
d. 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 our people. Indeed, 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.

e. 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 Mankayan 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.
Going by the data available to the Municipal Agricultural Office and the Municipal Project development Office, as much as 44.71% of the domain area is planted with crops, compared to what is classified by the MPDO as forest area, 22% of the domain area (Figure 2. Land Classification, p. 85, and Table 9. Land Classification by Barangay, p. 86).

The barangays most accessible to transportation are the ones that farm the largest areas according to percentage (Balili, 78.65%; Bulalacao, 73.53%; Palasaan, 61.80%; Taneg, 60.11%; Tabio, 53.25%; Guinaoang, 47.67%, Bedbed, 41.05%; Colalo, 38.93%, and Sapid at 30.41%). The areas farmed most likely were the old traditional farms, and parts of the traditional forests cleared for farming.

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.

f. 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.
g. 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 and Wildlife

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. Lack of Waste Disposal System

The concentration of people in the domain means also an increase in waste. The waste generated by our communities are also unlike the waste in older times. Waste in traditional society was mostly biodegradable, and our livestock consumed most of household waste. At present, however, much of the waste from our communities is non-biodegradable. Even biodegradable waste needs to be disposed of properly, and the volume of waste makes management more difficult for our communities.

The lack of a proper waste disposal system results in the pollution of water and the air, and poses health hazards to the community and to animals and plants.

This problem, even if it will not be entirely solved, needs to be responded to even if only to minimize the hazards it poses.

a. Lack of Dumping Site

What is needed to alleviate the situation is for a dumping site in the municipality so that our waste could be concentrated. Along with a dumping site, an efficient garbage collection system would be needed. The support and initiative of the municipal government is needed for this.
Part of a workable waste disposal system would be the cooperation of the citizenry. The cooperation would include waste reduction by reusing and recycling. It should also include waste segregation, so that non-biodegradable waste and biodegradable waste will be handled separately. It would also be best for citizens to dispose of biodegradable waste in compost pits. We understand however that in the densely populated areas in the domain, particularly Poblacion and the mining communities, the disposal of even biodegradable waste can be a problem. Segregation is therefore necessary so that the garbage handlers would properly dispose of the waste.

Continuous information and education for our people is needed. We are aware that there have been information and education campaigns on waste management in the past. However, we also are aware that there are segments in our communities who have not yet been reached adequately, or who wittingly or unwittingly do not heed proper waste disposal practices. It is therefore necessary to continuously remind our people of the dangers of improper waste disposal and to stress on the benefits of proper waste disposal.

i. Proper infrastructure (public toilets, drainage canals, etc.)

Our communities also need proper infrastructure to facilitate waste disposal and to minimize health hazards. We see for instance the need for properly maintained public toilets and the clearing of drainage canals.
ii. Redemption Center

We also see the need for a redemption center where our people may bring recyclable and reusable materials. A redemption center would encourage waste segregation and reduction, and would also provide livelihood opportunities for some of our people.

iii. Implementation of Building Code

One of our concerns is human septic waste. The law requires that this should be disposed of in a sewerage system. In the absence of a sewerage system, septic tanks should be part of buildings. However, this aspect of the law is not followed by some of our people. Instead, the sewerage is directly dumped into the creeks and canals, thus polluting these. Even if the sewerage is biodegradable and will ultimately be absorbed by the environment, its dumping into the drainage system poses health hazards and is olfactorily irritating.

What is needed therefore is the strict implementation of building laws.

d. Passage of Ordinances and Apprehension of Violators

To further ensure the adherence of the citizenry to waste disposal policies, proper ordinances should be passed by the municipal and barangay councils. In addition to the passage of ordinances, violators should be apprehended and meted out the appropriate punishment.

3. Improper Disposal of Mine Waste

The mines in our domain also create special kinds of waste. We raise the concern that mine waste should be properly disposed of so that it will not adversely affect our communities and the environment.
a. Large Scale Mining Operations

i. Mine Tailings and Siltation

The Lepanto Consolidated Mining Company is engaged in large scale mining in the domain. It has been extracting mineral ores from the domain for decades already. In the process, it has created huge volumes of tailings, that, if not contained, would clog the river system with silt. So long as the mine operations continue, the LCMC and other mining companies that might be allowed to operate in the domain should properly manage mine tailings.

The Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) is the government agency mandated to ensure environmental compliance of mining companies. Yet we fear that despite DENR regulation of mining operations, the mining companies have not diligently complied with standards.

