

Convention 169 have been ratified by 17 member states out of the 175 ILO member states. Among the 17, 13 are in South and Central America. Only 1 country ratified in Asia Pacific Region. Convention 169 has entered its long policy formulation phase. Take the example of the enactment of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act.⁴⁸ The convention serves as model for cooperation and even a guideline for international financial institutions, such as the World Bank, on human rights aspects. The Convention is an encouraging sign of national and international cooperation gradually moving toward the recognition of the problems and aspirations of the indigenous tribal peoples and, of course, solutions and approaches.

47. *Id.* art. 32.

48. Republic Act 8371, An Act to Recognize, Protect and Promote the Rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/ Indigenous Peoples, Creating a National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, Establishing Implementing Mechanisms, Appropriating Funds therefor, and for other Purposes (1997).

Globalization and Indigenous Peoples: From Politics of Identity to Policy of Solidarity

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I. INTRODUCTION	799
II. NUANCING INTUITIVE NOTIONS OF GLOBALIZATION.	800
III. MAPPING THE STRATEGIC IDENTITY OF THE LUMAS IN MINDANAO	803

"That the law has taken pains to describe in great detail the indigenous peoples as a category of people reflects the complexity of the question of identity facing indigenous peoples, even more so for indigenous children and youth, in the present Philippine context, with all the opportunities and temptation of hyphenated or multiple identities."¹

I. INTRODUCTION

Linking indigenous peoples with globalization necessitates a relaying of a personal experience.

I had an encounter with a London-based transnational company. I was then documenting the cultural politics surrounding the geothermal project in Mount Apo.² The chief anthropologist of the self-proclaimed biggest mining company in the world phoned me. He said their company was interested in mining the gold in the Subanon area. He complained, however, that the local bishop, together with the Irish missionaries, were stopping them. "Listen!" he exclaimed. "Your tribal people are poor. Your government that welcomes us is poor. The Church that opposes us is also poor. Whereas, being the biggest mining company in the world, we can offer the best social welfare package for your people." Then he asked his real question: "Is the voice of the Catholic bishop the voice of the indigenous people?" It was

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1. Ponciano L. Bennagen, *Re-affirming indigenous identity for service leadership, in THE CHANGING FACE OF THE FILIPINO: A SALESIAN TRIBUTE TO THE YOUTH OF THE PHILIPPINES* 277 (2002) [hereinafter Bennagen].
2. For a more thorough discussion, see ALBERT E. ALEJO, *GENERATING ENERGIES IN MOUNT APO: CULTURAL POLITICS IN A CONTESTED ENVIRONMENT* (2000).

such a loaded question for a phone consultation. And to think that it was happening in central London, with unimaginable potential impact on thousands of indigenous people on the other side of the globe.

I explained to him that I was not in a position to speak intelligently about the Subanon tribe or about the Mindanao church. I agreed, however, to meet with them in their main office. With confidence based on a digital map sent by a satellite and on an ethnographic research done by an American anthropologist, the European exploration team expounded on the benefits of their proposed operation in their desired 100,000-hectare site in the Zamboanga peninsula. They claimed that the social and economic benefits could send the Subanon children to school, secure the health of their families, and save them from the harmful effects of the less environmentally friendly practices of the small mining syndicates. My last word to them was a suggestion to talk directly to the bishop. They did. And as I have calculated, the bishop mobilized a big crowd to face the company representatives (which included a former devoted Subanon catechist who now turned spokesperson for the firm). During the encounter, various groups categorically rejected the mining project. So the company negotiators went away demanding more dialogue, not only because the Subanon leaders did not show up, but because the strong opposition led by church workers and NGO activists received solid assistance from an international solidarity group that was also based in London.

The experience suggests that there is a need to nuance the notion of globalization where the indigenous peoples' struggle as well as other people's work of solidarity will have to be taken seriously. While most of the literature on this matter center on the unilateral impact of globalization on various indigenous communities, this article highlights the locus of action of the local communities even as they struggle for respect and resources, and for meaning and movement. It is posited that this approach would be best demonstrated by mapping the indigenous peoples' strategies of asserting their identity in their search for solidarity.

