

# SYMBOLIC PRODUCTION OF COFFEE-DRINKING: GENEALOGY, PROBLEMATIZATION AND THE CASE OF CORDILLERA COFFEE

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## Abstract

*This paper explores the genealogy of coffee-drinking and how it has changed through history with particular focus on the problematization of coffee as a 'cultural' symbol for people in different parts of the World and in different historic periods and locate the contemporary symbolic production of coffee as a 'development project' in the case of the Cordillera region in the Philippines. From the first glance, the political economy and culture of coffee-drinking for both consumers and producers in any part of the World at its core is local. However, coffee becomes part of the international politics when populations of different local geographic spaces need to interact with each other to continue their 'local' patterns of lifestyle for consumption or production. The international interaction is often expressed through biopolitical hierarchies of interaction between (1) the wealthy populations in the developed countries of Global North with (2) the vulnerable subsistent populations in the underdeveloped countries of Global South. Often these two groups of people have limited knowledge about the context of biopolitical administration of 'life processes' in each geographic space. How is this limitation negotiated and processed through symbolic construction of what 'coffee' has meant for people through history?*

**Keywords:** genealogy, symbolic production, coffee-drinking, biopolitics, power relations

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## INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the genealogy of coffee-drinking and how it has changed through history with particular focus on the problematization of coffee as a ‘cultural’ symbol for people of different societal values in different parts of the World and in different historic periods. It also locates the contemporary symbolic meaning of coffee as a ‘development project’ in the case of the Cordillera region in the Philippines. From the first glance, it seems that, at the core, the political economy and culture of coffee-drinking for both consumers and producers in any part of the World is local. However, coffee becomes part of the hierarchical biopolitics when populations of different local geographic spaces need to interact with each other, to continue their ‘local’ patterns of lifestyle for consumption or production of coffee. The international interaction is often expressed through biopolitical hierarchies (Parfitt, 2009) of interaction between two categories of people: (1) the wealthy populations in the developed countries of Global North with (2) the vulnerable subsistent populations in the underdeveloped countries of Global South (Duffield, 2007). Often these two groups of people have limited knowledge about the contexts of biopolitical administration of ‘life processes’ and governmentality (Lemke, 2001) in any geographic space other than their own. In other words, persons who enjoy the cup of espresso, macchiato, café latte or cappuccino in the alluring environment of the local coffee shops in the contemporary urban environment of Europe, North America or Northeast Asia in most cases might not be aware about the complexity of the history, politics and economics of the ‘cup of coffee’ and about the genealogy of ‘coffee culture’ in their local café, coffee-shop or coffeeshouse where it is served. Similarly to the metaphorical Roman Emperor Elagabalus in AD 218-222, the first Western leader who was “to wear clothes made entirely from silk” from China, but who “knew not China” believing that silk grew on the mulberry tree, modern consumers of coffee have often very little knowledge of how, where and by whom their coffee was grown, produced and traded (Bernstein, 2008, pp. 1-2). Moreover, there generally is also limited awareness among contemporary consumers and producers about the historical origins and context of social and political aspects of coffee culture. Thus, the consumer of coffee in Starbucks, Costa or any other famous coffee brands in the Global North might have very limited or no ideas about the people and cultures in the Global South where actually coffee

cherries are grown, or about the standards for processing and packing in the Global North. For example, consumers in the Global North might know single-origin Toraja coffee's famous full bodied caramel-flavour of speciality coffee shops, but know little or nothing about lives of people in the "fundamentally subsistence-based Torajan economy" (Neilson & Shonk, 2014, p. 277). The "physical landscape of rural Toraja" in Indonesia as well as most labour practices are "contained within a non-commoditised subsistence realm" where biopolitical hierarchy of power is determined by "ancestry and birth" (Neilson & Shonk, 2014, p. 278). Furthermore, many consumers of Toraja coffee in the Global North might not be able to make a connection between the recent news about earthquake, tsunami and destruction of Palu city with major airport in Sulawesi to the possible disruption to the favourite Toraja speciality coffee in the local neighbourhood café.

Coffee is considered the "world's most widely traded tropical agricultural commodity" (International Coffee Organization, 2018). The coffee consumption is largest in the temperate climate, while coffee can grow only in the tropical climate. Interestingly, Finland is a leader in the annual consumption of coffee with 12 kg per capita, followed by Norway, Iceland, Denmark and Netherlands (Kelly, 2013). Arabica and Robusta are the main coffee types that are grown for large scale imports. More than half of the World coffee trade is more expensive Arabica coffee variety and most of it, about 80%, comes from Latin America, while Robusta beans mostly come from Africa and Asia. Coffee is one of the valuable agricultural commodities that did not lose its importance and endured since the spice trade and mercantilist era (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, pp. 1-2). It was part of the colonial cash crops that were produced and traded on a large scale since the early modern history. Nowadays it is still relevant to the contemporary international political economy, society and culture as well as local politics and governance. Therefore, the contemporary political, societal and cultural aspects of coffee consumption has been associated with Western countries of Europe and North America, while the agrarian, economic, political and societal aspects of coffee growing and production has always been with the local communities of people in the Southern countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. However, even this description of the complex dichotomy between Northern and Southern colonial and later

post-colonial dynamics of coffee issue is rather incomplete. Even well-informed coffee consumers are generally unaware that the political and societal context of coffee consumption in Europe of the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century was closely linked with the history of Islam as well as with the local culture and political dynamics of trade that defined the Arab expansion, the rise of Ottoman Empire and Persia in the late medieval and early modern history (McHugo, 2013).

Furthermore, most recently the previous colonial dynamic between Northern and Southern territories and people has changed to a post-colonial corporate cash crop of large multinational companies such as Nestle, Proctor and Gamble, Kraft, and Starbucks.

