

Working Paper Series No. 170

FARMERS, LOGGERS ON FRAGILE LAND
Changing Gender Relations in a Philippine Mountain Village

Bernadette Resurreccion - Sayo

January 1994

Bernadette Resurreccion - Sayo was a participant in the MA Programme (Women & Development Programme) at the Institute of Social Studies, 1992/1993.

An earlier version of this paper was submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies of the Institute of Social Studies.

The Board of Trustees of the Institute of Social Studies awards a maximum of three prizes each year for the best MA Research Papers. This paper was the recipient of one of the prizes of the Board of Trustees for the year 1992/1993.

Contents

I	Introduction	1
II	Conceptual Framework and Methodology	10
III	The Social Context of the Ikalahan	24
IV	Changes in the Gender Division of Labor: The effects of resource degradation	43
V	Tensions in the Household: Where interests collide	57
VI	Conclusions	63
	References	70



Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Since the landmark study of Ester Boserup (1970) on agrarian change, much of what has been written on the transformations of agrarian societies and women in the Philippines has to do with the incursion of commercial agriculture and farm mechanization -- and how these changes have been detrimental to women (Res, 1985; Banzon-Bautista & Dungo, 1987; Illo & Veneracion, 1988; Pineda-Ofreneo, 1988).¹

These studies have contributed significantly to understanding the changing positions of Filipino women in rural societies. However, other developments -- partly related to the commercialization of agriculture -- have dramatically altered the very resource bases on which women and men pin their survival and subsistence.

Philippine land, forests and water systems have suffered degradations of massive proportions; the frequency of calamities and their harrowing effects on our land and people have been unprecedented in recent years -- exposing the vulnerabilities of our ecosystems caused by past years of unabated plunder and exploitation of natural resources.

Much of these degradations have been unleashed by sheer resource mismanagement and policies of the Philippine government that have favored the systematic exploitation of natural resources to generate huge sums of export revenue from the international market.

These degradations have disrupted former patterns of livelihood and survival strategies. The plight of indigenous peoples is a case in point. Dependent directly on land and forests for their survival, they suffer the effects of the unfettered exploitation of these resources. For example, their indigenous methods of resource use proven sustainable for many years have increasingly been unable to abet the rapid rate of erosion of land and forest soils.

¹ Vicky Tauli-Corpuz (1992, 1993) of the Cordillera Women's Educational Resource Center (CWERC) however has written extensively on the plight of the indigenous women of the Cordillera Autonomous Region and the ecological crisis.

In turn, disruptions in the resource use activities of indigenous women and men have altered their relationships with one another. Former practices in the gender division of labor have changed because of the exigencies created by the environmental crisis -- triggering tensions between individual women and men, which in part becomes a power contestation between women and men in the household. A feminist analysis to the ecological crisis is therefore in order to address power relations of women and men -- as they adapt to their changing environment.

This study therefore problematizes how particular aspects in the gender relations of the Ikalahan have changed in relation to resource degradation caused by the ecological crisis. The Ikalahan are indigenous swidden farmers and small-scale loggers who subsist primarily on the land and forests of Nueva Vizcaya, a province in the northern part of the Philippines.

1.2 Background to the Problem

Before discussing the specific objectives of the study, I believe a brief introduction on the Ikalahan is necessary to contextualize these objectives, and hence, the organizational flow of this study.

The Ikalahan are settlers in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, specifically in the mountain villages of the town of Sta. Fe. They migrated from Ifugao², a province north of Nueva Vizcaya some 250 years ago. The Spanish colonizers who came to the Philippines in the 16th century were not able to pacify them the way they did the lowlanders. By the turn of the 20th century, American Protestant missionaries arrived and Christianized many of these ethnic communities.

From the limited written ethnographic accounts of their history, the Ikalahan men were hunter-gatherers and the women were swidden farmers. Today, the men identify themselves as principally small-scale loggers since big logging concessions in Nueva Vizcaya have hired them for specific tasks needed to carry out and assist logging operations in the forests. The women remain as swidden farmers, employing traditional farming methods passed on to them from previous generations of female farmers. Their harvests are primarily for subsistence and household consumption. The only cash crop, ginger, is harvested only in small proportions twice yearly. Men, for their part, are paid subsistence wage rates only enough to contribute to the household budget for the purchase of rice, sardines, salt, swine feeds and clothing.

² A province which is part of the Cordillera Autonomous Region where the Ifugaos, an ethnolinguistic group, have lived and resisted Spanish rule; the Ikalahan however are geneologically related to the Ibalois who live in the border between Ifugao and Benguet provinces.

In 1974, under the administration of the Kalahan Educational Foundation (KEF) and the leadership of Pastor Delbert Rice of the United Church of Christ in the Philippines, the land of the Ikalahan was declared their ancestral reserve by the Philippine Bureau of Forest Management.

The gross effects of timber resource exploitation in the past are now being felt by the Ikalahan. Due to the magnitude of large-scale logging operations in Nueva Vizcaya for the past fifty years, much of their forests have been denuded causing massive soil erosion that loosened huge chunks of topsoil off their mountain slopes after the earthquake in July 1990. Landslides and floodwaters from the Sta. Fe river forced the Ikalahan in these parts to evacuate to safer areas.

Having returned to their village, they now face the problems of inadequate housing, income and food.

The degradations in the environment have affected both Ikalahan men and women; however the effects are being felt in different ways. The men have been robbed off their source of income as commercial timber resources have dwindled in past years as well as have been washed away by the landslides in the wake of the earthquake and successive typhoons.

Women, for their part, are now facing limited land space for swidden cultivation on the mountain slopes. Deep cracks in the mountains and denuded portions have increasingly made these slopes unfit for cultivation. When strong rains pour, their plots are washed out and buried by landslides. On the other hand, from the plots they manage to cultivate, they have fewer and smaller harvests as they tend to over-use the soil, thus severely decreasing its nutrients and productivity. Fallow periods are shortened, unable to provide the regular amount of time required for the land to regain its lost productive capacity.

As these degradations in the environment have affected their resource bases, they have in turn, also triggered tensions between women and men. It is at this point of transition in their lives that I have encountered the Ikalahan.

1.3 Objective and Research Questions

Having provided the background to the problem, this study aims to locate and analyze the changes in gender relations among the Ikalahan, as these changes are related to environmental degradations. For this purpose, I have formulated the following specific research questions:

- (a) What are the major resource degradations experienced by the Ikalahan and how have these affected the resource bases of women and men?
- (b) What are the specific changes in the gender divisions of labor due to these environmental degradations?
- (c) How have the changes in the gender divisions of labor affected the relations of women and men in the household?
- (d) What is the source of power and how is it exercised in situations where Ikalahan women and men negotiate with each other in the face of the tensions and changes caused by the environmental crisis?
- (e) How does this case study of changing gender relations of the Ikalahan in relation to environmental degradation link up with current Women, Environment & Development (WED) theoretical positions?

1.4 Main Issues Related To The Study: The WED Debates

I locate the importance of my study in the arena of theoretical debates on ‘women and environment.’ With the findings in this study, I will expose certain strengths and weaknesses in some of the various strands of WED thought, and in the ensuing policies which have blown it into a serious area of study.

In the light of the escalating global ecological crisis, recent feminist scholarship has begun to problematize the linkages between women and the environment. There have been ongoing ‘women and environment’ debates which derive from a number of theoretical positions. In this section, I will look into these positions and how these explain three main issues: the position of women, the origins of women’s victimization within the ecological crisis and the solutions offered to save nature and empower women. Second, I will discuss the recent strides in policy-making, where issues of ‘women and environment’ have figured in the development agenda. In the last chapter of this study, I will relate my research findings with these WED issues and their implications on women and development.

In this section, I will draw mainly from two recently published source books on 'women and environment' : 'Remaking the World Together: Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development' (1991) by Charkiewicz-Pluta, et.al., and 'Gender, Environment and Development', by Hombergh (1993).

The following are the issues I find relevant among the theoretical debates found in 'women and environment' literature:

The position of women

Due to the growing body of development literature which has focused on the feminization of poverty and the crisis in the natural environment, women and nature have been increasingly seen as both victims of the ecological crisis. Case studies from the South (Dankelman & Davidson, 1988) have demonstrated how rural women are often in the interface between the home and the resource base. These studies show how women have to walk longer distances and expend more energy in collecting food, fuel and fodder for their households as environments are increasingly destroyed.

This image of women as victims has been the dominant assumption in many 'women and environment' discussions.

The origins of women's victimization in the context of the ecological crisis

It is thus important to look into the premises behind the assumption that women are the victims of the ecological crisis. Here, theoretical positions hit a fork in the road.

Vandana Shiva (1989) draws from Hindu religion which had placed a high premium on the 'feminine principle' as a source of life. Women are thus the original givers of life and caretakers of nature. According to her, it is western patriarchal development strategies and science that have displaced the 'feminine principle' and thus have victimized women, non-Western peoples and nature.

Bina Agarwal (1990), from her analysis of environmental degradations in India, locates the victimization of women in political economic and gendered terms, where patriarchy and processes of statisation and privatization impoverish women, making them ever vulnerable to ecological

changes. She argues against Shiva's essentialist definition of the role of women as 'natural' caretakers of the environment by virtue of the 'feminine principle.'

According to Agarwal, compared with the men of their class, rural women in the same locality experience the worst effects, and consequently are hardest hit by environmental degradation.

I locate the perspectives and responses of poor peasant and tribal women in their material reality [as opposed to Shiva who locates it in culture] -- in their dependence on and actual use of natural resources for survival, the knowledge of nature gained in that process...By this count, the perspectives and responses of men belonging to hill or tribal communities would also be more conducive to environmental protection and regeneration than those of men elsewhere, *but not more than those of the women of such communities*. This is because hill and tribal women, perhaps *more than any other group*, still maintain a reciprocal link with nature's resources -- a link that stems from a given organization of production, reproduction and distribution, including a gender division of labor. (Agarwal, 1992: 149-150; bold mine)

In short, she locates women's work within the realm of survival and subsistence, structured by a pre-existing gender division of labor that privileges men over women.

The solution offered: women as central actors in saving nature

The theoretical positions of Shiva and Agarwal assume a uniformed, across-the-board and sweeping deterioration of all resource bases (i.e., timber resources, land resources, or water resources) in uniformed paces and processes -- and argue that women should be the central actors in environmental management since they are the first and hardest hit by environmental degradations. By being the privileged caretakers of the environment, women also begin to empower themselves. Notably, however, Shiva and Agarwal argue this point from opposing positions.

Shiva points out that women have intimate knowledge of nature and its life-giving or destructive processes by virtue of an essential 'feminine principle' governing nature. In the recovery of this 'feminine principle,' lies the recovery of nature.

[Women] have the knowledge of what it means to be the victims of progress. Second, they have the holistic and ecological knowledge of what the production and protection of life is about. Women embedded in nature, producing life with nature, are therefore taking the initiative in the recovery of nature. [In] women of the Third World are conserved the categories that make the sustenance of life possible for all. (1989: 47)

Agarwal, on the other hand, maintains that it is the marginalization of women (or their 'victim' status from a 'class-gender' perspective that relegates them to subsistence and therefore to working closely with nature) which has given women more intimate knowledge of the environment and the potential for actions of resistance to nature's further degradation by state and private interests.

Vision & Policy: Women's Action Agenda 21

The United Nations Conference on Environment & Development (UNCED), better known as the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil last June 1992, was a global forum where 'women and environment' issues, among others, were taken up in the negotiating tables of states, global environmentalists and NGOs.

Previous to the Summit, 1500 women from all over the world convened for the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet in November 1991 in Miami, Florida to discuss their vision and recommendations for an alternative and sustainable future -- and to ensure that in UNCED, 'women who comprise more than half the world's population, must have an equal input in the formulation of policies that will affect the future of our planet'.³ The products, 'Findings of the Tribunal' and the 'Women's Action Agenda 21', have articulated the position of women vis-a-vis the ecological crisis in the following terms:

Noting that no one knows the realities of the over-exploitation of the land more intimately than the women who till it, draw and carry its water, use its trees for fuel, harvest forests for healing herbs and medicinal plants, and use their traditional knowledge for the benefit of the community, [thus] preserving species and ecosystems...⁴

and therefore propose the following policy guidelines:

States should recognize women's role as managers and conservers of natural resources and should involve women in the decision-making process as equal partners.⁵

These assertions by the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet are clearly derivations from dominant 'women and environment' discussions that privilege women as central actors in environmental management.

At the final chapter of this study, I will pose my own arguments to these theoretical and policy-related postulations on the bases of my specific findings on the changes in gender relations among the Ikalahan in the context of resource degradation.

3. 'Findings of the Tribunal', the Official Report, World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, Miami, Florida, page 8.

4. Women's Action Agenda 21, page 19.

5. 'Findings of the Tribunal', the Official Report, World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet, Miami, Florida, page 14.

1.5 Organization of the Study

In Chapter II, I will discuss the different conceptual tools used in analyzing the changing gender relations of the Ikalahan in the context of environmental degradation. In particular, I will discuss how I will use constructions of the environment, change, gender, gender relations, and power in analyzing the data in my study. Second, I will discuss certain methodological issues I found relevant in the research process.

In Chapter III, I will present particular historical socio-economic development processes in the Philippines, focusing primarily on the logging industry and its effects on the land and forest ecosystems of Nueva Vizcaya and on Baracbac, the village under study. Second I will present a profile on the Ikalahan: their history, social formation, land use and management systems, kinship and gender values and inter-societal representations.

In Chapter IV, I will present the gender divisions of labor and analyze the changes that have taken place in the allocation of responsibilities between women and men due to environmental degradation.

In Chapter V, I will discuss and analyze the tensions between individual women and men as they experience the changes in the gender divisions of labor.

In Chapter VI, I will sum-up the findings and put forward the conclusions of my study. Second, I will link these with the wider debates on 'women and environment,' as well as recommend possible areas for further research and issues for intervention.

1.6 Sources of Data

In July of this year, I decided to go back to the Philippines for a month's field visit to Nueva Vizcaya, back to where I had written about the Ikalahan three years ago after the earthquake and the destruction that had wrought their villages. I spent 20 days in the town of Sta. Fe, visiting the village of Baracbac daily, and spoke with the men and women on the turn their lives have taken since I last saw them. Their stories on the changes in their lives is the heart of this study.

The last 10 days of my stay in the Philippines were spent gathering secondary material: visiting government agencies, libraries and NGO offices which had information on the Ikalahan and environmental degradations in the province of Nueva Vizcaya.

1.7 Limitations and Scope of the Study

The field visit for this study was very short. Therefore, I was only able to discuss issues relevant to the *work* of the women and men of Baracbac. The subject itself was something they felt they could comfortably discuss at length with me. This therefore defines the parameters of my study in that I am unable to analyze other important aspects of their lives: parenthood, marriage and sexuality, and religion. These are aspects for further research.

I also wish there had been more opportunities to sit with the village elders as they could have provided me with sufficient material on their ethnography and history. I would have wanted to answer the question as to why the Ikalahan were considered 'minorities' by other ethnic communities in the region as well as trace the historical changes in gender relations that may have occurred through a longer period of time. Again, this may be an area for further research.

Hoping there would be sufficient literature in the libraries on their ethnography and history, I was disappointed to find hardly anything except those written by Delbert Rice which I had already gathered. By that time, it was too late to return to the village.

Chapter II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The objective of my study is to locate and understand the changes in gender relations among the Ikalahan in the context of changes in their resource bases caused by environmental degradations. In this chapter, I discuss the different conceptual tools in understanding this phenomenon as well as the methodological issues involved in my own process of investigation and interaction with the Ikalahan in the village of Baracbac, Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines.

2.1 Constructions of People-Environment Relations

Presently much of development aid aims at replenishing the resource base as a prerequisite to generating new economic activities. That is, the very process of development itself cannot subsist upon a deteriorating environmental resource base; the environment cannot be protected when development ignores the costs of environment destruction and the necessity of replenishment and enhancement. (Croll & Parkin, 1992: 6)

'Development' in the context of the preceding passage implicitly looks at the environment as a resource base from which to benefit economic activities and production -- or, 'a conception of development based on economic growth' (ibid). It is in this light that the deterioration of the natural resource base has informed much of the current mainstream discussions on environment and development. Mainstream development analysts problematize environmental degradation *only* as an obstacle to economic growth in the context of resource appropriation.

Marxist analysts locate the origins of environmental degradation in the unbridled operation of private capital to amass profit for the exploiting classes at the expense of society's common welfare. Yet at the same time, Marxism recognizes a fundamental unity between human beings and nature:

Marx's approach, [as interpreted by Schmidt], lays great emphasis on the social character of nature in society. Marx regarded nature as anything but passive -- nature itself was a dynamic force of enormous potential. Nevertheless, only labor could release that potential. For Marx, nature was mediated by human labor, but at the same time human beings formed part of nature in a holistic sense...nature is both an element of human practice and the totality of everything that exists. (Redclift, 1987: 174)

The unity of nature and human beings notwithstanding, problems do arise once we begin to analyze the relationship between the environment and the accumulation process, and to contend with development and its effects on the environment.

The political economy paradigm extends this view in a way that looks at the environment as an array of natural resources that are at the disposal of the competing claims of certain actors who wield power over these resources for economic ends. In particular, the Brundtland Report argues 'that many problems of resource depletion and environmental stress arise from the disparities in economic and political power' (Croll & Parkin, 1992:9).

In this study, I will instead look at the environment not as the consequence of the actions of human beings but rather as a determining variable in the alteration of human society. I will shift the focus of this study from one that views society's actions as those which transform the environment, to that which views a deteriorating and changed environment's *feedback* on human society, particularly, on an aspect of social relations -- gender relations. In other words, I will shift from a construction of the resource base as being a 'space' *outside* people's lives and activities to one that is inextricably linked to processes of change in the social, economic, cultural and political realms of their lives. This construction of the environment (or resource base, as it were) therefore assumes a *relational* aspect: where women and men are enabled or constrained as they interact with and in their natural environment.

The point here is that all environmental constraints and enablements can be defined only in connection with their implications for social *praxis*. (Cohen, 1989: 217)

In the current interest in people-environment relations, anthropology has contributed significantly by introducing a concern for the cultural valuations people attach to their resource base, and with these, the analyses of order, agency, time, space and the deployment of power and knowledge (Croll & Parkin, 1992: 8).