II. NUANCING INTUITIVE NOTIONS OF GLOBALIZATION

Globalization is "understood better in the light of its impact."³ Civil society groups perceive globalization as an economic phenomenon, practically serving monopoly capitalism. Culturally, globalization tends towards homogenization. Politically, it minimizes the role of the State, reducing it to an instrument of powerful states for future colonization. There exists a

3. Perlita Frago, et. al., *Civil Society and the Globalization Discourse*, paper presented at the 2002 National Conference of the Philippine Political Science Association on the Diversity of Politics and the Complexities of Democratization, Cebu City, 8-9 November 2002.

similarity between, and continuity of, the strategies of present day transnational corporations with earlier colonial masters.⁴ Globalization, therefore, is just a new name for colonialism. The fact that the indigenous peoples, the last bastion of resistance against all kinds of invasion, have been "sucked into the vortex of globalization signifies the final triumph of economics over culture, of the market over society."⁵

There is an American facet of globalization to postwar discourse of development.⁶ After the Second World War, President Truman opined:

More than half the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate; they are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people... I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better... What we envisage is a program of development based on the concepts of democratic fair dealing... Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.⁷

The development project was a response to massive suffering of so many people. The answer was the programmatic development based on the use of scientific knowledge and technology. This vision caught the imagination of the United Nations, which immediately extended its scope and application:

There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress.⁸

Development now becomes "rapid economic progress" at the expense of the poor themselves as well as their traditional cultures. Henceforth, indigenous peoples all over the world, have become victims of development aggression that has been a usual companion of globalization.

4. See KARL M. GASPAR, *THE LUMAD'S STRUGGLE IN THE FACE OF GLOBALIZATION* (2000).

5. RANDOLF S. DAVID, *REFLECTIONS ON SOCIOLOGY AND PHILIPPINE SOCIETY* 54 (2001).

6. See ARTURO ESCOBAR, *ENCOUNTERING DEVELOPMENT: THE MAKING AND UNMAKING OF THE THIRD WORLD* (1995).

7. *Id.*, at 1-3 citing Truman.

8. *Id.* (citing United Nations, Department of Social and Economic Affairs (1951)).

Without diminishing at all the truth of these observations, various nuanced analyses of the present situation have been laid down. For instance, Hall views globalization as seemingly "producing neither simply the triumph of 'the global' nor the persistence, in its old nationalistic form, of 'the local.' The displacements or distractions of globalization turn out to be more varied and more contradictory than either its protagonists or opponents suggest."⁹ Another analyst warns us against giving too much emphasis on the homogenizing tendencies of globalization, especially when we see only the American version of it. Appadurai notices that "at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way: this is true of music and housing styles as much as it is true of science and terrorism." "But what is worth noticing," he adds, is that "for the people of Irian Jaya, Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization...."¹⁰ Anaya also recognizes, though not without problems, the possibility of peoples assertion of self-determination manifesting itself in decolonization.¹¹

Several social scientists propose a distinction and a link between the globalization "from below" and "from above" or "from within" and "from without." One school of thought, however, go beyond the simple "meeting" of these movements by saying that the binary opposition suffers from simplistic division.¹² The notion of *issue network* has been introduced and it denotes an "informal social network including clusters of activists, policy-makers, IGO officials, and state institutions, which pursue the goal of indigenous 'development.'"¹³ A closer look at issue network, touching the struggles of indigenous peoples, reveals that the solidarity network involves body, local, national, regional, and international agencies that interact at "diverse levels simultaneously." In this process, the State is "not hollowed out" as many analysts insist. As can be seen later, especially in the formulation and the enactment of the *Indigenous Peoples Rights Act*,¹⁴ the

9. Stuart Hall, *The question of cultural identity*, in READINGS IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY 122 (2002).

10. Arjun Appadurai, *Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy*, in READINGS IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY 100 (2002).

