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UNDERSTANDING PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT IN BARANGAY LUMANGAN, MIAGAO, ILOILO, PHILIPPINES

BY

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MAY 1997

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN GEOGRAPHY

Abstract

In recent years, "participatory development" has gained popularity in development circles. It has been recognized that participatory approaches in development programs and projects can help in meeting the conventional development objectives of economic growth and equity as well as more recent concerns of sustainability, good governance and democratisation. In fact, many evaluations have shown that projects and programs following participatory approaches produce higher and more enduring returns. In turn, many government and nongovernment bodies have endorsed and adopted participatory approaches in development work.

This is a qualitative study examines the theory and practice of people's participation in development programs and projects on a micro level. The objective study is to understand community participation structures in Barangay Lumangan, a village on the University of the Philippines in the Visayas (UPV) campus in Miagao, Province of Iloilo, Philippines. This is accomplished by assessing the depth and scope of peoples participation in the decision making, implementation and benefits acquisition in two development programs/projects: the Barangay Integrated Development Approach for Nutrition (BIDANI) and the Community-Based Health Care program (CBHP). An attempt is also made to assess the performance of an area-based development consortium (composed of a state university, government agencies and nongovernmental organizations) in strengthening local organizations within the context of the two development programs/projects they have setup.

The focus group in these two projects/programs comprise community members from Barangay Lumangan. A total of thirty-eight households was interviewed. This thesis provides insights into the role of villagers, local leaders and intermediaries and an area-based development consortium in the participatory development process at work in Barangay Lumangan. This study not only describes participation strategies and structures as articulated by official policy documents but it also critically examines them as well. People's perceptions about participatory processes are also revealed.

The thesis developed here is that genuine participatory development is a long process of power sharing and flexibility between and among local organizations, government and nongovernment agencies (local and foreign). It is recommended that local development initiatives incorporate indigenous communication and organizational strategies into their system to encourage more community members to participate in local organizations and development activities. Government and nongovernment organizations, for their part, are encouraged to ensure that enough financial resources are channelled into local development initiatives. Also, due to the presence of leaders and intermediaries who may not promote the interest of beneficiaries, an effort should be made by development organizations/funding agencies to provide organizational training and information for community members to enable them to control leaders/intermediaries. With enough imagination, understanding and empathy among various development groups it is hoped that the gap between aspirations and realities in the lives of community members can be bridged.

Résumé

Au cours des dernières années, "le développement participatif" gagnait en popularité dans le monde du développement. On a reconnu que les approches participatives des programmes et projets du développement peuvent contribuer à satisfaire aux objectifs conventionnels de l'expansion et l'equité économique, comme aux plus nouveaux soucis du développement durable, du bon gouvernement, et de la démocratisation. En fait, des nombreuses évaluations ont démontré que les projets et programmes qui suivent les approches participatives produisent les rendements plus élevés et plus constants. À leur tour, beaucoup de gouvernements et autres organismes ont donné leur aval aux approches participatives du développement, et ont les adopte/es.

Ceci est une étude qualitative de la recherche sur la théorie et l'usage du developpement participatif dans les programmes et projets à petite échelle. L'objectif de cette étude est de comprendre les structures de la participation de la communauté de Barangay Lumangan, un village à l'Université des Philippines au campus Visayas, à Miagao, la province Iloilo, Philippines. On a réalisé cela en évaluant l'étendue et la portée de la participation de la communauté aux decisions, à l'exécution, et à l'acquisition des profits dans deux projets/programmes du développement: l'Approche Intégrée du Développement pour la Nutrition de Barangay (BIDANI), et le Programme des Soins Medicaux Basé à la Communauté (CBHP). On tente aussi d'évaluer les performances d'un consortium régional du développement (composé d'une université publique, des agences gouvernementaux, et des organismes non-gouvernementaux) à raffermir les organisations locales, dans le contexte de ces deux projets/programmes du développement.

Le centre d'intérêt dans ces deux projets/programmes est la communauté de Barangay Lumangan. Un total de trente-huit ménages ont été interviewés. Ce thèse apporte des idées du rôle des villageois, des chefs locaux, des intermédiaires, et du consortium régional du développement dans le processus du développement participatif à Barangay Lumangan. Cette étude pas seulement décrit les stratégies et structures de la participation comme les politiques officielles les articulent, mais elle les examine aussi. On dévoile aussi les perceptions des gens sur les processus participatifs.