...the power and the pressures behind choices and decisions regarding people's cultural and physical environments, and with the ways in which these environments 'speak back' either through people or independently (Croll & Parkin, 1992: 4)

There has also been growing interest in the way indigenous peoples¹ interact with their environment - - transforming and reproducing cultural meanings in processes of resource use and management -- as they relate with each other and those outside their communities. In the case of the Ikalahan, a Filipino indigenous community who comprise the subjects in this research, land has always been a socially and culturally valued resource: land, for them, is life. *The destruction of land is not only loss of livelihood but culture and identity as well*. Transformations in their resource base have in turn, altered

1. The concept of indigenous community in the Philippines is largely a consequence of the process of colonization..based on their indigenous small-scale social organization, successful resistance to imperialism for several hundred year and socio-cultural distinctiveness from Filipino lowlanders. Yet this categorization is far from perfect -- since most of them have long been internally stratified, all were eventually brought under American political hegemony and a large number, Christianized. (Eviota, 1992: 145; Lewis, 1992: 244).

significant aspects of their life, subsistence production and gender relations as the next chapters will unravel. Indigenous peoples can thus be said to be those 'immediately dependent on their environmental resources' (Croll & Parkin, 1992:5) which could therefore offer vital insights to inform studies on people-environment relations.

For the purpose of my study, I will focus on the Ikalahan's land and forests as an environment where processes of resource use and management involved in swidden farming and small-scale logging are locuses for the changing relations between men and women: creating and reproducing differences between them where existing values and dominant constructions of gender in the community intervene.

2.2 Resource Degradation

I devote a section on resource degradation (as it is part of the study of people-environment relations) because I feel it is necessary to establish how people are affected by it -- since we oftentimes have an assumption that all human beings are affected in uniform ways, degrees and paces. There are factors to consider when analyzing the effects of resource degradation on people.

In the first place, people in a resource use situation are differentially linked to an array of resources in their natural environment. Between women and men, and, among them, there exist *specific* ties to or interaction with *specific* resources in the environment.

Resource degradation involves multiple processes of natural changes and human interference through time:

[Resource] degradation is therefore best viewed not as a one-way street, but as a result of forces, or the product of an equation, in which both human and natural forces find a place. We could say that:
$$\text{Net degradation} = [\text{natural degrading processes} + \text{human interference}] - [\text{natural reproduction} + \text{restorative management}]$$
 (Blaikie & Broomfield, 1987: 7)

Degradation is thus a complex process which involves physical changes in the environment but something which is also evaluated in social terms. However useful it may be to measure the impact of environmental degradation in aggregate terms, the degradation itself is-locality-bound. In the evaluation of degradation there are

issues of the distribution of losses from degradation between different groups, and access to alternative means of livelihood (e.g. new land) or to new technologies to limit the effects of degradation or to reverse them - all these affect the boundary conditions for accounting the social impact of land degradation. (Ibid: 5).

In other words, resource degradation is not always a force that affects people in a uniform way; it presupposes that particular people are caught in a vortex -- or in an epicenter, if I may use a metaphor -- determined by space, time and their specific responsibilities in a resource use situation.

2.3 Analyzing Change from a Micro-Macro Perspective

I have mentioned that transformations in the natural resource base can alter certain aspects of the lives -- and relations -- of specific women and men. In this study, I trace the historical and structural roots to the current ecological crisis in the Philippines and how these have been reproduced in the upland community of the Ikalahan. However, while the macro realities of the crisis is a necessary starting point in providing the setting of resource degradation in the village under study, I argue that there are social dynamics taking place in micro locations that are relatively autonomous of the macro currents blown by the ecological crisis. These dynamics have much to do with the historical cultural, social, and may I add, gendered, specificities of the people in the village. Sherry Ortner (1984) crystallizes this point as she poses a critical view in the way capitalism has often been treated as the decisive engine of change in people's lives by scholars:

At the core of the model is the assumption that virtually everything we study has already been touched by the capitalist world system, and that therefore much of what we see in our fieldwork and describe in our monographs must be understood as having been shaped in response to that system...A society, even a village, has its own structure and history, and this must as much be a part of the analysis as its relations with the larger context within which it operates..History is often treated as something that arrives, like a ship, from outside the society in question. Thus we do not get the history of that society, but the impact of [our] history *on* that society. (: 142-143)

However, this is also not to deny that capitalism has historically transformed societies, broken apart existing relations of production and have had massive material and social consequences that undermined previous understandings about work, equity, security, obligation and rights (Scott, 1985: 346).

In short, in this study, I locate social change as a process within the specific social dynamics in the Ikalahan community *as they relate* with aspects of the larger Philippine socio-economic realities and networks. These levels of social analysis (i.e., the macro and micro) provide a perspective of intertwined social entities -- in a continuum. Structures in the macro level interact with actors in the micro level². Thus privileging only one level of analysis is at once providing a crippled

². Although Ritzer (1992: 225) qualifies that both actors and structures can be found in the different levels of social analysis, that is, in the macro and the micro levels. For example, while agents are usually micro-level actors, collectivities like movements can also be agents. And while structures are usually macro-level entities, we can also find structures in the micro level.

understanding of change: studying only structures as the propeller for change results in a kind of determinism, while focusing only on the enablements of actors ascribes them too much voluntarism. Karl Marx has succinctly captured this linkage between 'structures' and 'actors' in his famous line: 'Men [sic] make their own history but not under conditions of their own choosing.'³

In the context of societal changes that create tensions between internal and external forces, women and men within a given community 'have to negotiate as they find themselves poised between old and new systems, creating evolving identities as they balance continuity and change' (Johnson, 1992: 2).

Kristi Anne Stolen (1991) expands this view of social change as containing 'both a striving for continuity -- new ways of behavior that preserve, or at least are compatible with "old" gender values - - as well as a striving to achieve "new" values which illustrate the tension between continuity and change as well as the tension between the level of behavior and the level of ideas' (:7). In the case of the Ikalahan women and men, resource degradation has enmeshed them in a state of transition, where certain activities can no longer continue, yet there are efforts to retain them -- and efforts as well to discard them. In turn, this causes tension between them as they grapple with the old and the new.

2.4 Gender Relations

In my view, the study on women and the environment necessitates a clear theoretical starting point that crystallizes the concept of gender. For this purpose, I find the conceptualization of a 'gender system' offered by Stolen (1991) most useful:

The concept of 'gender' refers to the cultural interpretation of the biological differences between men and women. Gender and gender identity are socially constructed through processes of socialization whereby human beings become social persons. Gender entails, on one hand, men's and women's active roles in society, and, on the other, their ideas about 'maleness' and 'femaleness.' What men and women do and how they behave and interact, together with the cultural ideas and interpretations of gender differences, constitute a gender system. The gender system is constantly transformed and recreated as socio-economic and cultural changes take place. (: 2, 3)

Stolen was explicit in asserting that gender is an analytical category which can provide explanations of how both social roles and cultural valuations are ascribed to women and men. Henrietta Moore (1988) offers a more nuanced discussion on the different strands in and approaches to the construction of gender as one either 'symbolically constructed' and the other, as 'socially constructed'. Here, we

3. This is the popular version. Another translated version provides this construction: "Men [sic] make history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" in *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1869/1963: 15).

see the usual tension between culture (superstructure) and the material world replete in social science debates.

In viewing gender as symbolically or culturally constructed, Moore cites the ideas of Ortner (1974:71) where she located the problem of sexual asymmetry at the level of cultural ideologies and symbols which identifies women with nature and men with culture. On the other hand, Moore juxtaposes Ortner's argument with those of Eleanor Leacock (1978) who conceptualizes gender as a social role. In such an approach to the construction of gender, the divisions of labor, property and knowledge are the sites identified to explain the position of men and women in society in terms of whether or not they control (1) access to resources (2) the conditions of their work and (3) the distribution of products of their labor (Moore, 1988: 31, 32)

Moore argues that these approaches are different but are not 'mutually exclusive'. In the end, she synthesizes both as 'the symbolic and the sociological combined' (Moore, 1988: 13, 36) which essentially agrees with the conceptualizations of Stolen discussed earlier. Thus, in this study, I will cover the sites offered by the gender divisions in labor, property, knowledge as these inform women's and men's comparative control of and access to resources as well as the cultural valuations that shape these -- to analyze the position of Ikalahan women.

Having established that a view of gender may combine both the social roles of people and the cultural valuations ascribed to these roles, gender *relations*, therefore, 'refer to the socio-culturally constituted relations between women and men' (Van Halsema, 1991 :6). To my mind, using the analytical starting point of (gender) *relations* (instead, say, of women's roles) offers more flexibility in terms of locating the differences and shared interests of women and men constructed by processes of socialization which change over time, instead of presupposing static stereotypes and definitions of the position of women vis-a-vis men. In short, the relations of women *and* men should be analyzed when studying the position of women.

Often, women have been stereotyped as 'victims' even *before* they enter relationships with men and institutions in their cultures (Rao, 1991: 11; Mohanty, 1988). In other words, in my view, gender relations as a category for feminist analysis offers a more lateral view of the dynamisms which take place in nuanced ways between women and men in a resource use situation. In more concrete terms relevant to this study, I believe it is important to locate changes in the realm of gender relations because women are not operating in a vacuum as resource users or managers, nor are their resource

use activities isolated from their relations with men and with each other (Leach, 1991a: 19). Further, since I am analyzing social change within a situation of environmental degradation, the flexibility in thinking in terms of gender *relations* allows for inquiry into the various spheres of women's and men's lives where change may not at all be present or may be present but in differing degrees and paces. As Jane Flax (1990: 44) points out, gender relations are complex processes constituted by and through interrelated parts. Lie & Lund (1991: 149) apply this concept to their study on changing identities and values of Malaysian women workers: they argue that women's inferior position in the labor market may not necessarily be a reflection of the sexual division of responsibilities in the home and therefore, may experience both conflicting expectations and ambivalence.

2.5 Constructions of Power

The theme of this study being changing gender relations in the context of environmental degradation, I believe it is necessary to problematize power as it operates in gender relations. This is important because it situates this study within the feminist problematic which arose out of awareness of and indignation to male domination in many situations. Further, gender relations have been (more or less) relations of domination by men (Flax, 1990: 45).

Since I am thinking in terms of power in gender *relations*, Michel Foucault (1980) has put forward a view of power that does not define it as a zero-sum game where the loss of one is the gain of another, and neither is power a property nor an entity to be possessed but above all, a relation of force at a given situation.⁴ Therefore, the shifting nature of power deems it to be above all, relational. Following this logic in gender relations, an analysis of power does not question whether men or women *have* power, rather how power *comes about* in their relations (Van Halsema, 1991: 8). Another point: power operating in one set of relations, say between the Ikalahan women and men in their division of labor, may not be the same power that comes about between Ikalahan men and Ibaloi capitalist male vegetable farmers, a neighboring ethnic group, where differences in class become more apparent.

Second, according to Foucault, power flows in the social matrix. Gender relations being a sphere of social relations is at the same time a location of power. Power is embedded in gender relations. The power that comes about in gender relations is the power of the particular agency, of individual men

⁴. From 'Two Lectures', *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings (1972 -1977)*.

and women who perform the dual role of self-determining and empowered actors and of reproducers, by their individual actions, of male-female power patterns or asymmetries.

Further, the gender divisions of labor, as explained by Chandra Mohanty (1988: 76) used in this study is meant to be more than just a description and classification of women's and men's responsibilities in production and reproduction -- but a site where differential value is placed on women's and men's work. And it is precisely on this differential value that power comes about and creates particular alterations which lead to tensions between women and men.

In feminist studies in the past, women have often been viewed as victims of male power that is structural and determining the lives of female individuals. While it is true that in many situations, women are victims of male repressive power, however then does this repressive view of power singularly explain women's friendly relations with men? (Van Halsema, 1991: 8) Women, as actively intervening agents, as empowered individuals, bargain and create 'room for maneuver' in their relation with men. Their actions at times may conform or deviate from dominant gender constructions and valuations. Thus, they, like men, reproduce or alter patterned power relations in dominant, culturally sanctioned gender relations at a given time and place.

Patriarchy is not a fixed social institution, but a routinized or patterned behavior of individuals acting as agents. Patriarchy *may be* reproduced (or 'patterned,' as it were) through the actions of individual women and men -- and, in turn, *may* also be transformed. It is possible that a new set of power relations may evolve, structured into a process of becoming a system or a structure in the future. Thus, structures are products of patterned actions by people over a period of time (Cohen, 1989: 45). I would also like to add that Giddens' (1984) structuration theory in part, also explains women's 'nearly universal unquestioning acceptance of their own devaluation' (Ortner, 1973:76): they participate, rather unwittingly, in its structuration. Women as members of an exploited group in traditional small-scale societies 'cooperate' because of the weight of cultural sanctions and the absence of clear, alternative models (Johnson, 1992: 47).

2.6 Methodological Issues

Doing research is itself weaving a fabric of relations and processes. It is an encounter between the researcher and the 'researched,' where elements of ethnicity, class, education and gender intervene and come into play. It is also a situation of power. That is why I felt it was important to devote a

separate section to methodological issues because this will explain how I grappled my way into the research process and how I arrived at the insights in this study.

Upon reflecting on my own short field visit to the village of Baracbac where I interviewed and conversed with the residents for twenty days, I have had to trace my own methodological and epistemological growth as an analyst of social reality. I think it is important for anyone impassioned by the prospects of social transformation, to locate the influential epistemological values that have made for a particular 'lens' with which to view social reality. Briefly, I will discuss the kinds of 'lens' with which I interpreted many things about the people, politics and history of my country in the past in following paragraphs.

In my own work as a journalist, 'objectivity' has figured highly in the rule books; this is done by always presenting 'the other side,' meaning, the defensive side to a raging controversy. The journalist's voice is muted out (yet only partially) by the voices of the protagonists and only column and editorial writers can volunteer 'expert' opinion on various issues of the day. In the course of doing research in the behavioral sciences during my younger years, I was led to believe in the 'scientific' power of the 'independent variable' that acts on an entity, drawing out causalities from the results of an experimental, laboratory situation. Much like the Skinnerian experiments on eliciting behavioral responses from mice by stimulating them with a few food pellets. In my activist years, social investigation was governed by the rules of class struggle; by virtue of one's class position, one is either labelled a class enemy or an ally to the project of overthrowing the fascist and imperialist state -- such that I even denied and resented my own class origins as it was in the way of being a true proletariat of the liberating, vanguard class. I understood and explained social reality as the product of material contradictions throughout history where people were divided by the motives of capital. In sum, I have always been led to believe that research or investigation should be done from a detached position so that producing knowledge, or truth, is accurate and scientific. These have been my experiences in doing social research -- and my fourteen months in the Women & Development Program have challenged all these.

After my short field visit and having gone through women's studies, I discovered that the research process itself is fraught with levels of meanings -- often seived by our own particular biases and understandings of reality -- since it is principally an interaction of *people* that can never make for a laboratory that manufactures value-free and 'scientific' conclusions. Having said these (but having discarded much more), I will now discuss the research process as it happened -- and how it was for

me, a reflexive experience where I was just as much an actor interacting with the Ikalahan women and men.

Choice of Research Site

The site I chose to study was Baracbac, a mountain village in the town of Sta. Fe, in the northern province of Nueva Vizcaya in the Philippines. I had been there in the aftermath of the calamities when a strong earthquake and a string of typhoons which caused massive landslides isolated them for three months in 1990. I had to write how the people were coping after the disaster hit their village:

While monitoring events in the locale even after I had written about them, I learned that the people's livelihoods and resource base were still severely affected; to this day, the lack of food, insufficient housing and scarce income opportunities have continued to mire them in poverty. Thus I chose the village as my research site because I thought it would be interesting to see how the Ikalahan women as the community's food providers are coping with these problems. An assumption I had was that in such a problem-laden context, relations of gender, class and ethnicity alter; as a researcher, the challenge for me during my field visit was to try to unmask and locate these alterations.

Second, Nueva Vizcaya as a province has always intrigued me in the sense that in my work as a journalist, the province never figured prominently in the news or for that matter, in the development initiatives of the government. It is something like a forgotten land. Even after the earthquake, news of the effects of the disaster in this area reached Manila only after about two weeks. News from other areas such as Nueva Ecija and Baguio City hugged the headlines and the airwaves as soon as the disaster struck. Further, I knew for a fact that the government's apparent footdragging in rehabilitation efforts in Nueva Vizcaya has exacerbated the plight of its people. Much of the efforts have been piecemeal and unsustained. Rectifying this neglect in government intervention should not only call for more sustained and invigorated efforts in rehabilitation,⁵ but a proper perspective in program strategies. Studying therefore the power and gender relations in the village will thus draw insights on how future intervention efforts could be more efficient and effective.

5. Effective rehabilitation efforts should expose the biases of government officials since these will invariably determine attitudes to the work and the people involved. For example, a special consultant from the United Kingdom to the Department of Agriculture's Earthquake Rehabilitation Program was visibly irked when last July, I visited his offices in Bayombong, the provincial capital, inquiring on possible studies on the swidden farming patterns of the Ikalahan. He considered swidden farming not a "formal" (his term) type of agriculture, clearly losing sight of the fact that much of the land he is currently 'rehabilitating' from the ravages of the earthquake, is planted to swidden crops -- a traditional form of agriculture.

Data Collection and Sampling Processes

Like all researchers with a limited period of visit, I had to make tough and fast decisions: after my initial encounters with the villagers and outsiders who knew the people of Baracbac, I finally chose my informants from two *sitios*⁶, Proper and Butao, which are about a kilometer away from each other. Further, there appeared to be physical disparities between these two *sitios*: in terms of the residents' housing materials and the activities of the people (some of them visible from the road) which all informed my initial impressions on the class differences that perhaps existed.

After my casual and initial conversations with village elders, the women and the leaders, I took note of the subjects they speak about most frequently, and to which they attach different degrees of importance. They were: the earthquake in 1990, housing problems, their swidden plots, traditional swidden farming methods, food insecurity and joblessness.

Mila Chengay, the secretary of the *barangay* association and the head of Rural Improvement Club (RIC) became my constant companion and guide. She later introduced me to other women who spoke more intimately of their daily lives and grind as my stay grew longer.

I also wanted to know which social spheres of their lives they could speak most comfortably about - - and from my first conversations with them, they felt at home talking about their divisions of work at home and in the fields and forests, village organizations, system of land ownership, their relations with their pastor, Delbert Rice who lives in the next village and with others outside their village with whom they transact businesses. Towards the end of my stay in the village, some of the Ikalahan women shared a number of issues more intimate to their daily struggles.

From all these initial information and impressions, I formulated my interview questions, structured by a mental focus: changes in gender relations in the context of the changes in the resource base. As the following chapters will bear out, I have also inquired into the different social spheres of the Ikalahan where relations of ethnicity, kinship, age, class and patronage come into play.

