

CULTURAL REPRODUCTION OF GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR IN IRAYA MANGYAN COMMUNITIES: Implications to Community Development Practice

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The Iraya Mangyans are the indigenous peoples in the uplands of Northern Mindoro, Southern Luzon, Philippines. They have a distinct culture, such as language, farming practices, spiritual beliefs, customary laws and a social organization apart from the lowland political organization and hierarchy. Over the years, the Iraya Mangyans have experienced varying changes in their culture and practices brought about by external influences such as the entry of various institutions into their communities which bring in new ideas and ways of doing.

This paper will look into how young Irayas learn about gender division of labor in their villages through informal community education, a traditional form of culture reproduction. The roles of men and women in the domestic front, in production work and in the communities will be discussed. Generally, it can be said that notwithstanding differences and overlaps, the Iraya Mangyan society does not attach greater value or importance to either men's or women's work. Women's work at home is valued and is not inferior to men's work inside or outside the community. Both men and women are

equal members in the community, performing domestic, economic and community chores.

The paper will also discuss some implications to community development practice among indigenous peoples such as the following: 1) the need to be gender-sensitive and to avoid assignment of particular roles in organizing work based on gender stereotypes; 2) gender sensitivity sessions and leadership skills training for members of the third generation for them to realize the full potential that men and women are capable of achieving; and 3) the importance of getting the views of both men and women when it comes to discussing community issues and concerns.

Introduction

F. Landa Jocano (1998), a well-known anthropologist who has been doing ethnographic research among various communities of indigenous peoples for decades, posed this challenge:

Unless more systematic and basic ethnographies are done, there would always be gaps in the knowledge of the indigenous culture. This need is even more urgent today as we enter the 21st century and as many ethnic communities undergo rapid change. Moreover, many knowledgeable informants are passing away. The time is not far off when there would be no more indigenous ethnic communities to study and the beautiful ethnic traditions would be empty spaces in the record of our cultural heritage as a people (p. 194).

This statement inspired me to conduct an ethnographic research on identity construction and cultural reproduction among Iraya Mangyans in Mindoro, my first fieldwork area back in the 80s when I was a community development worker who lived and worked with them for three years as a staff of the Organization for Training, Research and Development Foundation, Inc. (OTRADEV). Moreover, my exposure to women's studies and women's organizations encouraged me to include gender research issues, knowing that there are differences between men and women in many aspects of everyday life (Hammond & Jablow, 1976; Moore, 1988; Ofreneo, 2006; Reiter, 1975;). But whether such is true in the aspect of cultural reproduction of the gender division of labor between Iraya men and women remain to be seen.

This paper will discuss the cultural reproduction of the gender division of labor in Iraya Mangyan communities in Mindoro and its implications to community development practice in their communities. This paper is divided into the following sections: discussion of feminist ethnography as the research method; literature review on traditional methods of cultural reproduction and gender roles, symbolisms and division of labor; brief description of the Iraya Mangyans and the research area; cultural reproduction of the gender division of labor in Iraya Mangyan communities; and the implications to community development practice.

Research Design

This qualitative research used a feminist ethnography method (Del Rosario, 1992; Reinharz, 1992; Sobritchea, 2002) which entailed living with Iraya Mangyans, doing fieldwork and participatory observation in

various domestic, social, economic and political activities. Ethnography as a method of research is often associated with an anthropologist who spends time with the people, interviewing them and observing their customs (Ember & Ember, 1993). As mentioned by Peacock (1986), “the ethnographer is necessarily involved – to varying degrees – in the human encounter that is fieldwork. Rather than staying aloof, observing and recording in a detached way, the ethnographer distills his ethnography from his own experience in the flow of native life. One may even say that the ethnographer and the native work together to construct the data and interpretation that we call ethnography” (p.67).

At the same time, the feminist perspective in ethnography aims to render the women’s voices audible and women’s lives visible. A critique of traditional ethnographies, done by both men and women anthropologists, has been its male bias, orientation and interpretation (Olesen, 1994; Reinharz, 1992), referring mainly to having male informants in the research and male perspective in the analysis. Women’s views, perceptions and meanings were highly invisible. Such critique gave birth to feminist research. Feminist researchers who used ethnography as a methodology added the following features to traditional ethnography: gender-sensitive fieldwork, which largely enhanced the use of ethnography as a methodology, especially with research which examine the views of both men and women; participatory research; multiple data-gathering methods; and self-reflexivity, i.e. acknowledging the change among the research participants and the researcher as a result of the subjective exchanges during the whole research process (Del Rosario, 2003; Olesen, 1994; Reinharz, 1992).

Moreover, Del Rosario (1992) and Sobritchea (2002), identified the following essential points of feminist ethnography, namely: 1) being sensitive to the people’s language, specially women’s ways of describing their experiences; 2) understanding depth and range of emotions, which

are as important as words and actions; and 3) being sensitive to past events and their effects on the contemporary situation.

The research covered three generations: the first generation being the older persons in the community, roughly around 55 years and over; the second generation are the children of the first generation, around 30 – 54 years of age; and the third generation are those from 14 to 29 years, both married and unmarried. Key informant interviews and focused group discussions were used as main methods of data-gathering. Gender balance was always a consideration in the search for research participants.

It was essential in this research that rapport be established with the members of the community, and this was done by living in the research areas. The research questions necessitated a very intimate sharing about their lives and if rapport and trust with the people were not established, they did not easily respond to the questions. Moreover, it was also necessary to undergo the participatory research process where I consulted with the community leaders and other members the research questions and objectives of the study. They provided very important suggestions, one of which was the identification of research communities where I can stay for my data-gathering. They likewise encouraged the participation of other community members and suggested individuals who I should interview. Finally, before I left the research sites, we had a validation workshop where I presented the data and collectively, they analyzed the data generated.

