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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE PHILIPPINES

By

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ABSTRACT

Community participation takes place when community members act together as subjects. It is argued here that community participation empowers when community members take decisions, or negotiate an equitable share in making the decisions that affect them. However, since participation takes place within a network of power relations it is not necessarily empowering but can take a range of forms from enforcement to empowerment, whereby empowerment may involve not only willing cooperation, but also resistance to outsider project objectives. This thesis explores these issues through a study of how people in three Philippine upland communities participated in soil conservation and livelihood restoration projects initiated by three different NGOs.

The principal aim of the study was to identify and examine the changing discourses of development and participation held by the NGOs and by the members of the subject communities. The development discourses revolved around socio-ecology, described as the relationship between the culture and society of Filipino subsistence smallholders and the ecological units of their local environment. The failure of this existing socio-ecology under the pressure of increasing population density on a limited upland resource base was the stimulus for change in the study communities. The thesis compares the NGOs' practice of engaging with the communities with their discourses of participation, and examines the importance of the relationships between the NGOs, government agencies and the communities for the success of the projects.

The study identified several key factors in the empowerment of subject groups. Firstly, the need for a discourse that enables them to embark on socio-ecological change. For the Filipino communities examined here, the discourse of sustainability was validated by enabling the restoration of their livelihoods. Secondly, outside agencies, either NGO or government, may be needed to catalyse community change processes. Thirdly, the subjects need leaders who have the vision and skills to work for the desired livelihood and social development outcomes. Training activities of livelihood restoration proved highly significant in expanding women's political space that led to opportunities for them to take up leadership, as well as giving capacity-building training for existing and future leaders which helped to equalize gender relations between men and women.

Fourthly, the policy and program initiatives of host government agencies can synergize with community and partner agency activities at several levels, including resourcing and building the capacities of leadership.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed:

Date: 22 September 2006

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACIAR	Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIDAB	Australian International Development Assistance Bureau
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BCL	Bougainville Copper Limited
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
BRA	Bougainville Revolutionary Army
BRF	Bougainville Resistance Front
CBO	Community Based Organization
CFP	Community Forestry Program
CHSA	Cambridge History of Southeast Asia
CRA	Conzinc Rio Tinto Australia
CSC	Community Stewardship Certificate
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
FMB	Forestry Management Bureau
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GOA	Government of Australia
GOP	Government of the Philippines
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFC	Incentives For Change
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International Non-Government Organization
ISFP	Integrated Social Forestry Program
KAMACA	(The Tabayag community People's Organization)
LGC	Local Government Code

MBRLC	Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre
MUSUAN	Mindanao Upland Stabilization and Utilization Through Proper Agroforestry Networking
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
NGO	Non Government Organization
NPA	New People's Army
NSIRDP	Northern Samar Integrated Rural Development Project
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNGDF	Papua New Guinea Defence Forces
PHO	Provincial Health Office
PO	People's Organization
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
TMCC	Toledo Maya Cultural Council
TSFDP	Toledo Small Farmers Development Project
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Sustainable Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

Chapter 1: A Discursive Approach to Participation for Empowerment

1.1 The participation factor

"Significant voluntary change in human behaviour can be brought about only if the persons who are expected to change also participate in deciding what that change shall be and how it shall be made".[1] This statement by Verba highlights that for people to make changes willingly and relatively rapidly they want a say in matters about objectives or process or both. While people all over the world want access to better services and more resources to achieve a standard of living that they perceive as desirable and good,[2] this often requires that they change the way they work, live, think, and behave. This trade-off was as fundamental to modernisation theory in the 1950s and 1960s as it is to the currently dominant neo-liberal development approaches. The problem of development is how to facilitate, organize or coerce enough groups in a society to make the changes that will lead them to a satisfying state of progress, with better health services, transport, water and energy supply that we simplistically summarize as a higher standard of living. Applying Verba's statement to the discourse of participation, I ask the question: 'is allowing people to share in decisions about their situation characteristic of participation or are there other modes of participation?'

As a starting point, participation is readily understood as sharing together in some kind of action, be it talk, work or an interest. In the community setting this becomes "a range of activities which involve people as members of communities in identifying, deciding about, planning for, managing and/ or delivering (health) programs and policies."[3] Having provided this definition, Judith Dwyer goes on to describe community as a "warm-fuzzy term denoting groups of people who either live or work in a defined local area or share some common interest". However, what is noteworthy from Dwyer's definition is that, for her, community participation is defined by the sharing of the action by community members who are the subjects, those who act together in the

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[1] Verba, S. *Small Groups and Political Behaviour: A Study of Leadership* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1961, p.63.
[2] Sen, A. *Development as Freedom*, A. Knopf, New York, 1999.
[3] Dwyer, J 'The Politics of Participation' in *Community Health Studies* Vol 13, No. 1, 1989, p.59.

community. Those who participate are "not doing it as owners, as bureaucrats or as professionals"[4]. The two latter groups may also participate as outsider stakeholders.

In this thesis I define those groups in communities participating in development activities as the subject groups; the subjects being the active agents of development in their local areas whether listeners or speakers, in either planning or implementation. Simultaneously, outsider stakeholders and insider stakeholder groups may subject other insider groups to development activities. Thus groups can be both subjects and subjected. While subjected they may resist, while taking development decisions they may be enlisted. It is a moot point whether or not all of these groups are beneficiaries, as outsiders often label them. However, they will certainly be subjects.

Verba and Judith Dwyer's discussion of participation foreshadowed the increasing acceptance, during the 1990s, amongst development theorists, policy makers and practitioners, of the notion that people must be at the centre of the change process to willingly participate in it. According to Robert Chambers, this acceptance was based on "the insight, that if local people themselves design and construct they are more likely to meet running costs and undertake maintenance, and ideologically for some development professionals, the belief that it is right that poor people should be empowered and should have more command over their lives."[5]. Chambers further argues that reversing power relations is the key to achieving participation. For him empowerment of the participating members of communities, when they take or negotiate an equitable share in making the decisions that affect them, is the distinguishing characteristic of participation. He argues that it is possible to reverse the 'traditional' relationship of the outsider-expert exercising power over the insider community members by facilitating the latter to supply and apply their local knowledge to the development task. However, taking this idea at face value still leaves us with a problem of what to call people acting together when they are not empowered, for example, when they resist pressures to participate, or participate unwillingly, in the global economy. Participating is not necessarily empowering.

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[4] Dwyer, J. "The Politics of Participation" in *Community Health Studies* Vol 13, No 1. 1989, p. 60.
[5] Chambers, R. "Paradigm Shifts and the Practice of Participatory Research and Development", *Working Paper No 2* Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, 1994, pp.2-4.

Rather than seeing empowerment as congruent with participation and as practically achieved with the application of local knowledge of practice, it seems more promising to analyse the production of that local knowledge within participatory processes. Uma Kothari points out that participatory processes often take place within the power relations defined by social norms and customs that create and reproduce knowledge of practice which disadvantage the participants or some participant groups. Moreover, the process provides opportunity for the facilitating practitioners to empower themselves within the situation.[6] Hence, participation takes place within a network of power relations that will not necessarily empower any particular group and may leave some groups in control. Thus, a clearer way than Chambers' to understand the complexity of real social life, may be to recognize participation as a general and neutral term covering a range of modes from enlistment to empowerment, and that the latter includes not only willing cooperation but also effective resistance to outsider project objectives.

This thesis aims to explore these issues further through a study of how people in three upland communities in the Philippines participated in soil conservation and livelihood restoration projects initiated by three different non government organizations (NGOs). During fieldwork in 1997, I observed the NGOs' different modes of participation which were all constructive in that all three projects successfully enabled restoration of livelihoods. The questions I sought to answer were: How did the three NGOs and the three communities, or groups within them, understand and engage in community participation? What are modes of effective and ineffective participation, when is it felt to be genuine or authentic, or sham or forced upon subjects who then resist as best they can? As communities are not homogeneous I engaged in discussion groups with leaders, farmers, farming women in their own groups, farmer-soil conservation facilitators and local government councillors to find out what different kinds of participation catalyzes development.

1.2 Aims

The principal aim of the study is to determine the changing discourses of development and participation held by the NGO working in each study area and by the members of

[6] Kothari, U. "Power, Knowledge and Social Control in Participatory Development" in Cooke, B. &

the Filipino communities who involved themselves in soil conservation and livelihood restoration. Building on this, the next task is to examine and compare how the NGOs actually engaged with the subject communities to catalyze restoration of their livelihoods as opposed to their discourse of approach. A secondary aim is to examine the importance of the relationship between the NGOs, government agencies and the communities for the success of community development projects. Three communities were chosen in the Philippines - one on the island of Cebu, the other two on the island of Mindanao - to analyse how different modes of participation taking place between the main stakeholders influenced the project implementation process and the ecological and social outcomes. All three communities were relying on agriculture as their main source of livelihood, but each had its unique mosaic of local factors –ecological, social, political, and economic. In each of the areas an NGO had initiated a soil conservation and fertility restoration project with the local communities.

During the 1980s and 1990s smallholder communities throughout the Philippines archipelago embarked upon soil conservation and fertility restoration projects in an effort to restore or preserve their agrarian livelihood. Most of these projects were conducted through partnerships between communities and Philippine NGOs or various International NGOs (INGOs). The Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) directed an evaluation of a number of these projects for the factors likely to promote the adoption of the conservation technology. This involved conducting case studies in a range of physical and socio-economic settings to assess the response of farmers to the technologies promoted by both Government of Philippines (GOP) and the NGOs[7]. Drawing on the ACIAR research project I built on three of the case studies to closely examine the nature of the relationships between the NGOs and the communities, particularly the community based organizations (CBOs) initiated by the NGOs.

In deciding on the three case studies, several considerations were taken into account. Firstly, I had to work with functional NGOs to be able to carry out my study in the short time available for a field visit in the Philippines. Therefore, it was not possible to include communities whose relationship with the NGO had broken down or otherwise

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Cooke, B. & Kothari, U. Eds. *Participation: the New Tyranny,* Zed Books, London, 2001.

ended. Secondly, it was important to study different communities in order to get an appreciation of the range of interactions with the NGOs. These considerations resulted in selecting three communities in different local government areas and/or provinces. Table 1 below lists the local government area and province of the respective communities, their NGO partner and the status of the project in October 1997 when I carried out my fieldwork.

Table 1 Comparative Study Sites in the Philippines

Site		Project Status	NGO
Barangay	**Province**	**as at October 1997**	
Bacungan	**Davao del Sur**	**Wind-down**	**Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre**
Columbagon	**Bukidnon**	**Completed**	**Central Mindanao & Xavier Universities**
Tabayag	**Cebu**	**Community Organizer working with CBO**	**Mag-uugmad Foundation,**

A third aim of the thesis is to throw light on the limits of participation, in particular, those limits that are set by the vulnerability felt by community groups, and the rigidity with which the parties holding formal power stick to their declared or hidden agendas. For example, in some situations it can be counterproductive to the interests of the subject group to push for a share in decision-making beyond a certain point. This impasse could become an opportunity for those community groups, and their partner NGOs, to lever greater governmental openness for CBOs to have some say in the determination of their future through their negotiation of responsibilities in local planning and implementation.

1.3 Rationale

Donor government aid agencies have quietly terminated many development programs for having achieved little of their intended purpose. From evaluations of these programs[8] one factor emerges repeatedly as crucial for success or failure: unless the participants' accrued knowledge of practice[9], in particular their contemporary survival

[7]Garcia, J., Gerrits, R. *et al* 'Preface', in *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Cebu*, SEARCA-UQ Uplands Research Project, Survey Report Number 1, Los Banos, Philippines, 1995a.
[8] For example, Porter, D. Allen, B. and Thompson, G. *Development in Practice: Paved with Good Intentions,* Routledge, London, 1991.
[9] Hobart, M. "Introduction" in Hobart, M. (ed) *An Anthropological Critique of Development* Routledge, London, 1995, pp.3-5.

strategies, are recognised and incorporated into the program a development intervention becomes an imposition, and the program is unlikely to be sustainable. These failed development approaches highlight the complexity of participation. Therefore, by examining the different forms and limits of participation, drawing on lessons from the experiences of the three Filipino communities, this thesis seeks to tease out the inner structure of participation in order to better understand what kinds of community participation effectively catalyze development. A second rationale is related to the importance now given to the sustainability of development, both in terms of sustainable benefits to the community, and in terms of environmental sustainability. This recognition of sustainability of livelihood and environment as a desired outcome for planned change[10] suggests a need to investigate the relationship between community participation and sustainability.

It is important that we understand that for subsistence smallholders throughout the world, including the Philippines, their livelihoods and culture are shaped by, and interact with, the ecosystems existing in their local environment(s). Each society is actually a mosaic of socio-ecological units where socio-ecology is understood as the fundamental interactions of people with the ecosystems existing in their environment. In this sense, people's socio-ecology is fundamental to their livelihood and reflexively affects their culture, while their socio-economy derives from the features and resources of their society and environment. If the ecology changes and subsistence becomes more difficult, people may respond by moving to new locations, as millions have done in the Philippines, or staying put and intensifying their agricultural technology in whatever way possible[11]. Either way their subsistence technology is likely to change, and as a consequence, their livelihoods and their culture and society will also change. In contrast, urban communities, and rural communities that largely produce commodities rather than their own subsistence, experience their socio-ecology indirectly through their resource linkages with regional, national or global socio-ecologies.

I use the term socio-ecology throughout the thesis when discussing this fundamental and direct relationship of the culture and society of Filipino subsistence smallholders with the ecological units of their local environment. The failure of their existing socio-

[10] Bruntland Commission, *Our Common Future* , Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987.
[11] This will be further explored in Section 2 of Chapter 4.

ecology under the pressure of increasing population density on a limited forested upland resource base was the fundamental stimulus for change in the study communities. They could no longer grow enough food for subsistence[12] and their socio-ecological discourse could not find a way out of this situation.

Broadly speaking, it is the subjects' discourses of knowledge, latent though they may be, which guide their manipulation of the environment. In the first place it may be that members of the community need to be made aware of the significance of their own observations of environmental and social change. People know many facts about their environment that fit well into a discourse of sustainable use of their environment, but their existing social and ecological discourses may well assume the inexhaustibility of particular resources. Knowing some facts and linkages between them may still leave people without a mental framework or discourse 'big enough' to explain ecological relationships and limits or to imagine a way out of a socio-ecological impasse.

Once communities have gained confidence in their own knowledge, their monitoring of their ecological situation will put them in a stronger position in negotiation with government, outside consultants or NGO experts to assess impacts on it. Thus the second rationale for this study is the need to investigate the linkages between participation, especially the application of local knowledge of practice as discussed above, and the desired project outcomes of socio-ecological sustainability of livelihood within local environments.

Moreover, government and elite promotion of development as progress, as investment in future productivity, or as tapping into unused resources, generates mixed feelings in other groups in society. The latter have hopes of gaining from and sharing the comforts of modern technology, yet are anxious and resentful about losses of resource endowments this might entail, as well as being concerned about exposing themselves to greater risk[13]. Communities are made up of many different groups with varying levels of control of their own livelihood and power over resources shared with other groups. The perception of the risk of losing what are felt to be limited endowments generates fear and can lead to friction, conflict, sorcery or violence. As Chapter 6 will show, the

[12] See Section 2 in Chapter 4.

early adopters of the soil conservation technology in one of the three study areas clearly articulated the risks they perceived from the threats of larger landowners who substantially controlled local government at the time. Hence there is value in studying these sites to understand why different groups within the communities participate and how.

Examining cooperation and resistance at these sites may provide an opportunity to better understand the conflicts and tensions of community participation within the Philippines political system, so as to assess the possibilities for reconciliation between elite discourses of development and the development priorities of the disadvantaged majority of the population. This is important in the Philippines because its history features ongoing political and military conflict between elites who controlled political and economic resources, and smallholders who have experienced loss of resource entitlements, independence and decision making power. Moreover, the history of the Ferdinand Marcos administration (1965-1986) demonstrates that while Marcos' cronies gained considerably from being insiders to the regime, other elite groups lost heavily from the communist revolt and state repression. As Chapter Four argues, it is therefore in the interests not only of smallholders but also of elite groups to maintain social cohesion.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises seven chapters. Chapter Two elaborates on participation as a neutral phenomenon with a range of expressions from enlistment to empowerment of communities or groups within them. It goes on to discuss the relationship between participation and empowerment. Chapter Three reviews the background to participation and tracks the shifts in uses of discourses of participation within the discourse of development: how its variants are used, switched and mingled for various purposes. In particular, the conceptions and changing practice of participation by the World Bank, the International Labour Office and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) are examined.

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[13] Scott, J. C. *Weapons of the Weak, Everyday forms of peasant resistance*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1985, pp. 241-241.

Chapter Four presents a social, geographical and historical overview of the themes of democracy, participation and empowerment in the history of the Philippines, especially as they relate to the general situation of rural smallholders. The practices of colonial and traditional administration, the organization of missionary and local religious bodies and the impact of technology and increased population density upon customary land-use are relevant here but the focus will be on how they influenced the dynamics of the present. Chapter Five commences with a discussion of discourse and the use of discourse analysis prior to the presentation of the study methodology. It then maps out the degrees, impact and limits of participation within the several layers at which participation occurs. Chapter Six covers the findings of the study by first reviewing the documentary material of the partner NGOs and then conducting an analysis of the various focus group discussions.

In Chapter Seven I interpret my findings and draw conclusions for the praxis of development. This chapter evaluates the significance of forming power-sharing partnerships between government, implementing agencies and communities for the success of the chosen strategy of socio-economic development. It assesses what new capabilities the study communities have acquired for self-reliant achievement of on-going development outcomes. Finally, I will consider the potential transferability of the research findings to other areas.

Chapter 2: A Framework for Participatory Analysis

One of the items in the basket of the 'Development Project'[14] offered by the West to developing nations is democracy. From the post-war modernization theory of development to the current theory of good governance[15], democratic political systems are seen to go hand in hand with capitalist economic development. While the modernization theory's understanding of political development in terms of democratization was replaced by a more pragmatic emphasis on political stability in the Cold War environment of the 1960s[16] and 1970s, the demise of the Soviet empire in the 1980s opened up a space for renewed interest in the roles of democracy and participation in development. The recent emphasis on participation in development is, in part, due to the revival of this meta-purpose of 'selling' and establishing democracy in developing countries.

In democratic systems citizen participation in decision-making is a key principle. Within democratic theory electoral participation is seen to underpin popular acceptance of parliamentary decisions and thus state legitimacy. Furthermore, participation at lower-levels of government prepares people to directly participate at the higher levels and helps them to understand the way legislative changes are negotiated through parliament. [17] In the 1990s, an emerging pre-occupation in neo-liberal development thinking with good governance has been based on the argument that development is dependent on a functional 'civil society' which in turn is founded on community participation alongside other stakeholders at a program or project level[18]. In this Chapter I examine the broad term 'participation' by developing a framework for its analysis. I first present a range of modes of participatory practice, depending on the equality of decision-making, and then construct a 'landscape' of models of community

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[14]Watts, M. "The Crisis of Development" in Crush, J. (ed) *The Power of Development,* Routledge, London, 1995, p.48.

[15] For example note the Medium Term Development Strategy for Papua New Guinea stresses three aspects, the first of these being good governance. *PNG Churches Partnership Program, Program Framework* AusAID, February, 2004.

[16] Leys, C. *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory,* Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, p.65.

[17] Pateman, C. *Participation and Democratic Theory,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970, pp.43-44.

[18] White, S., "Depoliticizing Development: the uses and abuses of participation" *Development in Practice,* Vol. 6, No. 1, 1996, pp. 6-8. See also World Bank, *World Development Report 1992: Governance and Development*, The World Bank, Washington, 1992.

participation for use in describing the approaches to participation used by the NGOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in my study.

The Basic Needs Approach to modernization theory and the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) based on neo-liberal development theory both focused on the finding that participation had instrumental value for improving or catalysing constructive development outcomes. In these approaches to development community participation is primarily seen as a means of achieving short and medium-term development objectives or, in Asian Development Bank terms, "encouraging bottom-up demand for better governance, service delivery and for results is a high priority" [19]. This conceptualization of participation is limited by the core idea of development as modernization under which a nation constructs modern infrastructure and services. In fact, within modernization theory there is a hidden or implicit discourse of participation as legitimate enforcement and enlistment. A more strategic and just conception of participation results from ideas such as Amartya Sen's articulation of development as the enlargement of people's choices and their capacities to decide and manage their own futures.[20]

For development to facilitate people becoming "creative forces of development", the approach to participation would have to focus on building a capacity in the community to set goals which are beneficial to most groups within it.[21] In other words, empowerment would need to be the strategic measure of community development success, and the progress achieved in achieving intermediary socio-ecological goals (such as the restoration of viable, sustainable livelihoods in my three study areas[22]) is one factor in the measure of the level of empowerment. David Korten summarised the effects of post-war land reform in Taiwan, Korea and Japan on community based organizations and their leaders' ability to empower their rural population bases. He argued that empowerment of communities throughout these countries led to equity-led (economically, not necessarily socio-ecologically) sustainable growth, and that

[19] Asian Development Bank *ADB Pacific Strategy 2005-09* Consultation Process Summary of Key messages and proposed ADB response, Key Message 6, July 2004.
[20] Sen, Amartya, *Commodities and Capabilities,* Elsevier Science, Amsterdam, 1985.
[21] Rahman, M. A., *People's Self Development: perspectives on Participatory Action Research,* University Press Dhaka, 1993.
[22] See Chapter 6 *'Participation Praxis of three NGO-community partnerships'*, Section 6.4 'Findings about Community Participation', Future orientation and the impact of women and gender difference.

empowerment led to successful community development[23]. In contrast, Nicole Motteux's analysis of her work in a rural community of Cape Province in South Africa showed that empowerment was strengthened by her Participatory Action Research approach but that local livelihoods remained marginal. Her conclusion that "the tangible outcomes achieved thus far suggest that long-term empowerment and material improvement in the areas has taken place and will continue to do so"[24] indicates that without structural changes (such as land reform), participatory development takes longer to translate into tangible outcomes.

However, the breadth of use of participation as a label for development activity begs de-construction. The argument which unfolds in this chapter demonstrates that in development discourse participation is often a misused catch-all term. Discussion of development practice and theory would be better served by the recognition of a range of discourses of participation covering a range of zero to full partnership of decision-making by the subjects of development. Moreover, practitioners, funders, civil servants, academics and subjects endlessly create, pick up, drop, use and intertwine these discourses and their variants. In Chapter Seven my study findings will show that the participatory discourse, stating that the activity of development subjects is essential to development practice[25], was interpreted by the NGO partners in the three study areas as a discourse describing participation as equal sharing in decision-making. By taking this approach, the three NGOs at least partially facilitated the subject communities towards empowerment as people participating in community based organizations. This enabled them to begin to define development on their own terms.

In the body of this chapter I begin by showing that participation is a common characteristic of both democracy and of community development. From here I move on to deconstruct participation, showing that it is a blanket term for modes of project activity by communities, or groups within them, which can be either an advantage or a burden for them. I describe a range of modes of participation to demonstrate that subject groups can volunteer their participation, engage in project activities under duress, or

[23] Korten, D., *People Centred Development: Contributions toward Theory and Planning Framework,*. Kumarian Press, Connecticut, 1984, pp.73-83.
[24] Motteux, N. *et al,* "Empowerment for development: taking participatory appraisal further in rural South Africa", *Development in Practice* Vol 9, Number 3, 1999, p.271.
[25] Cernea, M. *The Building Blocks of Participation,* World Bank Discussion Papers No. 166, World Bank, Washington, 1985, pp.1-3.

resist them either actively or passively. In fact subject groups can take up an infinite number of positions within the range of participatory options depending on their level of freedom to act and the opportunities to act that they perceive for themselves. Moreover, synergies of participation are possible when subject groups can bring to bear on project activities their knowledge of practice and, alternatively, blockages can occur when participation is enforced or elite groups enlist subjects into programs. I go on to discuss women's empowerment as a crucial arena for levering the empowerment of subject groups in general and the notion of sustainability as systemic long-term thinking about community socio-ecology, the creation and restoration of livelihood and the restoration of environment. Finally, I present evidence that the effort of facilitating participation as a full share or partnership in decision-making can generate worthwhile rewards as benefits to both project implementation agencies and subject groups.

2.1 Democracy and Community Development

Given that both the development discourses of modernization and of good governance link democratic polity with successful development, it is useful to here consider the two basic discourses of democracy, for within both of them, citizen participation is a characteristic feature. Under representative democratic theory, as a voter, one exercises the right to choose and to change leaders. This is partial participation in decision-making in that our participation in elections aids acceptance of parliamentary decisions through the process of indirect collective involvement. On the other hand, according to the theory of participative democracy, the citizenry engages in the strategy and policy debates of industrial, civic and governmental spheres, thereby participating directly in democratic government[26]. This concept of direct participation in decision-making sets up an ideal, or benchmark practice of partnership in shared decision-making that equates to full participation.

When the discourses of modernization and of good governance state that the practice of democracy will prepare people for successful participation in development activities, both in community projects and in sectoral programs, those using the discourse implicitly presuppose full participation by subject communities. However, the quality or

[26] Pateman, C., *Participation and Democratic Theory,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970, pp.43-44.

nature of this participation is not explicitly addressed. The mode of people's participation in local development activities is simply equated with whatever partial and indirect participation they have in different levels of government. Members of the elite, or development practitioners 'talking up' a development program, can erroneously equate full participation by leaders in the strategy and policy debates of local, municipal and regional government (to use the Philippines example) with that of other groups in the communities, whatever the actual mode of participation by those groups in local community or sectoral development projects.

I argue that the participatory mode of shared decision making is a distinguishing characteristic of community development, which I define as facilitating communities to improve their social or productive skills, infrastructure and services as they wish. By focussing on the intentions of subject communities this adapts Korten's 1990 definition of community development NGOs as those "developing the capacities of the people to better meet their needs through self reliant local action"[27]. Thus community development requires the inclusion of leaders or groups of the beneficiary community into the partnership initiating the design, planning, implementation and evaluation of projects. This allows communities, or the marginalized groups within them, to regain or increase control over their livelihood or resources and of the discourse by which they structure their world[28]. Although it is sometimes called popular participation[29], that term is used in this thesis to describe the interaction of community bodies, or umbrella organizations, with regional and national levels of government.

On the other hand, participation is an instrumental and optional practice within the capitalist discourse of development. I discuss this in Chapter Three with reference to World Bank practice. Despite the Bank's espousal of participation, its various arms constantly function in tension between two poles of participation discourse, as its Participation and Civic Engagement Group eloquently expresses it: "Donors and most governments see it more as a means, an instrument, to facilitate implementation of projects or conduct poverty assessments, while NGOs opt for a rights based view,

[27] Korten, D., *Getting to the 21st century: Voluntary Action and the Global Agenda,* Kumarian Press, Westhartford Connecticut, 1990, p.118.
[28] Rahnema, M. "Participation" in W. Sachs, *The Development Dictionary,* New York, John Wiley, 1992.
[29] Brohman, J. *Popular Participation,* Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, p.338.

seeing it as an end in itself, thus calling for long, broad and deep processes"[30]. This tension can be seen as 'part of life' for development practitioners moving between consultation, facilitation, design and implementation or resourcing the implementation of programs. They call upon different discourses of development in the varying contexts of their work negotiating between different constellations of stakeholder groups.

Moreover, in a system of representative democracy in which citizens elect a parliamentary member who represents them in the legislative chamber, participation in decision-making is the preserve of an elite. Only members of the elite group of elected members participate in policy decision-making unless it is useful to the elite to give other groups or communities a say in the process to improve the implementation or acceptability of its projects. As I argue below, some modes of participation reflect such an approach. Moreover, as I will show in Chapter Four, the modern history of the Philippines is one of elite political and economic control, and one of communities who have lost the entitlement to decide for themselves. As a result, communities in the Philippines have limited adaptive capacity to respond to socio-ecological change.

In contrast, within the discourse of participatory democracy there is perceived to be a positive feedback relationship between democracy and participation. In particular, the opportunity for adults to participate in decision-making in local government has been seen to be crucial for their training in political action and also for establishing a belief in the potential efficacy of one's actions[31]. Among Carol Pateman's conclusions from her studies of industrial democracy was that by participating in democracy at local and lower levels (in local government and workplace hierarchies) individuals are trained in democratic skills and procedures as well as to support democracy through their participation at higher levels[32]. The subsidiary finding was that fully shared decision-making has the effect of integrating the nation because citizens are more likely to accept collective decisions, even if they disadvantage them in the short-term[33].

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[30] World Bank "Participation in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: A Retrospective Study", Social Development Department, Participation & Civic Engagement Group, Washington, November 2002, http://www.worldbank.org/participation

[31] Almond, G. and Verba, S. eds *The Civic Culture Revisited: An Analytic Study,* Little Brown and Company, Boston, 1965, pp.206-207 and pp.140-144.

[32] Pateman, *op. cit.,* p.42.

[33] Blumberg, P. *Industrial Democracy: The Sociology of Participation,* Constable, London, 1968.

In practice a thorough series of consultations across all communities in a locality where stakeholders envision development activities can generate mutual understanding, agreement and general support. Thereafter, leaders of Community Based Organizations (CBOs) would often be the community members active in a stakeholder partnership as intermediaries between outsider stakeholders and local groups. Clearly, this representative function is a weak point in the process since these leaders have to be willingly accountable, and the groups prepared to call the leaders to report and account for their decisions and actions. Quality of leadership emerged as an important factor in all three study areas (see Chapter Six). Nevertheless, the ongoing participation of active members of communities, or the CBOs, is characteristic of participatory rather than representative democracy.

Participation in community affairs, especially within a structure for community empowerment like a CBO, thus builds skills for, and faith in, the democratic process at regional, district and national levels of government. On the other hand, participatory democracy at those higher levels of government nurtures community capacity to set priorities, adapt and decide. Both community level participation (usually involving local government activities) and processes of participatory democracy empower communities. In contrast, the scope for exercising empowerment is restricted in countries governed by dictatorial and repressive regimes.

Community participation, or participation at the local level, is also an important tool in negotiating conflicts over the allocation of resources. These conflicts can stem from internal group competition or from competition between groups for scarce resources, which often also involves external interests such as departments of different levels of government, and business or landowner elite members. The more the conflict is fought in a hidden manner, with different parties saying one thing (or nothing at all) while doing another thing altogether, the more difficult they are for community groups to resolve. In these situations a CBO representing all groups - ie. in which all groups participate - can most effectively defuse misunderstanding and conflicting desires. From this basis leaders may negotiate a fair share of the use of the resource or else, coordinate effective resistance to the decisions by higher levels of government, private corporations and international or local non-government organizations (INGOs and

NGOs). As Leeuwis points out, rural development practice rests more on negotiation between conflicting groups, rather than on the ideal of total openness presumed by social learning approaches[34]. In the latter the general development approach is that practitioners facilitate a greater awareness of issues to make up for a lack of knowledge or understanding. Whereas, as seen in the three case study areas, different groups use different discourses to compete for the control of resource entitlements and there are users of a dominant discursive structure who thereby control those entitlements to their own advantage[35].

Where different groups or communities fail to resolve conflicting perceptions and wishes then powerful outsiders such as government departments and elite groups can use discourses of representation and development to take away their share in decision-making, pushing them into other modes of participation as presented in the following section. The extent that subject peoples (those people whose resources, livelihoods and socio-ecology are involved in the development activities) are able to negotiate their participation in the development process becomes a measure of their share in decision-making ie. their level of empowerment. Or, subject group involvement in negotiation may show only the limited power-sharing which the elite, or higher levels of government, allows communities for the purpose of gaining political leverage.

The following section explains that a range of participatory modes is found in community development, including full participation at one end of the spectrum, and resistance at the other. It is important to include resistance in the spectrum of participation. Where the powers-that-be exclude people from decision-making so that they are unable to negotiate or contend for their wants, their participation in project activities is likely to be under duress. Their desired participation is likely to be resistance, in the tactical (rather than strategic) interest of harm minimization, rather than being exercised to gain a shared understanding of a situation and reach an agreement "as a basis for coordinating their activities"[36]. Mistakenly positing participation as centred on social learning sidelines resistance as a common participatory response of subject peoples struggling to reject or avoid disadvantageous

[34] Leeuwis, C. "Reconceptualizing Participation for Sustainable Rural Development: Towards a Negotiation Approach", *Development and Change,* Vol. 31, 2000, pp.931-959.
[35] See Chapter 6 Section 6.4.
[36] Leeuwis, *op. cit.,* p.937.

development. There is analytic value to be gained from differentiating subject group participation by either involvement in project activities or in opposition to them, and the degree and kind of shared decision-making in that involvement.

2.2 The Range of Participatory Practice

The discourse of participatory democracy assumes that all individuals are equal before both the law and government; thus participation, which is basic to this polity, is concerned with sharing power[37]. The more stakeholders with a real share in power in any given situation, the more numerous the power relationships and the more complex the interactions of influence. Overall, the more even the balance of stakeholder power, the more likely there is to be equality in making decisions so the more complete will be the potential participation of those stakeholders.

There will also be an increase in the time taken to make decisions since there will be more steps required to consult stakeholders, convene their leaders or chosen representatives and more parties to satisfy in the negotiations over objectives and offers. However, in the development field World Bank project evaluation has shown that such time taken can pre-empt later major delays in implementation because subject group knowledge of practice and context is brought to bear on planning and implementation.[38]

My own experiences as a church based development agent in Papua New Guinea in the 1970s and 1980s serve as an example of relating to community based stakeholders using a participatory discourse that stated that all clans needed a say in decisions about services and dispute resolution in the localities they shared with other clans. My role was to work with associations of clan-based local groups. In the PNG context, where at district level clan authority balances that of the government, it was important to involve all clans who were stakeholders in debates and planning for expanding or upgrading local services to which they were expected to contribute.

This was necessary to enable them to use their local knowledge, as well as facilitating an open sharing of power in the situation, to pre-empt suspicion and envy which was

[37] Laswell, H. and Kaplan, A. *Power and Society; A Framework for Political Enquiry,* Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950, p.75.

often the basis of outbreaks of clan fighting (especially if there was any perceived threat to their hold on clan land)[39]. Church leaders, including myself as advisor, when relating to other community leaders and to the officers of line departments of Provincial Government who dealt with transport, health and agriculture matters, used a discourse of stakeholder participation. My national counterparts and I admired those leaders who consistently spoke for all clans, not just their own, and such men and women were respected throughout their Districts. Local leaders who consolidated their support within clans by blocking cooperation between clans frustrated us.

Since leaders function to advance or protect the interests of their communities, ethnic or tribal groups, they might perceive that they will risk the least loss of resources or power by passive or active resistance. This nevertheless is also willed participation in development. It may well be felt by some local groups to be destructive and counterproductive, but others will see it as an heroic stand against decisions made by national planners, or the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, serving their joint interests with multinational companies without reference to the local subjects of development.

In the case of the Crisis on the PNG Island Province of Bougainville, which began in 1989 and formally ended with the signing of the Lincoln Agreement in January 1998, resistance can be understood to have sprung from an unresolved conflict of more traditional and modern discourses of leadership. Younger generations of better-educated villagers saw through the short-term rewards of the original system of royalty payments made by Bougainville Copper Limited (BCL), and rebuking their elders, demanded a role in determining their own development. They had visions for the future, whereas the older generations of leaders were dependent on the expatriate management of their investment funds which had limited impact on the local society's rate of development and change[40].

Different objectives of resistance, ranging from independence for Bougainville through a high degree of provincial autonomy to simply a share in control of the mine and its royalties, as well as leadership rivalries, led to a complex, violent period of guerrilla

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[38] See Ch 3.2 p62 and p74

[39] Young, D. *Our Land is Green and Black***,** Point No. 28, 2004, The Melanesian Institute Goroka, pp.41-45.

[40] Taylor, M. *et al The Bougainville Crisis*, The Pacific Review Vol. 3, No.2, 1990, pp.174-177.

warfare with the pro-independence Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) fighting the PNG Defence Forces (PNGDF) and the Bougainville Resistance Forces (BRF). The results were the permanent closure of the copper mine in 1989, autonomy for the Province, the deaths of at least 20,000 people and great hardship, suffering and bitterness caused by the Central Government blockade of the island, warfare and atrocities by all armed parties. Those who played important roles in facilitating the peace process included international diplomats from New Zealand and Australia, senior PNG politicians, members of many outside groups including Incentives for Change (IFC) and numerous Bougainvilleans under the guidance of the Bougainville Council of Elders supported by Women's and Youth Organizations. Members of a number of women's organizations played pivotal roles as the mediators who risked their lives walking into the jungle, backward and forward between the rival forces negotiating the ceasefire crucial to the start-up of an ongoing peace process[41].

The stories from PNG suggest that the intent and actions of leadership are also crucial factors in the success or failure of development. Furthermore, this leadership factor significantly affects the issue of participation because the discourse and actions of leaders interact to generate and maintain support or resistance by the communities or groups they lead. As I have implied, there are local leaders in the Highlands and Islands of PNG who facilitate community empowerment by relating constructively to other local and district leaders and to managers of health, transport and education services. Over the long term leaders risk losing authority if they consistently fail to acknowledge the need for gaining, maintaining or re-establishing such services in the face of opposition of the leaders of rival clans who pursue the easier path of negating more constructive leaders. Nevertheless, it is easier to bid for and gain leadership by focussing only on the honour and immediate security of your own clan or locality. The latter kind of leader often blocks initiatives that provide small short-term gains for their clan if they also provide better conditions for traditional rivals. They are stuck in a discourse of clan honour for clan security which was a survival strategy in the former world in which PNG was a mosaic of ten thousand clans. However, now their own clan members also want health clinics and water-supplies which requires leaders who are

[41] Buago, H. R., Decentralisation in Papua New Guinea: The Case of Bougainville, Unpublished thesis, Flinders University, Institute of Public Policy and Management, 2005.

willing to risk their prestige by learning, constructing and using discourses upholding cooperation amongst clans and language groups across whole districts and watersheds.

Because of the historical mosaic of clan or tribal authority and the administrative difficulties involved in providing services in such a mountainous terrain, Papua New Guinea is an unusual case of local or micro-level issues dominating the process of development. Nevertheless, it serves well to illustrate that by itself the word participation is neutral and meaningless. When elite powerbrokers or government officers enforce participation it makes a lie of the act of choice implied, in the usual use of the word, by stakeholders in development. If subject groups choose to participate to minimize their losses, or at least for some of their people to earn wages servicing activities they can hardly avoid, then that is enlistment not willing participation. They will then follow up their enlistment with passive resistance as their means of risk management. When all subject groups in a community share in the design and implementation of developmental activities then it is an act of choice for gain, and I define it as full participation.

The modes of participatory practice that occur in different models of participation used in projects significantly determine the outcomes of development activities. In particular, whether participatory modes are only instrumental or are both means and end will affect the achievement of a development objective such as facilitating the empowerment of communities who can engage with higher levels of government to plot their own future. At one end of the range governmental or NGO agents can orchestrate the enforcement of people to contribute labour or other resources for the instrumental purpose of implementing projects in which the subject groups or communities have had little design input and gain little or nothing. The only empowerment to be gained by such communities lies in resistance. On the other hand, open shared decision-making in the development process may enable communities to gain the capacity to envision a future and develop strategies to pursue it. From this understanding, modes of participation can be described, as follows, ranging from empowerment, as an equal role in deciding and implementing decisions, to active resistance against implementation of decisions that outsider stakeholders have imposed on subject groups.

Full participation is a process whereby each individual member of a decision-making body has equal power to determine decisions which will have future effects on all those making them and upon those whom they represent[42]. Without a share in decision-making the parties or individuals concerned are powerless to contend for their desires[43]. Conversely, people are empowered when they fully participate in decision-making.

Partial participation occurs where two or more parties influence each other in the making of decisions but the final power rests with one party only[44] or, in the aid context, with an agency or government department making decisions for subject communities or groups within them.

Pseudo-participation is manipulation, often carried out by governments, their departments or other agencies based outside of a community or area. This term describes techniques used to persuade or force individuals or groups to accept decisions that have already been made by those who hold power. The subjects of development are denied any significant choice about their participation, which is not on their terms[45].

Resistance is the choice of action or of inaction by the target-community with intent to frustrate, stop or undermine a project of economic and, or social development which they perceive as being against their interests. By resisting, a group or individuals in a community claim a stake in decision-making when it has been denied to them. In peasant societies individuals who seek to redress unfair claims made on them by dominant individuals or groups often take such actions. Such behaviour, if it becomes a collective action, can be a precondition for a shift in power towards the underprivileged, but it may also work against them in the long run as the short term removal of one elite group with their dominant discourse prepares the way for a new dominant group to construct a new discursive formation which again disempowers local communities[46].

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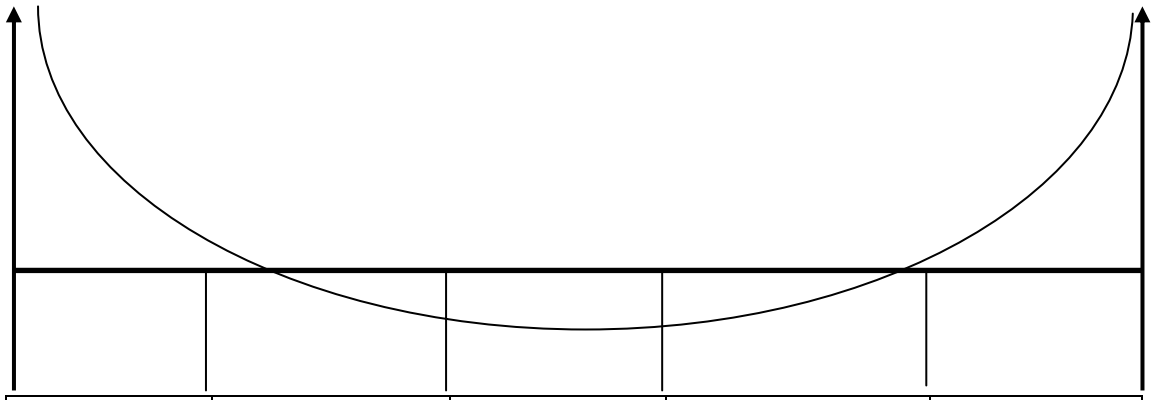
[42] French, I. & Aas, P., "An Experiment in Participation in a Norwegian Factory," *Human Relations,* Vol.13, No. 1, 1960, as modified in Pateman, *op. cit*. pp67-68.
[43] Partridge, P. "Some Notes on the Concept of Power" in *Political Studies,* Vol 11, 1963, in Pateman, *op. cit*., p.111.
[44] Pateman *op.cit.* p67 citing French Israel & Aas *op.cit.*
[45] Verba, *op.cit.* cited in Pateman *op. cit.,* p.61.
[46] Scott, J. C. & Kerkuliet, B. J. "Everyday forms of Peasant Resistance in South East Asia", *Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol. 13, No. 2, 1986.

I have set up these modes as ideal types whereas in real situations the lines between different kinds of participation are not clear-cut. Community groups may work in partnership with or opposition to governments and NGOs to different degrees and even at the same time, according to the situation. For example, a community may feel that they cannot actively resist or stop a program which will seriously disadvantage them. Nevertheless, they will accept enlistment into low level paid work for the short term relief or subsistence it offers them while passively resisting the implementation of particular project components, which will cost them valuable time during peak labour seasons, or lock them into innovative, risky agro-industrial systems[47]. In summary, Figure 1 displays a continuum of community participation:

Figure 1: The Continuum of Community Participation

Level of community decision-making
High



Active resistance	*Passive-resistance*	*Pseudo-participation*	*Partial participation*	*Full participation*
Social & political action to reject project.	**Failure to meet in-kind obligations. New techniques abandoned at first opportunity**	**Passive reception. Drafted in-kind labour. No ongoing community self-help.**	**Consultation for low-level operational decision-making.**	**Equality of decision-making. Traditional knowledge fully recognized.**

This range of participation provides a useful tool for examining the practice of participation and in differentiating models of participatory action. It helps to see where dominant partners have used participation as a means to coerce communities or invited them to join in limited partnership with the intent of making project implementation more efficient and effective for themselves. Alternatively, it shows up project proposals

[47] Porter, D. *et al, op. cit.,* pp.58, 65, 71-72.

or approaches by government or NGOs from the perspective of communities, who, having grounds for suspicion, choose resistance rather than cooperation. According to Long and Van der Ploeg, these resisting communities "actively formulate and pursue their own 'development projects' that often clash with the interests of central authority"[48]. By looking at participation in this way as a range of practices, rather than a single 'good thing', it becomes clear that participation must be deconstructed so that it is possible to assess whether it is instrumental to the development of a community, and whether this development represents a strategic gain to the community.

2.3 Models of Community Participation

The deconstruction of participation, so that the full range of its hidden modes become visible, leads directly to the consideration of the available models of community participation. These are commonly constructed as acting in various ways to build community action or support for governmental initiatives while almost ignoring those modes of participation reflecting the denial of a share in decision-making. The models are based on Australian local government best practice recommendations extended to include more pathological forms of participation that are understated in the Australian context.[49].

Thirteen community participation models are identified. They feature various combinations of the different modes of participation already distinguished in Figure 2.1 above. The key variable of sharing in decision-making is broken down into several parts such as the degree of information sharing and whether or not the subject groups are part of the monitoring and evaluation process or have access to implementation funding. Features of constructive community participation models are authentic consultation (ie. when findings are taken into consideration for decision-making), the freedom of subject groups to negotiate project objectives, have input into project design, use knowledge of local practice in project re-design, take responsibility for relevant aspects of implementation and their involvement in monitoring and also evaluation. These are all aspects of power over the project and potentially over the subject groups.

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[48] Long, N. & van der Ploeg, J. D. "Demythologizing Planned Intervention", *Sociologia Ruralis* Vol 29, Nos. 3&4, p.227.
[49]McKenna, B., *Community Participation in Local Government,* Australian Centre for Local Government Studies (ACLGS), March 1995, pp.8-11.

The thirteen models range from communities being forced to accept actions against their own interests in Model 1, "Enforcement", through to Model 13, "Self-determination for Community Development", in which the community is able to take responsibility for the planning process and thus for the actions to which it commits itself. In this last model, the community is empowered to determine its vision and has a strong capacity for adaptation. Of course, each model pictures a discourse that outsiders like government departments, NGOs, project management companies and university teams use to explain or propose their plan for project implementation although community members, especially groups of leaders exposed to such discursive formations, learn to use these discourses.

Development projects may involve several models in sequence, as will be shown in the case studies in Chapter Six. In that Chapter I will use the models to examine how the three NGOs approached the communities with their development project idea, and how those approaches differed from their intended modes of operation as stated in their mission statements.

Where the project in question will bear directly on community resources or services there should be both instrumental and strategic returns from subsequently following other participatory models. In cases such as upgrading existing highway or rail links that marginally affect local communities initial consultations, provision of information and persuasion influence of communities may be all that they feel is relevant to them apart from opportunistic work in construction and operations.

Model 1: Enforcement

A government forces a project on a community or a development program upon a region of many communities to their disadvantage. Community members participate as designated beneficiaries providing land, labour, time or perhaps their family's bodies for health programs. They are thus a means of production in projects implemented by government agencies or NGOs, their project activities are not of their choosing. It is not participation as in democratic governance models. In my range of community participation (Figure 2) it fits under the mode of pseudo-participation because the subjects of development have little choice about their involvement in the projects affecting their areas. Their participation is unwilling as they have no prospect of withholding their resources but will resist in a form that the people judge is safe or worthwhile. It may be passive resistance to pressure from

an oppressive government which, nevertheless, provides opportunities for employment within project activities. Where communities have politically functional umbrella organizations there may be active, coordinated resistance.

The imposition of the Toledo Small Farmers Development Project (TSFDP) on Mayan farming villagers in Southern Belize by their government in concert with the International Fund for Agricultural Development, IFAD, is an example of a program applied without consultation to a region. People resisted passively, for example, even those chosen to be model farmers refused to adopt the complete package for modernizing their agricultural system[50]. Others resisted actively through the Toledo Maya Cultural Council, TMCC, principally through the strategy of proposing 500,000 acres of Mayan Homeland over which they would receive communal title[51].

Model 2: Persuasion Deception

Departments or levels of government may endeavour to change community attitudes in order to gain assent to actions they have already decided or proclaimed an intention to undertake (or have already carried out). There is no intention of changing the preferred policy (the impact of implementation plans, if any, having already been assessed). The department or agency will avoid any negotiation that might override the conclusions of prior impact assessment. Sham, inauthentic, consultations where the outcomes have been pre-determined may be part of such processes. The underlying pseudo-participatory discourse is enlistment, as it is for Model 3 below. If the government agency is willing to alter the preferred policy on the basis of information received this activity is characteristic of the joint problem solving process (see Model 9) in best practice negotiations for creating win-win solutions.

Model 3: Enlistment

A corporation, NGO or government persuades, cajoles or bullies communities to provide labour or other resources for pre-determined activities over which the latter have no influence or control[52]. The project activities are primarily to suit the objectives of the

[50]Van Ausdal, S. "Development and Discourse among the Maya of Southern Belize", *Development and Change,* Vol. 32 , 2001, p.592.
[51] Van Ausdal, *ibid.*, p.595.
[52] Mosse, D. cited in Nelson, N. & Wright, S. "Participation and Power" in Nelson, N. & Wright, S. *Power and Participatory Development,* Intermediate Technology, London, 1995, p.15.

initiating stakeholders and may or may not be intended to generate gains for the subject communities who have no share in decision-making.

Model 4: Persuasion Influence

An NGO or agency of government convenes a public debate and discussion within or between communities to facilitate new approaches to resolving problems, yet taking care to avoid promises of specific outcomes or otherwise raising false expectations. It is a consultation approach by which, if carried out genuinely, outsiders allow contending insiders to argue their way to appropriate strategies. This mode of participation fits my case studies where agencies that are aware of the nature of general problems facing communities have a strategy to offer to them. Or, when a government is considering a major infrastructural initiative such as new water, sewage or power supply lines affecting a whole region and traversing community land, it may use this approach to win local support and cooperation.

Model 5: Education Awareness Raising

An NGO or government provides information and general instruction to create awareness of programs and issues predefined by the instigating agent. It is a social learning exercise as commonly described in such approaches as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) which are intended to be bases for raising consciousness about issues that appear to be relevant to communities. The outsider agency would then facilitate communities or groups with in them to integrate new with pre-existing knowledge for planning and coordinating community action.

Model 6: Information Feedback

An NGO or Department informs the community, through meetings or information distribution, of a preferred policy or outcome, and subsequently requests feedback. In all three of the projects I studied the three NGOs began with community education exercises about the huge impact of soil erosion and loss, its linkage to the failures of their shifting agricultural systems and the potential of soil conservation[53]. This approach can fail in situations where what is a sound combination of research negotiation[54] founders upon the

[53] See Chapter 6 Section 2.
[54] Pruitt, D. & Carnevale, P. *Negotiation in Social Conflict,* Open University Press, Buckingham, 1993, pp.42-43.

brute force of elite groups, or national government, or the promotional skills, legal and illegal, of a contending party.

Model 7. Innovation Trial

NGO and voluntary or appointed groups, families or individuals trial a chosen strategy. This is a secondary model, requiring at least partial handing over of power to the community, in that they are given the opportunity to test changes and modify or reject them before wide-scale adoption.

Model 8. Preliminary consultation

An NGO organizes formal dialogue between itself and a community to negotiate initial and mutually assigned objectives, before final adoption of an implementation strategy. The NGO remains open to changing any prior plan based upon the community proposing alternative ideas.

Model 9. Joint Planning Mechanism

An NGO practices shared decision-making through community representatives having voting rights on planning or advisory bodies (or community research-planning approaches such as Participatory Rural Appraisal)[55]. Because the community has joint authority of decision-making there is direct use of traditional knowledge of practice and local experience. Clearly, this is a combination of negotiation and mutual learning rather than purely a community social learning process.

Model 10. Delegation of Self-management

An NGO or higher level of government hands responsibility to, and provides financial support for, a community group that has the necessary expertise or capability to fulfil the transferred function. This level of transfer of decision-making requires pre-existing empowerment or an outcome of empowerment built by such previous approaches as Partnership and Social Contract using Participatory Rural Appraisal[56].

[55] Chambers, R. *Whose Reality Counts: putting the first last,* Intermediate Technology Publications, 1997, p.130.
[56] Chambers, R. "The origins and practice of Participatory Rural Appraisal", *World Development,* Vol. 22, No. 7, pp. 953-969 especially p.963.

