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CHANGES IN FARMING AND HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN TWO AREAS OF THE CORDILLERA OF LUZON, PHILIPPINES

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1. INTRODUCTION

People in rural communities make use of a range of environments both directly, within the area in which they live and indirectly by migration to make use of other rural and urban environmental resources. The precise use which people make of their resources changes with time in response to re-evaluations of their work preferences and to new opportunities for making a living. In the central highland of Luzon - the Cordillera - rice cultivation by means of the creation of terraces on steep hillsides together with the shifting cultivation of other parts of the hillside for sweet potatoes has long been a basis of existence. During the present century, in particular during the past 40 years, striking changes in the use of some parts of the natural environment have taken place. It is the aim of this paper to identify these changes in two communities on different sides of the Cordillera and to develop a series of explanations of these changes in relation to the complex web of livelihood strategies that Cordillera households now use to make a living.

2. CORDILLERA HOUSEHOLDS AND ENVIRONMENT IN THE PAST

A historical context to the processes of change is necessary in order to better understand contemporary situations in the Cordillera of Luzon. The highland areas of Luzon were largely marginal to Spanish interests during their occupation of the Philippine islands. Although there was a numerous native population, what they possessed - minerals in particular - proved difficult for the Spanish to acquire and gold was traded by Igorots on the western side of the Cordillera with lowlanders who in turn refined it further and traded it in Manila. Tobacco produced by highland farmers during the 19th century was an

important contraband item during the Tobacco Monopoly and a series of military expeditions into the Cordillera failed to hispanise the local population. Missions and garrisons had only a limited cultural impact on the native population and by the end of the 19th century the mountains were still largely inhabited by those that the Christians described as pagans. The political and economic impact was more significant in relation to the changes of the following century.

Scott sees the most negative consequence of Spanish attempts to rule the highlands as "the creation of a distinction between highland and lowland Filipinos which contrasted submission, conversion and civilization on the one hand with independence, paganism and savagery on the other" (Scott, 1982:55).

With the coming of the North Americans at the beginning of the present century access to the Cordillera became easier as roads and trails were completed or improved and attempts made to establish effective political control, although Barton describes a six to eight day journey to Banaue from Manila in the early part of this century (Barton, 1922:386-7). Even at that time, contact was maintained with adjacent mountain areas - especially Benguet - and the Cagayan valley (Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya) from Ifugao and the western lowland valleys from the Bontoc area (Cervantes) through seasonal migration and regular trading (Barton, 1922:417). Both missionaries and colonial administrators provided a wealth of early accounts of Igorot and Ifugao people but the extent of their impact is debatable. Father Staunton, who arrived in Sagada in 1904, was an atypical missionary: he succeeded in introducing wage labour on a large scale in association with the series of enterprises that he established - a quarry, brickworks and the construction of mission buildings - and, through the mission shop. The mission offered a wide array of goods for sale so that the money earned working for the Episcopalians could easily be spent which would encourage further waged work. Barton likewise describes the promotion of coffee as a cash crop in Kiangan (Ifugao) during the 1910s by the schools

and government (Barton op. cit. pp. 408, 426).

By the 1930s migration to earn money in the mines and in timber enterprises had become widespread and, however little change there was in the agricultural part of the household economy, cash was available to those who were prepared to sell their labour elsewhere. By the beginning of the period of Japanese occupation many domestic economies were dependent on cash earned either from the sale of agricultural surpluses when a cash crop such as coffee was grown or from wage labour performed elsewhere.

3. RECENT CHANGE IN THE CORDILLERA

Two areas were selected for a closer study of the range of environmental changes that had occurred during the past 40 years through which changes in household economies might be examined (Fig. 1). A part of Ifugao province close to the commercial centre of Banaue was selected for study because it lies in the area where part of household income comes from non-agricultural activities (wood-carving and textile weaving). An initial reconnaissance visit in 1984 revealed a consciousness among rural people of changes in the agricultural system associated with the use of former pond-fields for vegetable and tuber cultivation in place of rice. It could be logically hypothesised that there might be associated changes in the use of swiddens and other hillside land. A range of descriptions of the ecology and land use of this area exist, in particular the work of Harold Conklin which refers specifically to the situation in part of Ifugao province in the late 1960s (Conklin, 1980) and which provides rich baseline information.

