

**INTERNATIONAL SURVEY ON
ADULT EDUCATION FOR
INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

COUNTRY STUDY: THE PHILIPPINES

Coordinator: Linda King

2000

**ADULT EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS
PEOPLES IN THE PHILIPPINES**

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UNESCO Institute for Education

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FOREWORD

In the debate and dialogue on indigenous education, the role of adult education in the context of indigenous peoples has come increasingly to the fore. At the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education held in Hamburg in 1997, indigenous peoples themselves participated actively both in the official delegations and in the drafting of the final recommendations. This was something new for international conferences. Although the theme of "indigenous peoples" is often on the agenda, the voice of those same people is often difficult to hear, being mediated by interlocutors, who often do not have the legitimacy to debate the issues. As a result of this active participation two key articles were included in the Hamburg Declaration.

Article 15

Diversity and equality. Adult learning should reflect the richness of cultural diversity and respect traditional and indigenous peoples' knowledge and systems of learning; the right to learn in the mother tongue should be respected and implemented. Adult education faces an acute challenge in preserving and documenting the oral wisdom of minority groups, indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples. In turn, intercultural education should encourage learning between and about different cultures in support of peace, human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy, justice, liberty, coexistence and diversity.

Article 18

Indigenous education and culture. Indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples have the right of access to all levels and forms of education provided by the state. However, they are not to be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, or to use their own languages. Education for indigenous peoples and nomadic peoples should be linguistically and culturally appropriate to their needs and should facilitate access to further education and training.

But how to interpret these calls for action without a systematic and well founded base of information on adult education? What is the current state of affairs internationally with regard to adult education for indigenous peoples? How are different countries, and different regions tackling the issues? What are the problems, the programmes and the policies being put into place? And how are indigenous peoples themselves becoming involved in the planning of their own educational futures?

To this end the UNESCO Institute for Education initiated in 1999 an international survey on adult education and indigenous peoples. From the outset, the survey was conceived as a participatory venture involving the views and perspectives of indigenous peoples themselves. A network of focal points was established and where possible these were indigenous organizations themselves, where this was not possible research centres close to indigenous organizations were involved as focal points.

The following focal points were involved from the outset:

Bolivia: PROEIB, Programa de Formación en Educación Intercultural Bilingüe para los Países Andinos. Principal researcher: Luis Enrique Lopez

Brazil: MARI, Grupo de Educação Indígena, University of Sao Paolo. Principal researcher: Aracy Lopes da Silva

Canada: University of Victoria. principal researcher: Philip Cook

Ecuador: PROEIB, Principal researcher: Alba Moya

Greenland: Inuit Circumpolar Conference, principal researcher: Carl Christian Olsen

Guatemala: The Rigoberta Menchu Foundation, principal researcher: Vilma Duque

India: Central Institute for Indian Languages . Principal researcher: Francis Ekka (deceased)

Mexico: CREFAL, Centro de Cooperación Regional para la Educación de Adultos en América Latina y el Caribe. Principal researcher: Mary Paz Valenzuela

New Zealand: Tania Rey, University of Wellington. Principal researcher: Tania Rey

Norway: Sami College, principal researcher: Svein Lund

Peru: PROEIB. Principal researcher: Madeleine Zuniga

Philippines: Cordillera Resource Center, principal researcher: Geraldine Fiagoy

Russia: Russian Academy of Science, principal researcher: Nina Meschtyb

Thailand: IMPECT, Inner Mountain People Education and Culture in Thailand Association. Principal researcher Prassert Trakansuphakon.

USA: principal researcher: Patrick WeaselHead , consultant, Native American Education

The aim of the survey was to provide:

- A reference document for indigenous peoples to help them identify similarities and differences with regard to adult education policy as well as provision and participation patterns in different regions of the world.
- Recommendations and proposals for policy makers, international agencies and NGOs to develop new directions for adult education in cooperation with indigenous peoples.
- A theoretical and conceptual framework in which to place the discussion of adult education for indigenous peoples.¹

In the first phase of the project the various focal points participating in the survey were responsible for compiling information on government institutions, indigenous organisations as well as international agencies and non-governmental organisations engaged in adult education for indigenous peoples in their region. This information has been separately compiled as well as featuring in the national monographs and appear under separate directories of indigenous education projects in both Spanish and English.

¹ In this regard, UIE held a workshop on New Perspectives on Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples in 1997 in Mexico. See King, L. 1998 Reflecting Visions. New Perspectives on Adult Education and Indigenous Peoples. UNESCO Institute for Education and University of Waikato, New Zealand.

In the second phase, the focal points were involved on research on the policy and practice of adult education for indigenous peoples using questionnaires and survey techniques. Researchers participated in an international meeting held in the Headquarters of UNESCO in Paris in October 1999. This meeting while exchanging the different research findings also produced an international statement on their findings which was presented to the mid Decade review meeting on UNESCO's role in the World Decade for Indigenous Peoples held shortly after also in October 1999 and organised by the UNESCO Institute for Education together with the Division for Cultural Pluralism. A participating researcher was nominated from that meeting, Mr Carl Christian Olsen, to present the enlarged statement on educational and cultural needs of indigenous peoples to the General Conference of UNESCO in November 1999 in the Education and the Culture Commissions.

Research was undertaken with financial support from the Government of Norway and from DANIDA. The UNESCO Institute for Education gratefully acknowledges this support which made the participation of researchers around the world possible. I would like to thank in particular both the past director of the UNESCO Institute for Education, Paul Belanger, and the current director, Adama Ouane, for their support to the project, which has not been easy to coordinate internationally given the hard and difficult conditions under which indigenous peoples live and the nature of the geographical terrain which is often isolated and uncommunicated either by road or by telephone.

I am extremely grateful to all the participating researchers for their intelligent and informed research and their willingness to collect sometimes difficult information to obtain. Their commitment to the field of indigenous education has been inspiring.

I would like to single out the work of research assistant, Sabine Schielmann in helping in the coordination of the survey. She was also responsible for drafting the report on the UN agencies work on indigenous peoples and education and for producing the directory of indigenous organisations as well as making informed and valuable observations on the progress of the research and the editing of the final monographs. Sonja Schimann also participated as a part time research assistant for 6

months in 1999, and was responsible for organizing the international meeting, and for designing the home page for the survey.

In the production of the monographs themselves special credit has to go to Cendrine Sebastiani, whose unfailing good humour and inspired professionalism made them a reality.

Linda King

INTRODUCTION

Adult education programs for indigenous peoples in The Philippines used to be the monopoly of the church, mainly the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches. Indigenous peoples were given basic literacy training to enable them to write their names. Numeracy was also given importance to prevent the people from being cheated of their products by non-indigenous traders. To uplift the economic situation of the people, the church included the formation of cooperatives and training in agricultural techniques in their programmes.

