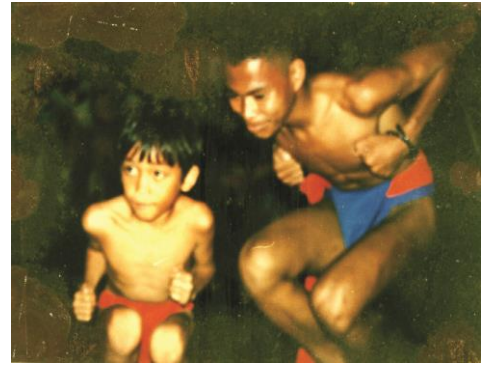


Land is Life: The Aetas Struggle Towards Sustainability

By: Aurea G. Miclat- Teves

The ethnicity of the Pinatubo Aetas is the most significant aspect of their claim to their land and life. Their world view and the continuity of their way of life are rooted in the land where they were born and have defined their humanity. Their land of origin in the mountains and forests of Mount Pinatubo is not only the source of their sustenance but also the home of their identity and culture.



An Aeta dance mimicking wild animals.

THE PINATUBO AETAS: A BRIEF SOCIO-CULTURAL & HISTORICAL PROFILE

Location. The Aetas of Zambales are the indigenous inhabitants of the Mount Pinatubo which is located along the boundaries of Pampanga, Tarlac and Zambales and is part of the Cabusilan Mountains in the southern part of Zambales.

Prior to the 1991 eruption, there were 25 established Aeta villages on Mount Pinatubo. These were Tarao/Makinang, Manggel, Kalawangan, Lukban, Belbel, Balinkiang, Yamot, Dangla, Kasoy, Moraza, Villar, Patal Anawo, Tipli, Ogik, Burgos, Quitomboc, Tuko, Poonbato, Maguisguis, Kayanga, Mayasan, Nacolcol, Palis, and Dolawan.

Population. The Aetas belong to the Negrito group, which is one of the six major ethnographic groupings in the Philippines¹. As of 1997, there were 56,265 Aetas in Zambales province based on the statistics of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP). This is 43.4% of the total population (129,516) of Aeta/Agta/Aeta-Abiyan/Aeta-Remontado group around the archipelago. The entire Aeta group

¹ The six major ethnographic groupings are the Igorot Tribes, Caraballo/Cagayan Valley group, Negrito, Mindanao Lumad, Muslim Groups, Palawan group, and the Mangyan Tribes. Cited from TABAK, *Tribal Filipinos and Ancestral Domain: Struggle Against Development Aggression* (1989).

comprises one per cent of the 11,778,190 indigenous people and are scattered in six regions and 16 provinces in the country.



Mount Pinatubo

Mode of Subsistence. Aetas are commonly known as hunter-gatherers and there is a tendency among lowlanders to pigeonhole them in that activity. There is evidence, however, showing that the Aetas might have engaged in swidden agriculture (also known as slash-and burn agriculture) long before the Spanish colonial era.

In addition to swidden agriculture, which remains as their primary means of livelihood, the Aetas also depend on terrestrial, avian and riverine resources. These complement their carbohydrate-rich diet with proteins. The Aetas also engaged in trading.

Settlement. The typical Aetas or Aeta groups are characterized by extreme variability and mobility. These entail an equally unsteady pattern and style of settlement.

However, the Aetas are only semi-nomadic people. Their mobility is limited to the village and the swidden sites. Shimizu (1989:7) explains that “the Aytas change the location of their swidden fields but situate these near and parallel to the center.” This center being referred to is the village, which is the largest Aeta political unit as described below.

Institutional Structure. The Aetas’ institutional structure has three levels: [1] The nuclear family or *mitata-anak*, which shares in household and socio-economic activities, primarily in clearing and working in one or two swiddens per year. It is also common

among Aeta nuclear families to live together with elderly parents. [2] The family grouping or camp, which may be composed of a single household or a group of households. The members include parents and their married children. They also communally share food and work in the fields. [3] The village, also called *sakop*, is a recognized and named area. These villages, according to Brosius (1990:33), average “between 15 and 20 square kilometers in size [but] are not discrete bounded territories.” Most members of a *sakop* are related by blood.