11. JAMES ANAYA, *INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN INTERNATIONAL LAW* 77 (1996).

12. Sarah Radcliffe, et al., *Indigenous People and Political Transnationalism: Globalization from below meets globalization from above*, paper presented to the Transnational Communities Programme Seminar, School of Geography, University of Oxford, 28 Feb. 2002.

13. *Id.* at 2.

14. Republic Act 8371, An Act to Recognize, Protect and Promote the Rights of Indigenous Cultural Communities/ Indigenous Peoples, Creating a National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, Establishing Implementing Mechanisms, Appropriating Funds therefor, and for other Purposes (1997).

State provides a ground of meaning-creation, institution and political cultures through which transnational relations are constituted. It contributes to the establishment/ reproduction of transnational connection by facilitating flows of funds, ideas and the award of resources to indigenous actors.¹⁵

Radcliffe argues that transnational political analyses have previously assumed a relatively discrete divide between groups "from below" and "from above."¹⁶ By introducing gender hierarchies in transnational development issues, it can be viewed that the common sense division between the outsiders and insiders has to be replaced with an analysis of the "social heterogeneity which cross-cuts such 'divides' and makes them analytically redundant." Consequently, there is a movement towards a concept of "social entanglements" that touch on dimensions such as class, gender, political affiliation, cultural authenticity." The positions of the actors are seen no longer as fixed on one "side" of a hypothetical "above and below" divide. This should be recognized that, as human actors, embedded in various contexts, indigenous peoples act according to their "complex, and unfixed, position vis-à-vis a number of social differences."¹⁷

This can be seen in a local account. In a national roundtable discussion on the impact of development projects on the Philippine indigenous peoples, participants were critical of the United Nations, but at same time recognized that the UN "has provided avenues for indigenous peoples to put forward their issues at the international level, as well as a venue where they can gather and establish or strengthen ties of solidarity with each other"¹⁸

This leads us to focus on the "strategic identity" of the indigenous peoples as the locus for appreciating their legal struggle as well as for locating solidarity with them.

III. MAPPING THE STRATEGIC IDENTITY OF THE LUMADS IN MINDANAO

The matrix below helps in mapping out the various strategies in identity assertion that indigenous peoples of Mindanao, more generically called recently as the Lumads. But an elaboration on the meaning of identity might be called for.

In its common, etymological meaning, identity means "sameness" or "sharing common origin or characteristics." This sameness is often asserted as

15. Radcliffe, *supra* note 12, at 3.

16. *Id.*

17. *Id.*, at 15.

18. Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, *The Effects of International Developments and Global Trends*, in THE NATIONAL ROUNDTABLE: THE IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ON PHILIPPINE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES 10 (2001).

an essence, a kind of immutable constitution such that a nation, like the Philippines, is said to have been itself since the beginning, and is basically the same today, and will therefore be the same forever. But many researchers¹⁹ provide that identity is something made, created, ascribed, invented, or constructed - generated. It can take the form of a family reunion, dancing to the tune of a borrowed gong or fighting a legal battle. It can be staged near a boiling lake, in a government office, or at the side of a hospital bed.

Identity, or more accurately, identification, is a process.²⁰ People have to create again what they have already created before, according to the changing circumstances. For example, just because a group of Manobo families has already retrieved their lost gongs, the tribe would then be unified. To some extent, yes, but then again there are some elders who would feel disgruntled because other families have gotten the artifacts ahead of them. Collective identity then can slide back, slip out from everyone's grasp, escape control, and deviate from an already set definition.

Identity also presents itself as a sum of shared characteristics. But it hides its twin strategy of shedding off unwanted or unintegrated elements. This strategy appears in the selectivity involved in narrating "common" history. People can silently neglect to mention the contribution of the minorities or of NGO researchers, or declare the mixed language as inauthentic, or dismiss the opposition as nuisance. As a result, a history within time limits, a culture with clear boundaries, and an identity at the expense of difference.

