Storying Emotional Geographies among dispossessed Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners

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Abstract

The practices of local communities are shaped by stories of relation with the environment and resource access. The paper looks at emotions to provide an alternative perspective on the experiences of land and resource marginalization among the Ibaloi and Kankanaey small-scale gold miners in Itogon, Benguet. Emotions are not often given emphasis in studies although these are powerful indicators of how bodies subjected to precarious work bring about sentiments of fear, uncertainty, anger and conflicted emotions of guilt. This paper aims to contribute to the investigation of emotional geographies to illuminate economic relations that perpetuate dispossession and inequalities. It reframes the current involvement of indigenous miners in subcontract mining as a story of survivance amidst various forms of dispossession that threaten the reproduction of indigenous relation with the land and the indigenous mining system. Dispossession takes place along with environmental degradation as lands that hold cultural significance are transformed or destroyed by corporate mining activities.

Introduction

The practices of local communities are shaped by stories of various relationalities with the environment and resource access. Oftentimes the valence of power tilts towards the powerful elite whenever land appropriation happens. When investigating the case of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey small-scale gold miners in Itogon, Benguet, marginalization and dispossession are common in areas where state-led land and resource privatization takes place at the expense of indigenous peoples' lives and livelihoods. In the gold-rich town of Itogon, the Ibaloi and Kankanaey indigenous groups have been practicing traditional gold mining, with the earliest evidence dating as far back as the 14th and 15th century (Caballero, 2004; Canilao, 2011). However, significant dispossession and alienation from their land took place when the Americans appropriated vast tracts of mineral lands held by the Ibaloi and Kankanaey for corporate mining activities. To this day, the mining patents issued in 1903 remain powerful instruments of marginalization. Under the current mining system that favors subcontracting, the Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners are subjected to precarious work in a degraded environment, and the changing landscape also threatens the survival of their indigenous culture and identity.

Marginalization, dispossession and deterritorialization have long been central in the study of the indigenous experience (Caballero, 2004; Harvey, 2003; Ocampo & Schmitz, 2022). What underlies these various transactions and negotiations are the affective stories and narratives of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey groups. This paper aims to unpack the embedded emotions entangled in the stories of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners and investigate the emotional geographies that help us understand economic relations perpetuating dispossession and inequalities1. Dispossession here pertains not only to the lack of legal access to land and resources, but also to the loss of land that holds cultural significance and the loss of safe spaces due to environmental degradation and the emergence of socio-natural hazards.

Emotions are not often given emphasis in studies although these are powerful indicators of how bodies subjected to precarious work bring about affective sentiments of fear, uncertainty, anger and conflicted emotions of guilt, such as those of miners displaced from their traditional practices and integrated into economic relations producing and reproducing inequalities that debase the land. The paper highlights

1 This paper is based on the project *Local adaptation, resilience and interpretation of socio-natural hazards and environment management in the Philippines* funded by Académie de Recherche et d'Enseignement Supérieur in Belgium.

emotional geographies as important "ground-truthing"2 that further illuminates fraught economic relations resulting in the marginalization of Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners. It reframes the current involvement of indigenous miners in subcontract mining as a story of survivance amidst various forms of dispossession threatening the reproduction of indigenous relation with the land and the indigenous mining system.

Emotions in geography

Life events, interaction among people, places and spaces elicit a range of emotions. However, emotions can be a tricky subject. Emotions are generally regarded as irrational (Wright, 2012). Emotions can be conflicted, complex, and difficult to express (Bondi, 2014; Harrison, 2007). Thus, while emotion is a spontaneous response of the body to various spatial experiences, it has been absent in social research and public life (Anderson & Smith, 2001). Many research engagements, including critical geographies, were explained through logics of power dynamics, politics, Marxist thought and human-environment relations, among others. As Anderson and Smith (2001, p. 8) suggest, geography has focused more on "visual, textual and linguistic domains." Geographers often probe the emotional attachment of people to places but it is only recently that spatiality of emotions was explored (Davidson & Milligan, 2004). According to Anderson & Smith (2001), in the "policy" turn in geography, the critiques of development policies along with the ensuing policy recommendations rarely probe emotions and thus inadvertently erase a key aspect of human experience.