The deteriorating political and economic situation in the country compelled the church to take a more proactive role in addressing the problems of the people. Non-government organizations also cropped up to grapple with the issues. Adult education had to go beyond literacy and economic self-sufficiency. The issues concerning marginalised sectors such as the workers and farmers and groups like the indigenous peoples had to be addressed. For the latter, issues like ancestral land rights were highlighted in the seventies when the Bontok and Kalinga peoples in the Cordillera region successfully opposed the plan to build the Chico River Hydroelectric Dam. At that time also, the Tinggians in the same region were opposing the destruction of their forests by Cellophil Resources Corporation which was engaged in the processing of pulp. The ensuing education program developed by church workers and NGOs enabled the people to deal with their problems. While their primary struggle was the defense of ancestral land, their other concerns were the recognition of their indigenous socio-political systems which they relied on in terms of organizing the various communities and decision-making.

This paper will deal with adult education programs being implemented among indigenous groups in the Philippines. Objectives of adult education vary. One objective may be training and mobilisation economic self-reliance. Another objective is to make people aware of their cultural heritage and build on their cultural practices. Still another objective is the political and economic empowerment of the people for self-reliance and self-determination.

CHAPTER 1

Basic Information on Philippine Indigenous Peoples

The Indigenous Peoples

The indigenous peoples of the Philippines number about 7.2 million and are found in the three main islands of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. They comprise 10% of the total population. Some groups live in forest ecosystems, while others are found in the plains and coasts.

The biggest concentration of indigenous peoples are found in the Cordillera region in northern Philippines, namely Luzon island. This mountain region which straddles the Gran Cordillera mountain range, is the ancestral home of some 14 indigenous groups like the Ibaloy, Kankanaey, Bontok, Kalinga and Ifugao. Population is estimated at 1.3 million. The peoples in this area are generally referred to as Igorots which means people of the mountains. They are also the majority peoples in the region.

Another large aggrupation are the indigenous peoples of Mindanao who are collectively called Lumad or “born of the earth.” The Lumads comprise 18 ethnolinguistic groups such as the Subanen, Higaonon, Manobo, Mamanua, Tiboli and B’laan. Numbering about 2.5 million, the Lumads are spread over 17 provinces in Mindanao and comprise 20% of the total population of the island.

Also in Mindanao are those who have been islamized and called Moro (from Moor) by the Spanish conquerors. The Moros are grouped into three: Maranao or dwellers of Lake Lanao numbering 742,962; Maguindanao of Cotabato province numbering 650,000 and the Tausug or people of the current, numbering 502,200. The latter are the majority people in the southern province of Basilan.

Other indigenous groups are the Mangyan of Mindoro island in the southwestern part of Luzon. The Mangyan, composed of seven groups, number about 111,000. Negrito groups are found in the three major islands such as the Agta, Agtay and Dumagat in Luzon, Ati in the Visayan islands and Mamanua in Mindanao.

The indigenous peoples speak languages belonging to the Austronesian family. The peoples have diverse cultures although there are similarities, like the belief in animism. Several groups living apart from each other have similar practices such as the tattoo and betelnut chewing cultures which are common to many indigenous groups throughout the country. The presence or absence of either practice among the groups depends on the level of acculturation achieved. Non-indigenous Filipinos stopped tattooing their bodies a long time ago as a result of their conversion to Christianity.

The Indigenous/Non-indigenous Dichotomy

When the Spaniards came to the islands more than three hundred years ago, they saw native inhabitants with similar cultural traits. In the colonization process, many groups, especially those inhabiting the lowland and coastal areas, were forcibly Christianized and made to adapt western practices. Over the years the Christianized inhabitants forgot their traditional cultures and imbibed western values and practices. Meanwhile, those who refused to be baptised and colonised moved to the uplands and joined those who fought the intrusion of Spanish colonial rule. They were the ones who managed to maintain their cultures up to the present. The westernised and colonised peoples - who formed the majority - discriminated against the minority groups that kept their traditions and lifeways. In the Philippine state that was later created, the non-indigenous Filipinos became the decision makers in government. The policies and programmes that they drew up further led to the marginalisation of the indigenous peoples.

The Land Problem

The Spanish colonial government passed the Regalian Doctrine which declared that the islands belonged to the Spanish Crown. This immediately dispossessed the inhabitants of their ancestral

lands. At the same time, the Church, colonizers and local elite appropriated for themselves vast tracts of lands with the blessings of the government. The disenfranchised inhabitants became tenants of the landlords.. This led to the rise of a peasant class among the colonised Filipinos.

The feudal relationship increased during the American colonial period when the state enacted laws further depriving the people of their lands such as the Philippine Bill of 1902. This rejected the traditional way of establishing land ownership and declared that people must apply for paper titles, a difficult and costly process for the majority.

The Mining Law allowing big business to set up mining operations led to the displacement of indigenous peoples in the Cordillera region where the people have long been engaged in simple gold mining activities. Meanwhile, succeeding development projects such as commercial logging, dam construction and plantation agriculture also led to further disenfranchisement of the people, mostly indigenous peoples.

An influence of westernisation is the concept of private property as against collective rights to land and resources. The privatisation of land which began during the Spanish colonial rule became more acute during the American period when big business in terms of extractive projects and commodity production intensified. This notion of commodifying land and resources for profit clashed with the indigenous peoples' concept that land and resources must be for the common good.

Economic and Political Organisation

The majority of the indigenous peoples are still agriculture-based although they are small owners-farmers. Traditional shifting cultivation is now limited due to land pressure. In Mindanao, this practice resulted in the loss of land by the indigenous groups, when they left their fields for some time to fallow. Migrants then came in and took over the lands.

To indigenous peoples, land and its resources are necessary to their physical and cultural survival. As custodians of the land, indigenous peoples take care of the productive and reproductive power of the earth and its resources. This harmonious relationship and rational management of the ecosystem define a people's ethnic identity and also ensure the cultural continuity of the group.

While they get sustenance from the land, they take the responsibility of caring for it by extracting only what is needed. Because they were able to retain their cultures, they remain repositories of a broad range of indigenous knowledge which today is recognised as sustainable and viable.

The entry of the cash economy is eroding the traditional way of looking at and managing resources. In indigenous peoples' areas where commodity production has been introduced, such as commercial vegetable farming, sustainable management practices have declined. In the Cordillera province of Benguet where the production of temperate vegetables was introduced by the Americans in the 1930s to meet the needs of the expatriates, this profit-oriented industry resulted in the conversion of forestlands and ricelands into vegetable gardens. Sustainable management practices have given way to destructive practices such as the intensive use of chemical inputs which destroys the soil and poisons the water sources.

Despite the entry of the cash economy, indigenous peoples have not entirely lost their traditional cultures. Spirits of the ancestors and those in the environment still need to be propitiated. Among the Benguet Kanakanaey in the Cordillera, rituals performed in rice agriculture are still performed even as the people converted their rice paddies into vegetable gardens.

In other areas where subsistence agriculture is still the main economic activity, sustainable agriculture and forest management practices co-exist. This is supported by the presence of a strong indigenous socio-political organisation that ensures that traditional practices-including taboos and rituals-are carried out. The decision-making body is composed of the council of elders who decide by consensus.