It cannot be denied that an assertion of identity is also linked to access to material resources. The presentation of a tribal genealogy is not simply for giving native names to otherwise Christian children. It is also for substantiating a tribal claim to the land and its resources, for gaining stronger leverage in bargaining for royalty and respect with big companies.²¹

Presented below is a provisional Matrix on the Politics of Lumad Identity and Solidarity:

19. See e.g. DEBORA BATTAGLIA, RHETORICS OF SELF-MAKING (1995); ALEJO, *supra* note 2.

20. STUART HALL AND PAUL DU GAY, EDs., QUESTIONS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY (1996).

21. See ALEJO, *supra* note 2. It is not only economic resources that matter in the struggle for recognition of collective identity. The struggle is for what I have called *cultural energy*, the capacity for collective agency through cultural mediation, or simply, the collective capacity to go on with life in particular way. The value of struggling for identity is ultimately a desire and a need for energy. Cultural energy, however, will have to wait for another occasion.

STRATEGIC IDENTITY	DISCURSIVE EXPRESSION	ICON OF VERIFICATION	FORMS OF STRUGGLE	FORMS OF SOLIDARITY
FILIPINO (Nationalized identity)	"You are all indigenous people!" "We are all Filipinos."	Residence certificate. Birth certificate. Recognition in the Philippine Constitution.	Making sense of being a citizen of the country. Struggling to regain trust in the State.	Recognition through direct participation in governance, general elections, inclusion in census.
KATUTUBO (Indigenous peoples of the Philippines)	"We have to work together, indigenous peoples of the Cordilleras, the Lunads of Mindanao, as well as in the Visayas."	Definition and provisions of the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act, RA 8371. Formation and convening of the Consultative Body, provided by IPRA. Nationwide organization of IPs (e.g Kasapi, Tricom)	Basic survival and claiming of some 2million hectares of ancestral domain (May 1997) Strengthening the National Commission on Indigenous People, in the national, regional and local levels. Defending IPRA, in spite of his flaws. Protection of indigenous peoples rights, especially among the most vulnerable tribes. Winning a seat in Congress, via the Party List System of voting. Placing IP representatives in the Local Government Units, from the Provincial to the Barangay level.	Quick response program for relief and rehabilitation; Institution and capability building; NGO support group and network; government link up. NGO Forum for the delineation of ancestral domain. Funding assistance for basic services, like spring development, farm to market road, irrigation, etc. Strengthen participation in NAPCI. Work toward cabinet position. Correct the prevailing image of indigenous people as indigent.
MINDANAWON (Local inhabitants of Mindanao)	"We are all from Mindanao. Forget about your being Ilocano, or Tagalog, or Manobo. We have to learn	Residence and livelihood in Mindanao. Signatory to tri-people statements, such as Mindanao Agenda.	Joining forces with other groups in developing a Mindanawon consciousness, campaigns for peace,	Support in developing the Mindanao agenda for peace and development, focusing on the enhancement of