Davidson and Milligan (2004) attribute the absence of emotions in academic discussions to the gendered basis of knowledge production. Emotions go against the masculinized logics of research that give premium to detachment, objectivity and rationality (Anderson & Smith, 2001; Wright, 2012). The masculine-feminine, objective-subjective, and formal-informal dichotomies placed emotion opposite reason (Wright, 2012). Emotion is treated as private and therefore does not have a space in public discourse. Expressions of strong emotions of despair and anger during interviews cause discomfort on the part of some researchers. Meanwhile, research respondents tend to "control their emotions" out of shame, if not distrust.

Bondi et al. (2016) describe the so-called "emotional turn" as marked by the explicit interest in emotion as a point of academic inquiry. Davidson & Milligan (2004) credit the increased interest in emotion to the studies of embodiment, which recognizes the body

2 The investigation, analysis, and verification of remotely obtained or inferred information with alternative onsite methods that allow direct observation.

as a close and intimate spatial scale where emotional experience and expression transpire. This does not mean that previous works in geography and other fields are devoid of emotions. For Bondi et al. (2016), emotion is embedded in how we perceive and comprehend the world. Narratives are laden with emotions, although the focus is often given to what is being articulated rather than on how these stories are being told. Thus, Anderson and Smith (2001, p. 8) urge the use of geographical knowledges to acknowledge emotions "as ways of knowing, being and doing in the broadest sense". As Davidson and Milligan (2004, p. 523) point out: "the articulation of emotion is, thus, spatially mediated in a manner that is not simply metaphorical. Our emotional relations and interactions weave through and help form the fabric of our unique personal geographies." Other than the workings of emotions at the level of the body, Ahmed (2004) argues that while emotions belong to individuals, they are not private because emotions tend to move toward others and form a collective based on shared feelings.

Emotions emanate and flow in between bodies, spaces, places, and experiences in many encounters and entanglements (Ahmed, 2004; Wright, 2012). Beyond being an individual impulsive response of the body, emotions are reactions and expressions of acquiescence and resistance, of success and failure, of comfort and struggles and anything in between of the body. Emotions can be mapped and provide a way of understanding how power relations and unequal geographies are experienced in specific sociospatial contexts. People have emotional attachments to people, places and spaces. Moreover, emotion as a key aspect of human experience drives actions that result in tangible and lasting responses. Most of the important events in history are driven by strong emotions.

Mining in many parts of the world is perceived as a necessary driver of growth despite the many controversies associated with it, especially in terms of damage to the environment and its negative impacts on local communities. The emotional aspect of the extractive sector is often overlooked as the sector has always been represented as an "economic, rational space" (Ey et al., 2017).

Characterizing development as devoid of emotion is an erroneous representation of humanity as emotions are not aberrations that get in the way of development but are rather inherent in human relations. Without emotion, development dehumanizes progress as it encourages and justifies uneven development and injustices. For example, "sacrifice zones" have been used in critical physical geography to describe polluted and degraded landscapes that have been subjected to extractive activities (Cottle, 2013; Holifield & Day, 2017; Shade, 2015). For de Souza

(2021), sacrifice zones are segregated and stigmatized spaces where people bear the brunt of such capitalism-driven activities. The idea of sacrifice extends to the well-being of the people, including mental health. The emotional turmoil of miners subjected to exploitative conditions reflects how emotions complete the narration of experiences that tend to focus on the bodily. Issues of labor conditions often talk about long work hours, health and safety implications of hazardous working environments. The perception of mining as an economic activity as one that is laborious, dirty, harsh, and male-dominated leaves little room for the expression and discussion of "soft" emotions.