Le thèse soutient que le vrai développment participatif est un long processus du partage du pouvoir et de la flexibilité entre les organisations locales, les agences gouvernementaux, et les organisations nongouvernmentales (locaux et étrangers). Il est recommandé que les initiatives locales du développement incorporent les stratégies indigènes de la communication et organisation dans leur système, pour encourager la participation de la communauté aux organisations locales et aux activités du développement. Les organisations gouvernementales et privées, pour leur part, sont encouragées à faire en sorte qu'on affecte assez de ressources financières aux initiatives du développement, pour s'assurer que les biens touchent et améliorent la vie d'autant de gens que possible. En plus, les organismes de subvention et les organisations du développement devraient se donner de peine pour servir l'intérêt des bénéficiares. À cette fin, il est suggéré qu'on apporte la formation et les renseignements d'organisateur aux membres de la communauti, pour les donner le pouvoir de riglementer les chefs/intermédiaires dévoyés. Avec assez d'imagination, de compréhension, et d'empathie entre les groupes divers du développement, il faut ésperer que l'écart entre l'aspiration et la réalité dans les vies de la communauté puisse être franchi.

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)-funded Food Systems Development Project (FSDP) throughout my studies at McGill University and my field research in the Philippines. I am also grateful for the support provided by Veena Gujrathi of the Centre for Developing Area Studies (CDAS) at McGill, Diane Doyle of CIDA-Canada and Naide Bombay of the CIDA office in the Philippines for ensuring that all my administrative needs as a foreign scholar were attended to. Data, literature and facilities were generously provided by various offices in the University of the Philippines in the Visayas (UPV), the Municipality of Miagao and the Provincial Government of Iloilo. Invaluable data for the thesis came from interviews I had with the people of Barangay Lumangan in Miagao who openly shared their problems and fears, as well as their hopes and dreams for the future.

My personal appreciation is due especially to Professor Warwick Armstrong, for his advice toward the completion of this thesis and whose support and friendship have made the last three years of studies at McGill both enlightening and delightful. Similarly, I am thankful to Professor Oliver Coomes who read and provided valuable comments to the thesis. I collectively thank the faculty, student body and staff of the Department of Geography for providing a cordial and stimulating intellectual atmosphere.

Studying and living in the wonderful city of Montreal, Canada has been a very exciting and memorable. The experience became more meaningful with the love and support of Christians from the Westmount Baptist Church and the People's Church in Montreal. I especially want to acknowledge the support and assistance of Manang Valencia Divinagracia who opened her home and life to me and my family. The Peñalosas and Magders were also a blessing as they treated us like kin. I cherish the fun and relaxing time spent in the company of friends like Bun, Jaime, Cristina, the Volkovs, the Watsons, Chris, Meloy, Cynthia and Lusette. Mention should also be given to the brods and sis from the Alpha Phi Omega (Philippines) Alumni Association of Montreal, Alpha Phi Omega (Philippines) ETA Chapter in North America, and the brothers from Alpha Phi Omega-USA and the Alpha Phi Omega-McGill University Petitioning Group (first petitioning group in Canada) who have all been a great inspiration in their quest for excellence in Leadership, Friendship and Service.

I wish to thank my parents for their unwavering support before and throughout my academic stint at McGill. My gratitude also to Junie for his generous financial assistance when it was badly needed. Finally I thank my beloved spouse Lyncen who is my fiercest critic, my best friend and doting mother to our precious daughter Chantalle.