*“Sip a steaming brew at Starbucks, and you might associate coffee with prosperity. The image of carefree consumers enjoying \$3 lattes seems totally unrelated to that of coffee-bean farmers and workers, who live with grinding poverty, illiteracy and a long legacy of economic colonialism. But the two groups are part of an intricately related system that has existed for centuries, leaving coffee harvesters immiserated, and coffee drinkers mostly unaware to the suffering that goes into making their beverage.”* (James, 2002).

Coffee producers as other agricultural workers in developing countries have been often kept in a cycle of poverty and debt due to the global economic system of coffee that require free trade and cheap labour in order to keep consumer prices affordable. For example, the “disempowerment which are currently experienced by marginalised coffee workers and producers” in Nicaragua might not be reflected in the Nicaragua coffee consumed in Starbucks coffee shops in the US (Macdonald, 2007, p. 794). The rules for trade between the tropical developing countries where coffee is produced and temperate developed countries, where coffee is mostly consumed, has been unequal with “the low prices paid for agricultural products relative to the cost of imports (on a national level) or the cost of living (on a household level)”. Moreover, this unequal dynamics have “worsened significantly for the global South since the 1970s” (Jaffee, 2007, p. 11).

As a result the coffee growing has been often associated with unpaid or poorly paid labourers in the post-colonial environment. Moreover, the development of instant coffee has opened the niche for the lower quality beans of Robusta coffee to be sold in bulk to be processed by large multinational companies, while Arabica coffee has always been used for the gourmet or lifestyle brewed Third Wave coffee to maximise the profitability and societal value of coffee through “means of symbolic production” (Fischer, 2017, p. 5). Coffee-drinking institutions such as “Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA), and media such as *Roast* magazine are the ones that determine the “means of symbolic production work” by institutionalizing norms and standards for “cupping protocols, the lexicon of taste” profile and other fashionable Third Wave and Specialty coffee processes that determine its value (Fischer, 2017, p. 3). The Western market as well as its changing social norms and values (from ‘coffee as a luxury’ to ‘coffee as a necessity’ and more recently back to the more familiar older pattern of affluence for ‘coffee as a speciality’ product) continue to dictate the type of coffee that need to be grown and produced by populations in the tropical climates of Global South. Thus, the coffee consumers in the basic supermarkets or in the fashionable cafés and coffee shops in Europe and North America had often little understanding or consciousness about the international, national and local bio- and geopolitics behind the cappuccino, espresso or café latte that they drink. The same might have been true about the small- and large-scale coffee growers in the developing countries, who often had very limited awareness about the value of instant Robusta that people drink at home/work in the developed world, or about the gourmet ‘fair trade’ and ‘organic’ Third Wave or Speciality Arabica coffee that conscientious consumers prefer in their fashionable café and coffee shops in Europe, North America and Northeast Asia. Meanwhile, national and local government in the coffee-growing South, such as in the Cordillera Administrative Region in the Philippines, do not refer to any Western coffee-culture explanations in their attempts to assist the local population to improve their livelihoods. Coffee is instead limited as a context-less topic for technical education, increased investment, technology transfer and efficiency in the cash crop production system that can be economically feasible, environmentally friendly and socially acceptable.

## RESEARCH METHOD: GENEALOGY AND PROBLEMATIZATION

Genealogy is a method of research or analytical toolkit used to “articulate problems”, particularly for issues that do not have “solutions readily apparent” for underlying historic and social concerns that come with “submerged problems” in the structures of governmentality. These “submerged problems” are ontologically “lodged deep inside of us all as the historical conditions of possibility of our present ways of doing, being, and thinking.” Even if these critical methods such as genealogy, archaeology and problematization are separated from critical concepts such as governmentality, discipline and biopower, they fundamentally come from the work of Michael Foucault. Thus, “genealogy *as a method* is not so much about discipline or biopolitics as it is about a philosophic-historical inquiry into the conditions that make possible problems” of modernity such as “modern sexuality” or “modern punishment” (Koopman, 2013, pp. 1, 6) Still, the concepts that Foucault developed such as biopolitics, biopower, disciplinary power “depend in large part on his methodological ensemble (genealogy, archaeology, problematization, etc.)” (Koopman, 2013, p. 7) The importance of “philosophical-historical-anthropological-sociological readings of Foucault” and major biopolitics and biopower associated concepts discussed are central to ‘genealogy’ as a method. Furthermore, the use of this method “aligns the specific critical intervention of Foucault’s work with the themes of a much broader postmodern assault whose principal protagonists are generally claimed to (along with Foucault himself) Jean Baudrillard, Jean Francois Lyotard, Jacques Lacan, and more recently Giorgio Agamben.” Particularly, Foucault’s method of ‘genealogy’ is often aligned with ‘deconstructive genealogy’ of Derrida, who himself promoted the study of the history of ideas “despite his prominent early criticisms of Foucault.” (Koopman, 2013, pp. 9-10) Thus, the “tradition of critical theory” together with Dewey for pragmatism and Habermas for critical theory, as well as genealogists approach Foucault “as someone who developed a rich set of analytic, diagnostic, and conceptual tools that can be taken up in the present for purposes of a critical inquiry into the present”. (Koopman, 2013, pp. 11-12) Thus, the genealogy as critical problematization helps researchers “to show *how* that which is so easily taken as natural was composed into the natural-seeming thing that it is.” (Koopman, 2013, p. 129) In other words, the process of genealogy brings the “distinction between the *fact that*

our practices are contingent and the *history of how* these same practices were contingently composed.” (Koopman, 2013, p. 130)

This article attempts to problematize the historical value of coffee-drinking practice and associated symbolization through the review of the general coffee genealogy in the World history. Furthermore the article will discuss the specific case of the coffee production in the Cordillera region of the Philippines as a more localized example of historic biopolitical hierarchy and marginalization that was imposed from the outside of the region. Still there is an expectation that, despite the inherent marginalizing power relations, there is a way to improve the quality of coffee production and the quality of life for all stakeholders of coffee value chain, and particularly for coffee smallholders and their communities.