	how to live together, as Muslims, Christians and Lumad. We are all from here."		environmental protection, etc. Search for a viable form of federalism that matches Mindanao reality.	"social capital", e.g. NEDA Mindanao chapter or the PRIMED Model of development (MEDCO). Kusog Mindanaw, Mincode			GRP-MILF peace talks. Distinguishing themselves from the Muslim, while at the same striving to have peace with them. E.g. Asserting 'autonomy within autonomy' in the Moro autonomous region'	"Christian-Muslim" paradigm of Mindanao representation (cf. Pimentel youth leadership program)
LUMAD (Sector in tri-people Mindanao)	"Lumads are the eighteen or so non-Islamized indigenous peoples of Mindanao"	Statements coming from recognized Mindanao-wide umbrella organization. Official position for the Lumad in the GRP-MILF as well as in the GRP-CPP peace talks. FIPC for Mindanao-wide Lumad projects. Legislation comparable to IPRA for the Lumads within the ARMM.	Evasion as resistance. Leaving their place to avoid conflict. This strategy, however, has become more problematic as there is practically no more space to run to. Finding a place within existing dialogue institutions, such as Bishops-Ulama Forum. Finding a voice in media, e.g. notice the absence of the Lumads in video " <i>Mindanao: Healing the Past, Building the Future</i> " and the film " <i>Bagong Bunuan</i> ". Achieving Mindanao-wide Lumad Organization or movement; e.g. Lumad-Mindanao; Panagtagbo: Mindanao Lumad Consultative Council; seeking effective membership in	Recognizing representation in Tri-People Caucus, Peace Talks with Moro and Communist groups, etc. Developing Lumad curriculum; establishing Lumad High School; Developing Lumad studies, Lumad research institutions. Support for the development of Mindanao Lumad discourse and dialogue: Indigenous Peoples Peace Agenda (2000); Lumad-Moro Peace Pact (1999); Lumad-Moro Peace Summit (December 2002). Work for an appropriate media projection, in print, radio, TV, video, film, and instructional materials. Assert the inclusion of the Lumads in predominantly				
MANOBO, SUBANON, etc. (Ethnolinguistic group or tribe)	"Let us not fragment our land through delineation. Land should be reserved by tribes: Manobo, Subanen, T'boli". "We should maintain our identity, our culture". "The problem is that our kids are no longer speaking our language..."	Map of tribal territory. Self-presentation of tribal dance, costume, language, games, etc. as sometimes opposed to "ethnies" that abound in hotels, resorts, and other tourist places. Recognized "supreme datu" (very rare), ordained during "Dumalungdong" or other such sacred rituals. Ethnolinguistic sections in museums and ethnographic publications.	Maintenance, revival or regeneration of tribal culture, language, practices; Critique of existing representation. Assertion of correct spelling of ethnolinguistic groups (e.g. not Samal but Sama); Questioning the word 'Lumad' to refer to all IPs in Mindanao. Auto-representation, e.g. writing one's own ethnography, producing own film	Recognition of self-assertion and self-determination of different Lumad groups; Care not to confuse costumes and names of dances; Care not to mis groups in maps and enumeration of tribes; Critical ethnographic study on neglected groups and restudy of misrepresented tribes. Vernacular radio programs.				
PANAG-TAGBO (People's organization)	"We form a loose coalition of Lumad peoples organization" Some are national in scope (KASAPI), some are regional (PASAKA), some are grouped according to a particular cause	Registration under Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC); List of members; staff, office address, telephone, fax, email, brochure, bank account. NCIP accreditation.	Organizing, networking, expanding, consolidating local Lumad organization, primarily for ancestral domain and survival concerns. Networking with other	Assistance in leadership and organizational development (e.g. financing and conducting OD workshops). Invitation to forums and policy consultations, beyond				

(SIKAT).	Membership in coalition, such as the Mindanao Tri-People Caucus. Organizational Development Workshop, etc.	indigenous peoples, government and nongovernment organizations. Training leaders for present and future govt and NGO positions. Presenting position papers, interventions in policy.	tokenism, such as asking a Lumad to lead a prayer. Provision of research and policy papers, with proper translation, to help them to intervene meaningfully in decision-making (e.g. critical legal analysis of IPRA, IPR).
IBASMADC (Ancestral domain claimant)	"We are the descendants of Apo Apo, the earliest Manobo who lived in this part of Mt.Apo."	Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT). Ancestral Domain Management Plan, recognized by NCIP, in coordination with DENR.	Organizing claimant community, documenting history, tracing genealogy, and cultural mapping, etc. Learning skills in drawing up of ADMP. Making hard decisions on offers of plantation projects, mining, etc. Winning the recognition of neighboring AD claimants, and settler communities. Finding balance in seeking livelihood as well as protecting environment within their territory.
MT. APO COMMUNITY (Host or affected community)	"We are the most affected community. " (Usually in reference to a proposed development	Free and Informed Prior Consent (FIPC). Memorandum of Agreement with partner	Payment of royalty to host community, over and above what the company pays as tax to the local

