



*Lumad's Struggle to Claim
Ancestral Domain Right in the ARMM:
The TLMADC Perspective*

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INTRODUCTION

In 1993, the Indigenous Peoples (IPs) of the Philippines marked an initial victory in their struggle to claim their right to ancestral domain when the Philippine Government provided a window for IPs to establish their right to such claims. Through the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), the government issued Administrative Order (AO) No. 02, a national policy instrument that set the rules and regulations for the identification, delineation, and recognition of ancestral domain claims. Subsequently, other administrative policies were created to address problems encountered in the issuance and management of Certificates of Ancestral Domain Claim (CADC). These experiences culminated in the promulgation of the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act of 1997 (RA 8371, or the IPRA Law); the creation of administrative bodies, particularly the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP); and eventually, provisions for the titling (instead of mere certification) of ancestral domain claims, or the conversion of CADCs into Certificates of Ancestral Domain Title (CADTs).

Between 2002 and 2007, the NCIP revealed that a total of 57 CADTs with an aggregate area of 1.116 M hectares were issued to IP organizations all over the country (cited in Bistoyong 2007). This aggregate CADT area represents about 23% of the country's estimated total ancestral domain area of 4.83 M hectares. To date, the record is incomplete on the breakdown of CADT awarded per region. However, based on a breakdown between 2002 and 2004, it appears that none of the 29 approved CADTs was awarded to the ARMM, although 13 (45%) of the 29 CADTs went to 5 other regions in Mindanao. (There are unverified verbal accounts that one IP was issued a CADT.)

If not a single CADT, or hardly any, has been issued in the ARMM, it appears that the IPs in the autonomous region have faced a stiff challenge in their desire to claim their ancestral domain rights. Recent accounts in IP literature

document to some extent the continuing struggle of the Teduray, Lambangian and Dulangan Manobo tribes in claiming CADTs. These tribes are located in Maguindanao, one of five ARMM provinces.

Their struggle has won the attention and support of local and foreign non-government organizations (NGOs) and funding institutions, one of which is the Upland NGO Assistance Committee (UNAC). Utilizing a grant from the MISEREOR in Germany in 2007-2008, UNAC assisted the Teduray, Lambangian, and Dulangan Manobo Development Council (TLMADC) in the creation of a three-dimensional (3D) model that mapped out land uses in the ancestral domain claim; and in the formulation of an Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development Project Plan (ADSDPP). Both were deemed necessary in the IPs' quest for ancestral domain titles. The participatory 3D model or map construction and the ADSDPP formulation workshop were handled by the Philippine Association for Intercultural Development (PAFID) (a founding member of UNAC) in coordination with the Lumad Development Center, Inc. (LDCI), a local PAFID partner that has been providing support to TLMADC.

Moreover, through another UNAC founding member the Social Development Research Center (SDRC) of De La Salle University-Manila the issues and problems encountered by the Teduray, Lambangian, and Dulangan Manobo tribes in their efforts to claim their ancestral domain in ARMM were studied. Data for the study were obtained through a review of relevant literature and interviews with key informants from TLMADC, the Katutubong Samahan ng Pilipinas (KASAPI, a national federation of IP organizations), the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), the National Commission of Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), and the LDCI. This paper presents an analysis and discussion of those findings pertinent to the various facets in the struggle of the three Lumad IPs in Maguindanao.

BRIEF BACKGROUND ON THE TEDURAY, LAMBANGIAN, AND DULANGAN MANOBO OF MAGUINDANAO

Indigenous peoples in Mindanao who are neither Muslim nor Christian reportedly prefer to be distinguished as “*Lumad*,” a Visayan term meaning native. The Teduray and the Manobo are among the estimated 18 Lumad ethnolinguistic groups in the island (Muslim and Guiam 1999). A survey conducted by the IP Ministry of the Cotabato Archdiocese placed the Teduray population in ARMM at 53,961 (Ra 2000, cited in Sevilla and Cantalopez 2004).