By contrast, on the western side of the Cordillera in the neighbourhood of Sagada, two striking changes in the environment have occurred in living memory, on the one hand the planting of pines (Pinus insularis) on the many hillsides and on the other an increase in the area of prime agricultural land devoted to cash

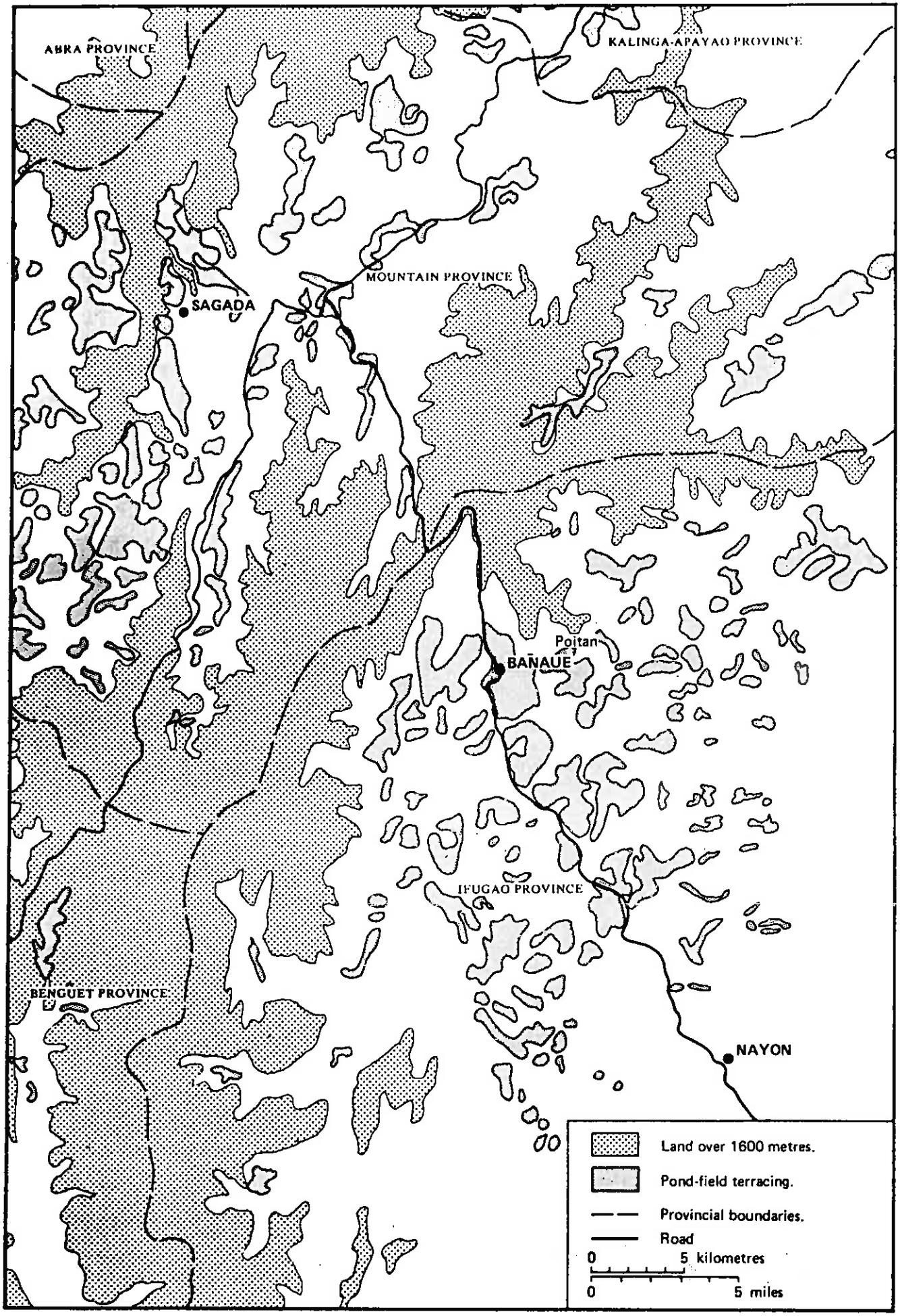

Figure 1: The central Cordillera

crops, in particular vegetables. Both these changes suggested different modifications in the household economy from those in Ifugao. In Sagada valuable published accounts of local history and ethnography occur in the writing of William Henry Scott and a recent doctoral dissertation by Joachim Voss provides further relevant information, particularly with relation to the increase in vegetable growing (Voss 1983).