In the succeeding discussion, I will focus on a few pervasive but silenced emotions associated with the impacts of the destructive and dangerous side of corporate and commercial mining. The first theme is on the effects of drastic changes on the environment that "challenges and shifts place attachment, threatening emotional links to those locations that citizens protect: home, land, water, environment, what we term 'treasured places'" (Bailey & Osborne, 2022, p. 154). Studies on grief and mourning are often linked with death. Lofland (1985) emphasizes how social arrangements shaped by culture and collective experiences impact how grief is expressed and processed. Santiago (1993) demonstrates how Filipino words reflect the complexity of grief through the use of the suffix *-hati* that implies division and core of emotion. One emerging focus in the study of grief explores the sense of loss associated with the environment. Albrecht (2005) used the neologism *solastalgia* to describe the emotional suffering of people whose homes they love and have existing connections, experienced drastic physical change and degradation. If nostalgia pertains to the emotional yearning of the past or a place once visited, *solastalgia* manifests "… an attack on one's sense of place, in the erosion of the sense of belonging (identity) to a particular place and a feeling of distress (psychological desolation) about its transformation" (Albrecht, 2005, pp. 10-11). Cunsolo and Ellis (2018) use "ecological grief" to describe the sense of loss that people experience as climate change results impact on ecosystems and landscapes.

Environmental change also results in "complex emotional terrain of disorientation and sense of security" (Pini et al, 2010). Digging deeper into environmental change, it involves not only the loss of physical space but also of the loss of underlying materialities and emotional relations among human and nonhuman that define identities and ways of life (Ey et al., 2017). This is critical because the framing of minerals as resources to be extracted for economic gains is not universal; minerals, lands, property rights, and social interactions hold more intimate meaning and value to certain groups that make environmental change a highly emotionally-charged issue (Sultana, 2011). As Kearney (2009,

p. 209) argues: "emotive narratives informed by cultural habit and experience are what connect people to their ancestors and homelands."

Other than grief and sense of loss, geographers have also focused on the geographies of fear. Lawson (2007) enumerates the numerous studies done on a myriad of threats that confront humanity: environmental disasters, ecological sustainability, physical and technological hazards, health pandemics, war and political instability, terrorism, and social injustices. Through the geographic lens, the emotion of fear is seen as produced by certain types of spaces (England & Simon, 2010). Thus, to theorize fear and its effects is a means to make sense of it and create survival strategies and hopeful alternatives (Lawson, 2007).

Kahan et al. (2007) argued that fear is tied to social status. They investigated the underlying cause of the "white male effect," or the general skepticism among white males about different threats and revealed that fear arose in activities that threaten status to the point of favoring restrictive measures to prevent such threats. Fear is subject to control and manipulation and some fears can be legitimized by dominant power structures, while the fears of the marginalized and oppressed are ignored or silenced (Shirlow & Pain, 2003).

The feelings of "pain, anger, shame and struggles" arise in the narratives of land dispossession thus presenting an opportunity to express dissent (Murrey, 2016). As Van Ingen (2011, p. 171) posits, anger is the "dominant emotional response to injustice" and one that has enabling functions. Feelings of grief, frustration, and anger are powerful unifying emotions that lead to resistance. The diminished capacity of communities to participate in decision making generates emotions that prompt activism to protect home and environment (Bailey & Osborne, 2020). Thus, the exclusion of emotions, especially the negative, suppresses their affective capacities to challenge power structures that benefit from oppression (Sharp, 2009).

Indigenous peoples, experiences, emotions

Indigenous peoples have long been central in the discussion of dispossession, exploitation, development aggression, and environmental injustice. They are often driven out of their land and livelihood spaces to give way to state-led economic activities. The use of the words "rational" and "development" in the Declaration of Policy of both the Philippine Mining Act of 1995 and the People's Small-Scale Mining Act of 1991 already implies state preference for mining projects over local livelihood systems. Displacement and marginalization are treated as necessary evils but one that can be addressed through material compensation such as payments and relocation programs. Resistance

is often met with violence. In other areas with no legal mining permits, the entry of gold rush miners and mining financiers has the same effect. The shift of access and land rights to the hands of mining corporations and non-indigenous individuals in areas hosting large- and informal small-scale mining activities make Itogon, Benguet a "sacrifice zone." The hegemonic construct of natural resources, extraction, and utilization prevails over indigenous knowledge and livelihood systems. Those relegated to the margins of mining activities are often left disappointed, frustrated, angry or with a mix of these emotions that become part of their personal and collective memories. The manifestations of marginalization, dispossession, and the integration to non-indigenous economies and the changing relationship with the land they held sacred since time immemorial are lived and sensed in everyday practice. Figure 1 shows an area in Itogon where many residents are involved in small-scale gold mining activities. The houses are built on steep slopes and the same area was also subject to mining activities. The residents are aware of the presence of mine tunnels underneath.