Aeta leader Carling Domulot



Aeta generation: from grand-mother to mother and child



Aeta children help fetch drinking water.

Spirituality. The Aetas believe in the soul, or *kaelwa*, as a separate entity dwelling in the body. Any disturbance in the body, such as disease and long illness, is attributed to the weakening of the soul. In the case of death, on the other hand, the Aetas believe that the soul remains existing. The spiritual realm of the Aetas includes the belief in two environment spirits, who co-exist with humans, namely *anito* or the good spirit and the *kamana* or the bad spirit.

Because of this belief in environment spirits, the Aetas treat nature with extreme caution. This sets an implicit rule among them that natural resources should not be abused and exploited. This also affects their agricultural activities. For instance, they make offerings to the *anitos* before they start working on a swidden field.

The Mount Pinatubo Eruption

Aetas as the major casualty of the eruption. The experiences of the Aetas during the Mount Pinatubo eruption on June 12-16, 1991 are beyond description. The estimated numbers of Aetas affected were 7,800 families or 35,000 persons. Their flight from the mountains in search of a safer place was indeed life-threatening.

The victims were transferred to various evacuation centers established by both local and international agencies. The evacuees' basic needs were also attended to.

The poor living conditions in the evacuation centers were the worst problems encountered by the evacuees, most especially the Aetas (Abaya et al, 1993:7-8). This led to different types of sickness, such as measles, diarrhea and pneumonia, which were also major causes of death.

The Resettlement of the Aetas. The post-eruption life of the Aetas' was divided into two phases. The first phase constituted their transfer from one semi-permanent evacuation site to another. The second phase was their initial and partial recovery from the disaster, culminating in the establishment of resettlement projects. Botolan, a municipality in Zambales, was a major resettlement site for the Aetas.



Mount Pinatubo eruption in June 1991.

There were two resettlement areas and one evacuation center in Botolan that accommodated the Aetas after the eruption. These are Baquilan and Loob-Bunga Resettlement Sites and Bucao Evacuation Center. The areas were subdivided into *sitios*, which are composed of contiguous clusters of houses. The Aetas named the *sitios* in the resettlement after the same name of their home *sitios* on Mount Pinatubo.

RECLAIMING THE AETAS' LAND

The Aetas in the resettlement areas, or more particularly those who decided to remain there, were the pioneer proponents of reclaiming their abandoned land as they started to suffer from the major limitation of the resettlement program. This limitation was the program's inadequate, if not lack of, provision for agricultural lands for the Aetas, who depend on farming for their livelihood. In addressing this problem, the Aetas identified the idle Puyat land and/or Hacienda Garcia located somewhere near Mount Pinatubo² for their farming needs.

² Further discussion on the Puyat land below.

A series of consultations was conducted in connection with the Aetas' interest in both properties and their ancestral domain claim. These consultations drew involvement from both government and non-government agencies. Among the government agencies that became involved were the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), Philippine Volcanology and Seismology (PHIVOLCS) and the Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR). The Project Development Institute (PDI) had the most visible engagement activity with the Botolan Aetas among the non-government organizations.

The Project Development Institute is a non-government organization that supports the Aetas' relocation and rehabilitation since their displacement from Mt. Pinatubo in June 1991 and their pursuit of their ancestral domain.



An Aeta family who decided to go back to their village

Realizing the predicament of the Aetas, PDI invited the Aetas to a consultation-workshop on August 15, 2001. It was supposed to be an in-depth and focused discussion on three aspects of the Aetas' living condition, namely land security, delivery of support services and organizational maturity.

For a broader discussion, PDI decided to bring the Aetas' land issue to the national level through the conference, *The Aetas' Land and Life: Prevailing Issues on the Tenth Year of Mount Pinatubo Eruption*, held on September 21, 2001.

