

**Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined and Sustainable Development and the  
ODA Funded Government Poverty Alleviation Program  
*The Cordillera, Philippines Experience***

*“Overcoming poverty is not a task of charity; it is an act of justice”- Nelson Mandela*

Paper prepared by CDPC and Presented by Jane Lingbawan Yap-eo  
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**I. Rationale**

This paper primary aims to contribute to the charting of a pro people development agenda for the Post 2015 development agenda by the United Nations. A genuine sustainable development that truly addresses people's welfare, safeguard and nurture of the environment and all biological diversities, gender sensitive, people's participation, and respect for collective human rights. Also, to share actual experiences of the Cordillera peoples which is a microcosm of the Filipino people experiences in the implementations of poverty alleviation program of the Philippine government. This presentation will also show the gaps between the alleviation program and the needs and aspirations of the Cordillera peoples in particular and the Filipino people in general. And lastly, to gain supports of APRN members in advocating for a self-determined and sustainable development of the Cordillera Indigenous peoples, and the global indigenous peoples in general.

**II. Background: The Cordillera-Philippines Underdevelopment Situation**

The cliché that the Cordillera is rich but the people are poor is the local Cordillera development situation, which is a reflection of the national Philippines situation. The government regard of the Cordillera as “natural resource base to be exploited” as part of its historic economic export policy has not, after all, developed the Cordillera.

Most of its natural resources had been extracted and exploited but majority of the people are still and continuously confronted with chronic poverty. Where is the wealth from such extraction and plunder of natural resources?

Recently with the pronouncement and further report by Pres. Benigno Aquino III in his State of the Nation Address (SONA) that the Philippines is a fast growing economy show that there is wealth. The current rage on PDAF and other funds also shows that there are huge resources, but these are concentrated among those in the ruling class and their collaborators. The pyramid structure of Philippine society embodies the historical account of our systemic poverty, in the midst of rich natural resources and wealth. This system perpetuates deprivation and poverty for the majority of Filipinos. And this historic reality is a basic consideration in addressing people's development.

Another Cordillera reality is a deforested and degraded natural resources environment. Mining, both large scale and small, continues to pollute river systems. Logging and an expanding vegetable industry has damaged forest biodiversity and watersheds, with resulting limited irrigation and water supply. New

energy projects of all types threaten biodiversity and agriculture. Toxicity of agricultural lands is the effect of chemical based agriculture especially in the expanding vegetable industry. And with environmental degradation, the Cordillera has become more vulnerable to the effects of climate change; like unprecedented severe weather, with adverse effects on agriculture, infrastructure and disastrous erosions. Waste disposal problems now afflict Baguio City and many town centers.

As in the national situation, there is crisis in livelihood and employment in the Cordillera. Without industrialization and with a backward agriculture, an increasing labor force cannot be absorbed. Livelihood in the vegetable industry has been adversely affected by the globalization policy of agricultural liberalization that allows foreign agricultural produce to flood the local market. Earlier experience of regular employment in the large scale mines is no longer the case, with the present corporate practice of contractual labor. It is the rapidly expanding small scale mining that, to a certain extent, provides livelihood for an increasing number of Cordillera rural families. To a limited extent in the urban (Baguio) and some town centers -- the education sector, tourism, BPO (business process outsourcing), and other service industries are able to absorb some labor.

And on the whole, Cordillera people have historically defended their ancestral domain. Such legacy of defense-nurture-management of land and resources for the people is currently advanced by POs and activist NGOs as they relentlessly pursue genuine people's development even to the detriment of their families and loved ones and even it would mean losing their lives. This and many more human rights violation in various forms remain an objective situation and pressing issue of the Cordillera peoples. This situation has worsened from one administration to another under the government counter insurgency program called OPLAN in many names. At present is the OPLAN Bayanihan that integrates military combat operations with socio-economic and people's welfare projects in the name of peace and development. With such program and strategy the community people specially women and innocent children are the victims.

History as well shows that the Cordillera had undergone a century of rapid social change under colonial regime. The pre colonial Cordillera subsistence economies governed by indigenous socio-political system of governance have now mainstreamed into the national Filipino society with pyramid social structure and with feudal and capitalist values. It has been a century of rapid social change in the Cordillera. It is now a dominantly market economy mixed with remnants of subsistence farming, and also now integrated with the national Filipino body politic; although with enduring indigenous systems and values that still reflect the particularity of being Cordillera indigenous people. These include values asserting the common good over individual interest, and nurture of the environment and natural resources for present and future generations. The question of "development for whom" and "development by whom" are essential issues that activist NGOs address in grassroots work for genuine people's development.

The Cordillera region with indigenous people, have Indigenous People's Rights to Ancestral Land/Resources and Indigenous Socio-Political Systems (ISPS), the Right to Self determination (RSD) in their socio-economic and political-cultural life, and Genuine Regional Autonomy (RA) as the appropriate form of political self determination.

The particular problems of the Cordillera people are summarized as National Oppression (NO), which is oppression of the Cordillera people by the ruling class of Philippine society. National oppression includes: oppressive land laws, development aggression, government neglect, militarization and

ethnocide, and discrimination. While Cordillera people have particularity, they are one with other oppressed and exploited Filipinos to work for social change towards a truly democratic and sovereign Filipino nation with social justice and no discrimination.

### **III. ODA Funded Poverty Alleviation Program, the Government Response to the Underdeveloped Cordillera**

#### ***A. Brief Introduction***

Starting in the 1950s under the framework of “Mutual Security Act” by the United States, the Philippines is a recipient of Official Development Assistance –ODA (IBON). Development projects under ODA are funded by international funding institutions spearheaded by the IMF-World Bank, Economic European Community, Asian Development Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development, United Nation Bodies, and the Millennium Challenge Compact between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America among others.

As the bilateral relation with International Financial Institutions (IFI) prospers under different frameworks in their favour the amount involved increases as well depending on how the Philippine government abide with the conditionality set forth by them. Implementation of ODA programs is widespread throughout the Philippine archipelago but focus is on areas identified by the donor country as defined in the agreement and conditionality. Most often than not areas identified by funders are areas rich in natural resources and biological diversities. Also, these areas are the ancestral domains of Indigenous Peoples. And because the Philippines is facing a historic problem of armed conflict or the so called “insurgency problem” with five armed groups of different ideologies - NDFP/NPA/ CPP, MILF, MNLF, RPM-P/RPA/ABB, and CPLA, these areas are identified strongholds of insurgency as well. The Cordillera north of the Philippines is one of these areas.

Two years ago, the World Bank (WB) has tagged the Philippines as a model in providing a social safety net that cushions the poor population from the impact of global financial and economic problems (*WB, 26 April 2012*). Tagging as such the Philippines under the administration of President Benigno Aquino III had intensified its ODA funded program on poverty alleviation under the framework of Peace and Development. Included in the program are KALAHI-CIDSS, 4ps-CCT, CHARMP2, and PAMANA.

#### ***B. Summary of Program Implementation and Community Experiences***

Through the years, the Cordillera Region has been a recipient of millions worth of “development projects” funded by international funding institutions through ODA. This paper will present four of these projects in the Cordillera - KALAHI-CIDSS, 4ps-CCT, CHARMP2, and PAMANA.

Common purpose of these programs/projects is to alleviate poverty and empower the poorest communities. The different line agencies of the government have been implementing these Official Development Assistance projects following the design approved by the sources of the loan or grant.

In the presentation of community experiences and critiques on these programs, it will take into account the five foundational shifts of development justice, to whom and who's interest are being addressed by these projects, is there justice in these development programs?

As the Cordillera is home of around 90% indigenous peoples, are these programs reflect and respect the development perspective and agenda of Indigenous Peoples, which is a Self-Determined and Genuine Sustainable Development?

## **1. The KALAHI-CIDSS**

The Kapit-Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services: Kapangyarihan at Kaunlaransa Barangay (KALAHI-CIDSS: KKB) is the community driven flagship project of the Philippine Government. KALAHI-CIDSS aims to contribute to the realization of some of the 2015 Millennium Development Goals. Through the project, it is expected that the poorest communities will be empowered, local governance will be improved, poverty will be alleviated, and transparency will be a way of life.

Beneficiaries of the project are selected based on the list of poorest provinces from the National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB). Four provinces in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) namely Abra, Kalinga, Ifugao and Mt. Province were included in the NSCB list of 44 poorest provinces nationwide for CY 2000. Using the Municipal Mapping, the poorest 25 percent of municipalities in the province are selected thru a multi-stakeholders provincial forum. These municipalities were fourth to sixth class municipalities during the project inception.

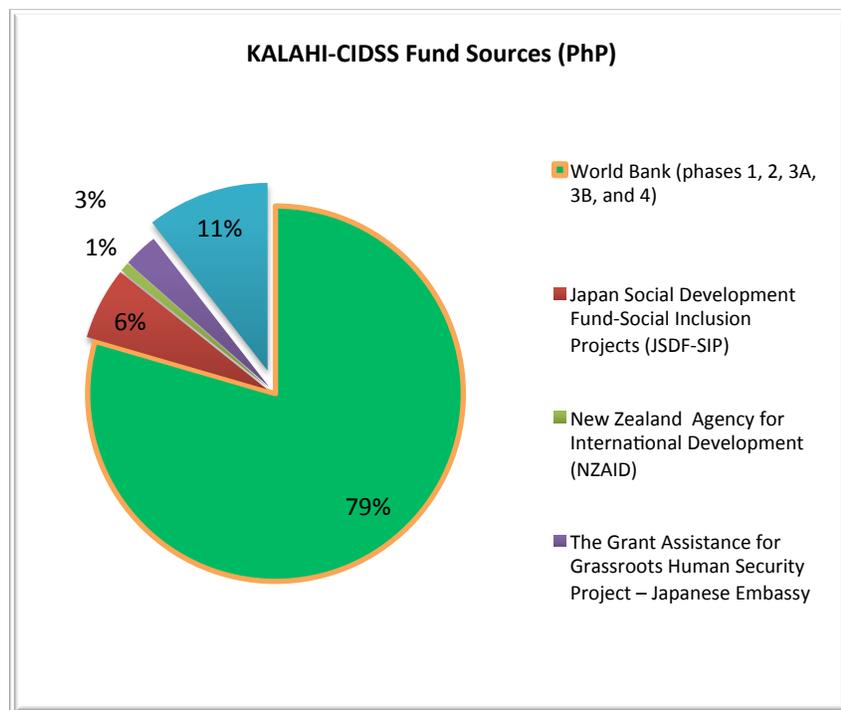
Project grant from KALAHI requires at least 30 percent counterpart contribution from the community and local government units (LGUs). The municipal LGUs' source of cash counterpart is from the 20 percent development fund of the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA). KALAHI grants are transferred to the Barangay account opened by the Barangay Sub-Project Management Committee (BSPMC) and the Area Coordinating Team (ACT) only if the local cash counterparts are deposited. The area coordinator of the ACT, the BSPMC chairman and the barangay treasurer are the bank signatories of the KALAHI barangay account.

The project employed the 16-step Community Planning and Sub-Project Cycle (CPSPC) or simply the "16 steps." The 16-steps evolved into the Community Empowerment Activity Cycle (CEAC), a Community Driven Development model implemented through a five stage multi-activity process. Each community undergoes the CEAC three times in a period of three years. Each cycle should be done in 12 months, it is composed of five stages: 1) social preparation, 2) project identification, selection and planning, 3) project approval, 4) project implementation, operation and management (O&M) and M&E, and 5) community based evaluation and accountability review and reporting.

The CEAC framework follows a progression of strategies and activities leading towards a gradual transfer of responsibilities to participating municipal governments, called Makamasang Tugon (MT), after three cycles. The partner municipal LGUs and BSPMCs empowered during KALAHI period lead in the implementation of Makamasang Tugon following the CEAC.