## **GENEOLOGY OF COFFEE-DRINKING: THE ORIGINS OF SYMBOLIC PRODUCTION**

The article in *New Scientist* claimed that “caffeine is the most widely consumed psychoactive substance on earth”, which is valued by “almost every human culture for its ability to perk people up and keep them awake” (Lovett, 2005). The article title suggests that coffee that contains caffeine is the ‘demon drink’ capable of manipulating the physiology and psychological or emotional state of the people. In one 6 oz (30 ml) cup of coffee there is approximately 77-150 mg of naturally occurring caffeine (Kelly, Coffee addiction: Do people consume too much caffeine, 2013). The opinion that coffee can affect human emotional state as a stimulant is not new, as from the very beginning of the known history of coffee-drinking it was considered first as a ‘religious’ drink, then transformed into a ‘social drink’, which at a time in some ‘spaces’ became known as a notorious ‘political stimulant’ for open discussion and criticism of the authorities.

Most probably the origins of coffee had come from the ancient land of Abyssinia, which is present-day Ethiopia. Ethiopian folklore tale tells us that the first coffee was drunk in the Ethiopia by the shepherd named Kaldi who used the wild *Arabica* berry to make a drink to keep him awake. The legend tells that Kaldi “discovered the joys of coffee when his

goats ate the berries and became so frisky that they danced” (Pendergrast, 2010, pp. 3-4). However, even though there is abundance of wild *Arabica* coffee grown in the west of the Great Rift Valley of Ethiopia, there is little scientific evidence about the origins of coffee consumption in that area. Ethiopians initially “brewed the leaves and berries (of coffee plant) with boiled water as a weak tea”, they also however fermented pulp of berries to make wine and mixed ground beans with “animal fat for quite energy-snack” (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 4). However, it is known that coffee spread from Islamic people of south-eastern Ethiopia to Rasulid sultanate in Arabia Felix, which is modern Yemen (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, pp. 50-51). Pendergrast suggests it happened most probably in the sixth century when “Ethiopians invaded and ruled Yemen for some fifty years” (Pendergrast, 2010, pp. 5-6). Then the coffee drinking has extended to the area around Aden, Mocha and Zabid in the beginning of fifteenth century and “by 1414 it was known in Mecca” (McHugo, 2013). The Yemenis are responsible for giving the drink a name that we still use adapted to different languages - Arabic name *qahwa*. Most references agree that the word ‘coffee’ comes from *qahwa*, which is originally used for ‘wine’. However some believe that the word ‘coffee’ has etymological origin in “(1) the Kaffa region of Ethiopia, (2) the Arab word *quwwa* (power), or (3) *kafta*, the drink made from the khat plant” (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 6).

The spread of coffee as a social drink was first spread by the followers of mystical Sufism in Islam. The drink was first used as a “medicine or religious aid”, but then transformed to a secular social drink. Most Sufi followers were hardly ever full-time ‘religious clerics’, as most people had the usual day work and at night they gathered to perform the worship rituals. “To keep awake and alert for their spiritual exercises” at night worship Sufi mystics began drinking coffee “instead of the traditional Yemeni stimulant, the leaf of the *qat* shrub” (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 6). Because most of the Sufi mystics “were not monastic hermits, but rather men of ordinary affairs”, the coffee-drinking quickly spread to other secular social and cultural affairs (Bernstein, 2008, p. 244). Later, in the end of the fifteenth century, coffee-drinking spread to Cairo “initially among Yemeni students at the al-Azhar university” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 51). The drink was still “associated with Sufis”, but the “cluster of coffee houses grew” in the surrounding area of the university



(McHugo, 2013). Thus, the coffee brew transformed from the ‘religious drink’ to the ‘social drink’ of the university students and professors.

In the sixteenth century the coffee-drinking tradition had spread quickly across Yemen to the port of Mocha and then “north via the Red Sea trade routes” to Jeddah (Bernstein, 2008, p. 245). The wealthy homes had their own coffee rooms for social interaction of family with guests, while poorer merchants, craftsmen and other common people gathered at coffeehouses. Coffeehouses were the place to socialise with friends, learn about the local news, and meet new people. In 1511 the young Mamluk governor Khair Beg al-Mimar, “a typical killjoy bureaucrat obsessed with a fear that somewhere, somehow, people were having fun” (Bernstein, 2008, pp. 245-246), learnt that coffeehouses spread some satirical verses about him (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 6). The governor most probably felt insecure and found the practice unacceptable. Thus, with the assistance of “two Persian physicians, he forbade the beverage, for both medical and moral reasons”. This prohibition of coffee consumption and coffeehouses did not stay for long due to “the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk state of Egypt in 1516-1517”. Coffee consumption was spread throughout the Ottoman Empire context because of the widespread acceptance of the socio-political institution of coffeehouses. Subsequently, the coffeehouses opened in Damascus in 1534, then in Istanbul where “Suleiman the Magnificent introduced a tax on coffee in 1554” to improve the government revenues from popular drink and to limit the socio-political aspect of coffee-drinking culture to the wealthy elites (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, pp. 51-52). Coffee as an “unsweetened liquid, occasionally flavoured with cloves, anise, or cardamom” became a part of socio-political life of men in coffeehouses and social and family life of women in the harem. Furthermore, noblewomen made sure they had a consistent supply of coffee beans in the respected families and prosperous houses to which they belonged by claiming that coffee is “an essential spousal obligation and failure to provide it constituted grounds for divorce” (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 246).