One output of the conference was the assurance from the late PHIVOLCS Director Dr. Raymundo Punongbayan that lahar risk categorization must not apply if the land is used for agricultural purposes. Another output was the reaffirmation of the ancestral value of the land and the critical question on Puyat's private ownership of the land.

Summing up, the Aetas' struggle to reclaim the Puyat land and Hacienda Garcia now consists of at least two advocacy points: ancestral domain vs. private property; and agrarian reform vs. lahar risk. These two points have their distinct differences, in terms of both concept and implementation.

Advocacy Directions

In 1996, the government – through the DENR Administrative Order No. 2, Series of 1993, which provides the rules for the “identification, delineation and recognition of ancestral lands and ancestral domains” of indigenous peoples – the government awarded four Certificates of Ancestral Domain Claim or CADCs to the Aetas of Botolan, Zambales. The four CADCs cover a total area of 44,803 hectares. These are located in the barangays of Poonbato (CADC-069: 8,700 has.), Villar and Burgos (CADC-068: 22,400 has.), San Felipe (CADC-043: 7,500 has.) and Cabangan (CADC-042: 6,203 has.).

Note, however, that the CADC merely establishes the claim of the indigenous group. It does not yet guarantee the tenurial right of the claimants.

That CADC limitation was finally overcome when the Congress passed into law the Indigenous People’s Rights Act (IPRA) in 1997 or Republic Act No. 8371. Through this law, the indigenous people can avail of the title of ownership for their ancestral domains or ancestral lands, among other rights and privileges.

So with the assistance from PDI, the Aetas who were in possession of CADC have applied for its conversion into titled ownership (Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title), as provided for in RA 8371.

Aetas get Hacienda Garcia and 15,860 hectares of ancestral lands on Mount Pinatubo

After two years of negotiations with the Department of Agrarian Reform, the Aetas eventually obtain agrarian reform title to hacienda Garcia in 2002 renaming it Pasambot. Pasambot is now a prosperous farming community with the Aetas advocating the use of sustainable agricultural technology.



Aetas in Pasambot plant trees to regenerate their newly acquired land covered by lahar from Mt. Pinatubo eruption.

The Aetas still continue to push for the titling of their ancestral domain. In 2004, with the help of the Project Development Institute (PDI) , the Aetas negotiated with the government to claim their rights to their ancestral land. The negotiation was conducted at all levels, from the Local Government Unit with the Mayor at the municipal level up to Malacañang, the seat of executive branch where the president of the Philippines reside. The Aetas with PDI seek audience with the president. The struggle of the Aetas took five years before the government finally gave their Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT).

The Office of the President, represented by Ms. Lorelie Fajardo, Presidential Assistant for Central Luzon, together with the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) headed by Atty. Eugenio Insigne with the Project Development Institute (PDI), awarded the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title - 068 (CADT-068) to 1,501 Aeta families in Botolan, Zambales last January 14, 2009. The CADT is a land title that recognizes the right and ownership of the Aetas to their ancestral domain. The Aetas finally came home and secure their rights to what is actually their home.



Ms. Lorelie Fajardo, Presidential Assistant for Central Luzon (in white blouse), awarding CADT-068 to Aetas of Mt. Pinatubo. Receiving the land title are Raul dela Cruz (2nd from right) and BUKAL chairman Carling Domulot (extreme right). Also in the picture is PDI Executive Director Aurea Miclat-Teves (left).

The approved and declared net land area of 15,860 hectares cover the 4 barangays of Villar, Burgos, Moraza and Belbel in Botolan, Zambales. All encumbrances on the title have been eliminated and all other claims to the ancestral domain have been segregated and settled. Survey work for the CADT commenced following its approval for processing in 2004 by the NCIP. The process entailed a series of consultations involving the indigenous community members and the concerned provincial and national government agencies with assistance from the PDI.