The Lumads in the ARMM province of Maguindanao presently consist of the Teduray, the Dulangan Manobo and their crossbreed, the Lambangian. According to accounts, a 10-year tribal war took place several centuries ago, after the Teduray kidnapped some expert honey bee collectors from the Dulangan Manobo tribe, and sold them as slaves to the *Maguindanaon* (people of Maguindanao). The war receded with the occurrence of a three-year drought that affected agricultural production of the two tribes. In search of food and water, one Teduray chief successfully penetrated the only territory spared by drought, which belonged to a Dulangan Manobo *datu* (chief). Recognizing the ill effects of war, and believing that the drought was a punishment from God for having engaged in war, both leaders agreed to end the conflict. Moreover, the Manobo chief took a daughter of the Teduray chief as his wife. At the end of the drought, the Teduray chief returned to his people with seeds and crops from the Manobo, and was hailed for his feat as a supreme *datu* by other leaders. The two chieftains subsequently entered into a formal negotiation to secure a lasting peace by joining four pairs of young men and women selected from the two tribes in matrimony. The intermarriage thus symbolized their unity and oneness. Offspring from these unions were henceforth to be called “*Lambangian*,” a crossbreed, and they

were to be sacrificed in the event that anyone violated the peace pact. The inter-tribal agreement was finally sealed with ritual and prayer. Because the people of both tribes had a stake in the Lambangian's continued survival, they maintained inter-tribal peace (Bandara et al. 2005).

Although today the Lumads are ethnolinguistically and culturally distinct from the Maguindanaons or Muslims in the province, it has been documented that they used to share a common ancestry (Bandara et al. 2005). According to these findings, there were two brothers Mamalu and Tabunaway who ruled neighboring villages in the customary *Timuay* way (tribal-based self-rule) when the Arab missionary Sharif Mohammad Kabungsuan introduced Islam and the Sultanate system of governance to the area. While the elder Mamalu remained true to Teduray traditions, the younger Tabunaway embraced the new faith. Before going their separate ways, the brothers publicly swore through ritual and prayer that their subsequent generations would uphold a treaty recognizing and respecting their differences but retaining collective benefits, kinship, and unity. From Mamalu descended the Teduray and Dulangan Manobo, and from Tabunaway came the Maguindanaon (Bandara et al. 2005).

In other literature, the Tabunaway descendants are described as only one segment of the Maguindanaon, and are referred to as the *dumatus* or non-slaves who occupied the second level (of four) in the Maguindanaon hereditary ranked status system (Mckenna 1998, cited in Caballero 2002). The *dumatus* were next in rank to the datu-rulers or descendants of rulers, who traced their lineage to Sharif Kabunsuan and the prophet Muhammed. Owing to Tabunaway's alliance with Sharif Kabunsuan, his descendants were accorded special privileges in the Maguindanaon ranking system.

As time has passed, the Maguindanaon and their sultanate system have prevailed, as their ideological influence and control has expanded in Muslim-commanded areas such as the plains, coasts, and riverine, and they have

organized armed revolts against external threats. On the other hand, the Lumad and their Timuay system have remained intact but more isolated in inland villages, and have responded to external incursions by retreating farther up the mountains or into the forests (Bandara et al. 2005, Muslim and Guiam 1999).

MAIN FEATURES OF THE STRUGGLE

There are several defining features of the TLMADC's struggle to gain legal recognition for their right to claim ancestral domain and be issued a CADT, which are as follows:

1. A long drawn-out process (that has spanned almost 20 years to date) requiring the formation of key organizational elements and expansion of political strategies

The late 1980s marked the Teduray-Lambangian's awakening stage, as it became conscious of the need and desirous to pursue its right to claim ancestral domain inside the ARMM. The awakening was triggered by the Philippine Government-Moro National Liberation Front (GRP-MNLF) peace talks allegedly held on a ship sometime in 1988 during the time of the Aquino administration. The peace talks involved the issue of territoriality, with the MNLF claiming what they called their Bangsa Moro Homeland. As a result, the Tedurays, in particular, became apprehensive that they might lose their ancestral domain if the Bangsa Moro gained control over what would be declared Muslim territories. The Lumad leaders felt it necessary to seek representation in the peace talks and to speak up for their right to ancestral domain in the ARMM.

The 1990s witnessed the organizational stage of the struggle, which began with the founding of the Mamalu Descendants Organization (MDO) in order to meet the structural pre-requisite (i.e., the existence of a people's

organization) for the formal filing of a claim. The MDO's creation came in the wake of the alleged recruitment of Lumad tribesmen to the Bangsa Moro; they reportedly served as the latter's military commanders and soldiers. This led the Teduray leaders to consider forming an organization apart from their usual council of elders that could negotiate for their ancestral claim with either the Bangsa Moro or the ARMM and national governments. The MDO was subsequently registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) in 1993. With external assistance, it assembled the proof needed for documenting its claim and, in 1996, applied for a CADC covering 57,850 hectares. Within the same year, the GRP-MNLF peace agreement was signed, but it reportedly skirted the issue of tribal right to ancestral domain within the Bangsa Moro Homeland.