The ethnomethodology approach was particularly useful when they categorized the data based on their own lay methodology. Coulon (1995) said that the “scientific project of ethnomethodology is to analyze the methods, or the procedures, that people use for conducting the

different affairs that they accomplish in their daily lives. This is the analysis of the ordinary methods that ordinary people use to realize their ordinary actions” (p.2). The Irayas have their own local way of categorizing and analyzing events and actions, and these I tried to elicit in the data-analysis phase. Recommendations were likewise gathered.

In almost all stages of the research, I tried to abide with research ethical guidelines. From the start, I informed the leaders about the research even before entering the community. I also consulted them on the research questions, sites and participants and had a validation workshop before leaving the area. I obliged whenever they said that they were uncomfortable with the tape recorder or notebook in front of them, forcing me to remember the details until I could record it down. Some matters which were shared to me in confidence were kept off the records. At one point in the data-gathering, the situation in the community became quite tense due to military operations in the mountain areas. I followed their advice to leave the area until the situation cleared to lessen the risks that they might face.

Traditional methods of cultural reproduction

Cultural reproduction refers to the mechanisms by which continuity of cultural experience is sustained across times (Giddens, 1997). Among communities of indigenous peoples, one traditional method of cultural reproduction still being practiced is the informal community education which consists of use of oral traditions such as story-telling, epic-chanting, singing of their songs and reciting their poems. Other community practices such as use of customary law (Hoebel, 1954; Malinowski, 1959), rituals and festivals are also examples of the traditional methods by which culture is

reproduced and ethnicity is constructed. These can be categorized as informal community-based educational processes and methods which ensure that cultural values and norms are continuously passed on from one generation to the next.

Leeprecha (2004) talked about the oral traditions that the Hmong people practiced in various villages in mainland Asia. Myths, legends and history shared by all Hmong members were traditionally passed on to the new generation in the form of story-telling. On social occasions such as funerals and weddings, these stories are likewise shared and talked about over and over again. Festivals and rituals are important events where the myths and legends are put in the form of songs and performed. These are examples of informal community education processes which take place on a daily basis and by which the young generation learn much about their culture and identity.

Other ethnographic studies show varying means of cultural reproduction in different ethnic communities. Kikuchi (1984) talked about the role that the big house (*paykamalayan*) of the Alangan Mangyan in Mindoro play in reproducing familial and societal structures. Inside the big house is a platform which is surrounded by seven sleeping areas called the *ruggoan* which serves as the living space of one nuclear family. Around three generations of family relatives live in one big house. There are rules covering spatial arrangements for sleeping—the mother lies next to the hearth, followed by the father, then the sons. The daughters sleep near the feet of the mother. The wife sleeps near the hearth since she takes care of it daily, while the daughters have to learn maintaining the hearth, too.

Among the various indigenous peoples of Borneo (Kenyah, Selako Dayak, Bidayuh), the longhouse plays a role in cultural reproduction. This domicile contains around 10 – 15 apartments (*lamin*) surrounding a public

area where people do some of their work such as splitting of rattan for mats and baskets, sewing, or simply relax and tell stories (King, 1978). In these places, the members of the young generation learn the skills for making the crafts while they observe and at the same time listen to stories from their elders.

Among the Aytas, Shimizu (1989) showed how the dynamic organization and reorganization of family groupings helped the Ayta social system endure through the years. He particularly cited the roles that parents play in choosing spouses for their children. The arranged marriages enforced within their established network help to strengthen the social ties within the families. Even if the children willingly choose their partners and later elope, the parents try to establish new ties with the new family that now belongs to their network.

Turnbull (1962) likewise shared how the rituals among the forest people called BamButi Pygmies, e.g. 'elima' which is the 'coming of age' of girls, and the ceremonies which praise the forest as their provider and protector, have strengthened the bond among themselves.

Aside from the ceremonies, rituals, festivals and story-telling, the customary laws of a society are also a very potent force in cultural reproduction. The justice system among the Tirurays was discussed in detail by Schlegel (1970) and the laws among the Kiangan Ifugaos were explained by Barton (1969) in his ethnographic study of Ifugao law. Both showed how customary laws are applied to resolve cases of dispute among community members such as the sale of kinship property and marital problems. Martinez (1999) further clarified Iraya Mangyan customary laws on ancestral lands which have been reproduced through generations, such as how they classify use of the land for their various

needs, e.g. for farming, for burial, for forest, and how they negotiate land boundaries among families.

All of these traditional means of cultural reproduction are already a part of the habitus of the community, acts which are almost 'taken for granted', making transmission of their culture a part of daily life, a natural and casual informal community-based educational process (Bourdieu, 1977).

Gender roles, symbolisms and division of labor

Much of the studies above-mentioned are somehow gender-blind, not distinguishing between men and women in their description and analysis. This has been one of the critiques put forward by feminist researchers who found traditional ethnographies to have a male bias, at times having only male informants in the data-gathering stage. Hence, researches and ethnographies using the feminist perspective brought in discussions on gender personalities and roles, including symbolisms and division of labor.

