



Typhoon Haiyan destroyed 33 million coconut trees. They will take seven years, on average, to re-grow and bear fruit. Photo: Oxfam

REBUILDING BETTER FOR COCONUT FARMERS

Post-Haiyan reconstruction in the Philippines

Typhoon Haiyan damaged or destroyed more than 33 million coconut trees in the Philippines in November 2013, putting at risk the livelihoods of more than one million farming households. The recovery presents an opportunity for the government to break the cycle of poverty and disaster impacts endured by so many coconut farmers. This paper summarizes the key results of consultations in affected provinces and sets out the challenges that the government's rehabilitation and recovery plans must address, to ensure they inclusive, participatory and improve the lives of poor farmers.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The most powerful storm ever to hit the Philippines, Typhoon Haiyan (known locally as Typhoon Yolanda) has affected about 16 million people.¹ Four million people have been displaced; the majority of them are fisherfolk, and small-scale farmers and farm workers.

The coconut sector is the second most important agricultural sector in the Philippines in terms of planted area, number of dependents, and share of agricultural exports. In the Eastern Visayas region, where Typhoon Haiyan caused the most devastation, an estimated 33 million coconut trees, across 295,191 hectares of land, have been damaged,² putting at risk the livelihoods of more than one million farming households.

Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY) – the Philippine government's master plan for the massive recovery programme – has allotted about PhP18.7bn (\$416.5m) for the rehabilitation of the agriculture sector, which includes crops, livestock and fisheries.³

Despite positive government pronouncements on the need for an inclusive and consultative rehabilitation process, there is still a lack of clear mechanisms to ensure affected communities, especially women and men coconut farmers, can effectively participate in rehabilitation and recovery of their livelihoods. Their perspectives need to be integrated in RAY so that recovery and reconstruction is underpinned and sustained by local expertise, involvement and support.

In this context, the Fair Trade Alliance (FTA), Kalipunan ng Maliliit na Magniniyog sa Pilipinas (KAMMPIL), the Philippine Alliance of Ex-Seminarians (PAX) and Oxfam organized municipal consultations in December 2013 in the provinces of Eastern Samar and Leyte to help assess the recovery and rehabilitation needs of people in the coconut sector.

Key issues that came out of the consultations include concerns around land rights, as well as short-term assistance for food security and livelihoods, including:

- Lack of clarity on the arrangements between tenants and landowners for sharing the costs and proceeds from clearing and selling fallen coconut trees. This is hampering farm clearing activities;
- An immediate need for clearing fallen trees to avert the risk of pest infestation and so that land can be prepared for planting vegetables and fast-growing crops, as well as for replanting coconuts. To date, farmers have not received enough equipment to clear the debris and/or transform fallen trees into lumber.

Obstacles and delays in implementing official land redistribution initiatives and in ensuring coconut farmers have access to appropriate assets and opportunities have contributed to entrenched poverty and vulnerability to disasters. Most farmers still don't own the land that they till. Their voices have remained unheard in decisions around investments

in the coconut industry, as well as in national programmes and budgets affecting their livelihoods.

Similarly, women in the coconut industry remain unrecognized in relevant government data, even though they are very much engaged in tending the farms. This prevents any effective analysis of their needs. Women farmers plant and manage small coconut farms; they deal with traders and markets, and are active members of local community organizations. Yet they remain invisible in government statistics, plans and budgets,⁴ reducing the effectiveness of the recovery and longer term development.

This situation must change. The post-Haiyan rehabilitation process presents an opportunity for the government to break the cycle of poverty and improve disaster resilience.

The Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap, which has yet to be approved, outlines four strategic areas of reform required to provide much-needed redevelopment of the coconut industry: fast-tracking agrarian reform, institutionalizing social protection initiatives for coconut farmers and workers, developing inclusive agro-enterprises to diversify coconut-based value chains, and undertaking institutional reform that will strengthen local coconut industry planning and ensure that national policies support the coconut industry.

In addition, women and men coconut farmers must be an integral part of the planning and implementation of reconstruction programmes. These programmes, in turn, must not rebuild the coconut industry as before, but significantly improve the lives and resilience of coconut farmers in one of the world's most disaster-prone countries. One potential resource to support the recovery and increased resilience of poor coconut farmers is the PhP58bn (\$1.3bn) coco levy held by the National Treasury, which remains untapped.