Among other groups, decisions regarding community matters are made by the headman or *datu*, with or without consultation with the people. This has allowed big business to encroach into indigenous people's territory by getting the approval of only one person. In addition, to make it easier for development or extractive projects to be implemented in ancestral domains, the State appointed *datu*s or headmen in the communities and made them signatories to documents approving the projects. In areas where the social organization is strong and cohesive, this strategy is met with opposition, with the people rejecting the authority of the appointed *datu*.

Despite the encroachment of a commodity economy , indigenous peoples have not entirely lost or rejected their traditional cultures. When the Ibaloy of Benguet converted their rice paddies to vegetable gardens, they continued to perform the rituals used in rice agriculture. Also, some forestlands were not cleared because of the *muyong* practice where families took care of forest lots for agroforestry purposes.

Legislation and Government Policy on Indigenous Adult Education

The 1987 Philippine Constitution contains a provision that encourages “non-formal, informal and indigenous learning systems. as well as self-learning, independent and out of school study programs that respond to community needs.” On language, the Constitution states that “The Congress shall establish a national language commission composed of representatives of various regions and disciplines which shall undertake, coordinate and promote researches for the development, propagation and preservation of Filipino and other languages.” The Constitution also declares Filipino as the national language and that regional/indigenous languages shall only be used as auxiliary media of instruction.

The agency encharged with indigenous peoples’ concerns is the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) which was created under Republic Act 8731. The agency is tasked to reconise, protect and promote the rights, interests and well-being of the indigenous peoples. It implements the same programmes the previous agencies involved with indigenous peoples carried out, such as the scholarship programmes, livelihood projects, medical missions and infrastructure projects. Its new task is to undertake an information dissemination programme on the IPRA.

The predecessors of the NCIP date back to the American colonial period. The American colonisers’ interest in the non-Christian/pagan and Muslim peoples was sparked off by reports that their territories were resource-rich. Thus, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes (BNCT) was created in 1901 to conduct ethnological surveys and look into the natural resources found in their territories. Government policy was to integrate the still non-westernised peoples into the mainstream. Despite these efforts, the so-called “pagans” persisted in maintaining their cultures.

The succeeding Philippine government created the Commission on National Integrations (CNI) which carried the policy of assimilation to transform the “savages” to “civilised people” through education. The CNI provided scholarships to the indigenous peoples-then called cultural minorities. It also funded socio-economic development projects in the communities.

The Presidential Assistance on National Minorities (PANAMIN) replaced the CNI. Some activities of this office led to disunity within and among the people when the government appointed new tribal leaders who were not traditionally recognised by the people. These new tribal leaders came from the educated and politically influential groups. At the same time the PANAMIN assisted in the dispossession of the peoples’ ancestral lands in favor of presidential friends who were in the logging and plantation agriculture business. The notoriety of the agency resulted to its demise and the Office of Muslim Affairs and Cultural Communities was formed.

The policy of assimilation continued in the 1980s during the administration of President Aquino, who created the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC), Office of Northern Cultural Communities (ONCC) and the Office of Muslim Affairs (OMA). The creation of three agencies was intended to provide more services to the peoples, although the strategy was also politically expedient as there were more appointive positions to be given to political allies.

CHAPTER II

Conceptual Framework

Adult Education for Indigenous Peoples

Adult education for indigenous peoples is defined as a comprehensive set of learning processes that integrates both indigenous knowledge and other knowledge systems. It is education that builds on the people's cultures and experiences and at the same time trains them to be critical and analytic regarding their situation to enable them to make sound decisions and actions. Adult education should go beyond literacy and skills training for livelihood projects and ensure that indigenous peoples are empowered to be able to actively participate in the maintenance or development of a just and democratic society where the integrity of their culture and their quest for self-determination are ensured and recognised.

Indigenous Peoples

Indigenous peoples are those that were inhabiting the country at the time of colonisation. In the Philippine setting indigenous peoples are those who resisted colonisation and succeeded in retaining their cultures and traditions.

While all peoples in the Philippines may be considered indigenous before the coming of the Spanish invaders, the colonisation process resulted to a majority-minority dichotomy (Scott). When the Spaniards invaded the islands more than three hundred years ago, they started the colonisation process by subjugating them physically and enticing them to be baptised. Those who refused Spanish rule moved to the mountains to join those who resisted colonisation. Meanwhile, the

peoples who accepted hispanisation forgot their traditional cultures and looked down on those who refused to change. The westernised peoples became the majority while the rest formed the minority. The former would later become the decision makers in the formation of a Philippine state.

Like many indigenous peoples around the world, Philippine indigenous peoples are victims of discrimination and neglect as a result of “the cognitive frameworks of imperialism and colonialism” (Daes:1999:3). This issue was brought out earlier by Stalin when he said that national oppression was “that system of exploitation and plunder of subject peoples, those measures of forcible restriction of the sovereign rights of subject peoples, which are resorted to by imperialist circles.” Stalin articulated several forms of national oppression such as what was experienced by the multi-national states in Tsarist Russia and the colonization by England of her neighboring nation-states. In the Philippines, national oppression takes the form of oppression by the ruling classes through state instrumentalities against minority nationalities. Discriminatory laws and policies deprived indigenous peoples of their lands and resources. Neglect was shown through the lack of basic services for the people and programs that would National oppression is also the non-recognition of the identity of minority nationalities and the denial and violation of their rights to self-determination (Sawadan:1995.1).

Discrimination against indigenous peoples is reflected in the policies and programs formulated by the state. The integration policy shows the non-recognition by the state of the integrity of indigenous peoples cultures. Earlier considered as “objects of study by anthropologists and subjects for proselytising by missionaries,” they have been largely ignored by the state. However, their territory is considered a resource base whose potential resources such as minerals, timber, water and land should be exploited. In addition, land laws and development projects affecting indigenous territory show that the state does not recognize ancestral land rights. In the past and even up to the present, the people are considered useful only as tourist attractions wherein they are made to perform their dances and rituals for a public whose understanding and appreciation of indigenous cultures may not improve but deteriorate.

Institutions and Organisations Involved in Adult Education

There is one national governmental organisation tasked to look after the affairs of more than 7 million indigenous peoples in the country. On the other hand, there are numerous non-governmental organisations working with indigenous peoples in the field of adult education. Out of the 90 survey questionnaires sent to potential respondents, 45 responded. Follow up was done through mail and personal visits.

Despite the existence of thousands of NGOs in the Philippines, many were organised to take advantage of the contracts on reforestation and other related projects offered by the government. A study of the NGOs accessing contracts shows that community organising was not a priority; what was important was the implementation of the reforestation activity which was participated in by the community because of the wages offered.

Financial support is always a problem for many NGOs involved in education and development. By being part of consortiums, NGOs survive as they can share the resources of the other members in terms of finances, equipment, office space and human resources. People's organisations-many of which do not have the capacity to meet the requirements of funding agencies in terms of proposal writing-are given support by NGOs in terms of education on specific issues such as ancestral land rights or paralegal trainings.

National and Federal Entities/Institutions

In the Philippines the government agency working on indigenous peoples affairs is the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). It has a national office in Manila headed by a chairman consulting with six commissioners. There are regional directors in the various regions to implement and oversee the NCIP programs and projects.