Different cultures have diverse expectations regarding the personalities and roles that men and women play in their societies. The differences among men and women led to the gender division of labor which may vary across communities. Generally, however, men are assigned to such tasks as trapping animals, herding, fishing and clearing the land for agriculture, whereas women are more frequently assigned to jobs such as gathering and preserving food, cooking, carrying water and grinding grain. A few distinctions seem to be virtually universal. Childrearing and its caretaking extensions are universally assigned to females, and hunting has been assigned to males (Eviota, 1992; Moore, 1988; Ofreneo, 2006).

According to Stokard & Johnson (1992), the common aspect of the division of labor, whatever the role assignments, is the higher premium placed on the male activities vis-à-vis the female. Where men grow yams and women sweet potatoes, the yams have greater prestige during feasts in New Guinea. In many societies, women actually provide the bulk of a group's nutrition, but men's contribution to the food supply is considered the more important and valuable to all.

A study on Iraya Mangyan women (OTRADEV, 1994) in Sitio Yabanan in Abra de Ilog showed that women's roles in farming center mostly around *pagdudulok* (clearing the farm once the big trees have been burnt) and *pag-aani* (harvesting), whereas the other tasks of land identification and clearing, weeding and daily maintenance are mostly done by men. Other economic activities such as trading, working in other lowland farms and fishing are also the domain of men while women's domain is in the household, e.g. caring for children and tending a nearby vegetable farm. Political roles were also largely held by men. This study recommended a deeper investigation of the situation of women and how they can increasingly be involved in community issues and how their decision-making capabilities can be enhanced.

With the Mangyan Patag in Kilapnit, Oriental Mindoro, customary laws on gender as reflected in their *Batas Mangyan* provide for equality between men and women. Both are subject to the same laws, policies and procedures whenever they commit any misdemeanor to any person or to the community. Norms on social relations, economic activities and political organization are not differentiated based on gender. The same rights are available and can be enjoyed both by men and women (Bacalzo, 1996, p.145) However, the social change happening in the Mangyan Patag society, has transformed the women's status from that of being equal with men to that of domesticity and dependency on men.

With these differences in roles, personalities, symbolism, and division of labor between men and women, Barot, Bradley & Fenton (1999) assert that all societies, including ethnic communities are gendered. Within many ethnic populations, women can be seen playing the important role of carriers of ethnicity, both in terms of ancestry and culture. The home becomes central in this process of constructing women's identity and women's responsibility as homemakers. It is in the home that cultural rules and practices are transmitted to the next generation and where networks of ancestral kinship are maintained.

In nearly every society studied by anthropologists, it is observed that men dominate and control women. Authority is usually given to men, they occupy the higher status positions in their societies. Despite such inequality, women are not entirely powerless. Women wield considerable power or influence in the formulation of socially important decisions. Nonetheless, women usually are still dominated by men (Doyle & Paludi, 1995).

The above-mentioned view, however, is being contested by feminist ethnographers as they re-study cultures which have been studied by men. For instance, Weiner (in Reinharz, 1992), who provided a different view from that of male anthropologists in her study of the Trobriand Islanders, claimed that Trobriand women do have power and that they "enact roles which are symbolically, structurally and functionally significant to the ordering of their society" (p. 48). She said that the difference between her findings and those of her male colleagues, who said that women do not have power, lies in the male bias of the discipline.

This male bias comes from the patriarchal capitalist system which molds men and women into different understandings of their roles and

privileges in society, where it is mostly men who assume dominant roles and women secondary positions. These are reflected in the different institutions in society which further perpetuate such women oppression. These institutions include the church, schools, media, government and business (Labayen, 1998).

Patriarchy breeds a productive–reproductive divide where the men are usually doing productive work, dominating the public sphere, occupying roles related to the economy and polity of the society. On the other hand, women take on the reproductive roles and do largely domestic work in the private sphere. The productive work carries higher value than reproductive work which has no value because it is not paid and even if it were, it would not even raise the status of women who engage in it. “Reproductive work ties women and girls to the home, leaving them no time for other concerns, least of which are themselves” (Pagaduan, 1999, p.56). The current patriarchal system molds an identity among men and women which they form starting from their childhood. Being either gender-sensitive or gender-blind is a result of one’s exposure to gender issues and realities. Furthermore, patriarchy frames one’s mind in reproducing culture as men and women become parents to a next generation of children. Eviota (1992) added, “People as members of social groups create gender-based behavior according to what they believe to be differences and transmit these beliefs to future generations” (p.4).

Iraya Mangyan

There are six major Mangyan groups in the island of Mindoro, categorized into the north and south groups, referring mainly to where they live. The northern groups are the Iraya, Alangan and Tadyawan, while the southern groups are the Buhid, Tawbuhid and the Hanunoo.

The Iraya Mangyans live in the towns of Puerto Galera, San Teodoro, and Baco in Oriental Mindoro and in Abra de Ilog, Paluan, Mamburao and Sta. Cruz in Occidental Mindoro. Based on the year 2005 statistics from the website of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), the Iraya Mangyans number around 30,600 individuals, around 10% of the total Mangyan population at this time.

Based on the ethno-history written by Lopez (1976), the Mindoro peoples traded extensively with Chinese before the coming of the Spaniards. Evidence of this is found in the archaeological excavations in Puerto Galera which yielded 10,000 pieces ranging in date from the 10th to the 15th centuries, consisting of various Chinese glazed wares, celadon and other glass objects. Written Chinese references likewise point to and support the historicity of the pre-Hispanic Mindoro culture.