The Philippine government can take a number of practical steps to begin this process. It should:

- Immediately create a policy guideline that will clarify the cost and proceeds sharing arrangements between land owners and farmer-tenants for debris clearing activities, ensuring at least two-thirds of the profits go to the farmer-tenants;
- Fast track the distribution of chainsaws, slicers and sawmills to local government units in Haiyan-affected areas, and ensure immediate funding for related fuel and maintenance costs and the provision of training and skilled personnel;
- Provide seeds and other inputs to enable women and men farmers to grow vegetables as an emergency food and income activity.

Furthermore, the national government should:

- Resolve strategic issues in land rights and agrarian reform by fast tracking the acquisition and redistribution of coconut land in affected regions and the provision of essential support services as mandated by the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme (CARPER);

- Approve and implement the Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap, and harmonize its implementation with RAY, the Philippine Coconut Association (PCA) coconut industry recovery and rehabilitation plan, and the Coco Industry Development Trust Fund;
- Declare the PhP58bn (\$1.3bn) coco levy currently in deposit at the National Treasury as a Development Trust Fund and make its proceeds available to implement the Roadmap in coconut areas devastated by Typhoon Haiyan;
- Ensure that voices of small-scale coconut farmers, particularly women, are adequately represented and considered in rehabilitation efforts, by establishing Local Coconut Industry Development Councils as platforms for participatory and consultative engagement;
- Include women coconut farmers in the Department of Agriculture's Registry of the Basic Sector in Agriculture, so that both the recovery and longer term development reflect their roles and needs.

1 INTRODUCTION

The most severe storm to make landfall since records began, Typhoon Haiyan (known locally as Typhoon Yolanda) has caused destruction on a vast scale. Four million people have been displaced and more than 8,000 are estimated to have died.⁵ Approximately 2.5 million people⁶ will require direct assistance to rebuild their homes and livelihoods, though latest reports from humanitarian organizations put the number much higher. The majority of those affected are fisherfolk, and small-scale farmers and farm workers – many of whom work in the coconut industry.

On 18 December 2013, the Philippines government launched **Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)** – its master plan for the massive reconstruction and rehabilitation programme, which is the basis for the mobilization of support, including from multilateral and bilateral agencies. Of the PhP360.9bn (\$8bn) needed, around PhP18.7bn (\$416.5m) is allocated for the rehabilitation of the agricultural sector, which includes crops, livestock, and fisheries.⁷

Despite a number of positive statements by the government supporting an inclusive and consultative rehabilitation process, this has yet to be put into practice. Affected communities, especially women and men coconut farmers, are currently unable to effectively participate in the rehabilitation and recovery of their livelihoods. Their perspectives need to be integrated into RAY.

The Fair Trade Alliance (FTA), Kalipunan ng Maliliit na Magniniyog sa Pilipinas (KAMMPIL), the Philippine Alliance of Ex-Seminarians (PAX) and Oxfam organized municipal consultations in December 2013 in the provinces of Eastern Samar and Leyte to help assess the recovery and rehabilitation needs of people in the coconut market sector after Typhoon Haiyan. The consultations mobilized the participation of more than 186 individuals (46 per cent were women, including a number of local traders) from 17 municipalities in the two provinces.

This paper summarizes the key results from the consultations, to help inform the government's reconstruction strategy, as well as the more comprehensive Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap that the Philippines government is set to roll out. The paper also discusses the underlying policies and programme contexts in which current coconut sector rehabilitation efforts operate.

2 CONSULTATION RESULTS

THE POVERTY CONTEXT

Participants in the consultations raised concerns about their levels of poverty. Next to households dependent on fisheries, families dependent on coconut production are the second poorest sector in the Philippines.

Around 3.5 million individuals are directly dependent on coconut production.⁸ These include small-scale farmers, tenants, farm workers and their families. Even before Typhoon Haiyan, coconut farmers and farm workers earned an average of one dollar a day throughout the year.⁹

Among the participants in the consultations were coconut farmers from the local district (or *barangay*) of Kalinawan in the municipality of Jaro, Leyte, which lies 1.5 kilometres inland from the national highway. A typical coconut-dependent community, Barangay Kalinawan, has 248 households. Before Typhoon Haiyan, their livelihoods had relied on the production of copra (a coconut by-product used as raw material for a variety of products) and *tuba* (native wine). The majority are farm labourers. They could earn an average of PhP150 a day (\$3) during the copra season, which happens at intervals of 45 days and lasts up to 10 days. In the periods between copra seasons they could earn up to PhP40 a day (less than a dollar) by harvesting *tuba* and tending to the water buffalos of landowners and tenants.¹

'We are poor and coconut production is the only life we have known.'