The coffeehouse was not just the place to drink coffee, but also it was “an institution in which men met together to talk, listen to poets and play games like chess and backgammon”. It was a socio-political space with particular “focus for intellectual life”,

which often was perceived as “an implicit rival to the mosque as a meeting place” (McHugo, 2013). The socio-political culture of coffeehouses was successful enough in the Ottoman Empire to be spread further to the neighbouring Persia. One of the “best-informed European observers of Safavid Persia”, the Huguenot French Jean Chardin (Richards, 2000) who later in England became Sir John Chardin in exile from persecution, provided a vivid description of the 17<sup>th</sup> century coffeehouses and their socio-political significance:

People met there to drink cordials, liqueurs or coffee, to smoke tobacco or opium during the day or in the cold of the evenings, chat, or listen to poetry. These places were full of animation and entertainment and appealed to Persians of all classes with their wide range of amusing, serious and obscene activities... Coffee was drunk, served very professionally, quickly and carefully. Strong spirits were drunks and wine. Conversations took place, for it was the place where news was discussed and where politicians criticised the government freely and without any anxiety, since the government took little interest in what the people said. Innocent games like draughts, hopscotch or chess were played. Other activities included recitations of poetry, religious exhortations or denunciations on the vanity of human life and story-telling. All were allowed to speak or listen with the greatest freedom and with good manners (Ferrier, 1996, p. 118).

Thus, coffeehouses represented not only the space to meet and socialise with family, friends or tradesmen, but also an open ‘political space’ to express one’s opinion and criticism about the authorities and engage in discussion without fear of persecution. Therefore, during 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the coffee brew had been transformed not only into the symbolic ‘social drink’, but also into the ‘political drink’ which facilitated open debate on key issues that was politicised among different classes of men in Ottoman Empire and Persia. The ‘political aspect’ of coffeehouses made some rulers suspicious; for example, Sultan Murat IV of the Ottoman Empire attempted to prohibit the coffeehouses, because he was “fearful that they might foment revolution”, but coffeehouse culture had already become continual norm of business interaction for Ottoman society and prohibition did not last for long (Bernstein, 2008, p. 246).

“Any commodity popular in Constantinople soon found its way to the rest of Europe via Venice” (Bernstein, 2008, p. 246), thus in the 17<sup>th</sup> century coffee finally spread to Europe. Coffee arrived to Europe mostly by “two routes - from the Ottoman Empire, and by sea from the original coffee port of Mocha” (McHugo, 2013). In the beginning coffee in Europe was understandably perceived with mistrust and suspicion as a ‘Muslim drink’. Moreover, Catholic theologians in Rome “like their Muslim counterparts, harboured suspicions about the brew’s moral properties” (Bernstein, 2008, pp. 246-247). Pope Clement VIII tried the exotic ‘suspicious drink’ “at the behest of his priests, who wanted him to ban it”, but contrary to the expectations, Pope happened to enjoy it (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 8). Pope Clement VIII was so pleased about this new drink that he thought “that it would be a pity to let the infidels have exclusive use of it. We shall fool Satan by baptizing it and making it a truly Christian beverage.” (Pendergrast, 2010, pp. 8-9). Thus, Pope blessed the new drink as a ‘Christian beverage’ and “spared Europe the caffeine controversy” (Bernstein, 2008, p. 247). The Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683 was to blame for introducing the coffee-drinking culture to Austro-Hungarian Empire. When the siege was broken by the Austro-Hungarians with the help of Polish Army, the Ottoman Empire “left behind not only their hope of conquering Europe”, but also the bags of coffee beans that no one in Vienna knew what to do with. Among the liberators of Vienna was Polish soldier, Franz George Kolschitzky, who “previously served as an interpreter with the Turks”. He took the bags of unwanted and suspiciously ‘foreign’ coffee beans and opened the first Viennese café (Bernstein, 2008, pp. 247-248). Over two hundred years later the famous Viennese café space would be responsible for stimulating social, economic and political discussions by some of the most influential figures of the 20<sup>th</sup> century - Hitler, Stalin, Trotsky, Freud, Jung, and Tito (Walker, 2013). The discourses started in those café led to revolutionary political changes in Russia, rise of social nationalism in Germany and two World Wars in Europe in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

While the demand for coffee was growing in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century, the supply from Yemen was still monopolised by Ottoman Empire and particularly merchants of cosmopolitan Cairo. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Muslim pilgrim Baba Budan was able to successfully smuggle the seed of coffee to Southern India, while in 1616 the Dutch were able

“to transport a tree to Holland from Aden”. Dutch later introduced coffee growing in Ceylon in 1658 and in Java in 1699, which was followed by “cultivation (of coffee) in Sumatra, Celebes, Timor, Bali and other islands in the East Indies”. As a result, the words ‘Mocha’ and ‘Java’ became closely associated with famous coffee available in the international market in 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century (Pendergrast, 2010, p. 7). Thus, the growth of demand for coffee in the Middle East and later Europe brought the necessity to introduce coffee growing in Southeast Asia.

### **PROBLEMATIZATION: COFFEE AS A ‘DEVELOPMENT PROJECT’**

The coffee trade between the Philippines and the Northern colonial administrators of Spain and later US, as in the most other coffee production interaction of the tropical colonies and Northern masters, was set as “unequal exchange”. Only in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century the discourse of ‘fair trade’ was able “to address this structural injustice” (Jaffee, 2007, p. 11). Moreover, Philippines as most other Asian coffee-growing countries such as Vietnam, India, Thailand and Indonesia in the recent history put “a greater emphasis on *robusta* (*Coffea canephora*) varieties”, which is usually sold cheaply in bulk for instant coffee production that is “less valuable than the *C. arabica* varieties typical of Latin American producers” sold for speciality coffee. The largest beneficiary of coffee industry boom in Northern Europe throughout 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century was Brazil, probably because “chocolate-drinking Spain” with its Latin American and Asian colonies was quite successful in resisting “the addictive allures of coffee” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 3).