Model 11. Active or Passive Resistance

Communities, or groups within them, decide to resist project activities to the extent that they are able. Frequently their objective is to minimize risk to or the loss of community or group resources, such as the erosion of food security as a result of agricultural initiatives. This may be a unilateral decision by community leadership or one made in coordination with outsider groups such as international environmental NGOs. In the Philippines resistance is commonly exercised by traditional landowners to large dam projects for hydroelectric generation and irrigation water storage. One such example related to the dam at San Roque on the lower Agno River of Pangasinan Province in Northern Luzon 400 km north of Manila. An alliance of opponents of the dam was formed by tribal groups affected by the dam, supported by the socio-economic, geological and engineering technical expertise martialled by Friends of the Earth Japan and the International Rivers Network, IRN based in California. The tribal landholders warned that they would mount an armed resistance if forcibly moved from their ancestral lands[57].

Model 12. Partnership & Social Contract

Higher levels of government, NGOs and communities negotiate a formal agreement with acceptance of mutual obligations to splice together respective expertise for input and advice. The NGO or government teams have a primary role of facilitation (this may be a vehicle for the PRA approach which requires the shifts in power or reversals that Chambers argues are required for empowerment to occur)[58]. Thus there is significant handover of decision-making to the subject communities.

Model 13. Self-determination for Community Development

The community takes responsibility for planning and implementation, thus maximizing self-determination, yet remaining dependent upon government, or NGOs, for funding or other resourcing. Open and consultative local government practice would be required for this model, alternatively a strong People's Organization arising from NGO or

[57] Bengwayan, M. "Luzon Dam Plan riddled with Flaws and Fault Lines", 5 October 1999, Environmental News Service http://ens.lycos.com/ens/oct99/1999L-10-11-01.html

[58] Chambers, R., *Whose Reality Counts: Putting the First Last,* Intermediate Technology Publications, 1997, pp.146-156.

government community facilitation can function this way, as in the third of my fieldwork sites, Tabayag in Argao[59].

At the heart of these thirteen models is the crucial issue of who makes the decisions during the many aspects of such phases of projects as setting objectives, designing the social and technical approach, and deciding on an implementation strategy. Participation is therefore far more complex than stating that 'yes, community groups are involved' or 'no, they are not'. Enforcement, Persuasion, Deception and Enlistment are participation only in the discourse of an elite, for they are inauthentic modes of participation in that in those three models participation is against subjects' wills or is a response to misinformation by another stakeholder. It is marked by an absence of shared decision-making, it is not participation in spirit. Talk of participation is actually meaningless without any specification of which stakeholders make what decisions about phases of a project. In practice the graphical presentation of these models could act as a field or landscape of markers for use in planning project approaches and in differentiating between project approaches for examining where there is shared decision-making in either a single community development project or in the constituent projects of a whole program. In Chapter Six I use the landscape to track and compare the community development models used by the NGOs in the three study areas[60].

For any of these models to effectively assist in setting objectives or resource contributions during project implementation there are socio-ecological characteristics of the program or project context which must match the requirements of local situations. Table 2 describes several of the many possible cross-matches that will be required for any model of participation to work effectively. It can be used to help in this examination of the adequacy, authenticity and limits of participation in a project or a program.

The search for cross-matches illustrated by Table 2 is particularly relevant to models 9, 10, 12 and 13 in which subject groups are involved in project direction or management as advisory board members, design and monitoring as PRA participants, implementers of project components or take up total responsibility for planning and implementation.

[59] See Chapter 6 Section 4.
[60] See Chapter 6, Section 3

Table 2: Required Cross-matches for Authentic Participation

Socio-ecological characteristics	Project characteristics
Stakeholder decision-making **A project designed around stakeholder decision-making, including subject groups, has the potential for group & community empowerment rather than leading to a counterproductive clash over outcomes.**	**Project phase of objective setting** **To ensure matching of group desires (pre-empting false expectations), do subjects and outsiders jointly set project objectives?**
Societal and governmental factors **Political: is local government effective for the community or controlled by an elite, or one tribal group, ie. What mode of participation is open to the beneficiaries?** **Elite power has to be reckoned with for pre-venting blockage, co-option or diversion.**	**Structure of community organizations** **CBO structure needs to use strengths while avoiding or blocking weaknesses of society or group values eg. plans for production or marketing cooperatives may be limited by clan rivalry or past failures of such bodies.**
Gender roles **How much time and 'social room' do the women (or the landless or minority groups) have for pursuing project activities?** **Women and minority groups need equitable, effective, rather than merely nominal, representation in accord with the varying roles relevant to or expected of them.**	**Project activities** **Are the project activities designed to achieve strategic objectives for women such as their maintenance or building up of interdependence?**
Historical and societal factors **Available cultural and previous experience: the knowledge in practice of different groups in the community needs to be intact and, with respect to their cultural context, those groups need to be free to apply it.** **Physical factors** **Understanding of geographic factors of topography, seasonal climate, latitude, geology and soils and their interaction with infrastructure is another aspect of subject knowledge.**	**Open decision-making process** **Traditional knowledge and practice is basic to all stages of decision making from the initial through to the operational. Can the subjects of the project use their awareness to prioritize their needs by urgency or according to a change strategy?** **eg. staple food drought tolerance may take precedence over higher yield** **Interrelationship between education & training institutions and design factors** **The level of coordination required and the technological complexity must be within capacity for training \permanent upgrading. Over-innovation dangerously maximizes risk especially in a marginal environment.** **Inclusive implementation approach** **The attitudes of regional government liaison or project direction officers and foreign personnel are crucial. They must value traditional praxis & be aware of physical limitations or gaps in knowledge.**

Researchers or feasibility consultants can analyse the project proposal and implementation plans as a discourse, a process which can reveal the motivation of the writers, who the excluded groups might be, and what is the dominant discourse from which the project's 'scientific' description has been defined. The kinds of assumed or required congruency identified in Table 2 may help such investigators, a they seek the cross-matches between socio-ecological factors and project characteristics, to gain insight into likely or actual modes of subject group participation and hence, how well the project or various projects in a program follow intended models of participation.

2.4 Positive synergy between socio-ecology and project

Table 2 also highlights the worth of subject peoples, when they have a stake in decision-making, bringing to bear on the project vision, design and implementation their local knowledge of history, environment and culture. Robert Chambers has widely explored and documented the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methodology and the gains to be made for subject peoples and development by their partnership in planning, prioritizing and implementing development activities. Despite the vulnerability of PRA, in some circumstances, to the manipulation of facilitators, the feedback from participants validates the power of the approach. As a Zimbabwean woman participant in a PRA modelling workshop concluded: "And we thought we were so foolish because we could not write. Yet look, we had all this information inside us"[61].

A fascinating example comes from Robyn Eversole's study of the WDA (a pseudonym for a government funded development project) Aboriginal Art Development Project where the establishment of the Project hinged upon the involvement of an Aboriginal community arts group that initially felt betrayed by the art development proposal originating from the government funded agency WDA. By not consulting with the group, WDA had unwittingly taken over its approach and the objectives of its major outreach activities. The WDA had ignored the structure and activities of the local community organization as well as relevant historical and cultural factors about the different communities within the regional Aboriginal society. There were two mismatches under the framework of Table 2 in rows 2 and 4. Key actors in the setting

[61] Chambers, *op. cit.*, pp.130-161.

up of the Project overcame these false steps to get the project off the ground by resolving their differences and adopting resiliently inclusive attitudes as in row 6 of Table 2.[62].

Using the questions the Table raises, investigators can look into the possible scale and scope of intermediary project outcomes, which may be critical for short or medium term relief of socio-ecological pressure on subject groups, as well as into the potential for any overall project objective of community empowerment. This section explores these intermediary project outcomes by identifying how their precursors must be linked together as for the cross-matches of Table 2.

The cross-matches described between community socio-ecological characteristics and project characteristics identify how full participation of subject groups in various phases of projects, through the pooling of local knowledge of practice, can catalyze implementation by magnifying the value of skills and work that all stakeholders put in. This allows for the possibility of synergy in outcomes, as generally described below, where individual inputs from different groups or organizations are transformed into goods and services, as Ostrom defines it, at a rate greater than that expected from summing the separate effects.[63] For example, communities and government agencies can work together to 'co-produce' sewage systems in squatter settlements or highly efficient and effective irrigation supply schemes for smallholder farmers[64].

The potential for project synergy is also linked to the strategy of designing sustainability into initiatives because effective communication with subject groups allows them to negotiate and accommodate their different needs for ongoing mutual socio-ecological benefits, particularly through relationships between resource preservation and livelihood enterprises. Clearly, such community gains depend on the mode of their participation. If more powerful groups, including higher levels of government, limit participation to enlistment or partial modes, such as pseudo-participation in the form of post-design consultation, their pursuit of narrow sectoral development objectives sharply diminishes

[62] Eversole, R. "Managing the Pitfalls of Participatory Development: Some Insight from Australia", *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 5, 2003, pp.787-789.
[63] Ostrom, E. "Crossing the Great Divide: Coproduction, Synergy and Development", *World Development,* Vol. 24, No. 6, 1996, pp.1023-1086.
[64] Uphoff N. & Wijayaratna C. M. "Demonstrated Benefits from Social Capital: The Productivity of Farmer Organizations in Gal Oya, Sri Lanka", *World Development,* Vol. 28, No. 11, 2000, p.1895.

potential for synergy since it pre-empts the systems-thinking upon which mutual enhancement or sustainability depend. This stands out sharply in the Philippines example of 'transformative development' provided in Sarah White's paper referred to in the introduction to this chapter[65]. The approach of the Mayor and political officials was a false offer of participation which the newly confident community resisted by drawing from their discourse of empowerment. However, the unwillingness of the mayor and his group to work in a genuine way with this community meant a loss of opportunities for synergy in development that is seen to greater and lesser degrees in all three of my study areas.

Linking outsider agency objectives with subject group outcomes: conceptual synergy

Synergy at the conceptual level is generated when project communities are able to link the intended benefits of programs such as soil and water conservation with income generation objectives such as timber, fuel-wood and tree-fodder production[66]. This means matching an open, inclusive implementation team with community capacity for design and coordination. It provides opportunities for sustainable livelihood gains for the communities who are the subjects of development. Obviously, if subject groups are locked out of project direction and management or their capacity for adaptation is thwarted by, say, legal exclusion from forest conservation areas as Filipino smallholders were in the Marcos era, then possibilities for conceptual synergy are blocked.

Linking program flexibility with evaluation: synergy from flexible implementation

There are close links between community participation in pre-project feasibility assessment and ongoing monitoring and evaluation on the one hand, and project flexibility on the other. Project flexibility needs to be designed in so that it is possible to respond to community input to reduce or pre-empt harmful effects on the community, and instead amplify positive spin-offs. Such potential synergy requires basic administrative capability for monitoring feedback and inclusion of subject group representatives into the evaluation process so that it is possible to re-design activities at any time in the project cycle.[67] The required match is for an open decision-making

[65] White, *op. cit.,* pp.9-10.
[66] Garcia, J., Gerrits, R. et al *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Davao del Sur,,* SEARCA-UQ Uplands Research Project, Report No. 2, 1995b, Los Banos, pp.79-82.
[67] Finsterbusch, K. & Wicklin, W. A. "Beneficiary Participation in Development Projects: Empirical Tests of Popular Theories", *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol. 37, 1988-89, pp.576-580.

process throughout project implementation coupled with community opportunity to apply their cultural and historical knowledge to monitoring and evaluation.

Linking livelihood with socio-ecological factors: sustainability as longitudinal synergy

Participation of subject groups and outsider experts can become a process of mutual enquiry and learning through them applying the understanding and experience of local environmental practice in concert with scientific knowledge. This strengthens the ability of implementing agencies, governments and local communities to evaluate development projects in terms of their environmental sustainability and stability alongside of productivity and equity. Only when there is congruence between agricultural, or other livelihood practices, as well as both local ecology and sociology (ie. socio-ecology) will there be environmental stability and yield sustainability. This is the logic behind the World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) first requirement for the pursuit of sustainable development as being "a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision-making"[68].

Moreover, synergy and sustainability go hand in hand. Sustainability requires a systems approach in which the bearers of traditional knowledge play a crucial role in resolving complex ecological, social and environmental interactions. This systems approach is relevant to smallholders and large-scale producers alike. As Jules Pretty has pointed out, sustainability really depends upon a thorough understanding of how human activities and an ecological system interact. Sustainability is a feature of human livelihoods where the subjects use understanding of their socio-ecology to sustain production and the environment in a dynamic system that may actually yield more over time as synergies grow. Moreover, Pretty's arguments are general in nature and therefore equally valid for non-livelihood development projects. He demonstrates that sustainability of either projects or the environment requires systematic thinking about the interdependent shifts in social or resource dynamics which will affect socio-ecological dynamics through altered flows of resources and levels of goods in societies or in environmental storages.[69]

[68] Bruntland Commission WCED, *Our Common Future,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1987.

Sustainability of project-initiated activities in a particular local environment will then depend on the systematic evaluation and reconciliation of the differing perspectives of government, local farm-families (in the case of my study) and implementing agencies, such as NGOs. Such systematic evaluation depends upon the cross-match of open decision-making processes and the availability of cultural knowledge and practice. Moreover, the evaluation and resolution of critique demands flexibility in approach and in setting performance criteria which accommodate both quantitative (gains in resources or wealth) and qualitative (gains in such social assets as liberty, dignity and spiritual well-being) measures of change, as Jennifer Elliott has argued. She warns, however, that "there is no blueprint for sustainable development"; rather, "it is people who do development, not governments, and therefore sustainable development is, ultimately, a local activity"[70]. This parallels Pretty's statement that there is no formula for sustainability to be applied in all situations. Sustainability is the approach of stakeholders, especially the subject people who actually use the natural resources, thinking about socio-ecological dynamics, considering the potential for different or better yielding livelihoods and how the socio-ecological system could be adapted to renew and conserve the environment while they pursue those changed livelihoods.

Linking levels of government with decision-making: synergies of agile government

Through appropriate organizational change, regional governments can develop the 'agility' and openness in consultation that enables power-sharing and collaboration with local government bodies.[71] The partnership between regional and local government, or other community based organizations, may generate fuller participation which leads to synergy through the application of local knowledge and the combination of community labour and equipment with regional expertise and infrastructure. The required cross-match is between Inclusive Implementation Attitudes and Design Factors. It allows the mode of synergy referred to by Evans as complementarity of government, CBOs and NGOs which catalyzes synergistic coordination and cooperation[72]. When the public-private partnership is personalized as links between key public officials and citizens such as community leaders then there is the possibility of the synergistic mode that

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[69] Pretty, J. "Alternative Systems of Enquiry for a Sustainable Agriculture" *IDS Bulletin* Vol. 25, No. 2, 1994, p.39.
[70] Elliott, J. A. *„An Introduction to Sustainable Development*, Routledge, London, 1994, pp.110-112.
[71] Brohman, J. *Participation and Power,* London, Blackwell, 1996 pp.274-276.
[72] Evans, P. "Government Action, Social Capital and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy" *World Development* Vol. 24, 1996, pp.1119-1122.

Evans referred to as embededness. That is the kind of synergy that turned around the WDA Aboriginal community arts project described by Eversole where the government funded economic development officer overcame shortcomings within his own agency by going back to the Aboriginal arts group and making use of their previous experience and ongoing commitment[73]. Without such interaction between higher and lower levels of government the systems-thinking or resolution of perspectives required for sustainability is absent. A willingness on the part of higher levels of government to consult, confer, and jointly envision, design and implement programs will mean that they and local stakeholders may realize the potential synergies from participation in decision-making rather than missing out on them.

The integration of the decision-making perspectives of all stakeholders has long-term significance. This is especially true for local communities developing the links with regional or provincial governments that are required for the transition from mosaics of tribal or village oriented micro-societies to networks of localities perceiving themselves to be part of districts or regions[74]. The common outlook of all village, clan or tribal stakeholders can then synergize for constructing civil society. This needs dedicated leadership, moreover, some agency or agencies such as cooperatives or religious organizations may have to set up and maintain the initial network. In situations of rigid socio-economic dominance, the exclusion of the project subjects from design and implementation not only prevents synergistic co-production but also may lead to reinforcement of the elite position. NGOs may be able to lever the political space for CBOs and their umbrella organizations to work at overcoming such dominance. They will also need to identify and work in a complementary way or 'embed with' bureaucratic and political reformers who themselves need allies to survive and function around entrenched elites[75].

2.5 The Participation of Women for Community Empowerment

Women in the Philippines, and in most societies, occupy a lower social position compared to men. The degree of inequality between men and women varies from one

[73] Eversole, *op.cit.,* pp.787-789.
[74] Crittenden, R. & Lea, D. M. *Provincial Integrated Rural Development Programs in Papua New Guinea: a decade of experience*, IASER Discussion Paper No.58, Port Moresby, 1988, pp.34-35, and see also pp.17-20.
[75] Evans, *op.cit.*, pp.1127-1128.

society to another, and within societies, but this gender inequality, reinforced by rigid political and cultural structures, leads to women having more limited opportunities to participate in development projects, and in decision-making at all levels. This is both unjust and cuts off the knowledge of practice of women that represents opportunities for synergizing with outsider objectives, effective evaluation and thorough systems analysis for sustainable socio-ecology. It follows that building up the full participation of women is a pathway for potentiating community development. It is therefore important to consider women's participation as a separate issue.

However, this does not mean that women's participation should be made a project goal without reference to real changes in women's share in decision-making. I will argue that making women's participation a project goal in itself may result in the sham of pseudo-participation or the enlistment of women, costing them labour and resources without benefit. Instead, women's participation as decision-makers in CBOs, NGOs and local government should be fostered so that they can increase and exercise their capacity to meet their needs as defined by women themselves. The required cross-match for such effective participation is that the women have sufficient equitable, representation to match the time and 'social space' needed to pursue their objectives.

The empowerment approach

The practical expression of this need for women to gain access to a share in decision-making is to ensure that arrangements for the consultation and inclusion of women are built into proposals. Practically speaking, NGO and CBO workers alongside 'embedded reformers' (see above) in government agencies can mainstream gender action in this strategic way of pursuing women's empowerment. Caroline Moser described such a shift in feminist approaches to development towards this 'empowerment' of Third World communities in general, and women's organizations in particular. She suggested that the empowerment approach originated in Third World women's movements situated in nationalist political struggles, working class industrial action and peasant rebellions. This was different from the First World feminist focus on gender equity in that it was situated in specific Third World contexts[76]. From a different perspective, Mohanty also critiqued the Western feminists' struggle against what they perceive as a

[76] Moser, C., "Gender Planning in the Third World", *World Development,* Vol. 17, No.11, 1989, p.1799 for her historical summary

'universal patriarchal framework'.[77] She argued that feminist scholarship within and about the Third World must examine the heterogenous complexes of power relations between men and women in each Third World situation in the light of the different priorities and needs of the women concerned.

According to Moser, proponents of the empowerment strategy recognize that oppressive gender structures have to be challenged whilst working to meet the strategic and practical gender needs of women in their local situations. Other development feminists, such as Mayoux and Wieringa, have argued that Moser's distinction between practical and strategic gender needs is an obfuscation because strategic needs are practical. In particular, Wieringa acknowledges that there are several approaches to empowerment but notes that feminism is central to the process of rebuilding self-esteem and identity through women coming to grips with its ethics and praxis.[78] She argues that in reality the distinction between practical and strategic gender needs is arbitrary, and in insisting on this distinction project planners too readily fix on their own choice of needs or on choices made by an unrepresentative group. Despite good feminist intentions, these planners are then effectively attempting to enlist women to participate in projects not of their own making and to their possible disadvantage. However, Wieringa's criticism assumes that in practice the subjects of development, including women, are cut off from the project design process. Such cases reinforce the argument that without the full participation of women in the decision-making of all phases of the project cycle there is a risk of disadvantage to women from project activities and outcomes.

The key strategic question for development projects then becomes the pursuit of practical needs while minimizing the potential social conflict for women. Naila Kabeer addresses this issue in her review of the successes and failures of NGOs using various approaches to facilitate women's empowerment. She maintains that effective NGOs focus on women's priorities over a range of needs. Her case studies show how avoiding strategic issues means that the NGO or INGO concerned will therefore work directively with subject groups, that is they will limit their participation, and with less effectiveness. For them it is too risky to treat women as "competent but socially

[77] Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, "Under Western Eyes. Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" *Power, Representation & Feminist Critique,* Routledge, NY, 1991, pp.51-53.
[78]Wieringa, S., "Women's Interests and Empowerment: Gender planning Reconsidered", *Development and Change,* Vol. 25, 1994, pp.831-832.

constrained actors who are capable of making their own choices".[79] The INGO's tendency is to avoid any overt promotion or activities centred on efforts to redress gender inequalities. It follows that defending such conflict by avoiding non-interference in the local situation is actually to take up a position in support of the status quo, which then begs the question of 'why take any initiative in international development'? Organizational survival in the development industry can become a fundamental objective that may inflict greater inequality on subject groups. It is quite another matter to argue for a lower profile of activity in a particular setting because of the highly hostile reactions from entrenched groups.[80]

To assess the worth of participation it is necessary to investigate the mode of participation allowed or facilitated for women, rather than accepting whatever form women's participation took in a project. Since both women and their social situations are dynamic, the successful participation of women is a matter of them choosing tactics to pursue a bundle of needs which will begin to lever long-term overall improvement in their social situation.[81] Development facilitators can help women re-evaluate their situations to identify how their needs stem from local disadvantages which are shaped by inequalities in gender, race, ethnicity, class, wealth and location. Women's participation then becomes the starting point for preparing their own program of action, whether that is resistance or cooperation. As I will show in Chapter Six, the shift in women's involvement in the soil conservation project from family labourers to their independent membership in the farmers' organization was pivotal to extending the scope of the project to address wider community needs. [82] In particular it freed up the women's social awareness, knowledge and gave rise to them working towards their visions of the future for their communities.

However, Mayoux has argued that "in many cases the role [of linking CBOs to project implementation] adopted by development agencies has reinforced rather than challenged the status quo [of women's subordination to men]"[83]. In some cases this is because a governing elite has sabotaged the change process by orchestrating pseudo-

[79]Kabeer, N. *Reversed Realities: Empowerment from Below,* London, Verso, 1994, pp.233-4, pp.261-2.
[80] Mayoux, L., "Beyond Naivety: Women, Gender, Equality and Participatory Development", *Development and Change,* Vol. 26, 1995, pp.252-253.
[81] Wieringa*, op.cit.*, pp.839-840.
[82] See Chapter 6 Section 4.
[83] Mayoux, *op.cit.,* p.252.

participation for its own ends. Even if the activities were well intended, they nevertheless result in counterproductive development. This demonstrates that a thoroughly participatory design phase must provide the opportunity for women and their facilitators to reject a technically feasible proposal on the grounds that the political forces could use it to shore up women's repression.

Restrictions on women's participation

Mayoux examined the reasons why disadvantaged women appear to have chosen not to participate, or have been prevented from participating, in groups engaged in developmental activities. Her starting point was to recognize that the complexities of social structures mean that women are a multitude of individuals and groups, each with their own coping mechanisms and niches within the predominant order. Some are interested in preserving the old order and the safety, security or advantage they have constructed or 'fallen' into within patriarchy, while others have no other understanding than the one by which they are dominated, and are hence unaware of alternative discourse. In either of these situations, women have little reason to join groups with plans for social action, and if they do, their different motivations and commitment can result in conflict[84].

Different women may have varying priorities that refer to different underlying inequalities. The most disadvantaged women are likely to have needs that are more basic than those of women with more freedom, education and organizational experience who will, because of their backgrounds, tend to have more opportunity to participate in decision-making. Often the benefits from participation are far from self-evident, and may be outweighed by costs for the participants in terms of their time, skills, energy or other resources.

Therefore, the differential status of women, and of particular groups in communities, has to be investigated if the poorer and more disadvantaged women are to effectively participate. As Mayoux suggested, there are situations where women's space to act in their own right is so small that they choose to entirely throw in their lot with the men.[85] These women are then further disempowered by their isolation from other women with

[84] *ibid.* p.241.
[85] *ibid.* p.243.

whom they share social, political or economic interests.

Grassroots organizations are not homogeneous or equal. They reflect structures of inequality because of all-encompassing and rigid religious or cultural mores of the group. The participation of women within those grassroots organizations may be effective for achieving organizational goals without empowering those women, or it may change and empower them without them reaching the organization's immediate objectives.

Despite different ideas about the dynamics of empowerment, there is broad agreement that the empowerment approach has the potential to advance of the interests of women. As Moser pointed out, "historically it has been shown that the capacity to confront the nature of gender inequality and women's emancipation can only be fulfilled by the bottom-up struggle of women's organisations".[86] Characteristic of empowerment approaches is that they begin with an analysis of the situation by the women involved, not by planners or facilitators.[87] Based on this analysis, women should jointly plan project activities with men, rather than being the unpaid handmaidens of development planners.[88] In summary, women themselves should be able to or be enabled to mainstream development activities which challenge the social structures that stifle their social, economic and emotional needs. Mainstreaming of gender action is a pathway to women's empowerment and, moreover, to that of other subject groups in the community.

A women's organization captured by the dominant structures of men's oppression may well be unable to challenge those structures to meet some of their members' social, economic and, or emotional needs. From the arguments presented above, that effective programs require strategic objectives in women's interests, it is unlikely that such an organization will achieve much in the way of practical gains for women. The agency may then undermine development for the whole community by functioning as a source of destructive synergy. Such negative synergy is the topic explored in the next section.

[86] Moser, *op.cit.* p.1803.
[87] *ibid.,* pp.1815; Wieringa, *op.cit.*, pp.833-844; Mayoux, *op.cit.*, pp.251-252.
[88] See Figure 2 Pseudo-participation as drafted in-kind labour

2.6 Negative synergy: downward spirals

Just as forces for change working together can magnify individual effects so the losses from forces working out of sequence or against one another can be out of proportion to their individual effects. A ritual of participation may be followed by what is later apparent as a steady failure to achieve either project milestones and objectives or empowerment in my terms of community vision-setting and self-adaptivity. Where use of a framework (as in Table 2.1) warns of mismatches between participation and project or environment, there is a danger of disproportionately poor project outcomes compared to the input, as various forms of mutual negation waste human, social and physical capital.

Social factors excluded from decision-making

A 'misfit' of perspectives or failure of integration occurs when governmental objectives for a program are at cross-purposes with community anticipations. The community responds with passive or active resistance resulting in a downward spiral of futility.[89] Such unravelling of a development project needs to be recognized as deliberate action against the predetermined development pathway, which can reach the extreme of the destructive synergy of armed conflict. This occurred before and during the Marcos administration in the Philippines, as I describe in Chapter Four, where I make particular reference to the use of forestry policy as a means to legalize the appropriation of tribally and government owned timber resources[90].

Blocked representation

In the absence of constructive modes of participation there is the danger that marginalized groups will have no chance to put forward their needs or to respond to development proposals whereas elite groups or individuals often have informal but effective means to do so. Philippine history is rife with this kind of inequitable representation as seen in Chapter 4[91]. However, Chapter 6 shows that history can be turned around. One of the most significant long term gains of the Soil Conservation

[89] For example, the Sri Lanka: Lower Uva and Kenya: Magarini Settlement Projects exemplify such loss of people-years & funds. See Hewson, R., Chandra, S. and Connell, S. *Review of Integrated Area Development Projects* AIDAB Evaluation Series No. 10, Canberra AGPS, 1991, pp.26-34.
[90] See Chapter 4 Section 2.
[91] See Chapter 4 Section 4.

Project in Tabayag is that local government has been liberated from the control of the large landowners and farmers.

Technocratic mental rigidity

Excessive confidence in scientific and technological knowledge can lead to projects which attempt unrealistic transformation of socio-ecological systems and fail to integrate indigenous knowledge. Project planners operating under this discourse tend to objectify communities as inputs to a pre-determined model for which the peculiarities of the task-environment have been oversimplified[92]. This often causes project failure, but it can also have worse effects in ruining local communities[93]. One example of this in the Philippines is a failed soil conservation project on the island of Palawan where the lead agency pursued a model for re-vamping local agricultural systems without reference to constraints of which subject smallholders were well aware[94].

Intellectual baggage

Project planners (particularly Westerners) easily adopt misconceptions about the developing countries in which they operate. This is due to a long history of colonial discourse in which the non-Western cultures were portrayed as inferior, but also to contemporary development discourse and media portrayals of a crisis-ridden Third World. It leads outsider governments and public to identify particular local events in developing countries as instances of predefined scenarios threatening catastrophic collapse. By taking up a theme of crisis which justifies interventionist development, outsider personnel (national or foreign) can insulate themselves from the dialogue with locals which is basic to the handover of decision-making[95].

Even countries classified by OECD indices as extremely poor continue to provide a social framework for the livelihoods of millions. Locals are resilient, not powerless, carrying out reforms to which Western development experts may be blind because they constantly search for a crisis instead of strengthen such reform by supporting those generating it.

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[92] Chambers, R., "Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): analysis of experience", *World Development*, Vol. 22, No. 9, 1994, pp.1253-1268.
[93] Porter, D. et al, *op. cit.*, pp.71-72 & p.202.
[94] Garcia, J. Gerrits, R. et al*, Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Palawan*, SEARCA-UQ Uplands Research Project, Report No. 4, 1995d, particularly "Preface".
[95] Porter, D. *et al, op. cit.,* pp.208-212.

Institutional egos and individual contests

All organizations have trouble dealing with error or carelessness. Tactics vary from 'shooting the messenger', to playing down poor performance then covering up, or instituting rigid, simplistic procedures which fail to deal with the real issues. Short institutional memory often means that failures, which might otherwise have triggered authentic consultation and fuller participation driving better analysis of the models in use, are perpetuated by being glossed over[96].

'Active non-learning' may take place when the consequences of hidden constraints play themselves out yet development agents avoid accountability. Then full participation by local communities may be eschewed to make sure they do not bring such constraints to light[97]. Where NGOs are operating with stretched resources, such as the joint university team of the MUSUAN Project at my fieldwork site in Bukidnon Province, the reluctance to change 'our concept' is reinforced by the limitations of a small core team that is unable to sustain and respond to regular evaluation sessions. Due to a combination of academic and contract workloads, the MUSUAN team appears to have been overcommitted. It responded by cutting the evaluation program to a minimum. This resulted in breaking the linkage between evaluation and the team's adaptive will[98].

To avoid these pitfalls into negative downward spirals project teams need an attitude of openness which willingly includes communities into regular consultation and groups or local leaders into design and implementation activities. Partnership with leaders who represent the full range of groups and community motivations, who have access to local knowledge and who are capable of challenging pre-conceptions, is the basis for adaptive management of development. The World Neighbours approach at Tabayag of founding and handing over project implementation to a CBO was an effective and empowering means to institutionalize that level of openness. It forestalled over-direction from a remote INGO headquarters.

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[96] Porter, D. *et al, op. cit.* pp.65-68.
[97] Hulme, D., "Learning and Not Learning from Experience in Rural Project Planning" *Public Administration and Development* Vol. 9, 1989, pp.8-10.
[98] Section 6.4 Findings about Community Participation, The inter action between women's training and leadership

2.7 The Costs of Participation

Outsider stakeholders in development perceive resource costs related to the participation of communities in project design, planning and implementation. Through the 1980s agencies such as the UNDP, the World Bank and management companies saw their loss of time and effort for consultation of and coordination with subject communities as far outweighing the gains in better understanding of the local situation[99]. By the mid 1990s the understanding that the objectives, design and implementation of projects had to reflect the opportunity costs and resource losses of subject groups had generated changes in the World Bank's policy and operational climate. There were significant groups in World Bank staff and management who saw that the risk of poor project effectiveness, including negative spinoffs, outweighed the costs of facilitating subject group participation[100].

Increased time in preliminary stages

In their early studies of participatory processes the World Bank found that the total number of staff weeks required for the design phase of participatory projects was on average 10% to 15% more than that needed for non-participatory projects. Salary costs per project were therefore assumed to be higher because fewer loan packages were put together by a given number of staff. However, Bank reports indicated that the net result may have been neutral for the time taken up to project approval, as well as for the effect on the rate of loan disbursements and the total supervisory effort required[101]. That is the extra time taken to organize participation was made up for in more rapid progress at later stages. Moreover, the Bank's own work has consistently shown that significant gains were to be made in project effectiveness by increasing the involvement of all groups in communities, especially the poor, in determining the "quality and quantity" of the planned services and taking part in service delivery, monitoring and supervision[102].

Finsterbusch and Wicklin state in their analysis of the effectiveness of participation in a sample of 50 USAID projects that "delivering aid *efficiently* is the overriding priority for donor agencies" (my italics point to agency personnel confounding efficiency with

[99] UNDP *Human Development Report 1993*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1993, pp.20-28.
[100] World Bank, *The World Bank And Participation* Washington DC World Bank 1994, p.xvii.
[101] World Bank *The World Bank And Participation* Washington DC World Bank 1994, p.21.

effectiveness) [103]. It is easy to fall into a fallacy when one thinks in the narrow instrumental terms about completing infrastructure that was the concern of most of the sample USAID projects. Their conclusion in a subsequent paper, appropriately qualifying their earlier verdict, was that "participation is beneficial for project effectiveness by increasing community capacity for organization, maintenance and management"[104]. Nevertheless, the donor agencies felt the time and energy cost of working with beneficiary communities to be difficult and struggled to see that the long-term outcomes of infrastructure projects could be mutually beneficial gains in community self-reliance, sustainable maintenance of the infrastructure, and management or extension of infrastructure. The researchers had identified that efficiency, rather than effectiveness, was the felt need of the agencies.

The different weights given to time efficiency by corporate as opposed to community centred cultures is a major concern in project management precisely because of the priority corporate culture gives to rapid processing of communication and to implementation according to pre-set timelines. Project preparation and implementation periods are regularly underestimated, as Salmen reported in a World Bank review of urban development projects worldwide[105]. Under the pressures of rigid timelines, development practitioners fail to grasp the time required to contact, consult and arrange participation with subject groups. However, according to my analysis this should be seen as a lag phase of networking, promotion and presentations to committees which will become a foundation for a strong partnership with subject communities and was a strength of all three NGOs in my study[106].

The costs of a consultative and participatory process may in fact be regarded as an outlay made to pre-empt later unexpected costs and to decrease the risk of failure. As the World Bank stated, "the benefits of participatory approaches in lending operations are most often evidenced as improvements in the quality, effectiveness and

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[102] World Bank *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People* Washington DC World Bank 2004.
[103] Finsterbusch, K. and Van Wicklin, W., "The Contribution of Beneficiary Participation to Development Project Effectiveness", *Public Administration and Development,* Vol 7, 1987, pp.1-23.
[104] Finsterbusch, K., & Van Wicklin, W., "Beneficiary participation in Development Projects" *Economic Development and Cultural Change* Vol 37,1988-89 p591.
[105] Implementation of the average bank project (5.4 years) requires 40% more time than originally estimated (3.8 years), according to Salmen, L., in World Bank *Learning by Doing: World Bank Lending for Urban Development, 1972-82,* World Bank, Washington, 1987, p.46.

sustainability of the development effort"[107]. In practice the decision of whether or not to pursue the highest level of participation that the situation allows may be a critical factor in determining the pace at which a project, or program, can be carried out.

Time and labour costs to participant beneficiaries

The subjects of development projects, especially the poor or otherwise disadvantaged, are even more vulnerable to technological failure, unforeseen consequences or systemic design fault than governments and consultants who might face financial loss. These subjects, being generally wary of intervention, therefore require familiarization and thorough explanation before they will welcome it. The gains from their cooperation are that the project might benefit them where it otherwise may have harmed them, especially if it failed. The time put in by cooperating group members, especially before project outcomes improve their resource, cost or income situations, may be a 'hump' they struggle over. Outsiders need to give time for interaction with the locals, recognizing that time as part of the lag phase referred to above. A threshold of support has to be set up, especially for key leaders[108]. These costs are often greatest for the most disadvantaged who may be the least able to wait for the indirect and uncertain benefits from their activity. Moreover, while the effects of group activity may have spin-offs which are windfalls for the relatively less advantaged, unforeseen consequences may most harm the least well-off without change agents being aware of it.

Loss of lender control

Funding agencies find it easier to administer and monitor programs or projects with a minimum number of contractual parties. This is to them a matter of ease of process which can engender rigidity in design and, or implementation that hampers projects (especially with respect to the capacity to review and respond to evaluation findings). Contrarily, too loose an agenda can also send a project into disarray with too many initiatives or actions at cross-purposes[109]. By accepting subject groups into design, implementation and evaluation, donor agencies can give up the comfort of feeling in total control in order to gain better project output and outcomes.

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[106] Chapter 6 Section 6.2.
[107] World Bank *The World Bank and Participation* Washington DC: World Bank, 1994, p.22, No. 44
[108] *ibid.,* p.23.
[109] *ibid.,* p.22.

2.8 Conclusion

The financial brokers of development aid speak of democracy as fundamental to their overall purpose, but then readily ignore sham democratic governance out of consideration for the commercial opportunities of political stability. Participation is seen as instrumental to successful development, in the sense that it is a means to efficient and effective development, not an end in itself. Furthermore, the label of participation is fastened on almost any activity of subject groups, especially the poor, with little regard to the nature or mode of that participation. Participation is actually a term for a range of kinds of community project involvement that are generated in contrasting ways and involve deception and force rather than voluntarism. For genuine community development defined as "facilitating communities to improve their social or productive skills, infrastructure and services as they wish", constructive modes of participation must be distinguished from the false and unjust.

Opposition to development activities organized by other groups, or perhaps even carried out by the same people who are participating in project activities can be recognized as also being participation in the form of resistance to the objectives of the project. Rather than seeing resistance as a stubborn traditionalism it may be viewed as people considering the pathways of progress which are open to them and choosing one they see as their current least risky option. In other words, resistance needs to be understood as a measure of vision, adaptability and community capacity, the very phrases used to describe communities who can form partnerships with outside stakeholders such as governments and NGOs to work to enhance their own futures. Recognizing resistance as a sign of self-organized adaptation by communities suggests that participation in the mode of empowerment may be a worthwhile end in itself. At least, it is important that NGO workers recognize local resistance as a valid response to development overtures, which warns their agency to be wary of engagement in such proposals and programs.

There is tension between acts of intervention made by the change agents of an outsider agency, as opposed to the intent to allow and encourage local partnership in decision-making. It is a counter current of development rhetoric to state, as Mayoux does, that "most participatory programs are to a greater or lesser extent 'imposed' from

outside"[110]. But this is the case for many groups in situations where they feel that they are without any leverage for change or even any idea of how to restore or make things better. They want partnership with outside facilitators because their territorialized discourse of livelihood leaves them in need of it[111]. Evans describes this as CBOs or NGOs working with community groups for the "constructability" of developmental synergy. Although Evans expresses serious doubts as to the possibility of achieving this in deeply in-egalitarian societies, he does cite examples of innovative organisations which have catalyzed such developmental synergy elsewhere [112].

Having unpacked the concept of participation in this chapter, I will examine its finer grain to point out some of the matches of socio-ecological characteristics and project design necessary to see the achievement of desired project outcomes. Only when local knowledge is brought to bear can there be real expectation for resolving conflicts and pre-empting failure early enough to limit counterproductive effects or achieve some mutual objectives. Advantage can then be taken of synergistic spin-offs while negativities can be minimized, avoided or recognized as due preparation for the potential gains of full local participation in projects.

Participation is not a magic wand for community development practitioners. The history of the Margarini Project[113] and reviews like Mayoux's substantiate the stories passed on from practitioner to practitioner and funder to funder of failure and difficulty half-lit by the bright candles of success. For all disempowered groups, it needs to be kept in mind that the damage of pseudo-participation will be avoided if a range of options is left open by sponsoring agencies, and their facilitators, for subjects to choose their scope of strategic action and how they take decision-making power. In contrast, willing participation can be, and has been, a powerful catalyst and tool for community and group action.

Building up the full participation of women is a pathway to accelerate community development as well as a matter of justice for disempowered women. The role of other

[110] Mayoux, L., "Beyond Naivety: Women, Gender, Equality and Participatory Development" *Development and Change* Vol. 26, 1995, p.245.
[111] Refer to Chapter 1 Section 1.4.
[112] Evans, P "Government Action, Social Capital and Development: Reviewing the Evidence on Synergy" *World Development*, Vol. 24, 1996, p.1128.
[113] Porter et al, *op. cit.*

stakeholders can actually provide structural leverage to achieve this as is demonstrated in the study findings of Chapter Six where women's social knowledge was activated. It is the gender expression of the effectiveness to be gained from participation whenever there is a genuine handover of decision-making power to the subject community or group.

These discussions of the various modes of participation, both constructive and destructive, and the positive and negative synergies that are likely to result from combinations of factors occurring when subject groups participate in those different modes, lead me, in Chapter Three, to examine the history of participatory discourse. I relate the discourses to the modes of participation described here and relate them to stakeholder use of participatory discourse in developmental practice. At work all stakeholders in development represent participation in many different ways according to the groups they are meeting or working with and the tasks at hand. Since my discussion relates to the studies of three smallholder communities in the Philippines, I focus this discussion of how development actors use participation on the centrality of subject group indigenous knowledge of practice for maintaining the sustainability of smallholder livelihoods within their socio-ecological contexts while pursuing the kind of sustainable development that they choose for themselves.

Chapter 3: A Review of Participation in Development

3.1 Introduction

Since the 1980s scholars and practitioners have increasingly recognised participation as an important element in the process of development. For some, participation simply means subject groups benefiting from a project. However, in a given situation this could amount to enforcement. Others refer to the involvement of mid-level government public servants in priority setting and planning of development programs once they are initiated by outside donors. An approach, embraced by the World Bank's Participation Group in the mid 1990s argued that good practice required the willing participation of all groups who were stakeholders in development programs[114]. However, the clearest application of the Bank's discourse of Stakeholder Participation is the inclusion of host government personnel into the situation analysis, concept development and program design stages. The most challenging concept of participation is that of empowerment where the subjects of development are facilitated to share in decision-making in all stages of project life cycle. Or, as Jan Nederveen Pieterse puts it, "the idea of participation is radically turned around, such that governments, international institutions or NGOs would be considered as participating in [subject] people's local development"[115]. Pieterse actually characterises Alternative Development by this concept of subject group and community participation where he sees Alternative Development as an approach that has been concerned with redefining the goals of development and with introducing alternative practices which are participatory and people centred[116].

This chapter outlines the evolution of discourses of participation of the development process since the early 1970s, with particular reference to the models of participation described in Chapter Two[117]. I provide a background to the articulation, in those discourses, of the modes of participatory practice and examine the linkages between these representations of participation and the functions they serve within various models

[114] World Bank *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook* Washington DC: World Bank 1996, pp.3-8.
[115] Pieterse, J. N. *My Paradigm or Yours? Alternative Development, Post Development, Reflexive Development,* Working Paper Series No.229, 1996, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, p.13.
[116] Pieterse, *ibid.,* pp.12.

of development[118]. I use the changing discourse of participation in the World Bank, illuminated by the parallel history of participation in the UNDP and the ILO, as principal sources alongside discussions of project implementation throughout the Third World. This paves the way for a discussion of the ways in which various actors in the industry of development use these discourses and models to relate to one another, propose new work, report on what they do and justify the industry.

Since a major offering that the subjects of development bring to the developmental process is their indigenous knowledge, or local knowledge of practice, I show how their participation has potential for effective, sustainable development activities. It is the importance of this local knowledge which points to the centrality of the subjects of development sharing in decision-making about the impact of development on their socio-ecological situation. Models of participation based on discourses of empowerment therefore offer pathways to socio-ecological sustainability of livelihood.

3.2 Discourses of Participation

There is a multiplicity of discourses of participation. It is a part of human nature that many of us seek to maintain or strengthen our degree of power and control. In the development industry, practitioners operate according to the interplay of theory and self-interest, responding to circumstances but also reacting according to feelings, though they may frame those reactions within a convenient discourse of development. The observation, by Kathy Gardner[119], of the nimble-footedness of human interaction as our interests collide, overlap and parallel is a very powerful one. Her discussion of the tactical use, adoption and discarding of discourses by the actors within a plantation rehabilitation project illustrates and implies that, throughout the industry of development, parties treat development discourses in like manner. The project she analysed was funded by an ex-colonial power to rejuvenate run down private tea plantations as important suppliers of export goods, foreign revenue and employment[120]. Gardener observed that the staff of the management agency, the funder and the national

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[117] See Chapter 2 Section 3.
[118] Chapter 2 Section 2.
[119] Gardner, K. "Mixed messages: Contested 'Development' and the Plantation Rehabilitation Project" in Grillo, R. and Stirrat, R. (eds) *Discourses of Development: Anthropological Perspectives,* Berg, Oxford 1997, p.152.
[120] Gardner, *op.cit.,* pp. 136-137.

government departments readily switched back and forth between discourses of participation - including enlistment, business efficiency and empowerment - according to the senior managers or government officers they were reporting to, the problem they tackled or which stakeholders they were interacting with.

In the remainder of this section I will present a potted history of development by sketching out the range of optional participatory discourses, which has served the different stakeholders in development at one time or another.

Enforcement

Enforcement is a form of participation which was particularly widespread in the early post-Second World War modernisation era of development. Modernisation theory saw Third World countries as tradition bound societies whose modernization could be catalyzed through setting up conditions for rapid economic growth.[121] US President, Harry Truman's speech, in 1947, signalled this era of development in which the United States assumed the mandate to drive such economic growth and social change in the interests of their own trade and of international security which, they felt, was threatened by Soviet Communism[122]. The multilateral and bilateral aid agencies therefore funded the infrastructure and facilities of industrial revolution across the Third World with the cooperation of Third World governing elites who joined in the lifestyle of First World administrators and politicians. In the development process the donors and receiving governments forced populations to change by planning and implementing their future. National governments took control of their lands for water storage, power generation, plantation and urban development. They channelled their agricultural labour to support urban growth for industry using economic measures and effects to push migration of rural people to new sites of employment. While participation was not a development key word at the time, within the prevailing theory of development there was an implicitly hidden discourse of forced participation by the citizens of the nations targeted for development.

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[121] Streeten, P. et al, *First Things First: Meeting Basic Human Needs in Developing Countries,* Oxford University Press, 1981, p.9.

[122] Truman, H. "Inaugural Address", 1949, http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistletop/50yr_archive/inaugurl20jan1949.htm (accessed 22 September 2006)

Steady growth between 1950 and 1975 seemed to justify this approach to both the controllers and subjects of development as achieving its objective of modernization and the progressive eradication of poverty with a range of average annual income increase in the developing world from 1.7% in South Asia, to 2.4% in Africa, 2.6% in Latin America, 3.9% in East Asia and 5.2% in West Asia.[123] However, high rates of population and labour force growth were accompanied by the gradual automation of industry, encouraged by relatively high urban wages, so that the absorption of men and women into the industrial and commercial sectors lagged behind their migration into the cities. Especially in countries where there was little tradition of intensive agriculture supporting an urban non-farming population and where agriculture was milked to fund elite lifestyles and industrialization programs, as it did in West and Central and African countries, the economy failed to build as was necessary for the benefits of overall growth to trickle-down to the rural and urban poor as had been envisaged[124].

This slowdown in growth across the Third World led to analysis of the presuppositions of the modernization theory. Adelman and Morris carried out a multivariate analytical study of the distribution of income within non-communist, low-income developing countries. They sought to model the interrelations among social and political changes in these countries to examine their impact on distributive justice. Within the various limitations of their model and, more fundamentally, the limitations of the data, given its reliance on the integration of national aggregate statistics and comparisons from situation to situation in the different countries, their conclusions were that the wealthiest groups had retained relatively more of the increased national income than the poorest[125].

> [The analysis] ...strongly suggests that there is no basis in fact for the optimistic assumption that sustained economic growth leads to higher real incomes for even the poorest segments of the population. Our analysis supports the Marxian view that economic structure, not level of income or rate of economic growth, is the basic determinant of income distribution[126].

For the specific case of subsistence agrarian economies, they found that when growth begins through the expansion of a narrow modern sector, the income share of the poorest 60% of the population falls while that of the top 20%, and especially of the

[123] Streeten, P. et al, *op.cit.,* p. 11.
[124] *ibid.*
[125] Adelman I. & Morris C. *Economic Growth and Social Equity in Developing Countries,* Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1973, p.140.
[126] Adelman & Morris, *op.cit.,* p.186.

highest 5% income group, soars. As developing nation economies become less dualistic, through moderate development building-up integration of the rural agricultural sector with the urban industrial and commercial sectors, the middle income group is the primary beneficiary. "Even when growth changes from the sharply dualistic form to one that is more broadly based, the middle sector usually benefits and the poorest 40% typically continues to lose both relatively and absolutely[127]."

The work of Adelman and Morris thus demonstrates the failure of the modernisation approach to fulfil the aspirations for progress in the Third World, and in particular, for a better life for the poor. Forcing the majority of Third World populations to participate in the program of modernization often precipitated their loss of entitlements to resources. Moreover, Adelman's and Morris's call for "social, institutional and political transformations" for achieving "greater political and economic equality" is an early articulation of the participatory discourse of empowerment as an alternative to the then dominant pseudo-participatory discourse of enforcement.

The subject communities or groups whose participation in the modernisation project was enforced could however resist the intentions of government and project managers. As discussed earlier in this chapter, wilful resistance is a mode of participation, because people choose to resist believing that it will enhance the survival of their society or livelihood. Such resistance can serve as useful feedback to parties involved in funding, design or planning that the program objectives and/ or the implementation methods are counterproductive to the interests of the subject communities.

Porter *et al*'s study of the Margarini Resettlement Project, mentioned in Chapter Two, documents forced participation in an agricultural modernization project jointly conducted by an Australian Government keen to enhance its reputation in Africa, and by the Government of Kenya which was equally keen to show its modernizing prowess. The objectives were to relieve pressure on land by providing opportunities for people suffering from land shortage to move into an innovative irrigation-based intensive agriculture scheme[128]. In a fragile environment the agronomic, soil science and irrigation engineering aspects of planning and implementation turned out to be far more

[127] *ibid.,* pp. 178-180.
[128] Porter et al., *op.cit.,* pp.58-65 & pp.129-130.

complex than anticipated. The project team assembled by the Australian Management Agency barely acknowledged Giriama knowledge of agronomic practice which had enabled them to survive and, in better times, produce considerable surpluses of food for sale[129].

The Giriama landowners actively resisted by registering their opposition to the project concept in a preliminary sociological study, but the findings of this study were marginalised[130] and the Giriama were forced to make space for new settlers onto their land. They used passive withdrawal from project activities as their preferred mode of resistance available to them in a situation where they were at risk of landlessness, as well as increasing loss of subsistence if they committed to the high risk agronomic strategies introduced by the project team[131]. So they chose those strands of the technical package that they could make use of, making the least possible effort to be bound by the rest of it, and sought sources of off farm income for their labour. The project stakeholders enforced their participation although there was, in the beginning, a degree of enlistment via persuasion by government extension officers and the project team of the benefits of the scheme to each of the farm households[132].

In a later phase of the project an Australian NGO and its Kenyan partner became involved in implementation as a direct result of Giriama resistance and the lack of communication between the project team and the locals. The NGO activities led to the departure of the original management agency and the project was stopped. AIDAB finally 'heard' the feedback from the Giriama and recognised that forced participation without local input into design or implementation rendered the project fruitless[133].

Experiences such as these fuelled critiques of the modernisation approach to development which prompted a change in paradigms in 1973, when the World Bank Chairman, Robert McNamara, used a speech in Nairobi to the Board to call for a new emphasis on the eradication of poverty[134]. The International Labour Organization (ILO) also sought new directions by recommending a strategy of satisfying people's basic

[129] *ibid.,* p.52.
[130] *ibid.,* p.177.
[131] *ibid.,* pp. 79, 132, 170, 196.
[132] *ibid.,* pp. 177-178.
[133] *ibid.,* pp.58-65, 135, 159-162.
[134] Einhorn, J. 'The World Bank's mission creep', *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 80, no. 5, 2001.

needs of food, health, water and sanitation, education and shelter, rather than pursuing the modernization strategy focus on GDP and average income growth[135]. This became the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) or 'Modernization with a Human Face', which the ILO argued was an efficient way to relieve the poverty of the poor since "the more pressing needs could be met even at quite low levels of income per head.[136]

The broad economic focus of technology transfer and resource gap driven programs gave way to a people-centred approach which emphasized redistribution of incomes within growth of output. There was also a concern for 'popular participation' in national political life by umbrella organizations and peak bodies of trade unions, youth, women and rural organizations[137]. Agents of development began using a new discourse of participation stating explicitly that targeted peoples were to benefit.