Expansion of the MDO started in 1994 with the formation of the Teduray-Lambangian Youth and Student Association (TLYSA) and the Teduray-Lambangian Women's Organization (TLWO). In 1999, the Organization of Teduray-Lambangian Conference (OTLAC) was established, and by 2002, the Timuay Justice Governance (TJG) was organized with OTLAC as one of the representatives. The TJG, which consisted of administrative, legislative, and judicial branches, was set up mainly to strengthen and preserve the tribal structure. The leaders believed that it would be useless to file a claim if their tribal structure was weak. At that time, the MDO was considering applying for a CADT, and the TJG would enable it to meet the CADT's requirement for a strong tribal governance structure. The TJG's tasks consisted of codifying customary Lumad laws, unifying scattered indigenous practices, and reviving tribal governance, particularly in the area of tribal conflict resolution. The organization was inaugurated on October 2, 2002. In November 2002, the leaders submitted the documents on the TJG to the NCIP Regional Office for official recognition, but as of this writing they have not heard from the latter. At present, they have accepted their situation by reasoning that what matters more is for them to sustain the TJG practice.

After creating TJG, the MDO moved to strengthen its position by combining forces and integrating its struggle with that of the Dulangan Manobo. Thus in 2005, an integrated association called the Teduray, Lambangian, and Dulangan Manobo Ancestral Domain Claims (TLMADC) was created and reportedly registered with SEC. This became the structural vehicle through which a CADT application was filed on September 13, 2005. The CADT application filed was for a combined claim of 205,850 hectares located in 5 municipalities in the ARMM provinces of Maguindanao and Sharif Kabunsuan.

The expansion of the structural elements in the Lumads' struggle is now recognized by leaders as a critical political strategy in itself. If negotiations with official agencies and external entities require a formal organization, the MDO and TLMADC fulfill this requirement. Representations and negotiations with the Moro groups and local ARMM government are expected to be handled by TJG or TLMADC. For community and other mass mobilizations and advocacies, informal associations such as the TLYSA and the TLWO, which are sectoral in nature, may be consulted. The leaders believe that the key is to have an organization in readiness to handle every need that arises, in every part of the struggle, for ancestral domain recognition within the ARMM.

However, according to TLMADC, the reality is such that neither the CADC nor CADT applications have been officially acknowledged by the offices they were submitted to. The TLMADC has also received feedback that the CADT documents that were submitted to certain offices cannot even be located at present. Moreover, since 2003, various attempts made to secure legislative support from the ARMM Regional Legislative Assembly (RLA) for the Lumads' cause have allegedly failed. It appears to TLMADC that their desire for recognition of their ancestral domain right in the ARMM cannot be immediately considered, as this is contingent on the directions of the peace pact between the national government (GRP) and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). As of 2008, the MILF has replaced the MNLF as

peace negotiator for the Muslims in ARMM. One of the major issues yet to be resolved is the definition of the Moro's ancestral domain, which forms the core of the MILF's negotiation for “Bangsa Moro Juridical Entity” (BMJE, which has replaced the “Bangsa Moro Homeland” concept of territoriality used by the MNLF in the peace negotiations conducted over a decade ago). To date, the TLMADC continues to seek ways to get their ancestral domain claim in the ARMM considered and recognized in MILF's definition of their BMJE.

2. Access to continuous support from external organizations, particularly nongovernment organizations and foreign funding agencies

From the very beginning, the Lumad Development Center Inc. (LDCI) has been a steadfast partner supporting the TLMADC in its struggle. A church official and some leaders of the Teduray-Lambangian tribes sit on the board and staff of LDCI. This nongovernment organization (NGO) helped to collect the proof needed to establish the Lumads' historical claim for ancestral domain in their 1996 CADC. Other assistance the LDCI provided include following up the CADC application at DENR, ARMM, and the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), mediating and liaising with DENR and other groups for the Lumad, and accompanying the TJG in its dialogues with the MILF. The LDCI has also been instrumental in furthering the Lumads' advocacy work and fund-raising efforts, as detailed in other sections of this paper, as well as in seeking technical and financial assistance for the Lumads' preparation of CADT requirements, such as the 3-D map and the ancestral domain plan known as ADSDPP.