Field work during January and part of February 1985 was based in Sagada población and the adjacent barrios and in Poitan, located two kilometres south-east of Banaue. In each area interviews were held with men and women from different localities in order to document personal views and experience relating to changes in farming and in domestic livelihoods since the end of World War II. In Poitan, prolonged interviews with seven households were used to record simple histories of livelihood strategies used since the household was created.

3.1 Change in Sagada, Mountain Province

The most striking environmental change in Sagada since the early part of the century is the virtual abandonment of swidden farming (shifting cultivation) on the hillsides and a consequent afforestation on all sides of the valley within which the población (town) of Sagada lies as well as on the hillsides to the north and north-east of the town. Photographs taken during the first decade of the century show the new buildings of the mission on a bare hillside. By the 1920s photographs by Bontoc photographer Masferré show the mission flanked by well-grown pine trees but the hillsides further away still had few trees. A further series of photographs taken by Masferré to the NE of Sagada show the rapidity of forest growth after the Liberation and by the 1960s trees grew in profusion on all the hillsides adjacent to Sagada población. Photographs taken by Harold Brookfield in 1963, compared with the present view, show some changes in land use visible in the pond-fields but only a slight increase in the area of pines on the hillsides to the west of the town. Discus-

sion with men and women from different localities around Sagada established that the majority of the pine forest originates from the period following the end of the war with Japan. Many of the hillsides which are now forest covered were used for swidden farming especially in those areas where there was adequate soil and moisture for sweet potatoes to grow well. The area of swiddens planted has decreased markedly and informants believed that less than half of Sagada households still had sweet potato plots in the hills. Even those who have such plots probably have much less hillside land than they, or similar-sized households, cultivated before the war.

One reason for the increase in the area of pine forest is to establish personal title to land as Voss (1983:85) has suggested. Land which was used for growing sweet potatoes belonged to the household that farmed it but only so long as crops were growing on it. Once the land was covered with wild plants it was treated as common property and all members of the community had equal access to it, although in practice a household was probably most likely to create a new swidden on land that they or kinsfolk had cultivated on some previous occasion.

Further reasons for the abandonment of many swiddens after 1945 was the migration of many men to work in the mines of Benguet and in the newly-opened colonisation zone near Tabuk in NE Kalinga Province. With many men and some complete households away not only was there more irrigated land available for cultivation but also, with a smaller labour force, it was logical to concentrate effort on the most easily accessible fields, invariably those pond-fields that were either rainfed or with year-round irrigation. Furthermore, households with access to forest on former swiddens benefitted from the ease of gathering fuelwood needed for cooking and from the advantage of having timber for house-building. Many informants talked of the regular need to spend a whole day gathering wood in distant parts of Sagada in pre-war days and there was universal emphasis on the advantage of supplies of fuelwood near to hand.

External agencies were not involved in promoting the spread of forest. Although there were government forestry programmes and a number of people collected free pine seedlings from government nurseries, a large number of young pine trees are self-seeded and there is little evidence of a forestry campaign specific to Sagada. The seedlings were available either in the Chico river valley, over an hour's journey by bus, or near Mt Data some four or five hours south on the road to Baguio. Even though pines were planted in the land given to the Episcopalian mission, there was no evidence that missionaries encouraged people to plant pine trees on their own land.

A second and more recent major change in Sagada is the growing of vegetables for sale. Although vegetables had been grown by the mission since the early part of the century, most people traced vegetable-growing to its introduction by one individual in 1948. His initial success led others to follow suit. Migrants from Sagada in the mines of Benguet would have seen the excellent vegetables growing in the Trinidad valley and, later on, the highland area beside the Mountain Trail highway. Some worked for Chinese and other vegetable growers for periods and thereby acquired direct experience of vegetable-growing. Some households grow vegetables following the harvest of rice but others grow vegetables year-round in fields where rice used to be grown. The range of vegetables currently grown includes cabbages, tomatoes, capsicum, Chinese cabbage and many varieties of beans. The majority of the work associated with vegetable-growing is done by males although females may help at any stage. Vegetables are collected and crated at the nearest point on the road - particularly in Ambasing - and sent by vehicle to Baguio wholesale market.