Beneficiary Participation: the discourse of Enlistment

Under the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) to development practitioners were changing their discourse of participation. The new discourse addressed target populations. It named them as beneficiaries of community services and welfare programs, as well as of the utilities, urban infrastructure and employment that were going to be provided under the new approach.

The intent was clearly to ensure that the majority of poor people got a better deal from development. Its weakness remained the implicitly passive mode of participation. Streeten highlighted two key issues that need to be worked out for the Basic Needs approach to be successful: the poverty alleviation measures, and the basic needs of the poor [138]. Participation was crucial to answer both questions. Local knowledge is clearly needed for such situational analyses. Despite the overarching concern for human needs[139] and providing the opportunity for a full life, it was outsiders who answered the question what the basic needs of the poor were. Basic Needs was a discourse of outsiders enlisting people to participate without sharing in decision-making. The use of

[135] ILO *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: a One World Problem* ILO, Geneva, 1976.
[136]Streeten et al op.cit., p.4.
[137] Cohen & Uphoff, *op.cit.*, pp.213, 217.
[138]Streeten et al, *op.cit.* pp.68-70.
[139] *ibid.,* p.21.

the phrase 'beneficiary participation' rather than enlistment disguises that outsiders decide on the needs of the subject groups whose own priorities are ignored.

Cohen and Uphoff went beyond this understanding of basic needs in recognizing that the shortcomings of representation by peak bodies as popular participation pointed to that layer of activity where local people could make a contribution: the community, village and district levels. What they called development participation equates to the community development I defined in Chapter Two which they regarded as a discredited mode of operation because of its poor record when practised as a means of harmonizing the opposing interests of different community groups (and shutting out the marginalized), during the 1950s and 1960s in British Colonial Africa[140]. Although Cohen and Uphoff were aware of ample evidence that the use of participatory practices was no panacea, it was clear to them that in many situations community based input into planning and decision-making, as opposed to merely digging and carrying, had led to successful implementation and to "flow-on activities". In their Basic Needs Approach, participation as "involvement in" was a means to the effective implementation of projects. For Cohen and Uphoff, it was an "essential element in the BNA" which amounts to saying, 'not yet a basic need in itself[141]'.

A weak and a strong BNA could be postulated. Wisner described the former as the delivery of a bundle of goods, services, skills or technology thought to correspond to a package of needs, calculated to deliver a set minimum quality of life as elaborated by Streeten. In contrast, Wisner defined a stronger BNA aimed at raising the awareness of the target community or group regarding their situation so that, having been enabled to determine their own priorities, they are then empowered to meet them[142]. Participation from a position of equality of power is the heart of Wisner's strong BNA, and in contrast to Streeten's conceptualisation of the BNA, he argued for a bottom-up approach to development. Cohen's and Uphoff's discussion represents a conception between the weak and the strong understandings of the BNA. Like Wisner they promoted subject group involvement in planning and implementation but they stopped short of recommending that development go ahead with the priorities of, and at a pace

[140] Bratten, M. *Beyond Community Development,* CIIR, London, 1978, p.6.
[141] Cohen & Uphoff, *op.cit.* pp.214, 226-228.
[142] Wisner, B. *Power and Need in Africa: Basic Human Need and Development Policies,* London, Earthscan, 1988, p.27.

regulated by, the subjects themselves. Rather, the decisions about the priorities of the development strategy rest with government planners and senior business advisers.

Michael Cernea uncovered the disguise of enlistment in the discourse of beneficiary participation in the World Bank monograph he wrote as a methodology for participatory development[143]. In his survey of development practice he identified many project failures from both the era of industrialisation and of the late 70s era of 'modernization with a human face'. He found that in the rural sector new irrigation or crop production systems ushered in by modernisation had led to severe local environment damage due to intended beneficiaries being alienated. In order to be able to report that their "target groups" were benefiting and participating, managers routinely fostered pseudo-participation, rather than spending time convening, consulting and listening to them. Cernea argued that their socio-ecological interests needed to be the focus of projects if the World Bank and other donors were to avoid recurrent project failure.

The main purpose of Cernea's monograph was to provide project managers with tools for making programs more effective and sustainable. Development practitioners responded by looking to tap into the knowledge and experience of beneficiaries to make projects more effective. Thus practitioners in general, and Cernea himself, had begun to adjust their theoretical discourse towards Instrumental Participation, to be considered in the next section, out of their personal and practical preference to work with willing subjects rather than enlisted target groups. Multinational organizations and many international donors used this moderate understanding of the Basic Needs Approach as a discourse of Instrumental Participation, while the stronger understanding of the BNA remained a minor theme, an early formulation of a discourse of empowerment.

Instrumental Participation

Practitioners and consultants advocate instrumental participation when they call for project implementation to be opened up to participation by groups within or members of subject communities for the effective attainment of project goals. The subject groups are asked to provide their knowledge of practice or indigenous knowledge at the planning and implementation stages of the project, as well as their labour in kind. It is an

[143] Cernea, M. *The Building Blocks of Participation,* World Bank Discussion Papers No. 166, World Bank, Washington, 1985, pp.1-3.

instrumental participation by citizens to achieve the objectives of the program, often with limits set by the government officials and donor agency officers who have chosen and planned the strategy. Instrumental participation might involve local people partially organizing and implementing the delivery of water from header channels to smallholder irrigators, or from neighbourhood mains supply pipes to families or groups of houses in squatter settlements, and local people being in charge of maintaining and operating sections of the infrastructure that is constructed. What it usually does not involve is deliberate preparation of communities or their leaders for ongoing roles in civil society, or support for them to deal with the strategic issues around their poverty or lack of resource entitlements.

Nevertheless, instrumental participation can result in community organizations gaining vision and skills for their own development. The case study below is an example of poorly performed instrumental participation and the innovative response by the World Bank which laid the groundwork for its current formulation of community participation as `best practice'.

Lawrence Salmen was called in by the World Bank to evaluate urban redevelopment projects it was conducting in La Paz, Bolivia and Guayaquil, Ecuador during the late 1970s and into the mid 1980s. The projects were based on the recognition that cooperation of the target group was necessary for any development project to be effective, but delays and inadequate progress were occurring in both sites. Salmen concluded that "a project's success is directly related to how much encouragement is given to the people's ongoing self-improvement processes". He pointed out that while "in Guayaquil, it does not seem that the people's own ideas had been given sufficient consideration in the design of the project", in La Paz, "catalytic effects occur when a project builds upon people's demonstrated values". The clearest distinction between the two situations was that in Guayaquil project staff worked with community leaders without attempting to involve community members in design or implementation whereas in La Paz there was broad community involvement (Table 3).

Thus Salmen's evaluation highlighted the limitations of approaching community leaders to organise instrumental participation by community members, as practiced in Guayaquil, and the potential, seen in La Paz, that broadly involving community

members would contribute to the desired outcome of them progressing from passive project beneficiaries to become 'self-helpers' or agents of their own improvement. To use the terms of this study, the La Paz community was empowered.

Table 3: Type of Participation by Community undergoing Urban Renewal[144]

City Neighbourhood	Community Beneficiaries	Decision-making	Implementation activities	Future potential
La Paz, 8 de Diciembre Bolivia	**Most residents**	**Yes, design input into upgrade options**	**Labour -in-kind (limited community action)**	**Community responsibilities maintenance or management**
Guayaquil, Flortesta1, Ecuador	**Families recommended by groups**	**No**	**Finished their new dwellings: limited laneway landscaping**	**No record of community wide action**

Salmen's analysis shows that had the target communities been given a say equal to that of the stakeholders who directed the two projects, major delays in preparation and implementation could well have been pre-empted. However, the subsequently published '*World Bank Participation Sourcebook',* written by the Bank's 'Learning Group on Participatory Development' for the use of its managers, stops short of taking on board all of Salmen's findings and recommendations. Chapter 1 of the *Sourcebook* only gives examples of local group and community leader stakeholders being involved in the implementation but not the design stages of the program[145]. The *Sourcebook*'s concept of stakeholder participation is entirely consistent with its participatory discourse of instrumental participation as a means of achieving project outputs. It ignores community development issues, already widely discussed at the time of its publication (1996), such as equipping communities themselves to determine their future. Thus, its notion of citizen participation is instrumental and partial at best, shading into pseudo-participation in the case of people compelled to work on schemes they have no control over or share in the output.

144 Salmen, L. "Listen to the People: Participant-Observer Evaluation of Development Projects", Chapter 3 in World Bank *Learning by Doing: World Bank Lending for Urban Development*, *1972-82*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1987.

145 World Bank, *Participation Sourcebook,* Washington DC, World Bank, 1996, p.3.

Participation for Democratization

In response to the debt crises arising from first oil price hikes in the 1970s and the subsequent expansion in Third World petro-dollar borrowings, major donor governments in both the United Kingdom and the United States shifted to strongly monetarist economic policies during the 1980s[146]. They interpreted the thrust for increased community involvement in development, as argued for example by Salmen, along philosophical lines agreeable to themselves. Under their domestic neo-liberal agendas they wanted to prune back welfare systems and make the civil service leaner by handing over community service functions to communities from professionals within local or regional or national government. Their parallel discourse of overseas development was to promote community self-reliance and curtail burdensome welfare provisions. Under the rubric of what came to be known as the Washington Consensus they spoke of devolution of government responsibilities to NGOs and to communities from poorly functioning central or provincial government which was thus more far-reaching than simply better implementation of project activities.[147] Moreover, these donor governments and the international financial institutions constructed this neo-liberal economic strategy of development to argue that commerce and industry were more appropriately skilled than governments, to efficiently carry out development in any country within the structure of the global corporate economy. Its characteristic participatory discourse is Participation for Democratization, made distinctive by community management and maintenance of systems and infrastructure.

At the same time, multilateral donor agencies sought increased NGO involvement in projects for three reasons: to reduce the responsibility of inefficient government departments or corrupt civil servants; to improve project effectiveness through better supervision in the field, and to increase participation by the subjects of development for a more "democratic and culturally founded approach" to activities[148]. While the first two of these reasons are related to the objective of reaching program objectives, the third relates to the sharing of power over project decisions, and ultimately, to the empowerment of communities to negotiate their own future development. In this

[146] Toye, J.F.J. Dilemmas of Development: Reflections on the Counter-Revolution in Development Theory and Policy, Blackwell, Oxford, 1993.
[147] Gore, C. "The Rise and Fall of the Washington Consensus as a Paradigm for Developing Countries", *World Development* Vol 28, No. 5, 2000, pp.789-790.

participation discourse, democratization refers to members of subject groups or communities taking part as citizens in decision-making about development activities that will affect them, rather than merely to electoral processes. Bebbington and Farrington make the point that NGO participation may impede local democratization, in that the NGO workers ultimately make the decisions, not members of subject groups. Another of their arguments was that government agencies are often reluctant to share power, rather than task-share with NGOs. By implication this suggests that government organizations tend to work according to a public discourse of enlistment or instrumental participation rather than espouse participation for democratization, which would imply their willingness to share power.

The multilateral donor agencies also required from client governments clear signs of governance reform showing open democratic process as though participation in elections indicated decision-making in development activities. Thus Bebbington and Farrington's comment about the donors seeing the "pursuit of formal and substantive democracy" as essential to the new development lending programs[149] actually indicates a slide from the shared decision-making of participation for democratization to the discourse of citizen participation for better project outcomes.

Yet clearly, community members and leaders need skills and resources to carry out government functions and run programs. Where national governments provide the required support and training, actions taken according to this discourse can lead to both the alleviation of present poverty and an ongoing capacity to set and reach future goals. The latter is a great potential gain to community groups or local leadership from activities sponsored by the democratization discourse. However, in many projects management companies ignored community capacity until implementation failure forced them to seek the involvement of NGOs to try and rescue the project through greater involvement of the local communities. The Northern Samar Integrated Rural Development Project (NSIRDP) in the Philippines is an example of this.

The NSIRDP was a component of a program established in 1979 for integrated development of the Island of Samar by the provision of a highway and feeder roads,

[148] Bebbington, A. & Farrington, J. "Government, NGOs and Agricultural Development: Perspectives on Changing Inter-organizational Relationships", *Journal of Development Studies* Vol 29, 1993, pp199-219.

electricity supply, communications links, local urban and rural water supplies, and agricultural support projects such as breeding centres[150]. The project was funded by the World Bank, the Japan International Cooperation Agency and Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB), which also directed the undertaking.

In the first phase until 1983, an infrastructural and agricultural thrust failed to achieve its tasks. A review team put this down to confused implementation by parallel Government of Australia (GOA) and Government of the Philippines (GOP) units poorly coordinated by management centralized in Manila. Following a mid-term review in 1982, AIDAB directed that the focus of the project be shifted to provincially based community development. The review team concluded that government line agencies responsible for infrastructure and agricultural development had not been appropriately involved by the project management agent in the implementation process. Devolution of project implementation to regional line agencies was seen as the answer to that.

NGOs were contracted to "organize, train and encourage rural community organizations to engage in social betterment and livelihood activities", explicitly under the theme of involving people in their own development. This proved successful, and a pre-completion review three months before the end of the project in 1988 found that all rural water-supply systems were functioning, while most of the urban water-supplies had already failed "due to inactive water user associations".[151]

It is paradoxical that NGOs, as outsiders to the government, had a big impact while the dedicated project units had limited effectiveness even though they also worked separately from but alongside government agencies. This can be understood by considering the style of approach of the respective agencies where the NGOs were intent on catalysis of local participation in social services and agricultural improvement while the government was oriented towards infrastructural development at the regional level. The shift in Phase II towards a combination of strengthening provincial line department capabilities while channelling activities through local groups was a productive one for all concerned. In particular, it promoted community empowerment

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[149] *Ibid* p200
[150] Hewson, R., Chandra, S. & Connell, S. *Review of Integrated Area Development Projects,* AIDAB Evaluation Series No.10, AGPS, Canberra, 1991, pp.19-22.
[151] *Ibid.*, pp.22.

by drawing the local groups into partnership with government agencies and offering them 'a say' in their adoption of the various strands of the development package.

However, when there is no mention of community involvement in design, and the responsibility for project implementation rests with the NGO rather than subject groups, the discourse tends to slide from Participation for Democratization back to either Instrumental Participation or Enlistment. This is often attractive to development agencies because bureaucratic control over local activities keeps project management costs low. Similarly, governments can cut their costs or responsibilities by handing on management of community service programs over to local government or local NGOs without having to increase the funding of those organizations to provide the services.

In these cases, participation for democratization is a hollow phrase for covering up the impact of structural adjustment programs (SAPs) governments had taken on in the early 1980s as conditions for receiving loans from the World Bank or the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). [152] In the Third World SAPs devised in the funders' interest of program efficiency severely cut community health and welfare services resulting in increased infant and maternal morbidity and mortality and in other indices of poverty and hardship[153]. Evaluation of SAPs soon led to strong criticisms of their effects of lowering healthcare standards and incomes of the poorest groups in many Third World societies and anti-development critiques of the mainstream 'development project'.[154] The World Bank response was to try to integrate maintenance of BNA-like programs for the poor into SAPs as implied in this statement from the *1993 Poverty Reduction Handbook*:

> Although this shift [to structural adjustment] may have temporarily overshadowed the Bank's poverty reduction objectives, policy-based lending enabled the Bank to deal more effectively with the relationship between poverty and policies.[155]

Case studies from the UNDP's *Human Development Report 1993* exemplify on the one hand real and constructive practice of participation for democratization, and on the other, the use of this discourse as one of pseudo-participation in situations where

[152]World Bank, *Poverty Reduction Handbook,* World Bank, Washington, 1993, p. i.
[153]White, *op.cit.,* p.8.
[154]Escobar, A. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1995, pp.212-215.

governments do not hand over the resources necessary for community management of services. In the latter cases, senior officers make decisions on the basis of agendas hidden from their juniors, from community members as well as donors. The Report examined the outcomes of loan funded democratization programs in the late 1980s and early 1990s, pursued through several modes of decentralization of responsibility and decision-making. It found that "in many countries, it has therefore been found necessary to complement democratization with efforts aimed at enhanced transparency and accountability of government[156]." It specifically acknowledged that technical and financial support must be given to local governments for a decentralization discourse to be a meaningful sub-discourse of democratization. In the Indonesian context, for example, the Report commented on the substantial improvements in health and education services following the introduction of a system of decentralized expenditures but observed that "many local authorities have proved ill-equipped to implement development projects"[157].

The weakness of Participation for Democratization as a discourse promoting the rights of people to share in decision-making as project design and implementation is that a focus on the relations that central governments set up with provincial, district and local government may ignore analysis of where power lies within the social structure. To quote from the 1993 Human Development Report once more, "[m]any countries have power structures dominated by elites little interested in human development", and therefore Community Based Organizations (CBOs) could not be assumed to be able to take advantage of decentralization initiatives. The case of Provincial Health Officers (PHO)s in Papua New Guinea requesting church managed (but government funded) health services to take over responsibility for government managed Aid Posts (centres providing primary health care) within their District is instructive [158]. The PHO wanted to move the staff salaries to another government managed Aid Post or Health Centre in another District and expected the church run service to add staffing for their to be acquired Aid Post to its existing salary budget and to find the money either by collecting local charges or seeking donor funding. The PHO, using the discourse of participation for democratization, asked the Church Health Service to take up a greater financial

[155] World Bank *Poverty Reduction Handbook* Washington DC: World Bank 1993, p.i.
[156] UNDP *Human Development Report* Oxford University Press, New York, 1993, p.66.
[157] *ibid.,* pp.74-83.
[158] Director of Nursing Services, July 2005, Personal communication.

burden for the benefit of the Government, but not for the benefit of the communities. From such manipulation in the name of participation for democratisation, I now turn to consider the discourse of participatory empowerment through which NGOs and INGOs have approached development by facilitating the capacity of CBOs to set local development goals and pursue strategies for their implementation.

Participation for empowerment

Practitioners use the discourse of empowerment when they speak of the need for all groups in communities, and therefore of wider society, to participate in all aspects of project decision-making. Power and control over future-planning, priority setting, project implementation and operations is shared between the subjects of development or their CBOs, higher levels of government and other players such as NGOs, and international and multi-lateral development agencies. Amongst these agencies the International Labour Organization (the ILO) took the lead in using a discourse of empowerment. Using language similar to Wisner's 'Beneficiary Participation', the ILO stressed in their Programme of Action that basic needs were to be, "placed within a context of a nation's overall economic and social development" and "in no circumstances should it be taken to mean merely the minimum necessary for subsistence." It went on to state that for the satisfaction of basic needs in developing countries both an acceleration in their economic growth and access to the use of productive resources by the lowest income groups were needed[159]. This led them to the discourse of empowerment as the means for subject peoples to access productive resources.

Economic modelling of alternative strategies for faster overall growth suggested that the rates required for actually helping the bottom strata of income earning families were out of reach. Simulations of growth and raising the incomes of impoverished groups faster than the average through redistribution, by transfer to the poor of 2% of total income, showed that after 30 years everybody was left worse off, including the poor although they initially benefit[160]. It followed that restructuring of the resource distribution within societies to the advantage of the poor was required**.** For this to be achieved the ILO argued for a policy of mass participation of the rural population in the political process

[159] ILO *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One -World Problem* Geneva, ILO 1976, p.183.
[160] *ibid.,* pp.34-41.

to be achieved by active encouragement of farmers and rural workers' organizations[161]. The Ethiopian case, *Participation for democratization* (see Table 4 below) is an example of the latter. It reflects the then significant influence of Marxist and democratic socialist approaches on Western development theory, and on ILO development policy-making in particular, just as proponents of capitalist neo-liberalism were also writing programs according to their values and beliefs.

Nevertheless, what stands out is the argument that poor and other subject group participation in governance and decision-making was to become their engine for achieving basic needs. It marks the emergence of a discourse of participatory empowerment, argued to be characteristic of effective participation, which recognises that within varying socio-political contexts subject groups choose how much resistance (covert or overt) or cooperation they can or will engage in. Moreover, NGOs or other agencies similarly choose a balance of actions, both placating governments and aiding and abetting CBOs. This interaction between subject groups, other stakeholders and governments reveals that participation for empowerment is a political discourse since it asks questions about decision-making and power relations. It inherently involves power relations because it focuses on how decision-making is shared out. Hence, to paraphrase Foucault, it involves "political structures, requirements, laws and regulations that have a primary importance for it (ie. for who controls decision-making) and yet one can't expect politics to provide the forms in which (it) would cease to be a problem[162]."

[161] *ibid.,* p.185.
[162] Foucault, M 'An Interview with Paul Rabinow: Polemics, Politics and Problematization' May 1994, www.foucault.info

ILO Participation Discourse

In the late 1970s, having concluded that there was a need for local participation in governance and decision-making the ILO initiated a series of studies for the UN Agencies' Panel on People's Participation across a variety of countries and locations. It was an effort to identify the crucial elements for effective participation given that agencies use a confusing array of participatory approaches[163]. In starting this work, Oakley and Marsden set out a range of approaches in order to build understanding of how participation is to be implemented[164] and called for a series of ongoing studies of participatory practice in order to elucidate principles and delineate models for its application, monitoring and evaluation[165]. They found that effective participation was related to the empowerment of subject groups whose previous experiences had been distinguished by enforcement:

> Many rural people have been left on, or pushed to, the margins by development activities. For them, therefore, participation is not in the first instance concerned with such benefits, but more with achieving some base from which to challenge for these benefits. We conclude that the meaningful participation of the rural poor in development is concerned with direct access to the resources necessary.[166].

An overview of their reports shows how the discourses of participatory practice can summarize the approaches used in different situations (Table 4). It is noteworthy that the two programs which succeeded in generating better provision of needs for their subject groups were those characterized by conscientization for self-direction towards self–reliance, that is, the Bhoomi Sena village-based organizations of India and the Fisherwoman's Association of North Eastern Brazil. Conscientization, the emergence of consciousness from reflection for students to make their own critical interventions into their [socio-ecological] reality, as described in the educational philosophy of Paulo Freire, and the self-reliance this generates were keywords of these late 1970s and early 1980s discourses of participatory empowerment.[167]

What the range of project reviews shows is that the discourses underlying all of these programs affected their design and their effectiveness. The instrumental approaches

[163] Oakley, P., Marsden, D. *Approaches to Participation in Rural Development*, ILO, Geneva, 1984, p.v.
[164] *ibid.,* p37.
[165] *ibid.,* p.90.
[166] *ibid.,* p.64.

merge into enlistment of people for the use of their labour and time which may benefit them for the immediate gain of a service but often disadvantages them since it reinforces the existing regime's power and control. Empowerment approaches led to permanent changes in the capacities of subject groups to adapt to the changes in their circumstances. On the other hand, lack of awareness and understanding by government and multilateral lenders can lead to the failure of approaches based on discourses advocating a degree of handover of decision-making to local communities.

[167] Freire, P. *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed,* Penguin, London, 1996, Chapter 2.

Table 4: A Range of Participatory Approaches[168]

Project approaches to participation				
***Instrumental*:** Formation of farmer groups Small Farmer Development Groups-Nepal pp39-42	***Enlistment:*** for in-kind contribution Community Health Services Latin America Africa pp43-46	***Participation for empowerment:*** Grassroots village based organisations taking their own initiative. Bhoomi Sena India pp46-50	***Participation for democratization:*** The Ethiopian Government decreed a Peasant Association polity of participatory democracy p54-58	***Participation for empowerment:*** Facilitating the conscientization of Brazilian fisherwomen groups led to self-reflection-action praxis. pp50-54
Basic project activity				
Change agents formed groups for the purpose of providing inputs/ extension & also for micro-level planning	Build government access to community beliefs, structures & knowledge as resources for rural health programs.	Excluded people formed groups to mobilize for political struggle as a means for pre-meditated action to shape their development	Mass participation through local organizations.	From facilitation by invitation to group-formation then identification of issues by dialogue leading to action
Features of the project approaches				
Initiation by outside facilitators promoting self-sustainability. Group networks grew & community action by the poor increased overall	Delegation of responsibility for cost-cutting Communication, education and promotion mechanism.	Self-initiated, self-directed, self-reliance thro` 'reflection-action' led groups to the establishment of village-wide organizations	The Zemecha': secondary & tertiary students were sent out to promote & explain Ethiopian Socialist principles	No imposition of organization. The group structure grew out of action arising from self-understanding of **`discovery then waking up'.**
Strengths				
The focus was highly instrumental so the subject groups gained some benefits	Increased local self-reliance	Discursive freedom enabled renewed socio-ecology & the radicalization of tribal women by breaking previous dominant cultural & economic ties.	Land reform freed resources. Peasant Associations which filled the administrative power vacuum after old-order fell	Facilitator watched till invited to join by fisherwomen. This ensured enduring will to act together ie solidarity
Weaknesses				
The groups were credit dependent. Women's needs were unmet	Conscientization was lacking for lasting effects of local decision-making		Change was `taken' to the peasantry who, having little awareness or political understanding were unprepared for the new situation. Little changed for women	A long time lag before the invitation
Working Principles of the models used				
Organizational structure is necessary for contact then to distribute credit\ inputs.	Build self-reliance & `ownership'	Outsider change agents are strictly facilitators of local people's endogenous knowledge	Under an assumption that common interest would prevail the means of participation was irrelevant	Organization for group action. Identification with women by change agent\ participant-observer.

[168] Based on Oakley and Marsden's analysis of projects using participatory approaches Oakley, D and Marsden, P 1984 (page no.s as for each Approach)

3.3 Fluid discourse: sliding from discourse to participatory discourse

This section examines more closely how the discourse of participatory empowerment has evolved. In Robert Wade's discussion of the politics of changing development paradigms at the World Bank, he argues that the Bank seeks to validate its policies and programs by claiming that its socio-economic research is of the highest standard[169]. With its power as a major lender, it is a trendsetter of development discourse. I draw on the World Bank discourse to show that development agencies may espouse empowerment yet use discourses that are more amenable to their models of business efficiency, user-pays and corporate-initiative. Wade's article reveals the way development actors may see themselves as empowering while their practice is framed by the values of neo-liberal economic discourse. This can be tracked through changes in participatory development discourse articulated by the World Bank.

The discussion of Cernea's and Salmen's work above illustrates clearly how the World Bank began its exploration of participation with a narrowly functional focus on reaching program and project objectives. Their evidence that more flexibility and openness towards subject communities led to greater program effectiveness persuaded staff within the Bank to broaden their view of participation yet they still saw it as instrumental to reaching program targets. Although the *Sourcebook* talks of stakeholders working in collaboration and having "*influence and share control* (italics in the original) over decisions",[170] there is no acknowledgement of the power relations among stakeholders, which include borrowers, (including elected officials, line agency staff, and government officials) donors, NGOs, and other more indirectly affected groups.

For example, a statement such as the "stakeholders invent the new practices and institutional arrangements they are willing to adopt" glides over the power and control held over the subjects of development by many of these other stakeholders[171]. This implies the 'co-option' of subject groups across a program area for use of their knowledge in project design and implementation. Under my classification this is

[169] Wade, R. "Showdown at the World Bank*", New Left Review* No.7, Jan-Feb 2001, pp.124-128.
[170] World Bank *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook*, World Bank, Washington, 1996, p.3.
[171] *ibid.,* pp. 5-6.

Instrumental Participation for the achievement of project aims as set by the donor and host government. If the management of implementation and ongoing operation is shared with the communities, then it would fall under the category of 'participation for democratization'. These were the World Bank's first steps towards the notion of empowerment for subject groups to pursue development on their own terms.

At the same time, the World Bank was still maintaining that national economic growth would trickle down to the poor, even though this had long been discredited by modernization critics. The Preface to the *Poverty Reduction Handbook* stated that, "the two-pronged approach for sustainable poverty reduction consists of broadly-based economic growth, to generate efficient income-earning opportunities for the poor, and improved access to education, health-care, and other social services". This shows that the Bank continued to present a strand of Beneficiary Participation (ie. Enlistment) discourse alongside the Instrumental Participation discourse considered necessary for project success according to the neo-liberal approach to development.

The inclusion of the requirement for sustainability, implied in the last quote, reflects both the awareness of and pressure on the Bank to take account of the environmental effects of the programs it funded. It stems from the failure of projects which ignored the need to build community management and maintenance capacity for ongoing effectiveness. Thus, for the Bank, the Sustainability Discourse is a sub-theme of the Instrumental Participation discourse that underlies much of their documentation. Together these developments point to the fact that an overarching discourse of effective project implementation had begun through the 1990s to promote management activity by subject communities.

By 1990 Bank staff had initiated a program of learning and action about what it called Popular Participation specifically to increase its "understanding and use of popular participation where this would contribute to the development effectiveness of Bank related operations".[172] When the Learning Group reviewed the Bank's participatory projects the findings were that, in nearly all cases, the participation element had

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[172] World Bank *Poverty Reduction Handbook* World Bank, Washington, 1993, pp.165-167.

contributed to effectiveness[173]. The advent of the Learning Group and these findings showed and contributed to a mood shift within the organization which expressed itself in World Bank President Lewis T. Preston's Foreword to an Operations Department report, where he wrote that "increased participation will increase the effectiveness of development"[174].

The Bank describes the discourses of participation used by its development practitioners in various terms. In the *Poverty Reduction Handbook* Popular Participation is referred to as local participation in "project identification and design and continuing through implementation, monitoring and identification"[175]. That equates to Instrumental or Citizen Participation as articulated above. It is a definition along the lines of Cernea's findings and recommendations to the Bank. However, this is a different usage from that of Cohen and Uphoff (Section 3.2 above) where it refers to the national political role of umbrella or peak bodies of trade unions, youth, women and rural organizations. Adopting the term 'popular participation' and redefining it thus enables the World Bank to show its participatory credentials while avoiding political aspects of participation.

The *Handbook* gives insights into the general mindset of the Bank team at that time, commenting that "popular participation is also valuable for large-scale projects, even if participation in such projects tends to be more consultative than fully participatory." Here consultation is valued for the purpose of completing project works without hindrance or major blunders. In a large institution such as the World Bank those studying and promoting the worth of full subject participation in projects may be far removed from and out-ranked by those who are driven by funds disbursement schedules for many different programs. The label may be 'popular' but the major strand of participatory discourse is instrumental.

By 1996 a new emphasis in Bank literature on stakeholder participation appears. Stakeholders are specifically the Central Government partners who can "place themselves inside the local social system" [176], and collaborate with the project designers (eg. the Bank experts) who conduct the analysis and diagnosis of existing policies. From

[173] *ibid.,* pp.165-166.
[174] World Bank, *The World Bank And Participation,* World Bank, Washington, 1994, Foreword
[175] World Bank, *Poverty Reduction Handbook,* World Bank, Washington, 1993, pp.165-167.
[176] World Bank *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook,* World Bank, Washington, 1996, pp.3-4.

this period there were two layers within which the Bank could choose to limit or foster cooperation, involvement and the devolution of control over the decision-making related to loans, although these layers were confounded in its own documentation. First was the layer of the negotiation regarding the overall shape of the package for which borrower countries desired funding. Bank policy was to work closely with governments to enhance their ownership of development programs including involving relevant departments in setting policy and implementation.[177]. Stakeholder Participation emerged as a variant discourse whereby the Bank saw itself and the recipient government as the major stakeholders while subject groups remained excluded from decision making about project priorities and design for their locality. Subject groups therefore experienced the Bank's Stakeholder Participation as Instrumental or Citizen Participation, not even as Participation for Democratization where they may have had a share in decisions about design and implementation or been given control over local systems.

The second layer of participation features in the formulation of the component programs and/or the individual projects within the package. At this stage the Bank describes itself as wanting to support the efforts of governments to involve beneficiaries in design and implementation, especially the poor whom it defines as key stakeholders, and other groups such as NGOs or International NGOs (INGOs), businesses, and professional or union organizations as appropriate. However, the qualification is always inserted as to whether or not these processes should be opened up to other stakeholders. Thus, "finding out who they are and how to involve them in improving project impact usually requires a willingness to consider directly the issue of stakeholder involvement in analytical work and project implementation"[178]. With this proviso, the Bank legitimates the resistance of some of its staff and their discourses to the change in culture of opening up procedures to power sharing with other parties. The internal advocacy of participation takes place within a culture of control which tends in practice to limit participation, and to foreclose the possibility of empowerment, as the respective discourses – control and empowerment - are mutually exclusive.

[177] *ibid.,* p.2.
[178] *ibid.,* p.3.

The example of the Philippines Integrated Protected Areas Project given in the *Sourcebook* is a credit to the Bank officers involved who clearly saw the value of the discourse of empowerment for its effects on subject communities[179]. The Task Manager of the project, Thomas Wiens, acknowledged the resistance of the communities to the original project designed by outsider stakeholders and realized that for the program to succeed, political concerns of the communities had to be addressed by giving them decision-making power over their projects and the ongoing management of their forests. During the period of his involvement, from 1993 through 1997, Wiens made space for local community leaders to participate in project design alongside government bureaucrats, and used a discourse of democratization rather than the usual stakeholder participation, effectively empowering the community by doing so. From the World Bank's own suite of projects this clearly demonstrates the deficiencies of a discourse of stakeholder participation which ignores the wider political issues of the situation to concentrate solely upon reaching project objectives agreed upon by members of overseas and national elites. The case also demonstrates that the Aquino and Ramos administrations (see Section 4.6) successfully introduced lasting reform of local, regional and national governance in the Philippines.

A second example from the *Participation Sourcebook* shows that whatever its limitations, stakeholder participation can lever empowerment of key players in the development arena. The Bank set up the 'Women in Agriculture Project' in Nigeria to make agricultural extension more effective.[180] Bank and Department of Agriculture designers granted direct participation to women officers of the Extension Service, who obviously had always been major stakeholders. The mainstreaming of extension services was run by women for both female and male farmers and generated spin-offs for women in the Agriculture Department and in rural society. The inclusion of female officers in the reformation of the Extension Service opened the way to a bigger voice for women in the Department and (no doubt partly as a result of the former) greater access to resources. Moreover, because the female extension workers used a group facilitation and development approach, they increased the local decision-making capacity of women farmers, and their access to subsidized inputs**.** Stakeholder

[179] *ibid.,* p.103.
[180] *ibid.*, pp.89-95.

participation of women extension officers led to participation for democratization by women farmers.

As participation for empowerment is a political discourse (refer to Section 3.2 above), the Bank's wariness about this discourse in developing countries is partly due to its Articles of Agreement which prohibit it from becoming involved in a country's political affairs: "the specific issue of democratization is outside its mandate"[181]. However, political activity with the intent to strengthen or weaken one political party or movement is not the same as fostering community empowerment which, by its very nature, has socio-ecological and political effects. Furthermore it is naive of Bank leaders using the discourse of stakeholder participation to declare that staff operate with neutrality towards power relations in their host societies. Stakeholder discourse is used to excuse ignorance of the social and economic inequalities which motivate development. The Women in Agriculture Project cited above shows how acquiescing to the status quo would have led to project failure, while the discourse of empowerment facilitated gains in access, decision-making power and status of the female agricultural officers and through them to women farmers. Empowerment of the crucial brokers of participation, the female extension workers, enabled them to lever empowerment of women previously blocked from resources.

The prohibition on political activity is a stipulation the Bank claims that it shares with all other aid organizations who wish to respect the sovereignty of host countries whilst holding different views regarding legal and political practice, and quite possibly, human rights. However, the Bank acknowledges that bilateral agencies with whom it has significant relationships, including CIDA, ODA, GTZ and SIDA, explicitly refer to participation as an end in itself enabling people to break out of poverty, and "generally link their commitment to participation with their efforts in democratization, equity, good governance and human rights", as well as a means of improving project or program implementation[182]. This recognizes the focus of these national agencies on increasing the political skills of the poor for the purpose of them building more democratic (and equitable) environments, which the Bank attributes to their better field presence in and historical knowledge of recipient countries.

[181] World Bank *The World Bank and Participation,* World Bank, Washington, 1994, p.19.
[182] *ibid.,* p.19.

Such circular arguments notwithstanding, there is an ongoing re-articulation of participatory discourse in the Bank as evidenced by the discussion of empowerment in the World Development Report of 2000/01. Here the editorial team openly recognized that the institutional changes they promoted as decentralization and greater cooperation between local governments and CBOs were "considerably more difficult in highly unequal settings"[183]. They detailed many factors that would foster a safe environment for economic growth and stronger democratic processes that would "deliver more effectively for the poor", concluding that the impact of such initiatives on poverty "depends on how effectively they are translated into empowerment at a community level". Thus, this World Bank team explicitly articulated the participatory discourse of empowerment, most clearly in the conclusion to Chapter Six where they directly addressed the issue of people's share in decision-making saying that "poor people need a direct voice in the interventions that affect their daily lives, as well as the ability to organize and vote"[184].

However, this recognition of the need for a share in decision-making, although clear in specific examples such as infrastructure design and management in Guinea[185], is merely implicit in much of the rest of the discussion which, as before, focuses on institutional arrangements and structures with host governments and NGOs to make projects more effective[186]. The report passes over the intrinsic value of subjects of development organizing into effective CBOs which can join in program and project design as well as implementation and ongoing operations. Clearly the intent of the final draft is for the World Bank to generally encourage participation to the degrees of consultation, referral, organisation of and collaboration with subject groups but to back away from their empowerment as a development strategy. Furthermore, the Bank encourages the use of a degree of participation through the handover and self-management of facilities in order to make services more effective or to reduce running costs[187].

[183] World Bank *World Development Report 2000/01: Attacking Povert,* World Bank, Washington, 2000, pp.111-113.
[184] *ibid.* p.115.
[185] *ibid.,* p108.
[186] *ibid.,* p.111.
[187] *ibid.,* pp.12-13, 22- 24.

Susanne Schech and Sanjugta Vas Dev point out that in casting itself (in the1999 WDR "Knowledge for Development") as the Knowledge Bank of the 21st Century, the World Bank focused on consultation for tapping into indigenous knowledge of the practice and experience of poverty[188]. They refer to Brock's identification of a discourse of invited participation where the subjects of development sit together in consultation alongside other invited experts while the policies and programs of Bank action remain firmly in staff hands[189]. According to my classification this is pseudo-participation which amounts to a discourse of pseudo-empowerment in that empowerment terminology is used selectively for consultation and information forums but not in for building community organizations for empowerment. This is precisely what Mick Moore refers to in the use of the term "community empowerment" as *cheap-talk* which can be used when there is nothing promised so there are no significant consequences[190].

Schech and Vas Dev conclude that although *Attacking Poverty* testifies to the World Bank "having adopted a more open, democratic and participatory approach to development policymaking" it "retains the broad neo-liberal economic credo underpinning the development thinking of the last three decades".[191] In terms of participatory development discourse, the Bank tantalizes with the articulation and application of discourses of empowerment while continuing to turn a blind eye to the use of discourses of enforcement, enlistment, instrumental participation, democratisation and other variants of pseudo participation in its own projects.

Bank staff may have the freedom in the field to use a discourse of empowerment, as exemplified by Thomas Wiens in the Philippines Integrated Protected Areas Systems Project described above. But in the WDR 2000/01 there is no systematic presentation of building the capacity of development subjects as an end in itself, to enable them to design activities that will lead them to a future on their own terms. The terms of development remain the kind of industrial, rural or urban, growth for which the Bank

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[188] Schech, S. and Vas Dev, S. "Governing through Participation: the World Bank's New Approach to the Poor", forthcoming in *Banking on the State: The World Bank Hegemony and Ideological Change in Development Discourse*, University of Natal Press, Durban, pp.3-4.
[189] Brock, K., Cornwall, A. & Gaventa, J. *Power, Knowledge and Political Spaces in the Framing of Poverty Policy*, Institute of Development Studies Working Paper No. 147, Sussex University, Brighton, 2001, p. 7.
[190] Moore, M., 'Empowerment at last?', *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 13, 2001 p.323
[191] Schech & Vas Dev, *op.cit.,* p.36.

designs its programs and advances its loans. In contrast, Amartya Sen and Sudhir Anand point out:

> Insofar as the concern [of development] is with overall wealth maximization, irrespective of distribution, there is a serious disregard of individual predicaments in favour of some conglomerative achievement, which can be blind to the most extreme deprivations suffered by many, while others make use - possibly *excellent* use - of the accomplishment of wealth and opulence. Thus, the fundamental difficulty with the approach of wealth maximization and with the tradition of judging success by overall opulence of a society is a deep-seated failure to come to terms with the universalist unbiasedness needed for an adequate understanding of social justice and human development.[192]

The conclusion is that subject peoples should decide their own visions of justice and fulfilment.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the changing discourses of participation over the last 30 years of the development project and argues that the thematic discourse of beneficiary participation is actually one of enlistment of the subjects of development where "a corporation, NGO or government persuades, cajoles or bullies communities to provide labour or other resources for pre-determined activities over which the latter have no influence or control"[193]. Because of the World Bank's leading role in shaping global development policy and practice, its changing discourses of participation were addressed and compared with UNDP and ILO approaches alongside project examples from the Third World. The discourses of participation I differentiated in Chapter Two formed the basis for my analysis, showing that in many cases across the Third World, subjects of development have gained greater scope in their participation in decision-making in all aspects of project development. Nevertheless, the discourses of enforcement and enlistment favoured by modernization approaches to development continue to be used by various actors in the industry of development to relate to one another, propose new work, report on what they do and justify their work. These actors also use the discourses of instrumental (citizen) participation, participation for democratization and participation for empowerment. Moreover, the history of subject

[192]Sen, A. & Anand, S. "Human Development & Economic Sustainability", *World Development* Vol 28, No. 12, 2000, p.2030.

participation in development suggests that the potential gains from an empowerment approach are restrained by the reflex use of narrowly instrumental discourses of participation focussed on project effectiveness.

[193] See Chapter 2 Section 3.

Chapter 4: Socio-ecology of Philippine Smallholders

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to broadly describe the situation of upland smallholders throughout the Philippines, particularly in the islands of Mindanao and Cebu where the subject communities are located. Upland smallholder families are primarily reliant on dryland maize and rice production and small-scale, opportunistic *padi* (irrigated) rice for their staple food crops. Throughout the Philippines they have experienced a breakdown of subsistence agricultural systems due to intensive land use, deforestation, erosion and falling yields. This has caused inter-island migration into urban areas pushing large numbers of people into the formal and informal economies as lowly paid wage takers or into frontier areas, such as the island of Mindanao, where land was available[194].

However, many people remain in their communities despite the myriad environmental problems they face. Primarily their persistence can be explained as Filipino smallholders maintaining their traditions of self-reliance and resistance to coercion by adapting their socio-ecology to renew their livelihoods in the face of environmental degradation. This is consistent with the argument that local environments should be viewed as "landscapes under constant change, emerging as the outcome of dynamic and variable [socio-] ecological processes and disturbance events, in interaction with human use" rather than as "constant ecosystems hunting an equilibrium"[195]. This concept, as described by Mearns, Leach and Scoones, encompasses the social and livelihood maintenance responses of the three study communities to both changing national and international economies and the ongoing degradation of their environments. Those local responses are conditioned by three key themes which recur and reappear throughout the islands as different groups proclaim and go on proclaiming competing discourses of their destiny and right to decide the social, economic and political shape of their nation. These themes are violence as a political means, self-reliance expressed as rebellion against oppression and empowerment catalyzed by charismatic leadership.

[194] Cramb R., Garcia J., Gerrits R. & Saguiguit G. "Conservation Farming Projects in the Philippine Uplands: Rhetoric and Reality", *World Development* Vol. 28, No. 5, 2000, p.914.
[195] Leach, M., Mearns, R. & Scoones, I. "Challenges to Community-based Sustainable Development: Dynamics, Entitlements, Institutions" *IDS Bulletin,* Vol. 28, 1997, pp. 4-14.

For this thesis peasant smallholder self-reliance represents a desire for farm family autonomy as independent decision-making about livelihood within a tribal or community structure of usufructuary rights ie. rights to enjoy the use or benefit of property without absolute ownership of the property[196]. Residual usufructuary rights and strong feelings of ownership are clearly apparent in Frank Hirtz's case studies of how poor rural groups interacted with landowners' control of their labour and land reform legislation in the Philippines. Hirtz uses the term *quasi rights* to describe the remnant access to labour of people whose ancestors once had the right to farmland[197].

I use 'peasant' as the description commonly applied to "traditionalist rural populations in countries where the land is chiefly held by smallholders"[198]. On the other hand, urban dwellers and commercial farmers in a market economy see themselves as having a progressive attitude to work opportunities compared to peasants who they see as having a traditional attitude of producing only what is needed, or can be exchanged to meet those needs, as in a barter economy[199].

Throughout the Philippines, peasant farmer and artisans' resolve to control their own lives has been overwhelmed by the establishment of political, social and economic elites, initially during colonisation, and again after independence. The dominant discourses and social power of these elites has undermined the empowerment of peasant communities, facilitating their incorporation into the global capitalist economy in subordinate positions[200], or leaving them marginalized and fenced into declining livelihoods of failing socio-ecological situations.[201] However, devolution policies implemented by the Ramos administration from 1992 to 1998 promised to turn this situation around and empower rural communities. It worked particularly for those communities that were able to re-stabilize within more intensive agricultural systems develop close interdependent relationships with urban populations, and at the same time, retain significant subsistence production. The devolution of power to regional and

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[196] Young, D. *Our Land is Green and Black***,** 2004 The Melanesian Institute, Goroka. See also *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 1969, Oxford University Press, London.
[197] Hirtz, F. "The Discourse that Silences: Beneficiaries' Ambivalence Towards Redistributive Land Reform in the Philippines", *Development and Change* Vol. 29, 1998, pp.259-261.
[198] Wikipedia, *Peasant, Peasant as a Rural Labourer* http://en.wikipedia.org/wk/Peasant
[199] *Ibid* Wikipedia, *Peasant, Peasant as a Rural Labourer*.
[200] Leys, C. *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory,* Blackwell, Oxford, 1996, pp.1-22 & 158.

municipal governments has worked to facilitate the power of local level government and community based organizations[202].

In the following sections I briefly describe the socio-ecological changes experienced by Filipino smallholders, then move on to the formation of elite control of smallholders through the use of political violence, the counter-veiling tradition of peasant rebellion and the related phenomenon of empowerment through charismatic leadership.

4.2 The Socio-Ecological Situation of Rural Smallholders

In the early years of the 20th century, 1.3 million families living on the Philippine islands made up a population of 7.6 million, with each family occupying a notional average of 15 hectares of arable land. Actual control over land was very different from this notional figure because indentured labourers and tenant farmers on large estates owned little or no land. Secondly, many tribal groups occupying marginally arable uplands, while enjoying usufructury rights over large areas, cultivated only about 2 hectares yearly in long (over 20 year) fallow cycles[203]. Between 1903 and 1948 when the Philippines gained its independence, despite high mortality rates during World War II the population tripled. The 1948 Census established a figure of 19.2 million people: 8.7 million on Luzon, about 4.7 million on the Visayan Islands, and 3.0 million on the second biggest Philippine island of Mindanao. The major factors of this growth were identified as a high fertility rate and reduction in infant mortality due to the establishment of public health services in accessible areas[204]. In this section I sketch the dynamics between people's socio-ecology and rural livelihoods and the changing use or management of forests.

By the beginning of the 1950s population growth was again increasing quickly, leading to high population densities, particularly in rural areas of Luzon and many Visayan islands including Cebu. At the same time, increased competition amongst tropical commodity producer nations led to a decline in prices for copra (the dried flesh of the

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201 Refer to Chapter 1 Section 1.2.

202 Borras, S. "State Society Relations in Land Reform Impelementation in the Philippines", in *Development and Change*, Vol. 32, 2001, pp.562-563.

203 National Statistics Office (1998) www.census.gov.p...sectordata/ag910002.tbl

204 Engracia, L & Meija-Raymundo, C *Fertility in the Philippines* International Statistical Institute, Manila, 1984, pp.52, 79, 93 & 207.

coconut), rubber and cocoa, the primary post-war export commodities of the Philippines. Low prices made it more and more difficult for tenant farmers to pay their rents to landlords. This generated social tensions, and in the worst cases, violent peasant protest such as the Hukbalahap rebellion during the 1940s and 1950s in Pampanga in Central Luzon[205], and the peasant based insurgence led by the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) in the 1970s and 1980s [206].

Although in 1963 President Diosdado Macapagal abolished the virtual slavery of tenancy and instituted the Agricultural Land Reform Code of that year, a hostile Senate blocked implementation so that it remained only a philosophical victory[207]. The departure of people, from the crowded rural areas of Cebu and Luzon to the urban industrial and trade centres of Cebu City and Manila, and frontier islands, where land was cheap, accelerated. Mindanao was such a rural frontier, in particular the Provinces of Bukidnon and Davao del Sur still had land available for cultivation (Table 5).

The swelling rural population led to more intensive land use throughout the Philippines even in frontier areas. As a result, the notional average farm size was 2.17 hectares (4, 610 million farms with 10,017 million hectares of farmed area) by 1990, only one-seventh that estimated at the beginning of the century, and 2.00 hectares in 2001 (4,822 million farms with 9,670 million hectares of farmed area), showing a further 10 per cent slide in farm size as the number of farm families increased while the farmed area shrank[208]. The proportion of time that a plot is under crop also rose sharply, and land that due to its altitude, slope or poor soils would formerly have been considered useful only for grazing and the harvest of forest products, was increasingly used for perennial cropping, and even food production[209]. Table 5 summarizes the population and farm size trends for the three provinces on the islands of Cebu and Mindanao where the case study communities are located.

[205] Borras, *op.cit.*, pp. 564-565.
[206] Borras, *op.cit.*, pp.559-563.
[207] "Diosdado Macapagal Profile & Biography" www.macapagal.com.htm
[208] National Statistics Office 1998 and 2001 http://www.census.gov.p...sectordata/ag910002.tbl
[209] Garcia, J, Gerrits, R. et al., *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Davao del Sur,* SEARCA-UQ, Report No. 2, 995b, pp. 5-7 & 75.

Farm sizes even fell on the frontiers (in Bukidnon by over 20 per cent from both 1980-1990 and 1990-2002) where exploitation of the timber resource accelerated in-migration. Weak government regulation of forest management into the 1980s, and the use by then President Marcos of timber concessions as rewards for his relatives and business partners, led to a rapid rise in the rate of timber-felling facilitated by mechanisation from 1940 through to 1960, along with continually buoyant export markets. The result was that from 66% of the country classified as under forest in 1945, by 1990 this had fallen to only 20%, amounting to 6.5 million hectares of which less than 1% of this area was primary forest[210].

Table 5 Rural Population Densities and Farm Sizes

Province		Rural Population Density persons/km²	Total farm area in ha and % less than 3 ha in area		Average farm size hectares
Cebu	**1960**	**250-300**	**153, 923**	**92.0%**	**1.34**
	1971	**…**	**148, 812**	**90.7%**	**1.45**
	1980	**…**	**177, 861**	**92.6%**	**1.19**
	1990	**300-400**	**161, 983**	**96.1%**	**0.90**
	2002		**146,056[1]**		**0.94**
Mindanao Island					
Bukidnon	**1938**	**6.9**	**…**	**…**	**19.4**
	1960	**21**	**175,625**	**26.9%**	**7.52**
	1971	**…**	**261,867**	**41.8%**	**5.32**
	1980	**…**	**343,784**	**47.7%**	**4.59**
	1990	**68**	**374,345**	**69.5%**	**3.34**
	2002		**322,804**		**2.69**
Davao del	**1960**	**30-90**	**176,093**	**60.5%**	**3.74**
Sur	**1971**	**…**	**202,179**	**50.6%**	**3.95**
	1980	**…**	**292,638**	**55.7%**	**3.69**
	1990	**99**	**313,276**	**69.5%**	**2.84**
	2002		**301,989**		**2.37**

Source: National Statistics Office, 1990 and 2004, (blanks indicates no available data)
[1]Only pieces of land greater than 1000 square metres in area were counted as farm plots

Typically, after the loggers had cleared an area, ranchers moved in, later to be followed by immigrant shifting cultivators (*'kaingineros'*) who squatted on the more remote sections of grazing leases or in areas of partial regrowth. These immigrant farmers came in 'on the wheel tracks' of the timber trucks, to burn off the debris then plant into the ashes. This 'salvage agriculture' of deforested land must be distinguished from traditional shifting or swidden agriculture of rotating plots through forest in many stages

[210]Braganza, G.C. "Philippine Community-based Forest Management: Options for Sustainable Development" in Parnwell, M. & Bryant. R. *Environmental Change in Southeast Asia* Routledge 1996,

of regrowth. This is because after the large-scale deforestation of the new land-use regime soil fertility falls sharply as topsoil erodes and nutrients deplete under repeated cultivation by the rapidly increasing population. There is no forest to recolonize the old cropland, so the immigrants are not functioning as shifting cultivators within a forest. By default they use grassland fallows which have limited restorative effect on fertility because of slower nutrient uptake rates whereas shifting cultivators can work within and manage forests[211].