Apart from LDCI, the major organizations that provided support to the Lumad struggle in ARMM are the following:

- a) Tri-People Commission (TRICOM), a local LDCI partner that researched on and wrote the historical accounts and packaged the CADC application

- b) United Nations (UN) Voluntary Fund, which supported the codification of customary laws with a P200,000 grant to MDO
- c) World Bank (WB), which provided \$9000 for CADT processing, coursed through LDCI
- d) Panibagong Paraan, a WB Foundation that awarded PIM to LDCI for winning the “Community Access to Justice” competition using, the TJG system as a case study. The reward money was spent for the following purposes: (a) to develop the Timuay Justice Syste; (b) to document light to heavy punishments under this system; (c) to train justice officers (locally referred to as *kefedewan*); and (d) to construct the LDCI building that will house the office of the TJG (this building is awaiting completion).
- e) United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which, through the Sentro sa Ganap na Pamayanan, awarded \$50,000 that was divided among three beneficiaries, including TLMADC, for a biodiversity conservation project

3. Engaging in advocacy to draw broad public attention and obtain crucial support

The Lumad leaders recognize the critical role of advocacy work in drawing broad attention to, and sympathy and support for, their struggle to gain ancestral domain recognition in ARMM. The most usual way for them to do this is to speak about their struggle at every possible opportunity, and opportunities become available when they participate in IP gatherings, for which they must mobilize a large contingent of Lumads (see next section).

However, for the purpose of broadening the sphere of public attention and educating the foreign public about issues involving their cause, key leaders

participated and presented papers in both local and international fora. The public dissemination also provided exposure for the Lumad organizations among funding agencies, which later provided financial grants or rewards for best practices. The following table presents the type and location of the forum and the subject of the presentation made by TLMADC leaders.

Type and Location of Forum	Subject of Presentation
Seminar on Peace, Penang, Malaysia	TJGs position regarding the MILF's claim on ancestral domain
Asian Civil Society on Sustainable Development, Manila	TLMADCs position paper on external support or intervention for their struggle
UN Working Group on IPs, Geneva	The Lumads concept of self-determination and their position (rejection) on logging in the domain
World Social Forum, Vietnam	Lumads right to self-determination
Speaking 4 Earth Website	Untoward effects of the GRP-MILF peace negotiation on the Teduray-Lambangian-Dulangan Manobo tribes ancestral domain claim (this paper was published online)

4. Maintaining visibility by participation in community mobilization and spearheading activism

In order to be effective in their advocacy, the Lumad organizations have maintained high public visibility. This was achieved whenever they mobilized their membership to attend varied events that involved indigenous peoples in the locality or country (such as the International Decade for Indigenous Peoples celebrated worldwide), or to share local experiences on the application of the Timuay Justice System in the forum called by the Mindanao Rural Congress (formerly the Philippine Peasant Institute).

Other gatherings with a large Lumad participation include:

- ☐ The annual Human Rights Day celebration attended by Lumad contingents since 1990 through the mediation of LDCI. This is organized locally by the National Council of Churches in the Philippines (NCCP) and the Philippine Action for Cultural Ties (PACT).
- ☐ The Peace Caravan and Peace Summit which Lumads joined in 1998; they also participated in the subsequent Peace Summit every 3 years thereafter (the last one in December 2006). These activities were organized by the Mindanao Peoples' Peace Movement.
- ☐ The *Lakbay Tribo para sa Gubat at Lupaing Ninuno* organized by the Lumad groups and held on April 7-12, 2006. This involved a walk through the sacred places in their ancestral domain and through the logging areas. The walk-through culminated in a forum held at the Nuro Municipal Gym in Upi, Sharif Kabunsuan that was attended by representatives of DENR, OSCC, the local government, and the foreign media from Holland which documented the entire activity. The documentation was featured in the Speaking 4 Earth website.