A large proportion of the vegetables are transported in locally-owned vehicles. Although prices fluctuate wildly and considerable outlay is needed for agricultural chemicals to promote growth and combat disease, the profits that may accrue

from growing vegetables are attractive. The cash from vegetable-growing permits the purchase of rice to replace that which might otherwise have been grown and this, together with probable overall increase in rice consumption, accounts for the considerable increase in rice sales reported by Sagada shopkeepers during the past decade. In the lower part of Sagada, south of Balugan, rice is now double-cropped but this innovation is not feasible in the cooler, higher districts. Vegetables have also, in part, replaced sweet potatoes that were widely grown in dried former rice fields although sweet potato leaves are in continuous demand as pig feed. Although vegetables are grown throughout Sagada, they are particularly important in the two districts south of Ambasing: Pide and Balugan (Fig. 2).

Vegetable growing is seen in the villages to be a consequence of the increasing need to purchase what are now necessities of life. The productivity of land on which vegetables are grown, as measured by value of production, is greater than when a single crop of rice was grown, even when followed by sweet potatoes. Crops are seasonally staggered so harvesting (and thus income) takes place several times in a year. Dependence on several crops and year-round harvesting also diminishes the risk of loss. Cultivating vegetables is done by the men who, a generation or more ago, would otherwise have been collecting firewood and occasionally clearing hillslopes for sweet potato gardens. Several older informants commented that the young men in particular no longer stand around chatting idly at the road junctions but now are fully occupied in the fields and Voss makes a similar observation (Voss op.cit.134). Many vegetable farmers even work on customary seasonal rest days (ubayas).

The third important environmental change in Sagada is the decrease in the irrigated area. It is impossible to walk more than a kilometre through the terraces without encountering some land which is either uncultivated, or which now can only grow a crop during the wet season. Rice is customarily planted in a pond-field before the onset of the rainy season: without irriga-