The greatest losers through all of this were those cultural groups who occupied or who had retreated to the mountainous areas of Luzon and the hinterlands of the southern islands. Formerly, they had retained greater or lesser independence from the colonial economy of tribute and forced production as well as the processes of cultural homogenization initiated by church and government. This relative autonomy led to their classification as tribal peoples. They have continually lost territory and given up their cultural distinctives in the face of the rapid in-migration of and expansion of other ethnic groups. As Braganza points out, the 'explosion' of timber clearing has catalyzed the destruction of tribal society. Firstly, through elite takeover of their customary land using the means of government allocations as timber and grazing licences. Secondly, tribal leaders or communities have informally sold land to the immigrant cultivators. Lastly, immigrants have simply taken over deforested land by squatting on it[212].

Successive governments ignored the deteriorating livelihood and hunger of rural families whose shifting agricultural system was failing. Instead, they strengthened the government forest departments for the protection of secondary forest regrowth and remnant primary forest. Nevertheless, the many politicians in the logging business prevented forestry officials from implementing forestry laws, rather the timber getters were exonerated as contributing to development whilst the *kaingineros* were blamed for 'taking advantage of the land preparation so generously provided for them'[213]. However, by the end of the Marcos era of government (1965-1986), the effects of deforestation were so extreme as to disable agri-business and industrial infrastructure by

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p.314

[211]Chin, S. C. "Do Shifting Cultivators Deforest?" in Sahabat Alam Malaysia Proceedings of the Conference on **"***Forest Resource Crisis in the Third World***"** 1986, Penang, Malaysia pp224-226

[212]Braganza, *op.cit.*, p.314.

[213]Bengwayan, M. *Natural Forest Depradation of Philippines Forests,* Environment News Service (ENS) October 1999 http://ens.lycos.com/ens/oct99/1999L-10-11-01.html

silting hydro-electric, irrigation and water-supply reservoirs, thus exacerbating flood damage and triggering poverty and malnutrition[214]. Later governments responded by introducing forest management programs which eventually, in recognizing the occupancy by farmers of Proclaimed Forest Reserves and previously Alienated Public Forest Land, began to require community-supervised stewardship of the land under cultivation[215]. Amador Remigio's paper on the evolution of sustainable development policies in the Philippines in an environment of weak implementation provides the background to the development history of the Philippines particularly since WWII[216].

Reforestation programs are now underway which are becoming much more people oriented since the government has found that while it can easily use the military to repress, it must work with local people to redress or recreate[217]. Yet, as cited by Bengwayan, politicians, civil servants and environmental protection agencies captured and misused portions of the reafforestation program funds, causing the Asian Development Bank to prematurely terminate one project in 1992. Thus corruption remains a problem despite the 1991 Local Government Code opening up the municipal planning and budgetary process to locally elected *barangay* officials.[218].

While various groups within the Philippines battled for control of the remaining forests, a rearguard action has taken place simultaneously to turn the tide of soil erosion and maintain small holder livelihoods. From small beginnings in agricultural research centres, through trial and error of practise on demonstration farms and in farmers' fields over the last 20 years, a basket of soil conservation measures has been put together which helped make viable permanent agricultural systems. This new conservation farming is based on an agro-forestry matrix of perennial tree and shrub crops, relying on green and animal manuring to allow an internal rotation of food crop plots including intensive production for home consumption and market sales.[219] The development of transport infrastructure to support poultry, livestock, vegetable, fruit and flower markets

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[214]*ibid.*
[215]Sajise, P. E. 'Sustainable Land Use Systems in the Philippines: Some Lessons Learned", *PURC News and Views,* Vol. 9, Nos. 3-4, 1996, pp.1-6. See also Braganza *op.cit.*
[216]Remigio, A. "Recent Philippines Political Economy and the Sustainable Development Paradigm" in Redclift, M. & Sage, C. *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Local Agendas for the South.* Wiley, New York, 1994, pp.61-65.
[217]World Bank *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook,* World Bank, Washington, 1996, pp.103-106
[218] Chapter 6 Section 6.5.

in regional and provincial centres has facilitated this intensification of and diversification of farm family activities to a mix of cash and subsistence enterprises. For example, orchid production expanded by 43 per cent between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses although the total number of farms in flower production, excluding orchids, fell sharply by 42.7 per cent, presumably as families rationalized their floriculture enterprises in competition with corporate agriculture[220]. Agroforestry thus complements small-scale horticulture and livestock activities by providing the organic material for livestock food, manuring of crops and shade for spices or orchid production while also allowing smallholders to produce perennial tree cash crops ranging from fruits to firewood.

4.3 Elite Establishment and Enlistment of Philippines Smallholders

The way of life and rural independence of Filipino smallholders has been affected as much by the increasing control of commerce and resources by the family oligarchies of the islands as by the changing demographic and ecological factors at work in their own agro-ecological systems. The next section will briefly examine the origins and formation of this elite and their use of violence as a political means. The historical use of violence by the Spanish colonizers, by rural movements and by associations led by the elite against the Spanish and by the Americans, who re-colonized the Philippines immediately after the independence movement had evicted the Spanish, has continued both as rebellion against the government by the marginalized and repression of rural rebellion by the elite, with and without the support of the army. This political violence endures on the national and local scenes as a major social and political factor in the disempowerment of rural smallholders.

Trade, colonial violence and commercialization

Trade was a stimulus for pre-urban concentration of population along accessible coasts, the stratification of society and the emergence of communication networks and administration at least partly through borrowing from more hierarchical societies

[219] Palmer, J. *Sloping Agricultural Land Technology (SALT): Nitrogen Fixing Agroforestry for Sustainable Soil and Water Conservation,* Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre (MBRLC), 1996.
[220] National Statistics Office, *Scenario of the Agricultural Sector in the Philippines* Special Release No. 244, 2002, www.census.gov.ph/data/sectordata/sr04144tx.html

elsewhere in Asia.[221] Thus for the last 3000 years wider economic relationships have shaped the history of the many ethnic groups of the Philippines leading, eventually, to the establishment of the families who founded the present elite oligarchies.

The piecemeal Spanish takeover after 1571 by only several hundred mounted troops was facilitated by the fluctuating clan alliances within and between the independent tribes of the islands. The political fragmentation of tribal and regional leaders allowed easy subjugation by the "effective and frightening use of force"[222]. Colonial soldiers and officials were rewarded with rights to collect tribute and with land grants. 'Tribute farming' in many areas became pillage by imperial troops and private forces leading to early reforms by which most of the estates passed into the hands of a number of religious orders. The orders, while under edict to convert the inhabitants and instruct them into the Christian faith of the Catholic Church, widened their holdings, and generally leased the estates to managers who enlisted tenants to farm the fields[223]. Even independent farm families were forced to pay tribute, provide labour and accept token payments for produce. In this way the colonial period saw the commencement of land aggregation and the loss of peasant smallholder rights to subsistence livelihood. They became bonded tenants.

The Spanish brought the new faith of Christianity, which became a means for emerging commercial classes to identify with the European colonial power. Thus, especially after the establishment of Spanish Manila, the Chinese, who had traded there for hundreds of years, colonized in the classical sense. By marrying Filipinas they established merchant and landholding clans which remain active and powerful throughout the modern Philippines[224].

By the late 1700s sugar planting and export began to synergize with the bonding of former tenant labourers. The expansion of large estates using low-waged seasonal labour led to the extreme poverty of landless workers on the large estates (which were

[221] Hutterer , K. "The Evolution of Philippine Lowland Societies", *Mankind* Vol. 9, 1974, p.298.
[222] Andaya, B. W. "Political Development between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia,* Vol. 1, 1992, pp.448-453.
[223] Kathirathimby-Wells, J. "The Age of Transition: The Mid-eighteenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries", in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia,* Vol. 1, 1992, p.607.
[224] Andaya, Leonard "Interactions with the Outside World and Adaptation in Southeast Asian Society 1500-1800" in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia Vol 1* 1992, p349, pp367-370.

thus equivalent to Latin American latifundia) of the 19th and 20th Centuries setting up the inequities which are the roots of dissent. The Spanish and Chinese mestizo commercial classes were the largest proportion of the managers, artisans, traders, planters, and especially the merchants. By the 1850s the mestizos made up in the order of 250,000 out of a total population of around 4 million. They were the most significant economic, technical and political group amongst the Filipinos and, because of their commercial activity, rapidly acquired control over property so that their families became oligarchies of landlords having judicial, taxation and customary rights over the villagers whose lands they occupied. These villagers were the native people of the Philippines, or *indios,* who became the smallholders, tenants and hired or bonded labourers.

While the colonial bureaucracy remained focussed on Manila and on administration, the mestizo sugar-planters and millers used their capital and control of the commodities to move upward into shipping and out into banking, insurance and newspapers so magnifying their economic and political power. They became the local political bosses of the Islands. Some went on to become the great families, the *caciques,* which took the feudalism nurtured by the friars to an agro-industrial serfdom that laid the foundation for the 20th Century control of elections by networks of reward and punishment for the rural poor as benefits of patronage versus the threat or actual use of violence[225]. They have become the new elite landowner entrepreneurs or managers of the Philippines end of international agribusiness who can turn the decision-making powers of the bureaucrats and the military to their own advantage[226].

Colonization and elite entrenchment under the United States of America

The aspirations of the commercial classes for political and legal self-determination and the wish for deliverance from the poverty experienced by the urban and rural poor were the foundation for various political movements. Foremost among them was the Katipunan, centred on southern Luzon. From its name, an acronym for 'Highest and

[225] Borras, S. "State Society Relations in Land Reform Implementation in the Philippines", *Development and Change*, Vol. 32, 2001, pp.549-550.
[226] Borras, *op.cit.,* p.549.

most Venerable Association of the Offspring of the Land'; it can be seen that there was a strong appeal to those dispossessed of their lands.[227].

Immediately after the Katipunan movement led the Philippines to successfully oust the Spanish in a War of Independence that lasted from August 1896 to August 1998 the United States annexed the Islands. War broke out between the Katipunan and United States forces six months after the annexation. As the war drew to a close the American military won over, or isolated and defeated the Katipunan leadership by entering into alliances with the commercial, professional and landowning elite. The latter were willing to accept a new colonial relationship once the Americans had the upper hand and controlled the cities and ports. The colonial bureaucrats governed the country through the local elite, thus perpetuating the gap between democratic theory and traditional authority structures that had been highlighted at the Katipunan National Assembly.

The Americans pursued their post-independence policies toward the Philippines by cultivating the elite, and were in turn manipulated by them. Despite their democratic discourse, the Americans by and large accepted the imperial temptation to orchestrate an economic stranglehold through preferential trade agreements. These locked the Philippines into exporting commodities to the USA while importing its manufactured goods on terms that prevented competition with other suppliers but provided further opportunity for economic rents to be gained by the leading commercial families who controlled the trade. Lobbying in the USA ensured that the opportunity for reform to alleviate landlessness and hardship was missed: the church, while selling off some of its estates to new large landholders, consolidated its hold on other large estates. This sowed the seeds for future insurrection and set a precedent for later missed opportunities for land reform, for example, under President Macapagal's post independence government[228].

Generous American aid and the Filipinos' own investment created an American style education system in the Philippines which gave many Filipinos a thorough soaking in

[227]Ileto, R. 'Religion and Anti-colonial Movements' in Tarling, N. *ed Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* Vol 2 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992, pp235

[228] Bridegewater, W., Kurtz, S. *eds The Columbia Encyclopedia*, Sixth Edition Columbia University Press, New York, Magsaysay, Ramón 2005 http://www.bartleby.com/65/ma/Magsaysa.html.

American culture. Nevertheless, Filipino cultural values of mutual support, responsibilities and rights of family and individual connection and relationships remained important in the country's political, social and economic life. Thus Filipinos have developed their own cultural hybrid of traditional values, individualistic Western business practice and industrial technology, and thus developed a hybrid modernity out of a diversity of national and regional cultures interacting with overseas cultures[229]. At the same time, the oligarchy adopted Western social, business and legal practices to intensify and modernize their activities[230] while continuing to use a combination of violence and traditional and regional loyalties to repress and enlist subsistence communities that were once self-governing, thus disempowering them both politically and socio-ecologically. People in political thraldom were no longer free to adapt livelihoods to changing as their agricultural system began to fail[231].

4.4 The Tradition of Peasant Self-reliance and Resistance

Some of the cultural features commonly held by many ethnic groups within the Philippines help to explain the patterns of accommodation or resistance by peasants to conquest by the Spanish, Americans and Japanese in their turn. Here I want to demonstrate that the same cultural feature of reciprocal obligation, although manipulated by elites for the control of blocks of votes, may be catalyzed by visionary leaders to the mobilization of people for soil conservation measures or, when coupled to the tradition of violence as the political means of last resort, to become the foundation for rebellion.

Traditional Cultural Traits

Characteristic beliefs and behaviours deeply affect the social, and therefore the political, life of a people. In the Philippines one of the most readily seen is that of reciprocal obligation, *utang na loob* in the Luzon-wide trade language of Tagalog, by which a Filipino who renders service to another accrues the obligation of the future return of help. Those who have benefited become symbolically indebted to the giver, and

[229] Arce, A. & Long, N. "Reconfiguring modernity and development from an anthropological perspective", in Arce, A. & Long, N eds, *Anthropology, Development and Modernities,* Routledge, London, 2000, pp.13-14.
[230] Cheong, Y. M. "The Political Structures of the Independent States", in Tarling, N. ed. *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia Vol 2* , 1992, pp.418-419.
[231] Borras, *op.cit.,* p.550.

ignoring the prior favours would mean to act shamelessly, *walang hiya*. This tradition remains a powerful means of leverage in a variety of contexts ranging from local mobilization of friends to help and be helped in the uptake of soil conservation measures, to the orchestration and delivery of block votes in elections at all levels. The mutual obligations of social relationships draw people to commit themselves to supporting community, political and commercial leaders in return for a perceived gain in access to resources for livelihood[232].

A basis from which to begin to explain the willingness of the poor of the Philippines to take up arms when they feel no other political means remains to them is the tradition of security resting in one's clan or tribe. Since pre-colonial security was locally derived, rather than being based in larger political units, the tribe's credibility and honour had to be upheld. Insults, felt or received, thefts of water or goods, abductions of women, incursions onto rice fields or other productive land, were reasons, 'triggers' and excuses for warfare, feuds and vendettas. Alliances were made and renewed between families and clans by blood compact as the seal to tie together the forces sought to reach a safe hold on power[233]. Local military initiative provided a basis not only for effective guerrilla action during wartime but also for insurrection or co-option for counter-insurgency through loyalties made, broken and redirected using reciprocal obligation. Thus the roots of local security equally explain the potential for peasant insurrection and elite use of their clans of dependents for thuggery against both their rivals and the poor.

Traditionally, women were accorded significant power and authority under kinship systems which, throughout the Philippines, are commonly bilateral. Since maternal and paternal lines were equally important women were able to own property, engage in trade, divorce and become chiefs in the absence of male heirs.[234] Under their Christian dogma the Spanish relegated women to a secondary position, especially in political life. At the same time, by glorifying the Virgin Mary, they buttressed their status within the family. Modern Filipinas have a decisive role within the family while traditional

[232] Hirtz, F. "The Discourse that Silences: Beneficiaries Ambivalence Towards Redistributive Land Reform in the Philippines" *Development and Change* Vol. 29, 1998, pp.259-263.
[233] Wallace, B. *Hill and Valley Farmers: Socio-economic Change among a Philippine People,* Schenkman, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970, pp.32-36.
[234] Hall, K.R. "Economic History of Early Southeast Asia" in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia Vol 1* 1992, pp. 190-191.

attitudes remained strong enough for them to have retained the freedom to have their own careers and businesses. Moreover, as local communities take more responsibility for development under the devolution of authority to municipal and local government units, Filipinas are free to be involved in setting up community services which is a pathway to local and wider political leadership. Women in subsistence communities are taking up commercial activities as part of the differentiated vegetable and horticultural enterprises of the new intensive smallholder farming. Thus in one tribal Igorot village people have begun saying, "today women are the providers" in reference to local women taking up a range of income opportunities. These included commercial agricultural opportunities, professional employment as public servants and teachers, overseas employment, and positions in civic organizations which then enabled them to access government funding for various public works contracts that in turn provided them a good income[235].

Another major theme of Filipino life is fearlessly speaking out against hegemony and oppression, striving for deliverance and redemption, and experiencing suffering, death, failure, resurrection and new hope. Animist beliefs in the wisdom and power of the ancestor spirits to secure the safety and wealth of the clan[236] and the Christian pre-occupation with the passion of Jesus of Nazareth have been welded into a uniquely Filipino tradition of identifying with what is portrayed as Jesus' rebellion against ruthless powerful forces. His suffering, betrayal, sacrifice, and his eventual victory through which he offers deliverance to his followers inspires the ordinary Filipino women and men. But this inspiration and readiness to risk death is grounded on a belief in the necessity of self-directed action to resolve conflict, often involving fighting or rebellion.

An example of this will to participate in Jesus' experience is seen during Easter week in those who willingly undergo crucifixion while re-enacting the Passion to symbolize and empower their own renewal[237]. It is seen again in millennial movements such as the Cofradiá (or Brotherhood) de San Jose founded by Apolinario de la Cruz. Ileto

[235] Hilhorst, D. "Village experts and development discourse: "Progress" in a Philippine Igorot village" in *Human Organization* Vol. 60, No. 4, 2001, p.404.
[236] Hirtz*, op.cit.,* pp.267-269.
[237] For example, BBC News http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/1901095.stm Friday 22 March 2002.

describes this movement of 19th Century peasants who escaped the control of a colonially imposed priesthood by creating their own liturgy for enjoying common worship and by preparing spiritual exercises to ready themselves for heavenly fellowship with Jesus, Mary, Joseph and the saints as primarily associations for satisfying aspirations for spiritual leadership and fulfilment that they could not achieve in a clerically dominated system[238].

The rejection and hounding of such religious movements by the Catholic Church moved the members of the Cofradia to desire *kalayaan*, independence or wholeness and the meeting of one's needs. The heavier the hand of the Colonial State on behalf of the established Church, the more these movements explicitly opposed the State. While they attempted to live out the unity of the faithful they defended themselves against the forces of darkness, even to joining in revolt against the Spanish because such conflict was seen as a sign of, and God's preparatory action for, the Day of Judgement. Hence the will to spiritual independence led through political action to rebellion.

Ileto also shows that the membership was drawn from all social sectors, but especially farmers, artisans and labourers. They were ordinary people whose faith led them into conflict with the hierarchy of the state religion and thereby to desire freedom from the colonial power standing behind those authorities. Because of its threat to Catholicism the Spanish crushed the 'Brotherhood' in 1841. However, it rose again to support the revolution against the Spanish in 1897, the renewed Katipunan Republic in its war with the Americans in 1904 and also the 1935 Sakdalista revolt against US colonial government[239]. More recent religious movements have also become major political groupings in the Philippines. For example, the cult leaders of the El Shaddai movement within the Catholic Church delivered members' votes to Joseph Estrada in return for his support for their own plans[240].

At the third of my fieldwork sites I unwittingly came across this tradition of participation in the mission of Jesus. I was surprised by the attitude of a group of the

[238] Ileto, R. "Pasion' and the Interpretation of Change in Tagalog Society" Unpublished thesis, Cornell University, 1975, pp.20-34, 54-60.
[239] Ileto, *op.cit.,* p.72, pp.93-96, pp. 224-231, p.252.
[240] Bocobo, D.J. "Intellectual poverty beggars the nation" *Philippine Daily Inquirer,* p.E2 5 September 1999, http://newsinfo.inq7.net

original adopters towards one of their fellows. He had in turn become the Senior Farm Instructor (in soil conservation), the Site Manager (for the NGO) and finally the *Barangay* Captain, one of the two senior elected positions of local government. His friends and 'followers in sustainability' spoke of him and his commitment to them in glowing terms that I took as a traditional form of deference to proven dedicated leadership on behalf of the whole community. For his part, having kept in the background, when he spoke about how the community had changed since the first meeting about erosion control and land restoration, the room fell silent. There was the quietness of deep respect.

His story recounted year by year the suffering the community had previously undergone, the hard work and struggle of taking up conservation farming and of endurance, unity and empowerment. We were participating in a focus group interview, yet the situation was reminiscent of Jesus of Nazareth sitting with his disciples, and the story echoed the themes of Christ's passion. Such charismatic men and women greatly affect the achievement of project outcomes as well as the meta-objective of empowerment. This influence within their communities, and in turn people's corporate identification with such leaders is consistent with the leadership that Filipinas in professional positions of community service gain within their local women's associations, and also in the wider communities, as described above[241]. Similar notions of leadership can be found in the Highlands of PNG where leaders as described in Douglas Young's discussion of their roles in managing exchange relations and avoiding or planning for, winning and ending inter-clan fighting[242].

4.5 Cultural and Economic Neo-colonialism versus Resistance

The oligarchies that distantly or directly control the destiny of the rural poor of the islands do so because they operate or manage commodity production for international trade while controlling import trade to protect their domestic monopolies. It has been in the interests of their successive generations to plan and supervise the expansion of that trade and its ramification throughout the archipelago, particularly after World War II. This section will show that after the Philippines gained its independence in 1946, the

[241] Hilhorst, *op.cit.,* pp.406-407.
[242] Young*, op.cit.,* pp.150-152.

elite joined with American and international business to strengthen their grip on the neo-colonial Philippines state via the systematic use of political patronage backed up by force. At the same time, by the late 1960s millions of Philippines smallholders found their livelihoods slipping away as socio-ecologies failed. Furthermore, the political and economic situation that prevailed until the end of the Marcos regime in 1986 disempowered smallholders leaving them unable to make adaptations that could restore the socio-ecologies underlying their rural livelihoods.

The Rentier State

In the Second World War Japanese forces swept over the Philippines. However, subsequent naval victories of the United States of America and its enormous resources and industrial capacity led to it reinvading the Philippines in 1944. This was a relatively swift and merciful campaign apart from the razed-earth defence of the southern quarters of Manila by Japanese Naval forces which cost in the order of 100,000 civilian lives over four days: around one half of all non-military casualties of the war in the Philippines. What the USA offered after their reconquest of the Philippines in 1944-45 was a rapid program for the election and installation of an independent government that it subsequently cultivated, trained and equipped as a military retainer for pursuing its global strategy in Southeast Asia. The inaugural government of the independent state of the Philippines was sworn in on 4 June 1946 after elections marked by obvious large-scale block voting along family and tribal lines. The hopes of the poor were that freedom from the colonial master would usher in an age of prosperity founded on the reforms of elected governments responsive to the needs and desires of the people.

Post independence, families of the regional oligarchies gained or retained control of pre-existing and newly arisen industries so that they were thereby able to extract monopoly economic rents to the disadvantage of the bulk of the population.[243] Elite families reignited their interrupted relations with American agribusiness and manufacturers to enjoy the profits of an economic neo-imperialism protected by trading arrangements along the lines of the American colonial period.

[243] McCoy, A. "Rent-Seeking Families and the Philippine State: A History of the Lopez Family" in McCoy, A. ed *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines* Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1993, pp.430-434.

Rural grievances continued to fester because of increasing poverty as commodity prices fell and estate production was mechanized. Landlords opposed reform by emptying it of all the required steps for its implementation, such as: the provision of credit facilities, marketing outlets and cooperatives for input supply and local purchasing.[244] Active peasant resistance in the Hukbalahap Rebellion brought no redress whereas the elite successfully used and justified violence to control peasant struggle against their economic consolidation[245]. This began a downward spiral into violence and social chaos that challenged national political leaders to address fundamental problems of inequity.

In the mid-1960s Ferdinand Marcos represented himself as the President who could and would take up this challenge and move beyond the self-aggrandizing agenda of the elite to undertake land-reform for the tenants and landless and open up agriculture and industry to the middle-classes in order to generate growth in services and employment.[246] His rhetoric of change was what many Filipinos wanted to hear, and they voted him to power in early 1965. However, the longer Ferdinand Marcos' presidency continued the more he assumed executive control of the administration so that he could give even greater opportunity to his business allies and associates to take control of new ventures and foreign loans. The new policy only amounted to exclusion of many old dominant clans from the spoils to be won.

Having sidelined some of the old elite and made cronies of others, Marcos was less and less concerned to listen to any other group or class in society. Furthermore, suppressing dissent by force became an option to pursue by using American willingness to grant and provide soft loans for building up military capacity to counter communist insurgency. The latter was a self-fulfilling necessity for American policymakers who had no interest in why social conflict arose in the Philippines. The more difficult conditions became for common Filipinos, the more political and military action they took against those whom they saw as their enemies, and the more 'justifiable' was the regime's reaction. Legal and violent illegal opposition to the Manila regime grew in various parts of the country, including amongst the Muslim populations of south-western Mindanao and Sulu[247].

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[244] Cheong, Yong Mun "The Political Structures of the Independent States" in Tarling, N. *ed The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia* Vol 2 Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1992, p420-421
[245] Borras, Saturnino 2001, pp564-565
[246] Cheong, *op.cit.,* pp.425-426.
[247] Cheong, *op.cit.,* pp.427-428.

Eventually, martial law powers were used legally and economically against rival elite families just as they were used militarily against the Muslims' Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) or the Communist New People's Army (NPA). These were the parties of the rural and urban poor, the former of the Muslim majority areas in south-western Mindanao. Simultaneously, the lack of regional authority and capacity meant that those entrepreneurs or companies responsible for particular development projects or for meeting the terms of regulations and agreements had little to fear. Government of the Philippines development policies of export led growth based on diversification of agricultural commodities fitted cunningly with oligarchic control of quasi-government export authorities and other legal devices for commercial monopoly. The Marcos administration's New Society program of structural economic reform became a subterfuge for the reality of corporate racketeering protected by the military which was gradually cut into the deal.[248]

Meanwhile, smallholders in all kinds of socio-ecological situations throughout the archipelago found their livelihoods increasingly less viable and their alternatives to diminish[249]. In particular, the harvesting and clearing of primary and secondary growth forests from over 50 per cent of the land area of the archipelago in the early 1960s (~15 million hectares) to an estimated 20 per cent of land area in 1990 (6.5 million hectares) impacted heavily on the upland rural poor. Smallholders depend on the forests for firewood and other subsistence and cash income forest products, as well as for regeneration of soil fertility in shifting agricultural systems. Uncontrolled timber harvesting without forest protection or managed regeneration has led to shortages of drinking water, severe erosion and extensive topsoil loss, siltation of water supply and hydro-electric reservoirs, devastating flood events and droughts. [250] Thus elite socio-political control founded on widespread disempowerment, especially of the rural poor, not only led to failed development but also to destructive resource exploitation which accelerated the breakdown of smallholder socio-ecologies and the loss of their livelihoods.

[248] Remigio, *op.cit.,* pp.63-65.
[249] Ruthenberg, H. *Farming Systems in the Tropics,* Clarendon, Oxford, 1976, pp.55-60, 95-96, 150ff.

The End of an Era

Towards the end of the Marcos administration in 1983 national debt climbed to 49.4 per cent of GNP, from 6.6 per cent in 1980, while the economy shrank under the mismanagement associated with the burden of international borrowings siphoned off by the Marcos clique which itself fed capital flight out of the country[251]. This situation generated an intense build up of opposition from the middle class, from elite groups disadvantaged by Marcos and his cronies and by the rural and urban poor most severely affected by the recession. In severely affected rural areas where the MNLF and NPA were most active harsh repression of the military against any other power-base than the President's made economic and political conditions very difficult. US diplomats and even security operatives in the Philippines spurned the greed, violence and destruction stemming from the 'conjugal autocracy' of Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos[252].

The assassination of Benigno Aquino, who intended to challenge Marcos for the Presidency, on his return from exile in 1983 resulted in three years of street protests. This ended in the people of Manila facing down troops loyal to Marcos after he lost the election to Benigno's widow, Corazon Aquino, in February 1986. When the vote-rigging, counter-accusations of corruption, thuggery and retaliatory threats against the winning parties became so blatant as to be intolerable, Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, General Fidel Ramos and the Defence Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, revolted against Marcos. The Americans lent vital support to the rebels and told the regime that its time was up. The divided military then turned with the winds of change. The decisive action was when hundreds of thousands of people of Manila and Luzon put themselves forward as human shields around the military-camp rebel headquarters and as a siege ring around the Presidential Palace [253].

The Peaceful Revolution that ousted the Marcoses marked a break in the direction of the Filipino ship of state. The undercurrent discourse of empowerment of the middle class in one tidal change turned the tide of elite control of the nation. However, tides ebb and

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[250] Remigio, *op.cit.,* pp.67-71.
[251] *ibid.,* p.64. See also Hawes, G. *The Philippines State and the Marcos Regime,* Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1987.
[252] Karnow, S. *In our Image: America's Empire in the Philippines***,** Random House, New York, 1989.
[253] Karnow, *op.cit.,* pp.413-423.

flow. Lasting benefits from the change in government were a long time in coming, particularly for rural communities.

4.6 A New Republic

Corazon Aquino became a President who embodied the hopes and aspirations of the lower and middle classes of the Philippines but also of the old oligarchy who had been cast down by Marcos. The support of the common people on the streets of Manila over ten days had brought her victory in the battle for power but in the campaign for its redistribution she chose to ally herself with those families which were battling to regain power for themselves. In this section I argue that having won the rebellion to end the Marcos dictatorship, the individuals, NGOs and CBOs that make up Philippines civil society continue to battle with elite forces to build participation into democracy. This is clearly seen both in the impeachment and dismissal of President Joseph Estrada in January 2001 and in the 2005-2006 post-election political conflict in the Philippines stemming from President Gloria Arroyo's "errors of judgement" in negotiations with the Electoral Commission[254].

Moreover, President Aquino found the pressure of factional struggle too great to prevent elite families from recapturing the economy.[255] She herself contributed to this by undermining her own land reform legislation as she became the first landlord to evade a Comprehensive Land Reform Program (CARP) application on her Hacienda Lusitania property[256]. She either lacked the necessary suspicion of the habitual use of force and threats by both military and elite powerbrokers or she was not willing to risk violence by opposing them.[257] Despite her 1987 re-election under a liberalized constitution she barely hung onto power in the face of coups from former armed forces supporters rankling at their loss of prestige in the country[258]. To his credit, then Defence Secretary Fidel Ramos remained loyal to Aquino and to the democratic process, which should also be regarded as another far-reaching victory for civil society

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[254] Wikipedia ***Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo***, 220606.htm

[255] Turnbull, C. M. "Regionalism and Nationalism" in *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia, Vol 2*, 1992, pp.635-636. McCoy, A. "'An Anarchy of Families': The Historiography of State and Family in the Philippines" in McCoy, A. ed. *An Anarchy of Families: State and Family in the Philippines* University of Wisconsin, Wisconsin 1993, p.18.

[256] Borras, *op.cit.,* pp.556.

[257] Bello, W. & Gershman, J. *Creating the Third Force: US Sponsored Low Intensity Conflict in the Philippines,* The Institute for Food and Development Policy, Oakland, California 1987, p.45.

[258] *ibid.*, pp.43-44.

in the Philippines. Ramos, one of the heroes of the peaceful Revolution, then successfully contested the presidential elections of June 1992. But, once elected, Fidel Ramos was unwilling to risk pushing aside the old order. Given that his peers and confidantes were also members of the leading families, the limited breaking up of large estates that did occur is creditable. This was achieved by the President appointing an acceptable NGO leader to head the Department of Agrarian Reform, the main agency of land reform implementation, who instituted organizational change leading to collaboration between NGOs and the Department so that there was synergy between organizers, reformers in government and community leaders[259].

An even more significant step taken by the Ramos Administration was the devolution of planning and budgetary control to the Provinces, and within them to the Municipalities. As my fieldwork shows, even in remote rural areas this structural shift is having far-reaching effects because the doors of decision-making are opening to new layers of the politicians and bureaucrats of the Philippines right down to local government by elected members of *Barangay* Councils.

The new Code was passed into legislation by the Aquino government as part of its reforms to open up governance and promote national cohesion by allocating funds to and setting up a local planning and budgeting process for all local government units, ie. *barangay*, to be coordinated by municipalities. Before this time many local governments were markedly ineffective, since the Marcos administration had centralized planning and implementation to maximize its control. This enabled the regime, or its elite allies, to cream off designated regional funds[260].

Leaders in different areas differed in their willingness and capacity for joint action once the new Code was passed. One would expect the migrants in 'frontier areas', such as Bacungan and Columbagon on Mindanao, to have more opportunity to move into local government than in their original home areas where they were probably owners of poorer and smaller areas of land as were the early innovators at Tabayag. In both of those areas the migrant Councillors expressed and recounted active support for the spread of soil conservation technology albeit, in the case of Columbagon, after the

[259] Chapter 2, Section 2.4.
[260] Remigio, *ibid.,* p.64.

MUSUAN Project has finished 4 years earlier in 1994. In other areas migrants have wrested local government power from original tribal inhabitants and set up support for paddy rice instead of shifting agricultural gardens. Such political moves would disadvantage any attempt to introduce soil conservation measures just as the original Councillors did at Tabayag[261].

It is a symbol of hope, in a country where civil society seems to slip two steps backwards for every three steps forwards, that a second social revolution peacefully overthrew Ramos's successor Joseph Estrada. Given the habit of political violence it could easily have been that suffering moved those poor who have taken on the discourse of a religious or a communist utopia (whether in the form of a Muslim, Christian or Millenarian cult) to try to bring it about by revolution. Estrada sought to dodge accountability for his crimes, corruption and elite cronyism by cultivating the El Shaddai movement within the Catholic Church. But he failed, and after only two years in power, the public prosecutors and political opposition successfully deposed him, supported by mass peaceful protests in Manila[262].

The combined strength of disaffected members of the elite, the middle-class and urban poor of Manila has been enough to oust two ruinous presidents and has battled with their successor Gloria Aquino. But this is only a partial deconstruction of cronyism. The potential for the empowerment of lower levels of government that can require open debate of policy and proper business practice lies with the ongoing outworkings of the decentralization of powers to the regions. For the smallholders of the Philippines the latter means implementing the reforms of Aquino's new 1991 Local Government Code and working with NGOs that facilitate them to adopt and adapt sustainable agricultural innovation. I found that these processes are empowering them despite the continued influence of the Filipino elite as the 'local officers' of global corporate capitalism.

[261] Dressler, W. "Coopting Conservation Migrant Resource Control in the Philippine Uplands" *Development and Change,* Vol. 37, No. 2, 2006, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford pp. 401-426.
[262] Songco, D. *Important developments in the Philippines* dansong@codewan.com.ph, 15 October 2000

Chapter 5: Research Methods

In this chapter I present the basis for the research processes used in my comparative study of community participation by farm families in the Philippines. In the three communities implementing soil conservation projects I worked from the assumption that development can be analyzed as a discourse, that it is, as Kathy Gardner puts it, 'a social construct', an invention of groups of people wielding enormous control in a time and place[263]. Gardner describes a situation in which she saw the various agents of development as members of groups with several fluid discourses of development all jockeying to determine its course for their own appropriate rewards. Discourse analysis was an effective tool for making sense of that situation as an arena of struggle. Similarly, government officers, NGO workers and different parties in the three communities all wove different strands of discourse about socio-ecological change. Thus I look as closely at the community members as I do at the NGO's development workers since these localities were also arenas of struggle which discourse analysis helped me to understand. Gardner's conclusions are apposite for my study:

> Once we understand [development] discourse as practice rather than as a systematized body of knowledge [about development], we can see how it is produced through everyday conditions and activities and thus constantly subject to change and to the agency of individuals[264].

That is, when community members talk about forming either work groups to implement soil conservation, or a Community Based Organization (CBO) to plan services and infrastructure, they are shaping the discourse of development in these three localities as much as the NGO workers who catalyzed these steps.

I first explain the process of selection of these three particular soil conservation projects. I move on to describe the concepts of discourse, discourse analysis, dominant discourses, hierarchies of discourse, counter discourse and resistance. From there I discuss the utility of the analysis of discourse of the community members as a means of examining their understanding of their participation in the projects and its outcomes for

[263] Gardner, K. *op.cit.,* pp.133-156.
[264] Gardner, K 1997 p154

them. There are few studies of participation and empowerment at a local level using analysis of discourse. It is therefore necessary to establish the credentials of discourse analysis for my purpose of investigating the dynamics of groups within communities taking initiative to re-establish or improve their livelihoods.

Next, I consider the choice of mode taken to investigate community participation. The strengths and weaknesses of using focus group discussions as my approach to examining participation are weighed up in relation to other techniques in order to clarify the validity of adopting this mode of research. This is followed by a presentation of the analytical techniques I applied to the two sources of primary data, which were the NGO project reports, and the focus group interviews with community members. I also discuss the relationship between the discourses we recorded and those reported in the surveys previously undertaken in each area. These discussions lead directly into a description of the process I used for recording the raw information of the focus group interviews, the fields of questions used to frame them, and the steps of the qualitative analysis I applied to the data.

5.1 Selection of Projects for the Comparative Study

Initially I contacted the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) in my search for two or three similar projects suitable and available for a comparative fieldwork study of community participation. ACIAR had commissioned a series of surveys of soil conservation projects implemented by NGOs in different provinces of the Philippines during the 1980s and early 1990s. The evaluation project was conducted jointly by the Environment and Rural Development Unit of the Regional Centre for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture (SEARCA) and the Department of Agriculture at the University of Queensland (UQ). Its purpose was to improve the flow of appropriate soil conservation technology to upland farmers by providing feedback from them to researchers and policymakers regarding the factors likely to promote adoption[265]. That is, the agricultural scientists assumed that the principles of soil conservation are appropriate whereas the technology needs 'customization'.

[265]Garcia, J., Gerrits, R. et al *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Bukidnon,* , SEARCA-UQ Uplands Research Project, Report No. 4, Los Banos, 1995d, Preface.

The case study NGOs have limited documentation describing their approaches to the respective communities with which they worked. I have used this limited material, as well as the SEARCA survey reports, to illuminate the respective NGO's self-presentation of models of community participation. The SEARCA Reports also complement my own field data, especially with the wealth of detailed information about the different techniques of soil conservation and fertility restoration, agronomic, livestock and marketing practices they garnered with their survey questionnaires. Padma Lal, ACIAR's Regional Area Coordinator for South East Asia, endorsed the planned study as being complementary to the SEARCA agro-economic surveys.

Three of the projects surveyed by SEARCA, as summarized in Table 1, were recommended to me on the basis of five criteria detailed below. All three localities are in the south of the Philippines archipelago. Bacungan is located on the south central coast of the large island of Mindanao; Columbagon is in the interior of Mindanao, and the third, Tabayag, is on the eastern coast of Cebu, one of the major islands in the Visayan group of islands between Luzon and Mindanao. Although Bacungan overlooks a broad coastal plain, all of them are uplands with at least a quarter of the terrain having slopes over 18 per cent, which is considered extreme for arable farming of long-term viability[266].

A number of factors influenced the choice of the three field study sites (Table 6). Some are practical aspects such as accessibility, others are related to methodological issues such as similarities and differences between the projects and the partner NGOs. The most important considerations are listed below.

[266] *ibid.,* p.1.

Figure 2: Regional Map of the Philippines

Mindanao and the Visayan Islands

Table 6 Comparative Study Sites in the Philippines

	Site		Project Status	NGO
Barangay	**Municipality**	**Province**	**At October 1997**	
Bacungan	**Magasaysay**	**Davao del Sur**	**Completion phase**	**Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre, MBRLC**
Columbagon	**Maragog**	**Bukidnon**	**Completed**	**MUSUAN, a joint venture of Central Mindanao & Xavier Universities**
Tabayag	**Argao**	**Cebu**	**Community Organizer working with People's Organization**	**Mag-uugmad Foundation**

- **Local accessibility and regional proximity:** The communities are located between 1 and 2.5 hours from the municipal centres where the NGOs are based through which I worked. Because Bacungan and Columbagon respectively are in Davao del Sur and Bukidnon Provinces on Mindanao, while Tabayag is in Cebu Province on the island of Cebu adjacent to Mindanao, the sites are linked by a main highway and major ferry route.

- **Differing approaches:** Mag-uugmad is a Community Based NGO or CBO, the church-based MBRLC is centred on its team of extension workers and trainers while MUSUAN was a multi-disciplinary group, jointly formed by two universities for the one program, which worked closely with farmers in several localities.

- **Record of cooperation:** All three NGOs (or former team-members) had kept up their involvement with the SEARCA-UQ program through to the final workshops so that there was established goodwill from which to open discussions about the intended research.

- **Operational state of the NGOs:** MBRLC and Mag-uugmad are still operating at or close by the localities, while team members of the MUSUAN Consortium remain active in the municipality, so that my fieldwork at each site was feasible in only a ten day stay.

- **Successful programs:** All three agencies succeeded in catalyzing considerable uptake of soil conservation practices which led to the restabilization of subsistence farming. Hence effective processes could be examined for the significance of community participation.

Given the relatively short five week period I was to spend in the Philippines it was important that the cooperating NGOs still had links with the communities and were able to make practical arrangements with them. I wanted to minimize travel time, and staying in the communities during fieldwork helped with this. Furthermore, the fact that all three NGOs fostered the uptake of the same technology, albeit in different circumstances with different approaches to the communities was attractive for comparative purposes. Finally, it was important that the NGOs (or their parent organizations in the case of the two universities) were still functioning so that even if the included projects had had little community impact there would at least be a record of their approaches to the project.

Accordingly, I sent my intended research proposal to these organizations. They each eventually agreed to participate in the study, provided that the evaluation be joint property in that I would provide them with reports, customized as necessary. The study was recognized by the organizations as a potentially useful follow-up of the 'self-spreading' of the soil conservation technology. Furthermore, it would provide valuable information as to how community participation processes allow communities to catalyze their own development.

5.2 The Use of Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is my tool for examining the content of discussions with NGO staff and community members. It was the NGOs who brought in new a socio-ecological discourse of interdependence with the forest that enabled the adopters of soil conservation techniques to regain their livelihood. Discourse analysis allows the investigation of the NGOs' ideas about development, how those discourses changed, and how participation becomes key to soil conservation and subsequent project activities. In this section I outline the concepts of discourse and discourse analysis and

their application to the dynamics of struggles within communities to adapt, make decisions, gain or hold onto power and ultimately to have a livelihood.

I also examine aspects of governmental development discourse reflected in changing attitudes of government departments from seeking control over, to cooperation with rural smallholders. The sequence of forestry management policies and different degree of linkage with local government express the worth the regional and national government attached to constructive relationships with community groups. Those changing discourses of government agencies led directly to changes in the relationships between government, NGOs and local communities which profoundly affected the outcomes of what were originally soil conservation initiatives to restore livelihoods.

I use discourse analysis to examine the nature and modes of participation by members of the communities. Probing the discourses of different groups and individuals makes it possible to see what meaning they give to the ideas of development espoused in media articles, by government officers and NGO staff and in government and NGO publications. In particular, discourse analysis helps me to examine people's decisions about how they will participate in the development process, where and how they will resist, accept enlistment or pursue empowerment.

Basic to the concept of discourse is that there is a dynamic relationship between the speech people use to describe and understand what happens in their social world and the course of events they interpret as they narrate. The idea that the sets of images or tools of thought by which people communicate with one another affect their own relationships, and the social structures in which they live, is formulated in post-structural social theories deriving from Saussure's linguistics[267].

Structuralist theory asserts that people differentiate things, as well as understanding concepts, by recognizing difference. In people's minds the meanings of words and language rely upon and grow out of this repeated recognition of difference.[268] Post-structuralists apply this linguistic theory to examine social variation and change by emphasizing, in contrast to Saussure, the dynamic nature of the relationship between

[267] Howarth, D. "Discourse Theory" in Marsh, D., & Stoker, G. *eds Theory and Methods in Political Science*, St Martin's Press, New York, 1995, p.120.

word and concept as seen in wordplay, pun and metaphor. They argue that if language structures people's understanding it will also affect their responses, their choices of behaviour, and thus the course of events. The post-structural thinkers perceive that new behaviour and events, 'jarring' with any readily ascribed meaning, in turn cause people to adapt the way they feel, think about and in turn describe their situations[269]. Commonly held overlapping mental frameworks interact dynamically with people's socio-ecologies, rather than merely providing words for describing the world.

Talking about differences, adding a number of terms or phrases to descriptions distinguishing between groups and their behaviour creates a set of terms, a language and way of representing contrasting, comparing and ranking groups. People using language in this way, absorbing new information, either subsuming or leaving out older representations, produce statements that continually organize and reorganize information. In this way people generally structure information as knowledge by which they seek to control other people in all their myriads of situations. That is stories and explanations of events are used to create and recreate discourses about those events. This is discursive practice[270]. It is the ongoing adaptation of discourse by which we explain, making sense of the world around us through structuring our perceptions of it.

The discourses we use for speaking about society, politics, our socio-ecology, become the mental frameworks giving shape or meaning to the parallel series of events we experience. In all the different socio-ecologies of this planet there are other discourses of livelihood, community action and citizenship paralleling our 'own' and those of the Filipino communities who are the subjects of my study. Alternatively, discourse constructs meaning for people; it becomes their 'truth', assuring their understanding of their world. Borrowing discourse to elaborate meaning for oneself leads to the sharing of knowledge, thus one gains the opportunity for building influence and extending power.

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[268] Davies, M. *Asking The Law Question* Law Book Company, Sydney, 1994, pp.219, 241.
[269] Hall, S. & Gieben, B. eds *Formations of Modernity,* Open University\ Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp.291, 293; Howarth, *op.cit.,* p.118.
[270] Hall & Gieben, *op.cit*., pp.291, 293.

As humans use them, language, discourse, knowledge and truth repeatedly generate one another[271]. In turn, humans use each of them to represent reality while that representation then affects the reality we experience. When we analyse discourse we are examining a representative system[272]. We are considering the words used when speaking discursively to proclaim or assert knowledge. We seek to determine the purpose of the truth that this knowledge constructs. Analysing discourse in this way makes it a useful tool for examining social structures and situations. Moreover, it may allow people within one set of power relations to see how the discourse supporting and justifying that situation can be re-spoken in order to trigger change to their advantage.

The basic process of discourse analysis is to examine the effects of representation. It is a process of examination and interpretation where the person using the tool of discourse analysis must be aware of their own values, or risk being blindly driven by them, particularly if there is a denial of value basis in undertaking the exercise. Discourse analysis, like other forms of analysis, varies from person to person according to how they make the rules or principles of the process. Moreover, the findings will vary all the more because the analyst frequently examines cultural and sub-cultural differences which are different from their own culture, where people are using different languages or dialects from those of the analyst. It is therefore important to keep the processes of analysis as transparent as possible.

The following questions show one kind of approach that can be taken.

- Who is representing or narrating? What seems to be their motivation?
- What do those who are represented in this way stand to lose or gain, socially, legally, resource-wise by this representation?
- From what position of power or in whose interest are the speakers claiming to speak? Does the claim match the content?
- How clear are the identities of the speaker and those he or she claims to speak for? There is a need to search for aggregation of difference and stereotypical dualism.[273]

[271] Rosenau, P. *Post-modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads, and Intrusions,* Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1992, pp.80-87.
[272] Hall & Gieben, *op.cit.,* p.318.
[273] Hall & Gieben, *op.cit.,* pp.308-309.

- What material has been selected for storytelling or description: with what purpose, what viewpoint is implied, who has been left out, what has it been linked to and what left out?
- How have these choices affected the construction of truth and meaning? How could categories and norms be re-imposed; with what new effect?

Discourse analysis can be used to deconstruct the power relationships once validated by a former dominant discourse. It can also facilitate subordinate groups to analyse their own stories, since they express their socio-ecological relationships within an order described by a dominant discourse. This is because discourse analysis investigates how meaning is stretched, shifted, reversed and changed in the attempt to gain or consolidate control.

I use discourse analysis to analyse my fieldwork records of farmers' discourses, the discourses of women farmers, community leaders and those of the adopters of the soil conservation technology. Beginning with the discourse of independent farm family livelihood prevailing at the time the soil conservation projects began, I trace the development of a new discourse of socio-ecological farm family interdependence and its impacts on a changing discourse of community participation. A formation of overlapping, complementing, reinforcing and competing discourses grew from a narrow discourse of soil conservation. This discursive formation describes a whole system of ecologically grounded livelihood, farm family interdependence, the equal participation of women, community solidarity, community forest management and community empowerment. Thus, my discussions with community groups allowed me to trace how changes in their farming techniques interacted with wider changes such as forestry and conservation policies leading to changes not only in livelihood, but also in gender equity, community organization and the relationships of these communities, through their local government to the municipal and regional governments.

Dominant discourses

A dominant discourse is used to justify the control of decision-making and resources by the rulers in a society so that other groups understand, accept, themselves use and support the social, legal and political power relations they find themselves in. A dominant, or master discourse, explains all structures and contradictions inside and

outside of that society according to its own internal logic, thus becoming an ideology. It constructs truth and validity for the people who use, adapt and thus re-construct it. Nevertheless, my findings show that although using a dominant discourse to maintain or gain a livelihood there are individuals and groups in a community who resist, or may come to resist, and quietly deconstruct, a dominant discourse[274]. Combinations of economic constraints and political pressure make their resistance passive but they are running a counter discourse, a discourse rejecting the power relations asserted and justified by the dominant discourse, as evidenced by James Scott's fieldwork with Malaysian rice farmers[275]. Moreover, resistance demonstrates that although discourse shapes and controls still people use it, construct it, change it and resist it to their own ends. The relationship between discourse and its users is interactive.

Those with power use the categories and rankings established by the dominant discourse to put the powerless or less-prestigious other individual, farmer, family or group into their place. People using a dominant discourse function in the system of power relations it generates, whatever their location in that network and despite their simultaneous actions of resistance by which they might hope to undermine the situation justified and buttressed by the dominant discourse[276]. Mastery of discourse may provide power over others, nevertheless, the situation is always fluid because people take initiative and discourse is always in flux. No position is fixed, nor guaranteed. Those holding the dominant discourse as a rigid, all-explaining ideology become vulnerable to using it inflexibly, as the wealthy farmers of the Tabayag community[277] did who lost power to the wielders of the new dominant discourse of farm family interdependence.

Foucault explained the idea of discursive flux by documenting the evolution of a particular discourse in terms of shifts in it at various historical moments, thus opening up new *discursive formations* which in turn produce new conceptions.[278] This constant adaptation of discourse by all the various stakeholders, but especially those most skilled in the use of the dominant discourse, to maintain and extend their power and control is

[274] Chapter 6 Section 6.4.
[275] Scott, *op.cit.,* pp. 305, 318, 335-338.
[276] Hall, S. "The Work of Representation Representation" in Hall, S. ed. *Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997, pp.47-51.
[277] Chapter 6 Section 6.4.

fundamental to Foucault's description of it as a construction of people talking about events and shaping their future and that of others. Discourse provides its users with meaning about events, thereby moulding present and future events. Yet as people exploit or resist discursive formations according to their situation of the moment they reconstruct the strands of the formation. As they make sense of an event or a situation, they produce discursive shifts because by their nature discourses are 'plastic', changeable, sequential and even reversible. It is these changes, made in the service of those who are shaped and shape discourse that are tracked and mapped by discourse analysis. In the case of my fieldwork, recording a range of community participation modes, including resistance, was important to see how the initial approaches and ongoing working relationship of the NGOs and the communities and their interactions with higher level of government led to more or less effective projects.

Hierarchies of discourses

Sections of people's mental frameworks are given over to understanding the practices of their livelihoods such as farming, the roles and place of women in the community, appropriate forms of citizenship or community participation and organization and (in the case of my fieldwork communities) their rights and responsibilities in the use of the forest,. These are sub-discourses of the discursive formations used by members of the community or society to express, use or reject particular kinds of knowledge. They are strands of the dominant or meta-discourse encompassing all the other descriptions used by people within or engaging with that society[279].

The dominant discourse overarches such discursive formations whose component strands deal with the different sectors of social practice. Moreover, levels of discourse within those describing and constructing technological culture can refer, for example, at the base to the appropriate training of technicians, then to the economics of maintenance strategies such as the validity of repair rather than replacement. At higher levels, where technology relates to other sectors of social practice, there will be a sub-discourse of the socio-economic impact of industrialization and automation. Finally, there will be a strand regarding the moral questions of the deployment of various technologies and changes in sub-discourses at any level will reverberate throughout the formation.

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[278] Hall, *op.cit.*, p.46.
[279] Hall & Gieben, *op.cit.,* p.291.