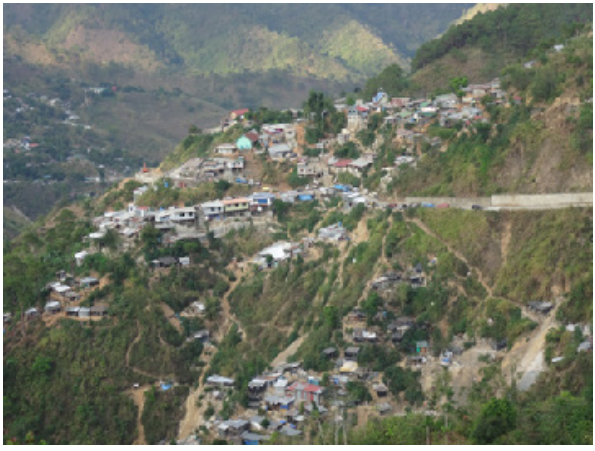

Figure 1: Itogon, Benguet

This paper is based on a survey conducted among small-scale gold miners, key informant interviews (KII), and focus group discussion (FGD) between 2016 and 2018. Consent to conduct research within their network was given by the leaders and members of the Cordillera People's Alliance (CPA). Ethical considerations were deployed in data gathering and that permission was sought and granted to use the narratives for academic purposes. Actual names were not revealed to protect the identity of the respondents. The FGD with selected Ibaloi and Kankanaey participants was conducted for two days in April 2016 with a total of 15 participants. The FGD was facilitated using

Ibaloi, Kankanaey, and Ilocano languages with the assistance of local facilitators but transcripts were translated in English. The participants discussed cultural practices, beliefs, folklore, and the community's experiences associated with landslides, as well as indigenous practices for landslide mitigation. I revisited the audio recordings and transcripts of the KII and FGD with the aim of focusing on the manner in which the participants communicated their ideas and sentiments, and the explicit use of words that describe their emotions toward certain issues. Narratives of indigenous peoples relating to emotional recollections of experiences are individual as well as collective. Stories are driven by emotions and those that talk about key environmental, social, or cultural issues often go back to a point in time to relive memories of dispossession, displacement or destruction. The stories and the act of telling these stories by the Kankanaey and Ibaloi elicit emotional responses not only among those who were recounting past events and incidents but also from the listeners.

The Kankanaey and Ibaloi reside in the province of Benguet and its neighboring provinces. They were among the first people to live in the province of Benguet, according to historical documents. The Kankanaey lived in the northern and western portions and had been occupying the Balatoc-Itogon region's gold-rich areas way before Spanish colonization, as suggested by archaeological evidence (Caballero, 2004). Meanwhile, the Ibaloi lived in the southern portion where the present-day Itogon is located. The early 1900s population of Benguet was estimated by Moss (1920) to be two-thirds Ibaloi and one-third Kankanaey. He mentioned that the two groups interacted through trade, with the Kankanaey using gold dust as payment for rice. Moss (1920) noted further that there were cultural similarities between the two. They share cultural traits such as festival celebrations, dispersed settlements, and farming practices, but the two groups speak different languages due to their different origins (NCCA, 2015). Caballero (2004) asserts that the Kankanaey were the traditional gold miners in the area, as the Ibaloi adapted traditional gold mining later. Both groups became an important part of the local mining industry due to their knowledge and skills. The succeeding sections present key emotions that surfaced during the KII and FGD as the informants talked about issues relating to culture and identity, land, resources, socionatural hazards, and mining.