According to Carlito Dumulot, chairman of BUKAL (Bukluran ng mga Katutubo sa Luzon) and representative of the Botolan Aetas, "The CADT is a dream come true. The CADT is a realization of our dream and an acknowledgement of our victory in our struggle for self-determination and self-governance as recognized by the 1997 Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IPRA)". Carling Domulot states that the Aetas will develop the ancestral domain through sustainable agriculture, diversified farming and agroforestry. He said, they will replant rare species of trees and medicinal plants that they have retrieved and stored in the nurseries to rebuild biodiversity in Mount Pinatubo.

RECLAIMING THE AETAS' WELFARE

Clearly, it is not only about reclaiming the land. At the core of it are the Aetas, and their will to survive in their own unique way. But whether or not it pushes through, the need to uplift the Aetas' living condition must still be attended to. The condition there speaks of how the government's national development program grossly failed to reach out to remote rural areas, particularly where indigenous people live.

A. Threats to Food Security:

It will take at least 2-1/2 hours to cover the distance by motor vehicle from the foothills of Mount Pinatubo during dry season but half a day to traverse the road during the rainy months. Since the Aetas ordinarily use carabaos, it takes them half a day to reach the market. This makes transporting and marketing of goods very difficult.

The Aetas deliver their fresh produce to the town market twice a month. They can do it weekly if not for the transportation problem. Such constraint also puts them at a disadvantage in the market. Their fresh produce must be sold as soon as possible time to avoid spoilage. The Aetas do not have a competitive edge and they are forced to give in to the very low price offered by some traders, and become unwitting victims of unfair practices.

The impoverished condition of the Aetas is further aggravated because the Aetas are largely unorganized. There is a need to consolidate and strengthen their ranks.

Inadequate support services threaten the welfare of the Aetas on Mount Pinatubo, as well as those who plan to relocate there, as follows: absence of health care, lack of education, insufficient government assistance for food production. There is no intention of enumerating the many basic services that the Aetas lack, but perhaps the ones mentioned already paint a picture of their abject poverty and deprived condition.

Small and large mining corporations also encroach on the Aeta lands in Zambales exploring for mineral deposits like chromite, nickel and ores to the detriment of the Aeta communities. The mining causes landslides, erosion, and siltation. Carlito Dumulot, Chairman of the LAKAS community, says that they are not against development; all they want is for the mining corporations to be responsible and properly inform the people of the effects of mining – whether it is good or bad. Definitely, there is some degree of environmental degradation in Zambales.

Aside from this, the cash economy — one of the main features of the mainstream society — was also institutionalized in the Aeta communities in the lowlands after the eruption and their displacement. As one of the leaders put it:

“Ngayon, mahal na and bilingin. Ibinabayad na lang sa lupa ang mga naaani. Babayaran mo ang pataba, babayaran ang kuliglig, pag-aararo, pagbabayo. Babayaran mo ang marami mong pinagkakautangan. Kaya sa karanasan namin, wala talagang natitira sa amin.” (Prices are high these days. The harvests are just used to pay for the land. You will pay for the fertilizer, the tractor, the harrow and the miller. You will pay for everyone you have become indebted to. In our experience, nothing is left for us).

If they do not have cash in the resettlement areas, they will not eat, and will be left deeper into abject poverty. The very producers of food are themselves food insecure.

The Aetas in the resettlement areas, who were able to get farmlands in Hacienda Garcia, realized that the lands were not as productive as their own ancestral domain. The harvests in their ancestral domain were bountiful due to its naturally fertile soil. But now their farmlands are very acidic. The Aetas were influenced by the Department of Agriculture to use chemical fertilizers and high yielding rice varieties from IRRI. The Aetas had no choice but to use these farm inputs.

Given these alarming scenarios, The Project Development Institute, which prides itself in building self-reliant communities through people’s initiatives, began formulating plans with the Botolan Aetas for a development program using agrarian reform as a framework for Aetas displaced by the Pinatubo eruption. The issues addressed concern rural poverty, landlessness and helplessness. The main methods used to combat these problems are organization building, skills training, values formation and additional farm and off-farm livelihood activities for the Aetas.