The other successful example was Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia, what is now Indonesia. The coffee alone provided about 80% of Dutch government revenues in the colonies until 1860s. “Coffee was the key to the Dutch “Cultivation System” of obligatory deliveries” to state, while the sugar was a “loss making crop to the mid-1840s” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 9). Furthermore, Dutch colonisers comparatively to Spanish colonisers were famed in an effort to improve “tropical agronomy” and “carried out research for indigenous smallholders” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 10). Therefore, when the

coffee-leaf blight or rust caused by the *Hemileia vastatrix* fungus epidemic happened in Asia, Dutch Java coffee production was able to survive, while other production centres in Ceylon, India, and the Philippines declined in spite of “showing great promise” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 7). The fungus believed to have origins in Sri Lanka, however the victims of *Hemileia* fungus were spread as far as the Philippines and Malaya. In the Philippines particularly, the mismanagement of coffee plantations combined with “the joint ravages of a stem borer and *Hemileia* were blamed for the rapid collapse of coffee” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 104). Moreover, it allowed Latin American coffee production to “consolidate their domination of the world coffee market” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, pp. 101-102).

According to Clarence-Smith, despite the decline in coffee production after the devastating coffee-leaf blight, “the Spanish authorities introduced compulsory growing of coffee in 1881” in Luzon island. Clarence-Smith reports that some tribal groups refused to grow the new ‘compulsory’ crop, but others “enthusiastically adopted” the practice. As a result, “this remained one of the few areas where coffee flourished under American rule after 1898” in the Philippines (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 111). However the increase of the population in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century combined with the general food shortage and “rising food prices” in the volatile markets of the Spanish-American war and Independence time caused the “lands formerly devoted to coffee not only turned over to sugar, but also to maize and rice” particularly in Batangas, Philippines (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 115). Thus, Philippines coffee was not able to compete with the other “more favorably situated colony of Puerto Rico”, even in the context of the “enhanced protection on the Spanish market from 1882 to 1898”, the political instability, volatile markets combined with the local mismanagement of production and logistics caused “the collapse of Philippine exports” (Clarence-Smith & Topik, 2003, p. 117). Thus, the people of Cordilleras in the Northern Luzon of the Philippines were introduced to coffee production at a time when it was difficult to be competitive among other colonial and post-colonial coffee-growing areas in the international markets from late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Moreover, the local population of Cordilleras were minorities, who were not fully colonized during Spanish period. People in

the Cordillera had with distinct culture, ethno-linguistic identity, and socio-economic practices and were often subject to political and economic marginalisation by the post-colonial national administration of the Philippines.

Agamben (Agamben, 1998) and Parfitt (Parfitt, 2009) problematized the notions of the 'sovereignty' and 'development' as 'biopolitical project' (Foucault, 2008) in the post-colonial countries in the Global South. This can be observed in the issues of indigenous people and 'ancestral domain' rights in the Cordillera region of the Philippines. Similarly to the Agamben's dichotomy of 'good life' and 'bare life', Malayang argues that "colonization divided the Filipino population into two groups" or 'forms of living', each group with entirely "different experience of colonization" and associated administration of life or governmentality of population from birth to death. He uses the notion of "'C-Filipinos', the colonized", who were "cross-bread with colonial rulers", "co-opted by and collaborated with the colonial regime" and generally adapted the educational, religious and socio-economic governmentality of the colonial administration over indigenous life processes. While the second group, that he calls the 'I-Filipinos', "who were generally considered to be politically irrelevant", that is to say, they were excluded from the 'good life' politics. Commissioner Taft famously reported on the 'uncivilized' people of the mountains who have no modern conception of politics (Taft, 1902). The coastal areas in the lowlands of the Northern Luzon were under Spanish colonial governance, however the indigenous population of the highlands in the Cordillera mountains were "successful in repelling the punitive expeditions, especially during the 1800s" despite the Spanish colonial attempts for biopolitical control of the population. Spanish used resourceful biopolitical methods available for 16<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries colonial governmentality to control the troublesome 'head-hunting' population, such as for example, the "whole villages were put to the torch and the populations declined - especially in Benguet Province, where smallpox was deliberately introduced through infected clothing" (Prill-Brett, 1994, p. 689).

The 'I-Filipinos' were often impoverished, administered by general neglect and "economic and political marginalization", and usually lived in the geographically less accessible mountainous areas being "indigenous in their ways". Therefore the emancipation

of these 'I-Filipinos' has been associated with accepted "legitimacy of the ancestral domain claims" and the associated "rights and tenure of indigenous peoples over their ancestral domains" (Malayang III, 2001). In the land system of the independent Philippines, 'I-Filipinos' claim on land that is "not covered by official documentation, such as the highland areas occupied by indigenous groups who have not acquired legal titles" were part of the "public domain" (Prill-Brett, 1994) and, therefore, legitimate for national 'development projects' of modernization by 'C-Filipinos'. These 'development projects' were usually large infrastructural initiatives such as hydropower station with dam construction as well as more environmentally harming practices of logging, chemically intensive agriculture and mining. This legitimacy was provided by the legislating the Republic Act (RA) 8438, which stated in the Article II Section 1 that "autonomy ensures for the people of the Cordillera the right to secure for themselves their Ancestral Domain, develop their economy, promote their cultural heritage, and establish a system of self-governance within the framework of the Philippine Constitution and national sovereignty" (Casambre, 2006).