The entry of the Spaniards created a distinction between the Mangyans and the lowland Christians. The Mangyans refused to be Hispanized and were forced into the interior when there was fighting between the Spanish and Muslim pirates. At the close of the 19th century, the isolated groups in the mountain interiors of Mindoro evolved as a minority group. While there was physical and social distance between the Mangyans and the Hispanized lowlanders, some amount of contact was maintained, mainly economic in nature, where forest goods were traded with the lowlanders at a very cheap price and the Irayas in turn bought consumer goods from the lowlanders.

Such pattern of exploitative economic exchange between the two groups persists until today. The Irayas, mainly swidden farmers, also gather forest products such as honey, timber, vines and wild orchids. These and some other farm products, e.g. bananas and rootcrops, are sold to the lowlanders at prices dictated by the latter. From the money they get from these transactions, they usually buy consumer items such as rice, dried fish,

salt and kerosene. Their swidden farms produce some rice, corn, vegetables and some fruits for their own consumption.

Over time, the Irayas have lived a very basic subsistence form of living. In the uplands, they have been able to practice their traditional beliefs, practices, rituals and customary laws (CCA, 1983; OTRADEV, 2001). But slowly, external influences have entered their daily lives, i.e. different religious groups have come in to convert the Irayas, primary and elementary schools have been set up by government and non-government organizations have helped them through development programs like adult literacy and income generation activities.

External influences have not been confined to their social and cultural life; there have been intrusions as well on their ancestral domains. In the past, government and private corporations came in with timber license and mining agreements and logging and pasture lease concessions. Organized Mangyan groups mounted protests against these programs. Some protests were successful forcing the companies to halt their plans, others were not. Timber plantations have continued, taking much of the farm lands of the Mangyans.

Other lowlanders also came and grabbed land from the Mangyans, who moved further to the mountains to avoid conflicts. The loss of ancestral domains had rendered negative impacts on their life, e.g. their farms on very marginal soil could no longer sustain their food requirements. Consequently, their economic woes have brought them to lowland communities to look for wage labor, such as construction and tourism-related jobs.

On a much larger scale, the militarization in the country, which is also ongoing in the island of Mindoro, has caused some displacement in some communities which experienced firefights between the military and

the New People's Army. The Irayas from Talipanan, one community in Puerto Galera, has decided to settle in the foothills, still in fear that another military encounter will happen again in the uplands.

Aside from landgrabbing and militarization, modernization has likewise made inroads into the daily lives of the Irayas. In Talipanan, Puerto Galera, many students now enroll in the elementary school, which is being supported by a non-government organization. Those who finish grade six and want to continue until high school and even college are provided with scholarships. A few have finished their college education, in courses such as education, social work and midwifery. Education has become a very effective tool for acculturation and modernization. This is evident in the current material and socio-political-economic aspects of their daily life (Bawagan, 2004).

Sitio Mamalao, Bgy. Mangangan 1, Baco, Oriental Mindoro

Much of the data for this paper was gathered from Sitio Mamalao in Barangay Mangangan 1, Baco Oriental Mindoro. Mamalao is only less than an hour uphill hike from Barangay Mangangan 1. All of the residents here, numbering around less than two hundred individuals, are Iraya Mangyans, except for one female Tagalog who is the wife of an Iraya. But she has adjusted well to life in the mountains. There are around a dozen huts, covering a floor area ranging from 12 to 30 square meters, mostly made of light materials such as wood, bamboo and grass for their roofing. Only three homes have iron sheets on their roofs. Their homes are raised from the ground by around one meter or more, animals such as pigs and chickens are kept at the ground level.

They have very basic materials in their homes, such as the following: a hammock, either made from rattan or from used straw sacks used to lull

a baby to sleep; kitchen utensils such as plastic plates, glasses, cups, some spoons and forks, water jar and iron cooking pots black with soot; sleeping materials such as mat, small pillows and mosquito nets; rattan baskets used for storing some food; big plastic bags for their clothes; and farm equipment such as a machete and an axe. A few homes have transistor radios. There is only one house which has a battery-operated black and white television set which can be tuned only to one channel, specifically ABS-CBN. The TV set is switched on between 7 o'clock to 11 o'clock in the evening. At least 25 individuals, adults and children alike, sit, squat or stand glued to the shows, such as the gameshow *Deal or No Deal* and Filipino and Korean telenovelas such as *Panday* and *Princess Lulu*.

There is no electricity in Mamalao. At night, they use kerosene for their gas lamps and firewood or charcoal for cooking. For their water source, there are two water hoses from which the families fetch their drinking water, wash their clothes and take their bath. The hoses are connected to a tank whose water source is the mountain spring.

There is a school for grades 1 and 2, with around twenty pupils and an equal number of girls and boys. The lone male teacher is an Iraya Mangyan who is the only one from this village who has finished a college education. He has an elder sister who reached second year college and another sister who went to high school. But aside from members of this family, no one else has done schooling beyond high school.

Those who do not go to school marry at an early age, sometimes as young as 14 years old. They then bear children one after the other. Most of the families have five to eight children. It is not unusual for a 24-year old mother to have four children, unaware of any birth control methods that she can use. She and her husband do not even talk about it.

All Mangyan families live a very subsistence form of living. They practice slash-and-burn farming where they plant rice, corn, root crops, vegetables, bananas and some fruit trees. While waiting for the harvest season, they weed the farms and protect them from forest animals like rats and monkeys. Corn is harvested in August, while rice is harvested in October. After the harvest, they plant bananas and some fruit trees in their farm. Unlike before, when they allowed the land to lie in fallow for a few years to allow it to recover its fertility, they do not have this luxury anymore.