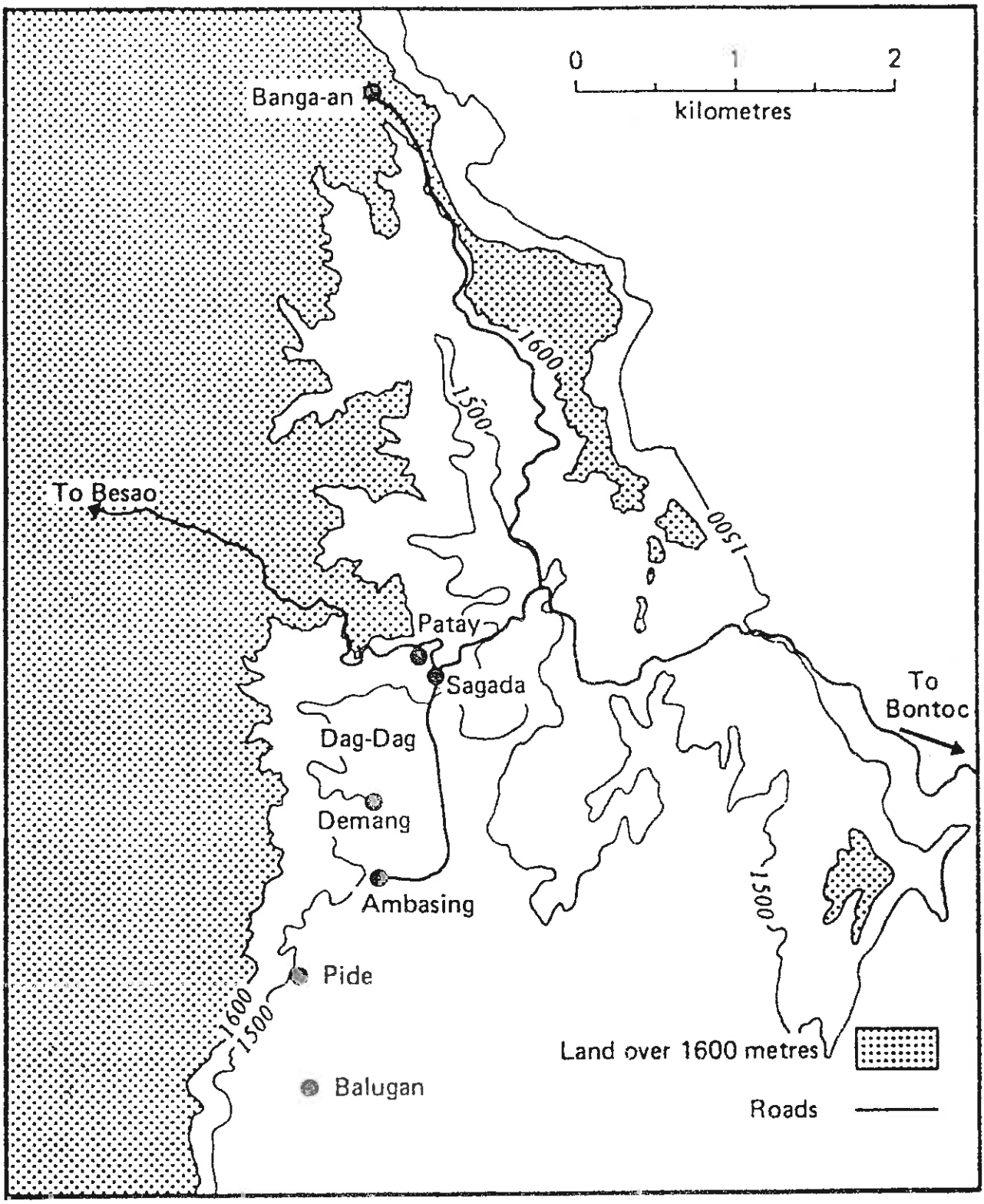

Figure 2: Sagada

tion rice cannot be planted until much later.

The most obvious reason for the decrease in irrigated area is shortage of water. In several localities the creation of new pond-fields upstream which diverts most of the water that would otherwise reach the older pondfields. Even though this seems to be unlawful (see, for example Barton, 1919:59 on the relevant law pertaining to Ifugao), where a minor local water source was involved and the owner of the newly-developed pond-field was economically powerful and socially respected, the owners of land downstream would be unlikely to seek any form of retribution. This contrasts with the more highly organised control of water rights in the northern part of Sagada (Bacdayan, 1974) where the construction of a new channel stimulated a higher degree of coordination of community control of water use.

A final instance of change in land use is strongly related to the shortage of labour as a result of migration. Some areas of good land are no longer farmed or are farmed less intensively because the household which owns the land is short of labour. In one such case the husband is working in the mines, the wife has small children and cannot conveniently travel to the field and therefore, rather than rent it and risk alienation of the land by the tenant, she prefers to abandon it and allow neighbours to pasture water buffalo on it.

Changes in Sagada since at least 1945 have profoundly affected the physical environment. The increase in pine forest has provided a valuable fuel and building material closer to hand than before. The virtual abandonment of shifting cultivation has released males and females from the work of clearing and cultivating that demanded much time from an earlier generation. Both sexes have transferred some of this time saved to the growing of vegetables although this has changed male labour inputs into farming more than female inputs. The whole family is now regularly involved with harvesting and packing vegetables for transport to market.

Livelihood changes

Many households have a range of links with other parts of Luzon and household livelihood strategies now frequently encompass work and study in the Baguio area and beyond. Although some migrants work on farms, most are employed in mines or other urban-industrial jobs unrelated to farming or other Sagada activities. Both tertiary education and urban jobs are only available far from Sagada thus causing students and workers to migrate. The stimulus for this migration and diversification of household livelihood strategies is a direct consequence of the high quality of education generally available in Sagada as a result of the schools associated with the Episcopalian Mission. Pupils from Sagada schools have been exceptionally well prepared to obtain entry to any of a range of universities, colleges, and technical institutes and many Sagada families now have professionals amongst their absent sons and daughters.

The changes in household strategies have resulted in modifications in the division of labour. There is clearly a greater amount of farm work for men than previously. Several older people commented spontaneously that the opportunities for earning money through different forms of work attracted men, particularly younger men, who previously were underemployed. The male tasks previously performed for cash elsewhere - such as stone walling - are now less needed and the nature of changes in cropping systems makes more labour necessary during much of the year.

Women probably have less work in the fields and certainly have less responsibility for farming. They are still important in rice cultivation, but the area of rice has probably decreased. They have much less work to do cultivating hillsides since swidden farming is less important, but, although men organise vegetable growing, women do contribute some of their time to such work. Possibly associated with a reduction in time devoted to farming, women have begun to spend more time in collective action. Women's groups have been formed to promote hamlet activities, such as

improving the footpath network, but little evidence was found to support Voss' implication that the status of women in the hamlet had been enhanced by these changes (Voss, 1983: 172).