The NCIP has multiple tasks which include implementing development projects in the communities including livelihood, medical missions and infrastructure projects. On indigenous peoples' rights, it supports the recently enacted Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA). The contents of this legal instrument include indigenous peoples' rights to ancestral domain, self-governance and

empowerment, social justice and human rights and cultural integrity. These rights are recognised and promoted “within the framework of the Constitution.”

It was on this issue that the NCIP actively embarked on an education-information programme in 1998 and conducted consultations in the various regions attended by some NGOs, peoples’ organisations, individuals and local government officials. This is in conjunction with the objectives of the commission regarding ancestral land which are the recognition, delineation and titling of ancestral domains and the sustained development for ancestral domain resources.

In terms of consultation, aside from the information campaign on the IPRA, the agency conducts consultations on projects such as cooperatives and livelihood since it is the objective of NCIP to help in poverty alleviation. In addition the NCIP hired an NGO to conduct a province-wide consultation in Benguet to ask the people-represented by local government officials and community members-what kind of development they wanted. The information was intended for policy formulation.

Another objective is to promote cultural integrity among the indigenous peoples. However, this is yet to be realised as it is limited by lack of manpower in order to fully implement this program.

Since the NCIP, like its predecessors, believes that formal education is a means by which indigenous peoples can be integrated into the greater society, the scholarship programme is on the agenda. The scholarship program of the NCIP is not exempted from political interference. Congressmen have the prerogative to choose a number of scholars. In the past these scholars were used in the political campaign of a politician.

The NCIP coordinates with NGOs on a project/activity basis. In the campaign for the IPRA, the agency had the support of NGOs that viewed the law as beneficial, to a certain extent, to indigenous peoples. They focused on the provision that indigenous peoples had the right to “free and prior informed consent” before a development project could be implemented in their territory. Others also believe that this law can be used as a bargaining tool in dealing with business interests aiming to exploit their natural resources. On the opposing side are those who believe that this law will facilitate the fragmentation and privatisation of ancestral lands. They aver that the IPRA,

together with earlier instruments such as the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title, do not protect ancestral lands but facilitate their alienation to allow the elite and big business to exploit these lands.

The main objectives of the NCIP are as follows:

Agenda 1: Recognition (Accelerated delineation and titling of ancestral domains)

Agenda 2: Sustained development of ancestral domain resources

Agenda 3: Capacity building for self-determination and empowerment.

The programs and activities are:

- Leadership training and other organisational development activities among indigenous peoples.
- Massive information dissemination on the provisions of the IPRA and its implications on the welfare of indigenous peoples and the development of resources in the ancestral domains.
- Establishment of measures to give due recognition to genuine indigenous social structures/organisations.
- Promotion of appropriate indigenous health care as well as agricultural practices that are most appropriate in the indigenous cultural communities
- Literacy class

Agenda 4: Integrity of Indigenous Culture

The integrity of the rich indigenous cultures and heritage are to be assured. The improper exhibit, projection, sale or copy of the indigenous culture and heritage, to include the rare species of flora and fauna in ancestral domains will be regulated.

Agenda 5: Development of indigenous peoples' entrepreneurial and cooperative potentials

Natural resources in the ancestral domain provide economic opportunities for the indigenous cultural communities if given adequate financial support coupled with technical assistance. A fund facility for entrepreneurial activities and cooperatives will be established.

As a government agency, the NCIP is affected by politics, such as the withholding of its budget for some time. For 1999 the NCIP was operating on savings, preventing it from fully implementing its programs. Also most of its programmes are done in coordination with agencies mandated to carry out these concerns, such as health and education.

The other government agency that is involved in adult education to a limited extent is the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS). While it is tasked to improve the literacy rate in the country, it also has to grapple with problems like budget, human resources, politics and corruption. While primary and secondary education is free in government/public schools, the people in the countryside lack schools and teachers. In some cases, there is only one teacher for two grade levels. Adult education cannot be a priority of an agency that cannot provide sufficient infrastructures, equipment, books and manpower for its formal education program. However, the DECS has a national literacy programme which is implemented on a limited scale at the provincial level and only when funds are available.

Structures of Indigenous Peoples' Organisations

NGOs have been instrumental in the creation of people's organisations in the country. Initially, NGOs were the groups articulating the concerns of people in the communities. At the same time they were providing education and awareness-raising activities to people in the communities and who later formed their own organisations.

One federation of people's organisations is the *Kalipunan ng mga Katutubong Mamamayan ng Pilipinas* (KAMP) which is composed of nine organisations, each of which maintains local networks in the regional, provincial, municipal and barrio levels. The organisations are indigenous groups from South-Central Luzon, Mindanao and the Cordillera region in Northern Luzon.

Consistent with indigenous and democratic practices of representation and consultation, all organisations are represented in the General Assembly, which is the highest policy-making body.

As a dynamic federation, the KAMP holds congresses every two years. Advising the federation is the National Council of Leaders (NCOL) composed of active members of different member organisations. The NCOL formulates policies and programs and organises national campaigns approved by the General Assembly.

A National Executive Committee, composed of the national chairperson, vice-chairperson and general secretary execute all decisions, policies and plans of actions approved by the GA and NCOL. A national secretariat based in Manila implements and monitors KAMP's committee activities and also serves to articulate the member organisations' concerns to a broader public. The two major tasks of KAMP are the following: (1) organisation building, expansion and consolidation of indigenous communities; and (2) public information and campaign in relation to issues affecting indigenous peoples. KAMP engages in the following activities: Projection of issues and struggles of the indigenous peoples through information campaigns and related activities; Providing leaders and members with skills to enable them to articulate their concerns; Providing assistance to member organisations in organisational building, expansion and consolidation work; Establishing solidarity relations with indigenous as well as non-indigenous organisations and individuals in other countries.

Member organisations of KAMP are united in their assertion of the right to self-determination and in their campaign for structural change. Some components of self-determination include genuine development, ancestral land rights and other indigenous peoples' rights. Critical of government policies and programmes, they differ from other indigenous organisations that assist the government in implementing the latter's policies and programmes which are not necessarily beneficial to indigenous peoples. Some organisations, however, have worked with the government in specific projects and at the local level where they can directly implement and participate in decision making. Some of these projects were on health and environment. At the same time, individuals from these organisations have accepted invitations as advisers to government-conducted seminars as part of their education work.

Concerning its campaign on the recognition of ancestral land rights, KAMP rejects the Certificate of Ancestral Land Claim (CALC) and the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) which are the instruments offered by the state for the recognition of ancestral land rights. The main objection to these instruments is that these certificates do not protect the land from activities such as mining. There is also no assurance that the total land area being claimed as ancestral domain will be given.

However, there are other groups that are applying for the recognition of their ancestral lands through these instruments. The Tribal Communities Association of the Philippines (TRICAP) is composed of tribal communities nationwide although its structure is not as organised as that of KAMP. There are provincial and regional units although most of these are inactive. In fact its active unit-TRICAP Bukidnon-is a partner of SENTRO, a national NGO supporting peoples' organisations by providing training and education on concerns like ancestral domain and livelihood and skills training.