The staple crops provide them their daily food requirements. However, there are some household needs which entail cash expenses, such as the purchase of rice, salt, sugar, kerosene, matches and cigarettes. The rice they harvest is usually good only for around two months since they do not farm big plots of land. In order to get cash, they sell farm products such as coconuts, bananas, abaca fiber, root crops and fruits. Both Iraya men and women also work on the farms of the lowlanders where they get paid P100 to P150 per day. The work ranges from weeding the farms, climbing for the coconuts and dehusking these, to planting and harvesting rice. Some of them are contracted for work such as getting some timber and making charcoal. Those who do not have their own farms to till rely on these types of work to survive.

Due to the poor diet, the children often get sick with cough, colds and fever. The poor hygiene practices also become a cause of illness such as diarrhea. The children's fingers are always laced with soil. They have worms in their bellies as evidenced by their bloated stomachs. The adults also are easy prey to illnesses such as low blood pressure, anemia or even heart problems.

The Irayas of Mamalao are members of a federation of Iraya Mangyan people's organization called MISB (Mangyan Iraya sa Baco).

MISB started in Mamalao in the late 80s and later included six other sitios. MISB is a member of MKMI (Mal-angatan Kausunan Mangyan Iraya), the federation of Iraya Mangyan municipal-level organizations from the towns of Mamburao, Abra de Ilog, Paluan, Puerto Galera, San Teodoro and Baco. Some of the officers of MISB became organizers and members of the executive committee of MKMI where they received additional trainings as MKMI officers.

The main objective of MISB is the defense of Mangyan ancestral domain. Among its members, it is clear that their main source of livelihood is their farm lands. Hence, it is important to defend it from various corporations and individuals who want to control the upland areas through mining concessions, pasture lands, or big plantations in the forest areas.

Cultural Reproduction of Gender Division of Labor among Iraya Mangyans

One traditional method of cultural reproduction used by community members to transmit their practices and beliefs to the next generations is through informal community education, effectively used by both men and women to teach the children their roles at home and the community. Men and women perform different roles in the household, in the farm and in the community, roles which are observed by young Irayas and by which they learn their culture. Not all of the roles are exclusively male or female; many are shared by both. The children follow the roles of men and women in their community, roles they too will assume when they become adults.

In the Iraya Mangyan community, role differentiation exists between men and women. These, however, are not exclusive to either sex.

The succeeding tables below outline the major tasks done by men and women in three areas of their life – economic, domestic and in the community.

Economic Roles

As shown in Table 1, when it comes to work in their own farm, much of the activities are shared between men and women, from cutting trees to planting and harvesting. When one Mangyan requests their neighbors to help him either in cutting trees or weeding, both men and women join the activity. The children participate in the farm work too; some of them even absent themselves from school in order to help their parents.

But work outside of their own farms, such as charcoal and abaca fiber production, are done mostly by the men. These tasks are physically demanding and require time away from home. Hence, the women are not expected to participate in these activities.

The women's task outside the farm is that of selling farm goods in the lowland market, which is done only once a week. They sell rootcrops, some woven plates and baskets, and fruits. Another off-farm work of the women is weaving baskets and plates, some of which are used for domestic purposes, e.g. *tabuyo* for the ingredients of their betel-nut chew or *balanan* for their household grains or rootcrops, while the plates are sold in the market.

For work outside of their village, the men engage in construction work where they sometimes go as far as Puerto Galera, while the women work as domestic help in homes of lowlanders in Baco. Both men and women can also engage in farm work with the lowlanders, such as clearing their farms and harvesting of farm produce, e.g. calamansi.

Other jobs which are contracted to the Iraya male by the lowlanders are: 1) logging, done only when the lowlander gets a permit; 2) making of simple furniture; and 3) tending to cows and goats of the lowlanders.

When both men and women are engaged by the lowlander, e.g. in weeding their farms, the payment is usually given to the man. The woman is able to hold some money if this is given to her by her husband, or when she sells some crops at the market. The work outside of the village is usually done by the men and women from the second generation. The more senior citizens of the villages, both men and women, continue to work but only on their own *kaingin* or swidden farm. They have kept the habit of going everyday to their farms to gather their daily food needs.

Table 1. Economic Chores Performed by Men, by Women and by Both Men and Women

Men	Women	Both men and women
<i>Pagtatabas</i> (cutting of big trees)		<i>Pagtatabas</i> (cutting down of small trees)
<i>Pagsusunog</i> (Burning of trees)		
	Preparing meals in the farm	<i>Pagtatandok</i> (clearing of burnt debris)
		<i>Pagtatanim</i> (planting); <i>Paggagamas</i> (weeding); <i>Pag-aani</i> (harvesting); <i>Pag-gigiik</i> (threshing)
<i>Pagbisita sa agay</i> (daily visits to the farm)		
<i>Lahat ng gawain sa paggawa at pagbenta ng abaca</i> (all tasks related to preparing and selling abaca)		

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		Pagtalok-ani (planting and harvesting rice in lowland farms of Tagalogs)
		Panghihimalay (picking up left over palay after the farm has been harvested)
Pamimili ng mga paninda (Purchase goods for their store)		Pagbebenta sa maliit na tindahan (Selling of goods in their store)
Paglalagare ng kahoy (Logging, with permits only)	Paglala ng mga basket, plato (Weaving baskets, plates)	Pamamaraka (selling farm products at the town market on Wednesdays, market day)
Pamumuti ng mga buko (harvesting coconut)		
Pag-uuling (charcoal-making)		
Pagkarga ng mga produkto sa paragos para dalhin sa ibaba (hauling farm goods into the carabao cart to bring to the lowlands)		
Pagkausap sa mga Tagalog para sa trabaho (negotiate with lowlanders for jobs)		
Magtrabaho bilang karpintero, mason o drayber ng traysikel sa labas ng pamayanan (Find work as carpenters, masons, tricycle drivers outside of the community)	Magtrabaho bilang kasama sa bahay ng mga Tagalog (Find work as house help in homes of Tagalogs)	

The division of tasks in their own farm is also practiced by the children. The boys help cut down the big trees while the women and girls cut down the small trees and prepare the meals. These are what they observe from their own parents and from other families too. Even the younger children are already brought to the farm where they are able to observe the differences in the work between men and women. Eviota (1992) mentioned this as gender-based behavior which is transmitted to the next generations.