The extent of the penetration of Sagada by values prevailing in contemporary urban Philippine society can be measured by considering the external influences that underlie the environmental changes that have been described. The decrease in importance of sweet potatoes balancing the growth in importance of vegetables is the consequence of the recognition that money is necessary to buy a range of goods that increase the quality of life to more nearly that in the city. Money is acquired by modifying production systems in response to the needs of markets external to the region and by increasing use of technology developed elsewhere. The planting of pines also reflects an individualist as opposed to corporativist attitude to property which likewise mirrors the State's view of property. Sagada has retained a high degree of control of its own resources by ensuring that Sagada businesses are controlled by Sagada families. Thus a well-off, well-educated group of Sagada merchants has emerged which controls much of local economic activity although Voss argues that economic differentiation is restricted (1983, 100 passim).

3.2 Change in Poitan, Ifugao Province

Poitan is only a half hour walk from the town of Banaue; the members of the community have thus easy access to a small town with a daily foreign tourist population and with bus services to Manila via the Cagayan valley and to Baguio both across the Cordillera to the west via Bontoc and increasingly via Nueva Vizcaya. A daily bus passes through Poitan linking Banaue town and its weekly market at which producers and consumers from much of north-central Ifugao meet. Poitan is only a hamlet. The houses of its inhabitants are scattered over an area 3 km by 1.5 km including land from 880 to 1500 m above sea level and, while maybe 30 per cent of households live close to the road, most

people live away from the road and up to 40-45 minutes walk away from it.

Poitan was selected for study because it seemed to have been influenced by the opportunities for earning offered by both wood carving and weaving. The various environmental changes that seem to be occurring here are less obvious than in Sagada and are associated with a variety of factors. In order of overall importance they are: the deterioration of pond-field terraces, the decrease in area of swidden farming and an increase in the area of uncultivated land on which pine trees are planted. Eder has already examined the nature of some of the agricultural problems in a hamlet near Banaue (Eder, 1982) and his conclusions concerning the deterioration of the pond-field terraces are broadly supported by my own field work. His analysis does not consider other aspects of environmental change nor does he review the overall development of household livelihoods.

The deterioration of the pond-field terraces can be observed on the ground by identifying areas where wet rice has clearly not been grown for several seasons. Comparison of the present distribution of actively-farmed pond-fields with that shown in Conklin's major study of Ifugao land use systems enables confirmation that such areas were farmed in 1963. Conklin commented that some pond-fields in Bayninan were usually lacking sufficient water to be farmed(Conklin, 1980:81). Fields have usually been left uncultivated or unwatered for several reasons (Table 1).

Each of these reasons was mentioned by local farm people in the course of visits to Poitan and they serve to emphasise the range of personal as well as environmental factors that affect household decisions. Eder's estimate of one-third of the terrace visible in an old photograph now being abandoned, in my view, exaggerates the trend and in Poitan I estimate only about 10 per cent of the pond-field terraces to have ceased producing rice.

Table 1

Reasons for ceasing to use a pond-field terrace

Reason 1	Reason 2
Absence of water:	Diversion of water upstream
	Rupture of feeder canal
	Landslide affecting water holding on terrace
Lack of water:	Increased water loss in a badly maintained canal
	Seepage from terrace because of worms
	Decrease in water volume entering canal
Change of cultivation from rice to sweet potatoes, vegetables etc.	Households needs (e.g. to feed pigs)
	Estimate of low profitability
Absence of landowner	
Shortage of labour	

Reasons for the abandonment of terraces reflect the preoccupations of rural households. Although rice is a highly-prized food item, the amount of labour needed to produce it is always considered before deciding whether or not to invest the considerable amount of work necessary to make the pond-field capable of producing a good crop of rice. Terraces with a limited or unreliable water supply or which need extensive work to make them fully productive may be fallowed or planted with other crops if farmers have other demands on their time which they feel more gainful. Where some members of a household engage in wood carving or weaving, they may decline to cooperate in domestic rice field work on the grounds that they prefer to earn money by carving, weaving, etc.