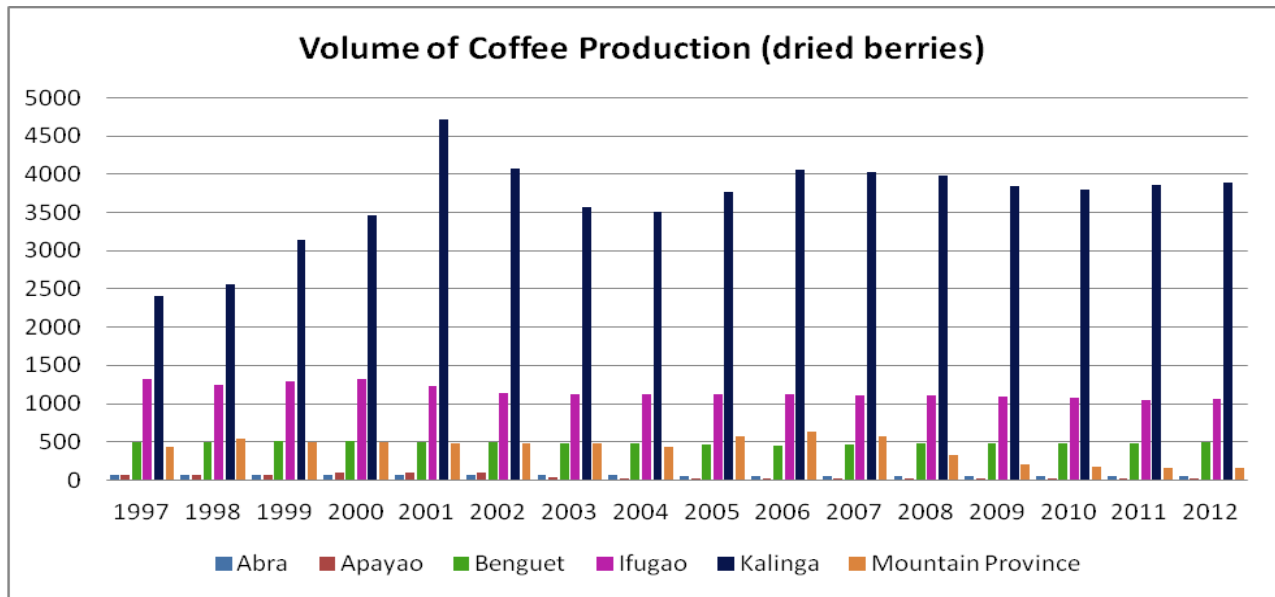
By this legislation, in theory the dichotomy of the 'I-Filipinos' and 'C-Filipinos' would overcome the unequal representation in economic, social and political development of two different 'forms of live administration'. The Cordillera minorities of the so-called 'Fourth World', who had "exploitative relations to the lands which they still inhabit and who are disenfranchised by the states within which they live", were able to legitimise their ancestral claims to land and socio-political self-determination within the national border of the state (Hyndman, 1991). However, there is still some doubts if this legal rights were operationalized into the self-governing project of 'ethno-development', that is "the development policies that are sensitive to the needs of ethnic minorities and indigenous peoples and where possible controlled by them" (Clarke, 2001). For example, the Ibaloi ethno-linguistic community of the Benguet province in Cordilleras, for example, in early 1990s were considered as not sufficiently prepared, particularly in the technical and technocratic capacities, for successful integration into the Philippine economic and political system. On the one hand, local people were often manipulated by large and more competent entities such as corporations, large government or international projects. Even the

agricultural aid is often subject to pressure from large organizations and donor governments that usually resulted in “short-time considerations (that) override a long-term approach that would address rural poverty and land inequality” through development initiatives (Manahan, 2011). On the other hand, the agricultural productivity had also decreased because of insufficient constructive interaction between the national/provincial and local indigenous governance systems (Wiber, 1991). Thus, the separation of ‘life administration’ among different ‘forms of population’ also brings the socio-cultural and economic division between the groups of population. The ‘politico-racial’ conflict may intensify as the “progress looked down on their civilization”, “technology threatened their traditions”, and “modernity infringed on their rights” (Ting Jr., 2008).

Interestingly, it is only Benguet province in the Cordillera region that produces *Arabica* coffee in large enough quantity for export production, while Kalinga, Ifugao and Mountain Province choose to produce large quantities of less delicate *Robusta* coffee for lower quality and cheaper instant coffee production (Department of Agriculture, 2018). Therefore, the production of *Robusta* coffee is already determined by the hierarchical inequalities of large-scale multinational production supply-chain system of instant coffee production that emphasizes ‘efficiency’ over ‘equity’. Furthermore, the ‘geographical accessibility’ of the space using existing infrastructure often defined the type of land use and “land-cover change” due to the particular agricultural activity in the Cordilleras (Verburg, Overmars, & Witte, 2004). The infrastructural, technical and technocratic capacities for agriculture, technology and overall knowledge transfer in the geographically more remote Kalinga, Ifugao and Mountain Provinces are not as favourable as in the Benguet Province. Therefore, the Benguet province has greater geo- and biopolitically determined opportunities for social, political, and economic benefit among other people in the Cordillera, and thus opportunities for human development (Philippine Human Development Report. Geography, Part II: Geography and Human Development in the Philippines, 2012-2013) as well as for the overall development practices under neoliberal context (Willis, 2005).