Grieving for the loss of land and identities

Migrant and indigenous miners are separated by their connection with and how they feel about the land and resources. The Ibaloi and Kankanaey have strong emotional ties to their land as it holds both material and symbolic value, and personal meaning that are integral to their culture and identity, which distinguish them from their

migrant neighbors. The Ibaloi and Kankanaey both practice farming and traditional small-scale mining that make their knowledge and livelihood systems, spiritual beliefs, and social relations centered on land and its resources. Thus, loss of land and environmental degradation are not just perceived as a loss of economic assets. When lands are altered, degraded or cleared as what happens in open pit mining, the relations, connections, and experiences are also disrupted. Corporate mining and the current subcontract mining contributed to the loss of land through privatization that restricts access and limits the participation of indigenous Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners. Moreover, social relations also changed as the entry of migrant miners resulted in the introduction of new ideas and practices that undermine indigenous knowledge. As artisanal and small-scale gold mining relies on capital supplied by financiers, power relations also changed and reduced the participation of many Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners to mere source of labor.

> The area has become a melting pot of different ethnic groups. There are just too many people so it is difficult to employ indigenous practices. You cannot say, "That's a watershed; that's the source of water so we cannot mine in that area". In Itogon, large-scale mining companies destroyed the land so there's nothing left to protect anymore. That kind of basic knowledge is gone. The elders still know but the young ones do not because there are no more physical watershed areas to observe. Areas like Ampucao still have watersheds, but in Ucab the land was destroyed by large-scale mining that only the elders possess and preserve such principles (Community leader, 58).

The respondent is talking about the desire to employ indigenous practices on the protection of watersheds but deemed it difficult due to the influx of migrants and hence, new ideas. The destruction of the land, especially watersheds by large-scale mining companies evokes feelings of bitterness and anger. These emotions are closely linked with indigenous identities. The narrative above carries a mix of emotions that run the gamut of frustration, nostalgia, sadness, helplessness, bitterness and even anger – even if the feelings are not immediately apparent in the text. The performative aspect of narrating a simply stated or sometimes even inarticulate story cannot be captured in text and words. As a researcher who bore witness to the non-verbal dimension of storytelling, I am nonetheless mindful of the shifts in tone and voice as well as gestures that help convey a complex set of emotional responses. As Harrison (2007, p. 591) states: "there are modalities and aspects of affective experience that cannot be brought into the systemisation, thematisation, and conceptualisation…"

The detailed understanding of the land and local rhythms reflects centuries of knowledge passed from generation to generation. *Pamana* applies to both material and nonmaterial possession of an individual and is a symbolic gesture of passing something of value to the next generation. Land, knowledge, and the future are inextricably linked, and the passing of indigenous knowledge works for the survival of the next generation and the survival of indigenous identity. Land as *pamana* is passed on to one's children. The act of *pamana* is a gesture of leaving something behind that ensures the family's survival and heritage. As one community leader opines:

> What if someday we lose our lands to landslides? Where will our children build their houses? What will happen to the next generation? We pray that our lands do not get damaged because where will our bodies be buried (Community elder, 67).

The words were spoken with a sense of loss and trepidation about the uncertainties of the future. The last statement is particularly noteworthy because it describes how mining-related socio-natural risks and dispossession have impacted their culture, values, and identity, all of which are based on their deep ties to the land. One of the practices of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey is the burial of the departed family members in the backyard. This is rooted in their rich belief system regarding death and spirit. Burying the deceased in the backyard meant that their spirit guides the family (Figure 2). Thus, land performs economic, spiritual and religious functions that are threatened by the changing landscape. Even communal sacred spaces were lost to mining.

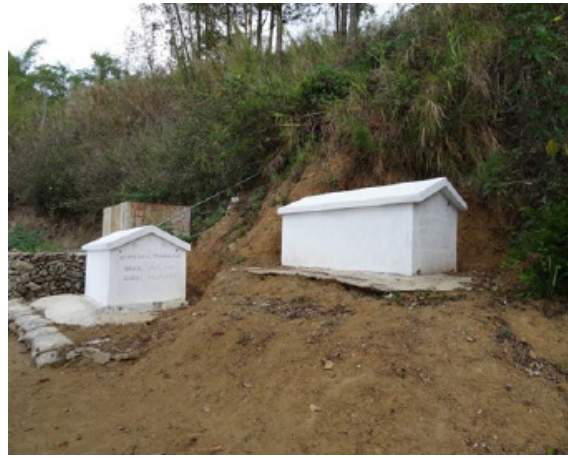

Figure 2: Burial of deceased family members in private lands as part of practices