A second and more contentious change is the reduction in swidden farming. Conklin's examination of the agricultural cycle in Bayninan, adjacent to Poitan to the south-east, led him to conclude that sweet potatoes were as important an element in

local diet as rice comprising 38 per cent (by weight) of the food input per person annually (compared with rice 40 per cent). Sweet potatoes are grown both on permanently cultivated land, in particular dry pond-fields, and on swiddens. All the evidence from my interviews suggests that swiddens are less common than previously, largely because people prefer to cultivate land nearer home and because they prefer (or believe it more profitable) to engage in either wage labour or cottage industry rather than to clear and cultivate a swidden garden. Those who carved or wove regularly seldom had a swidden field and others not regularly working as carvers or weavers also preferred to work to earn cash rather than to farm their own swiddens. It may be argued that if the area of dried pond-fields has increased then such terraces would usually be used for sweet potatoes which would also diminish the need for swiddens. Informants were clear that hillside land was readily available for clearing and that the dangers of crop losses from pigs and monkeys in swiddens were no worse than before.

A further factor contributing to a decrease in swiddens is a preference for rice as a food which has increased as more households have access to the money to buy rice once their own supplies have been exhausted. As a larger proportion of households eat rice more frequently, others wish to emulate them and will engage in strategies to facilitate this. Since swiddens neither produce rice nor cash crops their importance in domestic livelihood strategies is likely to diminish still further, so long as alternative income-producing opportunities exist.

A third environmental change that can be noted is planting pine trees in woodlots or in abandoned swiddens. While this has not transformed the environment in the way that it has in Sagada, it is still noteworthy. As supplies of pines from the higher mountain slopes to the west decrease and become more costly then planting fast-growing pines in areas near to house sites becomes logical. The planting of trees in woodlots is a common practice (Conklin, 1980:8-9) but Poitan informants commented that the

planting of pine trees - readily available from the Bureau of Forests - was recent, certainly post-World War II. The areas of pines are scattered and small, few stands containing more than a dozen trees but noticeable especially to anyone coming from the Bontoc pine forest and remarkable because (in Poitan, at least) distant from the pine forest on the edge of Mt. Polis. Informants suggested that pine trees were now sometimes planted in previous swidden plots to establish ownership, thus corresponding to the practice in Sagada.

Household livelihoods and environment

Changes in household livelihoods have had a pronounced impact on the rural environment although such changes are difficult to quantify without prolonged observation and good baseline data. Many households are no longer cultivating swidden plots, either because people prefer to work for others as paid workers or because they prefer to concentrate time and energy in cultivating pond-fields or in domestic manufacture of textiles or woodcarvings. This is not seen by householders as a consequence of the exhaustion of soils or low productivity of swidden crops but primarily a consequence of a preference for other farm work as well as non-farm domestic craft work.

The second environmental change identified is the planting of trees on hillsides. This is a reflection of a desire to maximise the amount of useable wood available as close to the home as possible. The third change in the environment relates to the use of pond-field terraces. There is an absolute shortage of labour for rice growing if the husband is busy carving either in the village, in the forest or in the city, and if the elder children are occupied in full-time education either locally or in a distant urban centre. Some informants had reacted to such situations by mortgaging land and using the capital to cover educational costs and for necessary supplementary food; others, by contrast, used their cash earnings to employ others to work for them on the terraces and did maintain rice land in good condition. Various terraces with inadequate water were reported as

having been abandoned because the owner was fully occupied elsewhere and no-one wished to rent or sharecrop them. It is even said some pondfields are deliberately not rented to avoid the possibility that the tenant might not relinquish the land at the end of the tenancy. Terrace land with adequate water and free of pests would, of course, always be cultivated if the labour existed to do the work.

External influences on environmental use

The State affects the physical environment and the household livelihoods both directly and indirectly. Farm and forest lands around Poitan seemed unaffected by activity by the Bureau of Forests or by government forestry legislation. Similarly, there was no evidence gathered to show that the supply of water to Banaue town had affected water supply for farming. Water supply for the town is generally inadequate and depends mostly on private initiative. The large Tourist Hotel has created its own water source.