Having used the interview as the method for data collection, I distinguish it from the conversations I engaged in as well and therefore identify three sets of exchanges: (a) semi-structured interviews with

⁶. A geophysical division which I will describe further in Chapter IV.

ten Ikalahan women⁷ both from *sitios* Proper and Butao in the village of Baracbac; (b) in-depth conversations with three Ikalahan women;⁸ (c) unstructured interviews and conversations with village elders, men,⁹ a male community organizer from PRRM, Pastor Delbert Rice of the Kalahan Educational Foundation (KEF), and a government road repair engineer stationed at the area.

The following formed the core of my general semi-structured¹⁰ research questions:

- (a) What are the women's daily, weekly, yearly activities?
- (b) What are the divisions in labor, knowledge, entitlements and decision-making in swidden farming and housework among men, and women?
- (c) What were the effects of resource degradation on their livelihoods and property?
- (d) Which activities were disrupted or continued in the face of the degradations?
- (e) What strategies are they employing to adapt/cope with these changes in activities and in their resource base?

Making the Connections: Processes and Problems

Although conceptually organized and presented in this chapter, these sets of interviews did not take place in some neat order of events. Rather, I had to 'flow' with and into the daily activities of the people -- climb with the women to their swidden plots up in the slopes and cross the dry river to visit their homes whenever possible, and intermittently, station myself in the village store to talk to the elders and roving local people. I would spend approximately 10 to 12 hours daily in Baracbac.

At the outset, the Ikalahan women I encountered were in a quandary as to why I was interested in them. Other researchers have come and gone, all wanting to know about income and earnings (which

7. Laling, Teresa, Carol, Valentina, Luz, Loretta, Juli, Lorit, Rosita and Carmela: I had chosen to interview them because they were most visible and enthusiastic enough to engage with me and with each other. They come from a relatively homogeneous background in that they, at one time or another, were swidden farmers; however their husbands have recently taken up new types of work but were once practically all small-scale loggers. Despite their ages ranging from 19 to 39, I still had the benefit of conversing lengthily with Manang Lily, a respected village elder. Carol is a single mother and lives in her parents' home; Loretta is retired from swidden farming because her husband, Rigor now has steady income; while Valentina is the youngest and lives with her in-laws. All the rest live with their husbands and children in their own houses. Except for Valentina and Rosita, all of them have backyard piggeries raising an average of two hogs per household. They (except for Valentina and Carol who have one each and Teresa who has 10) all have an average of 3 children.

8. Tersa, Manang Lily and Mila.

9. They are Saryo Ulyano, a village lottery agent, Arsenio Dapig, the former *barangay* captain, Renato and Herminio, former lumberjacks and log haulers, Mang Tante, a US war veteran and village elder.

10. I label them 'semi-structured' because I did not ask these questions in a mechanical "question-answer" manner because I figured this would limit opportunities for more candid conversation and comments where they could share the specificities of their experiences. Although, admittedly, they formed the core or the focus of my inquiries.

for them is highly erratic), farming methods, their housing materials and the population in the village. No one was really curious about the women, they said.

As I explained that I was writing a research paper on women's lives and their relations with men, they were surprised that a 'school in Holland' would take interest in women's lives, particularly *their* lives.

I was conscious of the power that shifted between myself and my women informants. Whereas I am an educated, urban and westernized woman currently studying abroad -- I was at the same time, also at the mercy of the quantity and quality of information they were willing to disclose. What seemed apparent was that I was representing a culture that was both threatening and desirable to them. I was aware of the way they were interested in a woman's urban lifestyle in Manila by asking me questions on the pace of my work, where my work takes me and how I reconcile being away from my family since I am studying abroad. I was honest in my responses to their questions, disclosing my own limitations as mother, student and journalist -- careful as well to define my own parameters for privacy.

Motherhood was the common starting point for our introductory exchange, cautious as I was at the same time to underscore the similarities in our situations and drown out the differences just to lift the barriers of communication. But the differences between us became even more glaring as I listened more closely to their experiences and I figured that these may well be behind recent feminist critiques to the universal category of 'woman'-- that there are elements other than gender that shape our experiences.

There were other considerations along the way: at first, the Ikalahan women I spoke to were embarrassed over the sight of the men of their village drinking by the corner of the village store night and day. They tried to shield me from that.¹¹ Later, I was gradually able to inch my way to that corner when only a handful of the men were present and at first, began speaking to them in snatches, and then together with some of the women, engaging one or two in lengthier conversations (part of the journalistic training that compels me to talk and meet with all sorts -- actually it was more the women who were afraid I would get intimidated). However, not having enough access to the men was

11. This was one reason they were hesitant in having me stay in their homes which I really didn't mind at all but neither did I insist as this may impose on their sensibilities -- apart from the fact that they were always apologetic over the dismal state of their homes which they have had to rebuild after the calamities and which appeared to be make-shift dwellings since they move higher up the slopes to avoid the overflowing of the river.

a limitation I must admit.¹² The dividing line between men's and women's spaces in the village store is evidently palpable, but these spaces nonetheless co-exist by some manner of tacit consent between the women and the men themselves.

I believe this situation draws basically from a sense of resignation on the women's part, accepting the fact that men slip into the listlessness of drowning their miseries in alcohol as a matter of male 'right' -- or, their own perception of the 'order of things.' The women had their own way of coping -- by seeking out the company of their elders who symbolize the securities of their past and commiserating with other women in similar straits. I suppose this is the 'non-mask' situation James Scott (1985) described when he analyzed the more institutional and class-based relations between peasants and landlords.¹³ Yet as a woman outsider, I felt the dividing line between myself and the women and men even far more since there were more boundaries between us: the boundaries of culture, gender, class and education.

Thus, by reflecting on my identity which conveyed the differences and the workings of power in my own relations with the Ikalahan women and men, I also began to make sense out of their own (gendered, ethnic and class) identities -- in their own relations with one another and others outside their village (as I will illustrate in the next chapters). In short, thinking in terms of relations has allowed me to locate discourses, constructs and actions which compete for legitimation and dominance -- and which create and reproduce certain power relations in the Ikalahan community changing in the face of an ecological crisis.

Finally, I would like to point out that the following chapters represent my humble attempt to pursue a movement which proceeds from a historical discussion of wider changes in the ecology of the Philippines into the social terrain of the Ikalahan women and men as they reckon with the changes in themselves and in their land and forests. While the structuring of a macro-micro movement within the following chapters may appear to be a neat sweep in the terms required by academia, in the real world this movement is definitely more fluid, tense and jagged.

12. This feeling of inadequacy over not having had enough time and opportunity to engage a sufficient number of Ikalahan men has reflected in the initial drafts I turned in which ended up obscuring the importance of studying gender relations, that is, women and men; upon reviewing my field notes, tapes and secondary material (care of the records of an NGO), I was able to piece together some of the men's responses to particular issues.

13. In his book, *Weapons of the Weak*, Scott (1985: 287) tells of the "non-mask" situations "where some of what is habitually censored finally leaps into view." I have doubts whether the "privacy of the house" can be applied at all times to women -- as the household is not always a situation where they can readily unmask themselves unabashedly in the presence of men. In this case, it may be more of "the company of a few close companions" (ibid).

Chapter III

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE IKALAHAN

3.1 The Timber Industry in the Philippines

Massive and systematic extraction of natural resources in the Philippines came in the wake of colonial rule when the country made its entry into a world market that registered high demands for raw materials. Those who profitted from the export of raw materials were virtually those who ruled locally and controlled these very same resources of land, timber and minerals.

Subsequent political regimes in the country favored this plunge into the world economy without adequate foresight of the future costs to the environment. In turn, the rich forest and land resources of indigenous upland communities were not spared by this march towards modernization and development.

The export-oriented development strategy in the Philippines which began in the 1950s has placed pressure to exploit natural resources more intensively. Among the priority export products of the Philippines is timber. Logging concessionaires struck a windfall of profits and easy money was made during the log export boom in the 1960s. The Philippines was, during that period, tropical Asia's top exporter of tropical rainforest timber. In 1969, for example, Philippine raw log exports accounted for 16.8% of world log exports (by value), second only to the United States' 23.5% percent. (Tucker, 1979: 63) In 1988, logging companies, landing in the top 1000 companies in the Philippines earned gross revenues ranging from P23 million to P389 million [roughly dfl. 1.5 to 25 million] (IBON, 1989: Vol 15: 5)

The World Bank Report on Poverty in the Philippines: *What Is To Be Done?* (1988) reported that the poorest sectors in the Philippines were upland farmers. Upland farmers generally number among the poorest of the poor in the Philippines, largely because they work less productive soils that on average yield only one half as much as lowland rainfed fields and one third as much as lowland irrigated fields. (Ganapin 1986: 17)

Encroachments by giant mining, hydroelectric, agri-business or logging companies have displaced many of the forest and mountain dwellers in Northern Luzon, Palawan and Mindanao resulting in

the 'proletarianization' of peasants and indigenous peoples (CWERC, 1993: 4) who have become muckers, miners, plantation hands, security guards and other menial job workers.

It is ironic that with the wealth of their land, the indigenous peoples are still among the poorest of Filipinos. In all these development schemes, the indigenous peoples have had no say. (CWERC, 1993: 4)

Filipino upland farmers are generally of two types: indigenous swidden farmers who employ indigenous swidden farming methods and migrant people pushed to the uplands due to impoverishment in the lowlands (Ooi Jin Bee, 1987; Ganapin & Porter, 1988; Cimatu, 1992; Lantican, 1979; De los Angeles, 1988). Shifting cultivation (swidden farming) is defined by anthropologist Harold Conklin (1961) in his study of the Hanunoo ethnic community of Mindoro, a province in Southern Luzon: 'any agricultural system in which fields are cleared by firing and are cropped discontinuously implying fallow periods longer than cropping periods for the land to regain its nutrients.'

For their part, indigenous swidden farmers like the Ikalahan, Ibaloi, Kankana-ey and Ifugao communities of Northern Luzon¹ 'are classified as pioneer cultivators practising the integral system of swidden farming, and usually one step ahead of the loggers and lowlanders' (Ooi Jin Bee, 1987: 30).

Forest communities -- primarily ethnic minorities -- directly dependent on forest resources are suffering the biggest brunt of deforestation (Ganapin & Porter, 1988: 33). The loss of forest cover in the Philippines has taken enormous toll on watershed areas and has reduced the amount of rainfall, causing long droughts during the dry season. Over half the land area of the Philippines -- 16.6 million hectares -- was once covered by forest. The rate of deforestation during the period 1980-1988 was estimated at 119,451 hectares per year.²

1. The mountainous region in the northernmost part of the Philippines inhabited by a number of ethnic communities; Luzon is one of three major islands in the country: the other two are the Visayas and Mindanao.

2. Other estimates place the rate of deforestation as high as 400,000 hectares per year (IBON, Vol. XII, 15). Of the country's 59 major watershed areas covering 853,964 hectares, 19 are now critically denuded (Durst, 1981: 686). A study of watershed management by UN organizations in 1982 reported the increased sediment load of rivers and streams which had increased the severity of floods (Ganapin & Porter, 1988:24) due to watershed degradation. Soil erosion has taken place in the Philippines in vast proportions in the last twenty years: about 1 billion cubic meters of topsoil are eroded every year which eventually results in heavy silt deposits in lakes and rivers, floods and drought (IBON Vol. XII, 15: 2). The *Philippine Statistical Yearbook 1991* (4-1) shows that 4,683 hectares of forest were destroyed by swidden farming in 1989; however in 1980, logging destroyed 7,348 hectares of forest; but in 1989, destroyed only 1,727 hectares. This trend shows that logging has been a declining industry in the country while the 'push' to upland farming has been on the rise. With this, formerly logged over forest areas are cleared completely by shifting agriculture.

The new administration of Fidel Ramos (1992-1998) is rallying for a newly-industrialized country (NIC) status by the year 2000 (neatly packaged as 'Philippines 2000'), hoping to join the league of tiger economies in the Southeast Asian region. The export-led industrialization strategy is still firmly the propelling force behind the current thrust towards NIC status, amply articulated in the government's Medium Term Development Plan, 1993-1998, rationalizing more earnings to service foreign debt payments to the tune of \$60 million.

3.2 The Province of Nueva Vizcaya: Logging and The Calamities of 1990

Nueva Vizcaya is a province in Northern Luzon, the largest of three major Philippine islands, surrounded by the great mountain ranges of the Cordillera on the west, the Sierra Madre on the east and the Caraballo on the south (see Appendix I). From Manila, it takes about nine hours of riding through rough roads to reach the provincial capital, Bayombong.³

The province is bound on the north and northeast by the provinces of Ifugao and Isabela, on the east and southeast by Quirino and Aurora provinces, respectively, and on the south by Nueva Ecija and on the west by Benguet and Pangasinan provinces. Dalton Pass, a narrow and steep highway cutting through Nueva Vizcaya is the major artery linking the lowland province of Nueva Ecija to the province of Isabela. Dalton Pass was heavily damaged by an earthquake three years ago and is still undergoing major repairs today.

In aggregate terms, Nueva Vizcaya's inhabitants register a poverty incidence of 48.9%, meaning almost half the population live below the poverty threshold of P2,576 monthly (approximately dfl. 172) for an average Filipino family of six.

In terms relevant to this study, as of May 1990, the town of Sta. Fe registered a population size of 9,960 persons. Which translates into a population density of 58 persons per 171.43 square kilometers for a municipality land area covering 17,143 hectares.

3. Nueva Vizcaya covers an expanse of 390,390 hectares with 15 municipalities (or towns) under its provincial jurisdiction. They are: Alfonso Castaneda, Ambaguio, Aritao, Bagabag, Bambang, Bayombong, Diadi, Dupax del Norte, Dupax del Sur, Kasibu, Quezon, Kayapa, Sta. Fe, Solano and Villaverde. Each town has its own number of villages; while each village has its own number of *sitios*. Political leadership in each province in the Philippines is divided in this manner: (a) the entire province is headed by the Provincial Governor whose offices are located in the provincial capital; (b) each town is governed by a Mayor and a Municipal Council; (c) each village is led by a *barangay* captain and a *barangay* council.

Three major ethnolinguistic groups live in the mountain villages of Nueva Vizcaya: the Ikalahan (sometimes referred to as the Kalanguya) in the towns of Sta. Fe, Kayapa and Villa Verde; the Bugkalots (sometimes called the Ilongots, a former headhunting community) who live in the eastern part between the border of Kasibu and the province of Quirino; the Ibalois who live largely on Ifugao province in the north, but some of whom have settled in northern portions of Nueva Vizcaya. The province of Ifugao is part of the Cordillera Autonomous Region while Nueva Vizcaya is part of the Cagayan Region.

Nueva Vizcaya, a province formerly a natural resource haven with forests and natural water systems has long been guarded by indigenous peoples but these are

unashamedly being plundered by corporations and individuals with strong political connections..Nueva Vizcaya's remaining forest cover was pegged at 20%, after the province was logged over for **fifty years** (*Developments in the Nueva Vizcaya Front, A Situationer*, [PRRM], 1993: 1, 5)

As of 1988 records, there were eight big logging concessions with government timber license agreements (TLAs) affecting indigenous communities in Nueva Vizcaya (Ganapin & Porter, 1988: 33).

This exploitation of the natural resource base of Nueva Vizcaya has been responsible for recent catastrophic events in the province, unleashed by the earthquake in July 16, 1990. Which, in turn, demonstrates how a cataclysmic event can expose the extent of the plunder in the past.

The calamities in 1990, unprecedented in its scale of destruction, has served to underscore certain hard facts: today, the Ikalahan are living in the straits of uneven development and resource degradation, under policies which reinforce such conditions.

Despite the harsh effects left behind by the typhoons following the earthquake in July 1990⁵, processes of resource degradation had already been taking place. The calamities in 1990 only served to exacerbate the degradations which culminated into more destructive and glaring proportions. Villages were isolated for months when loose chunks of soil were pushed by heavy rains following the earthquake. Much of the fallen forest debris, wood, rocks and soil later slid into the Sta. Fe river, widening its breadth and filling its depths with layers of silt. Today, the river is still dry, no longer able to hold fish nor riverine vegetation. A village public elementary

5. Intensity 8 on the Richter scale.

school is still half-buried by silt in the town of Sta. Fe (see Appendix II). The geologic fault and the earthquake's epicenter lay beneath the Nueva Ecija-Nueva Vizcaya-Benguet mountain zone where the earth's tectonic plates moved and shook mountains, causing a deep ground rupture (Philvolcs, 1990).⁶

Today, the government's policies on timber resource use will continue to take a heavy toll on Nueva Vizcaya's forest and land ecosystems.

Part of the Plan seeks to exploit the remaining natural resources of the nation as export goods to pay the nation's ballooning foreign debt. This is true in Nueva Vizcaya where its forests, minerals and hydroelectric potentials are being mapped, surveyed and studied for eventual logging concession areas, mining operations and dam constructions. (*Developments in the Nueva Vizcaya Front*, PRRM, 1993: 3)

While the Plan has not yet been fully implemented in the province, the ecological profile of Nueva Vizcaya is already dismal and thus may no longer step in pace with the government's development goals.

Any structural intervention to fully 'develop' natural resources in the province may therefore only exacerbate the degradations of the past and prove counterproductive to its inhabitants.

3.3 The Study Area : The Village of Baracbac

The mountain town of Santa (Sta.) Fe is the gateway to the province of Nueva Vizcaya if one travels northbound from Manila. The town has been classified a sixth-class municipality according to national socio-economic indices.⁷ Sta. Fe has sixteen villages or *barangays*; Baracbac, my study site, covers 3,981.9649 hectares and is the nearest village (some two kilometers) to the *poblacion* (town center) of Sta. Fe (see Appendix III). Here, the Ikalahan indigenous community has settled since they migrated from the northern province of Ifugao more than two centuries ago.

6. The extent of environmental degradation before the earthquakes was aggravated by the tremor and its aftershocks. Massive landslides and steep slopes such as those in Nueva Viscaya have rendered major roads impassable and croplands buried by boulders and other rock debris. These loosely consolidated landslide deposits are highly susceptible to remobilization during heavy rains and come down in the form of mudflows and then affect low-lying areas downstream.

Around 750 hectares of natural forests and old plantations were also damaged. For vegetables alone, total losses covered about 3,926 hectares. The number of casualties are the following: those dead, 190; injured, 255; missing, 94. Total number of families affected: 15,271 (or 80, 434 persons); those rendered homeless, 2,736 families; houses totally damaged, 2,734; houses partially damaged, 7,020. (National Economic & Development Authority [NEDA], 1990: 1, 6, 7 & 13).