Indigenous systems of mining are in danger of being erased and co-opted by the new and non-traditional practices introduced by migrants. The indigenous system of artisanal and small-scale mining is a source of pride among the Ibaloi and Kankanaey. Theirs is an environmentally and culturally sound mining method, guided by their belief that resources are owned by deities and nature spirits. In traditional mining, there are cultural practices that ensure that all members of the community are able to partake in the riches of the land. From the sharing of gold through *sagaok* (sharing of gold ores from the tunnels to older community members) and *makilinang* (sharing of gold concentrate in the ore processing stage) to the conduct of feasts, these activities reflect how miners look out for the welfare of others (see Caballero, 2004). Indigenous mining is a family and community activity where men, women and children participate (Caballero, 2004; Canilao, 2011). Children learn about mining through their parents and the community and skills such as gold assaying, extraction, processing, appraising and jewelry craftsmanship without the use of high-tech tools and chemicals were passed on. Gold veins are identified by mere sight.

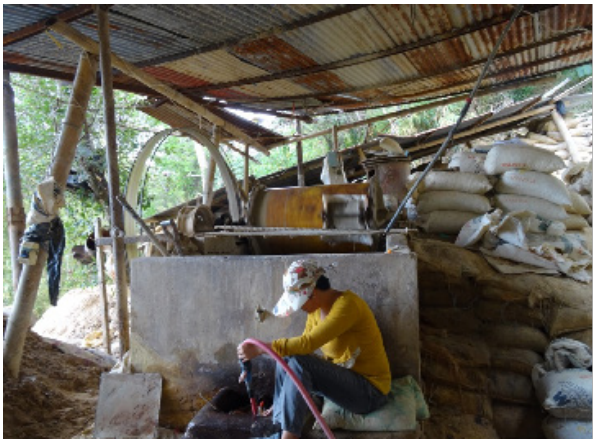

Figure 3: A woman participating in the processing gold ores

However, while the traditional ore extraction method was preserved, other aspects, especially economic and social relations changed through time as the Ibaloi and Kankanaey adapted to the new modes of production introduced in the area. Today, many Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners are integrated into the subcontract mining system that has evolved from the resource and land access rights in Itogon. Subcontracting is the mining of the abandoned tunnels of mining corporations by small-scale mining associations who are able to secure permits from the company. It has become a source of conflict within the community as it is seen as a contributing factor to socio-natural

hazards such as tunnel collapse, landslides and sinkholes. Moreover, subcontract mining often employs migrant miners, whom indigenous miners see as competition. Thus, the Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners who were compelled to participate in subcontract mining are fraught with guilt and shame. Indigenous miners talk about the traditional method of mining with pride – they call their method "clean gold."

There is a big difference between the old or traditional mining that we call "clean gold" or responsible mining. Now, indigenous miners must compete [for access to mineral lands and ores] because mining companies have encroached their lands and mining areas. [Traditional] small-scale miners have also adopted the mining methods of large-scale [companies] and are now taking the blame.

> Traditional areas of mining are almost gone now. For example, there is a mine area in Proper Ucab being operated by my kin, their rules and policies are no longer good. It is like they are just competing with other mines (Community leader, 58).

The current involvement of indigenous miners in subcontract mining is not only an issue of economics characterized by employment opportunities and monetary income. Involvement in wage work is a strategy to make a living in an area where access to mineral areas remains limited. The Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners feel the need to set aside their indigenous beliefs, knowledge, and practices as they are driven by paid labor and unfair economic relations that diminish their agency and legacy. Grief over the gradual disappearance of their land and identity through the encroachment of activities that marginalize indigenous practices, is expressed akin to the loss of a loved one characterized by sadness, longing, guilt, regret and even anger.