(The Project Development Institute (PDI) was founded in 1991 and immediately started its rural development and advocacy work to help the people of Zambales get over their immense predicament. To consolidate its program in the province, PDI started the community development program in Zambales to help augment the lives of the Aetas and farmers affected by the Pinatubo eruption. Even with the pouring in of relief effort and rehabilitation from the government and other development agencies to assist the displaced families, PDI believes that giving them land is the key to alleviate their dire situation. Extra attention through guidance and livelihood program will lead them to the road of

self-reliance and attain a sustainable farm production system. Through PDI's effort of promoting a better and meaningful life amidst the harsh living condition on the foothills of Mount Pinatubo, the people of Zambales will have a better chance of conquering the ills they face and increase their chance of having a better life.)

B. Current Use of Indigenous Knowledge System and Practices that Address Food Security

The Aetas' traditional livelihood has been based on swidden agriculture, gathering of forest products, backyard livestock raising, and growing root crops, vegetables and horticultural crops. With assistance from the PDI, these traditional economic activities will establish their foothold on their environment and solidify their claim over their ancestral domain.



Aeta leader Carling Domulot (left) leads Pasambot Aeta farmers in vegetable product demonstration.



Pasambot Aeta farmers show visiting Botolan Mayor Yap (middle) their vegetable harvests.

PDI also provided assistance for the Aetas in ensuring the strengthening of their organization by initiating values formation, and also providing them with training on technical skills and enterprise development, including project development and management. The LAKAS Aetas also developed a market/trading post where the Aetas can sell their products or trade them with other goods. Aside from facilitating the release of their ancestral domain title, PDI has also facilitated the land acquisitions for the Aetas in the lowlands through the agrarian reform program of the government.

Social Capital Formations and Strengthening of People's Organization

PDI has placed social capital formation as a primary concern so that the Aetas may avoid the fate of many people's organizations and cooperatives organized in Zambales that are now inactive. In the early years after the Pinatubo eruption, cooperatives and other organizations started to fold-up because the basis of unity was financial, or the availability of funds. Many of the cooperatives vanished after receiving loans from banks and other lending institutions.

Learning from these experiences, PDI paid close attention to the formation and strengthening of its PO (People's Organization) partners. Data gathering and regular visits to the target areas were not enough to ensure the continuous flow of the program towards success. The community organizers of the PDI immersed and integrated with the people in the target communities to know the issues and how to help them cope up well with any situation. From this organizing method a federation known as the Bukluran Ng Mga Katutubo sa Luzon (BUKAL) was born.



Bukluran ng mga Katutubo sa Luzon (BUKAL) General Assembly held in Project Development Institute office in Bangantalinga, Zambales this June 25, 2009. Photo shows the elected (for the 2nd time) BUKAL Chairman Carling Domulot presides over the assembly.

After the acquisition of agrarian lands and their ancestral domain title, the Aetas with PDI concentrated its effort on establishing off-farm and extra farm activities to support the Aeta families engaged in production. The off-farm livelihood activities will provide a safety net for the Aetas in the event of a crop failure. A thorough assessment and planning has been conducted with the Aetas at the start of the year to fully prepare

them for the coming planting season, this is in consideration of their indigenous knowledge system and practices.

Through all these struggles, the Aetas of Zambales have sustained their indigenous knowledge system and practices in planting crops.

The Aetas at the LAKAS Community in Botolan, Zambales, are known for the rituals that they practice with regards to food security before and after the Mount Pinatubo eruption. They conducted practices rooted on the ways of their ancestors. Inevitably, the use of these practices continues up to today for the preservation of their culture and social practices. The settlement in LAKAS Community further preserved their cultural heritage.



Today, Aeta farmers in Pasambot, Botolan, Zambales used organic method of rice planting.

