

HELPING THE YAPAYAO OF ILOCOS NORTE TO SECURE A CERTIFICATE OF STEWARDSHIP— A CASE STUDY OF ADVOCACY IN ANTHROPOLOGY

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From its earliest days when anthropology was considered by some observers to have served as a tool for European colonialism, the discipline has been involved in endeavoring to change other cultures. At the same time, practicing anthropologists became concerned with particular advocacies, and with studying issues related to the application of social science knowledge to the amelioration of human problems. An agroforestry development project 'Good Roots: *Ugat ng Buhay*' is one example where the discipline of anthropology has played a role in the planning of culture change and of securing a Certificate of Stewardship for a small group of Yapayao living in Northern Luzon. This article reflects on the period between 1991, when the Certificate was issued up to 2011, and discusses how the lives of the certificate recipients were dramatically impacted by the project. It explores how the certificate has contributed to changes in how the Yapayao perceive land, how the ecosystem has been modified from a specialized to a generalized ecosystem, and how some subsistence farming plants have been replaced with commercial crops.

Introduction

Whether working on an international development project as an academic social 'scientist' or as an 'advocate', the simple presence of an anthropologist, sociologist or any outsider living in a community will have some impact on the local cultural system. Intervention may be unintended, but the interactions with the people nonetheless can contribute to a modification of the culture. Change, whether inadvertent or through direct advocacy, is still change. As noted by Singer, "...all of anthropology is advocacy, because all activity is goal-oriented and has consequences in social life" (1990:548). But researchers who are advocates for people and for the environment, whether representing traditional social sciences or holding a

postmodern orientation, should not compromise ethical standards of anthropology.¹

From its early days when anthropology was considered by some observers as a tool for European colonialism (cf. Kellett 2009, Kuper 1996, Bernard 2000)², the discipline has been involved in culture change, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly. In recent years, as illustrated by the impact on the profession of applied-oriented journals such as *Human Organization*, *Practicing Anthropology*, *Culture and Agriculture*, and *Medical Anthropology*, anthropology increasingly has become concerned with studying issues related to the application of social science knowledge to the amelioration of human problems. Professional organizations like the Anthropological Association of the Philippines (UGAT 2010) and the American Anthropological Association (AAA 2010) actively endorse a Code of Ethics promoting advocacy for the 'powerless.'

Ethnographers involved in applied research tend to view advocacy relative to their experiences and work³. Many ethnographers in the applied fields are frequently in disagreement with government and industry, but some take a more constructive approach to advocacy than others. It should be noted that an anti-establishment view is not generally shared among the majority of anthropologists involved in applying their knowledge and skills to solving problems associated with community, health, environmental and economic development.⁴ Researchers certainly may not always agree with government policy, but they often work with the government to obviate problems associated with the disenfranchised and poor.

¹ For a comprehensive review of the many and often contradictory views and interpretations, on types of advocacy in anthropology see Kellett (2009). Also cf. Hastrup and Elsass (1990), Paine (1990), Rylko-Bauer, Singer, van Willigen (2006), Sillitoe (2007), Singer (1990), and Wade (1996).

² [Editor's Note: see also the article by Lynch in this issue of *AghamTao*.]

³ My experiences with advocacy and of interacting with government officials are different in the Philippines from my experiences in Bangladesh, Myanmar, or Thailand. If a researcher works in politically oppressive countries, or in slums, he or she may take a view of the world similar to Bourgois who argues that there is a "...global lie of democracy and neoliberal prosperity in the 2000s" (2006:ix) which is perhaps a reflection of Bourgois' research on homeless heroin users and in conflict-ridden situations in Latin America (cf. Sanford and Angel-Ajani 2006).

⁴ For example, while working in Bangladesh (Wallace 1987) with poor and exploited women, it would have been easy for me to view their abject status as some sort of conspiracy or global lie on the part of the government to maintain a cheap labor pool. In fact, the issue was far more complicated, involving history, land inheritance, religion, overpopulation, and geography.