In addition to these, the Lumad organizations spearheaded certain forms of activism or protest which they called “extra-legal” actions, some of which temporarily caused them to deviate from their true struggle. Angry with the DENR for granting a logging concession within the ancestral domain (see below), the Lumads launched a “dikit” or slogan-pasting campaign against the government agency in 2002. The slogans they posted in their various villages called the DENR to task, and highlighted the ill effects of deforestation on people and the environment. More protests occurred in 2003 and were directed towards stopping the logging operations inside the claim. Aimed at ruining the logging machines and equipment, the Lumads' initial action

involved pouring acid solution over them to cause them to rust; a later action involved burning them. Fearing that emotions were getting the better of them, however, the tribal leaders eventually called a halt to the protests and brought their attention back to the main issue of claiming their right to ancestral domain in the ARMM.

COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

As indicated, the foremost problem that Lumads in the ARMM have faced is their inability to claim their right to ancestral domain solely on the basis of the provisions of the IPRA Law. Unfortunately, the resolution of this problem takes a back seat to what the Philippine government apparently considers of greater national importance: reaching the GRP peace agreement with the MILF on the latter's own Bangsa Moro ancestral domain claim issue. Informants have revealed that during TLMADC's attempts to initiate talks with MILF, the latter allegedly promised to support the former's claim, but preferred not to discuss any details nor come to any premature agreement involving the claim.

The problem is made more complicated by the following issues.

1. Prior land rights muddled by three colonizations. IP literature has shown that, unlike indigenous peoples in other parts of the country, the Lumads in Maguindanao have been thrice colonized over the past centuries. The first instance occurred when Arab missionaries introduced Islam and the Sultanate system in Mindanao between 1450 and 1475 AD, converting the Tabunaway side of the Lumad tribe and annexing their territories (Bandara 2004, Bandara et al. 2005). The second took place with the arrival of the Spaniards, who brought Christianity in the 1500s: Through their Regalian Doctrine, the entire Philippine islands was declared, by virtue of conquest,

as belonging to the Spanish Crown, excepting those lands granted to inhabitants who had claimed or acquired private property rights from the Crown. Lastly, the incident of Spain's sale of the Philippine archipelago to the American colonizers reinforced the latter's Regalian Doctrine. Because the Lumads' claim cannot be acted upon until after the MILF's claim is resolved, they have in effect become once more entangled with the Islamic antecedent. According to a TLMADC leader, MILF's push toward self-determination is also a push for Islamism which may not be favorable to the Lumads.

2. Multiple, layered claims and resource use within the Lumad ancestral domain. The Lumads are not the sole claimants of the area they have identified as ancestral domain. Around 20 years ago, the same area was part of the territories also claimed by the MNLF as their Bangsa Moro Homeland. At present, the TLMADC claim within the ARMM remains a contentious area, since the ARMM is annexed as the core area of the MILF's Bangsa Moro Juridical Entity.

Moreover, resource use within the claim is not exclusively in the hands of the Lumads. In 1998, the DENR granted 5000 hectares within the claim to a private logging concession under Industrial Forest Management Agreement (IFMA) No. 005. The grantees were allegedly MNLF Moro returnees. The logging concession became operational in 2002, but encountered problems when the Lumads launched extra-legal protests against the company a year later. In 2004, the IFMA was reportedly declared suspended during a congressional budget hearing. Although the cutting operations stopped, the logging community remained, and converted the area into an agricultural settlement. Unknown to TLMADC, another IFMA came in the wake of the suspension of the first IFMA. The second IFMA covering another 5000 hectares was awarded to the Pinansaran Logging Concession Inc (PLCI), which is reportedly headed by a local municipal government official. To date, logging activities under PLCI are reportedly ongoing.

Apart from being used for logging, resources within the Lumads' claim are also allegedly utilized for military, training, and other purposes of Moro camps established in the area. These camps are said to have presently attracted an estimate of around 200 migrant families and this number is expected to increase over time.

3. Existence of policy loopholes. The loopholes on ancestral domain claims may be traced in part to the absence of clear-cut provisions and implementing rules and regulations in the IPRA Law for IP claimants and claims for ancestral domain located within the ARMM. Hence the IPRA Law cannot be invoked and applied to the unique situation of IP groups like the TLMADC in Maguindanao who are juxtaposed with Muslim claimants.