7. Strategic Action Plan, Department of Interior & Local Governments (DILG), Nueva Vizcaya, November 1992.

The Ikalahan residents of Baracbac are kin-related. They trace their genealogy to two families who migrated from Tinoc, Ifugao province, the Buwayans and Galbays.

Eighteen percent of the land in Baracbac is devoted to farming.⁸ The entire village area is 3000 feet in elevation, and is largely secondary forest area. The Sta. Fe river cuts and flows through the mountains where some residents live by its banks. The only road⁹ leading to the interiors of Sta. Fe passes through Baracbac but is currently under repair after it had been ravaged by the earthquake. One public transport vehicle plies only twice daily to and from the *poblacion* to the more remote village of Imugan. During the typhoon months of August to November, this road cannot be used since landslides from the mountains pose great danger to travellers.

Census figures in 1990 registered 64 households spread out in the village and among the slopes of Baracbac where 348 people reside.¹⁰ After the calamities three years ago, these figures have fluctuated due to residents who have had to move their homes to safer areas.¹¹

Baracbac is divided into four *sitios*; a *sitio* is a geophysical spatial unit used to subdivide a village into household clusters, with a few *sari-sari* stores (stores attached to homes which sell a selection of canned goods, medicines, candles, condiments and beverages) that sit as hubs of village social life and commerce. People in one *sitio* are likely to share similar conditions, concerns and to be more class-homogenous (Murray-Li, 1993: 20).

Proper, Butao, Kalao and Damang are the four *sitios* subdividing Baracbac. Butao, the nearest to the *poblacion* of Sta. Fe, registers 18 households, the second largest population in the village. Some of its residents earn incomes from vehicle repair services, gold-panning and overseas contractual jobs. Some of them are also swidden farmers. Their houses are made of concrete and have amenities such as electricity, gas stoves, water faucets and pipelines. There is one video machine, four television sets, a small rice granary and two auto repair shops in this *sitio*. One

8. Ibid. Although I have my reservations about this figure. It is possible that swidden agriculture has not been included as official records do not distinguish types of agriculture.

9. The Villa Verde trail.

10. National Statistics Office, Nueva Vizcaya Branch Office 1990.

11. Interview with Dimas O., community organizer of the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement [PRRM] formerly assigned to Baracbac.

resident owns a public utility vehicle that transports passengers daily all the way to Bayombong, the provincial capital. He earns P3000 monthly (dfl. 200).

Concentration of the population in Baracbac is found in *sitio* Proper, the heart of the village, and the area most vulnerable to changes in the water levels of the Sta. Fe river and falling landslides from adjoining mountain slopes. These residents coming from 24 households (PRRM records, 1990) have been swidden farmers and small-scale loggers (although this is changing), confining themselves mostly to the village for its land and forest resources.

Current population figures are thus not yet detrimental to swidden farming *per se*,¹² yet indigenous swidden farming methods and logging activities, however small-scale, may no longer arrest the rapid rate of soil erosion -- a glaring reality proven by the devastation in the wake of the earthquake.

Whereas the homes in *sitio* Butao have better amenities, those in Proper are made from less sturdy housing materials (make-shift) and unreliable water systems.¹³

Kalao and Damang are more remote *sitios*, situated on more elevated areas. The children of Baracbac walk some four kilometers to attend classes in a primary and elementary school in Kalao. There, residents also hold their *barangay* meetings. There are 7 households in Kalao and 11 households registered in Damang (PRRM records, 1990). Government and NGO relocation sites after the calamities in 1990, the Genato estate and the Philippine National Red Cross, have been constructed in Kalao.

After the calamities, Baracbac, along with other villages of Sta. Fe and Kayapa were declared by the government as areas 'under a state of calamity.' Meaning, major infrastructure and natural resources were severely destroyed, disrupting daily subsistence and endangering lives.

12. Critical limit for shifting agriculture is 200 persons per square kilometer (Cruz, 1986: 15).

13. A major problem of residents in *sitio* Proper is water. Where the water table is deep, people depend largely on natural springs for irrigation and drinking water. In the dry season, December to June, these springs dry up. Where the water table is shallow, they use pump wells and jetmatic pumps. In the summer months (March to June), people have to go out of their homes to fetch water from the source since pipelines and water facilities are not enough to serve all residents. Households nearest water sources are those belonging to the elders of the community.

Today, most of the timber resources have been depleted since forest areas have been logged over for the past fifty years. The landslides in 1990 only served to exacerbate the state of the forests. Swidden farming has also suffered from soil erosion such that there are fewer cultivable spaces. Moreover, the earthquake carved deep cracks in the mountains, loosening the soil and thus vulnerable to easy slides when heavy rains come. The river is wider and its once clear depths are now covered with layers of silt. Residents are now anxious over floods caused by the overflow of the Sta. Fe river once the typhoons bring torrential rains. They worry too over possible landslides that could bury their homes and swidden fields. Timber resources have considerably dwindled and therefore have robbed the Ikalahan of a precious source of income. Adjustments have had to be made: an emergency evacuation center has been put up (an old school building on a higher slope) and houses are no longer of sturdy material since residents continually transfer their homes higher up the embankments when the rains come. They return in the dry months.

3.4 The Social Formation of the Ikalahan

Although there are no records on the history of the social formation of the Ikalahan, hunting and swidden farming were traditionally part of this formation. Pre-war labor exchange existed when Ikalahan men provided extra farm hands in the vegetable farms and rice terraces of neighboring ethnic communities in exchange for a few basic items (Lewis, 1992). In the 1940s, logging concessions were put up in the province and created an infrastructure for waged labor.

Today, subsistence farming¹⁴ co-exists with waged work as the livelihoods of the Ikalahan in Baracbac. PRRM records (1990) that out of 24 male household heads interviewed in *sitio* Proper there were 18 swidden farmers, two chainsaw operators, one retired government employee and three 'contractual' workers.

Some residents earn cash by getting hired by establishments outside their village while basically relying on traditional swidden harvests for their food staples of sweet potatoes and other rootcrops. At the same time, basic items have to be bought at the *poblacion*. A look into two village stores reveal the items frequently bought by villagers. They are: small quantities of rice, canned goods such as sardines and pork and beans, candles, matches, cooking oil, buns and

14. Subsistence farming is conventionally referred to as the 'food production' sector in agricultural societies and is different from the cash-mediated sector, usually paid farm labor and commercial agriculture (Shiva, 1989).

sweetmeats, soft drinks, locally produced crackle, detergents in packets, bath soap, legumes (the *mongo* variety), a few tomatoes and onions.

In the years when forests were still abundant with timber, logging concessions were set up in Nueva Vizcaya and in other provinces. These logging companies created a market for men's labor power, thus absorbing the Ikalahan into the wider cash economy:

...the men in the villages became the lumberjacks who were paid measely sums which were not even enough to buy the alchohol or tobacco produced by multinational companies ... Worse, upland peoples were merely converted into cheap labor, leading to their proletarianization. (Tauli-Corpuz, 1989: 9; Contreras, 1991: 22)

Unlike their tribal neighbors, the Ibalois, who have become 'capitalist farmers' (Lewis, 1992: 245) while engaging in commercial vegetable farming, the Ikalahan have tapped their labor power as the principal commodity for exchange. However, the viability of their labor power is dependent on a market available to absorb it. As we shall see in the coming chapters, a depleted timber resource base has led to the narrowing of this market and thus affected Ikalahan men's income opportunities.

3.5 The History of the Ikalahan

The Ikalahan¹⁵ of the village of Baracbac are subsistence farmers and indigenous forest dwellers engaged in swidden agriculture, wood-gathering and hunting for at least 250 years¹⁶. They migrated southward from their settlements by the foot of the towering Mt. Pulog in the neighboring province of Ifugao and speak their own native Kalanguya, a mixture of the more mainstream dialects of Northern and Central Luzon, Ilocano and Pangasinan.

As swidden farmers and small-scale loggers, the Ikalahan are distinct from their tribal counterparts in the neighboring provinces of Northern Luzon: the Ibalois, Ifugaos and Kankana-eyes who are, for their part, mountain terrace rice farmers and vegetable farmers. However, they all have long been Christianized by American Protestant and Anglican missionaries since the turn of the century -- a different route taken from the pacification of the lowland peoples by Spanish colonizers which

15. 'Kalahan' is a broad-leaf tree which grows where the Ikalahan live; other tribes in the Cordillera and the Caraballo allegedly refer to them as 'Kalanguya' -- ethnographic notes, however, point out that they are linguistically related to the Ibaloi and the Pangasinenses (Beringuela, 1984:244).

16. From the accounts of Delbert Rice, 1974; 1983.

began in the 1500s. The communities in Northern Luzon have remained cohesive, keeping many of their cultures and traditions intact despite the arrival of western missionary settlers.

The Ikalahan, as an ethnolinguistic group, has been found to be absent among ethnographic records by Spanish and American ethnographers during the colonial period who wrote about the northern tribes in the Philippines.¹⁷

No specific references to the Ikalahan people have thus far been located in the Spanish records of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries since the areas occupied by the Ikalahan were not 'pacified' by Spanish forces. (Rice, 1974: 13)

Today, the Ikalahan are most commonly referred to as the 'Igorots'¹⁸ who settled in the provinces of Ifugao, Nueva Vizcaya, Pangasinan, Quirino and Isabela" (Climatu, 1992: 2). However, Cordillera peoples do not generally consider the Ikalahan as part of their ethnic group (interview with an official of the Department of Social Welfare & Development, Cordillera Region).

The Ikalahan of the entire province of Nueva Vizcaya number about 40,000 (Dulunan & Rice, 1983: 1) out of the Philippines' 3.4 million other indigenous forest dwellers.

Ikalahan social history and ethnography has, so far, been comprehensively written by only one man: Pastor Delbert Rice of the United Church of Christ (UCCP) who has lived among the Ikalahan since the 1960s. From my search, there are no earlier written accounts of Ikalahan social life other than those of Pastor Rice -- even more so, there is hardly any attempt (even by Rice) to look into the gender divisions in political, economic and social activities among the Ikalahan.

17. The American ethnographic map originated with the outrageously sloppy scholarship of Dean C. Worcester, self-styled white diety of the (Philippine) archipelago's non-Christians. Finding the Spanish and German classifications cumbersome, Worcester (1906) took it upon himself to define new groups among the highlanders. Competent ethnographers later modified Worcester's system. But Worcester's over-all scheme prevailed, distorting subsequent ethnographic perceptions. Some of his so-called tribes, like the Kalingga, were but melanges of dissimilar cultural groups; other more coherent groupings, most notably the Kalanguya (or Ikalahan), received no recognition at all, simply because neither Worcester nor any colonial anthropologist happened to visit them. The case of Buguias reveals the inadequacies of the standard classificatory scheme. The community lies in the interstice of three linguistic or cultural groups; two of these, the Ibaloi and Southern Kankana-ey, are now recognized, but the third, the Kalanguya (or Ikalahan), remains virtually ethnographically invisible. (Lewis, 1992: 12).

18. Generic name for upland ethnolinguistic groups in Northern Luzon.

3.6 The Ancestral Land of the Ikalahan: Gender Relations in Land Use and Management

In 1968, the Ikalahan decided to exercise their legal claims on their ancestral domain after the Philippine government had declared their ancestral lands were public 'forest lands' meant only for trees and not for people's settlements (Rice, 1987: 59; Ganapin & Porter, 1988). Land and forest laws were systematically used to render all indigenous groups virtual squatters in their own land. (Prill-Brett, 1989: 18). This provision also stipulated that public lands were disposable and could thus be subject to various forms of land use as the government may have seen fit.

After forming the Kalahan Education Foundation (KEF) with the help of Pastor Delbert Rice, the Ikalahan negotiated for state recognition of their ancestral ownership of the land. In 1974, after successful negotiations with the Bureau of Forest Management (BFD) five villages of Sta. Fe -- Barabac, Malico, Imugan, Unib and Bacneng (14,730 hectares) -- were declared the ancestral reserve of the Ikalahan mandating communal ownership of the land under the administration of the KEF, the first in the Philippine land entitlement system (Rice, 1983:4).

The BFD director advised the Ikalahan elders to draft a contract embodying their idea of a self-governed communal forest lease area. The elders met and consulted the people on the proposed provisions of the lease agreement. Finally on May 13, 1974, the contract was signed by all parties concerned and duly registered as Memorandum of Agreement No. 1. Among the conditions specified in the contract are:

- (1) the right to manage and use the area to the exclusion of all other parties not 'subsisting' within the area at the time of signing;
- (2) (the right) to protect the forest from incursions from outsiders, prevent forest fires and grass fires, and protect adjacent forest stands;
- (3) disallowing sublease of any portion of the area for any reason (Cornista & Escueta, 1990: 135).

The communal forest lease allows for Ikalahan families to acquire 15 hectares of land for cultivation, under the stewardship of male household heads. The lease, in effect, does not interfere with customary patrilocal arrangements which allocate land among family members.

Each family has land for which it is responsible and on which it can earn its living. The communities, through the KEF, have a set limit of 15 hectares per family which may include agricultural and pasture lands along with adjacent forest areas. (Beringuela, 1984: 24)

Former *barangay* captain, Arsenio Dapig, explained that when a girl marries, she goes to live in the village of her husband's family. Her father-in-law gives the new couple two or three swidden plots (usually 1 to 1.5 hectares each) out of which they could start providing for the subsistence of their own family. Thereon, husband and wife build their home away from their parents thus forming a nuclear household which becomes both a production and consumption unit in the community.

There are cases, however, that very young wives like Valentina (19 years old) live with their husbands' families and instead, provide extra farm hands to their mother-in-laws in tending to their *umas* (swiddens). Young, single women stay with their parents and work on their mothers' swidden fields until the time they marry. In short, having a swidden plot to cultivate is also determined by age and civil status: older wives, married women and single mothers¹⁹ are those allocated swidden plots.

Allocation of the land, thus control over it, is therefore in the male elders' hands. Ikalahan women have access to land only by virtue of marriage -- and only under terms of their labor -- which defines and sets the parameters around their role in the subsistence process. Marriage, thus, is a turning point for the transmission of a socially valued resource: land (Hirschon, 1984 :10)

Women's position in Ikalahan society vis-a-vis the resource base is therefore conditioned by kinship values that privilege older men who control the use of land by allocating it to younger men and women; women become resource users insofar as they labor to make the land produce for the household's food consumption. This is similar to a study on the relations of land ownership of the tribal people of Jharkhand by Kelkar & Nathan (1991: 160) where women's labor was appropriated for accumulation which depended upon their relation to men, whether fathers or husbands. With land as the main productive resource, there were definite rules of access based on kinship and lineage.

On the other hand, Ikalahan women who view marriage as a natural process in their lives, value the *uma* as a necessary material boon with which to begin their married lives. Throughout my short field visit, I have found no indication that the Ikalahan women view this arrangement negatively as a source of their subordinate position vis-a-vis the men.²⁰ On the contrary, since the *uma* is valued as a major source of food supply, women feel privileged to have and cultivate one.

19. Single mothers are also allocated swiddens because elders and relatives believe that the mother would need food from her swiddens for her child. Bearing a child out of wedlock is apparently not a frowned upon among the Ikalahan compared to the lowlands. A case in point is Carol, who lives with her child and parents in *sitio* Proper.

20. My conversations with Manang Lily (one of the older women in the community) have weakened what I would have immediately judged as a situation of inequality between men and women in the sphere of resource use. Women in her culture look upon the *uma* as a material and intrinsic source of food security for the survival of their families. They regard the land as a source of life.

Largely due to the shifting nature of swidden farming, control and allocation of the land is not the same as owning it. Land 'ownership' has an altogether different social meaning for the community -- land is only a 'possession' while it is being used: cultivated or laid to fallow. This has been the existing practice of land allocation and according to my interviews, remains as such.

A farmer may rotate as may as 8 pieces of land in his lifetime. This practice stems from his understanding that after 2-3 years of use, the land loses some of its fertility. Hence the farmer allows the land to fallow to recover its fertility with nature's help. A land therefore that is allowed to fallow is still considered the property of the last cultivator. Ownership is based primarily on use, not upon historical relationships [inheritance or exchange as lowlanders know it]. (Rice, 1974: 30)

Disputes between men over use of a land plot have been few, according to Mang Tante, a village elder. But if there were, these were usually deliberated upon by a council of elders in former times. These disputes were largely among men as they are looked upon as the plots' 'owners' or 'stewards' despite women's labor on the swidden plots. In short, men were regarded as the 'managers' of the land while women were its 'users' or its cultivators.

In this light, I would therefore like to argue that acquiring legal entitlement of ancestral land by an indigenous group does not intrinsically guarantee an equal access to it by *all* its members. This is one point I have found lacking in the literature of Philippine indigenous people's struggles for claims to their ancestral land which are waged only along ethnic and class lines²¹. In the case of the Ikalahan, access has been clearly differentiated by gender, where men control the land and women are the workers on the land.

3.7 Village Organizations of the Ikalahan

The kinship base that allocated land for swidden cultivation translates into the political and religious base in the Ikalahan community. By tradition, the Ikalahan have a council of elders who intervene in community disputes like divorce, land rights, petty crimes, theft and debt and thereafter hold a *tongtongan*²² to deliberate on and resolve such disputes. Anyone can call for a *tongtongan* to settle a problem, whether communal or personal. All decisions of the council of elders are final and without question, thus a measure of the significant social role of the elders in Ikalahan society. To be recognized as a community elder, one has to possess wisdom and

21. The celebrated resistance of the Cordillera people to the Chico River dam project in the mid 1970s 'against the efforts of government and multinational corporations to dislocate them from their beloved ancestral lands' was one such case (Tauli-Corpuz, 1989: 9).

22. The traditional jury system.

character beyond reproach (Cornista & Escueta, 1990 : 136). Moreover, the council of elders is composed of *male* elders (Tauli-Corpuz, 1992). In cases where villagers are ill, priests (*manbunung*) are summoned to 'pray' and offer dead fowls to appease dead ancestors (*amed*) for the recovery of the sick. Ancestor worship formed the core of local religion in the Cordillera until the late American period (1940s) (Lewis, 1992); today most of the Ikalahan communities have been christianized by Protestant missionaries but many pagan rituals such as the cure of the sick through supplications to dead ancestors and feasts where hogs are killed to ensure prosperity have remained.