Estela Calabia, coconut farmer, Barangay Santa Cruz, Jaro, Leyte.

Trying to rebuild lives amidst devastation



In Barangay Bislig, Tanauan, Leyte, felled coconut trees remain scattered and litter the coastal area. Baby Castaneda, a barangay official of Bislig, and a coconut farmer, said: 'We have not finished clearing up the coconut debris because we could not afford renting a chainsaw. Cutting one coconut tree will cost us PhP1,000 for the chainsaw rent, labour and fuel. Where would we get the money? We have lost everything'.

Women form a significant part of the coconut labour force. In the consultations, women participants described the various jobs they do in the different value chains. For example, they break the nuts, spread the copra for drying, cut and bag the dried copra, negotiate with middlemen, and make vinegar and *tuba*. Aside from these various economic roles in the coconut value chain, they also manage the family livestock and tend to vegetable gardens. These tasks are in addition to their domestic and care work: food preparation, washing clothes, cleaning the house, taking care of small children, etc.

Although there has been some significant progress in the perception and acceptance of women's decision making and asset ownership roles,¹⁰ a lot of changes still need to be made to the way women are stereotyped. One example is the story of Charita Trota, a widow of four years, who said that many coconut farmers who used to sell copra to her husband refused to deal with her 'because I am a woman'.¹¹ The lack of recognition for women as coconut farmers is reflected in the absence of women in official government data, which deprives them of potential economic opportunities in the coconut industry.

Years of labour selling copra at PhP13–18 per kg. (\$0.30-0.40) or nuts at PhP5–9 per nut (\$0.11-0.20)¹² have only succeeded in perpetuating their poverty and suffering. Decades of *tersyuhan*¹³ have kept tenants in a bonded relationship with landowners, while nine years of tax collection (1972 to 1982) from copra farmers during the Martial Law period to establish the coconut levy fund – ostensibly to modernize the industry – have failed to improve their condition and only added to their burden.

The farmers' livelihoods were wiped out by Typhoon Haiyan, leaving them not only miserable, but destitute. The delivery of emergency food relief and other assistance has varied in volume and regularity. Participants in the consultations claim that some barangays receive emergency food packs twice a week, others once a week, while there are barangays – especially in the remote interior or upland – which have yet to receive any kind of emergency assistance. However, the affected population remains resilient. Even before any kind of emergency response arrived, the participants said that they had started collecting fallen nuts to sell later; salvaged from their vegetable farms whatever they could use for planting materials; and gathered whatever they could use to build temporary shelters.

LIVELIHOOD ASSISTANCE NEEDS

Participants in the consultations identified the kind of assistance they needed and how they could best make use of it. For example, they could grow vegetables as an emergency food and income source and cultivate three-month crops such as corn (maize). However, they would need assistance in terms of seeds and other inputs.

Similarly, they are ready to participate in a re-planting programme to

revive coconut production and the local supply chains. They welcomed the idea of participating in innovative supply chains based on higher value-added coconut products, such as white copra, coconut water, coir, coco peat, and activated carbon. Participants also welcomed farm enterprise models based on coconut and livestock.¹⁴

The initial intervention plan resulting from the consultations has three stages:

- Short-term assistance for food security and livelihoods was proposed for implementation from January to March 2014, revolving around the cultivation of short gestation crops, such as vegetables (one month) and corn (three months);
- Stage one: 're-growing local economies', to last for one year from March 2014, focused on the introduction of other permanent crops that can be grown alongside the replanting of coconut trees (e.g. native banana and cassava) and which must be based on technically sound, socially acceptable, and financially feasible farm plans and supply chain models;
- Stage two: 'farm enterprise development', to increase the capacity for local value-adding activities. This period is proposed to start at the beginning of the second year of the intervention plan.¹⁵

Small-scale livestock production and off-farm livelihood activities (e.g. carpentry and woodwork) were also presented as options by the participants of the consultations, and are key to addressing the specific situation of land-poor farm workers.

However, these plans will not take off unless the large amount of debris that litters the farms is cleared. The Philippine Coconut Association (PCA) recovery and rehabilitation plan cannot be immediately implemented, even with the release of PhP2.8bn (\$62mn) by the national government, due to the lack of legal guidelines for the cutting, clearing, and disposal of felled and damaged coconut trees that would satisfy the legal rights of landowners, tenants and other beneficiaries.