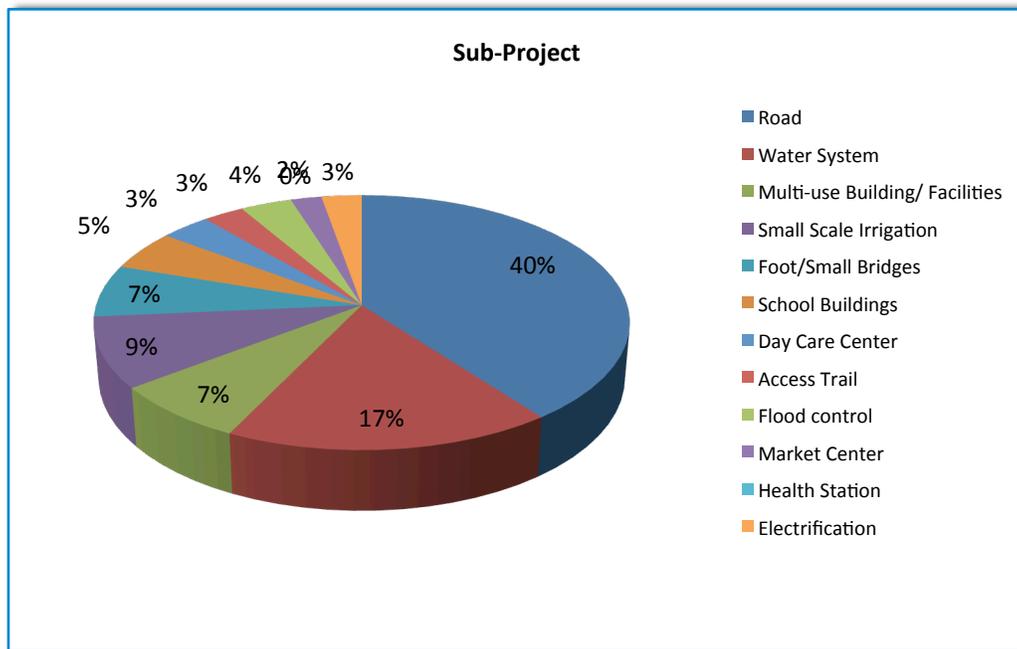
As of December 2010 KALAHI-CIDSS project coverage and grant allocated in the Cordillera is 13 municipalities and a total grant amounting to PhP 123,800,000.00 respectively. In their report in August 15, 2012 it revealed that the project covered nineteen (19) municipalities. Of the 19 municipalities, five are classified as Makamasang Tugon (MT) municipalities, while 14 municipalities are under the regular KALAHI program. In terms of status in implementation twelve (12) municipalities namely Conner and Kabugao in Apayao, Pasil and Tinglayan in Kalinga, Besao in Mt. Province, Bucay, Bucloc, Langiden, La Paz, Luba, Pilar and Sallapadan in Abra are currently implementing the project. The municipalities of Lacub, San Isidro, Boliney, Peñarrubia, and Lagangilang in Abra withdrew from the project and these are replaced by the municipalities of Malibcong and Tubo in the province of Abra.

Fund sources of KALAHI-CIDSS are a) *World Bank for Phases 1, 2, 3A, 3B, and 4* amounting Php107,463,277.77 and 59,589,063.83 generated local cash counterpart; b) *Japan Social Development Fund-Social Inclusion Projects (JSDF-SIP)* for five (5) municipalities namely Tanudan, Tinoc, Asipulo, Natonin, and Tineg amounting to Php8,410,909.96 (plus saving from the KC fund) of Php2,128,730.00; c) *New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID)* for Tineg amounting to Php1,511,800 (grant of Php1,058,300 and LCC of 453,525.00, However only 90% of the grant was downloaded to the community; d) *The Grant Assistance for Grassroots Human Security Project – Japanese Embassy* for Tinoc amounting 4,000,000.00 – completed in Nov. 2006; e) *The Community Driven Development-Local Planning Process (CDD-LPP) or Makamasang Tugon Project* for Tinoc, Asipulo, Hingyon, Sadanga, Pinukpuk & San Quintin amounting to 14,234,282.74 and 6,413,238.9 LCC delivered; and f) *from the \$8.1 Billion funding support to anti-poverty programs around the world by Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) of the USA*, which will be given in all areas after 2010.



The Japan Social Development Fund-Social Inclusion Projects (JSDF-SIP) is a three-year complementary grant facility to the KALAHI project, which aimed to address constraints in participation identified during the early implementation of this project.

Sub-Projects under KALAHI-CIDSS were implemented through community contracting led by Barangay Sub-Project Management Committee (BSPMC) and guided by the 180-page long Community Based Procurement Manual. As of December 2010 sub-projects include Road construction, Water system, Multi-use building/facilities, Small scale irrigation, Foot & small bridges, Schools buildings, Day care center, Access trail, Flood control, Market center, Health station, and Electrification. The graph show percentage based on number of sub-projects and grants released. The highest in percentage is road construction seconded by water system.



Irrigation which is most needed by the communities is third in rank. This is even a small scale irrigation system.

Of the completed phases, only 83 percent was released, the remaining 17 percent (Php21M plus) of the grant was not released due to varied reasons. The sub-projects were implemented through community contracting led by BSPMC and guided by the 180-page long Community Based Procurement Manual. The DSWD report disclosed over Php40.7 M of the Php79.2 M worth of grants for 2012 has been released to the community beneficiaries for the implementation of sub-projects.

### Stakeholders and staffing

At the regional level, the different stakeholders such as the Regional Development Council (RDC), Regional KALAHI Convergence Group (RKCG) and its Regional Social Development Committee (RSDC), PRO-COR and the Philippine Army were oriented to give support and ensure the smooth implementation of the project. The Regional Project Management Office (RPMO) is based at the DSWD-CAR office. Key positions are held by permanent staff, headed by the Regional Director and the Project Manager. All the support staff is hired on a contractual basis. The RPMO is guided by the National Project Management office with expert consultants.

Each municipality is manned by an Area Coordinating Team (ACT) composed of an Area Coordinator (AC), Deputy Area Coordinator (DAC), Municipal Roving Bookkeeper (MRB), and Community Facilitators (one CF covering five barangays). The ACT is supervised by the MSWDO. All ACT members are hired as contractual employees of DSWD-CAR.

The Municipal Local Government Unit (MLGU) of the municipality beneficiaries plays an important role in the project implementation. They provide the required cash and in-kind counterpart. In addition, technical working groups are formed to participate in the implementation of the KALAHÍ. The MLGU responsibilities are stipulated in the MOA signed during the launching of the project.

The Barangay Sub-Project Management Committees (BSPMCs) control the resources and implementation of sub-projects. The BSPMCs are the volunteers from each barangay to implement the sub-projects. Up to 14 sub-committees are formed to participate in the social preparation up to transition phases. They have the authority to make decisions but they are also accountable for ensuring that the quality of the goods and services are in accordance with the technical specifications. They also need to ensure that the award has to be made using the criterion of Lowest Calculated and Responsive Bid/Quotation, at the same time practicing transparency and providing fair competition among qualified contractors and suppliers. The BSPMC may employ outside contractors to complete complicated works that are beyond the community's capacity to implement.

In the actual project implementation, DSWD reported that various factors hindered smooth project implementations. Foremost is the topography and inaccessibility of most of the barangays which resulted in more delays when the communities were tasked to implement different project simultaneously to catch up with timelines; Negative impact of highland vegetable garden on the environment specifically in Tinoc, which became a major producer of highland vegetables because of 14 farm to market roads constructed, but expanding vegetable gardens are replacing the mossy forest; Release of LGU counterpart contribution is dependent on the release of the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) which causes delay in implementation; Unreleased grants for not able to meet deadlines due to delays in implementation, and because some local Chief Executive is not supportive of the projects because of questions in implementation thus pulled from project as in the case of Abra specifics in Lagayan- Php4.5 M unreleased and Tineg and San Isidro- Php 6.4 M unreleased, and Pinukpuk and Tanudan in Kalinga with Php 4.6 M unreleased grant respectively; and On functionality, Audit in 2009 shows that 96 percent (200 sub-projects) were found functional and 4 percent (eight sub-projects) were partially functional.

### **Community experiences in implementing KALAHÍ-CIDSS project**

Community experiences in the implementation of KALAHÍ-CIDSS program differs from one area to another. These are summarized as follows:

- 1) The KALAHÍ-CIDSS was maximized by CDPC network partner people's organization to fund some of their organizational plan like construction of the bridge in Libsong, Lacub, Abra among others.
- 2) The Sagang bridge in Poblacion Lacub, Abra was hardly completed due to lack of materials and lack of technical support. The KALAHÍ-CIDSS Engineer miscalculated the needed materials, the steel bars and mats were cut improperly, thus many steel materials were wasted.

3) In Natonin, Mt. Province, the implementation of a foot trail under the Makamasang Tugon caused misunderstanding among the volunteers. Only a few among the volunteers used the mobilization fund, and the project fund is not transparent to all community members. Community members claimed that the completed project is sub-standard because 50 bags of cement were undelivered. Payment for labor hired to construct the pathway is still not given.

4) In Natonin, the irrigation system was reported by RPMO as partially functional due to soil erosion along the water source. However, this is not the only reason but also because the construction of the source was actually not finished. To make it functional, DPWH and MLGU had to fix the irrigation source.

5) Still in Natonin, the Pap-arong irrigation was rehabilitated by CECAP and again repaired by KALAHI. However, they did not conduct deeper study on the sinking portion of the irrigation canal, thus pipes installed at the sinking portion did not last long. Temporary work was done at the sinking area and the reported irrigated area was not achieved. Such that the Peoples Organizations in Tonglayan had requested the assistance of Cordillera Disaster Response and Development Services (CorDisRDS) – a NGO network member of the Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera (CDPC)-Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA) network, to fix the sinking area and complete the uncemented irrigation canal to irrigate the wider part of the rice fields.

6) In the municipality of Pinukpuk, Kalinga, there were cases where the Program of Work (POW) was not made known to the community which caused ignorance among the community members on the exact description of the project. Information on the POW was confined only to the Area Coordinating Team (ACT) and a few members of the BSPMC. For example, in Balayangon, the community was informed that the approved sub-project is made up only of two units Drying Pavement instead of three units. The true information was withheld from the community because there was an attempt of some members of the ACT and BSPMC to use the project fund for another purpose. Also as reported, the aggregates used were purchased in Tabuk, the provincial town center, but these are actually hauled by the community members from the Saltan River. The check made for this purpose was encashed in a hardware store in Tabuk. The cash was divided among a few members of the ACT and barangay officials who are also the MSPMC. This was exposed by a community volunteer because she got a smaller share.

7) Still in the municipality of Pinukpuk, the construction of Wagud Irrigation System was not completed because the third tranche from KALAHI was not downloaded. On the part of the BSPMC, they had difficulty accomplishing the documents to request for the third tranche while on the part of the ACT, they were not able to provide guidance until the project timeline was over. The project at present is not useful, despite the fact that the fund allotted to the project is more than Php 900,000.00.

8) There were cases of fraudulent financial transactions initiated by the member/s of ACT. Some examples are the Balayangon Multi Purpose Pavement, Baay Health Center, Allaguia Tire Path of Barangay Road and Pakawit Farm to Market Road. Possible misuse of funds come in many forms such as overpricing, increasing the volume of materials, encashment of checks intended for construction materials (in connivance with the winning suppliers), use of dummy for technical assistance but the Deputy Area Coordinator /Area Coordinator Team actually gets the payments.

9) Reported functional or completed projects by the Regional Project Management Office (RPMO) are not always true. This can be proven in the case of the Baay Barangay Health Station (BHS) in the municipality of Pinukpuk, which was reported as completed and functional in December 2010. However, it became operational only in 2012. The “local contractor” was not fully paid so he did not allow the building to be utilized. Many laborers were still unpaid. The community people intervened and were able to convince the “local contractor” to open the BHS.

10) Still in the municipality of Pinukpuk, the procurement process introduced by KALAH I for local materials, particularly lumber, led to the increase of the local price of common lumber. The prevailing amount per board foot of lumber ranged from Php12-16.00 but the KALAH I price in the POW was Php22.00. Instead of adopting the local price, KALAH I introduced a higher price. After the project, local suppliers increased the price of lumber.

11) In Talocloc, Tanudan, Kalinga, a flood control project as well as support to the Dappo irrigation system was never completed. Only the foundation was done and the planned rehabilitation of the irrigation canal to put permanent spiral pipe was never installed. Yet it was reported as completed and functional. Recently, the irrigation canal was cemented with funds coming from the Calamity Fund of Congressman Agyao.

12) In Tanudan, there were reported cases of wastage of materials, such as hardened cement and materials were diverted for personal projects of the BSPMC members. The ACT assigned in the area also initiated the misuse of funds. Also, there were cases of apparently completed projects but based on feedback from the communities, these projects were left uncompleted. Those that were completed were substandard and not functional. The MLGU withdrew from this project because of many issues and misunderstanding among project stakeholders.

### **Feedback from people who were directly involved in the project**

1) One who used to be a member of the Tineg ACT: “We manipulated the criteria for selection of sub-projects to be funded due to difficulty of going to the far barangays. We regret doing it but we are beating the project timeline.”