As I mentioned in an earlier section, by the mandate of local government laws, *barangays* headed by a village chief (*barangay* captain) are the formal political government administrative-legislative bodies representing each village as the smallest political constituency nationwide. With the *barangay* as the organization duly recognized by the state, the traditional council of elders now functions as a symbolic enclave of leaders in the village.²³ While the *barangay* represents the community in its transactions with government officials and NGO staff workers, villagers seek counsel from the elders on a variety of personal and community problems. The elders also serve as a link to the past. They transmit the traditional values and ethics of the culture; for example, they continue to value the imperative for married women to be industrious workers on their *umas* and for men to fulfill their responsibilities in the home -- specifically that of income-earning. They discourage women from seeking work outside the village, emphasizing that women should work on their *umas* to secure the needs of their families by providing a steady supply of food.²⁴

Most of the officials elected to hold seats in the *barangay* council are mostly male; Mila Chengay, however, has been elected as the secretary of the *barangay* council in her village. She also heads another village organization created by the government, the Rural Improvement Club (RIC), a women's organization tasked to oversee the livelihood and health management practices of women. By virtue of her outspokenness, initiative and with relatively more time in her hands to attend to community matters compared with her female relatives who have more children under their care, Mila has been recognized a leader in the village.

23. Among the fierce warrior communities of the Kalinggas in Kalingga province in the Cordilleras, the election of *barangay* officials is the result of these officials' close patronage ties with the council of elders. One is not elected without the proper support of the elders.

24. Manang Lily described the ideal wife as the ideal *kaingera* (swidden farmer) who works industriously and provides food for her family.

The participation of women as leaders in traditional and present village organizations has been found to be peripheral among the Ikalahan. It is still, by and large, the turf of male elders. Even with the changes in the resource base caused by the ecological crisis, older men continue to decide on the fate of the villagers through their negotiations with people outside their community. They, together with older women, also transmit and preserve traditional and religious values.

Although recent moves of the government have recognized the women's participation in agricultural work by the formation of the RIC and the projects herewith, these have translated into extensions of the 'domestic' role of women, invariably a construct that complements the traditional community role of women as workers on the land and caretakers of the household.

3.8 Inter-societal Representations of the Ikalahan

Relations of the Ikalahan with people outside their communities are often mediated by gender, ethnic, patronage and class constructions. I begin this section by positing that the outward mobility of Ikalahan men and women is, in the first place, differentiated by gender. Men deal with outsiders of the community -- as well as travel to other places in search of waged work. Swidden fields are a fixture in Ikalahan life, thus the women have been tasked the responsibility to maintain them and provide a steady supply of food for the household. Ikalahan women's movements are therefore confined to the village, although they walk to the *poblacion* to procure a few basic goods.

There are no full-time specialists among the Ikalahan. One man drives a bulldozer if he has the skill and the opportunity, but he and his wife also have a swidden field and sell brooms which they have made. Sometimes men also go to the lowlands on a salary basis (*lagbo*), but they also maintain their swiddens and animals. (Rice, 1974: 34)²⁵

Thus it is mostly men who come face to face with others and experience the power differentials in these relations. Here are a few examples.

After the calamities in 1990, the issues of housing, relocation and livelihood have been the persistent concerns of the people in Baracbac. The *barangay* is now currently negotiating with Junifen Gauan, executive assistant to Governor Dumlao of Nueva Vizcaya, for a possible project on orchid and dagwey tree (a resin-producing variety) cultivation. The village women are usually

²⁵ While 'they' in Rice's account may mean that he attributes equal responsibility over the swiddens and the animals to *both* men and women, in reality, the tasks are differentiated by gender -- that is, women cultivate the fields and watch over the animals while men prepare the fields and at times, sell the animals to prospective buyers.

absent in these meetings, while younger men and male elders are in the thick of these negotiations. It is possible that only men will benefit from this project once it is launched, thus relegating the women to subsistence production. Or, another possibility is that women may comprise unpaid labor. This could be an area for future research.

In the wake of the calamities, staff workers from the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement (PRRM), conducted relief work in the villages of Sta. Fe and Kayapa, the hardest hit areas. They sent a survey team to assess damages on the villagers' property and lives. Their survey questionnaire contained implicit gender biases in that they inquired only into men's activities, recognizing them as household heads, considering women as secondary producers and earners. Subsequent workshops on animal dispersal by the same NGO did not also consider the existing division of labor and its costs on women's time and work. (see Appendix IV)

Patronage ties, an endemic social disease in the Philippines, were important sources of political maneuver most felt after the earthquake. Male residents connected to influential town officials were the first to secure relocation sites for their temporary residence. Excerpts from an interview I conducted after the calamities, three years ago:

Whoever is close to the powers-that-be will stand to benefit from the resettlement programs. I applied for relocation but I was rebuffed by those people in the *munisipyo* (municipal office) who told me that 261 families already applied for the two relocation sites, Taktak and Genato. They said they would screen the families (according to where they live and the extent of the damages experienced); but I waited and waited and still there was no screening. I lost my entire house and pigs when the river waters rose and washed them away. Elections are coming; we'll see if there are any improvements in our situation. (Mang Pulong, an Ikalahan barber)

Neighboring indigenous groups from the Cordillera look upon the Ikalahan as a 'minority' among the more 'mainstream' ethnolinguistic groups of Northern Luzon. They refer to the Ikalahan as those who 'speak like birds', since their dialect is a mixture of three major dialects. Many of the elite in these Cordillera communities employed itinerant, job-seeking Ikalahan men according to pre-World War II accounts of labor exchange patterns in Buguias, Ifugao province, a town north of Nueva Vizcaya:

The *baknang* (elite) of the Buguias residents could obtain labor for some projects demanded greater skill and effort than could be locally obtained. Elite men therefore hired, by contract, itinerant workers, usually Northern Kankana-ey or Kalanguya (Ikalahan) men. These sojourners constructed rice terraces and stone walls, sawed lumber, and occasionally cleared new fields. Remuneration came as animals or blankets. The Northern Kankana-ey never stayed long, but the Kalanguya, culturally and geneologically linked to the Buguias people not uncommonly remained. (Lewis, 1992: 51)

In comparative terms, the Ikalahan today continue to occupy an inferior class position in the economic organization among Northern Luzon's ethnic societies as they continue to exchange their

labor power (this time, for cash) to their northern neighbors, the Ibaloi and Kankana-ey commercial vegetable farmers (Lewis, 1992: 154).

Many of the Ikalahan feel indebted to Pastor Delbert Rice for helping them organize the KEF and negotiate for their ancestral land claims in 1968 (interviews). Today, he is still the executive officer of the KEF. It also brings to fore the benefactor-grantee relations, another form of patronage, between many ethnic communities and foreign missionary settlers in the Philippines. Further, it has been largely an arrangement forged actively by *male* clerics²⁶ and the *male* elders and leaders of communities. In the case of the Ikalahan, male elders took an active role in forming the KEF (Cornista & Escueta, 1990: 136) together with Pastor Rice. The identity of the Ikalahan is today inextricably linked to Pastor Rice.²⁷

The Ikalahan women, for their part, are thus confined to dealing with people in the *poblacion* or with the middlemen who comb the villages in search of ginger, fruits and brooms to sell outside the village. The women complain that the middlemen often try to hoodwink them into selling their products at very low prices. 'But we make sure we know the current prices they sell for in the *poblacion* before we sell them to these men', explained Laling after selling one *kaing* (basket-full) of avocados which she had gathered from her young avocado trees up her swidden plot. Knowledge of fluctuating price rates in the *poblacion* makes it possible for the women to transact their business from a position of relative strength: whereas they need the income from their harvests for their household needs, they are however able to bargain with more leverage.

Women also procure seeds, legumes and tuber cuttings for planting from a network of exchange founded on kin relations. When in need of immediate cash, women run to their female relatives for cash loans. Or, they go to the nearest *sari-sari* store owned by a relative to immediately procure a few needed goods, delaying payments to a later date. Teresa explained that it is rather different with men: (interviews)

26. Recently, another pastor – allegedly his Filipino protege – has questioned Rice's authority to name the indigenous community, 'Ikalahan', (which he legitimized through his writings) instead of how they were known to other ethnic groups, as the 'Kalanguya'. A community organizer from the PRRM in Baracbac interprets the Filipino pastor's accusations as a bid to attract donations from abroad: by challenging Rice's hegemonic claims, appropriating the original name of the Ikalahan, he hopes to put up another foundation in the 'rightful' name of the indigenous group. This controversy demonstrates how power lurks behind the naming of people, and with it, their identities.

27. There are a number of ethnic communities identified with their missionary-guardians; one notable community is that of the T'bolis of South Cotabato, a province in the southernmost tip of the Philippines, where the Sta. Cruz Mission was put up and now led by a Catholic priest, Fr. Rex Mansmann. This could be an area for future research as it involves a wide range of patronage, class, ethnic and gender relations.

It is more difficult for men to borrow money without paying interest because they have to go to moneylenders in the *poblacion*. For us, we go to our aunts and cousins if we badly need money.

But when one fails to pay one's debts, the community elders intervene in the problem and mete out the necessary sanctions to the erring debtor. The impression I have is that whereas women have an easier time borrowing money due to their closer emotional ties with kin, men are 'expected' to provide the family with their cash earnings. For a man to be in debt is something frowned upon by the community. Therefore, men have to make their loans outside the village.

Clearly, the balance of power in gender relations in the village has been favorable to Ikalahan men. However, men, culturally ascribed the role of itinerant wage-earners in an increasingly monetized agricultural society, have to deal with a narrowing job market outside, indicative of the larger socio-economic problems in Philippine society as a whole. For women, culturally ascribed an identity attached to domesticity, linkages to the outside world is not deemed appropriate by the community that values swidden farming as an internal mechanism with which to provide a steady supply of food.

While it is true that Ikalahan men have experienced disappointments in the job market and suffer the limitations of their ethnic and class positions, their wider mobility as the mediating agency of inter-societal relations of the Ikalahan has been a product of their own power over women's mobility and labor sanctioned by community values which privilege men. However, this power relation changes when they encounter outsiders; intervening constructions of ethnicity, class and patronage define new power differentials in these encounters. Power, therefore is relational, contextualized and never permanently possessed.

Conclusions

By tradition, Ikalahan male elders allocate the land to younger men and their wives for their means of subsistence. Marriage is a turning point for the transmission of land as a socially valued resource. As married couples, they form the nuclear household which then becomes both a production and consumption unit. The women, in turn, cultivate the land, a task both arduous and labor-intensive. Resource use, therefore, does not automatically translate into resource ownership, or in this case, resource management. Whoever uses (cultivates) the land does not necessarily mean she/he manages (allocates or makes decisions) it. The marriage contract serves to formalize this arrangement. Further, successful land rights struggles like that of the Ikalahan do not

automatically guarantee equal access to the land by *all*. In the Ikalahan case, people have access to land in gender-differentiated ways.

From the discussions in this chapter, it is apparent that cultural values, as articulated and embodied by the community elders, shape the activities and roles of Ikalahan women and men. Women are expected to be food providers and productive workers on their swidden fields. Men, on the other hand, are privileged as leaders, income earners, land managers and mediating agencies between the Ikalahan and the outside world. These make up the authority structure -- or, 'social controls' -- that exists in the village -- and which define tasks as either male or female.

The following chapter looks at how environmental degradation has caused changes in gender relations among the Ikalahan.

Chapter IV
CHANGES IN THE GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR: THE EFFECTS OF RESOURCE .
DEGRADATION

In this chapter, I will inquire into the divisions of labor in the spheres of subsistence production, income-generating activities and housework. Second, I will look into the changes in the gender division of labor as these have been influenced by degradation. I have found it important to discuss the gender divisions of labor because as a 'descriptive category', it indicates the differential value placed on women's work versus men's work' (Mohanty, 1988: 76).

4.1 Work on the Swidden Fields

Swidden farming is the Ikalahan's major and steady source of food supply and subsistence.

Their primary source of livelihood is swidden farming -- a method of dry cultivation which appears in their ancient myths and rituals with both taro and yams being planted. (Rice, 1974: 30, 31)

The Ikalahan women plant, weed, harvest and sell their harvests. They transport these down the slopes from their swidden plots inside baskets (called '*kayabang*') with a thirty-kilo capacity which they carry on their backs, tied by a band looped around their foreheads. The women also decide on which crops to plant together. One important factor in this decision is space: growing sweet potatoes requires ample space for the tops to spread out and multiply while other crops such as taro requires little. Usually one plot is planted only to sweet potatoes and fruit trees, while another plot is planted to cassava, ginger and taro. The women also have to space out the time of harvests which would ensure the regularity of food supply for household consumption and provide possible cash earnings from surplus harvests. Weather conditions and seasonal changes also influence their planting and harvest cycles. (See Table 1)

The Ikalahan men, for their part, choose the land site and its size, clear (cut trees and burn shrubs and brush) and prepare the swidden field for cultivation. They plant fruit trees which will bear fruit in the years to come. They also decide on the length of the fallow period and choose other land sites for the next planting season.

The Ikalahan's swidden crops consist mostly of sweet potatoes, cassava, ginger, taro and tiger grass - as well as fruits from avocado, banana, jackfruit and pomelo trees. Sweet potato (*ipomea batatas*)

is the Ikalahan's major food crop and staple, in the same manner that rice is the staple food among lowland Filipinos.

There are different varieties of sweet potatoes which differ in size, color and the length of time needed for them to mature before they are extracted from under the ground. The shortest time needed for sweet potatoes to mature is four months. As a source of carbohydrates with significant amounts of protein and minerals, the sweet potato's crawling plant (sweet potato tops) is also a good form of soil matting for sloping lands and a source of Vitamin A, iron and protein. Harvests of sweet potatoes and their tops come in intervals throughout the entire year -- therefore normally providing a steady supply of food for each household.

'Harvesting sweet potatoes takes place all year round if there are no major weather disturbances that destroy the crops. Only a few have attempted to plant upland rice since it is vulnerable even to weak typhoons and yields grains only once a year' (interviews: Mila) Taro is harvested also once a year in two gatherings: on October and November. Ginger, the major cash crop, is also harvested also in two gatherings, usually first in August and the second in January.

The planting season begins with the advent of the monsoon months, June to November. Fruit-gathering takes place in the months just before the rains come -- in June and July. In the summer months of March to May, Ikalahan women and men make brooms out of tiger grass (cultivated broom straw) which also grow on their swidden plots because the season is too dry for planting.

Both Ikalahan men and women each employ specific resource use technologies passed on to them by their parents, evolving through their close interaction with their natural environment (Ingold, 1992). Saryo Ulyano (interviews) explains this:

The women know which crops to plant together. They also know that dry rice [gathered from the few who grow upland rice] stalks make good fertilizer for sweet potatoes and vegetables.

While watching Laling weed out the thick and widespread '*kamo't pusa*'¹ on her swidden plot where she grows taro, I noted how nimble her fingers were at using the '*dup-dop*'. The *dup-dop* is a sharp, metal tool used to loosen the soil to make weeding easier.

1. Literally means 'cat's claws' -- an ubiquitous weed variety that multiplied on their swiddens only in the last ten years which elders explain as having fallen from an airplane flying over their mountains years ago.

'*Pag-dudop-dop*', meanwhile, is the process of locating and plucking out the ripe tubers. 'We pluck the sweet potatoes out of the ground with this tool, which is something the men don't know how to do.' said Laling proudly while she took a break from weeding and nursed her one-year old daughter, 'if the men were given the task of harvesting sweet potatoes, they would pluck them all out at the same time. There is a way of wresting out the tubers from under the soil in a manner that they are not all harvested out at the same time. Only women know this -- our mothers have taught us this.' 'This is all we know -- how to make our *umas* (swiddens) yield food for our children. The men don't know how to do this', said Teresa (interviews). It is crucial for the Ikalahan not to harvest or gather rootcrops all in one sweep in order to ensure a steady supply of food for the lean, dry months of December to May.

Ikalahan mothers have not only taught their daughters skillful harvesting techniques but also methods which enhance soil productivity and prevent soil erosion. These methods are '*gen-gen*' and '*day-og*':

Gen-gen is simply a contour composting technique done by burying excess sweet potato leaves in a contour trench within the field. The resulting hump helps to catch what little soil is eroded and buried leaves soon decompose and add to the soil fertility. This can be repeated as often as desired. In areas where the rainfall is inadequate, the farm family continues to harvest tubers for 6 to 10 months from the first planting before replanting in the same area following the *gen-gen* activity. Farmers who practice fertility restoration by inter-cropping trees in their fields, will plant the trees at the beginning of the rainy season after the first *gen-gen*. By the end of the second year, the field is usually fallowed but in the meantime, the farmer has prepared another field to take its place.

The *day-og* is a plot usually 10 to 20 meters on a side and the soil is excavated to a depth of 20 to 40 centimeters while the removed topsoil is set aside. The hole is then filled with leaves and other vegetative materials and covered over with the excavated soil. Sweet potato vines are then planted immediately on top of the resulting plot.

(Rice, 1992: 22)

'*Barikes*', another technique not frequently found in literature on the Ikalahan farming methods, is employed by both men and women by planting fruit trees (pomelo, avocado, dagwey, bananas) and tiger grass along the contours of the swidden plots to prevent soil erosion. The Ikalahan have recently begun to plant alnos trees (*alnus japonicum*) on the sweet potato field after the first cropping year, discovering that these trees 'speed up the bio-mass production making it possible to re-cultivate after seven years without any noticeable reduction in sweet potato yields. Alnos litter is rich in phosphorus, thus with the capability of cutting the fallow period in half' (Rice, 1992: 21). The leaves of the alnos trees are known to replenish the lost nutrients of the soil.

These technologies are knowledge acquired through practice; acting in the world is the practitioner's world of knowing it, thus the acquisition of environmental knowledge is inseparable from productive practice (Ingold, 1992: 53). These technologies are also tied to the gender division of labor.

I would also like to point out that *gen-gen* and *day-og* have been developed by the Ikalahan women, but written accounts on the Ikalahan swidden farming methods (Rice, 1974, 1983, 1992; Cornista & Escueta, 1990; Talisayon, 1991) have not acknowledged this fact. Ikalahan women *as* swidden farmers have been thus invisible in written accounts on Ikalahan agriculture.