Not all fears are equal

My earlier studies were about risk perception. I was initially interested in how the miners in Itogon live in an area at constant risk of landslides and other socio-natural hazards. In many risk perception studies, concepts such as dread, worry, fear, novelty, among others, are used to assess the variations in the perception of risks among individuals (see Fischhoff et al. 1978, Slovic, 1988) Emotions, along with attitude towards risks also inform risk perception (Sjöberg, 2007). As bodies are subjected to risky situations, humans react and act based on them. Fear triggers responses depending on the perceived consequences. However, fear, worry and uncertainty are complex emotions that often interact with other emotions. They are at the intersection of different concerns and struggles. Some fears may be stronger, some are overlooked as little choice or power is available to address its cause. For example,

the fear associated with working in hazardous work conditions might be less critical than the fear of not being able to provide for the needs of one's family.

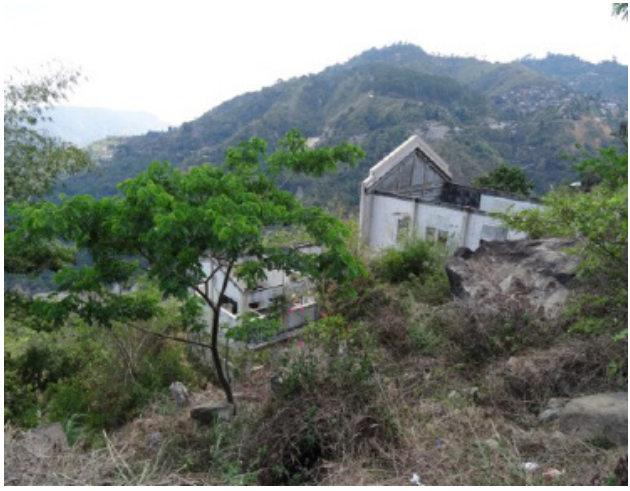

Figure 4: Structures destroyed by a landslide

The Ibaloi and Kankanaey are aware that decades of underground mining made the area prone to landslides, especially since devastating landslides, sinkholes, and tunnel collapse occurred more frequently (Figure 4). They described how underneath is "*parang inaanay, butas-butas*" [eaten by termites, hollowed out and weakened]. Fear is not just about personal safety but also of family members, livelihood, and land especially during the rainy season. For the local residents, the possible impacts of the 1990 earthquake on the mine tunnels is a constant cause of worry. The following are sentiments expressed by a community leader, community elder, miner and a member of the youth sector.

> That is why in Ucab we get restless when it starts to rain because of the sinkhole event. It is like a glimpse of what will happen to us someday, to the entire Mineral District of itogon. There are cavities underneath that started way back in 1903. They will be the cause of landslides underneath. – Community Leader, 53
>
> If there is a typhoon, it already means that there will be landslides. We get nervous especially when the water is strong. Ay sus! We get nervous because we think of our houses, our neighbors, and where to evacuate. – Community Elder, 67
>
> In the past, we were not afraid of landslides because they

> are not devastating. They are usually just a little mud fall that can be easily cleared. But now, I don't know… Maybe it is because of Climate Change but now, there are always casualties. Houses are buried. A whole family was buried because of a landslide. Especially if the rains are heavy. So now if there's a typhoon, we think of negative things. We pray that there will be no casualties. You cannot sleep because you keep on checking the ground for cracks. – Miner, 47

> The first thing that comes to my mind when I hear "landslide" – I get nervous, I should run to a safer place to evacuate. Second is life, because we believe that if there is a landslide our livelihood will be gone and that life is also taken. Another thing is what if I have *kaingin* [swidden agriculture] and it is taken by landslide? I will lose my livelihood. – Youth participant, 19

Part of the emotional labor is living in fear and the need to get over that fear to go about daily activities. Fear is often ignored, especially since most small-scale mining activities in Itogon are considered informal due to the absence of mining permits. The current informal subcontract mining arrangement is also perceived to have an impact on the environment as it contributes further to the degradation of the environment. Thus, in the areas where they live and work, traces of landslides and ground subsidence can be seen. The increased competition for resources and employment opportunities meant that the Ibaloi and Kankanaey are compelled to abandon the indigenous community-initiated and equitable mining system. It is all too easy to blame the miners themselves for their work conditions but there is a need to underscore the limited alternatives available to them. The repression of fear as they make a living through small-scale mining only perpetuates inequalities brought about by unfair economic relations and ignores the right of miners to a safe home and workplace.