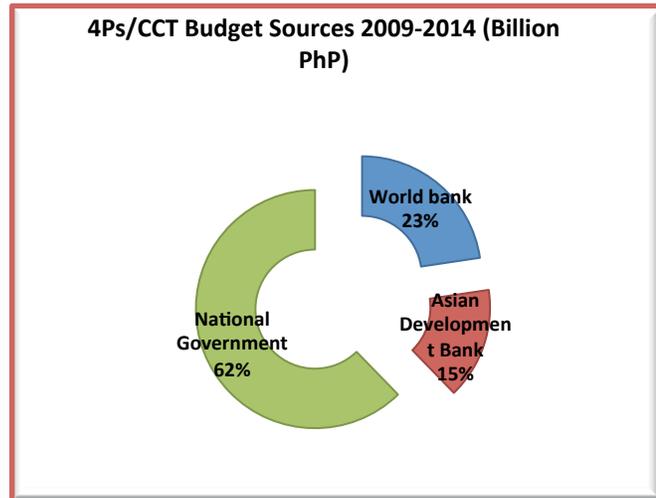
2) One who used to be a Deputy Area Coordinator: “The documents that I have to prepare are voluminous from sub-project identification to completion. I do not have time to visit the sub-projects. I’m stuck with too many forms to accomplish and reports to do. My supposed counterparts from the MLGU have their own tasks and deadlines. It is not an assurance that a sub-project is implemented well if all the forms/documents are accomplished and are therefore available.”

3) One who used to be a Community Facilitator and Area Coordinator: “I appreciated the process employed by the KALAH I but the timeline and process do not support it. The social preparation stage activities must be reviewed so that the communities are properly informed and trained on their functions for them to be capable in implementing and maintaining the sub-projects. I recommend that the CEAC process must be modified. The social preparation must be done continuously in the first year, instead of doing it every cycle. If DSWD really wants to empower the beneficiaries and let them internalize the CDD (Community Driven Development) principles, the CEAC process must be reviewed to lessen dole out projects.”

## 2. The Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) or the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT)

Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps) or the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) is a flagship poverty alleviation program of the Philippine government which is run through the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). It started in 2007 patterned with the CCT in Latin America and African countries because of its claim to be effective as a poverty alleviation and social development measure. It is the government's way of achieving the five (5) indicators in the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) on

poverty reduction and empowerment of the poor by 2015. These goals are Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger; Achieve universal primary education; Promote gender equality and Women Empowerment; Reduce child mortality; and Improve maternal health. It is a program that would cushion poor families from sliding down to extreme impoverishment. The DSWD wants to reach 5.2 million households in 2015. CCT is one of the many *pantawid* or tide-over programs of the Benigno Aquino administration.



Main sources of funds for this program are from the World Bank and Asia Development Bank. From 2009 to 2014, the CCT project estimated fund is US\$1.29 billion with 923,000 households as target beneficiaries (*ADB August 2010 report*). Only a third of the fund is shouldered by the government and the remaining two thirds is loaned from World Bank and Asia Development Bank. Reports reveal that by the end of 2009, there was a dramatic increase in the foreign debt of the Philippine government.

The CCT money from the World Bank and ADB is not free money; it is a loan to be paid by the Filipino people. Sonny Africa of IBON Foundation, an independent think-tank, in an interview with the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ), said that by their conservative estimate, the interest payments to the World Bank for the CCT loans will reach up to US\$94.6 million and US\$107.4 million to ADB, with a combined total of US\$1.007 billion or Php44.31 billion. Africa further stated that for every US\$4 that is borrowed by the government to finance CCT beneficiaries, a US\$1 is paid for its interest.

One component of CCT is the Self Employment Assistance-Kaunlaran (SEA-K) in what DSWD refers to as Convergence.

### Selection of Beneficiary, Benefits, and Conditions

As the government implementing agency, the DSWD conducts several activities in choosing household beneficiaries. One process is through the National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (NHTS-PR). This is a database of DSWD in identifying who are the poor families. Areas with poverty incidence of 50 percent and above are identified. A survey is then conducted, called Proxy Means Test (PMT), estimating the household income based on the variables in the survey form. Identified households undergo a validation process.

Eligible households for the cash transfer should meet the following criteria: 1) Located in the municipalities and barangays selected (with poverty incidence higher than 50 percent; 2) Economic conditions are equal to or below the provincial poverty threshold; 3) Have children aged 0-14 years old or have pregnant woman in the household during the registration; and 4) Willing and able to commit in complying with the conditions specified for the program.

Thereafter, household beneficiaries submit several documents to the DSWD and sign the contract referred to in the Cordillera Administrative Region as *Kari ken Sapata* (Promise and Oath). It is a 5-year contract that specifies the conditions of the cash transfer. The beneficiaries will have to comply with what is stipulated in the *Kari ken Sapata* in order to regularly receive the cash transfer amounting from Php500 (US\$11.90) to Php2,400 (US\$57.14) every month. Violation or missing out on any of the conditions will mean deduction or termination of the cash transfer.

For every household beneficiary, every child beneficiary receives a Health cash of Php500 (US\$11.90) and an Education cash of Php300 (US\$7.14) if enrolled in elementary and high school. A maximum of three children per household is covered. Children are no longer qualified to receive cash transfers once they reach the age of 15. The DSWD proposed an age extension to 18 years old. On the other hand, mothers of beneficiary households receive Php500 every month.

DSWD asserts that CCT is not a dole out program because of several conditions fulfilled by beneficiaries to be able to receive the cash. These three main conditions are on Health and Nutrition, Education, and Family Development Sessions.

Non-compliance of the aforementioned conditions for health and education for the first time means the household beneficiary will not receive the cash for the specific month. The second offense means temporary suspension from the cash grant; they will be reprimanded to report to the Social Welfare and Development officer for counselling and intervention. The cash grant will resume if they have wilfully complied with the conditions. The third offense means temporary suspension and another offense will lead to their termination from the CCT.

Household beneficiaries receive the cash every two months after they have complied with all the conditions. The transfer of cash to beneficiaries is coursed through an Automated Teller Machine (ATM) of Land Bank of the Philippines (LBP). For those who do not have ATM, they line up for over the counter service of the said bank. In some areas, they receive the cash through Philpost and Cebuana Lhuillier.

### **Community Experience in 4ps-CCT Implementation**

Having the general objective to generate a perspective of indigenous women on the CCT as a social protection program of the government, the Cordillera Women's Education Action Research Center (CWEARC), an NGO member of CDPC network, conducted a Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) among the beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries of CCT in three communities in the region. These communities are Katablangan in Conner, Apayao; Western Uma in Lubuagan, Kalinga; and Amtuagan in Tubo, Abra.

Specifically the research aimed to a) Study the appropriateness of the social protection program based on local economic, social, and cultural context specially considering indigenous resource management,

sharing and support systems; b) Study emerging values created by CCT and negative values that strengthen differences among indigenous communities; c) Investigate on disempowering tendencies brought about by the CCT; and d) To arrive at concrete findings for the government, academe and other social institutions as well as indigenous women's organizations with respect to the CCT. It will further look into the a) appropriateness of the social protection response given the high level of poverty in most indigenous communities; b) poor health and education situation and accessibility to primary health care and education of children of families in poverty in rural and urban poor communities and access of mothers to reproductive health services; c) process of selection and evaluation of the beneficiaries and fund controversies; d) negative values emerging from the program and impression of powerlessness among women; and e) effects of the program to the community that may affect their cultural, mental and psychological well-being.

The three communities use a case studies are Villages of Katablangan in the municipality of Conner in the province of Apayao; Amtuagan in the municipality of Tubo in the province of Abra; and Western Uma in the municipality of Lubuagan in the province of Kalinga.

These three villages belong to the poorest municipalities in the Cordillera. Except for Western Uma, two villages can be reached by a maximum of 7 hours hike. The road heading to Amtuagan is only passable during dry season which is in the months of January to May. The most depressed village of the three is Katablangan where government support for basic social services is hardly found especially for health and education. Common of the three areas is the very poor situation in agriculture and support and service by the government is very minimal considering that this is their main source of livelihood. It was also observed that traditional knowledge systems on agriculture and natural resource management and socio-political is still strongly practice in the three villages. These are seen in their community cooperation practices and beliefs like *Innabuyog*, *Angkas*, *Paniyew* among others.

All the three villages started benefitting from the CCT in 2009. In the interviews, all respondents say that social workers from DSWD came to their villages sometime in 2008 and asked them about their livelihood sources. The DSWD did not explain the purpose. To their surprise, they received a letter from the municipal social welfare and development offices (MSWDO), informing them of their being beneficiaries to the CCT program. Most of them expressed joy in the beginning, feeling they were noticed by the government. Later on, this would become a cliché of being the "*anak ti gobyerno*" (children of government). The "blessing" of being chosen eventually became a bane with several issues arising.

Result of the research show that there are positive stories told but alongside these are various issues by the communities on the program and its implementation scheme.

On the one hand, are the positive stories on how the CCT has helped the beneficiaries in the three villages but they also clarify that these are all short term benefits. When they were asked about what situation they would have after the CCT contract lapses, the answer is "back to basic." This means that after the 5-year contract, their lives will still be the same as it was before CCT program. Western Uma beneficiaries said, after they graduate from the program, they will have to exert more effort to support their families.

A school teacher in Katablangan who was interviewed said that since the start of the CCT, she is happy to see the beneficiaries having complete uniform, pencil and paper, raincoat, umbrella and others needs. She recalls that during her first year of teaching in the village, it was heartbreaking for her to see pupils

carrying their lunch wrapped in a banana leaf and plastic cellophane and pupils entering their classrooms barefoot. With the CCT, this teacher is very happy that the cash grant helped parents in buying their children the basic school needs. The teacher thinks that having the basic school needs inspire the pupils to attend their classes regularly.

This statement was also affirmed by parents from the household beneficiaries. They claim that having the basic school needs is helpful in uplifting their children's attitude regarding schooling. On the other hand, the conditions on education press the children to attend school regularly. Failure to meet the 85 percent attendance would mean deduction of Php300 from their cash transfer. Thus, parents are obliged to check regularly their children's attendance in school.

On the other hand are various issues and negative aspects of the program as viewed and shared by the communities. These are summarized as follows:

Divisiveness that cause a break up in the unity of relatives, neighbors and villagers. All respondents comment that the general population of their communities fall within the "poor" according to the criteria, however, not all of the selected are within the extreme poor. In another village of Conner, Apayao, a middle peasant was furious why he was included in the list. The women of the Save Apayao Peoples Organization (SAPO) found out that in the survey, among the questions asked is the ownership of any appliance, like radio and refrigerator, which this middle peasant did not own at all. On the other hand, there are much more households that deserve to be beneficiaries but are not in the list. A gap between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries is also created, the latter as "neglected by government" and the former "children of government." Non-beneficiaries express feelings of animosity, anger and jealousy to beneficiaries.

The monitoring of the compliance with the conditions has also created a divide even among the beneficiaries. In the case of Amtuagan, the parent leader (PL) is the one in charge of doing the reports to the municipal link (ML). As parent leader, she is responsible in convening meetings and family development sessions. This role has marred relationships, especially during pay-out when a household beneficiary learns of deductions for non-compliance of a CCT program condition. In the process of data gathering, it was observed that beneficiaries do not talk much of their complaints about the project if the PL is around for the fear of any backlash.

Deduction of the cash grant regardless of their compliance with the conditions. Complaints of beneficiaries have not yet addressed by DSWD although they undergone the process of grievance mechanism called by DSWD.

Access of beneficiaries to their "pension" (cash transfer) during pay out. In the case of Amtuagan, they have to hike and ride a boat and a jeepney to the provincial capital of Bangued in order to get their cash grant. The usual expense entailed for a two-day back and forth travel and one night stay in Bangued is P350.00 (US\$8.33) for transportation plus meals in transit. This also means missing a two-day work in their farm or wage labor. The actual travel expense, excluding the value of the two-day absence from their production, is an amount already equivalent to one child's benefit. Beneficiaries regard this as impractical. Oftentimes, beneficiaries would borrow for transportation and food expenses from their neighbors during pay out schedules. Some would even go home empty-handed and indebted to their neighbors because their cash card is still zero balance or the cash transfer was not yet made, or was less

than expenses incurred especially when there are deductions supposedly due to non compliance of some conditions;

Misuse or other use of the cash grant is also one prevailing issue. In the contracts entered into by the beneficiaries, it was stated that they can only use the money to buy vitamins and food for health, and school supplies for education. There were reports from the communities, however, that some parents used the cash to shop for other non-essential goods. In Western Uma, some beneficiaries will instead come home with new heeled shoes. There are also cases in Amtuagan where husbands used the cash to buy liquor. This issue was solved by the municipal link (ML) in Amtuagan and Western Uma by requiring receipts for the liquidation of the cash. To other beneficiaries in the three villages, they cannot deny that they have used the cash to instead buy other basic needs in the households, like rice rather than vitamins and school supplies. They assert that these essential goods should not be questioned as school supplies and vitamins are useless if their children's stomachs are hungry.