As I have noted elsewhere (Wallace 2000), those researchers involved in applied research⁵ are all too familiar with the need to adjust their methods or objectives because of unanticipated cultural or political situations.

On rare occasions, however, an unanticipated situation creates an opportunity for a research project to go beyond its stated objectives, and to take direct action for an issue or activity. Such a situation occurred in a long-term agroforestry research and development project in the Philippines, popularly known as "Good Roots: *Ugat ng Buhay*" (see Wallace 1997, 2006, 2009). The Good Roots Project is an advocacy research and development activity directed toward addressing environmental and livelihood issues in the rural Philippines.

While the overall goal of the Good Roots Project has been to help the farm families of the many remote parts of the Philippines to stabilize and renew their environment through agriculture and forestry development, the research team early in the project recognized that the Yapayao were farming land to which they held no legal tenure instrument that would be recognized by the State. The Yapayao recognized this situation, but believed that they were caught in what seemed to them a trap of inequity; they were farming land that had belonged to their ancestors but in terms of Philippine law, they were effectively 'squatters'. Local claimants with political influence could use the law to evict them from the land. The Yapayao requested assistance from the Good Roots Project.

The Good Roots research and development team brought the land situation of the Saliksik Yapayao to the attention of the regional office of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and were told that as soon as the office had time, the land under question would be surveyed. Considering the shortage of DENR staff in the rural countryside, it was clear that the Yapayao would receive no immediate help from the DENR. According to the Yapayao, this same request had been made ten years earlier and the land still had not been surveyed by the DENR. Learning this, the Good Roots team carefully surveyed the land in question and took the results of the survey to the DENR to determine if it was possible for some or all of the Yapayao to qualify for what is called a "Certificate of

⁵ Many dedicated researchers work in research and development centers throughout the world, e.g., the International Rice Research Institute, International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center, International Potato Center, The Center for Tropical Ecology and Biodiversity, Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, and International Crops Research Institute for Semi-Arid Tropics, to mention only a few.

Stewardship" (CS) in the Philippines (DENR Administrative Order No. 96-29). The primary qualifications for a Certificate of Stewardship as outlined in DENR Administrative Order No. 98-45 are as follows: 1) Must be Filipino citizens; 2) Must be of legal age; 3) Must be actual tillers or cultivators of the land to be allocated; 4) Must be a member of the People's Organization which was granted a Community-Based Forestry Management Agreement subject of the CS application; and 5) Must be willing to develop the land as well as participate in community-based forest management activities; 6) Must not be a previous holder of CS that was cancelled for cause.

A Certificate of Stewardship is awarded to individuals or families who have been and are currently occupying or tilling portions of forestlands. This legally binding contract gives the holder of the stewardship certificate the right to farm a specific piece of land for twenty-five years, renewable for another twenty-five years (DENR 2010). The certificate does not guarantee the land to the certificate holder, but it does give the holder the right to farm the land for fifty years.

Because the Good Roots Project chose to expand the goals of the research and to advocate for the Saliksik Yapayao, because Yapayao expressed a desire to cooperate with Good Roots and the government, and because the funding agency endorsed the action, a wrong of many years was somehow ameliorated. The Good Roots staff lobbied and worked as advocates for the Saliksik Yapayao to obtain Certificates of Stewardship for their lands that had once belonged to their ancestors. The Secretary of the Environment and Natural Resources awarded a Certificate of Stewardship covering fifty-five hectares to twenty-nine Yapayao farm families in 1992. The document gave these families the legal tenure instrument to some of their ancestral lands. For the next twenty-five years, up to fifty years, these families would have the security of knowing that the land they farm cannot be taken from them.