LUMAD-Mindanao is a regional federation of indigenous organisations in Mindanao island in southern Philippines. This federation is presently engaged in education work among indigenous communities regarding the IPRA and ancestral land rights. It is also promoting the use of traditional systems of consultation and decision-making. LUMAD-Mindanao is also encouraging self-governance in the communities using their indigenous cultures.

National Programmes

The NGOs do not have a national literacy programme. It is up to the local organisations to decide whether a literacy programme for the communities being serviced is viable considering the limited funds and manpower of NGOs. At the same time there is a general feeling that literacy programmes should be provided by the state through the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS). As mentioned earlier, the DECS has a national literacy programme but it is not implemented on a national scale.

Indigenous Programmes

Adult education programmes for indigenous peoples are no longer limited to functional literacy. Indigenous peoples need to be equipped with sufficient information and skills in their struggle for land and resources, social justice and self-determination. The programmes of peoples' organisations and their NGO supporters with the same aspirations are similar.

Some of these programmes are:

- Community organising - involves building community organisations and providing assistance in areas of situational analysis, organisational management and project management
- Research and information - updating and validating data on community concerns and issues and disseminating it to the community and broader public; specific research projects are undertaken for use by the community, especially in the fields of agriculture, forestry and natural resource management, appropriate technology, among others
- Education - some of the topics are: human rights and indigenous peoples' rights (including ancestral land issues, environment, cultural conservation/renewal and development, self-determination), gender and peace building
- Socio-economic assistance to small-scale projects and cooperatives, including management
- Rehabilitation including assistance to communities affected by natural calamities or conflicts such as forcible displacement as a result of militarisation or development projects
- Community health, education promoting traditional medicine and other efficient and inexpensive healing methods
- Linkages and international relations including networking with different indigenous organisations and individuals in the country and internationally.

NGOs have their own specific area or focus of work. The projects and programmes they implement depends on an assessment of the situation in the community. This is validated by

consultations with the people who are encouraged to express their needs and aspirations and how they view their situation. People are also encouraged to participate in the design, implementation and evaluation of projects through the existing peoples' organisation and the formal and indigenous leaders.

Community consultation is the first activity conducted. The project/programme is first introduced. Suggestions and comments on the viability or necessity of the programme are discussed and also how it should be implemented. Participants to the project may be volunteers or recommended by the community.

Teaching methods in adult education need to be contextualised within the culture and the people's experiences and must be grounded in practice. The classroom-based and lecture methods are enhanced by other strategies such as the use of audio-visual materials such as films, transparencies, illustrations and maps. Other creative methods are drama, songs and games. Learning is participatory in that both facilitator and participants collectively discuss issues and come to a consensus on how to view and resolve a problem.

Some NGOs use the participatory rapid appraisal (PRA) or participatory learning activities method. This is an intensive and interactive community-based process with the use of several techniques that enable the people to learn about local conditions, identify and prioritise problems and to plan how to solve these problems. Some of the techniques used in this method are case studies, trend and change analysis, seasonal calendar, VENN diagrams, livelihood analysis and peoples' indicators.

Field trips are used in training programmes and which may be conducted at the middle or end of the training session. This method enables the participants to relate to what they have learned in the discussions. At the same time field experience can be the basis for further discussion and analysis when the participants return to the workshop.

Inter-cultural learning can be of two types. One is the learning exchange between or among indigenous groups within the country and other countries; the other is the exchange between and among indigenous groups with non-indigenous/dominant groups within and outside the country.

In the Philippines indigenous groups are exposed to other local cultures through the educational system. The official language is Filipino, which originates from Tagalog-the language of several provinces in Luzon island where the seat of government is located. Schoolchildren also have to learn English since some of the subjects are taught in this language. The Constitution mandates that the local languages will also be used as auxiliary media of instruction.

People to people exchange is facilitated by NGOs to enhance cultural understanding and solidarity. At the same time this exchange can be a venue for peoples with similar problems to learn from each other especially how they are responding to issues affecting them. Gender specific programmes are provided by NGOs and indigenous women's organisations. At the same time NGOs working in indigenous communities conduct specific education and training programmes for their beneficiaries which are appropriate to the needs and aspirations of indigenous women.

NGOs working specifically with indigenous women have differing programs and objectives. Some provide livelihood projects so that women can increase the family income. Others provide livelihood projects and at the same time legal and psychosocial assistance to victims of domestic violence. Other NGOs engage in education, research and organising of indigenous women to enable them to fully participate in the movement for self-determination.

Other Institutions Working with Indigenous Peoples in The Field of Adult Education

Academic Institutions

Academic institutions have traditionally looked at indigenous peoples as objects of research, as passports to acquiring higher degrees. Most programmes implemented by the academe in indigenous communities are research-based, with the people's knowledge being extracted to benefit other people. Well-meaning academics and researchers translate their insights into policy recommendations but these hardly become integrated into policies for several reasons. Firstly, indigenous peoples' interests are not the priority of the state. Secondly, the majority of the legislators

belong to the elite whose interests will be affected if indigenous peoples are educated and empowered to assert their rights to land and resources.

Nevertheless, there are some efforts at providing adult education by some institutions on a project basis, if funds are available. The Center for Integrated Development Studies based at the University of the Philippines provides funds for academic researches. Depending on the project proponent, education and organising can be integrated into the proposal. The biodiversity project being conducted in Misamis Oriental in Mindanao is an interdisciplinary research project aimed at mapping out the coastal, forest and marine biodiversity in the province. The Social Sciences Faculty is involved in education and organising work among the people, including the indigenous Subanen. The objective is to enable the people to protect and conserve their environment and resources. This project is also being conducted in coordination with the local government.

Academic institutions do not usually have the time to engage in full-time adult education work considering the multiple loads of the faculty in terms of teaching, research and administrative tasks. More often academic institutions conduct joint projects with NGOs as the latter are already accepted in the communities and have more time to integrate with the people. Government agencies and local government bodies involved in the project also provide technical expertise and logistics, such as the use of their vehicles and offices for meetings.

Universities have been helpful in supporting people's struggles against threats to their land and livelihood. In Mankayan, Benguet province where the operations of mining company have caused soil subsidence and the destruction of a school and some houses, geologists from the State University who investigated the matter declared that the incident was a result of the numerous mine tunnels dug by the company. On the other hand, studies coming from researchers have also been used by the state and big business to enforce their development plans in indigenous peoples' territories.

Meanwhile, in the schools, some efforts to integrate indigenous cultures and traditions in the curricula of a majority of the students have been carried out. The aim is to prevent the young from being alienated from their cultures and also to make non-indigenous students understand other

cultures. Alternative educational materials are also being developed to show the integrity of indigenous peoples' cultures as against the negative image being projected in mainstream educational materials.