In Amtuagan, one of the beneficiaries articulates that the CCT is not really solving poverty in their village. *"Pangmabiitan lang dayta,"* (That's just a short term), she says. She further explains that this program does not address alleviation from extreme poverty. According to her, a more meaningful response to rural poverty is rice field expansion that would eventually produce more food. She presents that there are idle lands in Amtuagan that can be cultivated as rice paddies but they need irrigation and tools to make the lands arable. She continues to say that if their vast area of land is irrigated, it will sustain all the members of the community, while CCT is just a contract which lapse. Unless the cash transfer will be done forever, beneficiaries will remain in their state of poverty.

In summary as result of the case studies in three villages, CCT program has promoted the saying that goes *"Breeding the culture of dependence and breaking the culture of self reliance"*.

Further, CCT is also a perfect example of the proverbs that says *"Give a man a fish, he'll eat for a day; teach him how to fish and he'll eat for a lifetime."* Further, *"If I give food to the hungry, I am regarded a saint, if I question why the poor are hungry, I am called a communist,"* from a famous Catholic Bishop.

CCT program is one of the many government programs that breed the culture of dependence in the Cordillera region. In many villages, it has crippled the self reliance of the people. Some of the resilience initiatives of women in Western Uma, like cultivating swidden farms to augment their rice harvest, were weakened due to the cash that they are expecting. Significant number of beneficiaries in Western Uma became inactive in discussions on issues and community activities. As one of the respondents say, *"mapan da nu adda kwarta na,"* (they come if there is money). This has been observed among the members of community organizations that participation of CCT beneficiaries in their organizational life, has weakened. The spirit of volunteerism is in peril, thus, destroying community resilience initiatives like *angkas* system (voluntary labor), *saranay* (spirit of helping each other), *innabuyog/abbuyog* (reciprocal or pooled labor) and others.

Others say that CCT instils fear instead of ownership because it obliges women or their spouses to attend the family development sessions once a month and other emergency meetings. They set aside their livelihood activities because of fear that they will be deducted Php500 and be reported with a bad record to the municipal link.

Likewise, the SEA-K which is a component of CCT is also implemented in two of the three areas of studies- Amtuagan and Western Uma. This is a livelihood program that lends cash amounting to Php10,000.00 (US\$238) as a seed fund and as a means to sustain the economic life of selected CCT beneficiaries. In the interviews of women in Western Uma who availed of the SEA-K, the dominant claim is that SEA-K did not work for them. Some of them use up the seed fund for their basic needs because there is hardly any sustainable livelihood project wherein to invest the money. Thorough study of where to invest the small amount is crucial before release is done. The beneficiaries after spending the seed fund have now to pay Php500 monthly until they are able to pay the said amount in two years. Respondents found the SEA-K an additional burden.

### **3. The Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resource Management Projects 2 (CHARMP2) and the Cordillera Experience on IFAD Policy of Engagement with Indigenous Peoples**

The Second Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resource Management (CHARM2) Project is a special project implemented by the Department of Agriculture. It is the second phase of CHARM1 Project which was implemented in 1998 to 2004.

As an effort to deal with the Cordillera development situation, the government, with funding mainly from the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), embarked on part two of the Cordillera Highland Agriculture Resource Management Project (CHARMP 2) starting June 15, 2010.

This is a socio-economic project endeavour which components include Social Mobilization, Participatory Investment Planning and Land Titling (SMPIPLT); Community Watershed Conservation, Forest management and Agroforestry (CWC/FMA); Agriculture, Agribusiness and Income Generating Activities (AAIGA); Rural Infrastructure Development (RID); and Project Management and Coordination (PMC). CHARMP1 is guided by the IFAD policy on “engagement with indigenous peoples” and is meant to enhance IFAD’s “development effectiveness.”

In the Cordillera, grassroots non-government organizations (NGOs) have practiced the principles of “people’s participation,” “social justice,” self determination, and sustainable development. This has been through the conduct of continuous education and organizing work, advocacy, and implementation of appropriate socio-economic projects that advance a self determined sustainable development. Indigenous people’s rights have been popularized and there have been sustained efforts to address people’s welfare, in the face of historic government neglect and development aggression. One of these NGOs is the Montañosa Research and Development Center (MRDC). MRDC is an NGO member of the CDPC-CPA network which expertise is on sustainable agriculture.

MRDC was the NGO partner chosen for CHARMP2 in Mountain Province through bidding. All the NGO partners were terminated at the end of the two-year social mobilization phase.

The engagement of MRDC with CHARMP 2 starts in June 2010 and ended in June 2013. MRDC Terminal and Assessment Reports present key achievements, as well as critiques and lessons. It is a summarized sharing for consideration in continuing development work among indigenous peoples (IPs).

MRDC's engagement with CHARMP 2 for its SMPPIP phase covered 48 barangays in eight municipalities of Mountain Province with 24 staff or Community Mobilization Officers (CMOs). The engagement contract was for two years with an option for an extension for another one and a half years after evaluation. In such NGO performance evaluation, MRDC had a passing rate of 84 percent but still was terminated.

The summary activities and achievements of this two year engagement are as follows:

1) Socio-economic profiles and Participatory Project Investment Plans (PPIPs) of all the 48 barangays covered by the CHARMP 2 Project were updated and adopted by the communities concerned through barangay assemblies. These were integrated into the Barangay Development Plans and Municipal Development Plans, and up to the Provincial Development Plans. The PPIP was packaged and a total of 384 copies were printed and given to partners – Project Support Office (PSO), Project Coordinating Officer (PCO), National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), Provincial Planning and Development Office (PPDO), Office of the provincial Agriculturist (OPAG), Municipal Planning and Development Office (MPDO), Office of the Municipal Agriculturist (OMAG), and the barangays involved. MRDC finalized these PPIP after needed revisions of drafts submitted by the CMOs, especially on the socio-economic profiles.

For the PPIP barangay review and revalidation, some officials opted not to revalidate, as they were certain that their identified priority projects were already included in the PPIP. They were apprehensive that these would be changed in such supposed revalidation activity. MRDC effectively dealt with such apprehensions, and the revalidation processes were successfully implemented with majority women participants.

2) The formation of POs is one of the major tasks of the NGO under CHARMP 2 Project. The PO would serve as forum for sharing of ideas as well as consensus building and collective action; participate in the monitoring and evaluation of project activities in their community; and ensure the management and sustainability of their barangay development activities. At least 59 POs were successfully organized and strengthened in a span of two years for the 48 barangays of the CHARMP 2 Project. About 30 were organized into umbrella/federation type and 29 were organized based on project components. For legal status, 52 are registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission, two are registered with the Department of Labor and Employment and four are still undergoing registration.

3) Confidence building and bridging of relationships with Local Government Units (LGUs) and agencies were done with persistent networking and courtesy calls with the Provincial Government, the eight target municipalities and the 48 barangays of the project. MRDC was introduced as the NGO partner of the CHARMP 2 Project in Mountain Province. Orientation and program activities were discussed. This was part of unifying stakeholders on the project. It helped that MRDC was already familiar to many, given MRDC's track record on community development spanning more than 30 years. Such unification process aimed to build a common understanding on the different aspects of the program. MRDC also clarified its

sustainable agriculture and people's development orientation, especially on the setting up of People's Organizations (POs) that are not 'fly by night' and not divisive among the people. A genuine PO truly operates for community interest, thus the people embrace it and make it function.

4) Staff development to build confidence and competence among the CMOs in the performance of their task is a requisite in responsible and committed community development. Before the CMOs were assigned to their corresponding areas, orientation seminars and trainings were conducted. These would build the capability of CMOs, clarify their work in the communities, and give education not only on employment but more so for service, which is the work ethic of MRDC. Many capability building education and training were given, such as - research orientation, writing workshop, workshop on data analysis and interpretation, Indigenous Peoples Rights and Human Rights, Community Organizing Seminar, Organizational Development Seminar, Leadership Skills Training, and situation updates. These were much appreciated by the CMOs and these helped build their capability as development workers.

5) PO capability building was also addressed through seminars –workshops/trainings. A Training Needs Assessment (TNA) was first conducted to determine needs. These were on Leadership Skills and on Project Monitoring and Evaluation. Also identified needs are updates on the current issues confronting the people and communities, such as mining which has a direct effect on the productivity of their lands, indigenous people's rights, environmental inputs and dissemination of appropriate technologies on sustainable agriculture. These contributed to build the capability and stability of Project Monitoring and Evaluation Teams (PMETs) and People's Organizations (POs). Genuine POs prevail because they address continuing community needs. They should therefore be made capable to be viable as such; and should not only exist or be tied to the duration of specific funding or projects.

The MRDC engagement with DA-CHARM 2 has enriched the development work of activist NGOs in joint development work with government. The critique and lessons are raised from our perspective of genuine people's development; which calls for sincere respect and support for indigenous peoples rights, and for self determined sustainable development in the Cordillera. And we raise a challenge to DA-CHARMP 2 that the "IFAD Policy on engagement with Indigenous Peoples" be real, and not just be rhetoric, in the continuing implementation of CHARMP 2 in the Cordillera.

This is the first MRDC experience of a full project cycle implementation with a government agency, outside of the usual consultations and cooperation on specific aspects of community development work. This engagement covered the full process of project work with plan and targets for a defined area, and with a budget. The engagement is bound by a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA).

Another context is that MRDC is generally critical of development initiatives that undermine self determined and sustainable development. MRDC, like other Cordillera NGOs, was specifically critical of the earlier CHARM 1; namely, on its weak grounding with people's organizations, and its significant support for cash crops over subsistence food crops that further promoted chemical fertilizer and pesticide based agriculture.

In summary, the key lessons of the recently concluded MRDC-CHARMP 2 engagement are as follows:

a. **On Project Work** - Affirmation of the usual PO observation that projects work with government is complicated, limited to those who know, sometimes without reality and tainted by corruption, thus there is not much interest. Target beneficiaries usually get divided over fund issues, get distracted or lose hope due to delays; and over-all community solidarity is undermined. Requirements such as counterparts may also be unrealistic which cause delay or even non-implementation. Also DA-CHARMP 2's prioritization of crop commodities to be implemented from its own view is a 'top-down' approach. It contradicts 'bottoms up' approach where commodities identified in the PPIP and approved by the community should be the basis of priorities and implementation.

b. **On Organizing** - The MRDC concept and practice is that organizing is the foundation of community development work –more than projects and funds. Organizing is continuous empowerment that must be nourished and renewed, in the various phases of the development process. When a level of organizing is achieved, then funds and projects are necessary inputs for food security, people's welfare, and sustainability. This builds genuine people's empowerment.

On the other hand, DA-CHARMP 2 regards organizing as just a one shot deal activity that is time bound or within a limited period, as compliance for legal status and for access to funds; thus organizing is within the framework of funds and projects, and not of people's empowerment. This is a sea of difference in development work. No wonder NGOs and POs continue to be critical of government related development initiatives, especially of their so called organizing or social mobilization.

c. **On Partnership** of NGO and Government Agency-LGU: This MRDC-DA-CHARMP 2 with provincial-municipal-barangay LGU level partnership, shows that such NGO-government partnership can be productive, and a rich source of development work insights and lessons. But there are basic points on development work like on development processes, namely on organizing, and on content of development projects that need to be further analyzed and agreed on. Principles of partnership and involvement of civil society should be observed. We can build on this experience for more productive engagements in the future.

#### **4. The Payapa at Masaganang Pamayan (PAMANA) Project**

PAMANA, or Payapa at Masaganang Pamayanan in conflict affected areas, is for development and improved delivery of social services. It is a priority program of the Benigno Aquino administration for lasting peace and development, by the Office of the Presidential Assistant on the Peace Process (OPAPP). It is complementary to peace talks, as the main track in the challenge to end the long history of armed conflict, through negotiated political settlement with five armed groups of different ideologies – *NDFP/NPA/CP* (*National Democratic Front of the Philippines / New People's Army/Communist Party of the Philippines*), *MILF* (*Moro Islamic Liberation Front*), *MNLF* (*Moro National Liberation Front*), *RPM-P/RPA/ABB* (*Rebolusyonaryong Partido Manggagawa – Pilipinas / Revolutionary Proletarian Army / Alex Boncayao Brigade*), and *CPLA* (*Cordillera People Liberation Army*).

As a complementary track to peace negotiations, the PAMANA program strategy aims to address the causes of armed conflict, ensure that target communities benefit from improved delivery of basic social services; and are served by responsive, transparent and accountable government units. PAMANA is implemented in defined conflict – affected areas in the Philippines which cover 48 provinces, 218 municipalities, 3,500 barangays, and some 400,000 households as beneficiaries. The Program is within

the 5-year period from 2011 to 2016, as embodied in Chapter 9 - Peace and Development, of the Philippine Development Plan. It involves policy reform and legislative action (e.g., on ancestral domain and mining), facilitation of basic social services and community driven development like on livelihood, and challenges in subregional development like infrastructures and agri-industrial investments.