Counter discourse

According to the Foucauldian view, people's use of discourse generates knowledge that gives them power. They also gain the potential to become agents for change in that they may begin to use their insights into the discursive formation to probe contradictions they perceive as they hear it used around them. Thus they initiate or reinforce competing discourses or counter-discourse[280]. This is how I understand what happened in my three study localities when the media, government agencies and NGOs, in particular, catalyzed people's learning about the then dominant discourse of farm family independence and its sub-discourses of self subsistence and independent resource rights. Some of these people were already local leaders, others were simply critical thinkers.

This idea of freedom of thought contrasts with the Neo-Marxian view as described by Diane Macdonell. Neo-Marxists see ideologies as dominant discourses, closed mental systems for explaining everything[281], constructing the consciousness of people in society. Moreover, the controlling group, by attempting to fix or 'freeze' the dominant discourse, make it a rigid ideology and therefore, a discursive abnormality in that no adaptation, excision or development is acceptable. Macdonell goes on to describe people as 'installed in imaginary relations to the real relations in which they live', presenting Althusser's argument that people are subjected by ideology and tied to imaginary identities[282].

Whereas Foucault perceived the relations constructed by a master discourse as being real, Althusser saw ideology as imposing upon people a false identity over the underlying reality. This false identity traps them so that they lose any capacity to think other than according to the ideology, which is their dominant discourse. This total loss of freedom to choose an alternative when a dominant discourse has people locked into a false understanding of their real position closely describes several self-descriptions given by people in the study-communities.

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[280] Hall & Gieben, *op.cit.,* p.293.
[281] Macdonell, D. *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction,* Blackwell, Oxford & New York, 1986, p.101.
[282] *ibid.,* pp.27-44.

Macdonell sees no possibility of counter discourse other than as reversal of the prevailing ideology, in that people would only be able to speak using the terms and concepts of the dominant discourse constructing them[283]. This capacity to reverse a dominant discourse might rely on the discursive innovation of resistance, although Scott argues that it is more likely to arise from the technological innovators amongst those who control resources[284]. This parallels my fieldwork situation where people were trapped within a failed socio-ecology by the presuppositions of the old discourses of livelihood about what is a viable social polity. They were unable to come up with radical new conceptions for situations where their old socio-ecology no longer functioned for their benefit. What appears to have happened was that, catalyzed by the different agro-technical and community participation discourses of their respective NGOs, men and women in the three study localities adopted discourses that were different and even contradictory to the one they held before. From new discourse they constructed new socio-ecologies.

Macdonell goes on to explore Pêcheux' ideas about the construction of the subject within different apparatuses of the state, such as those dealing with education, the family and bureaucracy. They are of interest for understanding how some men and women become the early adopters of counter discourse as I have described them above. Pêcheux elaborated three responses of people to the imposition of identity by an all-encompassing dominant discourse[285]. Firstly, identification by free consenters to the image 'offered' by the discourse. Secondly, counter identification by people who resist the offered image and its place in the system. These resistors may remain complicit with a hegemonic ruling ideology: they simply cooperate, like organized crime, on terms more profitable to themselves. Thirdly, there are the dis-identifiers who refuse the discursive subjection.

The concept of dis-identification provides understanding of the origin, adaptation and growth in acceptance of counter discourse as being the shadow discourse of the dis-identifiers. Men and women using such a counter or shadow discursive formation can undermine the hierarchy of discourse in which they want to change the identity and role constructed for them. 'Mental room to move' may be stripped away by those in control,

[283] *ibid.,* p.113.
[284] Scott, *op.cit.,* pp. 317-318.

as Orwell stated in his novel, *Nineteen Eighty-Four*[286]; nevertheless, a small space remains, as Scott argues and my fieldwork shows.

Resistance and renewal

Thus, counter discourse provides an individual or a group with the mental framework or room to exercise the desire to resist. A polity or state in which conflicting thoughts can be openly spoken may be a luxury; nevertheless, even in less liberal states, women and men using counter discourse generate power for themselves within the surrounding network of relationships. Whether openly or secretly spoken, counter discourse marks out the dis-identifier, those resistors deliberately crafting a discourse seeking to overturn the prevailing discursive formation.

The first resistor is then the person within a social group who begins to speak of his or her own situation as a discourse other than or counter to that of the local or 'imperial' elite, although dominant discourses may largely pattern these variants. As we shall see in Ch. 4, one of the themes of post-colonial Philippines history has been the identification by the rural and urban underclass with Jesus of Nazareth as a 'man for them'. People 'hear' his words as a discourse of hope in hard or desperate times. His parables and teachings are a wellspring of discourse undermining the mental and social limits set by the dominant discourse. By taking up the gospel of Jesus or simply using it to validate their own thoughts, Filipinos have resisted the existing boundaries that threatened to close in on them, or have 'de-territorialized' themselves, breaking down the fences or walls of the discourses that bound them. These processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, as identified by Deleuze and Guattari and developed by Fox,[287] are able to explain the resistance which people under pressure demonstrate, time and again, particularly poor people in the Third World.

Furthermore, I argue that an agency of change, governmental or NGO, can foster re-territorialization through challenging political and socio-ecological perceptions and beliefs and presenting possible alternatives. People can begin to rearrange the themes

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[285] Pêcheux, M. *Language, Semantics, and Ideology,* St. Martin's Press, New York, 1982.
[286]Orwell, G. *Nineteen Eighty-Four,* Penguin, London, 1954.
[287]Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. *A Thousand Plateaus* , University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, 1987, pp.311-312; Fox, N. "Deleuze, Guattari and the Politics of Disembodiment" Unpublished paper, University of Sheffield, 1998.

of their discursively expressed beliefs, or totally re-story them, in the face of dominant discourses that failed to maintain their welfare. Alternatively, if change agents fail in facilitating people to adapt their discourse and actions for improving their position in the field of power relations, the discursive shackles may be reinforced, or merely shift to an easier position, but leave people 'imprisoned'.

The program of development can be appraised, as Michael Watts has done, as a reaction of the civilized world to progress's disorder[288]. INGOs may become agents of re-ordering the Third World, perhaps making people more comfortable in the process, or they may engage in development by making space for Community Based Organizations (CBOs) or People's Organizations (PO)s that seek to re-territorialize their constituent peoples. CBOs or POs can talk through discourses which might engender new or restored communal cooperation for constructive resistance leading to a dominant discourse more favourable to their community's welfare. In Watts's terms, NGOs can facilitate or resource POs to create 'decentred autonomous spaces' within the discursive formation. Making their own decisions from these spaces, such communities could covertly or overtly oppose an elite, or gain enough recognition to compete for resources.

5.3 Analysis of the discourse of Implementation Reports

As discussed above discourse analysis is a tool for the investigation of the self-perceptions, beliefs and presuppositions of organizations and individuals. I use it in this study to gain both an understanding of the participation of the community members and also, by examining their implementation reports, proposals and other working documents; to see what participation means to the NGOs who worked in partnership with the communities. In this section I outline my approach to analysis of the discourses used by the three partner NGOs in their implementation reports.

If we define discourse as the speech "by which humans make sense of the world around us through structuring our perceptions of it", as I wrote in Chapter 1, then it follows that they can be understood as symbolic descriptions justifying human roles and images within a socio-ecological and economic system. Discourses are symbolic because they

[288]Watts, M. "The Crisis of Development" in Crush, J. *ed The Power of Development* Routledge, London, 1995, p.48.

offer both meaning and direction to people. Furthermore, as symbols they gain power in themselves when people allow discourse to impose meaning and direction upon them. Discourses also set the boundaries for our values and beliefs. In other words, they fix the different mental spaces people may occupy. Since human behaviour is determined by and interacts with discourse, discourse analysis provides a pathway for investigating the behaviour of men and women within communities and of government and NGO workers who interact with them. Its analysis becomes, therefore, a tool for examining community participation, by groups and their leaders, in local projects. As Norman Fairclough puts it, (discourse) "signifies, continually constructs and in turn is changed by the social identities people take up as a reaction to discourse; the social relationships between people and systems of knowledge and belief"[289].

The starting points for my analysis were mainly the discourses of livelihood and decision-making in the communities. I also referred to deeper themes of individual value within society and of spirituality. Since the material with which I worked was statements and responses in purposefully convened focus groups I was only indirectly dealing with routine daily conversations involving functional discourses such as the how or when of cooking, farming operations or parenting. Rather I asked questions to uncover how the nature of participation by members of subject communities affected their discourses of development, dependency and empowerment and vice versa.

There were linkages between the claimed and hidden, or unwitting discourses and the announced and actual operational approaches of the NGOs whose projects I selected. I was able to relate the partnerships made and participation that took place, or still takes place, to local discursive practice about relationships with extra-local organizations. I firstly looked at the self-understanding of the NGOs and the consistency of their approaches to communities by analyzing their self-descriptions and their own implementation assessments to reveal the explicit and implicit models of participation followed in their approaches to the respective communities. I also draw comparisons with the comments or insights about community and NGO roles in the respective SEARCA Survey Reports.

[289] Fairclough, N. *Discourse and Social Change,* Polity Press, Cambridge, 1992, p.64.

The overarching question I posed for the analysis of the promotional, program design and reporting documents of these NGOs was: *what is development for them?* I wanted to determine from the relationships they actually made with communities what kind of participation took place and whether there was empowerment of groups which previously had no say in decision-making. Thus the framework of questions from which I worked was:

- What are the characteristic features of the development models being implicitly or explicitly proposed (including any differences with those that were followed), and what were the anticipated effects upon community participation?

- For whom is the document manufacturing knowledge: the community, the project NGO team, potential INGO donors, other development workers or academia?

- Whereabouts on the continuum from control to empowerment does the discourse of these organizations describe themselves as sitting?

- In what kind of partnership did they claim to work with each community?

- Did their engagement with communities follow that prescription or, in their participatory practice, did other values overpower the partnership they claimed?

- Is the language and structure of the program document thoroughly integrated with the implementation process described, or has, for example, the goal of gaining ongoing funding led the NGO to deviate from its participatory ideals?

- Was there apparent in the documents an expected 'breaking free' of the community, or of groups within it, or did the community or these groups lock themselves into a new imprisoning discourse, so 'reterritiorializing' themselves, despite the NGO presence?

There is a sequence in this schedule of questions from the models described, through the partnership claimed by the NGOs, to examining their practice in comparison to their self-description and promotion. Finally, I looked at whether communities spoke in

terms of dependency on their NGO partner, or, of having been catalyzed by them to prioritize, plan and implement for themselves. I sought to find relationships between the participation and socio-ecological development of the three communities and their awareness of having become empowered.

5.4 Interviews with community members

Information about community participation over the course of the projects is most thoroughly accessed through focus group discussion. In this way, it is possible to explore how a still continuing process of livelihood change through empowerment derived from participation is taking place in its 'natural setting'[290]. In other words, this research technique is appropriate in situations where social change is occurring rather than in insulated and isolated quasi-laboratory settings. In this section I present how I used this qualitative research technique for investigating the duration and depth of participation by members of different groups in the communities, what the critical roles were, and the factors facilitating or hindering their effectiveness.

To investigate the history of events the parallel but different perspectives of a number of witnesses adding to and cross-checking one another will reveal more of the detail and the tangled causal web than a bundle of individual perspectives. Therefore, one of the group depth interview techniques was appropriate for this task since, as Goldman pointed out, their function is to seek "information that is more profound than is usually accessible at the level of inter-personal relationships".[291] Focus groups, usually of between 6 to 12 participants who have agreed to meet for a discussion among themselves about issues raised by the researcher, can provide such a window on community interaction. These focus group interviews are framed, as opposed to Babbie's unstructured interviews, because a set, or framework of questions is used to focus upon or frame the topics under investigation rather than the interview being undirected.

I planned to conduct interviews with male and female farmers, including wives if they came to the farmers' meetings. But I also planned separate group interviews with

[290] Babbie, E. *The Practice of Social Research* 7th Edition, Belmont, Wadsworth, 1995, pp.281, 300.

female community members, since the SEARCA-UQ surveys recorded significant effects on women's farm labour input but reported few of their opinions or comments. I interviewed the community leaders separately to allow a direct investigation of their role in the behaviour of the communities and thus to test whether their leadership was important. I also conducted interviews with the facilitators or extensionists, where they were available, to investigate their discourses of consultation and facilitation.

Group interviews allow a mosaic of episodes (of the project story) to be simultaneously cross-checked and fitted together into a history of participation, thus addressing the problem of different facts being recalled at different times[292]. Interactive discussion also enabled the moderator to identify opinions and ideas regarding the quality and course of participation in the respective communities then to see and hear how the various members of the group responded to the positions taken by others. The field of enquiry or storytelling is thus initially set by the questions of the researcher who has arranged the meeting. However, the researcher must be willing to let the subjects of enquiry, in this case the community organizers (or fieldworkers) and the community members, redraw the boundaries according to the interaction between their situation and the objective of the study.

At the first site in Davao del Sur I met with the fieldworkers who were to be the focus group moderators to jointly draw up a set of broad framing questions for each of the proposed kinds of focus groups (see Section 5.6, 'Question Fields'). These were translated into Visayan, the language common to Mindanao and Cebu, although there are regional dialects. Subsequently, at the second and third sites, during orientation and planning meetings with those fieldworkers, we slightly adapted the questions to the local dialects. This open structure of framing questions allowed a concentration on matters that appeared to be particularly important at the different localities, and to the group that had gathered, as we explored differences between the three situations in formal NGO to community partnership.

A set of fixed questions applied in a rigid manner to individuals or the people meeting for the interview would have fenced them into a predetermined range of answers. This

[291] Goldman , A., McDonald S, *The group depth interview: principles and practice* Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J 1987.

would not have allowed the group members to range over the issues in ways relevant to the play of events in their situation. Trying to impose a set of questions in this way would have left me in ignorance about the chain of events. Therefore, I used the set of questions as a frame to gain the information I wanted leaving the meeting to fill in that frame as was appropriate for them. If the information I wanted had already been given within the narration of events or discussion arising from other questions then a particular question from the list could be left unasked. When the narrative of events suggested more questions to fill out the story, identifying significant factors and important roles by insiders or outsiders, then I was free to ask them since those at the meeting had further knowledge of value to the study[293].

A related and significant advantage of this technique is that the information provided is expressed in group members' own words and context, as Stewart and Shamdasani point out[294]. In terms of the balance of power in decision-making that I am investigating, the group members/project participants speak from their own discourse(s), rather than being channelled by a schedule of questions written from the theoretical and cultural perspective of the researcher. Even though a particular discourse may dominate a social sphere, such as development or politics, people shape it in subtle ways, and flavours of resistance and variation can then be heard if they speak for themselves.

The recruitment of participants in research such as this is an issue fraught with potential problems. If they are recruited under duress there is a danger of unreliable information being collected. Researchers find that willing cooperation is most likely to result if the people in the investigation are interested or curious about it. Likewise, it is preferred that the informants volunteer their time rather than requiring an inducement. In this situation, the facilitators, who are or were workers of the NGOs formerly or currently active in the communities, simply invited men and women to attend the discussions after explaining the purpose of the study. As a matter of common courtesy we provided soft drinks during the course of the meeting, but no inducements were offered nor did any participant request one. Their candid comments make it clear that they felt no duress to meet with us.

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[292] Bouma, G. *The Research Process,* Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1994, p.63.
[293] Stewart, D. & Shamdasani, P. *Focus Groups, Theory and Practice*, Sage, California, 1990, p.11.

There are two possible drawbacks of the group discussion technique that are significant to this study. One is the suppression of conflict within the body of members or people represented so that the response of the dominant gender, class or other social group masks that of other groups, particularly when development initiatives disadvantage them. The other danger is the tendency to resort to conventional wisdom of a dominant discourse so that new ways to resolve social, economic or environmental problems remain locked out of people's thoughts. Alternative views which could be a way out of livelihood crisis, for example, would then be repressed by the apparent unanimity amongst those present.

It was because these pitfalls were more likely to occur when dominant leaders were present I sought to separate the 'rank and file' farmers from their community leaders. It was clear from the interviews with key leaders such as *barangay* officials that other councillors and community leaders deferred to them. If they had been present in farmers' meetings it was likely that statements at variance with the discourse of local government reform in the Philippines, or with local *barangay* policy, might not have been recounted.

It was for similar reasons that we convened a forum for women to speak in the absence of the men. On the other hand, although the male farmers who were councillors generally only attended the focus group for leaders, at Bacungan and Tabayag the women farmer-councillors took part in both focus groups. At all three sites a woman moderated the women's group. Our convening of separate meetings for women enabled them to voice their opinions and plans and revealed that women's responses differed from men's in that they have a community oriented perspective, rather than that of a family-farm. It shows that women's role in Philippines' communities is far more sophisticated than the 'queen of the household' ascribed to them under the notion of their role being determined by conservative Catholic dogma of their subordination outside the home[295].

A further, more general difficulty of the focus group technique relates to the cultural and language barriers the researcher is working across, whether from a distinct language

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[294] Stewart & Shamdasani *op.cit.,* p.12.
[295] See Chapter 4 Section 4.3.

or dialect or over a sub-cultural boundary. My restriction to English meant that the study was only possible with the cooperation of the NGOs' appropriately skilled workers. However, another key barrier was between my Australian English and that of the Filipino moderators. There were moments when the effectiveness of the focus groups was blunted by the hardship created for the moderators by my Australian accent. These were instances when they were accepting answers at face value whereas I wanted to chase down what their translated answers might have implied about participation, cooperation or conflict within the community.

This happened more at Bacungan and Columbagon where the moderators were extension workers who mainly interacted with rural Visayan speakers. They also tended to refer back and forth between both the English and Visayan versions of the questions, both to help clarify their growing understanding of the intent of the questions and any differences of nuance between the written Visayan and the dialect being used in discussion. On the other hand the single moderator at Argao on Cebu used only the English question-guide! The Mindanaon form of the local language was a minor irritant to her but because she is based 40 to 50 per cent of her time in Cebu City, she uses English more regularly in her professional context. She and I still did have the odd funny moment with our mismatch of Filipino English and Australian English.

5.5 Process of information recording from Focus Group Discussions

Each focus group was moderated by a fieldworker or community organizer who introduced me and the study purpose. The participants often responded with thanks for our interest then asked questions to clarify things or sound me out further. The moderator would talk about our intentions for the meeting, our desire to take notes as well as record proceedings, and how the notes and tapes would be handled thereafter. Once the participants were happy with procedures, the moderator would then invite someone to recount their situation before the soil conservation project began. Several stories, and comments upon them, led into discussion of how the NGO made contact with different community members, who called the first meetings then how events flowed from this. During or after the meeting a Councillor signed the permission forms, printed in Visayan, for the tape recording.

Alongside the recordings we took two forms of notes which we reconciled as follows:
At the first two fieldsites a notetaker recorded the course of discussions using a combination of English and Visayan at their own convenience. Talk flowed in Visayan with an admixture of English. At the third fieldsite a college student who had accepted work as the notetaker did not show up. However, the community organizer for the NGO, who had started her work since the end of the Soil Conservation Project and was therefore neutral to these discussions, proved to be a fine moderator. She also had a sufficiently deep and thorough command of English to make an on the spot translation for me to take the notes. The Mag-uugmad Director recommended this arrangement.
I also made brief supplementary notes during the focus group meetings and in debriefings. I noted my observations about the mood of the meetings and striking moments of humour, or some other depth of feeling, as well as group dynamics such as the reunion of old friends or hidden rivalry. When I felt that an issue was critical I recorded it as extra background, for example concerning the breadth of vision of the community as verified by the extensionists.

The moderators summarized discussions for my benefit. Group members often added to these summaries which thus became part of the process of clarifying the narrative or recalling how the dynamics of the situation had been resolved. Thus they brought an otherwise 'deaf and dumb' participant into the group so that I could ask questions. Occasionally this caused us to backtrack when I did not know what had been covered and the facilitator became 'lost in the all the words'.

Within three days of the focus group discussions the moderator and I listened to the tape question by question to check that all relevant information, useful background or anything that might be important in linking one concept with another had been recorded in the notes. This allowed us to correct the biases of the notetaker and to some extent those of the moderator as we reflected on the taped meeting[296].

Final edited and completed records of the proceedings of discussions were produced from the notes taken by the recorder, my own taken during the discussion and the additions and clarifications subsequently made. This also brought out any

[296]Bertrand, J., Brown, J. & Ward, V. "Techniques for Analyzing Focus Group Data" in *Evaluation Review* Vol 16, 1992, p.202.

inconsistencies and conflicts in the data, which I either recorded as such or, went back to recordings for any discussion in English, most relevant for the groups at the third site, which might resolve the conflict.

5.6 Question Fields for the Focus Group Discussions

For each of the four different kinds of focus groups that we convened we used a different framework of questions as generally discussed in Section 5.3. With the community facilitators we asked about the dynamic between modern technical and traditional knowledge and examined the NGOs' practice of partnership. My purpose in focus groups with women was to examine gender relations within the communities and between them and the NGOs. I was particularly interested in their accounts of the livelihood situation before the project began, and whether and how they were able to gain greater voice during the project.

With the farmers I was most interested in their changing discourses of community responsibility and of good farming whereas for the community leaders, since they clearly play important roles, I wanted their observations on the program's impact, their perceptions about their relationship with the implementing agency and their understanding of community participation. That is, for me, the key issues about leadership roles were growth in vision and whether their participation was in the mode of community empowerment.

1. Meetings with local facilitators\ community organizers

These meetings were held with either the original project community organizers and facilitators or the current ones. We prepared questions around two pairs of themes: firstly, the NGO's practice of partnership as gauged by recognition of traditional knowledge and openness to community representation and feedback alongside the facilitators' awareness of empowerment of community groups or members. The second pair of themes was the extent of integration of traditional knowledge into a system and how that related to the new soil conservation discourse. Because I found all the facilitators to be tactful about any assessment or critique of the local authority I used a rating question (in column 2 of row 5 in Table 7) of the *barangay* councils which generated a meaningful range of scores.

Table 7: Local Facilitators' Focus Group Interview Question-field

Field of questions	English version of lead-question
Facilitators experience of community commitment to and capability for the project at startup, during its life and during self-spreading of the innovations.	**How did you know that the community was committed to Sloping Agricultural Land Technology (SALT) in their area?**
Traditional and local knowledge regarding the scale of the problems addressed, techniques which were already in use for tackling them or ideas for doing so.	**What is your perception of farmers' knowledge of soil conservation before the SALT project?** **Once the program was running what was the farmers' understanding of soil erosion & loss?**
Level of ownership by farm-family adopters of the soil conservation technology.	**How well do you see farm families maintaining and extending their SALT blocks?** **Is there or was there any self-spreading of the SALT technology from family to family?**
Field of questions	**English version of lead-question**
Community partnership in planning with the NGO at an operational level.	**Did you meet regular ly with community leaders? What did you discuss with them?**
Facilitator awareness of empowerment of the communities through group representativeness and strength of the community organization	**How effective was the Barangay Council at the time the project started?** **What projects is the Council working on now?** **Rate the Council on a scale of 1 to 5.**

2. Focus group session with group of women

The main themes for the women's groups were firstly, awareness of soil and fertility loss and the related issue of feelings about the changes in farming. A secondary theme was the NGOs' approach to gender issues in relation to the women's priorities for their community's future.

Table 8: Women's Focus Group Interview Question-field

Field of questions	English version of lead question
Awareness of soil and fertility loss and to what extent it was adequately considered by community leaders at the start-up or introduction of the project.	**Tell us the story of what your situation was on your farms and in your *sitios* before the project started?** **Did the Councillors or *Sitio* leaders listen to your ideas about the project or soil conservation?**
Women's experiences of the changes in farming and the extent of the feedback of their likes and dislikes to leaders and extensionists?	**What effects has soil conservation had on you?** • **has your work changed: new jobs, or hours?** • **more or less income, help from husbands?** **What reasons did you have for late (or non) adoption: what were you r likes or dislikes of the techniques?** **Did leaders listen to your comments about the new technology?**
NGOs' operational practice regarding gender issues.	**Were you invited to or did you attend regular meetings with the fieldworkers or extensionists?** **Did adopter women have their own meetings?**
The representation of women in the community organization.	**Are there any women leaders in your sitio or *Barangay*?** **Who takes your ideas to the *Barangay* Council?** **What ideas do you have for the future?**

3. Farmer focus group session (adopters and non-adopters)

For the farmers there were again two pairs of main themes. Firstly, the interplay between their use of the discourses of traditional farming knowledge and the new discourse of sustainable livelihood. Secondly, I wanted to know about the kind of community action they said that they joined in before the project and about their present understanding of empowerment. Since both adopter and non-adopters met in the farmer focus groups we designed different questions to investigate their varying responses.

Table 9 Farmers' Focus Group Interview Question-field

Field of questions	English version of lead question
Past community-wide situation analysis. **The level and means of community participation at the introduction of the project and for its implementation.**	**Please tell us the story of your situation before the project then how it all began.** • **were Sitio or *Barangay* meetings open to discuss the difficulties the community faced?** • **what community support was given?**
Use of the farmers' traditional knowledge of the soil erosion problem and any previous attempts to deal with it at project start-up, during adoption and in the spread of the technology within and between farms.	**Before the soil conservation project what were the priorities in developing your farms?** • **and in developing your communities?** • **what did you do to control soil erosion?**
Project outcomes on farmer initiative and empowerment would be seen as the convening of group or community discussion about further strategies for tackling soil erosion or building up soil fertility.	**Have you as an adopter group made plans to help spread adoption of the technology?** **Do you have any ideas or proposals for developing your community?** **What does development mean for you?**
Insights into the strategies and tactics of achieving the objectives of the project.	**What are the reasons for delaying your adoption or for non-adoption?** **What were your adopter group activities?**
Additional question to check men's awareness of women's ideas and intentions.	**How many women come to adopter meetings?** **What are the women's ideas for soil conservation?** • **for developing the community?**

4. Focus group session with Councillors and local leaders

For the community leaders there were again two pairs of main themes. Firstly, we asked about how the project had affected their leadership and their perception of growing community civic capacity. Secondly, we sought to look at their relationship with the facilitators and the NGO leaders and what linkages they had formed with higher levels of government. I wanted their observations on the program's impact, their perceptions about their relationship with the implementing agency and to find out about their understanding of community participation.

Table 10 Leaders' Focus Group Interview Question-field

Field of questions	English version of lead question
Leadership situation analysis of common vision or planning for community needs both before the project and since.	**Had the leaders or Councillors prepared a plan or did they have a vision for the development of the *Barangay* before the project started? Now?**
Leadership awareness of community self-assessment, perception and processes of evaluation, planning and decision-making.	**Before the community knew about the soil conservation project did you know about the erosion problem? Had it been discussed at Sitio or *Barangay* level?**
Community involvement in the project.	**As Councillors how did you all support the project?**
Field of questions	**English version of lead question**
Perceptions of community participation in the on-going diffusion of SALT or local adaptations of it.	**In your opinion, is there a need for soil conservation to spread from your own area to the wider region? How could you leaders help in this process?**
Relationship between NGO facilitators or extensionists and the community organization.	**Did you have regular meetings with the extension workers or farmer instructors?** • **Could they have worked differently?**
Field of questions	**English version of lead question**
Community representation or involvement in NGO management, boards or regional committees.	**During or after the soil conservation project did the Councillors have access to the team management or an advisory board?**
Media impact on the community.	**Does media help you to know what is happening in your municipality and region?**
Community linkage with higher layers of government.	**How do you work with the Municipality and, or the Provincial Government?**

5.7 Qualitative Analysis of the Focus Group Discussion Records

In this section I detail my analysis of the focus group discussion records. The final texts of the three series of discussions were analyzed following the seven steps recommended by Bertrand and Brown and listed here. As summarized below for this study they represent a logical progression , but as I worked through them I backtracked to previous steps if required[297].

1. Margin coding of the proceedings or notes
2. Analysis of the responses to the questions
3. Summary tabulations of the coded phrases or statements
4. Identification of the crucial factors
5. How communities achieved project outcomes
6. Empowerment as the integration of outcomes
7. Fitting these Philippines experiences to a model for building empowerment

[297] Bertrand, J., Brown, J. & Ward, V. *op.cit.,* pp.203-205. Bertrand *et al* generalized Steps 4 to 7 as "writing topic summaries".

Bertrand *et al* focus most of their attention onto the first three steps ie. margin coding, reading all the identically coded items in the transcripts then writing a summary paragraph and adding quotations. As I had a small data set, rather than learning to use specialized research analysis software, I chose to use a standard data-base package (*Access*) which allowed me to construct comparative tables as my summarizing structure equivalent to their third step of writing summary paragraphs.

They then refer to the further analysis outlined in steps 4 to 7 as 'writing topic summaries' and 'writing up the findings', stressing, in their introduction, that focus group reports should be presented to suit the audience(s) concerned[298]. They see a key advantage in their method that it presents findings in a narrative, including participants' direct quotes, making them readily accessible to the world outside of social scientists.

1. *Margin coding of the notes*

Reading through the interview notes I coded phrases or sentences and quotes for the themes, processes, community characteristics and concepts predominant in the responses of the groups to the questions asked of them. The list of codes is presented in Appendix 2. This coding process allows for the 'honouring' of all disjunctions, which fall outside the understanding forming or already formed in the analyst's mind, by their being saved as alternate views, statements of counter-discourse or conflictual assertions. The disadvantage acknowledged by Bertrand et al is the generation of a multitude of links between different ideas, explanations and flows of events so that complexity increases geometrically rather than as a linear function of the number of coding categories. In this case the data set from each round of interviews was small whilst the construction of the tables became an initial précis of factors at play by setting them down side by side under the topics across the three sites.

2. Analysis of the responses to the questions

I then proceeded by examining all records which had been coded for each community characteristic, process step, agro-ecological factor or their interactions as categories for the analysis and comparison of the projects. The information given in each response could then be referred back to the question fields which framed each of the focus groups. These responses provided the information we had sought in the discussions,

though some of the information in each discussion may have come out in the course of an answer to quite a different question.

3. Summary tabulations

In an adaptation of Bertrand *et al's* 'Summary Paragraphs' I made tables of the responses across the three sites commencing with the description of the pre-project situation, the objectives and launch of the project and planning and implementation[299]. In practice I began filling in these tables as I went through the first step of referencing the notes in a process of highlighting the similarities and differences amongst interviews for each location taking into account the detailed points that were made. This revealed consistencies and differences in discourse amongst the focus groups from the individual communities.

4. Identification of crucial factors

Having formulated likely chains of causes I went ahead with the nomination of those factors which seemed most important to me in explaining patterns of similarity and difference across all three locations. Teasing out which factors reinforced blockages or synergized together was especially helpful for examining the significance of factor interactions affecting participation in the projects and community empowerment.

5. How communities achieved project outcomes

After identifying major factors and examining their interactions I begin, from Chapter 6.4 'Findings about Community Participation, to compare the project outcomes of the three communities in terms of those factors. In this presentation of findings I break down the outcomes of these three projects as the short-term, technical conservation outcomes, the medium-term, socio-ecological outcomes (that is local livelihood outcomes requiring an area-wide rather than 'within my farm view') and then the long-term or meta-outcome of community empowerment. That separation of processes flowed from the differences between communities in terms of present achievement and future capacity which, I argue, can be explained by analysis of their respective discourses. I saw as most important both factors internal and external to the

[298] Bertrand, Brown, & Ward, *op.cit.,* pp. 205-206.
[299] *ibid.*, pp.204-205.

communities such as: the effect of changes in livelihood and discourse facilitated by their partner NGO and activities of regional and national government.

6. Empowerment as the integration of outcomes

The analysis of how the different communities reached their project outcomes prepared me to conclude my analysis in Chapter Seven by describing the essential features for government, community and NGO partnership and the interactions between them so that by individual and group participation in the projects these communities made their varying gains in empowerment.

7. Fitting these Philippines experiences to a model for building empowerment

In Chapter Seven I use my description and synthesis of the processes and events in these three projects to consider their relationship to recent models of development as empowerment. The features of successful partnership, presented as facilitating empowerment, are mapped onto recent models of development relating local communities, host governments, NGOs and INGOs into global development networks.

5.8 The Utility of Discourse Analysis

We can listen to, read about and in turn describe these focus group discussions as an arena of engulfing, shrinking, entraining cohering and grappling with 'amoeboids of discourse'. The groups are people exchanging prose by reacting, responding, talking-over or acknowledging. There are surface level discourses about the techniques used in activities in the house, the farm and in business. There are fundamental discourses by which people ascribe meaning to events and behaviour. There are the dominant discourses shaped by, yet determining, strategy of livelihood and the socio-ecology of these rural communities. These interact with discourses about political allegiance and one's place in family, community and society which will keep people imprisoned, territorializing them in dependency, or empower them to grasp as much decision-making power as their situation allows or that they can succeed in struggling for.

To gain a functional understanding of the interplay of all these amoeboids of discourse allows us therefore, to see how different outcomes arose for these communities engaged with their partner NGOs in the soil conservation projects. Discourse analysis then is a

tool for the purpose of comparison with a bearing on the theoretical contest over development. Once the notion is accepted that development too is a discourse, then the possibility arises that any specific theory of development can be an imprisoning discourse which bespeaks power and control into the hands of restricted groups. In the next chapter I apply this understanding of discourse analysis to the records of my discussions with farmers, women, community leaders and community organizers in the three Philippines' subject upland communities and to the records of their partner NGOs.

Chapter 6: Participation Praxis of three NGOs

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss the findings of that fieldwork conducted in Davao del Sur, Bukidnon and Cebu Provinces. I begin by summarizing the pre-project situations and initiation of the respective projects then move on to consider the self-understandings of the three NGOs: that is, how they described themselves and their objectives in relation to the breakdown of upland shifting agricultural systems. While the NGOs explicitly outline their participation approaches in various documents, the actual pathways of community participation which they facilitated in these socio-ecological development projects were more complex and in each case involved them using several of the models of participation that I formulated in the theoretical discussion of Chapter Two as the 'landscape' of community participation models. The three NGOs adapted their approaches as they went. They reflected on their engagement with the subject communities then modified that engagement so that it became a combination of theoretical and practical initiative. In that way they engaged in participatory development praxis as alluded to in the title of this chapter.

From this presentation of the community situations and NGO praxis I proceed to analyze the findings of the focus groups discussions and the NGO implementation reports addressing the aims of the study to

- examine the proposed and actual development models described by the NGOs,
- determine the different discourses of development and participation used by project stakeholders, particularly the subject groups and their NGO partners, and eventually,
- explore the limits of participation in real situations of unequal political power.

In this way I sought to find out what various groups in the communities understood as participation and to cast some light on the question of what kind of participation facilitates development.

I structure the findings around factors I identify as affecting community participation from the women's, farmer's and community leader's focus group discussions held at the

three localities. From there I look at the strengths and weaknesses of the communities' capability and cohesion to act before moving on to the way training of women led them to take up a new discourse of livelihood that was crucial to the second order, empowerment, objectives of the NGOs. Moreover, the training allowed the women to directly participate in the respective projects thereby moving into leadership within the projects and the communities. From this analysis it becomes clear that the various participants in the three programs have flexible conceptions about what went on in their respective projects. By participating in the programs local men and women learned several discourses about soil conservation, sustainable farming, holistic development and participatory local government. They constructed for themselves discourses of development similar to those of their partner NGOs and related to the rhetoric of regional and national government. But these discourses are not fixed, written 'scriptures'. Rather they are stories and tangles of ideas in the minds of people who adapt them as they respond to their previous and present situations.

The discourses, or more particularly, strands within them, that people tease out to apply for their own purposes, seem to gain a life of their own so that they live, symbiotically, with their mouthpieces. In fact it is people who discard, amplify and shift their scope sideways according to their own needs. The pathways of change followed by the project communities can therefore be described in terms of discourses gaining favour with people because the people can find more meaning in events using a particular discourse or a successful adaptation to their situation is suggested or permitted, or the discourse gives then an excuse for their failure to change. An older strand of discourse may give way to or be absorbed by the new, or it may gain importance because of its relationship to a new one.

Having teased out several important discourses of family and livelihood that people employ, I discuss the key roles of both discourse and leadership in catalyzing changes in power relations. While examining the views of community leaders I make particular reference to complementarity and conflict between community leadership and participation by its members. Finally, I discuss the factors identified as most affecting first order project outcomes of livelihood restoration and second order outcomes of community empowerment.

6.2 Community Discourses: prior situations and project initiation

In this section I describe the common problem of failed farm family shifting cultivation livelihood in the three areas and the similar ways in which the three NGOs began working with their respective partner communities. Looking back from our focus group discussions all three communities identified a common core problem of poor corn harvests: corn, or maize, being the staple food of Filipino upland peoples (Table 11). They perceived the problem as their own failure in the task of growing enough food for the family's needs rather than breakdown of their shifting agricultural systems. Their dominant discourse exalted family self-reliance so that their understanding of the situation and therefore the options open to them were limited or territorialized by that framework.[300]. They were trapped in ever worsening states of chronic famine which they were unable to redress. Even though farmers in all project sites recognized the roots of their problems through their lenses of traditional knowledge, it was only at Tabayag that farmers claimed any history of action to limit soil loss[301].

It can also be seen that in all three cases the NGOs took the initiative of offering information and insight to these people. The NGO's experiences in other sites in the Philippines and other parts of the tropics gave them confidence that current farming techniques modified by soil conservation technology could restabilize the agricultural systems. Thus MBRLC, MUSUAN and, at the start, World Neighbours (a USA based aid and development agency who were soon to foster the establishment of the Mag-uugmad Farmers' Foundation) came promoting 'baskets of soil conservation techniques' to these communities. MBRLC called their technology 'SALT', Sloping Agricultural Land Technologies, which began with the establishment of contour hedgerows in 1971 and was developed over a twenty-year period.

Our questions to the focus groups regarding the levels at which the communities discussed their situations revealed differences in cohesion between them that are reflected in the quite different relationships the three NGOs set up with the respective Local Government ie. *Barangay* Councils. At Bacungan the MBRLC team met with a woman councillor who then convened the first public meeting of the community with

[300] Fox, N. "Lines of Flight: Deleuze, Guattari and the Politics of Disembodiment", Unpublished paper, University of Sheffield, 1998 p.4.

Rural Life Centre staff. From the beginning the facilitators (mostly referred to as fieldworkers) maintained close links with the councillors by attending working committee meetings. In turn the councillors provided support for the innovators and more than half of them became adopters. Outside of the training seminars the MBRLC facilitator worked one on one encouraging the families when they made visits to back up training and check on progress.

At Columbagon, although the MUSUAN team met with the councillors before beginning their work with the people of Himaya, their facilitators kept close links with the leaders of that *Sitio* (or Ward), rather than regularly attending council meetings. These leaders acknowledged that "there was no involvement between the Himaya people and the Councillors regarding the project"[302]. Thus the project became confined to Himaya rather than that *Sitio* being the site of innovation trials for *Barangay* Columbagon. The team had their focus narrowed to the internal view of the Himaya adopters rather than becoming the catalysts for opening up all *barangay* hamlets to engage together in choosing pathways to the future.

From the beginning of the project this hindered the MUSUAN team from achieving the second order objective of building community self-awareness and organization. A second factor working against the MUSUAN team in reaching the long-term objective was simply that they worked in Himaya for only seven years. In comparison Mag-uugmad worked for eight years in Tabayag before KAMACA, the people's organization (PO) was formed in 1990. Mag-uugmad continues to base a community organizer in the area.

The next step in starting the projects was for farm families at each site to adopt soil conservation techniques. Families at all three sites marked out contours at three to five metre intervals, depending on the slope, then planted hedgerows along them. The hedgerow species varied from 'Wild Sunflower' at Himaya, a readily propagated and easily trimmed weed, to *Desmodium rensonii* and *Flemingia macrophylla* at Bacungan and Tabayag, which are leguminous shrubs of value as green manure, mulch or animal feed.

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[301] Fieldwork focus group discussions, Theme of Community Entrapment Table: Appendix p4
[302] Focus group discussion, Theme of Promotion of soil conservation: Appendix 1 p14.

Table 11 Summary of Pre-project Situations

Bacungan, including Asbagniloc Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre	**Himaya *Sitio* of *Barangay* Columbagon MUSUAN Program**	***Barangay* Tabayag Mag-uugmad Foundation**
Pre-project Situation		
By 1991 cropping frequency had declined to 1 crop yearly from between 2 to 3. Thus severe poverty rather than peace & order was the main problem **Many young adults were being sent elsewhere to live and work. Some men would out-migrate for seasonal work.** **Deforestation? Sitio Asbagniloc, of mainly B'laan tribal families, had Leaucaena blocks, which they were harvesting for fuelwood sales to supplement subsistence.**	**In 1986 "ours was a very terrible situation" of food shortage. Not enough corn could be grown so that the men had to find off-farm work at the municipal centre or in cities to earn money to buy subsistence needs.** **Most of the people now living in the *Barangay* of Columbagon are immigrants from Cebu and Bohol. When the first arrivals came in the 60s these mountains were still forested. Shifting cultivation was a good way of life till all the timber was cut down.**	**The situation before 1981 was of low subsistence yield and farm income so that the people had to find wild yams or sago palms in the forest then work hard processing sago starch for food. Others seasonally migrated out in search of work for cash to meet subsistence needs.** **In the 50s and 60s, before the forest was razed, harvests lasted until the next one &, "our care for traditional rock walls shows that we knew topsoil loss had caused crop yields to fall."**
Steps of project initiation[303]		
In 1992 Two MBRLC technicians approached the woman Councillor who called a daytime meeting attended mainly by women because their husbands stayed working on the farms. **The women were convinced that SALT offered an answer. In turn they were able to explain the potential to their men so that a core group of families agreed to adopt conservation measures.**	**In 1987 Central Mindanao University staff (of the Musuan team) "brought the idea of soil conservation to us." They called a public meeting at which slides of the results of conservation farming overseas were shown after which the problem was discussed publicly.**	**In 1982 World Neighbours convened a meeting with the *Barangay* men, DFM, DENR and DA officers at which the soil conservation technology was shown in use in similar sites overseas.** **Change agents from the community were identified by Mag-uugmad staff who then worked through them.[304]**

[303] Fieldwork focus group discussions, Theme of Community Meetings Table: Appendix 1, p3.
[304] Mag-uugmad Foundation *November 1988* ***Monthly Report,*** p2

The MUSUAN team at *Sitio* Himaya took a deliberate approach in order to draw in low-income families. The team set up panels of formal and informal local leaders, ie. men, who then made the choice of 12 lead farmers on the basis of criteria set by the team. Key criteria were the combination of low level of income and perception of being most needy, small farm area (< 4ha), steepness of land, paucity of animal ownership, willingness to innovate, participation in community affairs and leadership potential[305]. The MUSUAN technician then worked with *alayons* formed from the selected adopters and organized by the *sitio* leadership.

The weakness of this technique can be seen in that after four years almost all of the 27 adopter families were from Himaya *Sitio*, and many of those were from one small hamlet where their homes were clustered. This contributed to inadequate and haphazard promotion across the whole *Barangay* of the soil conservation technology and the failure of cooperative formation (they did run a *sitio*-based informal credit association). These issues of outsider agents who, by over-involving themselves in tasks which communities can carry out for themselves, undermine their own findings or objectives, are also raised by Chambers in his discussion on the evolution and practice of both Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)[306].

The Participant Information Panel technique used by the MUSUAN team represents a part-reversal of power, to use Chambers' terms. However, if the team had asked poor families from throughout *Barangay* Columbagon to set the criteria it may have generated a greater spread of adopters having a locality wide view, especially if some of those families had become innovators[307]. This would have avoided the risk of an outsider team being either biased or hoodwinked in their appointment of selection panels. The team could then have interviewed the applicant families or conducted an initial seminar with them as a self-screening process, without using panels of leaders. Then the adopters, being from most *sitios*, may have been ready and willing to promote the team's objective of spreading conservation farming throughout their *Barangay*.

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[305] Garcia, J, Gerrits, R. et al, *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Bukidnon.,* Report No. 3, SEARCA-UQ Uplands Research Project, Los Banos, 1995c, pp.26-27.
[306] Chambers, R. *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last.* 1997, pp.142-143.
[307] The SEARCA-UQ Team's findings agreed with my analysis that the selection process "may have been responsible for securing higher levels of adoption" but, unlike me, they reported no fault of over-concentration on one sitio. Yet, they asked the question of why the selection process was not (re)-used

At Tabayag, the project began with farmers on steep, degraded slopes, where there were many rocks at the surface, undertaking the tedious task of digging terraces and building contour rock walls in combination with planting hedgerows. They also built check-dams in severely eroded gullies to control water flow and hold soil for irrigation plots. At wetter sites they dug contour canals to direct stormwater flows into watercourses.

These Tabayag first adopters used the traditional practice of sharing work as an *alayon*, a team rotating round the farms of its members[308], to begin planting hedgerows and making soil conservation structures under the supervision of the Mag-uugmad fieldworker. The then community leaders opposed these groups as cells of the communist New Peoples Army (NPA). In their focus group the Kabalowan farmers looked back with black humour on the desperation which drove them as a small group of innovators to form a single *alayon*[309]. In contrast, although Bacungan families volunteered and were encouraged by the community they lacked the unity to organize *alayon* to help one another with hedgerowing and terracing.

6.3 The self-understanding of the NGOs

Program proposals, promotional materials and implementation reports are written to describe organizations to the communities in which they are working or might in the future; to their current and potential donors and to any individual who wants to know 'who' the agency is. An examination of these documents is worthwhile, for both in lay and professional terms, in representing their 'good work', the organisations reveal their basic self-identity, motivations, methodology and preferred discourse. From a range of their documents I have compiled the following profiles of the three NGOs involved in the projects and described in Chapter Five: the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre (MBRLC), MUSUAN, a joint venture of Central Mindanao & Xavier Universities, and the Mag-uugmad Farmers Foundation (Table 11).

Short, medium and long-term objectives

For all three NGOs the short term objective was adoption of soil conservation techniques by farmers. Soil conservation then became the stepping stone to achieve

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subsequently; which implies that they had noticed the aggregation of adopters in Himaya sitio. See Garcia et al*, op.cit.,* 1995c, pp.83-84.

[308] Focus group discussions, Theme of Unity in Community Table: Appendix 1, p16, records 7 & 8.

their medium term and instrumental goal of facilitating community self-reliance on the way to sustainability. They aimed to re-establish livelihoods that would be viable across local and adjacent areas. MUSUAN and Mag-uugmad widened the concept of sustainability to explicitly include the rehabilitation of the local environment beyond farm boundaries which I categorize as a medium term socio-ecological project objective to be achieved over 5 to 10 years in these subsistence communities. MBRLC implies this, rather than explicitly stating it, by referring to its work in a holistic spiritual and physical theological discourse as "To educate and train farmers and farm families in sustainable farming technologies, primary health care, and Christian living"[310]. For all three organizations the long term objective was to facilitate the establishment of a community based organization to function as a political and structural means of empowerment for these communities.

MBRLC and Mag-uugmad extend the concept of self-reliance beyond each farm-family to an intra-community level. As discussed in Section 6.4 below, this reflects a shift in the project communities from a discourse of farm-family self-reliance to one of the inter-dependence of farm families as a sub-discourse under the over-arching theme of sustainability. These two agencies also work at trialling and developing new conservation farming enterprises and technologies to strengthen the foundation of restored livelihood[311] whereas MUSUAN, in keeping with its aim to network with other upland development agencies, chose to 'identify and disseminate appropriate technical information' rather than develop new technologies. However, its partner families adapted new technology according to their resources and needs.

All three agencies sought to strengthen the decision-making capabilities of communities. MBRLC, as a church-based development agency, pursues the faith objectives of the restoration of creative relationships within community and nation; between people, the earth and God. Its approach to partnership between communities and government was, like its ecological view, indirectly implied in the way it sees its promotion of spiritual values (those relating to faith in God, worship of God and caring for the creation given to people by God) as giving it a holistic strength because it

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[309] Focus group discussions, Theme of Jokes Table: Appendix 1, p8, records 2 & 3.
[310] Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre Homepage August 2006, www2.mozcom.com/~mbrlc/index.htm
[311] Palmer, J. *Sloping Agricultural Land Technology (SALT): nitrogen fixing agroforestry for sustainable soil and water conservation* Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre, 1996, p.1.

consciously includes this values-based dimension in its program. It hopes to generate holistic strength by strengthening local farmers' organizations, usually cooperatives, in the final project stage of phase-out[312] and by encouraging the CBOs to cooperate and network with local and municipal government.

Mag-uugmad emphasizes community organization which is geared towards the establishment of a people's organization (PO) or community based organization (CBO)[313], once the stage is reached of rapid adoption of the fundamental soil conservation technology. MUSUAN's program documents list an objective "to strengthen cooperation and unity among farmer participants to facilitate effective marketing strategies for disposal of farm and home products"[314]. They aimed at 'promoting partnership' between the forest-dwellers and the government as a means to improve their livelihood. This can be understood as espousing a discourse of cooperation with the administration. That is, they shrank joint action by community members down to involvement in the formal economy, showing a lack of awareness of either wider needs or a critique of the chosen pathway of economic development.

Mag-uugmad was the only one of the three agencies which had an objective of strengthening the communities' decision-making share in their relationships with layers of government above the *barangay* level of local government, ie. the municipal and above them provincial line departments. Without explicitly talking about government-community partnership it encouraged its partner communities to join in the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) programs where these help advance plans already made by the community. This strategy reveals the Mag-uugmad understanding that partnership between government and community requires a prior confidence, solidarity and community organization which has achieved a planning capability. For the community to function as a partner with a real say in decision-making it already needs to have achieved a level of empowerment as vision setting and prioritizing. Hence, their participatory models included Model 13, Self-determination for Community Development characterized by community responsibility for planning and implementation and open and consultative local government[315].

[312]Garcia et al., *op.cit.,* 1995b, p.25.
[313]Garcia et al, *op.cit.,* 1995a, p.14.
[314]MUSUAN *Model for Upland Development Phase III Proposal,* 1989, pp.24-25.
[315] Chapter 2 Section 2.3

Table 12 Summary self-description of the implementing NGOs

Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre	MUSUAN	Mag-uugmad Foundation
Self-description		
A church-based, non-profit, NGO concerned with promoting a physically and spiritually abundant life amongst upland farmers.[316]	A university derived non-profit, NGO set-up to facilitate self-reliance in upland communities & to network with other Filipino upland development agencies.[317]	A non-profit, non-stock[318] farmer-based NGO concerned with the low and declining welfare status of upland farmers & downstream effects of resource degradation.[319]
Objectives		
To work alongside poor upland communities in Mindanao; and throughout the Philippines, South-east and South Asia[320] • to train farmers and youth in simple, applicable, low-cost and timely interventions • to develop and promote simple sustainable farm technologies. • to build spiritual awareness, in farm families, of proper relationships with neighbours, God, the nation and the earth	The promotion of strong partnership between forest occupants and the government[321] • to solve participants' socio-economic problems • to identify and disseminate appropriate technical information • to conserve, protect develop and rehabilitate forest resources for the whole society • to provide necessary social, financial, technical, educational and other community services to forest occupants • to monitor, evaluate and improve program design.	To facilitate empowerment of the community to decide their future.[322] • to facilitate self-reliance and self-sufficiency of the rural poor • to restore the environment through reversing degradation • to develop farming technologies • to demonstrate the ability of local farmers to teach their neighbours better technologies • using cross-farm visits to enhance communication between farmers locally and nation-wide • to assist appropriate government and private agencies in serving rural people through upgrading field-staff skills.
Monitoring and evaluation arrangements		
The extension system incorporates reporting and programmed field supervision.	Evaluation was planned as post-graduate student research and through academic staff co-opted to the MUSUAN team.	From 1981 till 1986 Field Operations Managers prepared monthly reports. Monitoring-evaluation response took place between the Field Operations Manager and Farmer Instructors.[323]

[316] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. S***oil*** *Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Davao del Sur* p10
[317] MUSUAN 1989 pp14-17
[318] "Non-stock" means that membership is not based on share purchase as in many producer cooperatives
[319] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. S***oil*** *Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Cebu,* 1995 p11
[320] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Davao del Sur* 1995, p10
[321] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Bukidnon* 1995 p20
And MUSUAN *Model for Upland Development: Phase III Proposal* pp14-17
[322] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Cebu,* 1995, p11
[323] Mag-uugmad Foundation, November 1988 *Monthly Report, Accomplishment Report Qtr 3 1992.*

Facilitating government-community partnerships can thus be a step towards building empowerment since it is an arena for new CBOs to begin pursuing community aims. However, to have only implicit values about such relationships indicates hazy long-term objectives about empowerment of communities. I here use empowerment to describe the self-adaptive capacity of communities, or poor and materially disadvantaged groups within them, which includes their ability to claim a greater role in decisions about matters affecting them (as argued in Chapter 1[324]). Two of the NGOs, MBRLC and MUSUAN, sought to build the capacity to envision and plan change within their partner communities without appearing to explicitly see a long-term adaptive need for the communities to be empowered in their relations with higher levels of government. They had clear medium term, first order objectives relating to building adaptive capacity for the restoration and preservation of livelihood without distinguishing long term, second order objectives about building ongoing capacity for communities to determine their own futures.