The Church

Some efforts on adult education emanating from the research community can be seen from the work of the religious orders who also run small colleges in the city but whose members are assigned apostolic work in the rural areas. The early mission of the different churches in the Philippines was not only to make Christians out of the “natives” but also to acculturate and integrate them into the mainstream. In the past, the churches used to hold conferences on acculturation to assess their work

Traditionally, the church was also a source of assistance in terms of food, shelter, formal education and other basic services. The worsening economic and political situation in the 70s and 80s was a challenge to the Church to respond effectively to the plight of the indigenous peoples and take a more proactive position. Many communities were dislocated as a result of development projects such as dam construction, mining, logging and plantation agriculture. Communities that resisted their dislocation and destruction of their lands were militarised. The religious orders, especially those directly dealing with the people, became staunch advocates.

An example of church involvement in adult education is the formation of a body that actively to look after the interests of indigenous peoples. In 1975 the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines (CBCP) created the Episcopal Commission on Cultural Communities (ECCC) to be responsible for the apostolate among indigenous peoples. The following year a national consultation of church workers involved with indigenous peoples agreed to create a desk under the National Secretariat for Social Action, Justice and Peace Office. This desk was tasked “to initiate coordination in the apostolate and to attend to the needs of the cultural communities.” In addition the ECCC was renamed the Episcopal Commission on Tribal Filipinos (ECTF). Today it is called the Episcopal Commission on Indigenous Peoples.

The Commission implements several programs in indigenous peoples' communities. The literacy program aims at raising the literacy level in the communities and also works within the framework of a liberating education which raises the people's consciousness and links their struggles with those of other marginalized sectors.

Meanwhile the Promotion-Education Program informs society at large about the situation of the indigenous peoples and educates them about their cultures in order to prevent discrimination. This also takes charge of the annual celebration of Indigenous Peoples Sunday held every second Sunday of October. On this day the Catholic priests focus their sermons on the issues affecting indigenous peoples. This program also arranges exposure/integration activities where interested individuals can stay in the communities to integrate with the people and learn more about them.

The work of this body is complemented by the efforts of individuals among the religious and also the various vicariates. These range from providing liberative education and assisting in building the people's capability for self-reliance. Successful cooperatives have been set up in indigenous peoples' communities through the assistance of the religious.

Successful community projects are, however, suspected by the military as having been set up by the New People's Army (NPA), armed wing of the leftist National Democratic Front (NDF) which is waging a war of liberation against the state. A few years ago a multi-purpose cooperative set up by the indigenous Dumagat with the financial and technical assistance of the parish in the Luzon province of Bulacan was emptied of its contents by the military. The cooperative was being used by the Dumagat to sell their forest products so that they would not be cheated by traders.

Although the church as an institution remains conventional, progressive people in the hierarchy are giving meaning and direction to the apostolate of some mainstream churches. In the church structure, commissions and desks are created to look after human rights, environment and other concerns. These commissions and desks coordinate with NGOs in providing education to church members.

CHAPTER III

Case Studies

The following cases are two peoples' organisations actively engaged in adult education. One organisation was created as a result of education provided by the Church in the area. The other group was set up by the indigenous peoples themselves after a process of studying and analysing their situation. One group was formally organised during the martial law period while the other was organised after the authoritarian government of Ferdinand Marcos was changed. Both are concerned with indigenous peoples' rights to ancestral domain and to self-determination.

The first case is an organisation of people belonging to one ethnolinguistic group: The Ayta. The other organisation is a federation of six ethnolinguistic groups inhabiting the Cordillera region. Sectoral organisations include members who are non-indigenous like those in the labor sector.

Lubos na Alyansa ng mga Katutubong Ayta ng Sambales (LAKAS)

The Lubos na Alyansa ng mga Katutubong Ayta ng Sambales (LAKAS) means Negrito People's Alliance. Members of this organisation occupy the western slopes of Mount Pinatubo which erupted in 1990 and caused the displacement of many of the indigenous inhabitants.

Like other indigenous peoples, the Ayta are victims of exploitation by their non-indigenous neighbors who cheat them when they barter their produce and forest products. Many have become perennially indebted as a result of usury. Basic services like education and health have not been extended to the Ayta by the state. At the same time, they were displaced from their ancestral lands which formed part of the US military base.

In 1982 church workers started the literacy program based on the Paulo Freire method. While the Ayta speak their native Sambal, they can also speak the languages of their neighbors. The education programme was conducted in Tagalog as the educators-were not indigenous themselves. The community, together with the church workers, held several meetings wherein the latter introduced their plan to start a literacy programme. The Ayta had many bad experiences in dealing with outsiders, usually traders, who cheated them. They were also ignored and discriminated against by the other peoples. After a long process the Ayta elders approved of the programme. Learning to read and write enabled the people to deal with unscrupulous middlemen who used to control the prices of the Ayta's products. This new knowledge enhanced the people's self-confidence and pride in their culture. They are now confident to send their children to regular schools.

In 1987, five years after the literacy programme began, the Ayta organised themselves into the LAKAS. They also formed cooperatives in 12 villages. Those who finished the literacy programme taught the younger members how to read and write. Because of their growing strength and confidence, the Ayta were accused as subversives in the 1980s during the martial law period. The government suspected the organisation as a front of the New People's Army and tried to discourage the people from participating in the literacy programme.

As an empowered group the LAKAS members are asserting their right to ancestral land and self-determination. They are also concerned with human rights, ecological balance and militarisation, whether internal or external. A large portion of Ayta ancestral land used to be part of the biggest US military base in the country. Despite the closure of the base, the Ayta were not allowed access to their ancestral lands.

Aside from working in their own communities, the LAKAS youth now run literacy and leadership workshops for other indigenous peoples in the country like the T'boli and B'laan of Mindanao. Some of the workshops they conducted were on leadership, self-discovery and literacy. They were also invited to contribute to the literacy programs in Bougainville as part of their solidarity work.

Although the Church was the major actor in the education of the Ayta, the latter did not adopt Christianity. They have their own worldview and perform their own religious rituals. However, they have great respect for the Church and hold ecumenical services with the latter, especially every April 2-the day when Mount Pinatubo erupted in 1990.

In 1989, Paylot Cabalic, then chairperson of LAKAS, was invited by the Australian government to speak before participants of a national convention on literacy. The following are excerpts from his speech:

“- Education and organization are useless if people are not moved to action. The True measure of people empowerment is this: In the face of oppression, stand up and work for self-liberation.

- To summarize, our literacy program liberated us from both ourselves and our oppressive social structures. We have overcome our low self-image. We can now walk tall and look straight into the eyes of others. We can now speak in assemblies such as this, even if we still feel nervous. We know and we feel that we are now recognized and accepted as persons.

- We grew in critical thinking and analysis. Organized, we ceaselessly seek the truth. We courageously uphold our rights and human dignity and strive to improve our livelihood. We struggle for political, social and cultural freedom. And we constantly abide by our principle: ‘Oppress no one and let no one oppress you.’”

Cordillera Peoples Alliance

History of organisation

The Cordillera Peoples Alliance is a federation of indigenous peoples’ organisations in the Cordillera mountain region of Northern Luzon. In 1984 27 organisations gathered in Mountain Province to formally constitute the CPA. Members include organisations of farmers peace pact

holders and village elders, women, small scale miners, professionals, urban poor, workers and youth and students.