In this regard, therefore, we now shall work for our participation as owners of the domain in the monitoring of environmental compliance by mining companies in the domain. There are several laws that give us the right to do so, and we shall endeavor to be equal to the task.

ii. Exhaust from Mill and Tunnels

We also raise our concern regarding the exhaust from the LCMC mill and tunnels. We fear that the exhaust is polluting the air. The residents near the exhaust vents certainly are bothered by the exhaust. This should be included in what must be monitored, to ascertain whether the exhaust conforms to standards.
iii. Need to Properly Regulate Mining

These concerns we have regarding mining reflect our perception that large-scale mining should be regulated properly. Our people do not have the expertise at present to do this independently from the government regulatory agency, the DENR. However, there are laws that allow, or require, our participation in the regulatory or monitoring processes. This participation we shall diligently seek, and we shall also attempt develop the necessary expertise to enable us to perform this very important duty. We shall also seek the support of other institutions and organizations with expertise so that we can be sure that the mining operations do not compromise our people, our domain and the environment as a whole.

b. Small-Scale Mining

Our people have been mining the domain for a long time. In the past several decades, small-scale mining has intensified because of the availability of a market for gold. It has intensified because of the need for cash to purchase basic needs. It has intensified because we have learned the technology to enable us to do so.

But 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. In our effort to better our economic situation, we are contributing to the destruction of the environment.

Small scale miners also process the ore they extract from the earth. The element mercury is used in the process and we fear that small-scale miners are not properly disposing of it. Instead, mercury finds its way to the ground and the water system, adding to the pollution and endangering life in the domain and downstream of the river system.
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 them, we shall also look for other processing technology that is safe to the 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. Improper Disposal of Farming Waste

A large area of the domain is devoted to farming. Contemporary farming methods involve the use of chemicals such as pesticides, fungicides, weedicides and insecticides. These chemicals are also pollutants, and would adversely affect other plants, animals and people who come into contact or ingest them.

These pollutants get into the ground or water if the pesticide containers are not properly disposed of. Some of our people engaged in vegetable farming also wash their sprayers and mixing containers in streams, springs and creeks, so that the chemicals get into the water system.

We feel that there is a need to continuously educate our people on the negative effects of improper disposal of farming waste. They should also be informed of the benefits of having a clean and safe environment.

5. 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 changed, 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.

Particular to indigenous people, the Mankayan people included, the enactment of the IPRA recognizes their right to manage their domain and the resources within, and also recognizes customary practices. As their rights 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.

C. PROBLEMS AFFECTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. Lack of Employment and Livelihood Opportunities

The physical situation of 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.
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 have therefore looked for 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 (refer to The Vegetable Industry, p. 36; Expansion of Vegetable Farms, p. 48; Change in Agricultural Production and Resultant Erosion of Traditional Culture, p. 89; The General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Vegetable Production, p. 90; Expansion of Vegetable Farms, p. 109; Improper Disposal of Farming Waste, p. 117) 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.

\[ \text{a. Lack of Skills/Training/Education} \]

To engage in other economic activities, our people need to be taught the skills and knowledge that will enable them to do so. There are a variety of other economic endeavors that may be pursued considering domain realities. The concerned agencies and organizations that could provide the skills and knowledge have to be tapped to share their expertise.
We recognize that not all participants of trainings and other similar activities shall all practice what they learned. We also recognize that only a small percentage of the initial number of interested people would continue with an economic endeavor and be successful. But that small percentage, in their success, would significantly improve their individual situations, and with many different trainings, more of our people would be able to improve their conditions. Hopefully, the impact on the community and the domain would then be significant.

This we say, as our organization could not be an employment agency. We shall merely try to provide options to our people so that they shall not be limited to mining and the current agricultural systems.

b. Non-implementation of MOA with LCMC on Employment of Locals

There exists a Memorandum of Agreement between the municipal government and LCMC. The MOA stipulates the prioritization of Mankayan people in employment in the mining company. We fear that this MOA has not been implemented fully.