Models of community participation

Since these agencies set out to work with communities, their developmental approach was one of community participation. To analyze the way these agencies approached their prospective partner communities I use the range of community participation models presented in Chapter 2.4 and summarized below, whose inter-relationships are schematized in Figure 2 "The Landscape of Community Participation Models' [325]. In Table 13 I present the 'suite' of models the NGOs proposed to use and then compare them with those that they actually used. The intended models reveal an initial understanding of what community participation would work whereas the actual models reveal a knowledge of praxis of the organization's staff that they only applied once they began the action-reflection cycle of project praxis.

Figure 3 presents the interrelationships of the community participation models schematized as a two dimensional landscape. The two dimensions of Figure 2 are the vertical axis of Decision-making and the horizontal axis of Resource-status. Change in a community's resource status ranges from 'Community Resource Loss' to 'Gain'. A community's share

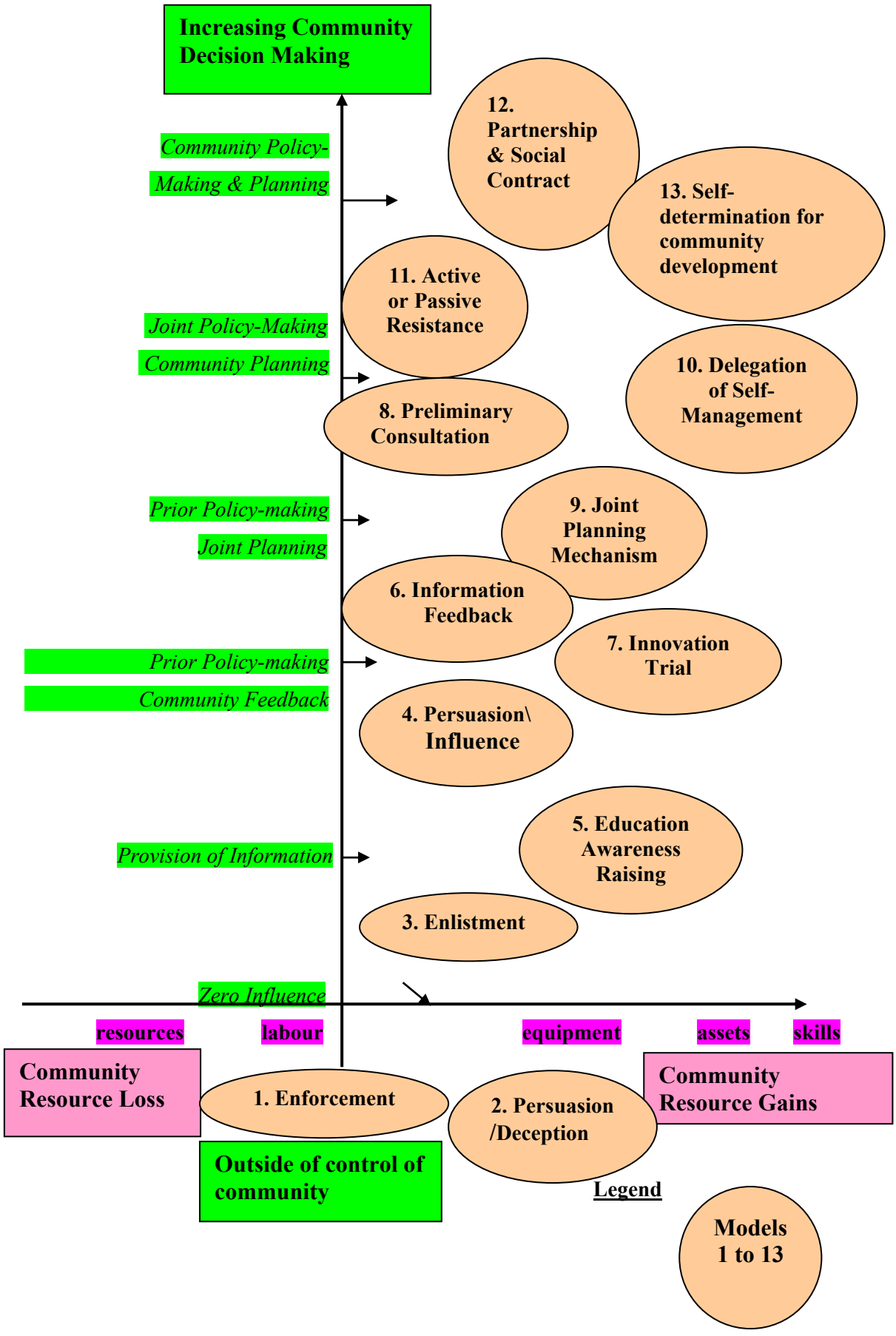
[324] Chapter 1 p. 2.

[325] These are my widening of local government best practice recommendations for Australia to include more pathological models as well as further differentiation according to Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques. McKenna, B. *Community Participation in Local Government* ACLGS 1995 pp 8-11 Chambers, R. *Whose Reality Counts: putting the first last* ITP 1997 p130, pp146-156

of decision-making ranges from 'Loss of Decision-making', through 'No say', to 'Community Policy Making and Planning'.

All three NGOs planned to follow similar models to reach their final objective of community self-reliance. MBRLC planned to hand over the extension function for conservation farming, as in Model 10 'Delegation of Self-management', whereas MUSUAN and Mag-uugmad aimed at equipping the communities to plan and implement their own development pathways using Model 13, 'Self-determination for Community Development' (Table 13).

Figure 3 A Landscape of Community Participation Models



Model 6, 'Information Feedback', was MBRLC's intended starting approach. Since all three NGOs came offering training in erosion control and soil retention techniques under a predetermined soil conservation and restoration approach, Model 6 was the one they all actually used. That is, the three NGOs began with open public meetings as community education exercises about the detrimental impact of soil erosion and loss, its linkage to the failures of their shifting agricultural systems, and the potential of conservation farming to be an escape from the communities' famine-traps. MUSUAN furthered this by means of an information drive to maintain community debate as in Model 4 'Persuasion Influence'.

Both MBRLC and the Mag-uugmad Foundation followed interactions with their partner communities through to the respective planned endpoints taking six years in the former case and nine years in the latter. For MBRLC, Model 10 'Delegation for Self-management' was the endpoint, which meant that the adopter communities were to form cooperatives through which they could access credit and the network of regional and national development agencies, as well as taking responsibility for spreading conservation farming beyond their own communities.. As of 1998, after 16 years Mag-uugmad continued to uphold the objective of Model 13, 'Self-determination for Community Development', which has been achieved by the People's Organization, KAMACA, undertaking community based-planning as well as implementation as a contractor in partnership with national government agencies.

The MUSUAN team worked in *Sitio* Himaya (*Sitios* are equivalent to Australian Council Wards) of *Barangay* Columbagon for nearly seven years from 1986 to 1993. Despite this being a relatively short period for undertaking major changes to an agricultural system, the project achieved a shift among adopter farming families towards a diverse and intensive version of shifting cultivation. However, it failed to achieve the second order objective of facilitating self-reliant target communities to form partnerships with government at *Sitio* Himaya or *Barangay* Columbagon.

MUSUAN allowed their registered farmer organization, a Credit Cooperative, to lapse into an informal credit association. The members of this association help one another move further along their chosen pathways of farm development but do not tackle the wider issue of community development. These are left to their councillor to take up at

the Local Government level in *Barangay* Columbagon. Therefore, since decision-making about farm development at Himaya was shared between the facilitator-field workers and the male farmers; within the landscape of participation models the project stopped at Model 5 'Joint Planning Mechanism', rather than attaining the expected state of Model 13 'Self-determination for Community development'.

Table 13 Proposed and actual community participation models

Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre	MUSUAN	Mag-uugmad Foundation
Proposed models of community participation		
6. Information Feedback ***7. Innovation Trial*** **From feedback meetings about MBRLC's proposed strategy technicians went ahead with a core of adopter families as innovation trials.** ***9. Delegation of Self-management*** **Finally, a cooperative was to be formed to take over extension.[326]**	***13. Self-determination for Community Development*** **Adopters appointed by the community were themselves to make farm development plans then implement these while the MUSUAN technicians facilitated. The final outcome target for each locality was cooperative establishment.[327]**	***13. Self-determination for Community Development*** **The community taking responsibility for the planning process is the basis of the Mag-uugmad\ World Neighbours methodology.[328] The key step in this process is the creation of a People's Organization.**
Actual pathways of community participation		
6. Information Feedback **The idea of erosion and its impact was presented, then soil conservation technology was proposed as the solution.[329]** ***5. Education\ Awareness Raising*** **Training workshops** ***7. Innovation Trial*** ***10. Delegation of Self-management*** **Cooperative establishment and registration is underway.**	***6. Information Feedback*** **The MUSUAN team also began, in 1986, by convening a public meeting to speak to the solution of conservation.** ***4. Persuasion Influence*** **An information drive about erosion followed the public meeting[330].** ***5. Education\ Awareness Raising*** **Training workshops** ***9. Joint Planning Mechanism*** **The Himaya community stalled at this point of sharing decision-making with the extensionists.**	***6. Information Feedback*** **At the start in 1986 the USA INGO World Neighbours came offering the preferred soil conservation strategy.[331]** ***5. Education\ Awareness Raising*** **Training in adopter teams (*alayon)*** ***13. Self-determination for community development*** **This was seen in the formation of the Tabayag People's Organization, KAMACA in 1990[332].**

[326] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. ***Soil Conservation in an*** *Upland Farming System in Davao del Sur* 1995, pp76-77
[327] MUSUAN *Narrative Reports* Jan-June 1991, p43
[328] Garcia, J. & Gerrits, R. ***Soil*** *Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Cebu* 1995**,** pp12-13
[329] Fieldwork Focus group discussions Community Meetings Table: Appendix 1
[330] Garcia, J. Gerrits, R. *Soil Conservation in an Upland Farming System in Bukidnon* 1995, pp23-26

6.4 Findings about Community Participation

In this section I present explanations of participation given in the focus group discussions of women, farmers (usually including women) and community leaders, across the three localities. Gender differences in the understanding of participation revealed different discourses about the relationship between individual farm families and all families in the community. The sustainability discourse underlying the NGO approaches is shown to have impacted on the prior discursive formation. The discussions also brought out the importance to medium and long term project success of the women gaining access to training activities and of differences between leaders' modes of action across the three local groups.

The full collection of records from the discussions is contained in Appendix 1. I use quotes and summary comments gathered under the themes of Community Meetings and Training and Leadership (sourced from those tables of the same name in Appendix 1) to outline the similar processes by which conservation farming became established in the *Barangays* of Bacungan and Tabayag and in the *Sitio* of Himaya in *Barangay* Columbagon. To examine the growth of community adaptive capacity I present records from the focus group discussions, particularly those reflecting the themes of Ideas for the Future, Non-adopter Views and Project Outcomes (for a full record see their respective Tables).

These themes emerged from the focus groups' responses to the questions we asked of them. It was the frequency of references to these themes and their apparent significance with respect to peoples' various discourses, the establishment of the projects and how they impacted upon livelihoods which led me to use them to categorize all comments made and information provided in the discussions. I recorded and arranged all comments and information using the themes listed below in Table 14 and from them drew the ideas which led to the arguments developed in answer to the aims of the thesis. In some cases I summarized information, which was otherwise redundant, while in other cases I inserted direct quotes from group participants as recorded by the moderator of the discussion.

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[331] Fieldwork Focus group discussions: Community Meetings Table Appendix 1
[332] Fieldwork Focus group discussions: People's Organization Table: Appendix 1

Table 14 Theme Tables of Focus Group Discussion Information and Comments

Theme Tables	Theme Tables
Community Self-esteem asking for accountability	Leadership
Agriculturally sustainable intensification through diversification	Initial Situation of subsistence failure
Benefits or inducements to adopters	Land tenure issues
Community initiatives	Maintenance of conservation structures
Another agenda	Local or traditional knowledge
Community meetings	Loss of soil/ fertility
Community-government cooperation	Community-NGO cooperation
Conceptual or comprehension difficulties	Non-adopter resistance & late adopter explanations
Family independence discourse	Out-migration
Entrapment	People's Organization
Leadership dependency	Promotion of soil conservation in the community
Conflict	Questioning and suspicion
Conservation project outcomes	Secret adoption
Government initiatives	Self-spreading-
Discourse of conservation	Soil conservation techniques or Less Erosion
Gender relations	Traditional caution
Household income increase	Training
NGO Initiatives	Unity in community (work teams/ alayon/ bayanihan)
Innovation	Women's impact
Jokes	Yield restoration
Empowerment	Vision
Theory of empowerment	

Capability and cohesion for community action

These comments on community meetings supplement the project start-up descriptions of the previous section by providing insight into the level of cohesion and organization of the three communities. Since the MUSUAN-Himaya and World Neighbours-Tabayag Projects began in the early 1980s during the highly centralized Marcos Administration, when rural local government was largely moribund, there was initially no synergy between the projects and local government. However, when in 1992 the Ramos administration began implementation of the 1991 Local Government Code

(LGC) there was the potential for synergy of action between project activities and local government reform. Mainly because the Project ceased at the end of its Phase II in 1994 the MUSUAN-Himaya partnership failed to take advantage of this stimulation of local government. On the other hand, the emerging PO at Tabayag, whose members won *Barangay* positions in 1992, and the MBRLC-Bacungan community partnerships interacted with the Ramos administrations' actions revitalizing local government.

The focus group discussions in Bacungan revealed that before the MBRLC Project began in 1991 the community there was publicly and openly debating the chronic food shortage. Women were fully involved, as it was one of their leaders who played the key role in introducing to the community the MBRLC team with their 'offering' of the discourse of sustainability (Table 15). That is, local leadership complemented the participation of the whole population by working for their interests.

However, at Himaya in Columbagon, despite the practice of holding *sitio* meetings before the MUSUAN Project began in 1986, there was little pre-project capability for community action as evidenced by the lack of formal discussion of the food shortage problem by *sitio* or *barangay* leaders with the broader community. Now, and partly because of the MUSUAN Project, *sitio* and *barangay* meetings discuss farm and community development issues.

An extreme case of distance between the NGO and the Council occurred at Tabayag where the Councillors of 1982 gave no official support to the project. Although they had discussed the hardships of many of the subsistence farmers they did not open up the issue for debate within the *Sitios*. Instead it was claimed that they opposed those who took up the offer made by World Neighbours/ Mag-uugmad and instigated ostracism of those families who took part in the first innovation trials. This shows that they wanted to control what was happening locally, and that they presided over a fractured community. In the present radically different situation one of the functions of the KAMACA People's Organization, incorporating over 90 per cent of the local people, is systematic appraisal of and planning for the future. KAMACA's formation in 1990, since it pre-dated the *barangay* to municipality interchanges of the new Local Government Code, embodies the project outcome of structures for communication and

coordination in a now solidly cohesive community. I will explore this achievement in the discussion below.

Table 15 Comments on Community Meetings by focus group and site[333]

Locality	Women	Farmers	Community leaders
Bacungan	**Council and ward meetings ie. *Barangay* & *Sitio* , were open for public discussion of the chronic food shortage, "including us women".**	**The whole community attended the meeting, called by the MBRLC extensionists and a woman Councillor, to consider the food shortage.**	**"The RLC technicians still attend monthly council meetings to tell us about conservation farming and project progress".**
Colum-bagon	**The President of the sitio convened a public meeting , open to women , at which the MUSUAN team promoted soil conservation.**	**The pre-project situation of food shortage had not been discussed in the Himaya *Sitio* meetings nor in *Barangay* Columbagon Council.**	**Post-project the *sitio* and *barangay* meetings are discussing poor fertility as a community problem.**
Tabayag	**There were no Ward ie. *Sitio* meetings prior to the soil conservation project, nor were there any women Councillors.**	**The initial food shortage situation was discussed by men at the *Barangay* Assembly**	**Apart from project alayon discussions there were no formal meetings about conservation farming until the 1990 formation of KAMACA.**

Impact of women's discourse of farm family on project establishment

The histories of training at Bacungan and Himaya cast useful light on their different initial states of community solidarity and how the projects subsequently affected it. In both places women played vital roles in attending training sessions while their husbands often stayed at work on the family farm (Table 16). Thus the women were the NGOs' mediators with the community, participating in adopter meetings and seminars then afterwards providing instruction at home. This is indicative of the women holding a community, rather than a farm-wide view, (in accord with the triple role of women described by Moser[334]). Having been presented with a rigorous explanation of their

[333] Theme of Community meetings Table: Appendix 1, p2.
[334] Moser, C. *op.cit.*, pp1800-1802.

predicament, they willingly forsook some personal, or family, time to learn new techniques promising a better future for all families.

In the terms of discourse analysis, the women saw each family farm as a piece of a mosaic of all local farms, indicating a discourse of family interdependence. In opposition to (though socio-ecologically actually including within itself or overarching!) the 'men's discourse' of family self-reliance. The men, on the other hand, explained their situation by referring to the discourse of self-reliance, which meant that they tended to focus on their own farms. This left their families and communities trapped, as described in section 6.3, for, locked into their commitment to self-reliance, they had never tried cooperatively adapting to their predicament. Thus farmers in their focus group making statements such as, (Pre-project) "We had no solutions to the food shortage. We were still using *kaingin*, ploughing up and down."[335] and "Other people were so ashamed [at being unable to grow enough food] that they wouldn't speak openly"[336].

Table 16 Comments on Training by focus groups and site[337]

Locality	Women	Farmers	Community Leaders
Bacungan	**Women did much of the promotion of the project to the farmers and also took the training home to them**	**The tribal adopters of Asbagniloc trained and had seminars with the MBRLC technicians and worked in *alayon*.**	**Bacungan Councillors promoted SALT at *sitio* (ward) meetings as well as themselves adopting conservation farming.**
Himaya at Colum-bagon	**Some wives had to teach their husbands back at home after the training sessions.**	**"At the start we trained new adopters (within Himaya *Sitio*) and included them in the work-teams."**	**At Himaya there were twice monthly training sessions with MUSUAN team members.**
Tabayag	**"We joined in the training though we did not register as adopters".**	**An apprenticeship model of training was followed with most training occurring in the *alayon* workteams.**	**All KAMACA members, both men and women, participate in community planning in consultation with the Councillors.**

[335] *kaingin* refers primarily to the use of fire to clear garden sites after slashing so the farmer may have meant that he ploughed after burning the site but this would not have been full-blown shifting cultivation
[336] Focus group discussions, Theme of Entrapment Table, Appendix 1, p3, record 2.
[337] Training, Gender relations, Unity and Women's impact Tables, Appendix 1, p16, p7, p16, p17

In contrast, women willingly underwent the project training that promised a future for all of their families in accordance with their discourse of family interdependence. Further evidence of the women's understanding of interdependence can be seen in their work as Barangay Health Workers and in their distinctive ideas about future community needs. These roles reveal their function of weaving the network of relations that builds a community's solidarity and capacity for negotiation through conflict. A corollary to this is that, just as structural adjustment policies in other countries have resulted in an increased workload for women[338], so the 'adjustment' of the agricultural systems in these localities also resulted in greater women's labour inputs for production while they kept up both family reproduction and community management[339].

At Tabayag, where there were only a handful of first adopters under pressure from the then community leaders, the women also joined in seminar-format training. Only the men built rockwalls, terraces and check-banks in an apprenticeship kind of training working on one another's farms as an *alayon*. The members of this first work-team themselves became farmer instructors who kept up the apprenticeship training in an expanded *alayon* network. All met monthly for the training seminars in farm planning, and later in community planning. This developed into the current situation of the conservation farmers who make up the KAMACA membership preparing community plans. These plans are then fed into the *barangay* to *municipality* proposal-budget-preparation process. Only about a third of the women usually attended the all *alayon* meetings but in 1991, having begun their own group projects, the women registered and began participating in their own right as KAMACA members[340]. Thus in Tabayag women's participation was less significant at the start of the projects than in Bacungan and Himaya where women's participation in training was the first step to the adoption of conservation farming by 'farm-bound' husbands. Thus the women's role was crucial to the restoration of livelihood for many families.

The interaction between women's training and leadership

The answers to questions about openness of the leaders to the women, about whose ideas were followed and what roles leaders had filled gave further insights into

[338] Moser, C. *op.cit.* p.1814.
[339] Theme of Conservation Project Outcomes Table, Appendix 1. p5, records 1, 6 and 7.

community solidarity. The new discourse of sustainability (and conservation farming within it), taken up and promoted by the women also fosters awareness of social, agricultural and ecological interactions. Thus discourses of farm livelihood became socio-ecological in their ambit. At Bacungan, where the community leaders were already openly debating the needs of the future, it became a framework for them to use in thinking through the community's present and future needs as they carry out their tasks under the new Local Government Code (Table 17).

However, in Himaya, given the way the MUSUAN project focused on the hamlet rather than *Barangay* Columbagon, the women's input into training facilitated local agricultural recovery and building up their own ideas about development, but had little impact on surrounding *Sitios*. As the Himaya leader stated in the Table 17 quote, "Our Integrated Social Forestry President and Councillor plans our development work", this revealed that the *Sitio* leadership group was dependent on their Councilor. Their activity as leaders was therefore marginal to *barangay* life. On the one hand the Himaya leaders resented the lack of *Barangay* support for their move into conservation farming (yet proud of their partnership with the MUSUAN team). On the other hand they were content to let their councillor do their development thinking for them.

This points to the importance of a partnership between NGOs and communities at the local government (*barangay*) level in order that NGO change strategies are 'owned' by the whole community. It aids integration of local activities and formal cooperation with other *barangays* (in this case through the Municipality's function of coordinating their planning and budgeting). If NGO programs run independently from municipal government and *barangay* programs there can be no planned synergies, instead there may well be negative interactions.

But the Himaya situation also highlights the important role of leadership in either personally driving or facilitating change. To lead them into the future the people of Himaya rely on one man who represents the *Sitio* to the *Barangay* and has the energy to also promote conservation farming throughout the area. But the project failed to impact the whole *Baranga*y through the 'gateway' of Himaya because the dominant discourse of its population limited their view of the world to the near horizon. The dynamism of

[340] Theme of People's Organization Table Appendix 1, p14, records 2 & 3.

the Himaya councillor stifled the community action of his peers. Because he never delegated he never built up the capacities of the other leaders, nor challenged the dominant discourse of farm family selfsufficiency despite the acceptance of a discourse of conservation applied at the level of the individual farm. This limited the impact of the MUSUAN program in Columbagon. A whole community promoting interdependent conservation farming, through a locality-wide network of relationships, would have had far greater impact than the efforts of one enthusiast.

Table 17 Comments on leadership by focus groups and site[341]

Locality	Women	Farmers	Community Leaders
Bacungan	**"We respect the *Barangay* Captain and the Councillors because they listen to us": woman Councilor and women *barangay* officials.**	**"We (adopters) debriefed together and encouraged one another but worked individually because there weren't enough leaders for the *alayon*".**	**The *barangay* leaders, including non-adopters, by moving to set up nurseries are fostering the new agricultural system.**
Himaya	**"Although we previously have had women Councillors we have none now"**	**"Our Integrated Social Forestry President and Councilor plans our development work"**	**"Both the Municipality and the *Barangay* put minimum effort into implementing the STAR project. It had been a MUSUAN-hamlet activity": Himaya leaders.**
Tabayag	**"In 1991 when the Senior Farm Instructor became the *Barangay* Captain he invited women into KAMACA, the People's Organization. Now we have 6 women Councillors**[342]**."**	**"Development depends upon cooperation between people for a community organized effort but it also needs a strong *Barangay* Captain".**	**"The *Barangay* officials are facilitators. But since they are not permanent a strong People's Organization is needed with continuous participation from the people to plan for implementation by Councillors"**

At Tabayag, an initial partnership between local community and local government was not possible because the original councillors suppressed the NGO's activities. The alternative to partnership was the formation of a People's Organization or PO (ie. KAMACA), a crucial step in building the capacity of the community to debate, plan and organize, and to make the change strategy sustainable. Despite the old *barangay*

[341] Themes of Leadership, Gender Relations and Unity Tables Appendix 1, p10, p7, p16.
[342] Focus group discussions, Leadership Table Appendix 1, p10, records 2 & 4.

leadership trying to block change (see my Participatory Framework in Chapter One[343]), after an initial lag period of four years or so, the effectiveness of soil conservation techniques led to the multiplication of adopters through the formation of new *alayon* work teams. Meanwhile, during the four years, the less desperate or more cautious, could 'wait and see' for themselves.

Then the NGO workers engaged in four years of training in seminars for all *alayon* members which moved the conservation farmers from sustainable farm-planning to community planning before the formation of KAMACA (the PO) in 1990. In the previous year, three years after the fall of the Marcos regime, several Farm Instructors and other adopters had been voted onto the *Barangay* Council by the 'conservationists', so ousting the former Councillors. Two years later the Senior Farmer Instructor for all adopters won the position of *Barangay* Captain.

It is highly significant that at the time the Tabayag conservationists formed the PO, the NGO had already been working in the community for eight years. This was longer than the duration of the whole MUSUAN program. Had World Neighbours pulled out of Tabayag before there was enough community solidarity to run a functional PO, the spread of conservation farming into other *barangays* may have been far less. Furthermore, a premature PO, formed before the conservationists broke into *barangay* leadership in 1989, might well have failed to achieve second-order community empowerment objectives.

A significant result of the adopters' victory in Tabayag was the movement of women into positions of community leadership from which they had previously been excluded. This came about in 1991 through the new *Barangay* Captain inviting them to register for KAMACA on the basis of their own group projects, rather than them being members 'in the names of their husbands'. Soon women won leadership positions in the PO, then other women adopters became Councillors. The women had started up home-garden projects after attending seminars run especially for them. Thus the PO's initiative triggered off their gains in influence and decision-making in the *Barangay*.

[343] Chapter 1, Section 1.3 p.6.

Tracking these events at Tabayag reveals that sustainable farming was a pathway of change for the community, including the women, to reach a point where the leaders conceived of themselves as facilitators of a vision for development. Thus formerly marginalized and excluded people gained the skills and confidence to negotiate a common set of priorities for planning and organizing their future as per the quote from Table 17: "The *Barangay* officials are facilitators. But since they are not permanent a strong People's Organization is needed with continuous participation from the people to plan for implementation by the Councillors".

Discourse as a stimulus for change

Sustainable farming is both ends and means. Firstly it becomes the basis of a transmogrified shifting agriculture by bringing the forest into the farm as contour hedgerows, perennial fruit crops and firewood or forest timber blocks. Secondly, it is a means in that the concepts of conservation and sustainability de-territorialize the livelihood conceptions of upland farmers who have locked themselves into a discourse such as farm family independence which blocks them from seeing the mutual losses of soil and livelihood resulting from total clearance of the forest essential to the viability of shifting agriculture. In Nick Fox's terms, the farmers had territorialized themselves with their use of the independence and self-reliance discourse whereas the discursive formation of sustainability and its discourse of farm family interdependence allowed them to break out of a limiting discourse predicating obsolete farming techniques. By introducing a replacement discourse, the NGOs helped the farmers to de-territorialize themselves[344].

It was not a case of a home-grown discourse of the poor and oppressed refuting that of the dominant group in society, as in Macdonell's simplest functional definition (see Chapter 3.2). Instead it was the newly dominant discourse of sustainability that displaced the male farmers' discourse of the self-reliant farm family. The sustainability discourse levered more room for its discursive sub-strand of family interdependence or (community *intra*dependence) held by the women and related to the concept of tribal corporate identity, as held by the *Blaán* (tribal group) of Bacungan's *Sitio* Asbagniloc. Corporate identity refers to the way of thinking where members of a group, ethnically or otherwise defined, who may have very little wealth, prestige, skills, authority or power,

identify themselves with a ruler or leader who represents their group, clan or community[345]. Thus we recorded from the Asbagniloc focus group that "conservation farming was promoted in the community meetings by the *Datu*, [their traditional leader] who was an early adopter and also their *Barangay* Councillor[346]".

The still intact concept of corporate identity in the tribal community may well reflect the origin of the women's discourse of family interdependence as the evolution of corporate identity in places where distinct tribal ethnic and linguistic identities have merged. Moreover, this would suggest that the development of People's Organizations, rather than being alien to these communities, is founded on pre-colonial patterns of tribal decision-making via community elders and other community meetings or forums. This relates directly to Frank Hirtz' argument about the different approaches to anthropological studies of Filipino tribal and lowland groups. In relation to land reform Hirtz states that land reform legislation in the Philippines has missed the socio-ecological complexity of their relationship to land reducing it to a socio-economic dimension[347]. What is relevant to my study communities is that the adaptive capacity of communities that is, their empowerment, is a present way of describing the patterns of governance of pre-colonial tribal communities. Discussions of empowerment gained by such communities can therefore be understood as communities regaining capacities that may well have been suppressed by the church and landlord colonial discourses but continued to exist as shadow discourses, for example, as the women's discourse of family interdependence and in the corporate identity concepts of the 'wild' upland tribes who remained marginal to the colonial economic system.

At Tabayag the training processes used by the Mag-uugmad Foundation, once World Neighbours had catalyzed its formation, presented to the adopters this discourse of sustainability by which they built a new horizon-broadening understanding of socio-ecology[348]. The trainees began to see how season by season they affected the environment beyond their family farm boundaries. By charting their courses of

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[344] Fox, *op.cit.,* p.14.
[345] Young, *op.cit.,* p.151.
Rynkiewich, M. "Big-man politics: Strong Leadership in a Weak State", in *Politics in Papua New Guinea: Continuities, Changes and Challenges* Melanesian Institute, Goroka, 2002, p.41.
[346] Theme of Promotion of soil conservation in the Community Table Appendix 1, p14, record 1.
[347] Hirtz, F .*op.cit.,* pp.255-257.
[348] Chapter 1, Section 1.3.

preference in farming and social life they learned how to act for the common good, to build community in one of its basic senses of "common ownership or participation"[349].

In Tabayag, despite an upland community divided by opposition from a dominant leadership, the NGO, in partnership with an adopter faction, presented a new socio-ecological discourse - sustainability - that was successful in that it led to restoration of livelihood. This in turn led to a leadership turnover[350]. The new discourse was a tool for the NGO, an agent of change for it, and remains so for KAMACA, the PO, for the ongoing changes it facilitates.

Charismatic leadership

In all societies there are almost always leaders or aspirants to leadership who listen to the grievances and aspirations of various groups in their society and promise action that will usher in better times. They are mixtures of charlatan and hero because they pursue their own personal goals while striving to help or deliver their community or ethnic group, and often possess a flair, a charisma or a spirit that draws support and loyalty[351]. It may also be important that they have the cunning to offer opportunities for the wealthy or powerful to gain more or secure their positions. In turn, the powerful and wealthy lend their support because they see the man or woman with charisma as someone who can serve their interests. Such leaders, swaying the hearts of the people of their time, are an unpredictable factor in the tussle for change[352].

The figure of the charismatic leader was most evident as a change factor in Tabayag, as discussed above in Chapter Four. Every focus group discussion included references to the actions of a particular man who rose from World Neighbours Senior Farm Instructor, to became their Site Supervisor then later, as the adopters broke into local government leadership, to *Barangay* Captain. All group members, in talking about their roles in the PO or the Council, in planning for community services and on their own

[349] Hanks, P., McLeod, W. *et al Collins English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, Collins, Sydney, 1986, p.320.
[350] The new group described themselves as a poorer 'class' being owners of smaller, steeper farms as opposed to the "middle-class" holders of larger, relatively flatter farms. I did not examine whether or not this terminology reflected long-standing conflict between these groups differentiated by the poorer landowners. It certainly shows the awareness of the latter that they have gained power in the relationship. Moreover, the discourse of sustainability provides a more complex way of differentiating between the families farming the different zones.
[351] Dressler, W. *op.cit.*, pp.417-420.
[352] Young, D. *op.cit.,* pp.30- 31, 43-44, 152.

farms, referred to this man and his service to his 'brothers and sisters' in terms that indicated a deep respect, even love. They recalled his invitation to women to register as members of KAMACA, the People's Organization, in their own right[353]. One farmer's discussion group, in which he participated as a taciturn man among equals, remembered how he not only galvanized them into supporting one another in building rockwalls on their farms, but also kept up their spirits by walking them 14 kilometres down to the coast after a long working day in the sun to bathe their weary bodies and then fish all night for their families in the hills[354].

The impact of charismatic leadership on a community can be to create a sense of community solidarity which persuades others to join. As one farmer pointed out, "I joined them (the first adopters) to be part of the *alayon*"[355], to be part of the group with this impressive leader, rather than because he was convinced of the new discourse of sustainability. The charisma of the man led people to do new things that resulted in socio-ecological and discursive change out of affection and loyalty, rather than intellectual commitment.

In a less dramatic way, the tribal leader, the *Datu,* at Asbagniloc straddles the leadership modes of traditional society and the modern state by doubling as Councillor. Having presided over the public discussions of what to do about subsistence failure, he led the way from the group decision to 'go with soil conservation' by becoming an enthusiastic adopter. The *Datu* was the tribe's role model, their corporate identity, for once he had articulated fertility loss as erosion driven according to the conservation discourse, a majority of the community adopted soil retention techniques by forming *bayanihan,* their own tribal work-teams, for the establishment of conservation structures on their farms[356].

Here we can clearly see a complementarity between participation of the community and leadership, whatever the balance between altruistic and self-motivation, which serves the 'constituency'. The *Datu* convened the tribal families for the group discussions which was their forum for participation. Whether or not he was initially keen on the

[353] Theme of People's Organization Table Appendix 1, p14, record 2.
[354] Theme of Unity in community Table, Kabalowan farmers, Appendix 1, p16, record 12.
[355] Theme of Unity in the Community Table record 1: Appendix 1, p16, record 13.
[356] Community or Adopter Meetings, Training and Unity Tables (record 3): Appendix 1, p2, p16.

new discourse for which the erosion paradigm was the technological core, he was open to debating it, and a community decision about sustainability crystallized around him. The style of his leadership, his confidence in chairing a participatory community process without feeling a loss of power, enabled the community to adopt a new discourse.

Weighing up these two examples we see that strong, charismatic or decisive leaders can move people to retreat from, or plunge ahead into, change. Such leadership is a 'wildcard' factor in the situation of groups of people making choices.

The impact of women on future orientation and its links to empowerment

The focus group participants across all three study sites were future oriented. They describe their vision of what their lives will become in terms of community services, a combination of subsistence and cash income livelihood (including non-agricultural enterprises), improved housing, possession of some consumer goods and additional local infrastructure. However, theirs is a multi-linear world of capitalism, older subsistence, family and community self-reliance discourses as well as empowered interaction with government and international development agencies. In Stacey Leigh Pigg's terms they have constructed a modernity in which their aspirations for economic development are founded on a discourse of sustainable agriculture and community empowerment[357]. Thus one of the Tabayag leaders said, "The vision of Tabayag is for a fully-serviced part-subsistence community of livestock, fruit, flower and vegetable specialist conservation farmers"[358].

These Filipinos empathize with technological convenience and the media which tells them of such things. They probably felt that way even before the project when they seemed locked into poverty and seasonal out-migration for work to buy food so that anything beyond the bare essentials felt out of reach. They have radios and share their television watching space. At Bacungan I saw a man with a pack-horse collect batteries sitting on roadside platforms to take them to a generator for charging. Later the same day he returned them to power their owners' TVs. But it is far more complex than a trajectory to modernity based on acquiring consumer goods like city people. Without

[357] Pigg, S. "The Credible and the Credulous: The Question of 'Villagers' Beliefs' in Nepal" *Cultural Anthropology* Vol. 11, No. 2, 1996, pp.191-193.
[358] Table 18 below

breaking completely with their tradition they explicitly talk of remaining largely subsistence farmers using their land sustainably. For example the Himaya women's ideas for the future were of farming sustainably by diversifying from subsistence production to market specialization[359].

Having now ensured their survival as small farmers they aspire to running water into their kitchens and to television in their homes. They can envision the future and livelihood pathways to it. Adaptation to the global economy becomes a means to attain those modern devices so, to a degree, they have 'signed onto' 'the project of modernization' but it is on their own terms. To paraphrase Pigg, they are following their own particular strand of modernity. Thus they are already in transition from a recent tradition of producing their household food needs and selling commodity cash crops to a new pattern of part-subsistence and part-specialization for commercial sales within a local practice of sustainable agriculture. Using Pigg's optical metaphor we can see the origins of this modernity in the fine details, the 'micro-politics' and ecology of these communities' which have adapted that old discourse while also making use of global interconnections to take in big picture, global ideas about sustainability from which they have constructed their new discourse of socio-ecology and also prepared their idea of modernity[360].

Although all the discussion groups understood questions about future plans, they answered them from different off-farm viewpoints, derived from different conceptions of what community meant to them, yet from within related albeit not identical variants of the dominant discourse of sustainability. The Bacungan and Himaya women both spoke of livelihood diversification, the Tabayag women of new perennial-crop based agricultural enterprises (Table 18 below). In each locality people described practices of increasing conservation and restoration of fertility in similar terms of the key role of conservation, a concept which had remained almost always implicit within shifting systems of agriculture. For in the focus groups when people talked about previous ideas of farming they had emphasized that there was a breakdown of sustainability of the old system because all the forest had gone. They did not acknowledge that shifting agriculture had always depended on cycling through clearance of a garden site in the

[359] Table 18 below
[360] Pigg, S *op.cit.,* p.193.

forest, using that area for a number of years then moving on to a new site while the forest regrew at the old one.

Thinking beyond livelihood to their social future, in all three projects, the women tended to take a community-wide view about what they wanted for their children. I understand this as showing that the women's socio-ecological discourse of community intra-dependence (compared to the men's farm self-reliance) stretches the local discourse of development from sustainable livelihoods to also include services such as health and day care facilities, to support social maintenance, and reproduction. Moreover, the community leaders at both Bacungan and Tabayag had taken on those priorities for the future from the women. As they said, "the *Barangay* will play a part with the municipality in planning for the future such as for *Barangay* Day & Health Centres" (Table 18 below). It is as though the women's awareness of family interdependence has prepared the community to accept their discourse of a sustainable future without the men being aware of it! For example, when male farmers at Tabayag were asked what ideas the women had for the development of their community they answered only in terms of cottage industrial development whereas the women themselves cited a new community complex of Day Care, Health and *Barangay* Centre as their principal focus.

That is, a lack of communication between men and women remains despite the opening up of leadership to women in Tabayag and their general role in the formation of civil society there as in many other societies. Even though women were involved in the community planning process of the PO and in Barangay leadership, the male leaders showed a lack of familiarity with 'where the women were at' in their thinking. This suggests that the division of labour implicit in the discourse of farm-family self-reliance is uppermost in the men's minds, ie. the woman performing the reproductive role and pitching in for transplanting, weeding and harvesting on the farm while men carried out the land preparation and other farm tasks and attended to community business. On the other hand, for the women the concept of community intra-dependence has enlargened their self-perception of roles in their communities.

The male farmers in Himaya also indicated a lack of knowledge about women's priorities. They argued that "women have no ideas about (further) soil conservation or

future development of the community". As the focus group interviews with women revealed, however, Himaya women in fact had a vision for their ongoing move into conservation farming and wanted electrification and better roads but these responses were given after prompting for specific ideas. Their first answers were that "No plans had been made. We lack unity [to work together and organize]"[361].

The wider range of ideas at Bacungan and Tabayag, such as further environmental protection measures, livelihood development but also child day-care and health or community centres indicates that their new access to leadership allowed them to imagine such things. Whereas in Himaya, visions for the future were more restricted for both genders. Women asked for water and electricity, men asked that the catchment for the spring that feeds their water-scheme be officially protected. The absence of references to health or other services reflected the lack of a functional CBO with a role in community planning and relationship to local and municipal governments. In other words, the Himaya groups lacked awareness of what partnership with local authority could lead to.

In Bacungan, when the farmers' meeting discussed community women's activities and ideas for the future, it was acknowledged that the "women are a big strength planning and organizing because we are so busy on our farms".[362] The men sensed that the women's role in the maintenance of the community was wider than their own. The capacity of women in Bacungan was enhanced by a group of wealthier, more educated women, such as health workers and school teachers, who were represented in the focus group discussions. The women leaders in Bacungan lived in concrete block houses at the centre of the *Barangay*, whereas the other female focus group participants lived in the foothills in bamboo and timber homesteads. In contrast, the men seemed to be drawn from a wider cross-section of the community so that their focus group talked not only about farming, but also agribusiness, transport and community services.

What was distinctive about the men's focus groups at Bacungan and Tabayag, which did discuss community needs, was a desire for off-farm agricultural production infrastructure, such as solar-produce-driers, corn-mills, bridges and roads, as much as

[361] Theme of Unity Table Appendix 1, p4, record 3.
[362] Themes of Gender Relations & Vision Appendix 1, p7, records 1, & 2 & p18, record 16.

for community service facilities like health clinics and high schools. These men planned from a production-centred view[363] bound up with farming without including the reproductive role of the women as a joint responsibility to plan with them. They thought of 'their' farms, not 'their' families.

Table 18 Ideas for the Future (vision) by focus group and site[364]

Locality	Women	Farmers	Community leaders
Bacungan	**Livelihood improvement ideas include diversifying into commercial flower production and Community service facilities: Daycare Centre & water scheme (planning stage)**	**Total conservation farming: especially diverse perennial tree fruits for urban market** **Community service facilities: (health centre) & agricultural production infrastructure: solar produce drier, all-weather foot and animal-bridges**	**Off-farm production needs: milk processing & farm to market roads** **Vision Statement:** **"The *Barangay* will play a part with the Municipality in planning for the future such as for *Barangay*, Day & Health Centres"**
Himaya	**Sustainability by diversifying from subsistence production to market specialization.** **Electricity connection, road extension & women's livelihood projects**	**Sustainability from diversification with men's emphasis on sawmill timber production. Ecological emphasis of water catchment protection for expanded water-scheme was the Councillor's idea**	**Vision Statement (Columbagon)** **"In order to generate income from business we have plans for a new water scheme feeding a bottling plant, a sawmill for local milling & a credit scheme/ input purchasing co-op." ie. an economic focus.**
Tabayag	**Extend farm conservation structures & increase sustainability by moving into perennial crops** **Ecological emphasis by catchment protection, upgrading & extension of the water scheme and Health, Daycare Centres (planned)**	**Extend conservation farming by completion of contouring and bench-terracing** **"We want to follow up on our plan for community development by the up-graded water scheme, roads, electricity, corn mill, health centre & high school**	**Vision Statement:** **"The vision of Tabayag is for a fully-serviced part-subsistence community of livestock, fruit, flower and vegetable specialist conservation farmers"** **Services: power, water, roads, health and daycare**

Nevertheless, for these Filipinos the discourse of sustainability is a cosmopolitan modernity that they have elaborated for their situation. At this point in time they see themselves choosing their degree of participation in the global economy rather than being swept along in a current toward an ever-receding end-point of 'modernity'. They want to navigate their own destiny. For them self-directed development is a discursive corollary to the discourse of sustainability. Their modernity includes empowerment.

[363] Chapter 1, Section 1.3 Rationale p6

6.5 Endangering survival and leadership: the risks of innovation

The reasons given by people for initial or total rejection of the soil conservation technology allow me to examine how the risks of innovation, given the precarious state of family security based on subsistence food production, dampened levels of participation in these communities. Despite peoples' future orientation and their desire for the trappings of modern technology the highest priority was survival through subsistence food production and earning off and on-farm income for the remainder of the families' needs. In this discussion I consider the stance of leaders towards conservation farming and how their adoption of the sustainability discourse could potentially strengthen or undermine their positions. Advocating change that restored livelihood and fulfilled some of the desire for modernity would clearly strengthen the position of leaders, or bring about change of leadership, as it did in Tabayag. Support of change that further undermined livelihood would lead to loss of leadership. As discussed above, leaders' decisions for or against the discourses of conservation farming and sustainability did affect the rate of adoption of the technology. This is decisively seen from the *Datu* at Asbagniloc committing his tribe to conservation farming and from the old leadership at Tabayag firmly opposing the new discourse.

Non-adopters and adopters in both the farmers' and women's focus groups were conscious of the hard work of establishing contour hedgerows, building contour rockwalls or terraces, and the continuous maintenance work involved in trimming the hedgerows to keep them out of cropping strips. Non-adopters at Asbagniloc, Bacungan and Columbagon all stated that they would not give up cornland for hedgerows while adopters said that they were worried about the risks of doing so. The desperate economic position that some families were in made it very risky for them to take 20 to 30 per cent of their land out of food-crop production to make hedgerows and walls, even though many knew that soil erosion was a major cause of their predicament. Thus, it is not surprising that late adopters at Bacungan and Himaya waited until they saw the productivity gains from soil retention by the hedgerows before joining the Project (Table 19). Once the gains became evident, the perceived level of risk fell so that those

[364] Themes of Unity of Self-spreading, unity in community, Women's Impact and Vision Tables: Appendix 1 pp15, 18.

without the leeway to check out this new technology before putting extra pressure on their family food supply, or the cautious, were then willing to take this pathway.

There were farmers, called 'secret adopters' in several focus group discussions, characterized by remaining aloof from the training and support of the adopter group activities. They are families or individuals who have or are now taking up conservation farming, in particular, by switching into perennial tree crop enterprises. By this mode of secret adoption there is a minimization of shame at having earlier spoken too soon against the new dominant discourse and also of conflict, by avoiding those who were previously scorned. Furthermore, these families may actually remain adherents of the discourse of farm-family self-reliance rather than switching to the newly dominant discourse of interdependence and sustainability, since they can make changes yet ignore their ecological foundation.

Table 19 Non-adopter resistance and secret adoption by focus groups and site[365]

Locality	Women	Farmers	Community leaders
Bacungan	**"Hedgerows must be kept pruned or else they invade the cropping strips between them"**	**"We were too busy growing our corn to contour hedgerow or we had no seed"**	**"Tenants lacked the land tenure to make perennial establishment worthwhile"**
Himaya at Colum-bagon	**"We were cautious about changing our ways of growing food"**	**"It is hard work planting hedgerows and those (species) shouldn't be near food crops because they hinder growth"**	**"Non-adopters here are now planting firewood & forestry, bananas& orchard blocks across steeper slopes to retain soil".**
Tabayag	**"Because of the accusations that the adopters were communists we resisted adoption out of fear of military reprisals"**	**"I already understood the problem but had little faith in contour hedgerows. Besides, I could control erosion by maintaining my grandfather's rockwalls".**	**"Conservation farming should be spread by individual choice because the initial work is tedious and hard".**

These families seized a good opportunity to innovate while preserving their own sense of self-reliance. They joined in reaching the first order objectives of re-establishing livelihood through the soil conservation project but, by refraining from the training and

[365] Themes of Entrapment, Traditional Knowledge, Non-adopter Resistance, & Secret Adoption Tables: Appendix 1, pp 3 & 12-14.

cooperation basic to the second order objective of community empowerment, passively resisted the adoption of the new dominant discursive structure of sustainability. It is resistance because these families, alone or in concert, withstood social pressure to take what they judged to be foolish risk. Or, as the case was in Tabayag, some of these families are only now adopting after having 'bent' under political pressure from leading factions who were opposed to the changes.

In Tabayag, the Councillors initially opposed the innovators, either due to a lack of self-interest in terms of their own subsistence needs or those of their neighbours, or out of self-interest in retaining power and control. The explanation of the Tabayag adopters was that the earlier leaders were larger lowland *padi* rice farmers whose subsistence food production and livelihood was still secure so they felt no need for a discourse of sustainability and socio-ecological interdependence. In contrast the leaders of Bacungan, especially the Blaán *Datu*, supported the Project in word and by deed. Had the soil conservation techniques failed, the latter leaders may well have found themselves undermining their own authority over the community. Even though the issues of power and livelihood were similar to those in Tabayag, different decisions were reached by the respective community leaders.

Likewise, in Himaya the leaders risked loss of authority in supporting the MUSUAN Project. There is an immediate tendency for the leaders of any remote rural hamlet to welcome outsiders such as the representatives of an NGO or a government agency who offer resources for the locality. However, the leaders had to pin their hopes for the future on the power of the new discourse and trust in its bearers. Conversely, if the Himaya leaders had stood aside from 'the strangers bearing gifts' their authority or standing would have been weakened by the success of the new technology. Leaders take risks whether they accept or reject overtures of assistance from agents of development

Referring back to the conflict at Tabayag, it might well have been the case that had the Marcos regime still been in power, the old leadership could have used armed force,

legal or illegal, to keep control of the community[366]. Any administration which allowed, as Marcos' did, national and, or regional elites to use the military thereby sustained an oppressive social environment. In many situations power from higher levels of government or (agri)-business outside a locality or region determines whether or not shifts in leadership, strategic direction or land-use will take place. For example, in Malaysia the national government "denies the local claims of (indigenous forest peoples) to land rights or forest livelihoods"[367] by wielding a master discourse of natural resource exploitation on behalf of its elite allies. Therefore, there are situations where innovation will proceed along tortuous pathways because of the risks associated with dominant group reactions to perceived or real losses of power and control.

6.6 Empowerment through the 1991 Local Government Code

In 1993, in its second year, the Ramos administration began devolving decision-making power to *barangay*s across the country by implementing the 1991 Local Government Code (LGC) introduced by the Aquino administration. Here, I will show that this action by the national government synergized the successful achievement of second order empowerment objectives by the Bacungan and Tabayag communities as a flow on from implementing their soil conservation projects. Moreover, I differentiate between the way the leadership groups in the three study communities interpret and interact with the national development discourse.

As discussed in Chapter 4, since the first 'Peaceful Revolution' of 1986, the discourse of national development in the Philippines has held up the ideal of an economy genuinely open to competition, both from within and without the country. In seeking to redress the concentration of power in the central government during the Marcos era, the Aquino and Ramos governments sufficiently decentralized and reigned in the military to establish the political stability desired for corporate investment. That is, they have promoted representative democracy under the neo-liberal rubric of the global economy from which they derive their national development discourse.

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[366] Action for World Development, "The Mapisan Experience: lives in Southern Negros, Philippines" in ***Rice Beyond the Green Revolution',*** *Seeking Equity, Sustainable Farming & Biodiversity,* AWD, Surrey Hills 1995 pp36-37.

[367] Eccleston, B., & Potter, D. "Environmental NGOs and Different Political Contexts in South-east Asia" in Parnwell, M. and Bryant, R. *Environmental Change in South-east Asia,* Routledge, London, 1996, p.66, 53-60.

The new Local Government Code itself described its fundamental objective as the devolution of decision-making power throughout the country so that there would be "meaningful local autonomy". In the Code's Preface, President Aquino herself described this objective as the "institutionalization of democracy"[368]. In order for municipal and local governments to respond and be accountable for such local autonomy, resources are offered by the integration of communities into regional planning processes then in return giving access to technical skills and physical equipment that a single *barangay* would rarely have[369]. This devolution of budgeting and planning responsibilities to local governments interacting with municipal government encouraged community leaders to inform and consult with, and thus to promote participation by, community members in the planning and management of their locality.

I label the strand of the discursive formation of neo-liberal democracy and governance which describes and justifies the devolution of budgeting and planning to local and municipal government as the discourse of *Participatory Partnership in Administration.* The GOP's introduction of integrated planning and the devolution of national agency functions to local government has provided opportunities and training for community leaders to exercise skills in coordination, negotiation and community planning which they may already have built up through partnership with an NGO. Across all three study sites community leaders espouse this discourse of participatory partnership in administration' in order to work with politicians and public servants, especially the Mayor and officers of their municipalities. And, since the three study communities have different outlooks on development, which are different versions of sustainability discourse, they interact differently with the discourse of participatory partnership in administration.

This was evident in Columbagon, the *Barangay* centre for the Himaya study site, where a second farmer focus group discussed a vision of development that values planning and priority setting in partnership with the municipality in terms similar to the leaders in Bacungan and Tabayag. The farmers in this group were secondary adopters of conservation farming who had moved into it through contact with primary adopters

[368] Administration of President Corazon Aquino, *Local Government Code of 1991, Republic Act No. 7160,* Manila, 1992, Message from the President.

rather than with the MUSUAN program. The participants included male and female community leaders, such as the Barangay Health Workers and the Barangay Captain, who had worked with the new Local Government Code since 1992. The implementation of the new Code, not the actions of an NGO, was the decisive factor in the empowerment of these men and women.