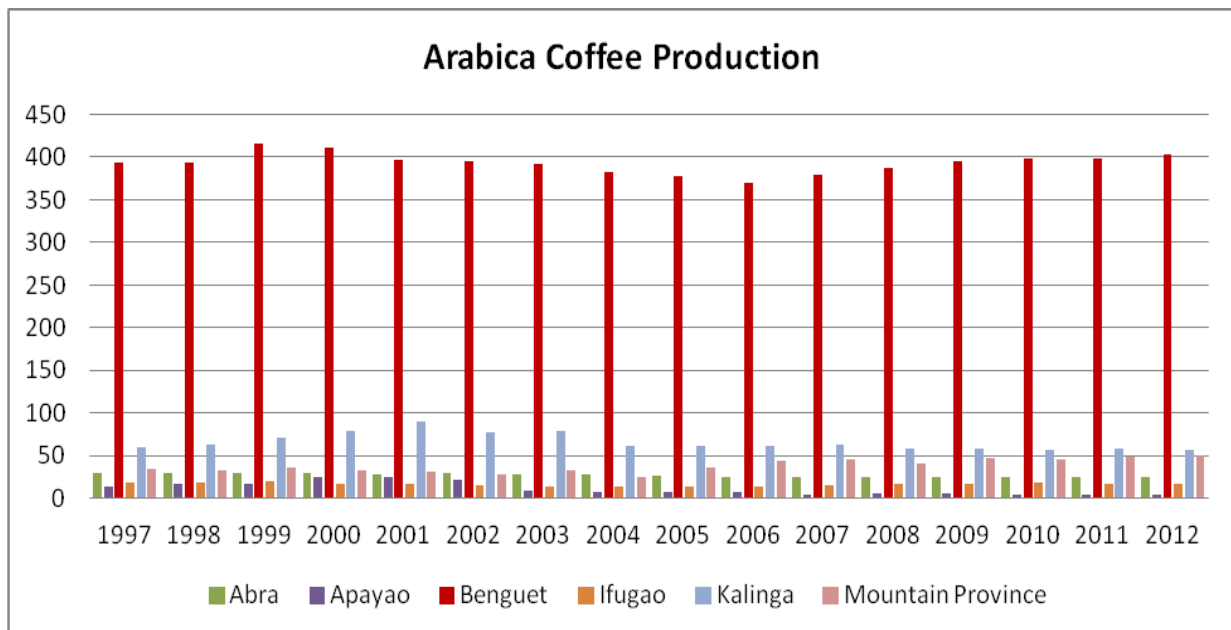


**Figure 1: Volume of Coffee Production in the Cordillera Administrative Region by Province**



Source: Department of Agriculture website <http://countrystat.bas.gov.ph/?cont=10&pageid=1&ma=A60PNVOP>

**Figure 2: Arabica Coffee Production in the Cordillera Administrative Region by Province**



Source: Department of Agriculture website <http://countrystat.bas.gov.ph/?cont=10&pageid=1&ma=A60PNVOP>

Presently there is an expectation that the symbolic value attached to the *Arabica* coffee production for more expensive gourmet speciality coffee and ethical 'fair trade' coffee might still be able to mitigate the hierarchical biopolitical differences between the consumers, processors, and growers of coffee. In the recent history of coffee as a contemporary culture, the coffee beverage went through at least Three Waves of cultural transformation. In 1960s, the acceptance of instant coffee as a consumer necessity in European and American markets started a so-called First Wave with the rise of major instant coffee brands such as Nescafe of Nestle, as well as Kraft and Douwe Egberts. The Second Wave was marked by coffee becoming more of a 'luxury' product again rather than necessity with increased quality of brewed coffee rather than instant coffee and the rise of Starbucks model of global franchises in the 1980s. The quality of coffee beans, roasting techniques and the overall quality of the coffee became more important for consumer. The Third Wave of coffee-drinking arrived in the early 2000s with "the importance of every actor in the supply chain: producer, importer, roaster, barista, and consumer." The improved quality of coffee meant the emphasis are now on (1) direct trade, (2) sustainability, (3) lighter roast profiles, (4) innovative brewing methods. The baristas and consumers are now to "chase sweetness, complexity, and distinctiveness" in different coffee profiles. And consumers are eager to pay more for that distinctiveness. Even if the categories such as 'specialty coffee' and 'Third Wave coffee' are often "used interchangeably" there is still a difference. Thus, the "Third wave is not a cup of coffee; it's a mindset" that defines the contemporary culture of coffee consumption in often independent café who also roast their own coffee and take charge of their own supply chain from tree-to-cup. However, the 'speciality coffee' the category is assigned by "the Specialty Coffee Association (SCA) [that] scores coffees on a 100-point scale." Any coffee that is higher than 60 is considered 'commercial-grade', while "at 80 points or above", the coffee is graded as 'speciality coffee'. (Guevara, 2017)

The arrival of the Third Wave coffee culture appears to highlight the dilemma that local farmers face, to choose either to be "in favour of the poor but stable conditions of subsistence production" or to willingly embrace "commercial cultivation" in the context of uneven knowledge and technology distribution (Lewis, 1992). Even though the hierarchies