The purpose here is to demonstrate, in the case of the Yapayao of Northern Luzon, a place for advocacy and action by social scientists working within the sociopolitical/governmental/industrial 'system', with the aim to help in the amelioration of human problems and suffering, even if the long-term consequences may be unknown. The concern here is directed to one case of advocacy: an intervention with the Philippine government in support

of a minority group in Ilocos Norte to help them gain security of tenure over their land.⁶

My primary aim in this article is twofold: 1) to examine how the Good Roots Project assumed an unexpected advocacy opportunity by assisting one community of Yapayao in Ilocos Norte to obtain a Certificate of Stewardship, and 2) to describe the impact the Certificate of Stewardship has had on their lives during the past twenty years. Eighteen years ago, Ama Bagiat and his wife Rosita lived in a thatched-roof house located in unproductive pastureland covered with *cogon* grass (*Imperata cylindrica*) in the hills of Ilocos Norte in Northern Luzon. This Philippine ethnic minority couple was born in the region almost sixty-five years ago, and it is here that they continue to live a simple and productive life. As will become clear later, however, Ama Bagiat and his family live today in a strikingly different environment, and have a markedly different future than they had in 1992.



Figure 1. DENR Secretary with Saliksik Yapayao

The Yapayao

Also known as the Apayao or the Iapayao, the Yapayao are a subgroup of the upland minority population of Apayao/Isneg who migrated from the mountain region of Kalinga-Apayao to their present locations in Ilocos Norte. There are two municipalities in northern Ilocos Norte that are

⁶ The issue of advocacy in anthropology as it relates to broader methodological, theoretical, and practical issues of the Good Roots Project is for another venue (see Wallace 1997, 2006, 2009).

predominantly Yapayao: the one-barangay towns of Adams and Dumalneg (Benner 2001). In 1992, there were thirty-five Yapayao households located in Saliksik, a barangay of Dampig. Saliksik is located in the foothills of the upper western slopes of the Cordillera Central. Specifically, after crossing the Bolo River, it is a half-day walk from Dumalneg, northern Ilocos Norte. Twenty-nine of these families qualified to receive a Certificate of Stewardship.

This century and the last have not been kind to the Yapayao, and many other hill minorities of Northern Luzon. Because of the impact of Christianity, Westernization, and population pressures stemming from the more dominant lowland populations, the hill people have struggled to maintain some of their traditional culture. The number of people who know the stories of the origin of the Yapayao and the traditions associated with child rearing, courtship, marriage, death, and the afterworld are rapidly disappearing. Maintaining their identity is a struggle for Ama Bagiat, Rosita and other Yapayao. This struggle was made even more difficult because they were losing their ancestral lands. Land that was freely tilled by their ancestors was becoming the property of others.

The people of Saliksik were forcibly relocated in 1986 to the lowland Yapayao town of Dumalneg located about ten kilometers to the southwest. The Philippine government forced this relocation because it believed the families of Saliksik were providing the rebels of the National People's Army (NPA) with personnel, food, and shelter. The mid-1980s was a period of considerable social unrest in the Yapayao area and numerous disenfranchised minority families were susceptible to promises of a better life. This governmental enforced relocation policy lasted only a few years in the area so the Saliksik people slowly started to return from Dumalneg to their abandoned *kaingins* (slash-and-burn plots) in 1990.

Popular history, as told by the older Yapayao, and consistent with the writings of Philippine upland specialists (Vanoverbergh 1932, Wilson 1947, Keesing 1962), holds that as the Spanish moved northward into the Cordillera Central, some Apayao families befriended the Spanish, often trading their lands for hats, cigars, tobacco pipes, and other items brought to the country by the Spanish. Other Apayao families rebelled and fled farther into the mountains. These rebels found refuge near the headwaters of the Bolo River in the province of Kalinga-Apayao. Those families that remained around the headwaters of the Bolo River came to be called the "Apayao," or the *surong* ('upstream people'). The families that moved downstream (*baba*), down the Bolo River and the Apayao River, came to be called the

Isneg or Itneg, hence the cultural similarities between the Apayao and the Isneg. The Yapayao of Saliksik trace their history to the upstream Apayao⁷.