On 21 December 2013, the Regional Manager of the PCA promised participants in the consultation in Palo, Leyte, that 300 chainsaws would be made available for debris clearing operations. To date, this promise is yet to be fulfilled.¹⁶

As one participant in the consultation noted, *'Hindi kami makapag-umpisa ng kahit anong re-planting dahil kailangan munang makuha ang pahintulot ng may-ari ng lupa para sa hatian ng gastos at bentahan ng mga dapat putuling puno ng niyog. Ngunit hindi madaling maka-usap ang may-ari dahil umalis sila pagkatapos ng Yolanda.'*

[*'We cannot start replanting because we need to get the landowner's permission for the share in expenses in cutting and selling felled coconut trees. But it is not easy to speak to the landowner because they left after Yolanda.'*]

3 LONG-TERM RECOVERY AND REHABILITATION: WHAT IS NEEDED?

The government has a key role to play in shaping not only the vision, but the system, to ensure that rebuilding better lifts poor coconut farmers out of poverty. Existing policies need to be implemented, and consolidated so that recovery and rehabilitation activities by government, non-government organizations and the private sector better support poor men and women coconut farmers.

For example, the battle over the coco levy fund shows how an unjust system perpetuates the violation of the rights of already impoverished people. During the martial law years, coconut farmers were taxed to establish the coconut levy fund.¹⁷ The money was used to establish or buy several major enterprises with the aim of modernizing the industry and making the manufacture and export of coconut products more efficient. Many of these enterprises still operate today.

The coco levy failed to achieve its declared developmental and social goals, as evidenced by the current situation of the coconut industry and by the cycle of poverty that has continued to define the everyday lives of farming households in the coconut sector. Today, the coco levy fund amounts to over PhP200bn (\$4.4bn),¹⁸ with PhP58bn (\$1.3bn) deposited in the National Treasury after having been declared a public fund by the Supreme Court.

Several advocates and groups have proposed the establishment of a Coconut Industry Development Trust Fund, which would use the proceeds of the trust fund to implement projects under the framework and criteria of the Coconut Roadmap's 'four major components' (whether the Roadmap gets Presidential approval or not): agro-enterprise development, fast tracking of agrarian reform, social protection, and institutional reforms.

Prior to Typhoon Haiyan, numerous policy initiatives were set out to benefit millions of small-scale coconut farmers and farm workers across the country and fund the development of the coconut industry. The reconstruction process offers an opportunity to turn these policies into reality:

- The **Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap** (or simply the Roadmap) sets a strategic plan for the inclusive development and growth of the coconut industry. One of its key objectives is to make sure that coconut farmers benefit equitably from the supply chains that will be established based on innovative and higher value-added commercial products, (e.g. white copra, coconut water, coir, coconut peat and activated carbon). It is the product of multi-stakeholder consultations initiated by the government. The proposal was endorsed in September 2013 and is awaiting the President's approval.

- The **Local Coconut Industry Development Council (LCIDC)**, (created via DILG Memorandum Circular 2012-67) provides a participatory platform for the development of local coconut industries. It is issued by the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) to local government units (LGUs). The LCIDC is tasked with generating, proposing, and initiating policies and programmes for the development of the coconut industry in the municipalities concerned. Under the memorandum, small-scale coconut farmers, farm workers, and women must be adequately represented in the LCIDC. However, only a few local executives are aware of this memorandum, and some mayors are resisting its implementation. Only very few municipalities so far have created their respective LCIDCs, a fact accepted by the PCA.
- **Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Programme with Extension and Reform (CARPER), R.A. 9700:**¹⁹ The Department of Agrarian Reform (DAR) has targeted the acquisition of private coconut land that is larger than five hectares (the legal retention limit), which will then be redistributed to agrarian reform beneficiaries as defined under R.A. 6657 and 9700. According to the DAR, out of the total remaining target of 104,206 hectares for land acquisition and distribution (LAD), 12 per cent are in areas hit by Haiyan.²⁰ Leyte has the biggest amount of land waiting to be redistributed (at 44,278 hectares) amongst the typhoon-hit provinces and 61 per cent of these are planted with coconut trees.²¹ Under CARPER, crops and all other assets on lands yet to be placed under LAD remain the property of the landowner. Specifically in coconut areas, the law prohibits the cutting, disposal or harvesting of coconut trees without the express consent of the landowner. There is an absence of policy guidelines on cutting and disposing of coconut timber in tenanted areas.
- The **National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act (NDRRMA), R.A. 10121:** Under Section 6, 'Declaration of the State of Calamity,' public funds can be made available immediately for LGUs and agencies to deliver life-saving and other humanitarian assistance, as well as post-disaster rehabilitation assistance to the affected population. Section 6 however is silent about how to proceed with the best use of calamity funds in the context of mass debris on tenanted or leased farms (where a written contract between the small leaseholder and the landowner is absent, as is the norm in rural areas) which needs to be cleared before any recovery intervention in the farming sector can be implemented.