### **Fund Sources and Allocations**

As reported by Malacanang and OPAPP, the PAMANA program started in 2011 with funds coming from the Disbursements Acceleration Program (DAP), a fund under the president in the amount of PhP 1.8 billion (*DAP is now declared by the Supreme Court as Unconstitutional*), and funds from foreign countries that are supportive to the peace process in the Philippines such as the Norwegian government-US\$ 73 million, Brunei's Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah but no indicative amount.

For 2012 budget, President Aquino proposed a budget of P1.9 billion for the program but fund source was not mentioned; and European Union handed P312-million grant to World Food Program to help fund the two – year “Enhancing the Resilience of Internally Displaced Persons in Central Mindanao by Strengthening Livelihoods;

In April 29, 2013 United Nations and the World Bank signed a new technical assistance program to support the peace process and the establishment of the Bangsamoro in Southern Philippines. No indicative amount mentioned; and GFI loans but no indicative amount.

These funds are allocated to eligible Local Government Units (LGUs) in the form of fund subsidy and also to support community projects identified under the closure agreements with the Cordillera Bodong Association (CBA)-Cordillera People’s Liberation Army (CPLA) and the RPMP/RPA/ABB/TPG. Funds allocated to government agencies are under their specific program and work concern.

For projects that will be implemented by other entities such as the AFP engineering Brigade/CSOs/other responsible partners, the concerned Regional Office, shall transfer the fund to these entities, based on the approved Work and Financial Plan as agreed with the LGU. Fund releases for all types of projects i.e. infrastructure, livelihood, procurement of equipments/goods are in 3 tranches depending on the implementing agency as stated in their MOA with OPAPP.

In the Cordillera, PAMANA has been implemented through the CPLA with the July 4, 2011 Closure Agreement between government (GPH-OPAPP) and Cordillera Bodong Administration – Cordillera People Liberation Army (CBA-CPLA); that defined CPLA henceforth as a socio- economic group, with millions of development funds allotted for its operations and for community development. The PAMANA beneficiary areas in the Cordillera are 57 barangays in 23-28 municipalities in the six provinces identified in the Closure Agreement. As a socio- economic group, CPLA would now be unarmed and henceforth called Cordillera Forum for Peace and Development (CFPD).

### **Implementation of PAMANA Program in the Communities and Community Feedbacks**

Research made by CDPC revolved on the whole project cycle and sustainability measures on the following specific concern as summarized below:

#### *1) On the Projects Implemented*

In the province of Ifugao the research done in two municipalities was in coordination with staff of Ifugao Peasants Movement (IPM) and some PO members. Municipalities involved are Hingyon and Alfonso Lista. Interviewed Key Informants in Hingyon are the Social Work Officer 1 (SWO1), two beneficiaries, and 1 LGU representative. The research staff for security reasons did not push through their visit to Alfonso Lista but they were able to gather data from Mr. Arsenio Humiding- the CPLA Chairperson through mobile phone.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 2013 study, there are 3 infrastructure projects (farm to market road) completed out of 13 infrastructure projects under DILG, and the rest are on-going. Related to the MOA (Closure program), there are 7 livelihood projects identified for CPLA members but implementation has not yet started as these are on the process of proposal-making, and revisions for feasibility as per comments by implementing agency and OPAPP. According to the Social Worker Officer 1 (SWO 1) of DSWD, these projects as per plan are supposedly for turn-over by November 2013.

Further in the September 30, 2013 report of the Office of the Provincial Engineer of the Province of Ifugao, there are ten (10) infrastructure projects in the province from the 2011 GPH-CBA-CPLA Trust Fund. Two (2) are completed, six (6) on-going, one (1) is suspended and one (1) for realignment.

Completed projects located in the municipality of Alfonso Lista are concreting of Sta. Maria Sitio Bangar-Mateo Section road with a contract budget of P 3,366,131.94, and concreting of Junction to Caragasan road with a contract budget of P 975,361.92.

On- going projects located in Banaue are construction of Tribal Multi-purpose Development Center with a contract budget of 4,17,002.33, improvement of Junction to Gohang National School road with 4,004,518.90 budget, improvement of Uhaj Poblacion road with 3,952,585.22 budget, and improvement of Junction to San Fernando Elementary School road with 4,027,186.69 budget respectively.

On-going projects in Hingyon are construction of Mompolia Multi-purpose Gym and peace Center with a budget of 3,096,530.05, and construction of Pitawan to Puntagguwan farm to market road with a budget of 2,076,759.28. Suspended and for re-alignment projects located in Alfonso Lista are Construction of Caragasan Tribal Center with a budget of 984,840.38 and Minanga Sta. Maria Electrification project with a budget of PhP 1,000,000 respectively.

Other on-going projects as reported on July 2012 by the province Engineering Office are Gumhang-Luhong Danggo Farm to market road with 4 million budget, and Duli-Natkak-Camandag Road opening in Asipulo with a total budget of 4 million.

Specific in the municipality of Alfonso Lista through phone interview with Mr. Arsenio Himiding, he said that the PAMANA-MOA implementation is delayed because of the condition that budget is released upon final disposition of firearms. To date, there are 71 CPLA members in the province of Ifugao. 27 of this had already turned over their firearms but 41 firearms were in the inventory at the designated area. DSWD assists in the barracks of PNP to evaluate condition of firearms for valuation- ex. for 9mm firearm functional is worth 20,000. Pricing depends on the kind and condition of firearms turned-over.

Some surrendered CPLA members are transformed to lead their livelihood projects, and some are integrated to the AFP where two of them who did not yet receive their 1<sup>st</sup> salary died during ambush encountered with the NPA, and 32 (14 CPLA with next of kin 18) are employed by DENR starting

August 29, 2013 as “Bantay Gubat” (Forest Guards). They are assigned at PENRO- Tinoc, Hungduan, and Asipulo. CPLA members have 3 options- benefits from livelihood projects, integrate with AFP, and employment with DENR.

Mr. Arsenio Humiding had confirmed reported infrastructure projects and status by the Provincial Engineering office. He further reported that the nursery-seedling production with 1 million budget and Nainangga farm to market road with 1 million budget has not yet started; potable water system with 300 thousand budget is controversial because budget has not yet been released; and the livelihood projects for CPLA members with 7.4 million budget has not yet started.

In Mt. Province, the Municipality of Sadanga was chosen for the field study because all barangays are covered by the PAMANA Program. Interviewed key informants are the Mayor (only 1 question as he refused to be interviewed), CPLA members, and some community members. The MPDO (Municipal Planning and development Officer), whom the Mayor referred for interview instead of him, was not around. CDPC was not granted to avail of their existing files. As transpired from the interviews and observations, most community members do not have sufficient information on the PAMANA Program. They are only informed when a project is to be implemented.

Projects implemented in the municipality are Demang irrigation system (80% completed), Betwagan Farm to market road (Phase 1 completed) but suspended operation at present, Sacasacan-Belwang road as well is suspended operation because community members resisted the project for they can't afford to lose their rice fields, and Maligcong- Bontoc road concreting (completed) with 6 million budget but the actual project cost is 3.6 million only. This is one issue of the communities when it comes to PAMANA projects.

## *2) On Planning and Project Identification Process*

The livelihood projects of CPLA members are identified by them. Other members of the community do not interfere or take part on the project.

Specific for Hingyon infrastructure projects, the communities were not well informed of the projects because there was no FPIC conducted. Leaders and members of CPLA are the ones who identified these projects. In some cases, where there is FPIC conducted, participants to the meetings are families of CPLA members and leaders. The informant say further that “ parang CPLA driven sila at hindi community driven” (seems that the community members are CPLA driven and not community driven). DSWD and DILG personnel and CSO groups had conducted a validation of the proposed projects but only few people attended the meeting. Proposals are discussed in meetings convened by DSWD province. The misunderstanding on the fund for seedling production implementation between the implementing agency and the community had affected their participation in this meeting.

In Sadanga Mt. Province, from the interview with Mayor Ganggangan, he said that projects were discussed and identified by the community through a general assembly that is held annually. He further said that these projects are the fruits of the efforts of the organization (CPLA) for years. But in a separate interview with some community members, they said that there were no consultations and discussions conducted about the PAMANA projects. This was seconded by some CPLA members. The CPLA members who were interviewed further say that the Mayor is the last decision for everything about the

PAMANA program. Although CPLA members and community members have many suggestions, in the end, the mayor did not consider these.

### *3) On the Implementation Process*

For the infrastructure and livelihood projects, implementers are the Local government units in partnership with the line agencies concerned. Funds are transferred from the regional to provincial to the MLGU then to the community through CPLA leaders and People's Organizations that were set up for the projects. There are two (2) POs set up for this purpose- the Hingyon, Banaue, Lagawe (HIBLA) headed by Jesster Bahatan, and KABUNYAN (Alfonso Lista, Aguinaldo and Lamut) PO headed by Crusado Velasco. All projects are under the management of these two POs.

No feasibility studies were conducted on the implemented projects but conducted Training-workshops among the CPLA leaders on business planning and on the proposals and critiques by partner agencies for final approval for implementation. In their training on Community Driven Development Enterprise Development (CDED) for Stakeholders held in Banaue hotel on September 9-11, 2013. Topics discussed are self-mastery; Financial literacy/enterprise development; PLIA- assets/capital, environment scanning, livelihood, threat and interventions; Anti- violence in the context of (CDED); and Seven habits of Highly Effective People. The training workshop resulted in a review of proposals for the Sustainable Livelihood Projects per PO (HIBLA and KABUNYAN).

Community members/beneficiaries role is in the actual implementation is their free labour as counterpart. However, in some project proposals budget for labour is included in the total project cost. The LGUs do monitoring and validation through the provincial technical working group where they meet every month for bidding, and trouble-shooting of issues and concerns.

In the municipality of Sadanga, in the interview with group of CPLA members, they said that the livelihood projects and the PAMANA projects is now an issue among CPLA members in the municipality of Sadanga. They said that it is the Mayor that decides for everything. The livelihood projects that are intended for the CPLA members are also open by the Mayor to non-CPLA members who are mostly his personnel or his supporters.

On the integration of CPLA with the AFP, the Mayor for being biased had filed a disqualification protest to many of the CPLA members who applied for the integration. Around 40 CPLA members applied. Most of the disqualified CPLA members are not supportive of his political career. Most CPLA members prefer to be integrated with the AFP because of higher salary and more benefits. To appease these CPLA members, they were prioritized in the DENR employment as forest guards. These are now assigned at PENRO-CENRO Mt. Province with a minimum salary. Most of the 30 forest guards are in Mt. Data National Park and some are in the municipality. They work per schedule by the PENRO-CENRO.

Related to the livelihood program and turn-over and inventory of firearms, the Mayor manipulated the CPLA profiles. He created new CPLA members and bought firearms to have something to surrender and to justify that they are members of the CPLA. The original members of CPLA who are not supportive of him were not included in the profiling. The original members who were there during the profiling were not able to react because the Mayor was there with his bodyguards the whole time and he (Mayor) was the one identifying who the CPLA members are. He answers most questions by OPAPP representatives.

As such, the group of CPLA members interviewed said that the Mayor created an “opening program for a clan war” in the municipality instead of “closure program”.

The Livelihood projects implementation for CPLA members has not yet started because of unresolved issue on identification and decision-making on the kind of project to implement. There are two opposing views on the kind of projects. The Mayor and his supporters are pushing for a hardware store but most of the CPLA original members preferred a micro-financing project.

Implementation of the Sacasacan-Belwang road construction and continuation of Betwagan Farm to market road Phase 2 is suspended. The Sacasacan-Belwang road construction is presently tied with issue on community rice fields. Some community member can't not afford to lose their rice fields thus protested the continuation of the project. According to the community members, this project was resisted by them from the start but the Mayor told them “*Rugian tayu ketdin ti project ket ayaban tayon to dagiti NPA nga bumaba tapno solbaren da ti probleman to nga umay*”. (We will start the project now then we will call the NPAs to come down to solve whatever issues that may arise). The other project suspended (freeze) is the continuation of Betwagan Farm to Market road Phase 2 construction. As reported, the Mayor stopped the operation of the project after he learned about the result of the election in the barangay. He lost in favour of his opponent who is from Betwagan.

Another issue of the community as to PAMANA project is the implementation of the Maligcong-Bontoc road concreting. The budget is P 6 million but the actual project cost is 3.6 million only. In terms of transparency and accountability, the community and CPLA members are asking where the rest of the fund went.