The Aetas depended a lot on agriculture as a primary source of food while hunting stands as secondary source. In both livelihood activities, the Aetas managed to retain their indigenous practices for their own protection and preservation. According to Carlito Dumulot:

"The preservation of their culture and tradition are critical for the well being of the future generation. In order for the younger Aetas to be proud of their heritage, for them to honor and respect their ancestral land because for them land is life."

The Aetas have two main agricultural practices: swidden agriculture and lowland agriculture. Swidden Agriculture is the traditional mode of farming that they learned way back from the time of their ancestors. Palay-bundok (native rice) and other types of native fruits are grown in the uplands. They have their own way of seed-banking to preserve the native plants to be planted on the mountains. They were able to identify 15 kinds of palay-bundok such as binundok, talibo, kinampanya, kinapitan and salumanay. The seedlings of paho or the native mango, amucaao or the wild banana, native guava, sweet potato, other fruit-bearing trees together with wild trees called lawaan and pangili are also kept in the seed storehouse of each family.

Before any land preparation can commence, whether in the lowlands or in the uplands, the Aetas stage rituals. They must pay homage to the lands and to the spirits that live on it. They usually offer a native chicken to appease Apo Namalyari and provide them with good harvest. Otherwise, they believe they would contract an illness once they continue clearing-up an area unfavorable to these spirits. Then they would start sketching a cross in the target areas while praying for premonitions which can be sent in dreams. When they were visited by bad dreams, they would forego planting or transfer to another area. They call this practice pagpapatáw. The farming process itself uses the “bayanihan” method or collective work which originated in rural context. Farming in this area will persist if they receive favorable signs.

At present, pagpapatáw is still practiced as a prerequisite to swidden farming. The Aetas in LAKAS, adults and youth alike, still go up Mount Pinatubo to do the swidden farming. These indigenous practices are taught to the younger Aetas.

The Aetas also believe that different signs also affect success in farming. They call this the paturô. The Aetas organize the tudling, or the row of their plants, towards the direction where the sun rises. They also believe that the best time for planting, especially of vegetables and sweet potatoes, is during the season when the skies abound with stars. They believe that the vegetables will be much more fruitful and the sweet potato will be meatier during this period.



Sweet potato plantation at Pasambot, Botolan, Zambales.

Indigenous practices are also practiced in the lowlands. The previously mentioned Bayanihan system or what they call as tubawô persists as a practice even in the lowlands. At the onset of new farming technologies like Sustainable Agriculture, the Aetas still practice tubawô to help their fellow Aetas. Families which need assistance from their fellow community members invite the nanays and tatays of the areas especially during land preparation, planting and harvest seasons with no monetary returns. They receive no payment but they are provided with food during the working period and a portion of their harvests. They call this practice bahaginan. The sense of community of the Aetas has remained intact through the generations.

Hunting and gathering are the second source of livelihood for the Aetas. Bahaginan is also done during the hunting activities of the Aetas. Once they are able to catch a wild boar or any animal in the forests, they share portions allotted to other community members. Because they were blessed with good hunting, they also offer thanksgiving to Apo Namalyari. Offering to the spirits – often done in their respective homes – is still practiced by the LAKAS Aetas.

During harvest season, three sets of offerings are prepared. The first is for Apo Namalyari, the second for the spirits in the land and the last for their ancestors. The offerings are food cooked by the families to be served together with coffee. Pagtutulo or lighting of a candle is also done to signify the start of the offering. This lasts for five minutes. The offerings are not thrown away or consumed by the families. They continue to be gratified by good harvests and at certain times, they offer a portion of their harvests.

A 23- year-old youth leader, Noel, said:

“Mahal ng mga magulang namin ang lupa pati ang mga trabahong kaakibat nito. Gusto nilang makitang kahit sa mga bata, ito ay nagagawa pa din sa kanilang komunidad. Masasabing mahal ko ang lupa. (Our parents love the land and the tasks accompanying it which was mainly farming. They want to see it being practiced by the youth in our community. I can say that I also love our land).”