One family, however deviates from this practice of assigning the cutting of big trees to boys and men. The father asks his daughter to help him in doing even heavy work because she has shown better stamina and strength than her younger brother. Moreover, her older brother is in school most of the time so he can not help in the farm work. But the daughter does not mind, she has grown used to it and likes it better than working at home. She said, "*Bata pa ako sinasama na ako ng ama sa agay. Kaya sanay na ako, gusto ko rin naman kaysa trabaho sa bahay. Si Ate siya ang naiiwan para magmataw sa mga bata naming kapatid*" (I was still a young girl when my father asked me to accompany him to the farm. I am used to it already and like it better than working at home. My elder sister stays at home and looks after our younger siblings.)

When queried about this division of labor, many community members of Mamalao, said, "*Kapag wala namang lalaki sa pamilya, ang mga babae na rin ang gumagawa ng mga trabaho sa agay dahil wala namang ibang gagawa na. Wala rin namang perang pang-upa sa ibang tao. Kaya rin naman ng mga babae kung kailangan talagang gawin.*" (When there are no men in the family, the women are forced to perform the heavy work since there is no one else in their family who will do it. The women also do not have enough money to hire men to do the heavy work so they have to do it themselves. The women can also do the

heavy work, if necessary.) Even if the man can handle the work, the women are always there to help.

Reed (1975) calls this type of family the productive farm family as opposed to the consumer family of the city. She said that "as long as women led or participated in the productive work of the whole community, they commanded respect and esteem" (p.418). Moreover, Reed (1975) said that as long as agriculture and craft industry are dominant economic systems in society, the farm family will still remain a viable productive unit. In the situation of the Iraya Mangyans, the men and women know what each one is capable of doing in the farm. Even the members of the first generation are still active producers as long as their health permits it. In the Iraya Mangyan society, especially so in Mamalao, since the women remain active participants in the productive sphere, they are not treated as second class. The productive work of women is seen in both their own upland farms and in the town market.

Domestic Roles

Based on Table 2, the household is obviously the turf of the Iraya women, although other work is also shared with the men, such as fetching water, pounding rice and cooking. Much of the daily household activities are attended to by the women, as the men are off to work in the farms or in other economic activities. On a regular day, one usually catches only the women at home during the daytime since the men had already left for their farms.

The mother starts her day early, between half past four and five o'clock in the morning, waking up usually earlier than the father to prepare food for breakfast. If rice is unavailable, she just boils root crops. After the

husband has left for the farm and the children for school, she then takes care of other household chores. There is plenty of work at home, including washing clothes, sorting the already dried clothes, feeding the chickens, pig and goat, and chopping firewood. Towards noontime, she prepares food again for the children who come home for lunch from school. After lunch, she takes a siesta on the *papag* or in the hammock together with her young child.

When the husband is at home, he too helps in taking care of the children like putting the baby to sleep, changing their clothes and feeding them. And when the wife has just given birth and still cannot move around the house, the husband is usually able to handle most of the household chores. Although once in a while, a female relative would come to the house and help in the chores. Seeing men carrying their children saddled on their side is not an uncommon sight either. The Iraya men are not afraid to be called “sissies” when they perform these household chores.

One of the men shared, “*Yang pag-aalaga ng bata, gawain din ng mga lalaki, tulong sa asawa, lalo na kung marami ang anak. Pati paglaba, pag-igib ng tubig, pagluto, mga gawaing bahay pwede gawin ng lalaki. Hindi naman nakakabakla.*” (Taking care of the children is also men’s task, a form of support to the wife, specially when there are many children. Even washing clothes, fetching water, cooking, other household chores can also be done by men. These do not make us sissies.)

After the mother’s siesta, it is time again for another round of preparing meals for dinner, although most often she awaits what the husband brings home from the farm before she prepares the meals. This would usually be around half past four and half past five in the afternoon. The husband returns from the farm before it gets dark.

Table 2. Domestic Chores Performed by Men, by Women and by Both

Men	Women	Both men and women
		<i>Pag-igib ng tubig</i> (fetching water)
<i>Pagtatayo ng bahay: paglagari ng kahoy, paghuhukay at pagpundar ng pundasyon, paglagay ng bubong</i> (house construction – get lumber, dig for the foundation, putting the roof)		Other tasks related to building a house: make windows from coconut leaves; light carpentry work
<i>Pagsibak ng panggatong</i> (Chopping firewood)	<i>Pagsibak ng panggatong</i> (Chopping firewood) – some women	
<i>Pagkuha ng mga saging, balinghoy, gabi</i> (getting bananas, cassava, rootcrops)	<i>Pagkuha ng mga gulayin tulad ng papaya, talbos ng kamote</i> (getting vegetables like papaya, camote tops)	
<i>Panghuhuli ng mga hayop pangkain tulad ng paniki, isda, ibon</i> (Catch animals for food such as bats, fish/shrimp, birds)		Girls and boys catch fish, shrimps, bats – seemingly like play for them
<i>Pagluluto</i> (Cooking) – for some men	<i>Pagluluto</i> (cooking)	<i>Pagbabayo ng palay</i> (rice pounding)
	<i>Paghahain ng pagkain</i> (serve dishes)	
	<i>Paghugas ng plato</i> (Dish washing)	