The Community of Saliksik in 1992

The environment of the hills of Saliksik in 1992 consisted of a few patches of secondary forest growth, but dominated by *cogon* grass (*Imperata cylindrica*), one of the most tenacious and environmentally unproductive forms of plant life in Northern Luzon. This grass has been classified as one of the top ten 'most noxious and invasive' grasses in Southeast Asia (see GISD 2010, MacDonald 2004). As noted by plant specialists, it invades disturbed ecosystems and makes it nearly impossible for other plants to coexist (Chikoye et al. 2002). While *cogon* is more intrusive along the eastern slopes of the Cordillera, it has nonetheless penetrated the Yapayao area. Because of a lack of forest cover and the domination of *cogon* and other grasses below the three hundred meter mark, the major environmental characteristic of the area is a low plant diversity index or a relative small number of species per measurable unit (Pugnaire and Valladares eds 2007). It is in this marginalized environment where the Yapayao have lived and practiced traditional slash and burn cultivation. What little biodiversity existed in the area was limited to the *kaingins*.

Saliksik in 1992 (thirty-five households comprising 176 people) was isolated from its *barangay* named Dampig, an Ilocano community. When the Yapayao started returning to Saliksik from the relocation site in Dumalneg in 1990, most of them built temporary houses of bamboo and *cogon* grass thatching. They built their houses as close as possible to their *kaingins* and to a source of water. When the return migration started, some of the Yapayao would walk the half day from Dumalneg to Saliksik daily to work their *kaingins* while other Yapayao preferred to remain in Saliksik for several days at a time. As time passed, more and more Yapayao built more permanent bamboo houses in Saliksik. They continued to maintain close relations with their relatives who stayed in Dumalneg.

Even houses the Yapayao consider 'permanent' were rudimentary in construction, usually remaining useful for only two or three years. Located

⁷ The literature on the Apayao or Isneg is scattered and uneven. The anthropologist Felix Keesing (1962) writes briefly about certain aspects of Isneg settlement patterns, economy, kinship, and their religious practices. The Belgian missionary priest Maurice Vanoverbergh (1932, 1936, 1938a, 1938b, 1950, 1953, and 1953-55) has been the most prolific student of the Isneg. Other reports on the Isneg, Apayao, or Yapayao are Beyer (1913), Wilson (1947), Faculo (1935), and Scheans (1964).

in or near their *kaingins* or what the Yapayao call their *uma*, they were small, one-room structures, with a few square meters of floor space, and built on stilts of tree trunks or bamboo above the ground.⁸ The walls were made from tree bark or woven bamboo and the roof was usually *cogon* thatch.



Figure 2. Some Saliksik houses in 1992.

Inside the house was a small area where they cooked their food (over a three-stone hearth), and a place where their cooking and eating utensils were kept. A larger portion or the rest of the interior of the house was where the members of the family ate, slept, rested, and received visitors. Their bedding and clothing were placed in one corner of the house, though some kept these tucked in the bamboo ribs supporting the thatched roof. A *putik* (a Chinese jar passed from generation to generation) was a regular feature in a Yapayao house. This jar was a symbol of wealth and kept in one corner of the house.

There was no school in Saliksik, and only a few of the Yapayao children chose to attend school in the Ilocano section of Dampig. Yapayao parents said that the children were needed in Saliksik to watch over younger children and to work in the *uma*. A common answer by the children to a question about why they did not attend school was "*awan a badbadjong ko*" (I have no clothes), spoken in Ilocano, the lingua franca of the area. Only four people living in Saliksik had attended a year or more of high school.

⁸ See Wallace (2006) for a detailed description of *uma* cultivation and other traditional features of Yapayao culture.