project, agricultural program, military detachment, NPA or MILF presence, or missionary activity.	organization. Organization of Local Monitoring Team. Resolution of the tribal council. Declaration of Zone of Peace, etc. Petition papers with stamped "RECEIVED"	Assertion of cultural impact assessment (CIA) of projects being proposed to the community. Choice of adopted system of defense (e.g. CAFGU, tribal government, zone of peace) Review of Protected Area Bills being proposed in Congress (e.g. Jaworski bill), launching opposition as necessary	government. Respect for the local political structure, including payment of sanctions when transgression is committed, or for the community's decision to arm themselves. Avoiding unilateral decision in putting up or closing down any operation, be it running a sustainable agriculture demo farm or conducting literacy program.
TUDDOK TO KALUBARAN NI APO AYON UMPAN (Family or Clan)	"If we could revive our culture starting from our own family or clan, then perhaps other clans might follow, and the whole tribe regenerates, too."	Certificate of ancestral land claim (CALC); Family reunion, tribal celebration. Well-drawn genealogy, tracing roots to common ancestor. Public ritual celebration. Family handicrafts and agricultural products.	Support family or clan reunions, e.g. contributing pigs for ritual, retrieving of heirlooms and artifacts. Support for the construction of clan or family museums, etc. Relief and rehabilitation during calamities or war, when families become refugees. Livelihood projects, e.g pigs dispersal, vegetable farms, etc. Buying and promoting tribal products that are for commercial distribution.

JOCELYN
EMBAC'
(Individual
identification)

"I am real T'boli,
although I
cannot
understand deep
words of our
elders."

Certification from
the tribal chieftain.
Capacity to speak
own tribal
language, recognize
tribal leaders,
explain indigenous
customs and
practices.
Location in a
recognized
indigenous
genealogy.
Dancing or
weaving the
traditional way.

Engaging new
culture while
maintaining
cultural
rootedness.
Facing difficulties
in integration,
especially when
displaced by war,
famine, or search
for education.
Confusion of
identity because
of intermarriage
and migration.
Coping with
short memory,
lack of written
records or loss of
cultural markers.
Combining
individual
creativity,
traditional art
forms, and
modern
technologies in
globalized world.
Discernment on
what course to
take that will
benefit the tribe
but will also
uplift one's
family income.
Finding job in
government,
especially in
NCIP, schools,
and LGUs. Some
end up victims of
political
patronage or as
members of the
urban poor.

Affirmative
action, e.g.
scholarship grants
to "deserving"
individuals.
Supporting
student
organizations of
Lumad scholars
and cultural
groups.
Recognizing
individual talents
and unique
abilities.
Bridging
program for
those who are
moving from
grade school to
high school, or
high school to
college, in a
different setting.
For supporters:
Being one with
them in "going
native", in dress,
in bags, etc.

The preceding matrix of Lumad strategic identity identifies several locations of assertion with the corresponding "icons of verification" which frequently involves some legal document or cultural artifact. Each situated identity formation is presented with the corresponding forms of struggle as

well as forms of solidarity that the indigenous peoples themselves demand or supporters could offer.²²

First, the legal angle of the identity issue should now be appreciated. Who is the 'self' in the much-revered self-determination?²³ Who are they that deserve to be given "differentiated treatment" in government programs like poverty reduction and special education?²⁴ Southeast Asian analysts and policymakers look up to the Philippines as the "trendsetter in indigenous identity and rights development." IPRA provides probably the most liberal legislative provisions than can be found anywhere in Asia and the Pacific. Despite this strong legal and institutional framework, however, there is still "insufficient clarity" as to the direct and legitimate beneficiaries of these provisions.

These issues are more sensitive in Mindanao, where the distinction between indigenous and Muslim identity is not always clear.²⁵ There is considerable debate as to whether the members of the various islamized ethnic groups is included under the term *indigenous*. This can be a highly political issue, and also one in which there may be shifting identities in accordance with the nature of claims and the benefits that can be derived from a particular ethnic, political or religious status.²⁶

Some Moro groups claim that they are indigenous peoples too, in order to avail of the IPRA provisions.²⁷ But this is not something that Moro groups have in common. The Moro Islamic Liberation Front, for example, does not recognize IPRA as a basis for their ancestral domain claim. MILF spokespersons recognize only customary law, Islamic law and international law as bases for reclaiming their Bangsa Moro homeland.²⁸

22. *But see* JOAN VINCENT, ED., *THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF POLITICS: A READER IN ETHNOGRAPHY, THEORY, AND CRITIQUE* (2002).