Aetas bring their children to the farmlands to assist them. It is one of the ways to transfer skills, knowledge and the sense of value of the land to their children.

In terms of governance, the Aetas still follow their age old three-level institutional structure as discussed above: the nuclear family or mitata-anak, the family grouping or camp, and the village or sakop. The most prominent features of the Aetas' social set-up are its family orientedness and their strong sense of “mutual cooperation

and interdependence.” Perhaps the downside of these features is the “mutual distrust” among Aetas not related to blood or marriage.

They also retain their spiritual belief, also pointed out above, about kaelwa or soul who had something to do with the health of an individual; and the two environment spirit, anito and kamana, whom they have to have a good relationship in dealing with environment and natural resources and in their agricultural works.

V. Conclusions and Recommendations:

The welfare provision for the Aetas can be addressed through the collective effort of the Aetas of Zambales with the support of NGOs, such as PDI, and other participants from various sectors. These are sectors that are willing and committed to advocate for the Aetas’ right to their ancestral domain and productive life. In all these efforts, the ultimate aim is to assist the Aetas in the establishment of an autonomous and self-reliant community.

The advocacy for the Aetas’ claim to their land and life is, in effect, an advocacy for development. The eruption of the Mount Pinatubo in 1991 was a very loud and explosive wake-up call for both the government and society at large to pay attention to the neglected condition of the Aetas.

The Aetas’ direct and long-term exposure to mainstream society since the 1991 eruption has been a clear culture shock for them. It generated various reactions. Some accepted the sad and hard fact of being expelled from their home on the mountain. Most have persisted in rebuilding their lives back from where they started.

Land is the lifeblood of the Aetas. They depend on the land for their food security, which the resettlement program has failed to deliver. This is the basic reason why many Aeta families want to return to Mount Pinatubo. The lahar risk status is still a big obstacle. In the meantime, it is important to that the Aetas now have legal rights through the CADT on their ancestral land and no one can enter it without their permission.

The current condition of the Aetas, particularly with respect to the ancestral land, is now certain. However, it still entails a continuing process of struggle and engagement until the Aetas will reached the level of food self sufficiency. The process has been long and arduous, but one benefit from all of this is the social and political education of the Aeta community.

In this regard, even if they are largely integrated into mainstream society, their indigenous institutions and practices will continue to endure and persist.

The Aetas are a distinct indigenous people, different from the lowlanders. The Aetas' strength and courage is shown in their steadfastness and persistence in holding to their indigenous institutions and practices in the face of immense pressure from mainstream society.

The Aetas must assert their control over their lands, territories and natural resources for food production. They must begin to respond to changing conditions and eliminate risks and threats to food security and traditional medicine, as well as practices associated with their community. The government must pursue initiatives that advance traditions and lead to the adoption of appropriate and sustainable farming methods that marry western science with traditional knowledge. The Aetas must continue their practice of ceremonies, dances, prayers, songs, stories and other cultural traditions related to the use of traditional foods and subsistence practices. They must also institutionalize mechanisms for transmission of food-related traditional knowledge and practices for the use of future generations.

-oOo-

REFERENCES:

Written Materials

- Abaya, Eufracio C.; Buenconsejo, Paul M. Fernan; Ma. Luisa L. Lopez; Ma. Rosario R. Salvador Pio. C. 1993. *Disaster-response: lessons from Mount Pinatubo*. Baguio City: Jaime V. Ongpin Foundation Inc.
- Barrato, Calixto L. Jr. and Benaning, Marvyn. 1978. *Pinatubo Negritos: Revisited*. Field Report Series No. 5. Quezon City: Philippine Center for Advanced Studies Museum, University of the Philippines.
- Bautista, Cynthia Banzon, ed. 1993. *In the Shadow of the Lingering Mount Pinatubo Disaster*. Quezon City: College of Social Sciences and Philosophy, University of the Philippines Faculty Book Series No. 2.
- Brosius, J. Peter. 1990. *After Duwagan: Deforestation, Succession and Adaptation in Upland Luzon*. Michigan: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan.