For their part, the Ikalahan men have also developed their systems in resource management. Since they are in charge of selecting the site for the swidden and deciding on the length of the fallow (*'kinaba'*), they employ the following methods:

The Ikalahan cultivate for about two years and fallow for an average of 15 years. They do not bother counting years, of course, because they fallow the field when a certain white-flowered weed appears on it. Likewise, they know that when the trunks of the trees are as big as the calf of a man's leg and the soil smells right, they can cultivate a field again. (Rice, 1993: 11)

Delbert Rice (1983) wrote that the Ikalahan system of intercropping, crop rotation and fallow period takes all of 17 years -- a system they have been practising in the last 250 years. The growing scarcity of resources in the uplands has upset the Ikalahan's cropping and fallow cycles: the most common agricultural cycle would be three crop years followed by 15 fallow years, and five crop years followed by ten fallow years (Climatu, 1992:3). Cornista & Escueta (1990: 143) later wrote that 'the land is used as *uma* (swidden) for about two to three years, after which it is fallowed and becomes a *kinaba*'. The usual fallow period is five years. An Ikalahan village lottery agent in Baracbac, Saryo Ulyano, pointed out: 'Before, a family may have 4 to 5 *umas*; but in the future it will be very tight. Even now, the fallow period has been reduced from 5 years to 2. I don't think we can make the land produce more than it really can.'

Manang Lily, 67 years old, recalled that she had started as a swidden farmer at the age of 18 when her mother began teaching her the methods needed to ensure a good swidden: 'My mother used to bring me up to her swidden plots. She used to have four, sometimes five (plots). I learned how to use sweet potato leaves for matting and for accumulating compost and later building small canals where water would flow from the mountain tops so our crops would get irrigated. I don't know whether the younger generation is still patient enough to do those methods. My suspicion is they don't do it well enough anymore. The rootcrops they harvest have become so small.' Harvests may have become smaller because of continued loss of soil nutrients due to shorter fallow periods.

Ikalahan men can also easily identify timber varieties in the forests: whether they are commercially viable or are deadwood suitable for fuelwood. They also know the locations of water tables (usually

near clusters of pine trees on the higher slopes) and strategically avoid cutting trees and clearing such areas.

After the calamities, Ikalahan women admit to planting less crops now since 'there is less space for planting' (interviews: Rosita). They used to cultivate more plots three years ago. The average number of swidden plots per household is usually three; today they have an average of 1, at most, 2. A few of their accounts (interviews):

It's more difficult now since we had to plant our crops all over again. It takes five years to harvest from an avocado tree, while it takes one year for tiger grass to mature. For sweet potatoes, it took four months before we could harvest any. For a long time, we had to rely on relief goods for our food. (Carol)

I climb higher now because my husband chose places where the soil is better [more fertile] for planting. (Lorit)

I have my *umas* lower now. The problem is, if our *umas* are lower, we have smaller rootcrops because the soil is no longer healthy below. (Laling)

We have smaller *umas* now. There are a lot of big cracks in the mountains. We have to choose sites well -- if not, they will easily slide when the rains come. (Rosita)

We had to plant all over again since the earthquake. It will take years before we can eat from our fruit trees again, or before we can make brooms out of the tiger grass that grew on our *umas*. (Juli)

In summary therefore, I will use Dianne Rocheleau's (1990) framework to specifically analyze the 'gendered-ness' of the relations of the Ikalahan in resource use and management in swidden farming. The following insights can be made: (a) the Ikalahan women *have the responsibility* to yield produce from the swidden plot to provide food for family members; (b) women *put their labor* into the processes of planting, weeding, harvesting, transporting and selling surplus yields; (c) men *decide* on strategic issues such as land site and fallow period therefore have implicit control on the ownership and access to resources but women decide on cropping patterns; (d) Ikalahan men and women employ resource use technologies which are tied largely to the division of labor in swidden farming and small-scale logging.

While through Rocheleau's framework, it was important to sum up the divisions of labor in resource use and management according to gender, this is not enough to explain *why* men and women do what they do in the realm of production (or in a resource use situation, as it were) -- or why some tasks are defined as male and others as female.

Cultural valuations -- or the community's definitions of male and female labor -- order these divisions of labor. These definitions of male and female labor derive from how men and women identify

themselves in a particular social formation -- which change over time. For example, in former times, Ikalahan men were known as '*magduweng*', or hunters. This is also the term used for 'masculinity', which, incidentally has no counterpart for Ikalahan women or for 'femininity'. In later years, when men no longer hunted, they began to identify themselves as 'farmers' or 'loggers' ('*agkay-kayo*') as they became part of the infrastructure of logging operations in the province, whereas women continued to think themselves as 'swidden farmers'.² This, however, is changing. Increasing contact with lowland peoples have influenced how the Ikalahan now think -- or identify -- themselves. Mass media has invaded their quiet village³ conveying the westernized cultural images of gender dominant in the urban centers. Further, this type of mass media projects men as 'breadwinners' and women as 'housewives'. However, problems arise when 'new' identities or definitions of labor may not necessarily reflect actual practices (van Halsema, 1991: 138). As women are more and more ascribed the identity of housewives, their income-generating and farming activities (which they continue doing) gradually recede into the background, acquire less importance, and increasingly become invisible or secondary in the gaze of people -- and in time, may perhaps reproduced in the Ikalahan women's own perceptions as well. I will provide another example of how this is reinforced in a later section.

4.2 Income-Generating Activities

The Ikalahan derive some cash earnings by selling surplus harvests of rootcrops and fruit trees, broom-making, small-scale logging, hog-raising, off-farm contractual jobs and gold-panning. The Ikalahan need cash to purchase products like rice, hog feeds and sardines from lowland merchants (Rice, 1987: 65).

Despite being the traditional staple food of the Ikalahan, eating sweet potatoes now increasingly means one cannot afford rice⁴. Rice, then, has become an index of wealth even among the Ikalahan who

2. Ikalahan women perceive themselves as swidden farmers because this characterizes their principal role in the community and in the household -- that of food providers. But I would like to qualify that this identity operates within the ideological parameters drawn by the values of the community: community values (as articulated by the elders) restrict the outward movement of women *because* they must continue swidden farming as their *priority* activity. Which differs from the media's projection of a 'housekeeper' as a role and practice central to the identity of Filipino women in urban society.

3. *sitio* Butao residents have a number of radios, a video machine and four television sets around which villagers from other *sitios* often sit and watch broadcasts from Manila.

4. My impression is that this is an influence arising out of their contacts with lowland people who eat rice as a staple; a neighboring ethnic group, the Ibalois, who were also swidden cultivators also show the same growing preference for rice such as when rice supply has been consumed in their villages, only the richest households are able to afford rice while the rest eat sweet potatoes (interviews).

have subsisted on the sweet potato as a staple for centuries. When I visited homes, some of the women apologized for having no rice in their larders, serving instead a meal of boiled sweet potatoes, avocados and boiled sweet potato tops. According to Arsenio Dapig (former *barangay* captain), 98% of households in *sitio* Proper eat sweet potatoes as their staple, while 70% (roughly) in *sitio* Butao can afford to buy rice from the *poblacion* of Sta. Fe since a number of them earn cash on a regular basis.

Records at the Municipal Office of Sta. Fe show that the Sta. Fe residents' sources of income come from agriculture (90%), handicrafts (baskets and broom-making) (7%) and wages (3%).⁵ This complements the findings of PRRM in 1990 where 18 out of 24 respondents from *sitio* Proper said their main livelihood was swidden farming. Which as a whole, confirms my own observations during my short field visit that swidden farming is the major livelihood of the Ikalahan in Baracbac. However, most of the swidden harvests are intended for household consumption while only a small surplus of highly seasonal crops are sold to middlemen from the *poblacion* -- which I will discuss at length in this section.

One cash crop, ginger, is sold at P15 to 20 per kilo (dfl. 1). The women usually sell them only in small quantities since planting them in volumes for a commercial market would require more intensive labor processes in controlled environments as weather conditions only allow for ginger to be harvested once a year in two gatherings. Harvests of fruits, cassava and taro that do not go into household consumption are sold to middlemen from the *poblacion*. By and large, their harvests are thus mainly for household consumption affording the women hardly any steady flow of income.

When in season, avocados are sold at P2.50 to 3.00 per kilo (dfl. 0.2), while pomelos sell to middlemen for P4.00 per kilo (dfl. 0.3). These are usually sold a quarter more in the *poblacion*.

Another source of income of the Ikalahan is broom-making out of the tiger grass that they grow on their swiddens. Out of the 24 respondents in *sitio* Proper interviewed by PRRM in 1990, 14 declared this as a secondary source of income. These brooms are one of the most sturdy types in the country, usually sold for P50 (dfl. 3.30) apiece in Sta. Fe and sold even higher (as much as P70 to P80 or

⁵. This information is from *The Strategic Action Plan*, Department of Interior & Local Government, Sta. Fe, Nueva Vizcaya, November 1992; although I would add that most government figures do not consider income from the informal sector -- in this case, 'agriculture' may mean commercial agriculture and 'wages' may only mean regular paid work versus those jobs on a contractual, irregular basis.

roughly dfl. 5) in neighboring towns. The Ikalahan sell them for P30 (dfl. 2) apiece to the middlemen. Others, instead, sell tiger grass alone at P15.00 to 20.00 (dfl. 1 to dfl. 1.30) per bundle.

The women's other source of income during the hot months (or when in urgent need of cash) is to gather rocks from the river for road rehabilitation. Carol, a single mother who needs medicines badly for her sickly newborn, is always seen gathering rocks on the dry river. 'We get paid for every truckload of rocks we gather. That's usually P200.00 (dfl. 13.33) divided among the number of rock-gatherers. We are usually about six gatherers, but sometimes people really need money, we are more', (interviews: Carol).

Ikalahan women raise hogs to celebrate landmark occasions and for cash needs. Owning hogs is an index of wealth in Ikalahan tradition; despite hard times, baptisms and weddings are still celebrated by killing a pig to serve at the banquet table, boiled and seasoned with herbs. The women clean and feed the hogs daily -- to make for a good profit when they are sold to the slaughterhouses in the *poblacion*. Selling hogs also provides immediate cash during times of emergency, when a child is sick, for example, or to pay debts.

Keeping backyard piggeries and grazing goats have become indicators of stock wealth and investment. Hog raising is increasingly getting more expensive as prices of feeds⁶ steadily rise every year. Keeping to the Ikalahan's traditional way of providing slop and cooking sweet potato peelings for feeds can no longer make for a competitive sale nor for a good profit in the pork market; Ikalahan women have learned that the competition now lies on how robust their hogs are from the commercial feeds sold in the *poblacion* markets. Another limitation the women are facing is the drop in the price of pork since the market has flooded in the last two years. According to 1990 figures, Nueva Vizcaya registered a 77.7% sufficiency level in pork supply, the highest compared with the supplies of beef, poultry meat and eggs.⁷ Thus selling hogs is now a highly competitive enterprise.

There are six chainsaw operators in Baracbac (from the interviews). These men own chainsaws and are commissioned by *encargados* (administrators, dispatchers) of logging concessionaires to cut a specific quota of trees. In turn, these operators employ a number of men in the village on a limited

6. *darak* is the cheapest and most inferior type which increased from P5 to P7 per kilo (dfl. 0.55 to 0.66) in the period of January to July this year.

7. *Supply & Demand Situation of Livestock and Poultry Commodities in Nueva Vizcaya*, Department of Agriculture, 1990.

contractual basis to carry the logs down the mountains (*'hakot'*). These 'haulers' are paid according to how many board feet of timber they are able to transport (P5.00 or dfl.35 per board foot) up and down the mountains. The haulers usually lug a total of 20 to 30 board feet per day. Male children, ages 10 years old and older, carry 5 to 10 board feet in one day. 'But this type of work is highly seasonal and irregular. Jobs depend on whether there is a logging contract but most men here in Baracbac have been loggers. I can't think of anyone except the pastor who has not joined in', (interviews: Renato Agbilis)

Many of the Ikalahan men with special skills are hired by employers outside the village. Success in finding jobs outside the village depends largely on how marketable their skills are. For example, Mila's husband, Camilo, is a contractual driver for a private company. He is on call whenever trips to Baguio City in Benguet province or Manila have to be made.

However, most Ikalahan men do not have the skills required for work outside their community. As a case in point, there are only six men in sitio Proper who know how to drive (from the interviews); the rest do carpentry jobs or venture out to the remote mineral-rich villages of Nueva Vizcaya (Laboyo and Ronrono) where they hope to make good fortune out of placer mining (gold panning)⁸. Many of them hope to match the fortunes of Rigor, a resident in *sitio* Butao, who now earns regularly from his daily runs with his own public transport vehicle which he bought out of gold panning. However there is little gold left in the mines.

By and large, therefore, the men of Baracbac prepare the swidden fields, are wood-cutters, lumberjacks and wood haulers. The men also take the physically heavier work such as gathering work for fuel making new swidden fields, building fences, gathering rattan and broom straw, building trails, stone fences and terraces, building and repairing houses (Rice, 1974: 37). They have earned from the timber resources of the mountains as well as have been hunters in former times. Hunting, over the years, has proven unsustainable: 'Over-exploitation of the wildlife by Ilocanos [the lowlanders from Northern Luzon] and Ikalahan has exhausted the supply so that hunting and gathering could no longer be an important part of their livelihood' (Rice, 1987: 58). This could explain partially why men eventually engaged in the logging industry -- hunting was no longer feasible. Further, Ikalahan society was moving slowly into the cash economy as they were increasingly experiencing needs for supplies only cash could provide. The logging industry which began after the war and eventually

⁸. The minerals present in the province are copper, gold, silver, molybdenum and pyrite (*Nueva Vizcaya Provincial Situationer*, PRRM 1992).

peaked in the 1960s provided an employment infrastructure too hard for the Ikalahan men to resist despite the low wage rates. In short, in Baracbac, subsistence farming co-existed with waged labor for some time. It still does now -- but under more restricted conditions.

Ikalahan men now face the loss of timber resources due to continued logging operations (which resulted in massive land erosion and landslides in 1990) in Nueva Vizcaya's forests for the last fifty years. Massive landslides brought down many trees from the forest. The depletion has had immense implications on their work and income: (interviews)

I now sell fuelwood to the two bakeries in the *poblacion* for P5.00 (dfl .04) per bundle, which everybody seems to be doing nowadays. Whereas before, I used to get some money out of hauling logs for the loggers and sell a few good pieces of logs to the middlemen. (Gregorio)

They brought down a lot of trees from the forests. Before, when I didn't have money, I went up the mountains to get wood and sell it. Now, only small trees are left in the mountains. When there was no food, I fish in the river for something to eat or sell. There is nothing to sell now. Even the wild rattan plants, which takes five years to grow, were all washed out. Men have a more difficult time looking for money nowadays, especially after the earthquake. The landslides washed away all the good wood. When logs were floating on the river just after the earthquake, the men were able to gather some and sell later on. But that was the last of the good wood from the mountains. (Saryo Ulyano)

As a whole, the changes in the Ikalahan's resource base have robbed men of their sources of income and inadequate space with which women could plant their swidden crops -- which in turn, also reduced the women's incomes and the household's food supply. In the following section, I will discuss housework and the changes which have taken place in this sphere, as a consequence of the ecological crisis.

4.3 Housework

An Ikalahan woman's day usually begins at 3 or 4 in the morning. She spends the entire morning preparing breakfast (usually bread and rice coffee), cleaning the house and washing clothes.

Four days a week, the women leave early to work on their swidden plots. They usually spend 5 to 7 hours per day on the slopes. The rest of the time at home, they spend looking after the children, cooking, washing the clothes of husbands and children and cleaning their backyard pig pens. In the evening, they prepare supper and end their day at about 8. During her leisure time, Laling, whose husband owns a transistor radio, listens to broadcasts after having put her children to sleep. Other women like Lorit and Juli occasionally play a game of bingo during afternoons after having completed their morning chores (interviews).

When cash is available, Ikalahan women act as pursekeepers, and manage cash disbursements in the household: for rice and canned products, clothing and hog feeds. When food supply runs short, they make haste up to the swidden fields in search of ripe fruits, sweet potatoes and their tops. With this responsibility, the women become most aware of their empty larders and budget deficits, therefore are the first to seek means by which they could stretch the household resources. As a last resort, they make cash loans from female relatives, usually without incurring any interest in payments. Ikalahan men, on the other hand, spend from their cash earnings to cover for their costs of housing materials, transportation, liquor and cigarettes. '[In the Philippines] women's earnings generally go towards meeting household needs, but men's earnings go to their own personal expenses, like cigarettes and alcohol' (Eviota, 1992: 152).

Being the household pursekeeper puts Ikalahan women in a bind. While they manage the flow of cash, they are also forced to look for ways of replenishing it once drained. For example, when PRRM staffmembers held animal dispersal workshops in Baracbac which included both men and women, they did not foresee possible problems on women's time and work caused by the gender division of labor in general, nor the women's role as household pursekeepers in particular. The women have been tacitly assigned the role to care for their backyard piggeries -- and find the means (often scarce) with which to feed and maintain the hogs.

Aside from being chainsaw operators, lumberjacks and log haulers, men are also child-carers. This is one responsibility peculiar to a number of ethnic groups in Northern Luzon. 'It is only here that you see men caring for the children and staying home', (interviews: Saryo Ulyano). Men also share in the cooking, fetch fuelwood and water for household use. Among the Ifugaos, Ibalois, and other ethnic communities living north of the Ikalahan villages, men's participation in childcare is commonplace:

The Ifugao woman of the past spent the greater part of the day in the fields. In her absence from the house, her husband, who had contributed his efforts in the building of the walls of the fields, stayed at home to do the household chores and take care of the children. When completely free, he would offer his services for a meager wage in the public works. (Infante, 1975: 93)

Among the Ibalois of northern Buguias,

Women's work was spatially concentrated and temporally demanding (in the swidden fields). Male labor, however, was spatially dispersed and much less consuming. His only routine job was cattle oversight. Because their daily chores were light, men often tended small children. Men generally cultivated the family dry field only if their wives were ill or recovering from childbirth. And men's work in childcare was important; one woman, abandoned by her wastrel spouse, had to place her mischievous children in a deep hole so she could attend to her crops. (Lewis, 1992: 48)

Since it is the women who are doing subsistence farming, the men are usually left in the house to take care of the small kids. (Tauli-Corpuz, 1992: 20)

Men also gather fuelwood while male children fetch water. These are household-supporting activities men have been generally expected to do.

On the other hand, recent transformations in the material world, that is, resource degradation caused by environmental changes, has triggered new conflicts within the household and alterations in the gender division of labor.