Furthermore, issue of triple funding of one project came out. This is an irrigation project in one community was already reported completed but physically this was never completed despite 3 succeeding funders. First funder was CHARMP1, then KALAHI, and now by PAMANA.

#### 4) On the effect of the project to community/beneficiaries

Specific in Mompolia, the Natongnin Multi-purpose Gym and Peace Center, the informants say that the project is good because it serves as



meeting place for occasional purposes (graduation, fiesta, etc), but there are more important needs of the community that need to be addressed especially food and other basic needs. On the farm to market road project, community people were supportive at first because it gives improvement for the community, but the people complained because their “Muyong’



woodlots) will be destroyed. And when they learned about the big budget of the project, they decided to settle with market price for their “Muyong”. The market price is 5% of the total project cost.

For the concreting of road going to kapitan- Sitio Nahig, the key informant said that the project is useless because only few will pass through the road. The quality of the project is not good such that 10 cracks are observed already.

In Sadanga, the CPLA members said that the attitude of the Mayor had created disunity in the organization. He is using CPLA organization to advance his personal interest. He became bias for CPLA members who supported him in the recent national and local election. He used PAMANA projects to advance his political career.

The PAMANA projects in the municipality of Sadanga had created disunity among clans and now open a clan war according to the CPLA members. From the point of view of some community members, it also created disunity among communities.

It was also observed that the wrong choice of PAMANA projects threaten the main source of livelihood of the communities that is farming and the environment.

#### *5) On Monitoring and Evaluation and Sustainability Measures*

Monitoring and evaluations, and reports are done by the Provincial Technical Working Group of the PAMANA projects. This is chaired by the Governor or Authorized representative. Members the Provincial Engineer, Accountant, Treasurer, DILG Director, PNP Director, Provincial general Service Office, Provincial Coordinator, CFPD Chairperson or authorized representative, AFP authorized rep, and DSWD authorized representative. Other task of the working group is to coordinate all concerns and requirements in the implementation of PAMANA projects with the various national government agencies, non-government organizations and basic sector organizations; Hold regular meetings or special meetings as needed to facilitate resolution of cases on grievances and complaints; and provide assistant as needed to better implement the projects.

It was not mentioned if the POs/beneficiaries are involved in the monitoring and evaluation of projects. POs/community members are also not represented to the Provincial Technical Working Group.

In the municipality of Sadanga, some community and CPLA members said that they have not seen group or NGOs in the community to monitor PAMANA projects. The Mayor's office do occasional visit of the projects.

### **C. Critiques and Recommendations**

#### **Kalahi-CIDSS**

The selection process in identifying/prioritizing sub-projects, though the CEAC is a good process and may enhance community participation. However, it does not guarantee that the neediest barangays will benefit from the project. It is the Municipal Inter-Barangay Forum (MIBF) that sets the criteria for prioritizing the proposed sub-projects of the barangays. Some of the criteria are biased to favor nearer and populated barangays. Good sub-projects proposed by the neediest barangays have less chance to receive funding if they get a lower score than the sub-projects that do not really contribute to KALAH I objectives. For example, Barangay Junction in Pinukpuk implemented a Market Center that never served its purpose, instead of a Communal Irrigation System proposed by another barangay.

At the level of the RPMO, determining sub-project status of implementation is mostly based on documents submitted by the ACT and BSPMC and on the burn rate of budget disbursements. Sub-projects implemented in far barangays are seldom visited during implementation period. Though in the POW of sub-projects, there is a budget line to pay technical persons or provisions for engineering supervision to ensure proper implementation. There were cases wherein hired technical persons are not real or the budget allotted for such is diverted. The ACTs and BSPMCs can always submit fraudulent reports with fake signatures of volunteers, suppliers and service providers.

A project that is strictly based on timelines does not ensure the achievement of objectives. The implementation period per municipality is strictly limited to three years, despite delayed implementation faced by most of the project areas. Following timelines may force the ACT to favour nearer barangays and shortcut the process. (e.g. Tineg experience). There were also instances that due to delays, sub-projects implementation are overlapping in the second and third cycles that caused too much work among the stakeholders and have greater tendency to overlook the implementation process and construct sub-standard sub-projects.

KALAHI-CIDSS employs the community-driven development method, which requires high percentage of community participation throughout the project cycle. The key to achieving this is to have a dedicated ACT and supportive MLGU. However, there were cases where the ACT and or the BSPMC conspired to “misuse” the funds and limited the participation of other volunteers. The members of the Area Coordinating Teams are hired on a contractual basis; they do not have security of tenure to safeguard, thus they are tempted to do even “anomalous” transactions. The Area Coordinator is also one of the three signatories of the Barangay Account while the Municipal Roving Bookkeeper and the Community Facilitator assist in accomplishing the papers for fund releases so they can easily manipulate the use of funds. The ACT must instill good values and integrity in the communities served, and should not teach them how to do petty corruption. The program of work can be manipulated by the Deputy Area Coordinator of the ACT or other members of the ACT and the BSPMC with the intention of “misusing” the funds or of awarding bids to “favoured suppliers.”

It is observable that partner MLGUs have questions with regard to the project policies and requirements. This has resulted in early phase out (e.g. Lagayan), uncompleted cycles (e.g. Tineg and San Isidro), delayed implementation (e.g. Pinukpuk and Tanudan), and even withdrawal of the project (e.g. Lacub, San Isidro, Boliney, Pennarubia and Langangilang in Abra). It is clear that the partner MLGUs have limited participation in the project conceptualization.

In each barangay where the KALAHI and Makamasang Tugon were implemented, there were at least 13 committees formed to participate in the project implementation up to maintenance. However, it is a common feedback from the communities served by KALAHI that few individuals were involved. It is true that during the project planning, these sub-committees of the BSPMC were organized and oriented; but during the course of sub-project implementation, most of the listed volunteers were not involved (i.e. in the cases of Tinglayan, Pinukpuk, Natonin, Tanudan). How can the KALAHI empower the communities wherein most “volunteers” were only in name? Few community members are involved, mostly the BSPMC chairpersons, the barangay treasurers, and other barangay officials. Actually they are not really “volunteers” because they have mobilization funds and also serve as contractors/suppliers.

KALAHY grants are not 100 percent downloaded to the barangay account. The downloading is done in three tranches (based on the POW of a sub-project). Every tranche requires a list of documents to be accomplished by the ACT and the BSMC. Some of the required technical reports are beyond the capacity of the BSPMC to prepare, which may result to non-downloading of funds from KALAHY and eventually non-completion of sub-projects. Yet these projects are reported by RMPO as completed and functional, e.g. experience of Wagud CIS.

The implementation of Makamasang Tugon in former KALAHY areas, where the CEAC process must be replicated accurately and managed by the partner MLGU, was a failure as seen in the type of sub-projects completed, e.g. Mapaco Day Care Center and Tonglayan Foot Path. If the CEAC process was appreciated and adopted by the LGUs, the sub-projects implemented should have shown good results. However, they did not succeed in all areas implementing the MT due to sub-standard projects, petty corruption, delayed implementation and misunderstanding among community members.

To summarize from these data, the KALAHY CIDSS has been marked with poor involvement of the community concerned, distorted choice of projects and substandard or incomplete implementation, petty corruption and collusion among those involved, tedious and impractical requirements, with cases of massaged or too good to be true reports. Several partner LGUs flatly rejected the project due to inappropriate and impractical policies and requirements.

Thus after implementing more than PhP200 Million worth of “community projects” in the Cordillera Region for almost 10 years, the question remains: What has KALAHY-CIDSS achieved in terms of achieving the stated objectives that the “poorest communities will be empowered, local governance will be improved, poverty will be alleviated, and transparency will be a way of life?”

### **Cash Conditional Transfer**

The government has already allotted billions of pesos for this dole out program, while health and education fund only gets the least amount from every General Appropriation Acts (GAA). It is crystal clear then that this CCT program is a band-aid solution. In the DSWD report in 2013, the measurement for their accomplishment is counting how many millions of individuals have benefited from the program, how dropout rates decreased, and how many mothers have benefited from their training activities.

This way of measurement will surely result in a positive remark to the country’s achievement for the five MDGs mentioned above. The question is on the quality of life of the beneficiaries after the lapse of their contracts. Already, government is sending signals that it will continue the program even without the conduct of a comprehensive assessment, whether it worked or not at all in terms of eradicating poverty and in fulfilling other objectives of the Millennium Development Goals from the perspective of beneficiaries and of long term sustainable self reliance.

Government uses language of the neoliberal framework which project that poverty is being addressed, when in fact neoliberalism or imperialist globalization at present is the cause of poverty and underdevelopment. An impact of the CCT should be a qualitative and sustainable improvement in the lives of poor beneficiaries; but this is hardly reflected in the result of our study in the communities of Amtuagan, Western Uma and Katablangan. While there are conditions in implementation to make it less

of a dole out, it essentially is still a dole out that even breaks down strong village culture of volunteerism and self reliance.

Drawing from the experience of both the “children of government” and the “neglected by government” in the three sample communities, CCT has only reinforced the mindset that women are helpless; it breaks up self-reliance and local resiliency; and promotes a mindset to be beholden and myopic. This leads to another state of disempowerment among indigenous women who, throughout their lives, learned to be resilient, to depend on their cooperative and collective strength, and be self reliant.

Misuse of the cash grants is a high risk in a state of poverty, where the essential goods of food is a daily struggle. The temptation, or even the necessity to use the cash grant to purchase food, is inevitably high. On another side, corruption of values happens when the “children of government” use the amount to purchase non-essential goods including liquor. What DSWD and the whole institution of government fail to inculcate is that the amount given is a loan to be paid by all Filipinos. The cash grant is not a “pension” or grant. The purpose of increasing children’s attendance in school and of regular check-ups for pregnant and nursing mothers is better done without money reward but through sustained information campaigns; and if basic livelihood needs are met so that children would be free to be in school and mothers also free to attend to their maternal health needs. Compliance with requirements will always be a conflict and are bound to fail when the more essential issues of food and livelihood, practicality and access, are not sufficiently addressed.

The created mindset of being beholden on small gifts from government, as in this CCT program, is a way to obliterate the essential role of government as the duty bearer. As the duty bearer, government is expected to deliver more comprehensive, appropriate and sustainable poverty solutions. The government as the duty bearer should not only be delivering band-aid solutions or dole outs like CCT. The tandem of the Philippine government with notorious banks, such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, is another controversial area of concern, noting that these international financial institutions are responsible in deepening poverty worldwide.

In this regard, it is important to heed the calls of the indigenous women in Amtuagan, Western Uma and Katablangan, as well as other indigenous and poor women for:

Government to assess the CCT and other poverty alleviation programs and address the questionable process of selection and issues on the implementation, such as on the grievance mechanism;

Government to heed the call for a comprehensive poverty solution, where land and resources are within the control and access of indigenous communities along with viable knowledge and practices to sustain these resources;

Government to provide necessary support in enhancing the sustainable and safe agricultural production of indigenous women and their households; and

Government to be transparent on the source of funds as loan, explain the loan conditions and provide qualitative indicators on what the CCT achieved with the active voice of beneficiaries.

On CCT as well as other issues, facilitation of continued discussion and collective analysis will be pursued to amplify the voices, experiences and actions of poor and marginalized population and

indigenous peoples, and the women. These are opportunities and tools for education and for mobilization. Ultimately, the voices and actions for genuine socio-economic development be theirs when their involvement is an empowering journey.

### **Cordillera Highland Agricultural Resource Management Project 2 (CHARMP2)**

Now with the MRDC-CHARMP 2 Engagement, the following Points of Critique are raised towards improving our overall development work, and to point out that the IFAD policy of engagement with indigenous peoples was undermined in this experience. The same points also raised in the MRDC Terminal Report.

The approach and conduct of organizing work is a key area of critique. The DA-CHARMP 2 organizing is observed to be project centered, mechanical and a fulfillment of a legal requirement for fund access/project implementation. It has generated divisiveness over projects and funds. And it does not build community empowerment. This is a key concern of MRDC as it strikes at the core of community development work – the reality and quality of people’s participation. As MRDC is not involved now in CHARMP 2, it calls on DA-CHARM 2 to respect the integrity of existing organizations and work with them; instead of superficially putting up new organizations for the sake of specific projects usually with the attraction of funds. Such project and fund centered organizations are divisive in our close knit communities, and they usually do not last.

The titling component supporting the CALT/CADT processes runs counter to the popular people’s assertion of their ancestral land rights. NGOs and POs in Mountain Province have always been critical of the CALT/CADT processes starting with CHARMP 1, and such initiatives by other agencies because it is taken advantage of by individuals to the detriment of their relatives (clan) and the community (*ili*); as it has been a backdoor to privatization of once ancestral or communal lands. Thus CALT/CADT has been a divisive social justice issue among clans and *ili*/tribes, with the opportunist privatization of ancestral or communal lands.