Men also do this task of washing clothes when their wives have just given birth	<i>Paglalaba ng mga damit; pagsampay, pagligpit ng mga damit</i> (Washing of clothes, hanging wet clothes, keeping dry clothes)	
	<i>Pagwawalis sa bahay at paligid</i> (sweeping inside and outside the house)	
<i>Pag-aalaga ng mga bata</i> – some men also do this when the women have other things to do	<i>Pag-alaga ng mga bata - pagpakain, pagpaligo, pagbibihis</i> (Taking care of children – feeding, taking bath, changing clothes)	<i>Pagkukuwento sa mga anak</i> (story-telling with children)
<i>Paglalaro ng basketball, chess</i> (playing basketball, chess)	<i>Paglalala ng mga basket o plato</i> (weaving baskets or plates)	<i>Paggawa ng saranggola para sa mga anak</i> (Prepare simple kite for their children)
<i>Pag-aalam ng kalabaw</i> (Tending to the needs of the carabao)		<i>Pagpapakain sa mga alagang hayop tulad ng mga baboy, kambing, manok, aso, pusa</i> (Feeding of domestic animals such as pigs, goats, chickens)

During dinner, the father helps in feeding the young children. After everyone has eaten their meal, clearing up is usually the task of the women. The men help fetch water needed in the kitchen.

And since the mothers and grandmothers spend more time at home, they are able to attend more to the children, tell them more stories from the olden times, play the *subing* (Jew's harp), speak Iraya and sing *igway* (Iraya song) to them, as what is happening in Mamalao. The children also help their mothers in doing household chores. Both girls and boys are taught basic household chores such as cooking, washing dishes, washing clothes and cleaning house.

However, when it comes to tending the animals, the girls are the ones tasked for the house animals such as the dogs, cats and chickens, while the boys are the ones who tend to the carabao and the goats. When I asked why such tasks are assigned to boys and girls, one mother said, “*Malayo sa bahay yung pag-aalaman ng kalabaw, medyo masukal pa. Yung mga maliliit na hayop na lang ang pinapakain ng mga anak kong babae.*” (The carabao’s location is quite far from the house, there are tall weeds on the way there. My young daughters are in-charge of feeding the small animals instead.)

When it comes to taking care of the younger siblings, the older children are also tasked with this, and the task can be given to either boy or girl. But usually the task is given to the older girls; this task is given only to the boy if there is no girl who can attend to the younger ones. They call this *pagmamataw* or taking care of younger siblings.

Building a modest house in the village is one task that all men should learn. The main work of setting up the whole structure lies with the men, while the women help in the other tasks such as preparing the windows and roofs woven from coconut leaves.

In sum, in the Iraya society, while most of the domestic chores are handled by women, men also perform these tasks as support to their wives, not just occasionally, when the wife has just given birth or is sick, but on a daily basis. Women also perform tasks such as chopping firewood, fetching water and pounding rice. They do not wait for the men to do these tasks, although the men usually take care of these before they leave for the farm. These tasks are reproduced too among the children as most girls stay home and help the mother while boys go with their father and help in the farm work.

It is not just the domestic chores that are shared, but likewise the decision-making involving family concerns such as whether to send children to school, whether to engage in a new economic endeavor, whether to get a loan to help in the purchase of medicines or other big expenses, whether to build, repair or transfer house if necessary.

The situation in the Iraya domestic front is somehow reflective of Pre-Spanish times in the Philippines as described by Eviota (1992) when communities were self-provisioning units and hardly had any surplus. "Women's reproductive work consisted of cooking in earthen stoves, cleaning the house, washing clothes by the river, gathering firewood, fetching water from the well, and all the other tasks needed for the maintenance of the household. They also raised chickens and pigs and kept a vegetable garden. Men helped in some of these tasks. There was generally a complementarity of tasks between women and men in the household economy; but women performed the bulk of reproductive tasks while both women and men did productive work" (p.34).

Community Roles

As regards the community functions, based on Table 3, men and women can become leaders of organizations, ritual leaders and healers. Even the young Irayas acknowledge that women can also hold these positions. However, it has been a while since women have handled positions of leadership and become healers. Currently and in the more recent past, men have held these positions. An elder recalled that when he was a young boy one of his aunts was a *marayaw* (healer).

The current village healer in Mamalao and in Bayanan said that as long as a person is interested, has a good attitude and shows interest to learn the skills necessary for the work, then the task of being a healer can be passed on to that person, regardless of her/his gender. The community members likewise added that if at one point the eldest person in the village is a woman, then she will be given the task of managing community affairs.

During community meetings, while men are usually the ones who speak out more often, the women are not usually intimidated and are able to contribute their opinions and suggestions to the discussions.

The task of dealing with lowlanders is usually taken on by the men in the community, e.g. meeting with local government officials and negotiating for work with Tagalogs. However, during actual protest actions against intruders into their lands, such as the one against the private corporation that wanted to conduct marble mining operations in their upland communities, men, women and even children joined in the community mobilization.