Whereas in the past, Ikalahan men undertook the responsibility of childcare which assisted women's work in the swidden fields, this has been increasingly disappearing. Mila speaks for her female relatives (interview):

These days, you will see women coming down from their swidden plots, pregnant, with a *kayabang* on their backs, and holding one or two small children. Even if the land is too steep and sloping, they go on planting. We have to plant otherwise our families will have nothing to eat anymore. Our husbands have no income – instead they spend their time drinking and gambling with whatever money they have instead of looking after the children. When our husbands are away trying to look for jobs, we do their jobs here. Like we fetch firewood, we repair our houses after heavy rains and floods from the river, cut trees to clear the swidden. Look at Laling, when her husband goes for gold panning, she climbs up the avocado tree to get avocados – even when she was pregnant! Even while we plant on our plots now, we nurse our babies. Even when pregnant, we carry our *kayabangs* on our backs. Life is getting harder and harder.

Aside from the shedding their share in childcare, Ikalahan men have also passed on more and more of their tasks to women since they are away looking for income opportunities. Many of them have increasingly abandoned traditional tasks such as: cutting trees to clear land for swiddens, fuelwood gathering and chopping, repairing their homes and climbing fruit trees.

Resource degradation has also contributed to Ikalahan women's growing 'housewifization', as they now have to perform more housework and intensify their work on their *umas*. Eviota (1992) has observed this as a phenomenon prevalent in many Filipino communities: 'As capital continued to absorb men's labor far more than it did any of the women, many women intensified their activities outside of the wage economy' (:169). Men have been compelled to look for waged work and venture far from the village as their timber resources have been depleted, robbing them of a precious source of income. (Interviews)

A lot of the men go as far as Baguio City to seek work, as construction workers or repair the damaged roads on the highways. There are no more trees to cut around here. It's useless. *Kawawa na ang situwasyon namin* (ours is a pitiful situation). (Arsenio Dapig)

Many of them are not successful in cornering jobs due to the narrow job market in Philippine society,⁹ many of the men have thus become idle labor. Of the ten women I interviewed, only two husbands had a regular source of income: Rosita's husband had a regular job as a pastor and photographer while Loretta's husband, Rigor owned a public utility vehicle from which he earns on a daily basis.

Further, as I discussed in Chapter III, the men have to face constraints due to their ethnic and class positions vis-a-vis people outside their village. In despair over their worsening situation which devalues their cultural role as earners in the community, the men have resorted to drinking. Drinking has now become an index of misery and a persistent source of conflict in the Ikalahan household.

In short, Ikalahan women take on more and more tasks men had abandoned, at the same time realizing the growing inability of their swiddens to provide a steady food supply. Men are also burdened by the loss of their timber resources and suffer from the constraints outside their village. It is a situation of dislocation, tension and change for both the Ikalahan women and men of Baracbac.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed the gender division of labor in the spheres of subsistence production, income-generating activities such as the exchange of labor as a commodity, and housework among the Ikalahan.

I argued that it is not enough to locate the divisions of work between women and men, rather, more important how these gender divisions are constructed in a given social formation. I have attempted to explain these gender divisions based on material-ideological valuations shaped by the Ikalahan community and forces external to the community. These are: (a) the *uma* was a culturally and socially valued resource base as it has been the source of life of the community; (b) the previous gender division of labor was ordered to optimize subsistence production in the household by freeing women from childcare and certain household chores while they engage in their farm activities. This, however has changed.

9. As of the first quarter of 1993, out of the 120,000 counted as belonging to the rural labor force of Nueva Vizcaya (15 years and older), 4,000 are unemployed. Significantly, 38,000 people are not even in the labor force. In the 1990 census year, the town of Sta. Fe registered a household population (15 years old and older) of 5,785. There are 4,040 persons in the labor force. Of these, 61 are unemployed. However out of the population (15 years old and older) of Sta. Fe, there are 1,745 persons who do not at all belong to the labor force.

The land is no longer adequately fit to meet the households' subsistence needs in a sustained manner. To make things worse, the timber supply that provided men income -- however irregular due to the availability of logging contracts -- has been lost.

In other words, certain practices have had to change because of the severity of the transformations in their physical environment. These changes have disrupted men's share in childcare, while at the same time passing on to Ikalahan women other male tasks: (a) house repair; (b) cutting trees to clear a swidden; (c) fuelwood gathering; (d) fruit-gathering.

Moreover, incursions from the ideological sphere of culture, such as those introduced by the mass media, are also re-shaping the identities of women and men. Ikalahan women are now increasingly looked upon as housewives, obfuscating their own actual production and income-generating activities. In turn, waged work and subsistence production are placed in a hierarchy that privileges waged work as the village is moving more and more into the orbit of the wage economy. All these changes have resulted in tensions, or, a new set of power relations between women and men -- which, in time, could be reproduced and structurate into normative values for the Ikalahan community.

Chapter V

TENSIONS IN THE HOUSEHOLD: WHERE INTERESTS COLLIDE

In this chapter I will discuss the tensions triggered by the changes in the gender divisions of labor due to the environment degradations. Further, I will discuss how women and men have exercised power by taking advantage of or resisting cultural values embedded in existing gender relations. The tension-laden processes revolving around the gender divisions of labor indicate the differential values placed on men's and women's work. It is in this valuing process that power comes about either by complying with the social controls of the community or challenging these -- or both.

There are two sites of tensions: first, within the individuals themselves; and, second, between women and men in the household. In the first site, disruptions in the division of labor caused by resource degradation, have compelled women and men to take on new occupations and roles -- but in the process, their efforts conflict with the dominant gender values¹ of the community. In the second site, conflict arises between men and women in the household, because of the attempts of each one to cope with the effects in their resource bases individually, they each put pressure and destabilize the existing division of labor in the household ordered by dominant community values.

5.1 Tensions Within Ikalahan Male And Female Individuals

Due to the loss of logging and the depletion of timber resources, men have now been deprived of their major source of income. This cash-strapped status of the Ikalahan men has been their source of cultural devaluation, since they are expected to be the main cash providers of the family, by the norms of the community as well as their wives.

Ever since logging as an income-generating activity acquired a dominant position in the village economy, villagers have developed consumption patterns dependent on purchases from outside the village. As a matter of fact, the consumption of rice, purchased from the outside (usually from the *poblacion*), is taken as an index of wealth in the community. Ikalahan men therefore, as the 'heads' of the household and the 'pillars' of the family, are expected to be good cash earners and providers by a community that has lost part of its purely subsistence character derived from swidden farming

1. I am referring here to the community's constructions of the 'ideal' Ikalahan woman and men.

to the waged economy through local logging in the last fifty years. This is the measure of achievement and success of malehood in the Ikalahan community.

In the course of trying to recoup their loss of self-worth and esteem, Ikalahan men go out of the village to seek waged work. The men from *sitio* Proper compete hard for the small income-earning opportunities available in *sitio* Butao such as, for example, employment on a daily basis in the auto repair shop in the town as assistant mechanic. In addition, individual men with regular jobs such as owning and plying public utility vehicles, for example, are envied by the jobless married men as well as by their spouses. To own one has also translated into an aspiration nurtured by Ikalahan men.

Lacking in appropriate skills and confronted with the ethnic biases in an already very narrow job market, the Ikalahan male job-seekers find very little income opportunities. Their frustrations and misery are vented in whole day drinking sessions, which have evidently increased in the *sitio* in the last three years following the calamities. Teresa (interviews) says that her husband, for example, would not pass a day without coming home drunk.

The tension within the men, caused by the gross incompatibility between their actual joblessness and economic idleness on the one hand, and their culturally devalued role in the face of community expectations on the other, has developed into a crisis of identity among Ikalahan men. This would thus probably explain why men in Baracbac have misrepresented their current occupation -- together with their wives' identities -- when interviewed by an NGO survey team (see Appendix V).

In the face of the constraints caused by severe changes in their resource base, Ikalahan men have been enabled to violate traditional norms by shedding their share in childcare, thus passing on to women its full responsibility. Ikalahan women are now 'more' housewives than they ever were. The following example brings this point even further.

In an earlier chapter, I mentioned that most men in Baracbac engaged in small-scale logging as a source of income (cf. interviews: Renato Agbilis and Saryo Ulyano). Out of the ten women I interviewed, six of their husbands had been earning from logging operations in nearby forests. When I compared this finding with PRRM records of 1990 in *sitio* Proper, curiously, I found that 18 out of the 24 male household heads interviewed identified themselves as 'farmers', while only two said they were chainsaw operators -- and *only* as a 'source of secondary livelihood'. Mila's husband, Camilo, had declared himself a 'farmer' when interviewed by PRRM staff whereas during my field

visit, she informed me he was a contractual driver which he later confirmed when I actually met him at their home. Saryo Ulyano identified himself as a 'farmer' as well in the PRRM survey, yet in my long conversations with him, he informed me he was a lottery agent and even asked that I place my bets for the day's draw. He may have declared himself a farmer because village lotteries ('*jueteng*') are illegal in the country.

On the other hand, individual women also experience tension in the face of the contradiction between the tasks they now have to shoulder and what has been culturally defined by the community values. Mila and Laling tell of their woes in the process of having to perform what to them are clearly their husbands' realm of responsibility in the household (interviews):

I don't understand. We seem to be able to do what men do. Like, when they are not around, we repair our houses when bad weather hits us; we cut fuelwood -- and sometimes even gather them. (Mila)

When my *lakay* (husband) goes away for gold panning, I cut the trees to clear the swidden. Even when I was pregnant, I used to climb the trees to gather avocados. If I don't do these things, what will my children eat? (Laling)

5.2 Conflict And Bargaining In The Context Of Gendered Constructions: The Case Of Women

Conflicts in the households have arisen because of the state of the environment in the village. Generally these conflicts have been caused by the tensions between the stakes of women and men as they try to preserve or abandon certain culturally defined roles.

The male spouses are in tremendous pressure to fulfill their culturally valued role as the main provider of the family, or as the principal cash earner. Fulfilling this culturally defined role is an important stake. In pursuit of waged work to comply with the expectations of such a role, they would readily abandon other less important roles as childcare, fuel gathering and various other household obligations. Finding no jobs, and therefore failing to fulfill the expected role, men drift into misery which they vent through drinking. Again, spending the entire day in drinking bouts lead them to abandon obligations in the household.

On the other hand, the stake and interest of the women in preserving their culturally defined role as 'good *kaingeras* (swidden farmers)' require the important support system traditionally rendered by their spouses by sharing in household work and childcare. Hence, their spouses' abandonment of what to them are non-primary responsibilities of childcare and housework (and increasingly other former

make tasks), also threaten the women's accomplishment of their principal role as swidden farmers and food providers.

Because, the gender values in the Ikalahan community evidently favor men, the women would usually find themselves at a disadvantaged position in the conflict -- and later, in bargaining. The power of the male 'household head' in such a conflict of interests finds its support in the culturally embedded power -- that is, the power of the elders and their social controls -- which structure the gender values of the community.

The women, on the other hand, are at the outset up against the community's social controls and its gender values, invoked and exercised by their spouses in their actual situations of conflict and bargaining. However, despite these structural constraints found in culture, the women exercise their own power by creating a 'room for manoeuvre' in devising and executing coping strategies.

Mila, Manang Lily and Teresa tell of their different coping strategies as they grapple with tensions caused by changes in the resource base and with the 'new' identities which have caused strain on the division of labor as they now shoulder more tasks than before. (interviews)

Last year I planned to go abroad -- to Singapore. I didn't tell my husband. I went to Baguio (City) to borrow P8000.00 (dfl. 533) from my aunt. My husband was then in Manila. I visited my friend in Imugan later on and she convinced me to tell my husband about my plans. I tried to convince my husband to let me go, but he wouldn't let me. He said anyway, we ate three times a day -- and we weren't going hungry despite being poor. He said I should throw my (three) children first away if I persist on going on with my plans. The worst thing that could happen to the children, he said, was to have no mother. I have a cousin and a niece in Singapore. But my husband wasn't convinced that working there would make things better for us. Just the same I returned the money I borrowed. I didn't push through with my plans. In the meantime, I am active here in Baracbac. After the earthquake, I volunteered to help in relief operations. We cooked and put up relief kitchens for many weeks. I am also active in the municipal health care service and so I am a volunteer health worker for Baracbac. I attend meetings and training workshops almost twice a week. PRRM had animal dispersal workshops two years ago, I was also active in that. My husband frequently complains of my activities. He tells me I should attend to our home and children first. But they are quite big already -- the eldest, 12 years old, the second, 10 and the youngest, 9 years old. I stopped having children -- I was able to convince my husband to get a vasectomy years ago. It has been quite a relief. What I do is I squeeze my activities into my farming and housework. When my husband is away, that's when I leave for my seminars and trainings. But I make sure everything has been done -- the laundry, cooking and cleaning of the pigs' cages. I get to go to my seminars as often as I am invited and notified by NGOs. The trick is advancing everything -- work on the *uma* and at home. My problem is my husband's drinking -- that's why I couldn't let you stay at home. He often comes home drunk. This is something we always discuss among ourselves (the women in the village). But, don't get me wrong, the men are not that bad -- especially when they're not drunk. (Mila)

Manang Lily, on the other hand, has firm ideas on her own plans.

My husband, Tante, is just waiting for a notice from America as he will be given US citizenship for being a World War II veteran. He wants to move to the US. But not me. I prefer to stay here. I belong to this land, no matter how unsafe it is, I will stay here. Tante has even looked for another place to stay here in Sta. Fe -- in the relocation areas. He can go and live there if he wants. I'm not going to live

anywhere else than where I am. I don't want to live far from the river and my *umas* -- where will we get our food? Since the earthquake, life hasn't been that easy. There were no landslides here when I was young. (Manang Lily)

Teresa, meanwhile, has mustered some strategies with which to deal with her husband's drinking coupled with her own brand of family planning. She has had ten children, three of them deceased.

My husband was once a chainsaw operator. There were more trees before. After the earthquake, the men started cutting dead or dying wood from the forest. Cutting trees also was forbidden. Now, they have to go very far to cut trees. If they can't think of anything else to do, they drink, then they gamble. They seem lazier now and are more difficult to deal with. We frequently argue over his drinking. Times are so hard. I spend the whole day in the *uma* with three of the youngest children. I have to bring food for us up there. When I get back, I expect some cooked food on our table. There is often none. I really get angry because the children and I are tired and hungry from the long walk and climb. What is he doing? He is drinking with the other men by the store. That's all he does the whole day. We fight. I refuse to sleep with him when he wants me to. So at night, I let him go to the store and drink with the rest. At least, he won't touch me when he gets home. He will be too sleepy and drunk. That's also how I avoid getting pregnant again. But I get so upset if during the day he drinks. He ends up doing nothing -- and I do everything at home.

Mila believes the solution to their present financial crisis is by enlisting in overseas work. In my travels throughout the different towns of Nueva Vizcaya, I saw large billboards calling for the recruitment of women to overseas jobs in Hong Kong, Singapore and the Middle East as domestic helpers. However, Mila is not able to defy her husband -- nor, for that matter, violate a dominant value in the community: that women should not venture outside their village and must continue to work on their *umas*. I would like to add that this community norm does not contradict the growing housewifization of Ikalahan women, which serves to confine them to their domestic role. The tension lies in the fact that Ikalahan women are not *only* housewives -- they are also food producers and earners in their own right.

Manang Lily, on the other hand, defies her husband's wishes. I would surmise that age and experience has afforded her enough confidence vis-a-vis her husband. However, she does not violate -- but rather -- reproduces the community value that confines women to the village. This, by virtue of her own role as a village elder who serves as a repository of traditional Ikalahan values.

Teresa, for her part, grapples with her husband's drinking in ambiguous terms. She is feeling the simultaneous pressures from more intensive work on her swidden and childcare. She blames her husband's drinking for his lethargy in cooking and childcare. However, she lets him drink at night to avoid getting pregnant. This is how she copes with the growing burdens of work, childcare and a large number of children.

These strategies show that in the face of constraints (posed by their growing housewifization in the cases of Mila and Teresa), Ikalahan women manifest certain enablements, pushed by their own interests to 'make a difference.' However, these enablements do not oppose the men and the authority structure in the community: enablements may not necessarily cause change, rather reflect certain tensions between new and old values.

Conclusions

Finally, tensions have developed in the face of a changing division of labour due to resource use degradation. Gender roles have been destabilized, most especially for men, who are supposed to be the main cash income earners and providers for the family. However, their pursuit of employment outside and, consequently, their abandonment of household chores traditionally assigned to them has taken out an important support mechanism for the compliance of women to their role as swidden farmers and food providers. Moreover, the existing gendered cultural value regarding mobility, privileges men, allowing them to go outside easily in search of work. Women's mobility, on the other hand, is restricted by this dominant culture in the village.

In the conflict between men and women in the households, men draw their power from the dominant gender constructions of the community. Thus, they are advantaged over women. On the other hand, the disadvantaged women, do not frontally oppose the male authority structure of the community and its values on gender. Rather, they manifest their exercise of power in the form of creating various 'room for maneuver' in actual household conflict situations. In addition, they also exercise power by devising coping strategies in the face of physical and financial constraints. In time, if the situation gets any worse, I foresee that as a recourse, women may begin to enlist as domestic helpers in the overseas market as these opportunities are more open to women than to men in the Philippines.² How this will affect the gender relations in the household and be reproduced in the community is worth further research.

In the meantime, the Ikalahan are experiencing dramatic changes in their land and forests. In turn, tensions are shaping power relations in the household: the site where the present ecological crisis touches the lives of individual persons, in gendered -- and largely asymmetrical -- ways.

2. Today, there are an estimated 2 million Filipino overseas contract workers (IBON, 1991, Vol. 14, No. 9: 2). The export of labor has been encouraged by the Philippine government to solve the twin problems of the country's unemployment and the chronic deficit in the balance of payments. Dollar earnings of those working abroad will add to the country's foreign reserves.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSIONS

Socio-economic processes specific to land and forest use have triggered an ecological crisis in the Philippines -- with specific and dramatic occurrences in the ecosystems of Nueva Vizcaya and the village of Baracbac. This has provided the setting for the social relations of the Ikalahan, in pursuit of the objective of this study which is to understand changing gender relations within the context of environmental degradation.

In the village of Baracbac, the timber resources have been depleted and have robbed men of a precious source of income as they have been engaged in contractual small-scale logging since the time logging concessions began setting up their operations. Swidden farming, on the other hand, remains to be the major source of food supply although increasingly an inadequate and untenable one. This is largely due to limited cultivable land since the mountain slopes are now more vulnerable to landslides. The remaining land is over-used, laid to shorter fallows, thus producing smaller and fewer crops.