Muslim claimants and claims are, in turn, covered in the Organic Act for ARMM, which reportedly nullifies the IPRA Law in autonomous Muslim areas like Maguindanao. A very important IPRA provision is the requirement that all IP applications for ancestral domain claims should be coursed through the NCIP. Under the Organic Act, however, the NCIP is not a recognized entity, so it does not possess any power and authority over the recognition, delineation, and titling of ancestral domain claims in ARMM areas. What the Autonomous Government recognizes is the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), which has a limited mandate on IP claims in ARMM. In the Lumads' case, for example, the OSCC's role is reduced to serving as a channel for claim documents, or for endorsing them to and following these up at NCIP. Because no agency is responsible for accepting claim applications in ARMM, copies of the Claim Book (containing the application, names of claimants, family genealogies, community profiles, and other supporting papers) submitted by TLMADC to NCIP and OSCC are reportedly lost.

Owing to conflicts in the provisions of the IPRA Law and the Organic Act, the relationship between NCIP and OSCC on the ancestral domain claim issue remains unresolved and problematic. There was an effort to address this

problem by devolving certain powers and functions of NCIP to OSCC. On October 30, 2003, the NCIP and the Regional Government of ARMM formulated a Memorandum of Understanding that created a joint Technical Working Group (TWG) to formulate an Executive Order (EO) on the devolution. By December 2004, a draft of the EO was prepared, and sometime in 2005, it was submitted by NCIP lawyers to the Office of the President.

4. *Lack of sustained tribal interest in the claim.* After almost two decades of struggle to claim their right to ancestral domain in the ARMM with little success, the TLMADC is now experiencing difficulties in sustaining tribal interest in pursuing the claim. These difficulties are traced to the following causes. First, due to opposing political interests, internal strife and squabbles have divided Lumad communities and weakened tribal cohesion. Second, conflicting ideas and interests over how to manage or exploit resources in the ancestral domain have emerged to sow disunity among the Lumad leaders. Third, ownership of lands inside the domain changes hands as more Lumads voluntarily lease or sell the land they have been occupying or farming to non-Lumads, particularly Moros. This has resulted in what leaders describe as “outsiders' penetration of the domain.” Fourth, Christianity has modified the Teduray's nature-based belief system and allegedly undermined the value of land in the tribal culture, with the Christian emphasis on man's relationship with God. And finally, there is an observably growing out-migration trend among Lumads who seek socioeconomic well-being outside the ancestral domain (particularly in lowland, urbanized areas) and who transfer residence rather than remaining where they are to defend their land right.

5. *Feeling cowed and victimized.* It is alleged that certain politically-motivated actions have sown fear and distrust among the Lumads, burdening them further in their struggle to claim ancestral domain right. The current political “divisioning” and renaming of streets, villages, and municipalities (whether existing or newly subdivided) after Moro political families is

believed to weaken the Lumad's claim. In such renaming, traditional Lumad names or terms are replaced and will thus be forgotten. The Lumads also experienced dishonesty when they attended a meeting organized by the local government about the issue of IFMA No. 005. They were made to believe that the signatures they provided were for attendance purposes, but these were later falsely used to indicate their approval for the IFMA. Experienced harassment from armed groups and logging/mining people in the domain reportedly also continues to threaten the physical and mental well-being of Lumads.

CONCLUSION

The challenges confronting the TLMADC in its quest for claiming ancestral domain within the ARMM are daunting. And no matter the enormity of its problems, the leaders and members of this Lumad organization have demonstrated that they are not easily fazed or disheartened. With every challenge faced and overcome, they have mustered the strength to persist and sustain ongoing efforts to reach their CADT goal. However, it is quite evident that certain forces beyond the Lumads' control can erode their collective strength and determination. The lengthy duration of their struggle, added to unstable sociopolitical circumstances, also threaten their determination to recover their right to ancestral domain.

In the course of trying to win this fight, TLMADC has developed a dependable leadership core that has been able to catalyze collective actions and harness external institutional support. It is the leaders' belief that the road to success is through a strong tribal self-determination that thrives under a pluralistic but peaceful co-existence with their Moro brethren. Part of this self-determination requires completing their formulation of a sustainable development project plan for their ancestral domain, which can be operational when their CADT application is approved. One important need

articulated by the leaders, which institutional partners can provide in order to help them attain self-determination, is the generation of data on Lumad population size, composition, movement, and other characteristics such as shifts in land ownership. Write-ups of updated profiles of Lumad communities will likewise be required. Assistance given in these areas will be critical for the Lumads' organizational planning and decision-making.

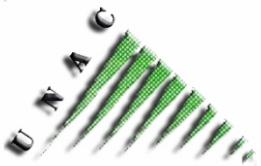
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