The traditional dress among the Yapayao was a *baag* or G-string for the men and *quen* or wrap-around skirt for the women. The *baag* was made from material woven on a back-strap loom, and dyed either black or dark blue. The women's skirts were fabricated in this manner but dyed in different colors. In 1992, a few old men and women in Saliksik wore these traditional items daily. Most men wore western trousers or short pants and a t-shirt, and the women wore western skirts or dresses. Western dress habits were put aside during special rituals or the Dumalneg town fiesta when the traditional dress of both men and women could be seen in significant numbers. Tattoos or *gisi* decorated the arms and necks of some of the old men and women.

The Impact of Stewardship

As expected, the most notable change among the Yapayao in Saliksik had to do with land use patterns. With the change to land ownership as opposed to following traditional usufruct rights, the view of the value of land has changed for the Yapayao. They now pay taxes and their children can inherit the right to use the land. Permanent occupancy as opposed to the need to move every few years has created a significant shift in worldview. Land is perceived now by the Saliksik Yapayao as a form of wealth to be protected, improved, and part of a family legacy.

The people still practice slash and burn farming (*kaingin*), but they no longer move their makeshift houses to where they make a new *kaingin* as they did before. The areas cleared now (located less than a kilometer east of where they live) are significantly smaller than in 1992— 600 to 800 sq. meters as compared to an average area of 3,452 sq meters in 1992. The primary reason for this is they now devote more time to permanent field crops such as fruit tree crops.

The *kaingin* plots however, are still traditional in orientation. The patches are mainly planted to *gabi* (taro), ginger, beans, and other daily harvestable cultigens, while their new *kaingins* are planted more to upland rice. Despite traditionally having cleared much larger areas, some Yapayao claim that they are more pleased and satisfied with the harvest from their old *kaingin*. Other respondents say they are working to make their old *kaingins* more productive so that they have the opportunity to stay closer to their more permanent houses.

An important issue for the Yapayao now is being very cautious when burning or re-burning a *kaingin* area. While small patches of re-clearing and cultivation are maintained in their old *kaingin* areas, informants say that great

care must be taken now when burning to insure that existing cultigens are protected.

Eighteen years ago, the Saliksik Yapayao took bad omens very seriously, especially as related to the selection of a *kaingin* plot. For example, if a man were to encounter any species of snake, he should leave the area; seeing a monitor lizard was a sign that the yields will be poor or that a family member may become ill; encountering a kingfisher bird was a sign that disaster may befall the *kaingin*; and hearing the shouting of a deer was interpreted as being told to look elsewhere for a *kaingin* plot. At present, local farmers say that since they do not move about as much as in the past, these omens are less important to them, although a few of the older families still believe in these omens.

Currently, the people do significantly more plow farming activity along the hilly slopes than in 1992. In 1992, only small amounts of land were given to plow farming which was carried out only by three households. Today, while still dominated by *kaingin* cultivation, almost all households do some plow farming. To some extent, the amount of plow farming is conditioned by the available land that is flat enough for plowing. The slope of the land cannot be so steep that pulling the plow places too great a strain on the body of the water buffalo (*carabao*). The health of the draft animal is a serious concern to the farmer because of the high investment in cash and labor for a trained *carabao*.

Some of the Saliksik Yapayao have converted some of the more level portions of their stewardship lands into rice paddies, and diverted water from a spring-fed stream to the paddies. With these conversions, the area devoted to wet rice paddy farming has increased by fifteen percent since 1992. Many Yapayao say that it is only a matter of time until all land that can be farmed by plow will be converted. A few of the Yapayao have adopted newer high yielding/hybrid varieties, but because of the high price of the seeds, the number of farmers turning to the newer varieties is limited. In 1992, using synthetic fertilizer and pesticides was never practiced in the *kaingins*. Today, all plow farmers in Saliksik now use these farming aids, although the amount used depends greatly on the family's ability to buy the materials.