The erstwhile *identity of men as the chief income earners and providers of the family* has been destabilized. To redeem their self-worth and meet the economic requirement of their families, they are pushed to look for other income opportunities outside, while the Ikalahan women continue to work on their swidden fields, trying desperately to maintain the food supply of their household, in compliance as well to their ascribed role *as the community's food providers*.

In their search for income opportunities, Ikalahan men have experienced disappointments influenced by their class and ethnic position, and thus have resorted to drown their miseries by excessive drinking when in the village. Men's constant absence in the community and their drinking have both disrupted their share in the responsibility of childcare and other household chores -- a tradition peculiar to the Ikalahan and other northern ethnic communities in the Philippines -- intended to assist women while they work on the swidden fields. Ikalahan women are thus compelled to shoulder production and reproduction tasks more fully. Further, men's drinking has been a source of conflict between wives and husbands, and in one case, a site of negotiation. Therefore, *the process of environmental degradation in this situation proceeds in an uneven pace and manner. This affects people, as resource users, in differentiated ways, depending largely on what and whose*

resource base has been affected and the severity of the degradation at a given time. Existing gendered activities, in so far as these are resource-related, are eroded, causing tensions between women and men, constraining and enabling them to seek new roles and bargain under changed conditions.

In describing the different spheres of social life of the Ikalahan in Chapter V, traditional kinship values privilege men, allowing them to allocate and manage the resource base for subsistence production, and using Ikalahan women's labor for this type of production formalized through the contract of marriage.

These kinship values also translate into the political organization of the community, allowing men to engage in political and economic activities that require linkages with outsiders both in the past and in present times. Thus, the dominance of male power has become embedded or institutionalized in Ikalahan culture.

Men's mobility is therefore a traditionally accepted norm. Moreover, Ikalahan men have also represented their wives as 'housekeepers' to external organizations, further confining them to the village and the household. This obfuscates the fact that Ikalahan women are actually producers and earners -- thus implicitly ordering the valuation of men's work (waged labor) over women's work (subsistence farming). Further, the intrusion of mass media in Baracbac conveying images of the Filipino male breadwinner and the Filipina housewife characteristic of urban culture, also reinforces this male privilege for outward mobility. Ikalahan men's wider mobility has been a product of their own power over women's own mobility and labor. Therefore,
the culturally embedded power relation between Ikalahan women and men in the community privilege men on the matter of mobility. Power that comes about in the relations between women and men is influenced by cultural values both coming from within the village and outside it.

The narrowing job market for men has also compelled some women to consider domestic overseas employment as a solution to their financial crisis. However, cultural sanctions of the community -- or, the moral imperative to maintain the swiddens -- weigh on the women and hinder them from taking up this option. Therefore,

In the face of community and individual sanctions against women's wider mobility, constrained Ikalahan women are enabled to 'make a difference on the current state of affairs' by attempting to pursue certain solutions, albeit likely to conform strongly still to community values which discourage such solutions.

However, if the situation worsens and swidden farming is indeed no longer sustainable, cultural values may give way to drastic solutions to cushion the crisis -- and thus alter the entire terrain of gender relations of the Ikalahan.

To return to my research objective at the beginning of this study, in understanding changing gender relations in the context of environmental degradation, I have tread on four closely related paths of analysis: (a) environment degradation as a naturally and socially differentiated process, (b) the gender divisions of labor as based in a definite resource use configuration, (c) dominant gender relations as power relations embedded or structured in culture, and (d) emerging gender relations as a tension-laden processual sphere of power relations -- involving conforming and altering of patterned cultural values -- between women and men in changing material conditions.

Implications of the Study: Women, Environment and Development Theories and Policy Intervention

Two kinds of literature dominate much of the discussions on women and development. The first, which was pioneered by Ester Boserup in 1970, challenged the male bias in capitalist development which rendered women invisible in the production process. Thus, the feminist imperative then was to integrate women into development, now popularly known as the Women In Development (WID) paradigm. However, it regarded that capitalist development was not a bad thing in itself, but rather contributing only to women's subordination.

The second body of writings, an extrapolation of the WID paradigm, focuses on the conflict of capitalist forces and the poor centered around the use of nature for profit versus its reclamation and sustenance (Rao, 1991: 2). Poor rural women are always the hardest hit by environmental degradation since they are the ones most engaged in subsistence activities and are therefore closer to nature. I locate the writings of Vandana Shiva (1987) and Bina Agarwal (1990) under this body of literature.

While Shiva invokes the 'feminine principle' as the unifying element between women and nature which has been overthrown by the western patriarchal capitalist project, Agarwal chooses to see the relationship of women and nature in poor, rural societies as a result of a pre-existing gender division of labor and processes of statisation and privatization of resources that confines women to subsistence and survival tasks. Both contend that by virtue of their closeness to nature, women are the hardest hit victims by environmental degradation. I find these postulations problematic and pose my arguments in the following paragraphs.

In the light of my findings on the Ikalahan of Baracbac, environmental degradation affected both women and men, but in concretely different ways. In particular, men were severely affected by the loss of timber resources as this had robbed them of a source of income. They have been pushed to look for income opportunities outside their village in the narrowing job market in larger society -- an act which is also supported the the dominant cultural values in the Ikalahan community. Women, on the other hand, have continued their work on the swidden fields, albeit affected as well by the scarcity of upland resources brought about by the ecological crisis.

Therefore, in the light of the findings in my study, I detect an implicit assumption in the theses of Agarwal and Shiva that views environmental degradation as a process unfolding in a uniform way, without any differential deterioration between resources (eg., trees and swidden plots) which lead to uneven effects of degradation on people.

Second, they reify or aggregate nature and its link to people. In reality, nature is comprised of specific resources, each closely linked to specific individuals or groups as resource users (eg., swidden plots to women; trees to men; water to male children; deadwood for fuel to men)

Therefore such a process of environmental degradation does not have a pre-determined social epicenter: it depends on **what** and **whose** resource is most damaged at any given time in a specific locality. The most serious flaw of Agarwal and Shiva is their blindness to the differentiation and diversity involved in people-environment configurations in given localities. They assume, *a priori*, that *all* resources are linked closest to women. To Shiva, because they are the natural caretakers of nature; and to Agarwal, because of a pre-existing gender division of labor.

There is a pre-existing gender division of labor. It is women in poor peasant and tribal households who do much of the gathering and fetching from the forests, village commons, rivers and wells. In addition, women of such households are burdened with a significant responsibility for family subsistence and they are often primary, and in many female-headed households the sole, economic providers. (Agarwal, 1990:19)

Departing from these constructions of poor rural and tribal women as those closest to nature, *I would like to pursue a more historical and nuanced analysis of the situation and position of women in their respective cultural and socio-economic contexts*. These constructions of women in the Third World by Agarwal and Shiva imply a structured definition of women even *before* they enter into social relationships, reifying them as an abstract and homogeneous category with fixed characteristics (Mohanty, 1988: 78; Rao, 1991: 11).

For example, the findings in this study have shown that in the 'pre-existing' gender division of labor of the Ikalahan, women's work in the swidden fields was assisted by men's share in childcare and by collecting fuelwood and water¹. If the logic used by Agarwal arguing that those who engage in fuel, fodder and water gathering activities are closer to nature more than anybody else is to be followed, then, in the case of the Ikalahan, men should be considered the hardest hit by environmental degradation. But Agarwal and others (Dankleman & Davidson, 1988; Rodda, 1991; Sontheimer, 1991) have always *assumed* it to be women.

However, in the specific situation of the Ikalahan, men as well as women are 'hit' by environmental degradation -- but in different ways and in terms incomparable. While it is true that Ikalahan women now shoulder the tasks of production and housework more fully than before, men's loss of income due to the loss of timber and their misery coming from the lethargy of joblessness which drives them to excessive drinking are, to my mind, effects both grave yet incomparable to each other.

My second point is that to be able to understand the relationship of women and nature, we have to inquire into gender relations as power relations between women and men and how these are created and reconstructed in the context of environmental degradation. The reason for this is that analyzing from a 'women only' perspective does not adequately unmask the power dimensions that come about between women and men in a particular context of environmental degradation. Further, Melissa Leach (1991: 6) points out that an exclusive focus on women's roles

ignores the ways that women's work, responsibilities and rights are constructed through the organization of gender relations, by-passing how the question of women's interests are shaped by their changing relationships with men. The focus on 'women' misleadingly implies that women are a distinct category in natural resource use and management and may be presented as a homogenous group, ignoring differences in age, kinship and socio-economic position.

Whereas Agarwal and Shiva view the relationship of women with the environment as close and special and as such, women are victims to its degradation, Melissa Leach (1991b) argues that such a special relationship is unjustified. Leach goes further by looking into the way gender relations, in the first place, are constructed and organized. Gender and how it is socially constructed is a changing and changeable process which shape the gender divisions of labor as the research study has shown. In short, environmental degradation does not victimize women *per se* the way Shiva, in particular,

1. A belabored stereotype in popular 'women and environment' literature is the universal portrayal of rural women in the South as fuel, food and fodder gatherers and therefore assumed to be the hardest hit victims of environmental degradation since these activities attach them to nature's processes. This may not be true in all cases. However, in the case of the some Ikalahan women interviewed in this study, only after men abandoned their share in housework and childcare did women perform the tasks of fuelwood gathering, etc., and not because they have been ordained by a 'pre-existing' gender division of labor to shoulder such burden.

argues it to be; rather, it is how power comes about in gender relations, that subordinates women (or women's 'victimization,' as it were) and therefore may ascribe them responsibilities which may render them more vulnerable to environmental degradation.

To understand women's relationship with the environment, we need to look at gender relations *not* women which 'unpacks' gender-differentiated responsibilities, rights and activities involved in natural resource management and use in a much more detailed way (Leach, 1991, p. 2).

A final point I wish to add to these discussions: Shiva has a tendency to locate the 'enemy' (that is, western/patriarchal development science) as external to the internal forces of transformation (Dietrich, 1989: 353). This negates the importance of inquiring into gender relations that undergo various processes of structuration (Giddens, 1984) -- and are therefore, changeable.

Finally, a discussion on the policy implications: should women be the central actors in environmental protection and management?

Vandana Shiva calls for the reclamation of the 'feminine principle' in order to 'make life possible for all'. The suggestion seems to be that the 'feminine principle' is still intact (Dietrich, 1989: 353) and therefore privileges this as the unchanging solution to the earth's ecological deterioration. The findings in this study demonstrate that Ikalahan women's indigenous resource use technologies, *gen-gen* and *day-og*, are no longer sustainable and can no longer abet the rapid rate of soil erosion in the uplands. In short, indigenous methods have to be studied in their proper resource use context lest they be romanticized in a static way.

For her part, Agarwal puts forward that in India, poor peasant and tribal women's agency in environmental regeneration involves special experiences of victimization (Meynen, 1993: 9). This reminds me of the vanguard mentality which argues for the oppressed as the privileged liberators. While this may be an impetus for social and political mobilization, the role of central actors in environmental management -- *without* problematizing gender relations -- may pass on to women the rather voluminous load of saving nature. This trap, according to Leach (1991b), may lead to the harnessing of women's labor by external organizations only adding to their long list of responsibilities. Instead, women should be actors among central actors in the protection and regeneration of the environment.

Following my earlier suggestion for a more nuanced investigation of women's situation, I would further suggest that more research be conducted into the micro locations of women as they interact with men in specific resource use situations influenced by wider socio-economic realities. Here,

divided and shared interests may be identified and therefore provide some opportunities for shared responsibilities (Leach, 1991b; Rocheleau, 1990). Another location for shared responsibility in environmental regeneration are the social movements and gender-sensitive programs in community-based management of natural resources. These are intervention locations worth further study and conceptualization.

To sum up, understanding the relationship of women and nature requires a historical, process-oriented and nuanced investigation of the relations of women and men in specific resource use situations, that departs from the universalizing and ahistorical analyses of women's position and role in the ecological crisis -- at the same time, challenging dominant development paradigms largely responsible for the earth's crisis in survival.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agarwal, B. (1990) *The Gender Environment Debate*. Mimeo.
- Banzon-Bautista, C. and Dungo (1987) 'The Differential Impact on Farm Mechanization on Women', in *Women Farmers and Rural Change in Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: Asian Pacific Development Center.
- Blaikie, P. and H. Broomfield (1987) *Land Degradation & Society*. New York: Longman Scientific & Technical.
- Broad, R. & J. Cavanagh (1993) *Plundering Paradise: The Struggle for the Environment in the Philippines*. Berkely: University of California Press.
- Climatu, F. (1992) 'Choosing the Roots: Indigenous Forestry and Agriculture', in *Bantayan Environment Alert*, Baguio City, Philippines: Cordillera Resource Center.
- Cohen, I. (1989) *Structuration Theory: Anthony Giddens and the Constitution of Social Life*. London: MacMillan.
- Cordillera Women's Education & Resource Center (1993) *Situationer on the Indigenous Women in the Philippines*. Baguio City, Philippines: CWERC.
- Cornista, L. and E. Escueta (1990) 'Communal Forest Leases as a Tenurial Option in the Philippine Uplands', in Poffenberger (ed.) *Keepers of the Forest*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press.
- Croll, E. and D. Parkin (1992) *Bush Base: Forest Farm*. London: Routledge.
- Dankelman, I. and J. Davidson (1989) *Women and Environment in the Third World*. London: Earthscan Publications.
- De los Angeles, M. (1988) *Economics of Upland Resource Depletion: Shifting Cultivation in the Philippines*. Manila: University of the Philippines Institute of Development Studies.
- Eviota, E. (1992) *The Political Economy of Gender: Women and the sexual division of labour in the Philippines*. London: Zed Books.
- Flax, J. (1990) 'Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory' in L. Nicholson (ed.) *Feminism & Postmodernism*. London: Routledge, Chapman & Hall.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings (1972-1971)*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Ganapin, D. K. and Porter (1988) *Resources, Population and the Philippines' Future*. Washington: World Resources Institute.
- Giddens A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Hirschon, R. (1984) *Women and Property - Women as Property*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Hombergh, H. (1993) *Gender, Development and Environment*. Amsterdam: INDRA
- IBON Facts & Figures (1989) 'Philippine Environment: Testing the Limits'. Volume 12, Number 15. Manila: Ibon Databank Philippines, Inc.
- Illo, J. and C. Veneracion (1988) *Women and Men in Rainfed Farming Systems*. Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Institute of Philippine Culture.
- Infante, T. (1975) *The Woman In Early Philippines and Among the Cultural Minorities*. Manila: Unitas Publications.
- Dietrich, G. (1989) 'Plea for Survival', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, February 18, 1989, pp. 353-354.
- Kelkar, G. & D. Nathan (1991) *Gender & Tribe*. New Delhi: Kali for Women.
- Lantican, C. (1979) *A Socio-Economic Study of Kaingin Families in Ilocos Norte*. Master's Thesis: University of the Philippines Department of Sociology.
- Leach, M. (1991) *Gender and the Environment: Traps and Opportunities*. Mimeo.
- Leach, M. (1991) 'Gendered Environments in Sierra Leone', in *IDS Bulletin*.
- Leacock, E. (1978) 'Women's status in egalitarian society: implications for social revolution'. *Current Anthropology*, 19 (2): 247-75.
- Lewis, M. (1992) *Wagering the Land*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lie & Lund (1991) 'Changing Gender Vales Among Malaysian Women Workers', in Stolen & Vaa (eds): *Gender and Change in Developing Countries*. Norway: Norwegian University Press.
- Lyons-Johnson, P. (1992) *Balancing Acts: Women & the Process of Social Change*. New York: Westview Press.
- Meynen, W.L. (1993) *Women and the Environmental Crisis in the Third World*. Draft.
- Mohanty, C.T. (1988) 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses', in *Feminist Review*, Vol. 30, pp. 61-88.
- Moore, H. (1988) *Feminism and Anthropology*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Murray, T. (1993) *Gender Issues In Community-Based Resource Mangement: Thories, Applications And Pilippine Case Studies*. University of the Philippines.
- NEDA (1991) *Reconstruction And Development Program*. Republic of the Philippines: National Economic And Development Authority.

- Ooi Jin Bee (1987) *Depletion of the Forest Resources in the Philippines*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Ortner, S. (1984) 'Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, 1: 126-166.
- Ortner, S. (1974) 'Is female to male as nature is to culture?', in M. Rosaldo and I. Lamphere (eds) *Woman, Culture and Society*, 67-88. California: Stanford University Press.
- Pluta, E., et al. (1991) *Remaking the World Together*. The Netherlands: ISS and University of Utrecht.
- PRRM (1990) Household Farmlot Damage Assessment Interview Schedule. Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines: Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement.
- Rao, B. (1991) *Dominant Constructions of Women and Nature in Social Science Literature*. CES/CNS pamphlet.
- Redclift, M. (1987) *Sustainable Development: Exploring the Contradictions*. London: Routledge, Chapman & Hall.
- Res, L. (1985) 'Changing Labor Allocation Patterns of Women in Rice Farm Households', in *Women in Rice Farming*, UK: IRRI.
- Rice, D. (1974) *The Integration of the Ikalahan*. Master's Thesis: Siliman University.
- Rice, D. (1983) *Indigenous Forest Dwellers in Forest Development Planning*. Paper presented to the First Asean Forestry Congress, Manila, October 10-15.
- Rice, D. (1992) *Forest Farms: Meeting National Timber Needs through Community-Based Forestry*. Philippines: Kalahan Educational Foundation.
- Rice, D. (1989) 'The Road to Development: An Indigenous Upland Community Programs Its Future', in *Sustaining Upland Development*, Manila: De La Salle University Research Center.
- Ritzer, G. (1992) *Sociological Theory*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Rocheleau, D. (1990) *Gender Complementarity and Conflict in Sustainable Forestry Development: A Multiple User Approach*. Massachusetts: Clark University.
- Rodda, A. (1991) *Women and the Environment*. London: Zed Books.
- Scott, J. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Shiva, V. (1989) *Staying Alive*. London: Zed Books.
- Stolen, K. & M. Vaa (1991) *Gender and Change in Developing Countries*. Norway: Norwegian University Press.

Tauli-Corpuz, V. (1992) 'Creating Alternative Culture Against Foreign Domination and Towards the Liberation of Women' in *Chaneg*, Baguio City, Philippines: CWERC.

Tauli-Corpuz (1989) 'The Ecological Crisis and Indigenous Peasant Women in the Third World', in *Chaneg*, Vol. 1, number 1, pp. 8-10.

The World Bank Report on Poverty (1988) *What is to be Done?* Washington: The World Bank.

Van Halsema, I. (1991) *Housewives in the Field: Power, Culture and Gender in a South-Brazilian Village*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.