Indignation and anger: individual and collective

The issue of livelihood marginalization and environmental degradation triggers frustration, anger, and indignation. Benguet Corporation ceased underground mining and switched to open pit mining in Antamok in the early 90s. In the few years that the open-pit mine was operational resulted in enough landscape transformation - forests were cleared, watersheds were destroyed, rivers were drained, mountains were flattened, and tailings dams were built. This enraged the community which became a rallying point of resistance. Due to public outcry and a strong community effort to mobilize and protest against Benguet Corporation, open pit mining was short-lived and

ended in 1997. Their protest was also driven by the issues of land rights which were not granted to them because the area was covered by mining patents and permits that predate the Indigenous People's Rights Act of 1997. This has caused frustration among indigenous miners leading to mass action aimed at redressing the implementation of an unjust law.

> There are issues concerning ownership so we barricaded from 1990 to 1994. We were being evicted because of Benguet Corporation. The DENR came here and told us indigenous peoples to apply for CADT (Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title). Here are the costs and requirements. If you have a tree that can be embraced by two people, that would be enough proof. But you must pay for several things. Some people did file for application and spent their money only for them to say that they are not qualified because the land is owned by the Benguet Corporation since 1902. If there were DENR representatives, they would have been hacked by the people [*Kaya 'pag may taga-DENR dun baka tinaga-taga nila* (sic) *dun ng mga tao*]. They felt insulted. They should have told us early on that we are not qualified. They made people spend their money. That is why I get annoyed [*naaasar*] every time I see them because they gave us false hope, they made us believe that we can be given CADT. In Itogon, CADTs were only given in Dalupirip because it is not part of the Baguio Mineral District. But the problem is the area was part of the San Roque (Dam) watershed. That became another issue. The CADT will not apply because the area is under the NPC (National Power Corporation). That is the problem with the State. The people, not just the IPs, are annoyed. The last issue here is the San Roque Dam. We were trying to push for IPRA but the NCIP's decision was that we are not covered by the IPRA Law because the San Roque Dam project started in 1995 while the IPRA was implemented in 1997. Then why bring it up in the first place? Nonsensical things like that are aggravating. – Community Leader, 58

This account from a community leader describes not just individual anger but also that of the community. The destruction of the land and the insult perceived by the community result in feeling of aggravation and offense. The struggles of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey to protect land and resource rights are often lost in legal technicalities created by structural inequalities of a colonial and capitalistic view of land and resources. The limited access to the vast lands under mining patents held by mining corporations continues to produce inequitable mining relations that benefit the powerful at the expense of the land and miner welfare.

Other than the explicit and use of strong statements to express anger (i.e. *Kaya 'pag may taga-DENR dun baka tinaga-taga nila dun ng mga tao*), there are terms that elude direct English translations. For example, the word *asar* may be translated as 'annoyance' but can also refer to something much stronger than annoyance given the context of its use. The usage of words is not meant to generalize, underplay or give false accounts of emotions, but rather emphasize the need to probe deeper and effectively represent emotions to reflect the range and complexity of sentiments and feelings. Furthermore, the choice of words of respondents from interviews and FGD highlight the insider-outsider and respondent-researcher positionalities and dynamics that are at play. Thus, research on emotional geographies must be keenly aware of various barriers that may suppress verbal and non-verbal cues when expressing emotions through narratives.

Conclusion

The essay aims to initiate conversations and academic inquiry that focus on emotions as they provide a more layered and nuanced understanding of the issues of marginalization and dispossession. Emotions are closely tied with identities, people's connections to land, and experiences. Emotion is an important driver of resistance and change. By highlighting emotions of grief, fear and anger in the stories of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey miners, the narratives become suffused with complex and context-driven dimensions. The analytical lenses afforded by the deployment of emotional geographies to evaluate, assess, analyze and situate the stories and narratives of the Ibaloi and Kankanaey provide a richer understanding of the transactional negotiations by nuancing, particularizing and contextualizing their situations. By privileging the emotional stories of dispossession of these groups, I seek to encourage the wider adoption of this approach subject and specific to given cultural and social contexts. Making visible and audible the stories of disenfranchised communities is inching closer to spatial justice that is denied them.

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