The municipal government, being the signatory to the agreement, has to be more assertive in ensuring the implementation of the MOA. For this reason, our organization shall support the LGU in this regard.

c. “Cultural” Attitudes Regarding Job Hunting

There are several negative attitudes of our people that limit their chances of employment. The attitudes could be rooted to the “shyness” of our people. (See “Shy” Customary Tradition, p. 95) The effect is that there are some of our people who do not persever in their search for jobs and are easily discouraged.
d. Other Concerns

i. Low wages

Even for those who are employed, the wages earned are insufficient to provide for basic needs of families. It is therefore a concern that we raise. We recognize that the complaint of low wages is a national reality. We recognize that economic dynamics define the setting of wage levels. We recognize that we alone could not increase wages. Still, we join the call for better wages.

ii. Underemployment

This is another national concern. Many of our people are underemployed. Better employment opportunities are needed to fully maximize our potentials, and for us to better provide for our basic needs.

iii. Unstable sources of income

Some of the sources of livelihood and income available to us are unstable. In particular, small-scale mining and vegetable farming are dependent on many factors beyond our control. It may thus happen that after months of toiling, our operations would not be economically rewarding. Specifically for vegetable farming, the prices of our goods are not stable, while the prices of inputs are steadily rising. The importation of vegetable products also threatens the local farming industry. (See The General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organization (WTO) and Vegetable Production, p. 90)

2. Lack of Capital for Livelihood Activities

Our people also need capital for livelihood activities. However, there are several constraints that prevent us from acquiring the needed capitalization.
a. High interest on loans

The interest on loans is high. There are some individuals and groups who offer loans in the domain, but the interest rates are high. Obtaining capitalization from these lenders increase the risks of any endeavor, and so not many of us would resort to these lenders for capitalization.

b. Lack of Collateral/ Lack of Land Tenure

Lending institutions such as banks, on the other hand, may lend at lower rates. However, loans with this institutions need collateral that our people do not have. Most collateral demanded involve real property. Unfortunately, most of the properties we have are not titled.

c. Lack of Cooperatives

One answer to the problem of capital are cooperatives. However, cooperatives in the domain have not been successful. (See Non-Functioning Organizations and Cooperatives, p. 103) What is needed therefore is to strengthen existing cooperatives and to organize new ones, equipping them with the necessary skills and knowledge in management to ensure their continuing success.

3. Inadequate Production and Marketing Strategies (Vegetable Gardens)

a. Lack of Organization among growers

The many vegetable farmers in the domain, and in the other vegetable areas in Benguet and Mountain Province, are not sufficiently organized. Because of the lack of organization, there is no production plan so that farmers most of the time produce the same crops at the same time, consequently flooding the market and bringing down prices.
Most products sold in the market are cabbage, Chinese cabbage, potatoes, carrots, pepper, onions, legumes, banana, cauliflower, lettuce and sayote. The actual volume 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.

There is a need to organize the farmers so that a zoning scheme and scheduling of production of the various crops could be set to ensure better profits for the growers. A common marketing strategy would also be possible. However, this would require massive organizing work not only of vegetable growers in Mankayan but in nearby areas planting the same crops as well.
b. Lack of Post-Production Technology

The products of the vegetable farms are sold fresh. Being highly perishable, some of the crops lose value when transported. There is therefore a need for post-production technology to either preserve the freshness of the products or to process them into less perishable goods. In times when the market is flooded with particular crops, these post-production technologies would also be useful to preserve or process products until they can fetch better prices.

c. Fraudulent Marketing Practices

The farmers are also sometimes to blame for the hesitance of buyers to patronize their products and instead purchase from middlemen or even buy imported vegetables. Some farmers resort to fraudulent marketing practices for short-term gain.

i. Fraudulent packaging or arrangement

When packing vegetables, some farmers would include substandard goods in a package. However, they would place the better ones in the visible areas in the packaging, so that buyers are misled into believing that the whole package is filled with good products.

ii. Unhealthy Practices (Harvesting after spraying)

Upon being informed of high prices in the market, some farmers would immediately harvest their farms even if they have just applied pesticides to the crop. In the process, they are putting the buyers at risk of pesticide poisoning as the pesticides have not been sufficiently absorbed or dissipated.
iii. Substitution

Some farmers also substitute similar-looking items with the goods, thus increasing the volume of their goods. In one instance, while selling ginger, a farmer added another ginger-looking root, and so lost a customer.

d. Lack of Sustained Information Campaign

Organizing the farmers would have to originate from the farmers themselves. While there are some who recognize the benefits of having an organization, most are either uninformed or are indifferent to the idea. A sustained information campaign is therefore needed so that a sufficient number of farmers are amenable to the idea and are substantially convinced of its soundness so that they shall willingly abide by the policies set by the organization. This is what our organization could facilitate at the moment.