As to the men being more comfortable with leadership positions, Gough (1975) postulated that, "Probably because of male cooperation in defense and hunting, men are more prominent in band councils and leadership, in medicine and magic, and in public rituals designed to increase game, to ward off sickness, or to initiate boys into manhood. The hunting of men seems more often to require them to organize in groups than does the work of women" (p. 71). And in the Iraya Mangyan society, as they transitioned from the hunting stage to the current agrarian stage, this practice has been embedded, although without utter disregard of the roles of the women in the public sphere. Gough continues that women also take part in the community's law and government and are respected as storytellers, leaders and doctors. And indeed I have seen that the Iraya women are able to

Table 3. Community Chores Performed by Men, by Women and by Both

Men	Women	Both men and women
		<i>Pamunuan sa mga samahan</i> (Leadership in people's organizations; men usually are given the roles of head, while the women are given support roles)
<i>Makipagpulong sa ibaba kung sakaling may pinapatawag ang ilang opisyal ng pamahalaan</i> (Meet with government officials in the lowland)		<i>Pagdalo sa mga pagkilos ng samahan sa patag tulad sa mga kampanya</i> (participation in organizational activities in the lowlands, e.g. during campaigns)
<i>Naghahatol o nagmamatanda sa mga tigion</i> (Elder for traditional justice system)	(although they said that women can also hold this position, but over the years only men handled this task)	
<i>Mga manggagamot at marayaw</i> (healers and chanters)	(they also said that women can take on this role, but it has mostly been men doing this role)	
<i>Pagkakarga ng mga gamit pampamayanan</i> (hauling of materials needed for the community, e.g. construction materials; goods for vending)		
<i>Pagpapatay at pagkakatay ng mga hayop na gagamitin sa mga ritwal</i> (Slaughter and chopping of animals for community rituals)		

contribute their own ideas during village meetings and rituals and are not cowed by the presence of men. The women are also involved in the political processes in the community such as village meetings and protest activities.

What Barot (1999) mentioned about women having an important role as carriers of ethnicity due to the fact that it is in the home that much of the cultural transmission takes place can be seen in the Iraya society, but this is not the exclusive domain of women. Traditional methods of cultural reproduction usually happen both at home and in the village and are performed both by men and women, such as story-telling and informal community education and training. Performance and observance of village rituals and customary laws are likewise inclusive of both sexes.

Over-all, the difference in the diverse roles that Iraya men and women perform at home, in the farm and in the community or the gender division of labor, which are followed by the younger generation, is clear, yet, it is not inflexible. When there are no men in the household or in the community, women can still perform their tasks, and vice-versa.

Some differences and overlaps notwithstanding, the Iraya Mangyan society does not attach greater value or importance to either men's or women's work. Women's work at home is valued and is not inferior to men's work inside or outside the community. Both men and women are equal members in the community, performing domestic, economic and community chores.

Reskin & Padavic (1994) saw this same practice in pre-industrial agricultural communities where women's and men's tasks overlapped but people did not consider the jobs of women as less valuable than those of the men (p.16). Eviota (1992) likewise mentioned that in early human societies "women's work processes and the social relations attached to these

processes may have been different from those of men, but not necessarily inferior to them” (p.5-6).

Implications for Community Development Practice

The above analysis of the roles of Iraya Mangyan men and women in their homes, farms and the community has many implications for community development work among the Mangyans, in particular, and among indigenous peoples, in general. Some of these implications are a reiteration of basic principles of CD work, while others hope to enhance the current practice.

1. Primary among these is the need to be gender-sensitive and to avoid assignment of particular roles in organizing work based on certain gender stereotypes. The community and the CD worker should be guided by criteria such as the individual's interest to serve the community. Such should also provide guidance in other CD tasks such as selection of participants for trainings and exposure programs outside of the community, and the conduct of community researches and advocacy.

2. For activities with young people who have known only male leaders, healers and ritual heads in their community, gender sensitivity sessions and leadership skills training would be helpful for them to realize the full potential that men and women are capable of achieving and to correct gender stereotypes they acquire through mass media and in their interactions with other communities. When asked about handling leadership positions in the future, three high school girls said, “*Naku hindi biro ang magmatanda dito sa Mamalao. Malaking responsibilidad, pero kung wala namang lalaking gagampan, mapipilitan na babae ang magmatanda.*” (It is not a joke to be the leader in Mamalao. It is a big

responsibility, but if no male will take on the task, the women will be forced to lead.) Even the young men are not quite ready to handle such responsibilities. They just laughed off my question. “*Mas masarap yata magbasketbol na lang. Pero kung darating yung panahon, ay di tulad ng gawa ng ama, kakayanin din namin yun.*” (It is easier to simply play basketball. But when the time comes, well just like our fathers, we can also handle that task.)

3. In the Iraya communities, both men and women are concerned with community issues, hence, getting their views are of import. This means that during immersion and groundwork, the CD worker has to find the appropriate time for discussions at home, in their farms, or while they perform other economic activities outside of the farm.

4. The application of feminist ethnography for research among the Irayas also implies the importance of ethnomethodology during the data analysis phase. The ethnomethodology approach was particularly useful when the Irayas categorized the data based on their own lay methodology. CD workers have to be careful in the use of their own categories when doing CD in communities of indigenous peoples, lest these categories turn out to be inappropriate and culturally-insensitive.

5. The analysis of informal community education processes, the players, the methods used and their content would be very helpful in the design of non-formal education programs. Indigenous knowledge has always to be considered, e.g. in trainings on leadership, local resource management and community health and nutrition. Local leaders and healers can be invited to speak on leadership trainings and skills development for local health workers. Informal community education processes thrive on story-telling and modeling, methods which can likewise be used during community trainings.

Note:

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