- _____. 1983. "The Zambales Negritos: Swidden Agriculture and Environmental Change," in *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*.
Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law [Republic Act 6657].
- DENR. 1993. *Administrative Order No. 02: Rules and Regulations for the Identification, Delineation and Recognition of Ancestral Land and Domain Claims*.
- Dorina, Geronima E. 1978. *Agrarian Adaptation to Demographic and Technological Changes in Two Central Villages*.
- DSWD Field Office III. 1996. *From Victims to Victory: The Mount Pinatubo Experience, Relief and Rehabilitation*.
- Estanislao, Ramon III B. 2000. *Briefer: The Property of the Manila Banking Corporation, Botolan, Zambales*.
- Francis Burton Harrison. 1915. *Executive Order No. 80*.
- Fox, Roberto B. 1952. "The Pinatubo Negritos: Their Useful Plants and Material Culture," in *The Philippine Journal of Science*. Volume 81, Numbers 3-4.
- Indigenous People Rights Act of 1997 [Republic Act No. 8371]*.
- Indigenous People Rights Act of 1997 [Republic Act No. 8371]: Implementing Rules and Regulations*.
- Jocano, F. Landa. 1993. *Ethnology in the Philippines: Problem and Method*.
- LAKAS. 1991. *Eruption and Exodus*. Quezon City: Claretian Publications.
- Newhall, Christopher G. and Punongbayan, Raymundo S., eds. 1996. *Fire and Mud: Eruptions and Lahars of Mount Pinatubo, Philippines*. Quezon City: Philippine Institute of Volcanology and Seismology. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Orejas, Tonette. 5 September 2000. "'We always have to be vigilant about Pinatubo,'" in *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Interview with Christopher Newhall.
- Project Development Institute. September 2000. *The Aetas' Land and Life: Prevailing Issues on the Mount Pinatubo Eruption*. Conference Report and Transcript of Proceedings. Quezon City: PDI.
- _____. August 2000. *Ang Lupang Ninuno ng mga Aeta ng Botolan: Consultation-Workshop and Planning*. Conference Report and Transcript of Proceedings. Quezon City: PDI.
- _____. July 2000. *Agrarian Reform in Zambales: Development Within Reach*. Conference Report. Quezon City: PDI.

- Rai, Navin Kumar. 1982. *From Forest to Field: A Study of Philippine Negrito Forages in Transition*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Hawaii: University Microfilms International.
- Saway, Migketay Victorino L. 1996. "Ancestral Domain Issues and Concerns in the Protected Areas of Mount Katinglad Range Nature Park," in *GICOS Global Indigenous Cultural Olympics and Summit*. Edited by Rosalinda N. Ca★eda.
- Shimizu, Hiromu. 1989. *Pinatubo Aytas*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.
- TABAK. 1989. *Tribal Filipinos and Ancestral Domain: Struggle Against Development Aggression*. TABAK Publication.
- Testimonya ng mga Matatandang Ayta ng Poonbato*. 1996.
- Tauli-Corpuz, Victoria. 1992. "Environment and Development: the Indigenous Peoples' Perspective," in *Philippines Development Briefing*.
- Warren, D. Michael. 1991. "Using Indigenous Knowledge in Agricultural Development," in *World Bank Discussion Papers*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Resource Persons

Balintay, Bernesto. Samahang Katutubo ng Villar at Burgos
 Batayan, Amador. Former Director of NCIP-CAR.
 Cabinta, Candida. NCIP Provincial Officer, Zambales.
 Cosme, Robert. Samahan ng Katutubong Aeta ng Botolan.
 Dela Cruz, Rolly. Samahan ng Katutubong Aeta ng Botolan.
 Dumulot, Carlito. Lubos na Alyansang Katutubong Aeta ng Sambales.
 Encinares, Myrna. NCIP Chief, District 2, Zambales.