The Columbagon leaders had heard the theme of partnership in administration during the training and practice of engagement between *barangay* and municipal leaders under the new LGC, since it is missing from the thinking of the Himaya leaders, except for their Councillor. In contrast, at Tabayag, the leaders' willingness to take up the GOP discourse of participatory partnership in development stemmed from Mag-uugmad's impact through socio-ecological training to the establishment of KAMACA, the PO, by 1990 before the new LGC was proclaimed[370]. They were thus primed ready for it and it appears that their project experience and that of engaging in the reformed LGC activities have synergized their empowerment.

At Bacungan it is evident that the community leaders' vision (as discussed in Section 6.4) was a key factor in accepting the discourse of sustainability. Presumably because they had already gained awareness of what could be achieved by partnership with the Municipality under the 1991 Code since cooperative formation at the behest of MBRLC is currently incomplete.

Furthermore, the dominant discourse of sustainability, which promises a stable socio-ecology, is expressed in unique ways at the three localities. They each relate differently to the national government's democratization discourse because of their unique understandings of democracy. At Tabayag the adopters and leaders have a strongly self-reliant communitarian point of view; probably related to having felt menaced in perceiving that the former Councillors could have used military force against them. Thus the present Councillors have resisted pressure from above by, for example, boycotting meetings if they feel that the Municipality was withholding funds[371]. At Columbagon, where community cooperation has been catalyzed by the LGC under the discourse of national development rather than by an NGO or strong People's

[369] Administration of President Corazon Aquino, *op. cit.,* pp.1-11.
[370] Administration of President Corazon Aquino, Manilla *op.cit.,* Sections 34, 35 and 36.

Organization, the leaders speak about sustainability from the stance of local economic uplift rather than socio-ecology[372]. Finally, the Bacungan leaders articulate the interdependence required under the rubric of conservation from the tension between the old discourses of self-reliance and tribal mutuality. Thus they say, "because of the strength of our community all the people in Asbagniloc planned for our development"[373], and, "Asbagniloc early adopters encouraged neighbours to take up soil conservation"[374]

6.7 The Major Contributing Factors to Key Project Outcomes

To conclude the discussion of findings from the case studies I will identify the major factors affecting the achievement of what I term as the first order project outcomes of a renewed socio-ecology and describe their modes of action. This will lay a foundation for the discussion in Chapter Seven of the changing discourses of participation used by the subjects, the NGOs and other stakeholders in these community projects; the importance of the relationships between the main stakeholders; the limits of community participation evident in the three situations and how that affected the achievement of community empowerment. Three factors in the implementation processes of the three conservation projects were fundamental to achieving the first order objective of a renewed social, agricultural and environmental system. They were the women's pre-existing family interdependence discourse; the effectiveness of the basket of technologies offered by the three NGOs; and their participation models based upon open dialogue with the communities.

Three other factors were then crucial to the realization of the second order objective of building-up community capacity for strategic adaptation, that is, empowerment. The fundamental one, as evidenced by their planned and actual community participation models, was that the NGOs themselves pursued long-term objectives to facilitate adaptive capacity in their partner communities. Secondly, as seen in the previous section, the implementation of the 1991 Local Government Code that devolved planning and decision-making down to regional, municipal and local (*barangay*)

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[371] Theme of Community Self-esteem Asking for Accountability Table, Appendix 1, p1, record 4.
[372] Theme of Vision Table, Appendix 1, p18, record 12.
[373] Theme of Theory of Empowerment Table, Appendix 1, p9, record 2.
[374] Theme of Self-spreading Table, Appendix 1, p15, record 4.

governments also greatly impacted the three subject communities. Thirdly, the varying attitudes of their original and later leaders across the three study sites affected project outcomes very differently. The way these factors interacted to affect the relative empowerment of the three communities will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

The impact of conservation technology

The short-term objective of the conservation of soil became a derived or intermediate factor basic to the attainment of the projects' first order objective of the restoration of livelihood in a new, sustainable agricultural system[375]. The women of Tabayag described this when they spoke about their speciality home gardens, supporting them until the next harvest, (Conservation Project Outcomes Table 20 below). These plots were an enterprise promoted as part of the conservation package to help restore subsistence by intensive gardening of heavily manured plots close to family homes. Moreover, this success established sustainability as the hegemonic discourse commanding the mental allegiance of these people, which in turn became a key factor for reaching the projects' second order objectives.

That is, the utility of the soil conservation techniques only indirectly led to a renewed agriculture by facilitating sustainability's emergence as the dominant discourse that eclipsed the old discourse of farm family self-sufficiency. The communities moved from the short-term outcome, adoption of a basket of conservation techniques, to the medium term outcome, adoption of sustainable agriculture, after they accepted the socio-ecology of the discourse of sustainability. Thus, the Bacungan women describe how they will operate their farms within the new socio-ecology of sustainable farming, which they also perceive to be spreading amongst non-adopters, and Columbagon farmers speak about the abandonment of shifting agriculture. Alongside this, other farmers used the conservation techniques without explicitly adopting the discourse of sustainability. I argue that these farmers are still driven by the argument of the discourse of sustainability but are its counter-identifiers, or perhaps, its incipient dis-identifiers, who begin anew the formation of a counter-discourse to the dominant one[376].

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[375] Theme of Conservation Project Outcomes and Agriculturally Sustainable Intensification through Diversification Tables, Appendix 1, p5 & p1.
Garcia, J. *et a*l, *op.cit.,* 1995b, p.82 (re Bacungan).
Garcia, J. *et al*, *op.cit.,* 1995a, p.74-77 (re Tabayag).

[376] See Ch 5, Section 5.2, p119

The Community Participation Models

The NGOs' approaches to the communities about erosion and its relevance to their situations enabled the subject groups to de-construct their old socio-ecology so that they could see the bind they were in. In the farmers' words, they gained a new 'awareness'. This highlights the importance of the NGOs using participation models based on open dialogue from their first contact with these communities, in particular, Models 5: Education/ Awareness Raising, and 6: Information Feedback, and other models with higher levels of community empowerment (see Table 13). These models successfully facilitated the presentation of a new discourse of soil conservation which then opened a discursive pathway for the new discourse of sustainability and ecological interdependence.

The Bacungan farmer's statement that, **"**there has been a big growth in awareness of the causes of our problems which has meant that now we can tackle them" (cited below in Table 20) tells us that the people had to become critical of their self-understanding before they could reach the medium term objective of farm family survival or the long-term objective of community self-sustainability. They were trapped in an environment that no longer provided the basic resource of primary or regrown forest in which to shift cropland around, yet they felt personal weakness instead of a failed agricultural system. A new critical awareness gave people the mental space to change thinking in order to farm differently; it was a necessary and important intermediate outcome that prepared them for the changeover in dominant discourse. It was to this new state of mental openness that a Columbagon leader referred in answering my query of what had enabled families to diversify into market vegetables and flowers. He said "agricultural diversification became an opportunity once families, having established their soil retention structures, were practising conservation farming" (Table 20).

People's vision for the future is a key project outcome. Before these projects people could see no way out of famine. Without implementation strategies people merely dreamed of relief, their dreams were 'nice ideas' with no chance of realization. The capacity which communities have to turn ideas into reality, and how widely their vision spreads from farm needs to community needs, varies from site to site and between groups and individuals within them (refer to Table 17). Thus a number of the Tabayag women, having been through a community planning process in the People's

Organization, describe their 'paradise community' with reference to farms, houses, production infrastructure, and education and health services (Table 20). Whereas the Himaya women, lacking the Tabayag experience of community organization, talked only of infrastructure and wished for women's livelihood projects.

Table 20 Conservation project outcomes[377]

Locality	Women	Farmers	Community leaders
Bacungan	**"Some non-adopters are planting perennial fruit trees for cash to buy food". "Adopters are planning to expand SALT* & perennial tree crops on their farms & encourage new adopters"**	**"There has been a big growth in awareness of the causes of our problems which has meant that now we can tackle them"**	**"Before the project we were innocent [unaware] about how to implement our ideas for development."**
Columbagon	**Since the project ended the Himaya *Sitio* women meet regularly to talk about *sitio* problems and future plans.**	**"Non-adopter families are now minimizing *kaingin* [shifting cultivation] practices by planting fuelwood plots & orchards on the contour across steep slopes to retain soil".**	**Conservation farming facilitated agricultural diversification.**
Tabayag	**"Since the project's end, instead of shortage, we sell vegetables and flowers from January to March and even till the next food harvest in August".**	**"Our paradise community would have a High School, beautiful houses, its own farm and domestic water supply & power to all farms, a corn mill, roads and a Health Centre."**	***Barangay* planning is an outcome of the project & the new LGC. "Having done our planning in KAMACA (the PO) we Councillors present our proposals to the Municipality for approval and budgeting".**

The NGOs' implementation of the Information Feedback Model of Community Participation generated a dialogue within the communities that led to a new critical

Garcia, J. *et al*, *op.cit.,* 1995c, pp.83-84.

[377] Themes of Conservation project outcomes, People's Organization, Women's impact & Vision Tables, Appendix 1, p5, p14, pp17-18.

awareness. After the community organizer teams asked people to tell their stories about poverty they made them aware of what other people had done in similar situations. A few people, sensing a reason to hope, then willingly trialled the new techniques. Furthermore, the NGOs' willingness to offer training to the women shows their commitment to gender equity within their use of models such as Education & Awareness Raising (Model 5) and Information Feedback (Model 4).

The family interdependence discourse factor

The women's discourse of family interdependence can also be seen as a factor that catalyzed the mental impact of the project ballooning out from soil conservation to the whole community socio-ecology and from there to be a springboard for gaining adaptive capacity. That discursive effect grew from soil retention techniques, through the systems thinking of conservation farming, to the big-picture of 'socio-ecologically interdependent sustainability' of the community in its environment being both opportunity and responsibility for everybody. The women's willingness to put their energies into activities catalyzing interdependence in turn became a significant intermediate project outcome opening up leadership to the women of Tabayag. By 1997, there were six women Councillors, where before women had not even had the right to attend the *Barangay* Assembly.

Moreover, as discussed in Section 6.4, there may be a relationship between old, traditional patterns of community decision-making, based on the discourse of family inter-dependence, and the development of cooperatives, people's organizations and local government which are the contemporary structures of community governance. The way that began with the deterritorialization of discourse by the paradigm of sustainability appears to run along a well worn path of informal community decision-making that leads to these communities engaging with higher levels of government to regain empowerment that was lost to colonizers and their elite descendents.

Chapter 7: Conclusion: The Outcome of Empowerment

7.1 Introduction

The soil conservation projects discussed in this thesis were all successful in that each of the NGOs facilitated the adopter households in regaining an agricultural livelihood. Therefore these communities adopted discourses of sustainability by which they see themselves as pursuing conservation farming based on an environmental awareness with humans as one species in an ecological totality. Thus meeting the felt need and medium term objective of renewed livelihood was crucial in that it led these people to the 'luxury' of planning for the future which has become a well-spring for the growth of community vision, confidence and empowerment. In this chapter I discuss the interactions of these factors which most contributed to the empowerment of these communities and draw conclusions which may be relevant in similar situations.

As discussed above, in Chapter 6, Section 6.7, once people regained viable livelihoods several factors bore heavily on the communities building, to greater or lesser degree, the capacity to deal with their own problems, which includes constructively relating to higher levels of government in order to shape their own futures. These factors, which enhanced the empowerment of these communities, were the NGOs' long-term objectives to facilitate adaptive capacity in their partner communities, the implementation of the 1991 Local Government Code, and commitment and skills of either the original, as in Bacungan, or later leaders across the three study sites.

It needs to be kept in mind that people participate in community life for some kind of gainful purpose, whether that be to meet physical want or social need, like that of the Tabayag farmer who adopted conservation farming simply to become a member of an *alayon* workteam. Within all three projects building conservation structures on one's farm was to risk loss of food and waste of labour, so initial adoption was slow. However, once people recognized that restoration of farm viability was achievable adoption quickened since the risk was seen to be less than first thought. Then the restored livelihood outcome validated the new discourse of sustainability as well as partly appeasing the old ideal of self-reliance. This was fundamental to participation in

these localities passing beyond the innovative few to enough families with the standing and influence critical for meeting the NGOs' long term objectives of building community adaptive capacity, ie. empowerment. Once these families were practising sustainable agriculture they could hope, they had a new functional discourse of livelihood by which to imagine and sustain an idea of progress. Confidence had regrown. Without the new discourse of sustainable agriculture these people would have remained trapped in a downwards poverty spiral. Thence the discourse was essential to their empowerment. This suggests that where people are territitorialized by an old, inadequate discourse a shift in discourses is essential to gaining or regaining their empowerment.

Another basic requirement in the three study sites was for agencies to catalyze the change process which met the felt need of overcoming famine and facilitated discursive change. As I presented in Sections 6.6 and 6.7, that catalytic role was shared between the respective NGOs partnering each community and national government agencies and municipal and regional government, especially as the Ramos Administration implemented the new Local Government Code.

Besides a functional dominant discourse, another factor essential for community empowerment is that leaders have either to be confidently functional, in that they cope well with the situation of the whole locality, or leaders must gain such capacity through some change process or another. In these three situations I saw that for empowerment there had to be leaders who had experience in setting objectives, planning how to reach them and had widespread solidarity with other community members and groups. If need be such leaders could also resist pressure from government or offers of development assistance from an NGO. Successful active resistance as a form of participation requires community solidarity for leaders to organize opposition. In fact whether leaders affirm, themselves adopt an innovation or try to suppress one; they risk loss of authority. Moreover, the community as a whole may be aware of facing acute danger from taking a particular path of change even though it feels trapped, in need and confused by unsure options. To be able to effectively resist being pushed into a project is also a healthy demonstration of community empowerment.

Previously, when these communities still imagined their existence physically within the dwindling forest and mentally within the dominant discourse of family self-reliance, re-shaping the future had been a dream too full of risks. With the convenience of hindsight I see that all three of the communities got into an upward spiral 'of things working together'. But, without new farm practices bringing enough subsistence to family tables other factors would have been a whirlwind of no account. I now turn to how those other factors affected the long term outcome of empowerment.

7.2 The role of NGOs and Higher Levels of Government

The three NGOs met their immediate goals of renewing a community's farm livelihood. For this fact alone the families of these communities honour the interventions of MBRLC, MUSUAN and Mag-uugmad[378]: They see as essential to their change process the initiative taken by an organization from outside their locality. Where the communities themselves saw change as impossible, outsiders offered an approach to meet a felt need which led to a change in dominant discourse that went on to generate adaptive capacity. In these situations that catalytic role was essential. Furthermore, a result of the general adoption of the discourse of sustainability, and the NGOs' promotion of community organization was that because, people took to heart the concepts of interdependence and cooperation, there was consensus about the need to decide their own future and the possibility of success in doing so. Moreover, the special case of women in leadership at Tabayag points to a general outcome of an increased leadership capacity through participation in the soil conservation projects. In turn we will see that community leaders strengthened this capacity through their engagement with local and municipal government under the new Local Government Code.

Basic to the success of the soil conservation projects was that the NGOs had competent personnel. The first order outcomes of conservation farming proclaim the rapport and mutual respect between the men and women of all three communities and the facilitator-field workers. There seemed no interest, nor felt necessity to criticize the way they had gone about their work at any of the sites although the Tabayag women said freely that, "the extensionists formed the people's organization for the men, not at all for us"[379] .

[378] Theme of Initial failure situation Table: Appendix 1, p10..
[379] Theme of Conflict Table Appendix 1, p4, record 4.

Nevertheless, those World Neighbour facilitators seem to have levered the mainstreaming of gender equity within the Tabayag Project so that women gained access to training from which they made their strategically significant move into leadership within KAMACA, the People's Organization.

NGO strategy: Barangay wide or Sitio focus

All three NGOs proposed similar community participation models. What differentiated them in practice were their strategies and priorities, or the way they adjusted their operations as they tracked what they were doing, rather than what they thought they set out to do. This can be seen by comparing the scope and timing of cooperative establishment by the facilitators at Bacungan and Himaya; or the People's Organization, as at Tabayag.

Obvious differences, highlighted in Section 6.4, were the length of time each of them was active in the respective localities and the rate at which they introduced their initiatives. The discussion, also in Chapter 6.4, regarding the effort put into building cooperatives (as at Bacungan and Columbagon) or the People's Organization (Tabayag), and moving from previous training in farm planning to joint community planning, showed that the pacing, that is the rate of introduction of each new step in the activity sequence, and the timing of these activities had stark effects on project outcomes. The NGOs had to pace each of these steps according to the levels of capacity reached by the community members and their leadership. When a step was rushed, as it was by the MUSUAN Project team attempting to set up a cooperative at Himaya, the initiative did not last.

For the last 18 months of the MUSUAN program at Himaya the facilitators were still working on agricultural change and on assisting with the hamlet's electrification proposal as well as the establishment of a cooperative[380]. The former facilitator stated to us that the newly registered cooperative still needed support from him or an Agricultural Department officer to become a functional organization providing a mechanism for community planning. The result was that the cooperative 'died in its infancy' when the project terminated in 1993. (It was a priority in MUSUAN's Phase 3

[380] Himaya Extensionist (Field-worker) Interview, answer 10: Appendix 2

proposal which several funder agencies knocked back.[381]). It might be that the cooperative could have been given higher priority, but it was based on only the one *Sitio* of Himaya whereas, as happened in Bacungan and Tabayag, setting up a *barangay* wide organization may well have generated more leadership, vision and capacity to serve the whole locality.

Otherwise, it appeared to me that it was the later participation of the *Barangay* Columbagon leaders in implementing the new Local Government Code which brought to partial fruition the Project's second order objective of building community self-adaptive capacity. The MUSUAN workers were not on the ground long enough nor closely enough linked to the *Barangay* Council, as opposed to the leaders and people of the Himaya *Sitio*, to leave a self-sustaining community movement behind.

In that situation, at that time before the activation of the new Code, a 7 year project was too short. It may have been a more effective strategy over the 7 years of the Project for the MUSUAN team to work closely with the *Barangay* Councillors at Columbagon, with whom they had warm initial contacts. The team could then have drawn the Councillors into the project training, so that the latter would have better promoted conservation farming itself, and joined in the workshops on the farm and community planning processes. If the first innovators had also come from all across the *Barangay*, as discussed in Chapter 6.3, the end result might have been not only faster and fuller secondary adoption of conservation farming, but also input from across the *barangay* into future planning instead of dependency on their LGC Councillors.

In Bacungan the community leaders were already exercising that self-adaptive capacity after only 6 years of facilitation by MBRLC, although this is an effect confounded with and synergized by the implementation of the new LGC. In late 1997 it was too early to see whether or not the cooperatives recently founded at Bacungan would provide functional structures for planning processes in which most or many members of the community would participate.

MBRLC chooses to work closely with Local Government Councillors and hence with adopters from all across the *Barangay*. While it may be that the lag phase of building a

[381] MUSUAN *Model for Upland Development: Phase III Proposal* 1989, pp8-9, pp85-92.

support group amongst community leaders therefore takes longer, my findings were that the community leaders then strongly supported the innovators. They themselves adopted the technology and, taking up the discourse of sustainability joined in workshops about its wider significance[382]. In this case the initial cohesion of the *Barangay* and its leaders sped up the rate of adoption[383].

The longevity of the Mag-uugmad Foundation's relationship with the Tabayag community (12 years from 1981 till the end of the soil conservation project in 1993) made it clear to me that long-term commitment is an important feature of a NGOs presence. I think it highly significant that at Tabayag there was continued support from the World Neighbours fieldworkers, soil conservation adopters trained by the original facilitators and who eventually became the founders of the Mag-uugmad Farmers' Foundation, for 5 years before there was any Council support for the adopters. During this period it was most important for the facilitators, then fieldworkers, to maintain their presence when the community remained trapped out of fear for the 'attention' that adopter activities might have brought from the military. Mag-uugmad's personnel persevered with an idea of building confidence, vision and thereby empowerment for future self-development despite this lag phase. In addition, the opposition of the original Councillors required World Neighbours to delay their expectations ie. to slow down the project's rate of progress.

Generally speaking, it appears effective for an NGO to patiently build a partnership with the relevant local government leadership in order to successfully reach second order objectives of community empowerment. This follows from the failure of the MUSUAN project (before the impact of the new Local Government Code) to pass beyond first order objectives of agricultural renewal and catalyse the discourse of sustainability becoming dominant over that of farm family self-reliance. On the other hand, both of the markedly different accounts of the MBRLC and Mag-uugmad Projects show that beginning with, or aiming at, partnership with local government leaders is a

[382] Chapter 6 'Case Study Findings', Sections 6.3, and 6.4

[383] A second result of MBRLC's *barangay*-wide approach is that self-spreading of the conservation technology appears to be of a higher quality than what has happened at Columbagon: in particular hedgerowing is along, rather than across contours, and rather than the former weed, Wild Sunflower, forage and fertility enhancement leguminous shrubs are being planted. Using such species for the hedgerows offers greater flexibility and potential for future sustainability and integration of animal with crop production.

pathway to facilitating consultation, interaction, confidence and participation in both planning and implementation by all those who have faith in those leaders. From the focus group discussions there were no groups obviously outside of the community planning processes. In particular, at Bacungan, the former Blaán tribal landowners seemed to be on the inside of the community development process as much as the Visayan immigrants.

My conclusion is that when communities are territorialized by a discourse that had become as dysfunctional as the discourse of family-farm self reliance had, a catalytic outside agency is needed to break and facilitate the replacement of the dominant discourse. Partnership between an NGO and government agency, in these cases, Municipal Government and allied National Government Departmental officers, synergized their catalytic effects.

7.3 Government of the Philippines Forestry Management Policies

The Government departments that have most actively related to the study communities are the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), particularly it's Bureau of Forest Management (FMB), and the Department of Agriculture (DA). At some periods the two have been combined. I will briefly describe the course of forestry management and subsistence agriculture policy shifts since the late 1960s and cite evidence from the focus group discussions of how these affected rural communities. I will discuss these interactions of departmental operations with local actions to show that government policies fostering partnership with communities can synergize with NGO activities for growing community capacity to evaluate, adapt and plan for the future.

The relevant time at which to first consider GOP policy is the from the enactment of the early 1970s forestry laws under which the *kainginero* immigrant shifting cultivators were harassed with arrest, fines, imprisonment and destruction of property[384]. The Forestry Management Bureau (FMB) unrealistically thought that the forests would be protected by these kinds of legal measures under a policy philosophy of control and

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[384] I have relied on the more extensive summary of Maria Escubio's "The Role of Upland Women in the Utilization and Conservation of Forest Resources in the Philippines" Unpublished thesis, Centre for Development Studies, Flinders University, 1996, pp.55-60.

penalty. The Marcos Administration willingly legislated these measures at the FMB's behest because it used timber concessions for political purposes[385]. Given the destructive, non-sustainable rates of forest clearance at the time it is clear that the Administration at its highest levels had no interest in any genuine forest management innovations. The timber concessionaires were probably thankful for the formalizing of the arrangements between them and the military to keep farming peasants out of the way of the timber cutters! Moreover, senior army officers managing the army's nationwide resources, were able to take out timber concessions and move into the timber industry throughout the latter Marcos period.

In the focus group discussions this time was referred to by comments such as that of the Himaya farmer who said: "A big problem we faced before the project was arrest by the forest guards for illegal timber felling while clearing to plant crops"[386]. The turnaround came in 1982 with the introduction of the Integrated Social Forestry Program (ISFP) under which the forest-use rights of traditional owners and immigrants were recognized. The policy idea was to control the peasants by enlisting them to take partial responsibility for the forests they were farming. The forestry planners promoted the ISFP as the democratization of the use of public lands. In most areas this handover of responsibility hardly took place because the policy shift had little bearing on the deals between the politicians in power and their family and allied timber-business operators.

The ISFP was referred to in focus group discussions at all three project sites where, in the mid 80s, DENR technicians promoted reafforestation. For example, many of the tribal *Blaán* families at Asbagniloc in *Barangay* Bacungan had planted blocks of fuelwood species on degraded steep slopes. Similarly, at Columbagon and Tabayag technicians helped with nursery establishment.

The Community Forestry Program (CFP) launched in 1989 was the most significant initiative. At all three sites many farm families secured their cropland with permits, especially at Bacungan and Columbagon where many immigrant families were able to formalize their tenure over blocks informally purchased from tribal owners. From the DENR they had to secure individual permits to use the land for cultivation under certain

[385] Sajise, *op.cit.*
[386] Theme of Conflict Table Appendix 1, p4, record 7..

conditions. By setting up organizations such as KAMACA at Tabayag, communities could also enter into Community Forestry Management Agreements which guaranteed them 25 years of (their own traditional) usury rights to extract, sell and process forestry products. In the case of Tabayag they gained management control over plots of reafforested common land. At Himaya, the councillor used another CFP provision to organize a Protection Order for their Water-supply Catchment.

In 1993 the Forest Management Bureau mandated the further innovation of Forestry Land Management Agreements. In this program agreements are made between the FMB and communities designated as Forest Land Managers who are given the sole right to occupy, develop and manage blocks of land for 25 years, renewable for another 25. Although the FLMA did not figure in focus group discussions they are the vehicle by which Community Stewardship Certificates are being sought by Tabayag families who want to take over 1 hectare plots they have re-afforested under FMB contracts.

It seems probable that the switchover from confrontation to co-option has been more fundamental to the advent of the soil conservation projects than is apparent from the focus group discussions. In all three areas the new forest legislation has had great impact because non-adoption of conservation farming or failure to expand it are bound up with issues around uncertain land tenure. For example, the leaders at Bacungan saw the investment in soil conservation structures as too great for tenants who had only a few years to harvest the benefits before the landowner would, by resuming the land, make a windfall gain thus "tenants lacked the land tenure to make perennial establishment worthwhile" (Chapter 6 Table 19). At Himaya too the Councillor stated that a community priority was to get legal recognition of all purchases from the original tribal owners in order to secure all the work invested in conservation farming[387].

In a constructive way land tenure at Tabayag had also become a concern through the adoption of conservation agriculture because many families had taken up the opportunity to rehabilitate 1 ha plots of degraded forest land on contract to the Forestry

[387] I suspect that as a Councillor representing men and women who wanted a better water scheme and roads and electricity connection, he was pushing for taxes to provide the resources the Council wanted. The Council had to show to the Municipality it could raise collateral required under the new funding arrangements to get moving with their ideas for community and commercial development. Quite sensibly, the Councillor was concerned with his own tenure as well as improvement of services.

Department for planting timber species. The families opted for a mixture of fruit, firewood and forest trees from which, by securing Community Stewardship Contracts, they could hold onto the benefits. Here the men and women planting the trees (working in *alayon* as they did when first hedgerowing and rockwalling) were taking a calculated risk of raising the wrath of the foresters for not sticking strictly to the official guidelines, and, of losing the fruits of their labour should they miss out on the CSCs.

In this case their optimism and confidence at the betterment they had achieved from becoming conservation farmers led them to wilfully take risk. Previously their food supply (and even survival) was so vulnerable that they minimized their risks (Section 6.6), by delaying or limiting their participation in the proposed conservation activities. The renewed stability of their socio-ecology had put them in a position of jointly investing in more resources for their families and for their community. By their discourse of sustainability they could anticipate the renewed forest benefiting everybody through water conservation, flood control and soil retention.

Although the earlier Integrated Social Forestry Program had assisted a small minority of farmers to plant woodlots, such as those of the *Blaán* at Asbagniloc in Bacungan who still held enough of their tribal land, it was the Community Forestry Program (CFP) in 1989 and the later Forest Land Management Agreements (FLMA) which opened up new possibilities for many more farm families. Money could be earned from the FMB contract planting the logged out forests. This allowed some adopters to buy food for subsistence while contour rockwalling and hedgerowing their cropland. Other people made money from harvesting minor forest products while reafforesting blocks for which they were responsible under the CSF or FLMA. Thus opportunities stemming from government policy initiatives gave relief to families adopting conservation farming.

What changed for the foresters was that they began to accept the presence of peasants in the forests. They permitted them to follow loggers into new areas when searching for land once lower slopes were ‘crowded out’. The increasing political acceptability of the foresters’ desire for more effective management regimes, by working with forest-dwellers rather than against them, at least partly came about because such reforms were seen as a means of undermining insurgency in the rural areas. This change of legislative mood towards the end of the Marcos regime also signalled government willingness for

NGOs to operate in rural areas of the Philippines. These were decisions at the top: invisible to and unheard by rural families. Furthermore, the foresters' innovative programs, by assisting farmers to gain better conditions of tenure, addressed one of their root grievances.

Filipinos have 'caught onto' the idea of sustainability and understand the need for cooperation within and between localities to restore ecological sustainability despite the blocking or political use of environmental management innovations by the elite[388]. Public and private education and promotion of ecological awareness, such as occurred in the three projects, have synergized with innovatory policies to facilitate constructive empowerment or, conversely, the empowerment to resist[389].

7.4 Sustainable Communitarianism as Alternative Development

The aplomb with which the Tabayag men and women are trialling new practices of sustainable farming, as described above, while negotiating with government agencies to secure their investment with legally based usufructuary rights smacks of Escobar's alternatives to development[390] These farm families are learning about environmental rehabilitation and new enterprises by 'doing it'. From their sustainability discourse they understand how poverty arises and traps the poor, and they are living with an eye to the state of health of their physical, social and political environment, their *socio-ecology,* yet are determined to retain as much control as possible over their own destiny. They have a 'macro-view' of how their communities can build a measure of socio-ecological independence from the global corporate economy. This, Escobar argued, required communities to put time and energy into maintaining the community organization, and their networks, so that they establish a political presence to argue a discourse countering that of their regional and national governments. In this section I will discuss how these communities have a vision for their future alternative to that of their own national

[388] Governance and Local Democracy Project *Synopsis of Findings: 7th Rapid Field Appraisal of Decentralization,* USAID Philippines, 1998, pp.10-11, p.7, pp.12-13.
[389] As discussed in Section 3.3 with reference to the 'Philippines Integrated Protected Areas Project'
[390] Escobar, A. "Reflections on Development: Grassroots Approaches and Alternative Politics", *Futures Vol.* 24, pp. 411-434.

government which pursues the pathway of closer integration with the world trade system as espoused by the World Trade Organization[391].

Escobar goes beyond other critics of development such as Eisenstadt who blamed development as modernization for the subjection of the poorest of the world to a new economic serfdom[392]. Escobar updates Eisenstadt's argument by casting the neo-liberal meta-goal of development as the incorporation of the people of the Third-World into the global corporate economy. He vilifies leaders of the poorest nations as having taken on this neo-liberal discourse for their own gain while simultaneously accepting the deepening poverty of the majority of their people. In the Philippines some elites do flagrantly act out of self-interest, extracting huge economic rents from the people, manipulating financial systems and aid arrangements for themselves and making promises about crucial issues such as land reform with no intention of honouring them.

It is fascinating to consider the situation at Tabayag in the light of Escobar's thought. The Tabayagi maintain a level of subsistence food production which avoids the global economy locking them into producing commodities which they then must sell for their own food purchases. At the same time they are negotiating with GOP Departments for rights to exploit renewed forest that they have planted. By setting up this balance between subsistence and commercial agriculture they seek to avoid developmental dependency. To maintain the balance between self-reliance and market participation they rely on the strength of KAMACA their People's Organization and its networks.

This contrasts with the situations Escobar criticises where development praxis has set people up for dependency as 'takers' of both decreasing commodity prices and increasing prices for manufactured goods, whether they be fertilizers, hybrid seed or 'ghetto blasters'. Escobar's arguments offer a powerful explanation for the situations of millions of Latin American, Western and Central African peasant families. Nevertheless, the Tabayagi are planning to avoid that trap. When one looks at their situation Johnathon Rigg's views appear as a valid counter-argument to Escobar. Rigg argues that for millions of South East Asian peasants development has brought to

[391]Govt of Philippines, *Trade Policy Review Report* www.wto.org/English/tratop_e/tpr_e/g149_e.doc 2005, pp.7-12.
[392] Eisenstadt, S. *Readings in Social Evolution and Development,* Pergamon, London, 1970, pp.421-452.

ordinary people enormous gains such as roads, medical clinics, increased life expectancy and reduction in the physical demands of everyday work[393].

Rigg's rebuttal of dependency theory has some force (although it is ironic to read them in the shadow of Southeast Asia's slow recovery from recession causally related to the financial consequences of corrupt political and business leaders). However, there are differences in the histories of countries that are confounded in these two contrasting analyses. One of the profound differences lies in the histories of rent relief and land reform between different South East Asian countries and different Latin American countries. The impact of decreasing rents by 25 per cent from crop shares of 60 per cent and higher in Taiwan, Japan and South East Asian countries was enormous relief to tenant and part tenant farmers[394]. Generally speaking, this never took place in the Philippines nor in Latin America. Without the margin of production over their 'basic needs' which only came from rent relief or land reform those East Asian peasants would never have had the disposable income to spend on consumer goods and mechanized tools.

The people of Tabayag appear to be 'having it both ways'. Theirs is an alternative development, as Escobar envisages, but a major strand to achieving it has been their entry into production for commercial markets. Moreover, although they maintain subsistence food crop production they are diversifying into timber production for milling, again partly for local needs and partly for external sale. As Stacey Leigh Pigg argues, they articulate their own discourse of modernization as changing livelihood and lifestyle expectations from what their parents and grandparents knew. They reject a modernist, neo-liberal discourse of development as conformation to the global corporate economy in favour of their own discourse of farm family interdependence (or community intradependence), sustainability with a communitarian flavour. Thus a discourse of communal self-reliance is a strand of the dominant discourse of sustainability which has helped the Tabayagi to maintain a discursive independence. The notion of self-reliance which, in the end failed them on their separate family farms, when subsumed into the sustainability discourse has helped empower them against dependency. The notions of a community-wide sustainable agriculture, coupled with a

[393] Rigg, J. *Southeast Asia: The Human Landscape of Modernization and Development,* Routledge, London, 1997, pp.275-284.

reserve of family food self-reliance, has used government policy shifts to further stabilize their livelihood but also to strengthen their vision of a sustainable, adaptive, empowered future.

7.5 The impact of the Local Government Code of 1991

As important as were the reforms of forestry management the most visibly effective legislation promoting local cooperation since the 'Peaceful Revolution' of 1986 has been the 1991 Local Government Code (LGC), which all Departments were instructed to implement in 1992. Implementation of the new Code has brought local government to life by building partnership between them, the municipalities and regional government bodies[395]. Under the Code *barangay*, the local government units, receive funds to budget according to their own plans. Moreover, all *barangay* officers within a municipality meet to have their say in the way funds are used to buy skills and resources as well as how those resources are distributed between the municipality and its satellite *barangay*. In this way local government leaders implementing the LGC have been trained to participate, negotiate their way through conflict to agreement, then evaluate and report to constituents and peers. Implementation of the 1991 LGC has thus enhanced the ability of communities to shape their own futures.

It has seen the Columbagon Council give encouragement to new adopters of conservation farming in its wards other than Himaya. This secondary adoption, without the training and education provided to the primary adopters, is spreading with political and resource support from the Council. More importantly, the whole process of consultation and planning within *Barangay* Columbagon stems from the training of the local leaders through the operations of the new Code, not from MUSUAN which left behind no functional community organizations despite the seminars and networking which convinced many people that their interdependence made sustainability crucial. Without the 1991 Act's devolution of power to local government there would have been no spread of the rootstock of empowerment planted in Himaya by MUSUAN. In Columbagon the new Local Government Code has been the primary catalyst of empowerment whereas soil conservation has been a secondary factor.

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[394] Ladejinsky, W. *Land Reform, an Unfinished Business,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1975.
[395] See Chapter 6 Section 6.5.

In the other two localities the resources put into the councillors' hands by the new Act have synergized with a new interest and capacity of the community to plan for the future. For Bacungan the new Act arrived with the conservation project so that fruit and timber tree nurseries, water-schemes for domestic use and small-scale irrigation and bridges for market access are being considered long before community resources alone would have made them possible. The Councillors have been able to resource their drive towards sustainable livelihood with higher-level government support.

In Tabayag's case, rather than the ill-luck of MUSUAN's demise as the new Code was enacted, the conflict between the larger 'flat-landholders' and the 'steep-uplanders' was resolved in favour of the latter when they captured the Council in the 1991 elections. From that time, the Tabayag Councillors were able to allocate resources provided by higher levels of government towards achieving the community plans and vision springing up from KAMACA, their PO, just as it gained official recognition. Thus the community used opportunities gained from application of the 1991 Code to start fulfilling the potential for off-farm development opened up by the success of conservation farming. Implementation of the new Act thus synergized empowerment of the community already facilitated by Mag-uugmad's work prior to 1992. Across all three communities the implementation of the 1991 Local Government Code shows how a devolution of planning and fiscal responsibility can lead to empowerment[396].

7.6 The Keys of Discourse

Conservation farming was both an end as a short-term objective of the NGOs, since it was the new basis of livelihood, and a means, for its concepts deterritorialized people shut into a worn-out discourse of livelihood[397]. Likewise, the discourses of sustainability constructed by these new conservation farmers are intermediate ends, by having become their dominant discourse, for reaching the longterm objectives of community capacity for self-adaptation. Yet they are also a means for this self-determination since they are tools of thought used by the agents of change ie. NGO and government agency workers, and in turn community members and leaders. This section

[396] Refer to the discussion in Chapter 3 Section 3.2.
[397] Chapter 6 Section 6.4.

deals with the contribution of the new discourse of sustainability towards the empowerment of these people and the general conclusion it suggests about achieving community empowerment.

Firstly, the outcome of restored subsistence was, for these people, a wellspring for hope[398] . Then they needed a way to express visions of new enterprises and services in their localities for which they articulated their discourses of sustainability. That is, visions of a better future followed on from securing the present, but, since the old discourse of family self-reliance and practices of shifting agriculture no longer sustained possibilities of betterment, they wanted a new mental framework, a new overarching discourse.

Once new awareness had given them 'room to think afresh' people quickly moved beyond the old limits to their thinking. Especially when, by design, both the concepts of sustainability learnt in the NGO seminars and the means of dialogue used for the training facilitated the participants to think beyond their own farms to picture the watersheds and whole 'jigsaw' of the localities to which those farms sum. Thus, the Himaya women talked of meeting about *Sitio* needs, and one of the Bacungan Councillors reflected on their previous innocence about 'the world' of planning, budgeting and implementation before they participated in the community development seminars of MBRLC. Simultaneously, these Bacungan leaders began interacting with other *barangay* leaders and with municipal officials and politicians as the Local Government Code was implemented.

What occurred across the three study sites was therefore an 'encounter between two discourses'. Men and women re-founded their thinking on concepts of sustainability rather than farm self-sufficiency[399]. It is ironic that the fundamental practice of shifting agriculture related to replenishing soil fertility so that families could grow all the food they wanted. The success of the new mental construct caused some to capitulate to it, repudiating their old farming practices and denying any previous community planning.

[398] Chapter 6, Section 6.7.
[399] See the discussion in Chapter 6 Section 6.4.

Others accommodate the powerful new discourse[400]; acknowledging its dominance yet remember both the former effectiveness of *kaingin* (shifting cultivation) and the power of the old dominant discourse [401].

Accommodating a new discourse means retaining the old so that they co-exist, just as the women had held onto a 'shadow' discourse of family interdependence whilst living and working within the old master discourse of family self-reliance[402]. Similarly, family self-reliance 'survives' in the shadow of sustainability, as families act in concert for their own benefit within the overall gain to the community from such services as water-supply or Health Centres. The old discourse, while still articulated, is largely overlapped rather than destroyed by the newly dominant one.

This co-existence of discourses, Mark Hobart argues, is the means by which people who have had new thinking thrust upon them can mentally 'pick and choose'. They retain self-determination of thought rather than being locked into what would be a new hegemonic discourse. The discursive hegemony is never total. Thus, I picture 'the Tabayagi' as having seen the dangerous hook of being vulnerable takers of agricultural input and market prices if they were to become totally commercial farmers dependent on the municipal and national economic situation. So they talk explicitly of going on as partially subsistence smallholders. For pride in farm family self-reliance remains within a mosaic of inter-acting landholdings, inter-dependent on one another for systemic sustainability[403].

There is a balancing act going on here; a creative tension between the need for a new discourse (underwritten by the efficacy of conservation farming) which frees up men and women to take action for their community, and the retention of discourses which have some ongoing validity to local situations. The danger in abandoning former discourses is that the outsiders who bring the concepts and syntax of the replacement take a position of authority and power as guardians of knowledge. They could become

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[400] Cohen, A. "Segmentary Knowledge: a Whalsay Sketch" in Hobart, M. ed *An Anthropological Critique of Development,* Routledge London, 1993, pp.32-33.
[401] Theme of Discourse of conservation, Appendix 1, p5 records 14, 20 and 28 (repugning), and 29 (accommodation)
[402] Hobart, M. "Introduction" in Hobart, M. *ed. An Anthropological Critique of Development,* Routledge, London, 1995, p12.
[403]Section 6.4 Table 17 p171

the experts who make the decisions while nullifying local expertise. I see 'socio-cultural resilience' in the mental balancing act of using co-existing (and not necessarily compatible discourses[404]) because the balancers thereby maintain self-determination.

I conclude that a radical new discourse is an essential key to empowerment, in the metaphorical sense of unlocking people's shackles of thought. Nevertheless, though the establishment of empowerment requires outsiders to use a new discourse to break into insiders' minds, empowerment may be best maintained by the mental counterweight of older discourses long attuned to the specifics of the local situation.

Perhaps a future danger to these upland farmers is that their diversification into specialized market production of flowers, vegetables, fruits and timber may become so successful that they could forget the need for communal intradependence and concentrate on their farm production. A discourse of commercial farming could overpower that of sustainability till some point where the farm families, having overloaded the environment, could once again jeopardize their socio-ecology. To pre-empt this scenario I envisage the need for co-existence between discourses of commercial farming (or agribusiness as driven by the push for entering the global economy) and sustainability.

7.7 Women's Distinctive Impact

I have argued that the women in these communities catalyzed the changeover in dominant discourse through their own 'shadow discourse' of family interdependence because it has a conceptual link to the sustainability paradigm of mutual reliance on the same environment[405]. The family interdependence discourse had run counter to, or shadowed, the old dominant discourse of farm family self reliance yet, while co-existing with it, balanced its logical tendency to hegemony. Moreover, given the similar family interdependence discourses held by women in these communities, their experiences of practice and training in community organization with the respective NGOs led to a greater weight for their views and an increasing share in local leadership.

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[404]Hobart, M. *op.cit.,* p.12 and Quarles van Ufford, P. "Knowledge and Ignorance in the Practices of Development Policy", in Hobart, M. ed. *Anthropological Critique of Development***,** Routledge, London, 1995, pp 151-157.

[405] Section 6.4 The impact of women and gender differences p166

Prior to that the women were agents for more integration of communities who were held in restraint by men's articulation of the discourse of farm family self-reliance. The Projects levered space for the women to state their discourse which helped equip men, in particular the leaders, with concepts of sustainability which simultaneously gave women more freedom to act. Thereafter women became important agents for building the self-adaptive and self-determinative capacities of their communities directly through their keen participation in community organizations, and their commitment to sustainability as a deterritorializing and potentially dominant discourse. Thus the projects' impact upon women, and in turn women's impact on the projects, have been important for the achievement of the community empowerment objective.

The strong case for this was at Tabayag where once their worth was reinforced by Mag-uugmad's community development training, women's understanding and skills in community building took them quickly into the forefront[406]. This kind of process seems also to be happening at both Columbagon and Bacungan where women strongly advocate sustainability and speaking in the focus groups for women or for community leaders, ie. as Councillors, presented proposals for community facilities and services. In the latter case this is both an MBRLC and a new Local Government Code impact whereas it was largely the impact of the new Code in the former. The implication here is that NGO, or higher level government, initiatives levering space for women's participation in CBOs and local government can strengthen the vision and effectiveness of local leadership generating direct gains in the adaptive capacity of communities.

7.8 Leaders fostering participation

I propose also that effective leadership will support, initiate and facilitate participation by the majority of groups in a community which may thus catalyse community empowerment. Alternatively, leaders can stifle their constituents by dominating without delegation or consultation (as at *Sitio* Himaya in Columbagon) or they can attempt to block changes from outside or inside (as initially at Tabayag). At the time of the study, across all three sites, complementarity could be seen between leadership and

[406] Chapter 6, Section 6.7 Summary of Key Project Outcomes p177

the participation of community members[407]. Leaders were fostering participation by community members (Bacungan and Tabayag), or at least consulting them (Columbagon) in order to evaluate what was happening and to conduct their planning on the basis of people's priorities.

Certainly, the experience of leaders in implementing the 1991 Local Government Code has increased their capacities for consultation, planning, reporting and carrying out their administrative duties[408]. Furthermore, in these communities leaders have had their skills mutually reinforced by women's emergence from articulation of the shadow discourse of family inter-dependence to public involvement in CBOs and local government using the discourse of interdependence and sustainability.

A singular feature at Tabayag was the charisma of one key leader in different roles from the early days of the soil conservation project, through to the formation of the People's Organization, KAMACA, as the original means of building empowerment[409]. By devoting himself to fellow adopters, neighbours and people throughout the community this leader inspired others to join in taking a series of steps which ended in a self-determining community with a healthy dose of suspicion about government policies and outsider proposals. This man's selflessness added an immeasurable but highly significant element to the melting pot of participation and development.

In summary I see that there is an interplay between outsiders, who purposefully come to these localities as agents of change, and insiders who may be active change agents. Insider individuals and groups assess their need for adaptation according to their circumstances, especially the strength of their command of resources and their position relative to other resource-rich groups. They resist programmed innovations which they reckon will be to them a loss of resources or an unnecessary cost or increase in risk. Or, choosing from the basket of options they will alter them as they wish.

Therefore, I argue that the experience of these communities is that leaders who are committed to the whole community have an essential role in building empowerment. Conversely, without either formal or informal leaders a community would be thwarted

[407] Chapter 6, Section 6.4 p153
[408] Chapter 6, Section 6.6 p174

in making decisions for itself. Or, when leaders ignore a consultative process for joint planning and delegation within the community they will pre-empt its empowerment. Generally speaking, there must be space for open, inclusive and visionary leaders to lead communities which are building capacity for adaptation. There could be a tradition for such styles of leadership, as I have demonstrated for the Philippines and clearly observed at Tabayag. Moreover, agencies seeking to catalyze empowerment are likely to foster such leadership through an approach which is increasingly inclusive and devolutionary through the handover of project planning and implementation.

7.9 Conclusions

Participation is a label which, by itself, is without value, an adjective without a noun, until the subjects and agents of development add content to the 'labelled basket'. For example, enforced, purchased or pseudo-participation may be means of oppression rather than empowerment. We sense these forms of participation in a dictator's dutifully adulative 'dial-a crowd'. Such forms of participation, which disadvantage the subjects of development, are an elite's instruments of achieving project outcomes for its own benefit.

In the face of plans for such unhealthy modes of participation the resistance of subject groups or communities may galvanize participation around an alternative vision and action strategy which leads to empowerment despite an elitist project which fails to achieve its service, livelihood or infrastructural outcomes. However, what development practitioners are paid to hope for, if not often achieve, is full participation as shared decision-making between government and, or NGO agencies, who seek partnership with subject communities so facilitating the synergies which lead to gains in community resources including the meta-resource of adaptive capacity, ie. empowerment. Pleas for participation then need to move onto plans for shared decision-making and disciplined, flexible, realistic, well-paced handover of responsibilities.

Summarizing from above the features of projects that will greatly increase the likelihood of empowerment of a community or groups within it in the first place subject groups need discourses that enable them to embark on socio-ecological change. They

[409] Chapter 6 Section 6.4 153.

need an impasse-breaking discourse rather than an imprisoning one. Moreover, in cases where livelihood is under threat the new discourse must be founded on a package of technological and social innovation by which the subjects can regain viable livelihoods just as soil conservation led to conservation farming in the study communities.

Secondly, outside agencies, either NGO or government, might be needed to catalyze the community change process including the offer of a discourse with the potential to deterritorialize the subjects. In turn the training activities of livelihood restoration may be highly significant in levering women's access to political space and the opportunity to take up leadership as well as giving capacity-building training for existing and future leaders, both men and women. Because of these three factors the operational quality, mission and strategic focus of partner agencies may be critical to program success and future empowerment of communities.

Thirdly, the subjects need to have leaders who have the vision and skills to work for the desired livelihood and social outcomes or they need people who will work their way into such leadership. Traditions or cultural themes of service which inspire, encourage and support such self-selection for empowering leaders may play a crucial part in generating both acceptance by their fellow community members and the personal resolve required.

Fourthly, the policy and program initiatives of host government agencies can synergize with community and partner agency activities at several levels. Line department policies can help to restore livelihoods by entitling poor groups to the resources they need within new socio-ecological systems and by increasing the resources needed for them to maintain themselves through the subsistence trough which often occurs at the beginning of livelihood change. Furthermore, higher levels of government may make policy changes which reflect the same new dominant discourse by which subjects are gaining vision and adaptive capacity and thence reinforce its local effects, as did the sustainability policies of the Government of the Philippines.

Finally, changes in governance will also impact on subject communities with the possibility that they may be well designed for empowerment, as was the Philippines' 1991 Local Government Code. Alternatively, national governments may primarily

implement them to cut back on financial support for district and local government which can have disastrous effects at the lower levels as in Papua New Guinea in the 1990s[410]. Obviously, national government initiatives successfully aimed at strengthening local government are likely to increase community participation in decision-making and therefore lead to increased local adaptive capacity.

Overall, a deterritorializing discourse is essential for empowerment whether people already have a dominant visionary discourse or need a new one in order to break free from the one that imprisons them. The human agency that articulates a new discourse will vary from situation to situation. The definitive characteristic of such organizations or groups is suggested here by the common belief of the three NGOs that the participation of community members in the project should be the fullest possible - that is seeking the fullest possible sharing of decision-making. The NGOs then approach the implementation of that belief in different ways and with varying success in fulfilling the significant empowering functions by which local leaders, government agencies or NGOs can catalyze empowerment of communities or groups within them.

The final point about empowerment to be made from these three case studies is that no NGO agency can be all things for any subject community. Any NGO approach to communities necessitates interaction with government agency activities in some way, because the roles and resources of different government agencies are so great and their effects so far reaching. Seeking to include the appropriate government departments in their partnership with communities, NGOs thus allow room for the creation of synergies.