of knowledge and technological capacities may still exist, there are still ethically acceptable ways to engage in the 'ethno-development' involving local coffee producers. One of the current examples was the interaction and engagement of Ibaloi and Kankanaey ethnolinguistic communities of the CAR in Arabica coffee production in partnership with small speciality coffee company, Rocky Mountain Café Inc. (Global Coffee Report, 2015). The social responsibility report of the Rocky Mountain Café Inc. stated that the company is "to help the Ibaloi and Kankanaey coffee farmers in Benguet to help themselves", in line with the ethical goals of gourmet speciality coffee production. Social responsibility activities of the company have supposedly been beneficial for both the operations of industrial coffee production and the positive biopolitical interaction with the coffee-growing communities. The farmers and their families in the community could have received educational, health, emergency, farmers' training, gender equality, cooperative development, and promotion of indigenous culture support from the company (Rocky Mountain Café Inc., 2010). However, the company eventually focused on large-scale production to ensure profitability rather than on maintaining positive social relations with its original production base. "Rocky Mountain has been investing in the development of 10 new 100-hectare plantations across the Philippines to boost its production capacity to 1.5 million kilograms of organic coffee annually, a move that will make it the largest coffee producer in the Philippines", mostly in Mindanao Island in the South of the Philippines (Global Coffee Report, 2015). Thus, the company moved away from supporting small-holder production of coffee to more large-scale 'plantation model' of development, which unfortunately disrupts the traditional social order in the communities by introducing new biopolitical hierarchies. In the top-down development of 'plantation model', "coffee farmers sell coffee cherries to either farmer cooperatives or individual private processors". In contrast, 'specialty coffee' is often processed in the facilities "owned by either cooperatives or private processors but the majority of processing plants are owned by individual processors". In many cases the processing equipment is owned by the speciality coffee company that carries the brand, not by the cooperative or farmers community that grows this coffee. However, even the cooperative structure of coffee processing, sale and distribution still does not always guarantee higher income for coffee growers. For example, the research results in coffee production in Rwanda show "no

indication that farmers who sell to cooperative factories get more benefits than farmers selling to private processing plants”. (Murekezi, Jin, & Loveridge, 2012) The fair trade market prefers to have cooperatives in charge of the coffee processing rather than private processors. However in both cases, farmers “sell raw coffee “as unprocessed berries and don’t have capacities to process their own harvest until more easily stored and transportable green beans. Thus, the future of coffee culture seems to be at the tree-to-cup or soil-to-cup model of production where farmers themselves are capable of managing processing, sale and distribution of their own coffee as directly to consumers as practically possible.

The biopolitical narrative in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) has recently shifted and reflects a growing awareness of Third Wave values, although these changes are relatively minor when compared to the influences of industrial-scale coffee production and processing. The primary concerns were to inform smallholder farmers of the value of their crop and to give them the option to produce specialty-grade coffee. The Benguet State University (BSU) in Benguet province runs the Institute of Highland Farming Systems and Agroforestry (IHFS), which not only publishes a research journal on agricultural production but also maintains a coffee demonstration farm and free-of-charge training programs for coffee start-up businesses and existing coffee farms. The Cordillera Green Network is a non-government organization located in Baguio City but also works throughout the CAR and promoting shaded coffee growing among small holder farmers as part of environmental advocacy, sustainable agriculture and community reforestation. Their vision is “totally empowered communities enjoying the abundance of nature” and the mission is “to help transform communities in the Cordillera into models of sustainable natural resource management.” Mariko Sorimachi, current President and Executive Director of the Cordillera Green Network established and registered this non-governmental organization in 2001, and since then has successfully completed a number of development projects to educate, motivate and support local farmers to grow Arabica coffee and learn how to process it to improve the quality and by that acceptability at the international specialty coffee market in Japan. (Cordillera Green Network, 2018). The growth, processing and sale of specialty gourmet *Arabica* coffee by farmers directly to independent coffee roasters and café baristas is another

approach towards “social justice” and “fair trade” discourse of alternative market structure and international social movement at the same time “mainly between disadvantaged farmers in the global South and concerned consumers in the North” (Jaffee, 2007). In bottom-up ‘development’ model, coffee is processed by the farmers themselves and sold directly to consumers. The contemporary example of emancipation of Arabica coffee growers from Benguet in the CAR is Atok Kape cooperative whose manager, Oliver Oliem, won the first place in the Arabica category at the Philippine Coffee Quality Competition in 2018. Even the theme of the 2018 Third Philippine Coffee Conference (PCC) - “Growing and Brewing Together” shows “the need of a union of all coffee players, guided by the Philippine Coffee Road Map” held on March 20-21 2018 at the Hotel Supreme in Baguio City). The PCC is a “collaborative effort between the Department of Agriculture (DA) and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)”, however this year “the adhoc Philippine Coffee Council debuts” to represent the private sector of Philippine coffee industry. (Department of Agriculture, Cordillera Administrative Region, 2018)

## **CONCLUSION**

The genealogy of coffee-drinking as religious then social and finally political activity shows that the socially accepted norm of coffee consumption associated with the culture of café and coffee shops in the local urban environment has a complex history with multicultural connection. The production of coffee was also associated with the interaction between the colonial governance systems and administrations of the Global North with the marginalized rural populations in the Global South. Therefore, the biopolitical interaction was unequal from the very beginning of coffee production in Asia and Latin America. Even though the governance of coffee-related consumption as well as production is often determined by local contextual issues of society, politics, economics as well as governance systems, the unintended effects have always spilled beyond the community borders. In the Philippines, the combination of the specific production and consumption practices have emphasised ethno-linguistic and class distinctions, even if coffee itself is generally perceived as a

‘democratic’ classless drink. It remains to be seen whether the local government units in the Arabica-growing areas in the Cordilleras can support the local farmers to overcome the geo- and biopolitical hierarchies of coffee production and consumption, or whether the local farmers would be able to develop capacities for egalitarian soil-to-cup or tree-to-cup coffee operations and link their production directly to the consumers in the Global North. Similarly, there is expectation that consumers as well as roasters and café baristas of the Global North will have more knowledge and understanding of the rural communities socio-economic contexts where coffee grows in the Global South. And for all lovers of coffee along the value chain there is a hope to bring more cosmopolitan notion of coffee that improves connectivity and communication among populations rather than divisive hierarchical biopolitics driven by profit or symbolism of race, ethnicity, and other exclusive marginalizing power relations in the World.

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