The Martial Law period was test a to the patience of the peoples in the mountain region, who, having been discriminated against and neglected by the government, were again being asked to sacrifice their lands for the benefit of the majority. In the 1970s the government planned to displace thousands of Bontok and Kalinga peoples for the construction of the Chico River Hydroelectric Dam. In the adjoining province of Abra, the Tinggians were being affected by the logging operations of Cellophil Resources Corporation for its paper pulp industry. The people to be affected actively opposed these projects, which led to various human rights violations committed by the state on the oppositors. The projects, which united the various ethnolinguistic groups and local and foreign advocates, were terminated in the early eighties.

While the people in the countryside opposed the projects because these would displace them and destroy their resource base, the youth who were studying in the urban centers-together with advocates among the professionals and religious-supported the people in terms of projecting their issues and providing education by relating the local issues to policies and decisions made in the international level. Thus, the Chico Dam Project was linked to imperialist attempts through the WB-IMF-at harnessing the river's energy for foreign-funded industries to be set up.

These experiences, together with past experiences of disenfranchisement and discrimination, militarisation of their communities and socio-economic problems spurred the people to unite and continue to defend their ancestral domain. The various village and sectoral organisations met in 1984 to form the Cordillera Peoples Alliance for the Defense of Ancestral Domain and for Self-Determination.

The CPA is committed to advancing the interests and welfare of the Cordillera indigenous peoples. It seeks to unite the various ethnolinguistic groups and sectors in the region towards the realisation of the following agenda:

- Recognition of the peoples' right to self-determination. The distinct features of self-determination for the Cordillera people are the following:
 - The right to ancestral domain and to genuine regional autonomy- the
 - The Cordillera is the physical base of the Igorot peoples. Only by constituting the ancestral domain into an autonomous region can a truly democratic government guarantee this perpetual and inalienable right of the Cordillera indigenous peoples.
 - The right to ownership, use, management and disposition of the natural resources within the ancestral domain

Consultation with the people is necessary in the exploitation of the region's natural resources. Just compensation and a share in beneficial returns and indemnification to affected communities for the plunder of their wealth must be ensured. Conservation measures must also be adopted.

- The people's right to economic prosperity

The people should be active participants in deciding alternatives best suited for their needs and directing their own development programmes. Self-reliance, cooperatives, appropriate technology, adaptations of indigenous forms of collective labor and group management will be encouraged in increasing production and developing the forces of production.

- The right to maintain and develop their own culture

Cultural practices, values and traditions which are positive and viable must be conserved and improved in order to be relevant to the changing environment. Mass media, schools and other institutions should be harnessed to correct discriminatory ideas regarding the Igorots and to cultivate a proper knowledge and understanding of the peoples and their cultures. Even as ethnic differences are recognised, the growth of a united Cordillera consciousness is to be promoted and Filipino nationalist culture appreciated.

- The right to a life of peace and security

The supremacy of civilian authority over the military should be upheld as a primary principle in the governance of the region to allow people to freely exercise their rights and pursue productive activities without fear of harassment or repression.

- The right to determine the form of their self-government and to uphold political systems already in practice

Customary laws and traditional forms of leadership and decision-making still govern many aspects of the people's lives. Village-level administration should be adapted to these traditions just as structures between the village should conform to existing levels of socio-political organisation of the different ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera. It should be noted that in the peoples' struggle against the Chico Dam and Cellophil, the indigenous socio-political institutions were instrumental in uniting the people against a common threat and facilitate awareness-raising activities for the villages. The peace pact holders and village elders of various groups worked together to resolve intervillage conflict - popularly known as tribal war - and unite them in confronting a common and bigger problem. It was here that the traditional bilateral peace pact or *bodong* was transformed into a multi-lateral peace pact (several villages and peace pact holders) to pledge to be at peace with each other and unite to confront a common external threat.

- ! Establishment of a Cordillera autonomous region within the framework of a sovereign Filipino nation.

In order to achieve these the CPA is actively engaged in the following programs:

- research and education - preparing and disseminating popular education materials on indigenous peoples rights, especially the right to self-determination.

- Organisation - providing training in community organising and organisational management and consolidating existing CPA chapters in the provinces
- Information and campaign - disseminating information on indigenous peoples' concerns to the public, both local and international
- cultural renewal - supporting community projects for the strengthening and revival of indigenous social institutions and practices that have suffered neglect but are relevant to contemporary situations

The alliance carries out this agenda through the following commissions

- Education Commission - provides education services such as comprehensive political education, campaign updates, regional situationers and training for facilitators/trainors. It assists the education commissions of the CPA in each province in the implementation of the general program of action and helps in the production of education materials
- Public Information Commission - handles the official publication HAPIT and other information dissemination activities
- Research Commission - conducts studies in aid of legislation and development alternatives, especially on regional autonomy and people empowerment. It engages in participatory research partnerships with non-government organisations and people's organisations.
- Human Rights Commission - coordinates with NGOs, lawyers, religious groups and concerned individuals on human rights issues and activities. This includes providing free legal assistance to victims, documenting human rights violations and related issues, facilitating education work and disseminating information on the human right situation
- Solidarity Commission- establishes and strengthens linkages with national and international advocacy groups, campaigns for the recognition of indigenous peoples' rights on the international level and strengthens relations with other indigenous peoples in the Philippines and other countries.

Methodology, Strategies and Language

The methodology used in education work involves a process of liberation that is grounded in the real lives of the people, based on the individual as part of a community and involving analysis or reflection and cooperative action. It promotes critical and analytical thinking and people's participation in the discussion and resolution of a problem.

Most of the trainers and facilitators are indigenous. Some are non-indigenous but work in NGOs concerned with indigenous peoples' issues. The different ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera region speak their own language, with some languages having similarities, allowing the people to understand each other. Trainers based in the province use the local language in their education work. Non-indigenous trainers use Ilokano, the lingua franca in the region which is the language of the provinces surrounding the Cordillera.

Regarding education materials used in the communities, these are written in Ilokano. Written materials are secondary tools for education. The primary strategy is the use of workshops where a trainer provides information and later acts as facilitator to elicit group discussion.

The CPA does not limit itself to education work among the region's indigenous peoples. It has coordinated national and international workshops to promote and project its ideas on self-determination for the Cordillera peoples. At the same time the organisation continues to learn from the experiences of other indigenous peoples. It is also a member organisation of the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (BAYAN), a federation of Filipino peoples' organisations committed to nationalist and democratic goals of sovereignty, justice and democracy. The majority of these organisations are non-indigenous and it is the task of the CPA to further the understanding of the organisations' members of the cultures and struggles of indigenous peoples. These groups are the recipients of the English version of CPA education materials.