Presently, there are two hand tractors in Saliksik. The owners of these hand tractors rent them out to other farmers or plow the other farmer's fields for a cash or share payment. Consequently, the numbers of water buffalo are slowly diminishing. With these modern farming practices, informants claim they are getting better yields for their labors.

It should be noted that over the past eighteen years, the stewardship lots have been converted and sustained with a variety of species provided the Yapayao by the Good Roots Project and other projects. From the Good Roots Project, the Yapayao received mainly fruit bearing species: coconut, jackfruit, betel nut, *guyabano* (soursop), coffee, and *anahaw* (pandan palm). Today, the once cogon covered areas reflect more biodiversity, and are productive farms housing a biological diversity based on permanent field crops like coconuts, bananas, and a variety of other cultigens. The plants given to the Yapayao continue to serve as a seed source for these more permanent field crops. The mature plants have become the best guards for the areas to prevent them from being burned, and eventually being denuded again. There is a humorous, but very meaningful saying in parts of Northern Luzon: "citrus trees are resistant to fire!"



Figure 3. A Yapayao house, 2010.

The biodiversity characterizing the Saliksik area (Fig. 4) is sufficiently stable now such that a problem for the farm families has become the wild boar and monkeys that wander into the fields from the mountains located above and east of Saliksik. Both animals prefer an environment with a high plant diversity index as a habitat in which to live, and in this case, to secure food. The people of Saliksik are slowly moving their once grassland hills toward a man-made environment with a biodiversity base.

The passage of time and the possession of the Certificate of Stewardship have brought about other changes to the Saliksik Yapayao. As noted, in

1992, there were 176 Yapayao living in thirty-five households in Saliksik. Twenty-nine households qualified for Certificates of Stewardship. Since 1992, six Saliksik Yapayao adults have died, two households have moved permanently to Dumalneg, and four of the household heads are no longer capable of working due to illnesses and old age. Their CS lands, however, are being maintained by their children. By 2010, there was a very slight increase in the number of Yapayao households in Saliksik, from thirty-five to thirty-eight, although the number of Certificates of Stewardship, of course, did not change. The number of people working Stewardship lands may change due to inheritance, but the actual size of the Stewardship land does not change. The slight increase in the number of households was due to the establishment of new households because of marriage. With limited available land, the population of Saliksik has remained relatively stable.

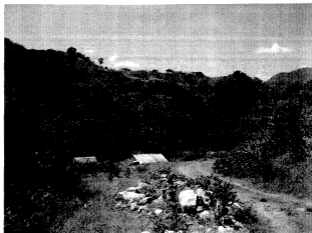


Figure 4. Generalized Saliksik environment, 2010

In the past, the farmers of Saliksik had minimal participation in the market, mainly because they were subsistence farmers, and getting any harvest to market was a burdensome activity. What few products they had to sell, such as *gabi* and *anahaw*, were brought the four to seven kilometers to the lowlands carried on their shoulders by men and/or on their heads by women. Others brought their harvest down using carabao-pulled sleds.

Today, getting produce to market is relatively easy. There is a dirt road between Saliksik and the lowlands which connects to roads leading the municipality of Pagudpud and the national highway. The road was constructed in 2005 with municipal and state funds. The old *carabao* trail is now a regular road passable even by small trucks throughout the year. Buyers can regularly visit the area to purchase Yapayao products. The variety of their products now includes fruits like avocado, jackfruit, bananas, citrus, coconut, and rice as compared to just gabi, yam, and ginger in times past.

Because of the economic opportunities afforded the local families by having the Stewardship, seven Yapayao families have been able to purchase motorbikes, and with the new road, the families can move themselves and their merchandise from Saliksik to the lowlands and back with ease.

During the early 1990s, most school-age children in Saliksik could be seen either playing and taking care of their younger brothers and sisters, or helping their parents work in the *kaingins*. Out of the 176 Yapayao in Saliksik, no one had completed high school. Three people had graduated from elementary school, forty-five had attended elementary school, and the rest never attended school. School attendance today is markedly different from in the past. Most school-age children now either attend elementary school or have graduated from elementary school. There is a secondary school in the *barangay* (not the village), so school is attended with some regularity. Informants say they expect several young Yapayao to graduate from high school in the next few years. Thus far, no one from Saliksik has ever attended college.