Direct external influences on households are, as we saw in Sagada, of crucial importance for the ways in which people choose to make a living. The availability of education has been instrumental in removing a part of the labour force for long periods, in encouraging households to send their children for better further education in Baguio or even Manila and for creating expectations that can only realistically be satisfied by urban living or by commercial farming elsewhere. More than this modern youth life styles are influenced by the regular flow of young foreign tourists and travellers who arrive daily in Banaue town and who transverse the countryside on foot to admire the rice terraces. Daily screening of videotapes of films in two locations in the town further introduces young people to western youth culture and living standards. If a young person with a motorcycle can earn an agricultural worker's daily wage by carrying a single tourist on a short trip to the Post Office then it is hardly surprising if agricultural work is unattractive to the

young unless it offers superior financial rewards. Carving wooden figures that can be sold locally for a reasonable price is an attractive job. Both men and women do this work; although girls and older women do not generally carve wood they do participate in the finishing. Women weave blankets and smaller items largely for sale to tourists. Although opportunities for earning money by weaving or woodcarving exist for both men and women, interviews suggest that more male labour was used in this way. Male labour is frequently more concentrated in income-earning activities (Hart 1980). For women, weaving was a spare time occupation and since women spend more time than men in cultivation and in domestic activity they are likely to have less time available than men to produce goods for sale. Male and female informants asserted that there had been no major changes in the sexual division of labour. Just as in Sagada, males now seem to work more.

These major changes in household livelihood result in less time spent on crop farming. Several older men maintained the rice fields were less well maintained and less carefully prepared for planting, although others denied this. What is possibly more important is there is less care in timing the planting of rice. Ministry of Agriculture staff attributed the poor harvest in 1984 to the rice being sown too late. In 1980 a previous poor harvest had also resulted from late planting and in the three succeeding years planting had taken place at the correct time with official encouragement. Many people commented that craft work often took preference over farm work.

4. THE CENTRAL CORDILLERA SINCE 1945

In conclusion, the common changes in the use of environmental resources in the two areas of the Central Cordillera are considered in the context of the broad cultural and economic environment of their people.

Two broad changes in environmental use emerge clearly. One

the one hand there is less intensive use of the hillside land: the use of it for periodic cultivation has virtually disappeared in Sagada and is probably diminishing in Poitan. Hand in hand with this is the use of former swidden land for the provision of timber and fuelwood needs. On the other hand the use of the most productive land - the pondfields - has often changed to become more intensive with vegetable cultivation in place of sweet potatoes or even rice. In a number of instances the pondfields whose water supply is more uncertain have been less intensively used or even virtually abandoned.

During the period in which these changes have occurred most people in most communities such as Sagada and Poitan have become more closely linked with national society and economy. Roads have improved, allowing the easier movements of goods and people in both directions, and schooling has become more widespread and effective and itself has caused migration to other areas of pupils seeking further education beyond what is locally available.

At the same time the development of national natural resources to satisfy the needs of the world market (though largely the USA and Japan) has increased the demand for labour in mining and other centres encouraging some people from the Cordillera to leave home and work away for months or even years at a time. More recently the opportunities (both real and imagined) for employment in metropolitan Manila has attracted more people. The resources that sustaion many highland households come from other parts of Luzon besides their own community.

The rice terraces of the Cordillera are widely recognised by Europeans and North Americans as being striking and admirable human creations and increasing numbers of overseas visitors come, particularly to Banaue, near Poitan and, to a lesser extent to Sagada whose cave burial sites are also widely publicised. Many of the visitors are young and active and walk through the surrounding areas. They provide a market for a variety of services

and commodities that is satisfied by local people. The presence of overseas visitors - both tourists and travellers - offers for view some aspects of the quality of life enjoyed by people from the advanced capitalist countries which some local people may seek to emulate.

In this context it is not surprising that the livelihood strategies of many Cordillera households have changed. Two major structural changes can be identified. Household strategies have diversified to include migration at many scales - from travelling to the forest to find wood suitable for carving to moving to Manila for a number of years - bringing both cash and a wider range of experience into the reservoir of available resources. Secondly, cash has become a major part of domestic economies. A larger proportion of necessary food is purchased and an increasing part of farm production is sold for money. Decisions are now made about how to use land or time in relation to the amount of money that alternative uses may produce.

This paper has identified a series of changes in resource use - some obvious and striking, others uncertain but the subject of local discussion. These changes reflect a re-evaluation of how people wish to spend their time in relation to their need to live adequately. As the range of opportunities for getting by has increased, including a number aside from farming, it is hardly surprising that farming has sometimes become less important and, with that, some land has become used differently. It is necessary to remember that rural life does not necessarily place farming in a primary position. The land use changes that have been described should also be seen in a historical perspective and land that is being used less intensively is usually capable of being brought back into more intensive production to satisfy household needs. Present economic hardship as a result of the national indebtedness may be alleviated for some by a return to farming (Cornia et al. 1988).

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