The education work undertaken by the CPA is a continuing process of information and awareness-raising activities geared towards making the indigenous peoples aware of their situation and acting collectively in order to improve it. In the 1980s when the organisation was formed, it launched a regionwide education programme on the defense of the ancestral domain and achieving

regional autonomy. CPA staff and supporting NGOs concerned with indigenous peoples' issues conducted information drives in the urban centers, targetting both indigenous and non-indigenous professionals and opinion makers. The urban-based CPA conducted trainings for people in the provinces who would later set up provincial CPA chapters and help in education work. Training was also given to the peace pact holders and village elders as they were a respected force in the communities and were valuable in the drive for regional autonomy. Village elders and other indigenous people from the religious, youth and professional sectors moved from one community to another in an information drive for ancestral land rights and autonomy.

One result of the education work was a massive campaign for autonomy by the Cordillera people at the 1986 Constitutional Commission which was tasked to draft a new Philippine constitution. The new Constitution contains a provision on regional autonomy for the peoples in the Cordillera and Muslim Mindanao. Enabling laws and policies in relation to the provision live much to be desired and are being rejected by the indigenous peoples themselves. The autonomy movement was also taken over by the politicians interested in positions in the autonomous structure to be set up.

Despite this setback, the more positive result of the programme is the growing political consciousness of the people and their pride in their culture. People were proud of the fact that their ancestors resisted colonisation as against those who allowed themselves to be subjugated. Both non-indigenous peoples and indigenous people who took their culture for granted, found new respect for the traditional socio-political systems, whereas in the past, these were considered "backward" institutions which interested only anthropologists.

The CPA education programme is a continuous process as the people in the region continue to grapple with problems like displacement and marginalisation, discrimination and poverty. This process helps to enlighten, strengthen and unify the people to enable them to confront the forces of oppression and assert their right to self-determination.

Transversal Issues and Indigenous Education

The education programme of the CPA is comprehensive and holistic and includes other issues that will lead to self-reliant and self-sustaining communities and organisations. How to achieve these will again depend on the following principles:

- Active and organised people's participation
- Self-reliance as an approach and a goal in achieving economic sufficiency and political empowerment
- Need for a balanced ecosystem
- Responsive to women needs and issues
- Social justice to address economic and political marginalisation
- Self-determination as the primary goal

Organisations and NGOs in the CPA network have their own specific programmes although these are all geared towards the realization of the people's aspiration for self-determination. These NGOs and organisations are the following:

- Cordillera Youth & Students- aside from doing organising work in their own sector, they conduct education programmes on autonomy and self-determination, students' issues and human rights. The organisation also conducts the annual **Balik-ili** (Return to the Community) programme where indigenous youth in the urban centers go to specific Cordillera communities and integrate with and renew ties with the village. The learning process is reciprocal, with the outsiders learning about the situation of the people in the area while the latter, about developments in the national and international scene.

- Innabuyog - the federation of indigenous women's organisations in the Cordillera conducts education and organising work based on gender and community issues, especially ancestral land rights. Effects on women of development projects such as mining commercial agriculture and dam construction are concerns tackled in the education programme.
- The Cordillera Women's Education & Resource Center (CWERC)- supports Innabuyog through research, education and organisation.
- The Cordillera Labor Center (CLC) - serves the labor sector in labor education, research and legal assistance to the miners and other workers in the region
- The Community Health Education in Kalinga and Apayao (CHECK) - a health program providing health education and training, services and documentation of health concerns in target communities in the provinces of Kalinga and Apayao.
- The Community Health Education, Services and Training in the Cordillera Region (CHESTCORE)- provides health education/training needs and other services of communities in the entire region
- The Cordillera Resource Center for Indigenous Peoples Rights (CRCIPR)- a resource center for basic information on the Cordillera; projects and promotes indigenous peoples rights through research and publications.
- Development Agency for Tribes in the Cordillera (DATC)- serves the needs of target communities in functional literacy, agriculture and community organising
- Mining Communities Development Center (MCDC)-serves the mining communities in the region through the following components: community organising, education and socio-economic concerns
- The Montanosa Research and Development Center (MCDC)- serves the marginalised communities in the region on food production, appropriate technology and cooperative planning towards achieving self-reliant communities.

- The Urban Poor Assistance Center (UPAC)-provides the indigenous urban poor communities in Baguio City with services such as education and training, organising and assistance to self-help projects.
- The Women Workers Program (WWP) - provides assistance to women workers in the Cordillera in terms of organising, education and implementation of socio-economic projects.
- The Center for Development Programs in the Cordillera (CDPC)- coordinates the socio-economic development work of the various agencies.
- DINTEG (Cordillera Indigenous Legal Resource Center)- focuses on indigenous peoples' issues and developmental legal aid; also conducts human rights education and provides legal assistance to human rights victims

CONCLUSION

To be relevant, adult education must be contextualised within the situation of the particular community in which it is being planned. It should also be culturally appropriate. It must be able to equip people with the knowledge they can use in carrying on with their lives as indigenous peoples and not as people assimilated into the mainstream.

Indigenous peoples have valuable contributions to make in a diverse society in terms of their traditional knowledge and positive socio-cultural practices and values. Adult education should help them develop in their own terms and according to their needs. At the same time it should help them improve the existing practices that define and unite them as a people and enhance their knowledge of their culture and environment and improve their economic life. Finally, adult education is relevant only if it strengthens the people to assert their right to self-determination.

It is in this context that the organisations in the case studies are pursuing their adult education and organising roles. Literacy and livelihood have to go beyond technical skills for community projects to be sustainable.

In terms of roles, the participation of government in providing adult education to enable indigenous peoples to achieve this goal is limited. While paying lip service to self-determination and empowerment of indigenous peoples, the state cannot carry out consciousness-raising activities that will be contradictory to its policies. Its adult education activities will therefore focus on the upliftment of the economic situation of the people and “the development of their entrepreneurial and cooperative potentials.”

The role of the University is also limited. On the other hand, it can also serve the interests of others. The Church, which is respected in the communities, also plays a role in articulating indigenous peoples' concerns and providing assistance to self-help and sustainable projects.

In providing relevant adult education to indigenous peoples, the NGOs and the church have achieved a significant measure of success empowering some groups and making them valuable participants in nation-building. There are different levels of empowerment, depending on the type of adult education implemented. Some become economically self-sufficient through cooperatives and other socio-economic projects but have weak positions regarding territorial rights. Others look at the assertion of the right to self-determination as the means by which they can maintain their self-reliance and cultural integrity.

While there are NGOs that pay lip-service to self-determination in their education and information programmes, there are also others engaging in educational processes where both educator and recipient learn from each other and participate in developing an idea that is relevant and applicable to indigenous peoples.

To the latter, self-determination is a comprehensive construct. It is not limited to cultural self-determination where a people have the right to practice their culture and language and to be educated in their own language. Neither is it limited to socio-economic development per se. Self-determination covers culture and language, right to ancestral land and resources and genuine regional autonomy. In the latter, the people themselves are the decision makers in all aspects of governance and not merely recipients and implementors of decisions made by an external structure.

In the final analysis, it will be the peoples' organisations themselves that must be at the forefront of the education and action process, since they are the ones directly affected. The assistance of other institutions like academia and church are valuable, but the people themselves must be the ones to identify their needs and concerns, decide how to address these and take the lead in advancing their issues.