23. Sentro, *Taking Self-Determination Seriously: A Review of Organizing Work Among Indigenous Peoples in the Philippines* (1993) (unpublished manuscript).

24. ROGER PLANT, *INDIGENOUS PEOPLES/ETHNIC MINORITIES AND POVERTY REDUCTION: REGIONAL REPORT 59* (2002).

25. *Id.*

26. *Id.* at 13.

27. *But see Id.* at 64.

28. Recently, however, some 150 delegates participated in the first Mindanao-wide Moro-Lumad Summit in Davao City. One of the key points of unity was on the recognition of the traditional boundaries agreed upon by their elders through rituals like Dyandi and Pakang. It remains to be seen how these initiatives coming from the Lumad and Moro civil society could influence the position of the armed groups negotiating with the government.

Other legal issues abound, an example of which is the documentation of customary law²⁹ and legal defense of the IPRA law itself.³⁰ These critical issues are better handled by lawyers.

Second, the assertion of the Lumads as an independent movement is a product of the reflection from their experiences from dealing with supporters, especially among Church and ideological groups.³¹ Contreras expresses this rather powerfully and precisely:

The experience of the Lumads, whose politicization is quite recent, is markedly different from and more problematic than the case of the Igorots. After resorting to evasion as a mode of resistance, and having no history of strong political movements, these peoples are more prone to externally generated discourses of liberation. Church groups, tribal support networks, cause-oriented organizations, the NPA cadres, and other groups from the outside are now actively engaged in the mobilization of these peoples. What emerges is a complex juxtaposition of the frustration and despair expressed in the eruption of spontaneous acts of tribal defiance with the sympathetic external elements providing resources, organization, and knowledge of the outside system. The risk is that these elements, far from providing the role of a facilitator, could actually serve as agents of colonization, control, and normalization deployed by the state, hiding behind an image of compassion and legitimized by a discourse of development.³²

Lumad groups have to be more discerning, and future supporters and sympathizers had better learn their lessons as well.

Third, it should be obvious in the matrix that the State, despite its ambiguous record of dealing with the indigenous peoples, remains an important actor in enhancing their identity formation.³³ Protecting and defending the NCIP as well as the IPRA³⁴ from other government agencies and private companies that would prefer to demean the office and abolish the law altogether is consonant with the indigenous people's struggle for self-determination.³⁴

29. Augusto B. Gatmaytan, *Change and the Divided Community: Issues and Problems in the Documentation of Customary Laws*, 10 PHIL. NAT. RES. LJ 45-74 (2000).

30. Marvic M.V.F. Leonen, *Weaving Worldviews: Implications of Constitutional Challenges to the Indigenous Peoples Rights Act of 1997*, 10 PHIL. NAT. RES. LJ 3-44 (2000).

31. See Alejo, *supra* note 2.

32. See *Id.*

33. But see CRIS SHORE AND SUSAN WRIGHT, EDs., *ANTHROPOLOGY OF POLICY: CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON GOVERNANCE AND POWER* 27 (1997).

34. But see MICHAEL E. BROWN AND SUMIT GANGULY, *Introduction, in GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC* 7 (1997).

Last, the inclusion of the individual level of identity assertion should invite further reflection. Individual owning up of one's identity is a big challenge especially to the young. Veteran anthropologist of indigenous peoples see in the indigenous children and youth the challenge to appropriate their ancestors' wisdom and spiritual worldview, but with a keen and discerning skill in adapting the modern and even postmodern ways that strengthen their identity. As the indigenous story unfolds in the context of a globalizing world with its strong tendency to manufacture and homogenize consumer tastes, wants and desires, and therefore values and practices, indigenous children and youth continue to get involved in various activities at strengthening their indigenous identity.³⁵

35. Bennagen, *supra* note 1, at 279; but see Emil Q. Javier, *Development in the Global Era: The Rapprochement Between Technology and Culture*, 2 UP-CIDS CHRONICLE 7-21 (1997).