4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the consultations, coconut farmers and other stakeholders outlined the following recommendations.

The government should immediately:

- **Create a policy guideline to clarify the cost and proceeds sharing arrangements between land owners and farmer-tenants or lessees for debris-clearing activities²² and rehabilitation efforts** from tenanted coconut land that has still to be distributed under CARPER, ensuring at least two-thirds of the profits go to the farmer-tenants.
- **Fast-track the distribution of chainsaws, slicers and sawmills to LGUs in areas affected by Haiyan** and pursue the option of directly distributing chainsaws and providing fuel to agrarian reform communities (ARCs) in coconut areas where there are trained operators, making sure that the proper regulation and control of chainsaws is in place.
- **Provide assistance in terms of seeds and other inputs to enable women and men farmers to grow vegetables as an emergency food and income activity, and monitor the food security situation in order to assess the need for further interventions.** Provide access to similar kinds of assistance for the cultivation of three-month crops such as corn. Technical assistance should also be made readily accessible to women and men farmers to help them to grow new and locally adaptable coconut varieties and other high-value crops, poultry and livestock; as well as ensuring the timely monitoring of the local food security situation, as this continues to evolve, by the relevant LGUs.

Furthermore:

- **Fast-track the implementation of LAD and ensure delivery of essential support services as outlined in CARPER.** Consistent with the spirit of the CARPER Law, the rights of rural women to own and control land and to equal support services should be ensured. Security in land tenure for small-scale farmers needs to be established as one of the pillars of rehabilitation and to ensure a pro-poor modernization of the coconut industry.
- **The President should sign and approve the Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap** as the official industry document to benefit the 3.5 million farmers dependent on the coconut industry, taking into consideration the new context and demands to build and develop an inclusive coconut industry in the Haiyan-affected regions: Eastern Samar, Leyte, Northern Cebu, Biliran, Northern Negros, Panay, Mindoro, Masbate, and Palawan.
- Through an Executive Order by the President, **declare the PhP58bn (\$1.3bn) coco levy fund** currently in deposit at the National Treasury as a **Development Trust Fund** and make its interest-earning

proceeds available to implement the Roadmap in coconut areas devastated by Typhoon Haiyan. However, with or without the proceeds from the coco levy funds, the Roadmap and RAY have to be sufficiently resourced with funds, skilled and reliable staff, and mechanisms for implementation.

- **Harmonize the implementation of the Roadmap, RAY, the PCA coconut industry recovery and rehabilitation plan, and the Coco Industry Development Trust Fund** through a system of inclusive consultation with all of the industry players and stakeholders, as well as through a system of parallel and independent monitoring and reporting of its relevant programs and projects.
- **Establish Local Coconut Industry Development Councils** as the basic consultative, planning, and monitoring body at the municipal level, making sure that small-scale farmers, farm workers, especially women, are adequately represented together with the other players in the local coconut market system. To do this, the Registry of the Basic Sector in Agriculture, implemented by the Department of Agriculture, must recognize women as coconut farmers.
- **Order a review of Section 6, ‘Declaration of the State of Calamity’, under R.A. 10121 and key provisions of its implementing rules and regulations, specifically Rules 12 and 13, for possible amendments to improve and make more efficient the delivery of emergency humanitarian assistance and post-disaster recovery and rehabilitation interventions.** This is particularly important with regard to settling and harmonising potentially competing legal claims between tenants or leaseholders and landowners in the proper disposal and use of damaged farm assets, and access to loans and grants for affected communities. This is needed in the light of the existing policy gap that administratively hinders the cutting, disposal, and use of felled and damaged coconut trees.