On project identification, there were instances that commodity crops identified by the community in the PPIP were changed by DA-CHARMP 2, like from camote or casava to kape or muscovado. The integrity of people’s participation and results of PPIP should be respected.

Case studies in two barangays of Mountain Province being conducted by the Tebtebba Foundation as part of its CHARMP 2 Evaluation indicate similar points. A common barangay folk feedback is that projects identified in the PPIP are not being followed; and that implementation is too much delayed even for projects that do not require counterpart. It would be useful for DA-CHAMP 2 to look into this.

On NGO role that builds civil society participation in CHARMP 2 implementation. MRDC has fulfilled the role of an NGO, which is important for the project’s success, as seen in the first two years social mobilization phase implementation of the CHARMP 2 Project. But with the decision to terminate NGO participation in CHARMP 2 effective June 15, 2012, MRDC now questions the sincerity of the DA-CHARMP 2-IFAD in involving NGOs/Civil Society Organizations in their development work. MRDC, as partner NGO for the social mobilization phase in Mountain Province, believes that it should continue to undertake the third year project implementation, and even be involved in monitoring of projects in succeeding years. Terminating the participation of NGOs, like MRDC, that have deep roots among

Peoples Organizations and communities actively asserting their IP character, undermines IP civil society involvement in this endeavor. It negates the reason for having NGOs as contractual partners in each province. With the termination of the NGO role, civil society and multi stakeholder involvement is undermined. It then appears as just rhetoric for the DA-CHARMP-IFAD.

On the partnership of MRDC with DA-CAR–CHARMP2, MRDC subscribes to partnership on development work guided by principles of equality and mutual benefit, with corresponding cooperation and consensus in decision making and implementation. These were not observed in the DA-CAR-CHARMP-IFAD and MRDC partnership as follows:

- a) Organizational structure reflects that POs (on same level as Barangay Council) are within the vertical authority of government, which should not be. POs like NGOs are outside of government.
- b) Decision to end partnership with NGOs was unilateral on the part of DA-CAR-CHARMP-IFAD. In Mountain Province, this should have been taken up in a meeting of DA-CHARMP, LGU, and MRDC. There was information on termination at a regional meeting; but this was not discussed by the partners in a meeting called for such; that would have processed the reasons for such termination. It was not evaluated by the contracting parties of the Partnership, for MRDC (and even the Project Management Group) to be heard. In this case, DA-CHARMP-IFAD decided as they wished. There is a more decent process for responsible and respectable Partnership.

On the Relations of provincial DA-CHARMP 2 with NGO/MRDC, This has been a contentious and unnecessarily difficult relationship; and this should have been best addressed in a Partnership Evaluation, or at minimum a meeting to thresh out things. But as the Partnership and MRDC role has been terminated without due process, we wish to present said difficulties as follows:

- a) Non-productive and repetitive issues always raised by the Provincial Coordinator Office (PCO), like on the project implementation budget raised in many fora; and continuing comments that tended to put MRDC in a bad light even after MRDC role in the project had been terminated;
- b) Requiring CMOs to directly submit their reports to the PCO, and even after this was corrected, the PCO would still sometimes relate directly with CMOs in ways that undermine the integrity of MRDC as the contracting partner responsible for the CMOs;
- c) PCO requiring unnecessary processes on billing, like presentation of the PPIP Review Process to the PMG for their endorsement; with the PCO usually not being available to sign billing requirements. This resulted in unreasonably delayed payments to MRDC, which also delayed implementation and CMO salaries.

### **Payapa at Masaganang Pamayanan (PAMANA)**

The general critique of PAMANA national implementation is its militarization of basic social services and community development projects, which reinforce OPLAN Bayanihan and therefore intensifies disunity in key conflict areas.

Implementation of the PAMANA program is with government line agencies in partnership with local government units (LGUs) through various appropriate arrangements. Implementation of components on

policy reform, basic social services and community driven development projects, started in 2011, through the Department of Social Welfare and Development and the Department of Agrarian Reform (DSWD and DAR). These are through the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) strategy, Community Driven Development (CDD) projects like Kapit Bisig Laban sa Kahirapan - Comprehensive and Integrated Delivery of Social Services (KALAHI-CIDSS), and access to utilization of the Peace-Building and Development Fund (PDF), for peace promoting projects using the CDD approach.

Challenges in subregional development, like infrastructure and agri-industrial investment projects, are through partnership between the Office the Presidential Adviser on the Peace Process (OPAPP) in cooperation with LGUS, as well as with other agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture (DA), Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP ), Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), and the Department of National Defense–Armed Forces of the Philippines (DND-AFP); usually also in partnership with the Department and Interior and Local Government (DILG) on programs in line with their department program and mandate.

Although it is a national program, PAMANA is implemented only in key conflict areas; which are likely the priority implementation areas of OPLAN Bayanihan like in the Cordillera region; and exclude areas like Cagayan Valley and Central Luzon. Funding is from various foreign sources ostensibly for “Peace Process” or for “Peace and Development,” that include loans; and also the Disbursement Acceleration Plan (DAP) fund from the Office of the President.

With the PAMANA program, government has militarized socio-economic-infrastructure development-policy-plan and investments; as well as basic social services in the target conflict areas. This further sharply politicizes development and basic social services in conflict areas with already relatively politicized communities; where people articulate the existence of “two governments” - the open Government of the Philippines (GPH) and the underground or revolutionary rebel government identified with the NDFP-NPA-CPP.

The PAMANA program is a bold move of government it seems, precisely to politicize development and basic social services and a program of pacification. It may be a gamble, or a desperate act, like a scorched earth policy. The expectation perhaps is that by 2016 when the PAMANA program ends, the identified conflict areas would have been pacified; with no more armed struggle and underground government seeking revolutionary change in Philippine society. Of course, this remains to be seen.

Meantime, our critique remains that militarizing and politicizing development and basic social services is undemocratic and unjust. People have a right to development and to basic social services regardless of political belief, ethnicity, race or religion. This is normally done through the regular programs of government agencies and LGUs; without the national security-counter insurgency focus and packaging of programs like PAMANA that militarize these otherwise civilian development projects and social services. A government in power, anywhere, is obliged to serve its people justly and equally at all times; otherwise it loses its mandate to be in power.

A particular critique of PAMANA implementation in the Cordillera is the current coddling and award by government to CPLA of PAMANA funds, even if CPLA has ceased to be a factor in the Cordillera as a conflict area; because CPLA has long surrendered to government and has disintegrated into mercenary

groups; and also why revive and award millions of government fund to CPLA which has an atrocious record of human rights violations.

After the Mt. Data “peace pact” of Corazon Aquino–Conrado Balweg, CPLA had degenerated into factions. The later faction of Arsenio Humiding has entered into a MOA with the government for PAMANA implementation in the Cordillera. The bulk of PAMANA in the Cordillera is the implementation of Executive Order No. 49 – Mandating the implementation of the Memorandum of Agreement dated July 4, 2011, entitled “The Cordillera People Liberation Army’s Final Disposition of Arms and Forces and its Transformation into a potent Socio-Economic and Unarmed Force and for other purposes.” This puts closure to the Mt. Data Peace Accord signed on September 13, 1986 by the GPH and the Cordillera Bodong Administration- Cordillera People Liberation Army (CBA-CPLA). But by again now coddling and even awarding CPLA with millions of funds, government has revived an otherwise spent force. Again, in its handling of Cordillera affairs, government has chosen to be biased for the CPLA, at this time on the matter of funds -- development projects and basic social services.

For people’s welfare, development funds and basic social services in the Cordillera, as elsewhere should just be rendered by regular government agencies and LGUs without counter insurgency packaging, like PAMANA thru the CPLA. And for long lasting peace, the government (GPH) should instead actively address obstacles towards resumption of suspended peace talks with the NDFP; with the same challenge also addressed to the NDFP. And the revolutionary armed force in the Cordillera that government should deal with on the armed conflict, for long lasting peace, is the NPA, not the discredited and disarmed CPLA.

CDPC undertook field study to generate insights on PAMANA implementation on the ground, with interviews in Ifugao and in Mountain Province; and consultations with some staff of the DSWD, and other NGO/PO staff. Together with the basic PAMANA documents, and from data of such field study, the following points and specific critiques on PAMANA implementation in the Cordillera were generated.

a. PAMANA equals CPLA in the Cordillera

PAMANA, as the government’s framework for peace and development in conflict-affected areas, guided the GPH–CPLA Closure Agreement, with the following program components: a) economic reintegration and livelihood of CPLA members; b) development of communities with Cordillera Bodong Administration-Cordillera People Liberation Army (CBA-CPLA) presence; c) transformation of the CBA-CPLA into a legal entity for socio-economic development; d) inter-municipal and inter-barangay economic development for selected areas in the Cordillera; and e) documentation of the CBA-CPLA struggle

At the same time, PAMANA as a program is seen to fund some of the concrete projects particularly the community development infrastructures and livelihood projects identified in the Agreement.

PAMANA funds in the Cordillera Administrative Region include development projects and social processes entailed in the closure agreement that finance strategic planning processes of the CBA-CPLA, capacity building to strengthen organizational development of CBA-CPLA, social preparations of

communities for managing development projects, and coordinative meetings. Initial funds starting 2011 were allocated from the PAMANA-OPAPP program. Annual funding would then be through regular appropriations by Congress.

The critique here is on PAMANA being equal to Cordillera Bodong Administration-Cordillera People Liberation Army (CBA-CPLA) in the Cordillera. This is clear in the PAMANA fund use for CPLA livelihood projects, and for community development and basic social services for CBA-CPLA members and communities. PAMANA in the Cordillera is so designed to be exclusively CBA-CPLA; even though CPLA had long surrendered and had a “peace pact” with the government. Thus, the only armed group engaged in armed struggle in the Cordillera that the government should deal with is the NPA.

Furthermore, in the PAMANA Cordillera program, it is also clear that the funds not only support CPLA livelihood projects, and community development projects and social services; but also the organizational activities like planning, capacity building, and coordinative functions of CBA-CPLA. Now why are government funds being used for the organizational activities and to further nurture a paramilitary group, even if it has evolved to now be a socio-economic group, with factions still serving as mercenary groups?

#### b. People’s participation and project budget

Community level people’s participation is poor as community members/beneficiaries are not well involved in the identification and planning of community projects, and in some cases they are not even informed in advance that projects are to be implemented. As has been articulated by critical community members, projects seem to be more “CPLA driven,” rather than “community driven.” CPLA livelihood projects are generally identified by CPLA members. But within CPLA itself, there is also divisiveness among members like in Sadanga municipality, where projects are centered on the Mayor who is a CPLA personality and who allegedly has the final word on projects in favour of his supporters. Thus, CPLA members not aligned with him politically feel excluded. On project budget, community members in one project have noticed discrepancies on reported budget and actual expenses, and they raise questions on what happened to the rest of project fund. As much as triple funding has also been reported in one project --from CHARMP, KALAHI, and now PAMANA.

The critique here is that the basic requirement of people’s participation in development work is not consciously ensured in PAMANA projects, in the whole project cycle, up to monitoring and evaluation. And to start with, PAMANA projects are criticized on its built in bias for CBA-CPLA. Even among the CPLA, PAMANA projects and funds are a cause for divisiveness, due to individual opportunism on who will benefit. These projects and funds also become opportunities for petty corruption and patronage, which prosper because there is no organized and critical people’s participation. The issues of the community and some CPLA members in Sadanga, Mt. Province is that with PAMANA funding and projects, there is divisiveness, and is even creating other conflicts, i.e. threat of “clan war.”

#### c. Project planning and implementation, transparency and accountability

Poverty is what should be addressed as a root cause of “insurgency” and armed conflict. But some projects not well chosen do not respond to poverty and end up not much appreciated; like an Isuzu elf, a multipurpose gymnasium, or even a tribal center. If better planned, community priorities may be

irrigation and/or other food and livelihood generating projects. The most widely implemented projects so far, are road infrastructure projects, with one that destroys rice fields, and another that destroys a Muyong, and so were suspended.

With poor people's participation, the critique of PAMANA planning and implementation is that there is also poor choice of projects in terms of need, priority, and appropriateness. There is weakness in the determination of what are the projects that really address poverty from the community point of view. In cases with no feasibility study, or without sufficient community unification, some initially started projects end up suspended. The reported case of Sagada being allotted PAMANA funds even though it is not a PAMANA identified area is a case of transparency and accountability. CPLA and OPAPP are obliged to clarify what happened. Also, what is reported in the website of OPAPP-PAMANA, in project bill boards, and in implementing agency reports are not always consistent with what is really happening on the ground.