[410] Fox, L. Kini, S. & Stephens, A. *Civil Society Scoping Mission PNG Final Report* Vol 1, AusAID Canberra, 2005, p.17.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Community Self-esteem asking for accountability
Women	Bacungan	1	A woman Councillor wanted to know what my purpose was in doing research in Bacungan and what feedback there would be to them.
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	At the end of the farmer's focus group discussion an Asbagniloc woman asked me the purpose of my interviewing them
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 1*	2	Tabayag: [Though there were only a few old check-dams or rockwalls] "our traditional knowledge prepared us for rapid adoption of the soil conservation technology"
Leaders	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	If the Barangay runs out of funds the Councillors sometimes resist the Municipality by boycotting seminars.
			**Sitio* 1 at Tabayag was the locality of 'Kabalowan'
			Theme of Agriculturally sustainable intensification through diversification
Women	Bacungan	1	"The Governor has introduced us to a cut-flower project...but there are still many requirements to comply with."
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Tabayag late adopters: "out of caution we waited until the benefits were clear such as good yields, fertility restoration and potential for vegetable production"
Women	Himaya	1	Himaya: more vegetables (sweet potatoes) then shift into perennial fruit crops for home and market & timber plantings to stop landslips [farm centred view]
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Pre-project there was no interest in applying chicken dung (or other fertilizer) [there was then no diversification to make it worthwhile]
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Contouring, mulch and fertilizer have allowed diversification into market vegetables and flowers whereas before cash income from copra went on subsistence
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Tabayag women farm-level vision to maintain hedgerows, extend bench terraces for degraded areas , shift to horticulture perennial fruit and timberlots
Farmers	Himaya	1	Priorities for individual Himaya primary adopters still focus on corn production but also fruit trees
Farmers	Himaya	1	Secret adoption by Himaya non-adopters using trees & perennial food crops like banana, tropical fruits (durian mango lans home & market) to retain soil
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Now that the contour hedgerowing is done we want to deal with outstanding land tenure problems, plant fruit (especially) & timber trees & start goatkeeping
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	The women want training in handicraft & training and credit for home gardening (family & market) also common land for a women's project
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 1	1	At Tabayag some solved hunger avoided hd wk of establishing soil conservation structures by shifting into perennial cash\ food crops ie. coconuts & bananas
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Tabayag livelihood imp plans inc women's projects, small cattle & pig feedlots requiring planted pasture (for cut & carry) and capital
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	"Our ideal community would have a High School, beautiful houses, a high capacity water supply [for intensive agriculture]& power to all houses, a corn mill, roads & a Health Centre
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	The women's ideas for the future were an expansion of conservation farming to make backyard gardens for intensive vegetable and flower production supplying home & market
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	Project outcome Barangay plans for domestic & smallscale intensive irrigation.
			Theme of Benefits or inducements provided to adopters
Women	Bacungan	1	There was rumour that 20 mango seedlings and goats were provided to SALT adopters by DENR staff.
Women	Himaya	1	MUSUAN provided 2% interest loans for farm inputs as adoption incentives
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc adopters trained and had seminars with MBRLC technicians & were linked to the SMAP project through whom they received seedlings and a sprayer for their nursery
Farmers	Bacungan	1	At Bacungan (& Asbagniloc?): SMAP (through the MBRLC) gave out seedlings and eventually goats whose dispersal was linked to adoption
Farmers	Himaya	1	At Himaya men &women attended adopters meetings to avoid losing inducements or priority for receiving seedlings & other materials

Appendices

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Community initiatives
Women	Bacungan	1	The Bacungan women have not had a general discussion of their own future plans
Women	Bacungan	2	The vision of the woman Councillor (her portfolio is Budget, formerly she had Education) is promoting a Day Care Centre
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	The need for a community water scheme was an issue raised by the women
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Women Councillors chairing Committees open way for women's issues such as making Comfort Rooms mandatory for all households
Farmers	Bacungan	1	At the time of the focus group discussion the Bacungan Councillors (including non-adopters) were moving to set up a nursery for fruit and timber trees
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	The MBRLC technicians supported the Asbagniloc community in the ongoing promotion of their water scheme proposal.
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	After having put in their water scheme the Asbsagniloc community is pursuing power connection, a solar crop dryer, a footbridge for school-children and local farm-produce transport & a Health Centre
Farmers	Himaya	1	The Himaya people initially took the initiative to help one another adopt conservation measures but had no vision of spreading them outside the hamlet so there was a poor rate and quality of secondary adoption
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The Columbagon Council, through the *Barangay* Captain, wants a commercial drinkwater bottling plant, a sawmill for local timber, an input credit scheme & a purchasing cooperative [Emped]
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 1	1	Tabayag: "we believe our condition can still improve as we implement the *Barangay* Development Plan which we made through a participatory process
Leaders	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Since the conservation project the community has come up with initiatives for the future: day-care, health & a *Barangay* Centre
			Theme of (having) Another agenda
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	A gracious introductory speech from Asbagniloc Datu praising MBRLC, especially the technicians (fieldworkers) for their help to the tribal people
			Theme of community meetings
Women	Bacungan	1	Women were included in the first meetings with extensionists talking thro' the problems of poor yield & food shortage.
Women	Bacungan	2	First meeting with MBRLC technicians was facilitated by the woman councillor, 'the *Kagawan*'.
Women	Himaya	1	MUSUAN team called an initial public meeting at which women told their stories and were listened to
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	No ward (*sitio*) meetings are held in Tabayag only informal household or hamlet level meetings.
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	2	The project began in 1981 when DENR introduced Ralph Granert from World Neighbours to the Tabayagi
Farmers	Bacungan	1	Whole Bacungan community attended first meeting called by RLC extensionists to discuss a strategy for relief from the situation & root cause of soil loss
Farmers	Bacungan	1	At Bacungan Council ward meetings were open (to women)for discussion of the food shortage problems.
Farmers	Bacungan	1	But at Bacungan as there was little community support for adopters no *alayon* workteams formed
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	The Asbagniloc men & women attended the first meeting called by the MBRLC extensionists to discuss the situation from when they began to realize the scale & significance of soil loss
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"The community meetings in our two *Sitios were* open to discuss all situations [this was the ongoing customary practice of the Blaan tribal community with Datu]."
Farmers	Himaya	1	At this first meeting soil erosion was presented by MUSUAN as their fundamental problem for which soil conservation was the answer.
Farmers	Himaya	1	Pre-project problems had not been discussed in Himaya *Sitio* meetings. After learning that soil loss was at root all families would come with extensionists to discuss this
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Pre-project problems were not discussed in ward or Barangay meetings tho' Council encouraged people to take up the Dept of Agriculture's corn stover retention technique & *Gmelina* plantings
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	Post-project the ward & Barangay meetings are discussing poor fertility as a community problem: [they moved from the discourse of family independence to soil conservation]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The Councillors discussed their Columbagon development plans at their meetings

Farmers	Tabayag: Sitio 1	1	The Tabayag people were invited to meet with World Neighbours & Department of Forestry personnel who showed them soil loss & conservation in Indonesia & Burma. They were impressed by the contour rows & alley cropping. The Mag-uugmad staff identified keen farmers as change agents then worked thro' them
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 1	1	In Tabayag pre-project there were no formal Ward (*sitio*) or *Barangay* Assembly Meetings but the situation was discussed between men & women at informal hamlet meetings
Leaders	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Before the project the problems of low food production were discussed in the *Barangay* Assembly.
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of community-government cooperation
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	The project began in 1981 when a Department of Environment & Natural Resources Officer introduced Ralph Granert from World Neighbours to the Tabayag people
Farmers	Bacungan	2	At time of the focus group discussion the Bacungan Councillors (including non-adopters) were moving to set up a nursery for fruit and timber trees with Department of Agriculture help
Farmers	Himaya	1	The first Himaya community meeting was called by the MUSUAN team, the Integrated Social Forestry (DENR) technicians & the *Sitio* President (approximately 75% of families attended)
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	At Columbagon, though Council action seems empowered by the new Local Government Code the Department of Environment & Natural Resources technicians still controlled municipal planning & were not attending Council or Ward meetings
Leaders	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	The Councillors, having done their planning in the People's Organization, present their proposals to the Municipality for approval and budgetting.
			Theme of conceptual or comprehension difficulties
Women	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	Pre-project there was no interest in applying chicken dung (or any other fertilizer) [there was then no diversification to make it worthwhile]
Farmers	Bacungan	2	Bacungan men & women couldn't tackle the root of the food shortage problem because they didn't grasp the full implications and scale of the soil loss
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Men told us what they thought the women's contribution to development was ie. men had no inkling of what ideas the women had for development
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Secondary adopters described marking out & planting hedgerows across the contour without an A-frame because it was too cumbersome [it is more likely that they did not know how to use one]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The quality of self-spreading was poor because neither extensionists nor farmers took the new adopters to farmer training
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 1	1	(Rina Fernandez, Mag-uugmad Community Development worker talking about the traditional conservation structures) "Maybe the generations succeeding builders of the traditional structures lacked faith in the rock walls"
Farmers	Tabayag: *Sitio* 2	1	The Tabayag men thought that the women were focussed on livelihood projects like soapmaking & abaca weaving but the women have a bigger community picture, for example, a Health & Community Centre
Leaders	Himaya	1	These *sitio* leaders failed to grasp that they were being asked for traditional knowledge of soil erosion and its impact.
			Theme of Family independence discourse
Farmers	Bacungan	1	But at Bacungan there was a lack of community support for adopters. No *alayon* workteams formed: families were expected to be self-sufficient
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Post-project the *Sitio* & *Barangay* meetings discuss poor fertility as a community problem: [people were moving from the discourse of family independence to a discourse of soil conservation]
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of entrapment
Farmers	Bacungan	1	Other than leaving corn stover unburnt neither adopters nor non-adopters had ideas about stopping the soil erosion they had already recognized
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	(Pre-project) "We had no solutions to the food shortage. We were still using *kaingin [*shifting cultivation*] &* ploughing up and down the slopes."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The old situation in Columbagon was one of being in a food supply & increasing input requirement cost trap which the people had found no way out of
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	They were eating sago because nothing else was available; others searched the forest for wild yams.
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Other people were so ashamed (at being unable to grow enough food) that they wouldn't speak openly about the problem
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	At the Kabalowan (*Sitio* 2) Tabayag farmers meeting talking about pre-project problems: "he who had the most *buri* (sago) palms was best off" [this statement & jokes at my amazement at the lack of community discussion of the situation]

Appendices

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of dependency
Women	Bacungan	1	The women wanted me as visitor, presented as experienced in development, to advise about their problems with a piglet fattening project proposal
Women	Bacungan	2	The technicians said that their help was conditional upon SALT adoption
Women	Bacungan	4	"We are no longer having monthly meetings because the extensionists are not calling them"
Women	Bacungan	3	"We respect the Barangay Captain and Councillors because they listen to us" (Women Councillors and Barangay officials)
Women	Bacungan	5	The Bacungan women have not had a general discussion of their own future plans
Women	Himaya	1	There are no women Councillors in the Himaya *Sitio* nor the *Barangay*, though they have had them in the past. They are happy with their new Councillor who is a leading adopter.
Women	Himaya	1	The people of Himaya hamlet leave outside matters to their Councillor & the women have no community development plans
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	Not until Erning's time as *Barangay* Captain (1991, 8 years into project) were women invited into a KAMACA General Assembly
Farmers	Himaya	1	The Himaya adopters group ceased once MUSUAN stopped in 1993, moreover the extensionists made most plans & now Reuben, their Councillor & Integrated Social Forestry President, makes them
Farmers	Himaya	1	The Himaya women have no ideas about further conservation farming innovations nor about the community's future, "we wait for the *sitio* leaders to decide"
Farmers	Himaya	2	The Himaya men wanted the extensionists to talk more to them about increasing soil fertility rather than only decreasing soil loss
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The *Barangay* Captain at Columbagon dominated the focus group discussion with adopter farmers, especially with respect to discussion of future plans
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	Before the time of the project plans came from Argao [the municipal centre]. The *Barangay* had plans but none for soil & water conservation & no they made no budgets.
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of conflict
Women	Himaya	2	Women banded together to plant hedgerows of wild sunflower which may show hidden conflict in that husbands took no part & poor hedgerow species used
Women	Himaya	1	I asked how the women coped with more farmwork to do. Reply: "no more daily sleeps". [Masking conflict?]
Women	Himaya	1	"We lack unity". There was conflict in Himaya over which Barangay to 'go ' to. The group acknowledged that aid from the Barangay was lost through lack of cooperation
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"The extensionists had formed the PO for the male adopters not at all for women
Farmers	Bacungan	1	At Bacungan the adopters debriefed and mutually encouraged but worked individually without strong leadership: undertones of conflict
Farmers	Himaya	1	At Himaya they planted no legumes for nitrogen or organic matter buildup (& there was denial of training to do so) but there was understanding that contour hedgerows save soil rather than boost fertility
Farmers	Himaya	1	“A big problem we faced before the project was arrest by the forest guards for illegal timber felling while clearing to plant crops"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Here there was no initial community support despite several presentations of the soil loss\ conservation slideshow after which everyone talked about the techniques they had seen"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	"The old BC withdrew from the adopter group in 1989 (after joining 'in 1986) because he was one of the 20% middle class who perceived themselves as not needing the Project [In 1989 one of the early adopters had replaced him as *Barangay* Captain. The implication was clear but they were being polite]
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"If the *Barangay* runs out of funds the Councillors sometimes resist the Municipality by boycotting seminars".
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"The previous Councillors, at the start of the Project, gave little support to the adopters." [A number of these leaders were early adopters!]

Appendices

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of conservation project outcomes
Women	Bacungan	1	"Our labour input to the family farm has increased due to them having new tasks such as goat forage collection and feeding but so has our total family income"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	Tabayag conservation outcomes result from the heightened awareness of soil erosion [and the total response to it] that the community now has
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Now post-project, instead of food shortage, we are selling produce (vegetables or flowers) from January to March and even until the next food harvest in August"
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	*"Barangay* planning was an outcome of the project and of the new Local Govt Code"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Once the soil conservation project started we were listened to"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"We spend more time working on farms but we are happy because we are growing sufficient food and earning money. We also have the [social] interaction of contract harvest-team work"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"We weed as much as before to make effective use of fertilizer but also for neatness"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"It is a Project effect that we now have women leaders in 6 *sitios,* including 2 Councillors, as well leaders in the Philippines Coconut Association & the Church"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Women Councillors chairing Committees opens the way for pushing women's issues such as Comfort Rooms becoming mandatory for all households"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	The detailed vision the Tabayag women have for the future shows that they are sure they can implement it: they have empowerment from the conservation project
Women	Himaya	1	"We had to spend more time working on the farms raising vegetables and pigs. There was also a production increase."
Women	Himaya	1	Himaya late adopters: "out of caution we waited until the benefits were clear such as good yields, fertility restoration & the potential for vegetable production"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"There has been a big growth in awareness of the causes of our problems which has meant that we were then able to tackle them" [big-picture thinking]
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"The ongoing conservation farming activities includes tree-planting throughout our land to conserve soil\ stop its loss"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"Now non-adopters want to plant fruit trees (perennial crops) for cash to buy food but before the Project they had had no plans"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Our houses now have iron roofs instead of *cogon* thatch": [we are in a more secure situation]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Columbagon young farmer: "because terraces are forming (between the hedgerows) its now easier to plough [on the slopes]"
Farmers	Himaya	1	"We like conservation farming because of restored fertility, erosion prevention & improved plant growth in contoured areas"
			Theme of government initiatives
Woman	Bacungan	1	"The Governor has introduced us to a cut-flower project...but there are still many requirements to comply with (The SALT group followed up)."
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Discourse of conservation
Women	Bacungan	2	"By 1985 we were struggling to find a solution to the problem of our stomachs empty from a lack of food production because of erosion."
Women	Bacungan	3	"SALT (Sloping Lands Agricultural Technology) is good because it helps in the prevention of soil erosion so retaining soil fertility".
Women	Bacungan	1	Non-adopter affirmation of the discourse of conservation
Women	Bacungan	1	"Once we realized how severe the soil erosion & loss was we were glad of SALT"
Women	Bacungan	2	"Development for Bacungan farmers, men & women, means our children having a sure future" [ie focussed on conservation farming]
Women	Himaya	1	"Soil erosion & low productivity prevailed before the MUSUAN Project. We needed off-farm income to buy food that we were unable to grow".
Women	Himaya	1	"We have to spend more time working on the farms raising vegetables and pigs. There was also a production increase."
Women	Himaya	2	"The effect of the STAR project has been production increase because the fertility of the soil was conserved".
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Life was difficult. All we had for dealing with erosion were traditional techniques & to eat sago and wild yams [from the swamps & forest] because of food shortage".
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	Tabayag conservation outcomes result from the heightened awareness of soil erosion [and the total response to it] that the community now has

Farmers	Bacungan	1	"We are planning to expand SALT on our farms & encourage new adopters"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"We saw rocks 'growing out' of the ground which we came to understand was due to the loss of topsoil." [SALT brought back soil and the fertility].
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc farmers first answer about pre-project priorities was to deal with soil loss whereas the opening story highlighted their felt need for cash for food
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"SALT has taught us how to prevent erosion by minimizing ploughing and improving the soil by adding leafy bio-mass and avoiding the old slash and burn practices".
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Soil erosion occurred because of the illegal cutting of the remaining forest for maize production" [Himaya is an immigrant hamlet].
Farmers	Himaya	2	"At this first meeting soil erosion was presented by MUSUAN as our fundamental problem for which soil conservation was the answer".
Farmers	Himaya	1	"We liked conservation farming because it restored fertility, prevented erosion & improved plant growth in contoured areas"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Immigrant situation: "our soil fertility was rapidly decreasing because of erosion whereas now we are able to cut-back on fertilizer applications".
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	"I adopted because of soil erosion which I successfully halted after seeing\ hearing about soil conservation at Himaya through my in-laws. The result was increased yield of sweet potato & corn"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Post-project the *Sitio* & *Barangay* meetings are discussing poor fertility as a community problem". [this is a move from a discourse of family independence to soil conservation]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Secondary adopters around Columbagon work individually although primary adopters are encouraging them once they see hedgerows planted. The only help (they get is) from their wives because of the soil retention
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"We had no experience or understanding (of soil erosion). We simply went ahead felling the forest, clearing and planting".
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Non-adopters are lazy and in not thinking of the future are making problems for their children"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Now that contour hedgerowing is done we want to deal with outstanding tenure problems, plant fruit (especially) & timber trees & start goatkeeping"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	"Heavy falls of rainwater are bunded by hedgerows then percolate into the spoil. There are only a few breaches [of the hedgerow bunds]"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Our woman Councillor encourages composting over burning of rice straw, corn cobs and stover and grasses" [this seems narrow view compared with growing fruit & vegetables with the compost]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Food shortage, low income from low yield with small ears of maize due to erosion" [the pre-project situation]
Leaders	Himaya	1	"Pre-project we experienced low productivity due to soil erosion & only planted maize"
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Conservation must spread because irresponsible farming leads to erosion or landslides which wreck downslope farms or jeopardize upslope ones"
Leaders	Bacungan	2	"The cause of soil erosion is the traditional farming system of shifting agriculture or *kaingin".*
Leaders	Bacungan	4	"When Bacungan was still forested erosion never happened (under *kaingin* cultivation) but later erosion appeared because of logging followed by *kaingin".*

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Gender relations
Women	Bacungan	1	"We convinced our husbands to take up the SALT program & often represented them at adopter meetings"
Women	Bacungan	2	"Much of the promotion to men and subsequent passing on of training was done by us after our husbands had returned from their farmwork"
Women	Bacungan	3	"At Bacungan Council, *Sitio* meetings were open to all, including women, for discussion of the food shortage problems"
Women	Bacungan	3	"The men mainly attended meetings about organizing goat dispersal"
Women	Bacungan	4	"There was less attendance by women at adopter organizational meetings"
Women	Bacungan	5	"We respect the *Barangay* Captain and Councillors because they listen to us" (Bacungan women Councillors and *Barangay* officials)
Women	Himaya	2	MUSUAN team called an initial public meeting at which women told their stories and were listened to
Women	Himaya	1	"The Councillor listened to our ideas about the farming system"
Women	Himaya	2	"We banded together to plant the hedgerows of wild sunflower" [this may show hidden conflict in that the husbands did not take part]
Women	Himaya	3	At Himaya it seems that women might have been prime movers for the Project if there really was conflict about hedgerow establishment & maintenance.
Women	Himaya	1	"We attended fortnightly meetings with the extensionists, often in place of our husbands (who were working on their farms), for training & planning
Women	Himaya	2	"Some wives who went to training had to teach their husbands afterwards (meetings were different from training seminars)"
Women	Himaya	1	"We have no women Councillor in the Himaya *Sitio* nor the *Barangay*, though we have had them in the past. We are happy with our Councillor who is a leading adopter"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"We were not invited, only the men, to the inaugural meetings with World Neighbours & DENR"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Our involvement was only in household or hamlet discussions"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio*2	3	"Not until Erning's time as *Barangay* Captain (1991, 8 years into project) were women invited into a KAMACA General Assembly"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	4	"Though we were not KAMACA members or adopters women were joining in training and cross-visiting"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	5	"Once we were members we soon had women People's Organizations officers (eg. the bookkeeper)"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	6	"Because the People's Organization President is now Councillor & *Barangay* Captain women's ideas are listened to eg. it was our idea for a piglet & calf dispersal program"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	7	"Once the soil conservation project was underway we were listened to"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"Here at Asbagniloc our wives attended adopter group meetings if we were busy on the farm"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	2	Men told us what they thought women's contribution to development was. Men actually had no inkling of women's ideas for development
Farmers	Asbagniloc	3	"At Asbagniloc our wives helped us prepare the SALT blocks"
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Many women attend *sitio* meetings while their husbands work on the farm"
Farmers	Himaya	2	"The Himaya women have no idea about further conservation farming innovations nor about the future of the community"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Columbagon women attend the *Barangay* Assembly & *Barangay* Health Workers are funded to visit all houses helping & training in nutrition & disease control"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"KAMACA planning is done by all members (men & women) using participatory processes & with reference to the Councillors"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"About 1/3 of all women attend *alayon* meetings & they still attend the KAMACA meetings"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	[Tabayag men thought women were focussed on livelihood projects (soap-making, abaca weaving) but women have a bigger community picture for a Health & Community Centre]
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of household income increase
Women	Bacungan	1	"Our labour input to the family farm has increased due to new tasks such as goat forage collection and feeding but so has our total income"

Women	Bacungan	2	"Despite our income increase we still have no savings as we also have new expenses such as electricity"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"We spend more time working on farms but we are happy because we are growing sufficient food making more money. We also have the interaction of contract harvest-team work"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Contouring, mulch and fertilizer have allowed diversification into market vegetable and flower growing whereas before cash income, say from copra, went on buying food to subsist"
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of NGO initiative
Women	Bacungan	1	"The technicians told us that their help was conditional upon SALT (Sloping Land Agricultural Technology) adoption."
Women	Himaya	1	"The idea of STAR, the soil conservation project, was brought to us by the Central Mindanao University staff (the MUSUAN team)"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"Asbagniloc men & women attended the first meeting called by the Mindanao Baptist Rural Life Centre extensionists to discuss the situation from which they began to realize the scale & significance of their soil loss."
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"At Bacungan the extensionists directed at the beginning then progress was discussed among adopters but no community promotion took place."
Farmers	Himaya	1	"The first Himaya community meeting was called by the MUSUAN team, Integrated Social Forestry technicians & the *Sitio* President (75% families attended)."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Bill Granert from World Neighbours worked through the Argao District Forester to find a poor area to initiate a soil conservation project.
			Theme of Innovation
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	A Columbagon farmer planted coffee & guavas in the middle of a double hedgerow to support them (against breaching by heavy rainfall) so combining perennial fruit with alleyway maize cropping
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Some of us solved the hunger problem and avoided the hard work of establishing soil conservation structures by shifting into perennial cash\ food crops ie. coconuts & bananas"
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Jokes
Women	Himaya	1	[I asked how the women coped with having more farmwork to do.] They answered, "no more daily sleeps (great laughter)." [Were they masking conflict?]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	During discussions of the pre-project situation talking about searching for food in the forest: "actually we had to be silent or else the wild yams (famine food) would disappear" [the contaext was not talking to one another about the shame of no longer being able to grow their own family subsistence]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Re the pre-project situation: "when they ran out of new land they went to live in caves" "We were baby planting no planning!"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	3	Some non-adopters were too old for hard work (of building the soil conservation structures for starting sustainable farming), too lazy or migrated to Mindanao or Cebu City, or they kept hunting yams" [they took easier options]

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of empowerment
Women	Bacungan	1	"Development (of conservation farming) for Bacungan families meant our children having a sure future"
Women	Himaya	1	"We could organize within Himaya eg *alayon* but were unable to carry proposals to the *Barangay* without using our Councillor (from Himaya)"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"We remained outside the PO, not considering ourselves adopters until we began the Home Garden Project when we registered separately (as PO members) from our husbands"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Soon after we became members we had women PO Officers (bookkeeper)"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"It is an effect of the Project that now we have women leaders in 6 sitios including 2 Councillors as well as leaders in the Philippines Coconut Association and the Church".
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	[The detailed vision the Tabayag women have for the future shows that they are sure they can implement it: this is empowerment from the soil conservation project]
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	After having put in their water scheme the Asbsagniloc community is pursuing power connection, a solar crop dryer, a footbridge for school-children and local farm-produce transport & a Health Centre
Farmers	Himaya	2	"We Himaya farmers set up an informal credit society (2% interest) to avoid using merchant *soekis. We w*anted to set up a Producers Coop but it was too much effort [hamlet based Empowerment rather than community or local area wide]".
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Despite having no adopter groups the number of Columbagon secondary adopters is increasing & they are moving with Council support (for vegetable & flower marketing) into conservation farming for sustainable agriculture through diversification
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	[At Columbagon empowerment is linked with the increased capacity of the Council since the operationalization of the 1991 LG Code (in PO's absence)]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Council, through the *Barangay* Captain, wants a commercial drinkwater bottling plant, a sawmill for local timber milling, an input credit scheme & a purchasing cooperative"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"We constructed and set up a nursery by our community work, *tagbo,* also had monthly meeting of all *alayon* where we discussed farm plans & community improvements eg connecting to the district power supply"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	"In Tabayag in our adopter groups we also did training and together made our own livelihood plans [this was good preparation for community planning]".
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	3	"KAMACA (the PO) planning is done by all members (men & women) using participatory processes & with reference to the *Barangay* Councillors"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Ernesto, the *Barangay* Captain, "the officials are facilitators. Since the *Barangay* officers are not permanent a strong PO is needed with continuous participation from the people in planning for implementation by Barangay officers o's equipping & organizing"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	"Our women have a big view of the community (like wanting a Health & Community Centre) although the men thought that they were focused on livelihood projects (eg soapmakng, abaca weaving)" [this is Empowerment of women]
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	The Councillors, having done their planning in the PO, present their proposals to the Municipality for approval and budgeting.
		Count	Theme of Theory of empowerment
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc Datu (tribal leader): "The extensionists guided the farmers who took responsibility for the project so that the extensionists were a bridge for development"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"Because of the strength of our community all the people in Asbagniloc planned for our development "
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Columbagon woman farmer: "unity is essential for development otherwise ideas of development are centred on 'utopia' [her word] descriptions of no hunger, good health, universal education."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Erning the BC: "development depends on cooperation between people" & "a strong BC makes it happen" [leadership]; "through a community organized effort"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	Isidro (an early adopter and ex-Farm Inst): "What can the people do if not assisted by the Barangay officials? What can the officials do if people fail to cooperate?"

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Leadership
Women	Himaya	1	There are no women Councillors in the Himaya *Sitio* nor the *Barangay*, though they have had them in the past. They are happy with their new Councillor who is a leading adopter.
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Not until Erning's time as *Barangay* Captain (1991, 8 years into project) were women invited into a KAMACA General Assembly"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	Because the People's Organization President is now their Councillor (& *Barangay* Captain) women's ideas are listened to eg. piglet & calf dispersal program
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"It is an effect of the Project that now we have women leaders in 6 *Sitios* including 2 Councillors, as well leaders in the Philippines Coconut Association and Church"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"There was no strong adopter leadership (so no *alayon* were formed). The adopters debriefed and mutually encouraged one another but worked individually"
Farmers	Bacungan	2	At time of the focus group discussion the Bacungan Councillors (including non-adopters) were amoving to set up a nursery for fruit and timber trees with Department of Agriculture help
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc Datu (traditional tribal leader): "The extensionists guided the farmers who took responsibility for the project so that the extensionists were a bridge for development"
Farmers	Himaya	1	"The Councillor strongly promotes tree nursery so that all farmers planted fruit &, or timber seedlings in 1997"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"The *Barangay* Captain promotes conservation farming but they have no secondary adopter groups though the women say they are planning one"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Our project started up through promotion by the then *Barangay* Captain to take up conservation farming rather than migrate out"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Columbagon *Barangay* Captain, "the current priority of the Council is fertility improvement by means of fertilizer supply and application"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"In Tabayag it took 3 or 4 years for the original Councillors to cooperate with or affirm the adopter groups. In 1986 the then BC joined which started support. He withdrew in 1989"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Erning, the *Barangay* Captain: "development depends on cooperation between people; a strong BC makes it happen" [leadership]; it has to be a community organized effort"
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	The present Councillors: "We are active KAMACA (the PO) members" ..."developing our own farms as models (of sustainable agriculture".
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of initial situation of subsistence failure
Women	Bacungan	1	"(Our farms gave) Poor yields and we suffered a food shortage in the pre-project situation"
Women	Bacungan	2	"I told them that (rather than peace and order)....that the number one problem in our village is poverty": woman Councillor.
Women	Himaya	1	"Soil erosion and low productivity prevailed before the MUSUAN project. Off-farm income was needed to buy food for subsistence. It was a very terrible situation"
Women	Himaya	1	"Some late adopter women were farming land that was still fertile at the time the project began". [conflict minimization?]
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Previously we had less to harvest & less income. Some families had to cut sago or search for wild yams for subsistence."
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Our problems were low yield and income"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	3	"Problems started in the 50s then became acute in the 60s leading to outmigration to Mindanao or the cities"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	4	"In the 30s & 40s before the forest was (all) cut down, our families were *kaingineros (shifting cultivators in the forest) and* we harvested enough food for the whole year"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"By 1985 we were struggling to find a solution to the problem of having stomachs empty from a lack of food production because of erosion."
Farmers	Bacungan	2	"Men were having to work away for cash to buy food. We were so hungry that we steeped pandanus roots (soaked them in water for some days) then ate them (*romlen*). We were also selling our livestock."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Though we suffered from food shortages we already had Ipil Ipil (*Leaucaena leucocephala*) to cut for sale as firewood for cash to live (or we needed other off-farm income)."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Our pre-project priorities were making up for our subsistence food shortage, better road access, power connection & a village water scheme".

Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	(Pre-project) "We had no solutions to the food shortage. We were still using *kaingin and*, ploughing up and down(the slopes)."
Farmers	Himaya	1	"After the first few years after clearing (76-86) forest fertility began to decline so that the people experienced food shortage. They needed fertilizer to maintain yields."
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Our pre-project priority was overcoming food shortage often through outmigration for work."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"In our immigrant situation soil fertility was rapidly decreasing because of erosion so that fertilizer inputs were being doubled at high cost."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Our pre-project priority was the deteriorating subsistence food production."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"Life was difficult, all they had for dealing with erosion were traditional drought foods like eating sago and wild yams because of food shortage".
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	2	"Before the maize stems had fallen down we used to finish eating the harvest. In 1946 you paid 8 Piso for a sago (*buri*) palm but in 1986 you paid 1000 Piso per palm."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"(In Tabayag) pre-project we had neither farming nor community development plans just traditional farming of moving to the next plot when the old area was barren."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"(The situation was one of) Low yields of maize, (all over) food shortages forcing us to search for wild sago trees to process for food and to haul water for long-distances in the dry-season".
Leaders	Himaya	1	"Whenever drought occurred (in the second cropping season) there was food shortage. Also yields were falling."
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Before the time of the project plans came from Argao. The *Barangay* had plans but none for soil & water conservation & it no budget."
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Before the project the problems of low food production were discussed in the *Barangay* Assembly."
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Land Tenure Issues
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"By planting blocks of perennial fruit and timber in them we plan to make their agriculture more sustainable and to secure these 1 ha blocks of degraded forest by Community Stewardship Certificates"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Land around Columbagon is secured by ISF (Integrated Social Forestry) Certificates. Near the highway it is titled."
			Theme of Maintenance of conservation structures
Women	Himaya	1	"We now do less tilling and weeding but have hedgerows to maintain." [again husbands are not responsible for hedgerows other than trimming]
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Our future plans are to maintain contour hedgerows, extend the bench terraces into other areas of degraded soil, and shift into perennial tree crops and timberlots"
Leaders	Colum-bagon	1	Secondary adopters of Columbagon, "maintenance and repair after ploughing are significant post construction activities (of conservation farming) also "we do not have adopter groups."
Leaders	Colum-bagon	2	A secondary adopter from *Sitio* San Carlos in *Barangay* Kuya, "I am a member of a cooperative which sometimes discusses contour hedgerow maintenance and strengthening in our meetings."
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	Ali, a non-adopter, felt like Isidro that other people had no faith in rockwalls, "I already had good rockwalls made by my grandfather on contour on gentle slope so had retained my soil. I only needed to maintain them."

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of local or traditional knowledge
Women	Himaya	1	"Here at Himaya there was no traditional experience to help us cope with the pre-project subsistence failure"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Before the project there had been awareness of soil loss but the community response in building rockwalls and checkdams was limited".
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"In the 30s & 40s before the forest was (all) cut down, when our families were *kaingineros (practised shifting cultivation through the forest)*, we harvested enough food for the whole year"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	3	"Problems (of poor harvests and food shortage) started in the 50s then became acute in the 60s leading to outmigration to Mindanao or the cities"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	Bacungan farmers stated they were aware of soil loss from their *kaingin* system
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"From the traditional *kaingin* view we Asbagniloc farmers saw no way out of the pre-project food shortage situation"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	2	Asbagniloc people stated they were aware of soil loss from their *kaingin* system
Farmers	Himaya	1	In Himaya, before the MUSUAN Project, they used the traditional technique of putting timber across slopes to limit erosion by soil loss downslope
Farmers	Himaya	1	All 9 Himaya focus group discussion farmers were immigrants who arrived bw '1972 and 1987 not traditional landowners
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Grass or hedgerow species shouldn't be near the crop because they hinder it's growth and it is hardwork planting hedgerows"
Farmers	Himaya	1	Post-project Himaya: "burying rocks", (that is, retaining old and new soil) is the advantage of continuous hedgerows. It is not direct fertility restoration" [this was an ironic statement, he said, "the soil here does not have legs"]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Old man, "even in the flat continuous cropping depletes fertility so that yields decrease"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"Our fathers continued our grandathers work so that many gullies were filled in with check dams" [it seems that he is rewriting history because he had just told me that most of the dams were built during the project]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	2	[Though there were few checkdams or rockwalls] "Our trad knowledge prepared us for rapid adoption of the soil conservation technology."
Leaders	Himaya	1	"In Cebu, before emigrating here, we had practised mixed cropping and fishing."
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"We already knew that soil erosion was causing yearly food shortages but the traditional structures were not enough to control it. The result was outmigration."
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of soil loss
Women	Himaya	1	Soil erosion, low productivity prevailed before the MUSUAN project. Off-farm income needed to buy food for subsistence.
Farmers	Bacungan	1	Before the farmers saw the soil being carried away.
Farmers	Bacungan	2	Bacungan m & w also attended first meeting called by RLC extensionists to discuss a strategy for relief from the situation & root cause of soil loss
Farmers	Bacungan	3	Bacungan men & women couldn't tackle root of food shortage problem because didn't grasp the full implications and scale of soil loss
Farmers	Bacungan	2	"We saw rocks 'growing out' of the ground which we came to understand was due to the loss of topsoil."
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc community adopted conservation farming because t MBRLC technicians convinced them that soil loss was t root cause of their food shortage
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	Others migrated to Mindanao because of food shortage to spoil the land there.
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	Poor yields from small ears of maize because of the degraded soil was the pre-project situation.
			Theme of Community NGO cooperation
Women	Bacungan	1	"The extensionists listened to our ideas"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"The project began in 1981 when DENR introduced brought Ralph Granert from World Neighbours to come to to meet with us"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"The Mag-uugmad extensionists listen to our ideas during training" [but in the beginning women were on the outside of the project]
Women	Himaya	1	"We attended fortnightly meetings with the extensionists who listened, often in place of our husbands (who were working on the farms)" [training was separate]
Leaders	Asbagniloc	1	"The MBRLC technicians supported us in the ongoing promotion of the Asbagniloc community water scheme proposal."
Leaders	Bacungan	1	Bacungan farmers: "there was dialogue in our meetings; we had our say and the extensionists had theirs".

Appendices

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Non-adopter resistance
Women	Bacungan	1	Non adopter, "Hedgerows must be trimmed otherwise the corn won't grow"
Women	Bacungan	2	"Leaucaena must be managed to prevent heavy seeding and self-spreading"
Women	Himaya	1	"Some late adopter women were farming land that was still fertile at the time the Project began [conflict minimization?] or were new immigrants."
Women	Himaya	2	Himaya meeting with late adopters: "out of caution we waited until the benefits were clear such as good yields, fertility restoration & the potential for vegetable production"
Women	Himaya	3	Himaya meeting with late adopters: "we have no criticisms of STAR but it's hard work planting & maintaining contour hedgerows so we waited for the gains (to be proven)"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"There was initial resistance in Tabayag out of fear of military reprisals from the association with suspected communists but eventually there was near total adoption"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	Bacungan non-adopters, "we were too busy to contour hedgerow" and, " we had no seed (for hedgerow species)"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"At Asbagniloc the severity of situation (we had no other solutions) & community solidarity meant rapid adoption over the first 3yrs" [explaining that there were few non-adopters to meet with]
Farmers	Asbagniloc	2	"Some late adopters would not plant perennials or forage out of concern for losing any cornland at all"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	3	"Here at Asbagniloc late and non-adopters were worried about giving up cornland to hedgerows or were still growing enough food"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	4	"Other (Asbagniloc) non-adopters are applying fertilizer to keep up corn yields"
Farmers	Himaya	1	"It is hard work planting hedgerows & grass or hedgerow species shouldn't be near food crops because they hinder crop growth"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Its too much hard work to contour hedgerow and we are too busy" (to which adopters replied, "there are plenty of people looking for work") [credit terms are tough]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Here at Tabayag opposition and disinterest centred on the 'middle-class' mainly flat-land holders with coconut groves (this included the 0original Councillors) who suffered less erosion."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Isidro an early adopter and later Farmer Instructor, "Some people at Tabayag felt they already knew the soil erosion problem but had no faith in the new techniques of contour rockwalls and hedgerows as opposed to checkdams".
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	Ali, a non-adopter, felt like Isidro that other people had no faith in rockwalls, "I already had good rockwalls made by my grandfather on contour on gentle slope so had retained my soil. I only needed to maintain them."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	3	"Some non-adopters are too old for hard work or too lazy or migrated to Mindanao or Cebu City or kept hunting wild yams" [they took easier options]
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Outmigration
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	5	"Problems started in the 50s then became acute in the 60s leading to outmigration to Mindanao or the cities"
Farmers	Bacungan	2	"Men were having to go away for work for cash to buy food....we were so hungry we steeped pandanus roots then ate them (*romlen)*."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Because of food shortage people migrated to Mindanao, to spoil it too (a joke using the discourse of sustainability)."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Other non-adopters took the easier [?] option of moving out of farming into Argao (the District Centre) or into perennial tree farming for cash crops."
Leaders	Himaya	1	"Three of us went to Central Mindanao University for work for money to cover our families' subsistence needs."
Leaders	Tabayag Sitio 2	1	"People already knew that soil erosion was causing yearly food shortages but the traditional structures were not enough: the result was outmigration."

			Theme of People's Organization (PO)
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"The extensionists had formed the PO for the male adopters not at all for women"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	"Not until Erning's time as Barangay Captain (1991, 8 years into project) were women invited into a KAMACA General Assembly"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	3	"We remained outside the PO, not considering ourselves adopters until we began the Home Garden project when we registered separately from our husbands"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	4	"Once we became members soon we had women PO officers (such as the bookkeeper) ."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Our current Tabayag People Organization activities (as 1990s organizational successor to adopter groups) are loans for chicken dung purchase and rolling improved piglet dispersal" (ie. a scheme where each successive recipient gives a number of piglets to the next recipient)
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	"KAMACA helps extend the soil conservation technology but only when requested by farmers."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	3	"KAMACA planning is done by all members (men & women) using participatory processes & with reference to the Councillors"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	Erning, the *Barangay* Captain: "The PO officials are facilitators. Since the Barangay officers are not permanent a strong PO is needed with continuous participation from the people in planning for implementation by the Barangay officers for equipping & organizing."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"Here about 1/3 of all women attended *alayon* meetings & still attend the KAMACA meetings."
			Theme of Promotion of soil conservation in the community
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"In our formal community meetings, and informally conservation farming was promoted by the *Datu* and others" [the *Datu*, their tribal leader, was an early adopter & their Councillor]
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"The extensionists directed at beginning then progress was discussed among adopters but no community promotion took place"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Our *Barangay* Captain promotes conservation farming but there are no secondary adopter groups though the women say they are planning one"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"At the Columbagon Project start-up the then BC did promotion to take up conservation farming rather than migrate out but no leadership (was arranged for) any *alayon* outside of Himaya."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	A secondary adopter from *Sitio* San Carlos in *Barangay* Kuya, "I am a member of a cooperative which sometimes discusses contour hedgerow maintenance and strengthening in our meetings."
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Initially at Himaya the hamlet supported new adopters by providing training in A-frame use, with encouragement and in the organization of *alayon."*
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"It took 3 or 4 yrs for the then Councillors to cooperate with or affirm adopter groups. In '86 the then BC joined which started support. He withdrew in '1989"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	2	"In 1989 Erning (the then Senioir Farm Instructor and an early adopter) became BC. Since then the Council always affirms soil conservation and KAMACA". [I thought that the implication was that the old BC probably ceased out of spite]
Leaders	Himaya	1	"There was no involvement between the Himaya people and the Councillors regarding the project"
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Questioning and suspicion
Women	Bacungan	1	"Why do you need to wait for the extensionists to call a meeting if its supposed to be regular?" (non-adopter woman to adopters at Bacungan)
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"At that time in Tabayag there was a climate of fear in which personal adoption decisions were made while adopter groups (*alayon*) were suspected of being communist cells"
			Theme of Secret adoption
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"Now non-adopters want to plant fruit trees (perennial crops) for cash to buy food but before the project they had had no plans."
Farmers	Himaya	1	Secret adoption by Himaya non-adopters using trees & perennial food crops like bananas, tropical fruits (for home & the market) to retain the soil."

			Theme of Self-spreading
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"Some non-adopters are planting perennial fruit trees for cash crops to buy food. Before the Project they had no plans". [they are adopting some enterprises or techniques without taking up a conservation discourse]
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"We (adopters are planning to expand SALT on our farms & encourage new adopters" [public espousal of the Discourse of Conservation]
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"In our formal community meetings, and informally conservation farming was promoted by the *Datu* and others" [the *Datu*, their tribal leader, was an early adopter & their Councillor]
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"Early adopters here encouraged their neighbours to take up soil conservation" [tribal cohesion]
Farmers	Himaya	1	After hedgerow establishment in Himaya was completed there was little community support (it remained within the hamlet boundary though relatives helped secondary adopters in other localities)
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	A secondary adopter described marking out & planting hedgerows across the contour without an A-frame saying that it was too cumbersome [quite likely he had not been taught and didn't know how to use one]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	The same secondary adopter as in record 400 adopted because of soil erosion which he successfully halted after seeing and hearing all about it at Himaya through his in-laws. His outcome was increased yields of sweet potato & corn
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Columbagon secondary adopters, "around Columbagon we work individually though the first adopters are encouraging us once they see our hedgerows. Our wives only help us when they see the soil retention".
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"The self-spreading is poor quality because neither is there extensionist to farmer nor farmer to farmer training."
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"KAMACA helps extend the soil conservation technology but only when requested by farmers" (we do not demand it either through the PO or the *Barangay* Council)
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio* 1	1	"It is the women's idea for expansion of conservation farming to make backyard gardens for intensive vegetable (and flower) production supplying home & market."
			Theme of Less erosion or Soil conservation techniques
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"That's when we built these check dams (close by) then moved into contour farming".
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"Some non-adopters are planting perennial fruit trees for cash crops to buy food. Before the Project they had no plans". [they are adopting some enterprises or techniques without taking up a conservation discourse]
Farmers	Bacungan	1	Big changes from the past: "the conservation techniques were good for our rolling hills" [ie. 50-70m local relief, low, steep, rounded hills]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The Barangay Captain talking about his own *Sitio*: "secondary adopters are also building stone retaining walls in this ward"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"The BC promotes conservation farming but there are no secondary adopter groups"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Only one secondary adopter farmer acknowledged planting *Flemingia macrophylla* for hedgerows (*Flemingia* is a prunable leguminous shrub that is also good animal fodder)
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Around Columbagon some secondary adopters are strengthening contour hedgerows with stones or Napier Grass (*Pennisetum purpureum)* as well as Wild Sunflower. They want to reinforce breach points in new hedgerows" (ie. where surface flow after heavy rain has broken through hedgerows)
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"Here adopter groups using an apprenticeship model trained in-field on one another's farms hedgerow plantng, bench-terracing, constructing rockwalls & building goat-pens"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"Our ongoing conservation farming activities include tree-planting throughout our land to conserve soil\ stop its loss."
Farmers	Himaya	1	At Himaya they initially took the initiative to help one another adopt conservation measures but had no vision of spreading outside them the hamlet so there is a variable and often poor quality of secondary adoption
Farmers	Himaya	1	Secret adoption by Himaya non-adopters using trees & perennial food crops like bananas, tropical fruits (for home & the market) to retain the soil."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Columbagon secondary adopters, "around Columbagon we work individually though the first adopters are encouraging us once they see our hedgerows. Our wives only help us when they see the soil retention".

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Traditional caution
Women	Himaya	1	Tabayag late adopters: "out of caution we waited until the benefits were clear such as good yields, fertility restoration & the potential for vegetable production"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc late and non-adopters were worried about giving up cornland to hedgerows or were still growing enough food for themselves
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"The previous Councillors, at the time the project began, gave little support to us."
			Theme of Training
Women	Himaya	1	Some wives went to training who had to teach their husbands afterwards (meetings were different from training seminars)
Women	Himaya	1	"At Himaya we adopted quickly after seeing in cross farm visits (including a seminar in Davao) that the technology was effective."
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	2	Once the women began their home garden project visitors came to look and they began taking cross agency and off-island training visits.
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	Though not yet KAMACA members or seeing themselves as adopters the women were joining in training and cross-visiting.
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	3	"The Mag-uugmad extensionists listened to our ideas during training" [but in the beginning women were on the outside of the project]
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	The Asbagniloc adopters trained and had seminars with the MBRLC technicians who linked them to the SMAP project through which they received seedlings
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Initially at Himaya we all supported new adopters by providing training in A-frame use, with encouragement and in the organization of *alayon"*
Farmers	Himaya	2	"Outside Himaya hamlet little training was provided to secondary adopters so their hedgerows are all over the place across the slope (ie. their hedgerows are off-contour)
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"There is a poor quality of self-spreading because there is neither extensionist to farmer nor farmer to farmer training"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	"We would like training in trades, making handicrafts, & training and credit for home gardening. We also want common land for a women's project "
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	*"We Sitio* Kabalowan farmers began their soil conservation training soon after the first public meeting (with the Forestry Officer and Bill Granert from World Neighbours)"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"Here adopter groups using an apprenticeship model trained in-field on one another's farms hedgerow planting, bench-terracing, constructing rockwalls & building goat-pens"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	2	"We have a monthly meeting of all *alayo*n making & critiquing farm plans & discussing community improvements eg power supply connection"
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Unity in community
Women	Tabayag *Sitio* 2	1	"Once the Project began we wanted to form workteams (*alayon*) to take up the technology together for the fun and mutual encouragement."
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"The adopters met to debrief and mutually encourage one another but we worked individually"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"We Asbagniloc tribal farmers prepared conservation structures in traditional (*bayanihan*) workteams on a 7d food roster"
Farmers	Himaya	1	"Initially at Himaya we all supported new adopters by providing training in A-frame use, with encouragement and in the organization of *alayon"*
Farmers	Himaya	2	After hedgerow establishment in Himaya was completed there was little community support (it remained within the hamlet boundary though relatives helped secondary adopters in other localities)
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"At Columbagon secondary adopters were scattered". [Maybe that is why there was no unity for teamwork developing conservation structures but it also eems linked to the hamlet focus of Himaya primary adopters]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"At that time in Tabayag there was a climate of fear in which personal adoption decisions were made while adopter groups (*alayon*) were suspected of being communist cells"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	"Here adopter groups using an apprenticeship model trained in-field on one another's farms hedgerow planting, bench-terracing, constructing rockwalls & building goat-pens"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	2	"We constructed our nursery then established it by community work called *tagbo*. We also had monthly meeting of all *alayon* to discuss farm plans & community improvements eg power supply connection

Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	3	"Our current Tabayag People Organization activities (as 1990s organizational successor to adopter groups) are loans for chicken dung purchase and rolling improved piget dispersal" (ie. a scheme where each successive recipient gives a number of piglets to the next recipient)
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	Erning the *Barangay* Captain: "development depends on cooperation between people"; "a strong BC makes it happen" [leadership]; "it is a community organized effort"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*		"Erning would walk us down to the coast to bathe our weary bodies then fish all night for food for the families then 14km back home at dawn"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*		"I joined them because they were so good to be with I wanted to work with them in the *alayon*"
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Women's impact
Women	Bacungan	1	Much of the promotion to men and subsequent passing on of training to them was done by wives after their husbands had returned from their farmwork
Women	Himaya	1	As there was a degree of conflict at Himaya between wives and husbands over planting hedgerows into cornland its clear that women were prime movers for the MUSUAN Project
Women	Himaya	1	Since the Project ended the Himaya women meet regularly to talk about *Sitio* problems and future plans [this is a hamlet centred view]
Women	Himaya	1	"We have no women Councillors in Himaya *Sitio* nor the *Barangay*, though we have had them in the past. We are happy with the Councillor who is a leading adopter."
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"Because the KAMACA (People's Organization) President is now their Councillor (& *Barangay* Captain) women's ideas are listened to eg. the piglet & calf dispersal program was the women's initiative"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	2	"The need for a community water scheme was an issue we raised"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	More farmwork but women happy because growing sufficient food, earning money involved in wider economy, interaction of contract harvest-teams
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"We want to develop the *Barangay,* for a start, through protecting the watershed, extending the water-supply & increasing water-supply availability per farmstead"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	The men told us what the women's contribution to development was but missed out on all the community service ideas that the women had ie. the men had no inkling of the women's ideas
Farmers	Himaya	1	The farmers said that, "the Himaya women have no idea about further conservation farming innovations nor about future of their community"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	Columbagon: "the BC promotes conservation farming but there are no secondary adopter groups although the women say they are planning to form one."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Our woman Councillor encourages composting over burning of rice straw, corn cobs and stover and grasses" [this seems narrow view compared with growing fruit & vegetables with the compost]
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	"We would like training in trades, making handicrafts, & training and credit for home gardening. We also want common land for a women's project "
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	The Tabayag men thought the women were focussed on livelihood projs (soapmaking, abaca weaving) but the women have a bigger community picture (Health & Commty 0)
Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Yield restoration
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"Contouring, mulch and fertilizer have allowed diversification into market vegetables and flowers whereas before cash income from copra went on subsistence"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	"Other non-adopters are applying fertilizer to keep up corn yields"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	"Non-adopters (of contour hedgerows) are having to increase fertilizer input to maintain corn yields"
Farmers	Colum-bagon	2	The same secondary adopter as in record 400 adopted because of soil eroson which he successfully halted after seeing and hearing all about it at Himaya through his in-laws. His outcome was increased yields of sweet potatoe & corn
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"After adoption we began to sell produce" (whereas before they were short of food).

Appendices

Focus Group	Location	Count	Theme of Vision
Women	Bacungan	1	The vision of the woman Councillor (portfolio of budget, formerly education) is promoting a Day Care Centre
Women	Bacungan	2	"We have not had a general discussion of our future plans"
Women	Himaya	1	"Our vision is to grow more vegetables like sweet potato) then shift into perennial fruit crops for home and market as well as timber to stop landslips" [farm centred view]
Women	Himaya	2	"No plans have been made" for *sitio* improvement by Himaya women but they want power extension, more roads and women's livelihood projects [conflict]
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"Our vision is to maintain the contour hedgerows, extend bench terraces onto areas of degraded soil, and shift into perennial tree crops and timberlots"
Women	Tabayag *Sitio2*	2	" We also want to develop the *Barangay,* for a start through protecting the watershed, then extending the water-supply so as to increase the availability per farmstead"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"Conservation farming became the highest priority because we had been looking for answers to our plight"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	Asbagniloc adopters: "our community on-farm development plan is for additional distribution of fruit tree seedlings from the present nursery"
Farmers	Asbagniloc	1	After having put in their water scheme the Asbsagniloc community is pursuing power connection, a solar crop dryer, a footbridge for school-children and local farm-produce transport & a Health Centre
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"The Councillor strongly promotes the tree nursery so that all farmers planted fruit &, or timber seedlings in 1997"
Farmers	Himaya	2	"We have set up an informal credit society (2% interest rate) to avoid using merchants *soekis (money lenders)*. We wanted a Producers Coop but it was too much effort."
Farmers	Colum-bagon	1	The Columbagon Council, through the *Barangay* Captain, wants a commercial drinkwater bottling plant, a sawmill for local timber, an input credit scheme & a purchasing cooperative [Emped]
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	1	Tabayag: "we believe our condition can still improve as we implement the *Barangay* Development Plan which we made through a participatory process"
Farmers	Tabayag *Sitio1*	2	Tabayag: "Our ideal community would have a High School, adequate income, beautiful houses, a high capacity water supply & power to all houses, a corn mill, roads & a Health Centre"
Leaders	Tabayag *Sitio2*	1	"Conservation must spread because irresponsible farming leads to erosion or landslides which wreck downslope farms or jeopardize upslope ones"
Farmers	Bacungan	1	"The women represent us at meetings while we are busy on our farms. Currently they are pursuing the expansion of SALT and arranging with the Dept of Agriculture for fruit tree seedlings and nursery development"

ATTACHMENT

Notes of interviews with Extensionists or Community Workers from each site