NOTES

- ¹ Rappler.com, "PH Needs P361B for Post-Yolanda Rehab," 19 December 2013, quoting various official sources including the World Bank. FTA in its validation report dated 16 January 2014 of the series of consultations states that 3.4 million families, or 16 million individuals, have been affected by Typhoon Yolanda.
- ² Philippine Coconut Authority (PCA) Region 8, Typhoon Yolanda coconut damage report, Elmer Abonales, Regional Technical Staff, 26 November 2013.
- ³ Government of Philippines Official Gazette, "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda", 18 December 2013, <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2013/12dec/20131216-RAY.pdf>
- ⁴ A case in point is the gender statistics in agriculture by the NSCB, which only include gender-disaggregated data for rice and corn farming communities, and those engaged in high value commercial crops. <http://www.nscb.gov.ph/ru5/genderstats/agriculture.html>
- ⁵ Rappler.com, *op. cit.* The FTA reported 6,201 dead and 1,785 missing, *op.cit.*
- ⁶ Rappler.com, *op. cit.* FTA reported damages to 1.14 million houses, *op. cit.*
- ⁷ Government of Philippines Official Gazette, "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda", 18 December 2013, <http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2013/12dec/20131216-RAY.pdf>
- ⁸ Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap, Draft, September 2013, page 2.
- ⁹ The NSCB in 2007 placed at 41 Pesos the average daily earning of small-scale coconut farmers as cited in the Integrated Coconut Industry and Poverty Reduction Roadmap, *op. cit.*
- ¹⁰ For example, under the CARPER and its LAD implementing guidelines, the Certificate of Land Ownership Titles is issued in the names of both spouses. The consultations in Samar and Leyte also revealed that the women in the coconut farming sector have become much more active and visible as leaders in community organizations.
- ¹¹ Author's notes of the women's break-out group session, Jaro Consultation, Leyte, 23 December 2013.
- ¹² Data shared by the coconut farmers who were interviewed by the author, 21–23 December 2013, during the series of consultations.
- ¹³ *Tersyuhan* is the traditional sharing system between tenant farmers and landowners, wherein income from the sale of copra is divided with 1/3 going to the former and 2/3 to the latter. A campaign in the 1980s by militant farmers' organizations for *tersyuhang baliklad*, i.e., reversing the distribution of income from harvest with the bigger share going to the small farmer, became part of the long national marches (*lakbayan*) in the Philippines that were organized in 1984, 1986, and 1987 to demand agrarian reform.
- ¹⁴ Results of the consultations have informed the first concept paper, 'Strategic Framework and Intervention Concepts'. A copy of the draft was sent to Oxfam sa Pilipinas and its partners (FTA, KAMMPIL) on 28 December 2013 for use in the validation meeting which was held on 16 January 2014.
- ¹⁵ Strategic Framework and Intervention Concepts, *op. cit.* The concept paper proposes a programmed approach to emergency food security and livelihoods (EFSL) farm production phase (January – March 2014) and building towards the 're-growing stage' which will be from March until end of December 2014 'and beyond' which will be the re-planting stage using the most adaptable coconut varieties under local growing conditions.
- ¹⁶ As of January 16th, only two of the promised 300 chainsaws from the PCA have been received by the groups in Leyte. Mars Mendoza, FTA, wrote an email about municipal mayors from Eastern Samar who sought an audience with PCA General Manager Forbes to complain about not receiving a single chainsaw when the PCA has already announced publicly on January 12th the release of 2.8 billion pesos for coconut rehabilitation. As of 11 February, FTA confirmed no further chainsaws had been received by groups in Leyte from PCA.
- ¹⁷ The coco levy fund was established during the early years of Martial Law by Presidential Decree (PD 276). By the decree, the government collected 15 pesos from the coconut farmers for every 100 kilograms of copra sold. Previous to this, in 1971, the government already collected 55 centavos for every 100 kilograms of copra sold as mandated by Republic Act 6260 which instituted a Coconut Investment Fund and the Creation of a Coconut Investment Company.
- ¹⁸ Sources: former Congressman and ex-PCA Director General Oscar Santos, former Senator Wigberto Tanada, and various advocacy groups such as COIR, Sentro Saka,

Alyansa Agrikultura, KAMMPIL, and FTA.

- ¹⁹ Amending R.S. 6657, otherwise known as the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law (CARL) of 1988.
- ²⁰ Statement of DAR representative during the PCA sponsored consultation on coconut rehabilitation program, 10 December 2013.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² Includes cutting and clearing felled and damaged coconut trees.

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For further information on the issues raised in this paper please e-mail advocacy@oxfaminternational.org

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