Summary and conclusions

The most significant changes to have occurred in Saliksik over the past eighteen years are directly related to the Certificates of Stewardship awarded to the Yapayao. Because the people now perceive of the land as belonging to them, they have put forth the necessary effort to modify the landscape from a specialized ecosystem dominated by grasses to a generalized ecosystem characterized by biodiversity. This shift in worldview has affected almost all aspects of Yapayao life, from the move toward less *kaingin* activity in favor of more plow farming, from the construction of temporary makeshift houses to permanent wood-walled houses, to a more balanced relationship between the production of subsistence crops and commercial crops, to a greater emphasis on education by the Yapayao. The Saliksik Yapayao and other observers point to the awarding of the Certificate of Stewardship as the primary cause for these changes. When asked about the quality of their lives eighteen years ago and now, Saliksik respondents universally agree that their

quality of life is now much better. In fact, some local Ilocano have said that they believe the Yapayao now has an unfair economic advantage in the area.

Thus far, there is no evidence to suggest that the advocacy and intervention activity of the Good Roots Project has had any deleterious impact on the Yapayao. If the goal is positive culture and environmental change, then the type of advocacy presented here would appear to be successful advocacy. Except for changes in material culture (house construction, plows, motorbikes, pesticides, etc.) and certain beliefs, mainly omens associated with *kaingin* cultivation, the Saliksik Yapayao culture appears to be intact. The dress patterns of both men and women have changed very little in the past eighteen years, Yapayao still tend to marry other Yapayao, and there continues to be an active yearly calendar of Yapayao ritual activities.

Given that culture change is inevitable, anthropologists in particular (and social scientists in general), through projects like Good Roots, whether purposefully or accidentally, have taken on a role of providing information that will facilitate change in a way that it is ideally least destructive in impact to society as possible. In some cases, this role of advocacy is planned from the start, and in other cases, it may be unintended; clearly, anthropologists and other social scientists are directly and indirectly involved in culture change, both planned and unplanned. It is now a matter of defining what constitutes positive change.⁹

The intervention of the anthropologically-based Good Roots Project in support of the Yapayao living in Saliksik is but one example. Without doubt, the awarding of Certificates of Stewardship for the Yapayao has dramatically altered the lives of the people of Saliksik. Time will be the ultimate judge of the value of the stewardship certificates to this Yapayao community.

Acknowledgements

The data on which parts of this article is based were originally gathered by the author and the Good Roots staff in 1992, and briefly described in Wallace (2000:43). Comparative data among the Yapayao dealing with

⁹ For example, a legitimate issue reflecting numerous intellectual positions might be the moral and ethical implication of embedding anthropologists with the military (AAA commission 2007). The need for advocacy is best addressed by individual scholars, especially as it relates to their individual set of values. (E.g. few scholars would argue that, out of loyalty to "pure" science, a child should be left to die if measures can be taken to save the child.)

social and environmental change since they received the Certificate of Stewardship were collected in 2010.

The Good Roots: *Ugat ng Buhay* Project, an agriculture and forestry research and development, was established in 1992 in the province of Ilocos Norte. The project moved its base of operation in 1997 to the province of Batangas. The project has also operated in La Union, Benguet, and is currently operating again in Ilocos Norte. In addition to the author (who is also the founder of the Good Roots Project), the other members of the Good Roots team are social ecologist and OIC Marilyn U. Tolentino, forester Anthonio Garvida, agriculturist Manuelito Calventas, extension specialist Magel Leano, and agroforestry utilityman Delmar Cayuga. The Good Roots Project has been generously funded by Caltex Philippines since 1992.

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