In conclusion, the Cordillera is a long neglected and economically marginalized region of the country. In such situation, issues of livelihood, basic social services, and development projects are life and death concerns. When such programs like PAMANA are packaged as components of government's anti-insurgency program, and that certain communities identified with CBA-CPLA are favoured over others, then discontent and potential conflict is created with areas and communities not benefited by PAMANA. And PAMANA itself becomes a problem.

On addressing armed conflict in the Cordillera, the point is reiterated that it is the NPA that government should deal with by resuming the suspended peace talks. And to address the issue of poverty as root cause of armed conflict, this is best done by directly and sufficiently responding to such needs through regular civilian agencies and LGUs; rather than complicating such development assistance with divisive counter insurgency that militarize projects and social services. It is also unnecessary and counter-productive to course such program that supposedly address the armed conflict, through CPLA which is no longer a force to contend with in the Cordillera armed conflict; and especially with CPLA's atrocious human rights record.

And finally on the regular conduct of development work, PAMANA in the Cordillera is found wanting on the basic requisite of people's participation in all aspects of the project cycle from planning to implementation and monitoring.

For genuine people's development work and advance of people's welfare, it is worthwhile to monitor how PAMANA in the Cordillera will pursue and conclude its program until it ends in 2016.

#### **IV. Indigenous Peoples Self-Determined and Sustainable Development and the Post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals**

##### **Background**

The way of life of Indigenous Peoples is itself a system of sustainability. The identity and survival of Indigenous Peoples is indivisible from a sustainable and sound natural environment. The economy, politics and culture is one integrated system of life - with man, flora and fauna and ecosystem. Values and indigenous socio political systems address the common good, access and use of natural resources is only to meet needs, and resources are nurtured for the benefit of present and future generations. But such

viable and sustainable systems of Indigenous peoples have been eroded by the capitalist system and its philosophy of individual interest, surplus accumulation, and private profit. Thus the plunder and destruction of natural resources, since colonization until now, of the earth's abundant and sustainable resources. Until now, Indigenous Peoples are in life and death struggle against development aggression, of corporations and governments that continue to plunder and destroy the earth's resources and ecosystems. Since colonization, Indigenous Peoples continue to struggle for the defense of their ancestral lands and sustainable life ways.

The agenda on sustainable development must uphold ancestral land rights; and support the campaign against development aggression that plunder land and resources, destroy ecosystems and sustainable life ways. Programs on climate change and global warming would also have more sense if the intensified plunder of natural resources were stopped, and the sustainable systems of indigenous peoples supported and nourished; instead of the "business as usual or more business" approach of the capitalist system on climate change. A holistic response is now also advanced with Indigenous Peoples movements asserting the right to self determination in their economic - political and cultural life.

In the face of continuing plunder and destruction of the earth's diminishing resources, the world can learn from Indigenous Peoples; who pursue self determined sustainable development that nurture land and resources for the common good, for present and for future generations.

### **The Indigenous Peoples' Self-Determined and Sustainable Development is Development Justice**

Indigenous peoples join other peoples of the world who seek a future that fosters equity, justice, respect, peace, democracy, sustainability and self-determination.

We join other peoples of the world who embrace a fresh vision of development altogether, one that is truly transformative and just. We believe that now is the time to advance self-determined sustainable development that addresses development justice— a transformative development framework that aims to redistribute wealth, power, and resources between countries, between rich and poor, and between men and women.

Development justice among indigenous peoples is achieved with self-determination and sustainability. As a fundamental right, self-determination is the right to freely determine and chart our path of development that encompasses our entire economic, political, socio-cultural and spiritual well-being. Self-determination is essentially grounded on indigenous peoples' access and control of ancestral land, territories and resources that serves the common good and that sustains future generations.

Self-determined sustainable development puts people at the front and center of development. It is guided by principles in sustaining the land and resources, nurture the positive and viable elements of indigenous knowledge which promotes harmony with nature, cultivate the culture of working for the common good and promote the practice of sharing, mutuality, solidarity and reciprocity. Indigenous peoples, their social systems and values are part of the environment or ecosystems. This contrasts with capitalist values of overproduction and accumulation, being wasteful, profit-oriented, and therefore destructive and unsustainable.

Self-determined sustainable development is a collective endeavor that recognizes and gives appropriate regard for local and national socio- economic and political contexts. Such may further define specific

features of indigenous peoples' movements and struggles within a country, or in a particular region of a certain country. Colonialism is a common experience but the post-colonial experience may differ. Indigenous peoples' resistance to ruling systems entrenched by colonizers, is part of asserting the right to self-determination. With self-determined and sustainable development that ensures genuine development for indigenous peoples, development justice then becomes possible.

This framework of development of indigenous peoples as described above is grounded in the now called five foundational shifts: *Redistributive Justice*; *Economic Justice*; *Gender and Social Justice*; *Environmental Justice*; and *Accountability to the People*

## **V. Indigenous Peoples' Goals and Calls for a Self-Determined and Sustainable Development**

### **1. Access and Control Over Land, Territories and Resources**

Reject dominant neoliberal concept and practice of development based on colonization, monopoly, commodifying, contamination and exploitation of ancestral land, territories, and resources.

Firmly oppose state policies and programs and repeal national laws that negatively impacts on indigenous peoples' land and territories, ecosystems and livelihoods or which permit corporations or any other third parties to do so.

Stop all forms of development aggression (i.e. mining and other forms of extractive industries, energy projects, corporate land grabbing and conversion) committed by the state and corporations in indigenous territories. Review and revoke agreements with private entities and particularly those unjustly titled by business entities. Undertake environmental, social and human rights assessments of state and corporate projects in indigenous territories.

Compensate indigenous communities from destruction caused by operations of corporations and make them responsible in the rehabilitation of destroyed and polluted sites. Ensure the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples in eco-tourism and other related projects and initiatives.

Recognize maps or boundary definitions of indigenous peoples as their exercise of defending their territories.

### **2. Poverty eradication and food sovereignty**

End poverty by addressing deep-seated economic and social inequalities through an equitable redistribution of resources, power, and opportunities. End the regard of indigenous peoples' land and territories as resource base in the name of national development.

Ensure a secured and decent work and livelihood; create productive and sustainable employment based on international labour standards, living wage and gender equality.

Promote and strengthen sustainable agriculture, agro-forestry, diverse indigenous food production systems and other traditional occupations of indigenous peoples to ensure food sovereignty of indigenous peoples. Allocate funds for these.

Stop the entry and proliferation of genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and other harmful chemical - based technologies in indigenous peoples' lands and territories.

### **3. Human Rights and Peace**

Urge States to fully implement their commitments under international laws and standards which uphold the inherent, inalienable, collective and inter-generations rights of IPs and rights affirmed in treaties, agreements, and constructive arrangements.

Reject national internal security plans of governments and foreign military presence which endanger the human rights and security of indigenous peoples. Stop the use of militarization in dispelling community resistance and as a tool in securing state and corporate projects that violate the rights of indigenous peoples.

End the culture of impunity. Bring to justice the perpetrators of human rights violations committed against indigenous peoples. Urge governments to respond to recommendation of human rights mandate holders with respect to indigenous peoples rights.

Enforce the rule of human rights where schools, public halls and traditional centers, sacred grounds and other community-owned institutions are not allowed as military stations and are free from military attacks.

Enforce the rule of human rights where indigenous children are never used during military operations and government's counter-insurgency or internal security programs. Put an end to the recruitment of children and minors to paramilitary groups.

Dismantle para-military groups and private armies established to secure development aggression. Hold corporations accountable to human rights violations committed against indigenous peoples by their armed groups.

Put an end to unjust criminalization of indigenous communities' resistance and the persecution of indigenous peoples' organizations. Cease from using trumped-up charges and SLAPP suits against indigenous leaders and indigenous organizations.

Support and enable peace initiatives of indigenous peoples as a form of self-determination and in achieving just and lasting peace.

### **4. Gender justice**

Break and challenge patriarchal structures which limit indigenous women's equal access and opportunities in society and ensure the realization and enjoyment of women's rights in all aspects of public and private life.

Develop and enable services and programs which are more sensitive to indigenous women's economic, comprehensive health including reproductive health, and education needs that would increase productive participation and reduce rates of poverty, mortality, morbidity and illiteracy among indigenous women. Recognize indigenous practices of reproductive health

Bring to justice state and corporate perpetrators of rape and sexual violence against indigenous women and girls. Enable an environment where indigenous women and children are secured from all forms of violence and support services are available for victim-survivors of violence.

Enable indigenous women's full and equal participation to political processes, peace-building, access to justice and decision-making in making governments, corporations and the private sector transparent, accountable and responsive.

## **5. Free, prior and informed consent and democratic participation in governance**

Ensure democratic participation and access to public events and discourses of which affect indigenous peoples lives and future. Appropriate the necessary resources and capacity building.

Respect the right of free, prior and informed consent as a practice of indigenous peoples' self-determination. Indigenous peoples have the right to determine 'responsibility measures' for agencies which have been party in manipulating processes of free, prior and informed consent.

Insist on full and effective participation in all discussions and standard setting activities regarding sustainable development, biodiversity, environment, climate change and on the implementation of the UNDRIP.

Support indigenous peoples' self-determined development proposals and enable their full participation in the planning and designing, implementation and monitoring of policies and programs.

## **6. Social Services and Social protection**

Establish universal social protection systems that contribute in redistributing wealth, ensures universal access to social services, and provide security for indigenous peoples from adverse situations.

Assess with indigenous peoples, the implementation of social protection programs (e.g. conditional cash transfers) on benefits and impacts to indigenous peoples and come up with more appropriate, relevant, and sustainable social services, which address the rights and basic needs of indigenous peoples, particularly women and children.

Ensure that health and education programmes respect and protect the traditional healing and health systems of indigenous peoples.

Strengthen and support indigenous peoples' traditional occupations, arts and crafts, technologies and livelihoods which are need-based and sustainable. Ensure that sustainable and community-based economic and livelihood programmes are jointly designed and implemented with indigenous peoples.

Purge educational systems of discriminatory content and erroneous historical accounts and rectify misrepresentation and invisibility of indigenous peoples. Reflect the world views of indigenous peoples in mainstream curricula and ensure that we are not alienated from our own identity, knowledge systems including language, and self-determination.

## **7. Climate Justice and Disaster Response Measures**

Acknowledge and support indigenous peoples' knowledge and practices as viable and sustainable in keeping the life and restoring the Earth's planetary boundaries.

Adopt and support indigenous peoples' actions against greed and profit-based activities (e.g. green economy) which create an imbalance on the relationship of humans and nature.

Ensure that indigenous peoples benefit from funds for relief, emergency, disaster preparedness and climate change adaptation and mitigation. Build a simple mechanisms for the access of such funds and ensure accountability measures to avoid being a source of corruption of the bureaucracy.

Ensure the delivery of appropriate, timely and adequate relief and rehabilitation services to address natural disasters and impacts of climate crisis such as droughts and floods. Support mechanisms of relief and rehabilitation established by indigenous peoples and channel the services through these viable systems.

Respect and integrate in climate change adaptation and mitigation programmes and disaster management viable indigenous peoples' knowledge in managing climate change and disasters.

## **8. Indigenous peoples' knowledge and social systems**

Adopt indigenous values and knowledge that address the common good over individual benefits, advance collective democratic processes over leader or ruler dependence, and nurture land and resources for present and future generations.

Strengthen indigenous knowledge systems and the use of indigenous materials and means such as non-timber forest products and traditional medicinal plants. Protect these from being appropriated through patents, trademarks and copyrights. Support mechanisms which recognize diverse knowledge systems including indigenous knowledge systems are equally valid as science and should be respected and promoted with their own integrity and value.

At this critical moment where profit is prioritized over the humans and nature, it is imperative for indigenous peoples to engage and challenge in various ways and levels from local to international the perpetuation of a neoliberal design of development. Let us seize the moment to resist and put an end to the systematic breakdown of our right and practice of self-determination in our path to genuine and just development.

WE are called to act and defend our land as our source of life now and for the future;

WE are urged to demand spaces and resources by which we are able to bring our agenda for self-determined sustainable development and engage with governments, intergovernmental bodies and institutions mandated to uphold and fulfill human rights and make them adopt our vision and goals for development justice;

WE are urged to create spaces in forging stronger unity among indigenous peoples on our vision and goals for development justice founded on our right to self-determination, respond to globally-coordinated actions and other calls for solidarity actions;

WE are called to forge alliances with other peoples organizations and movements engaged in the same struggle for development justice from local to international levels.

Our land, territories and resources are in peril. Indigenous peoples organizations/groups are enjoined to contribute in making this vision and goals for development justice truly meaningful and real.

## **VI. References**

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