Table of Contents

Maps

Figures

Tables

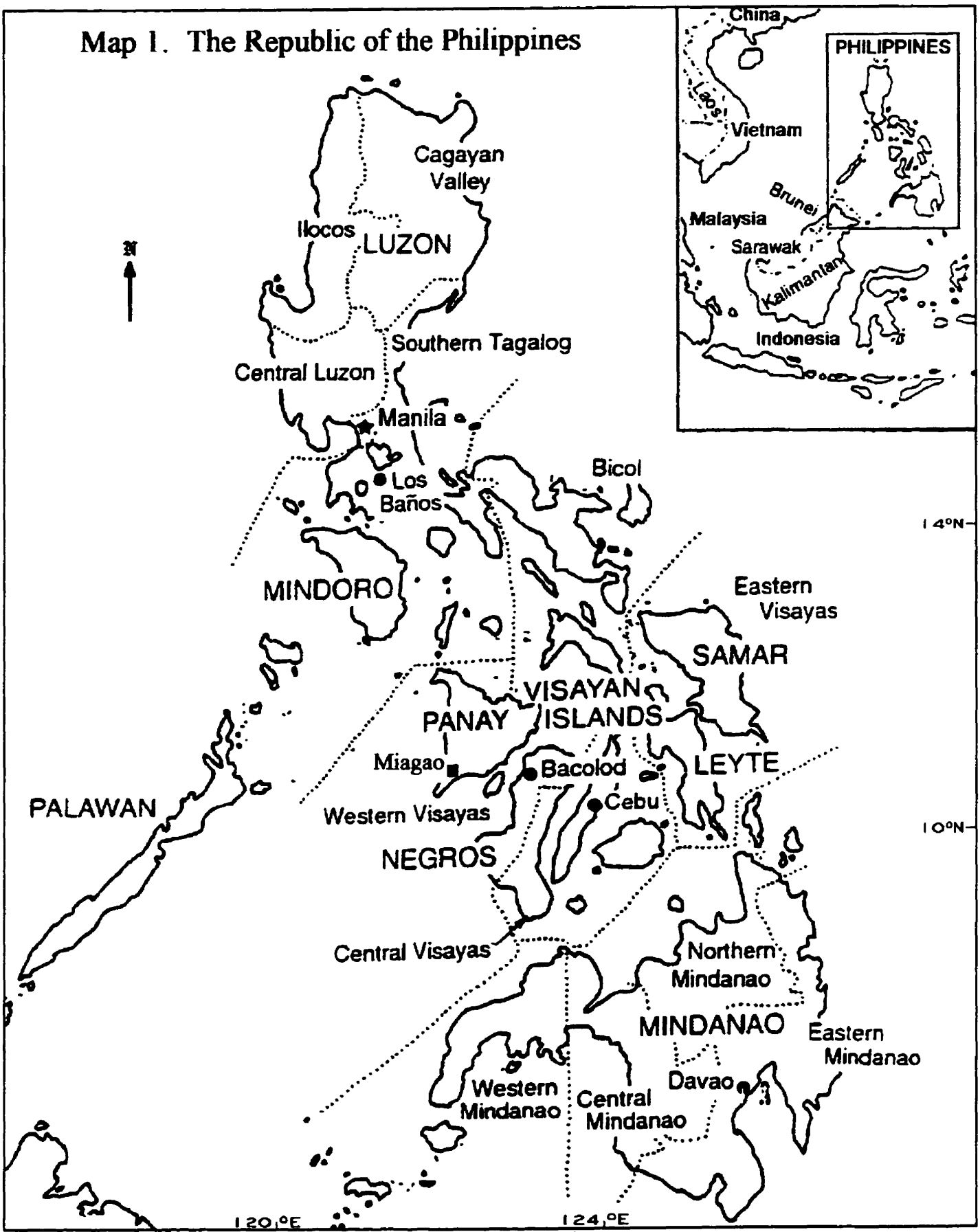
Charts

1

Introduction: A Case Study on Participatory Development

Since the late 1970s, international efforts have increasingly focused on the redefinition of the conventional concept and strategy of "development" which tended to promote the interest of the powerful, unmindful of the consequences in terms of human development. In recent years, some scholars go as far as rejecting "development" as an unwelcome and destructive homogenisation of cultures based on a western model of economic growth, science, technology and bureaucracy (Said 1978; Sachs 1992). One consequence is a renewed interest in the importance of indigenous culture, technology and wisdom (Chambers 1983). Another outcome, is the rethinking of development theories in most countries in the South because of widespread disillusionment with the record of postwar development efforts led by the North. In many former colonies, development gains were increasingly insufficient to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. Government policies, in turn, often seem to have intensified social inequalities and widened regional disparities. As a response, some countries like the Philippines (Map 1) have reexamined development strategies and made corresponding adjustments.

Map 1. The Republic of the Philippines



Source: Ulack, R. and G. Pauer. Atlas of Southeast Asia. 1989

A. Development Policy

Many of the Philippines' well known economic and environmental problems have been linked to economic structures established by the chosen pattern of industrialisation and recent measures of adjustment to excessive foreign indebtedness (Repetto & Cruz 1992). With the downfall of the Ferdinand E. Marcos regime in 1986, succeeding governments[1] have attempted to redefine Philippine development strategies. An important step toward meaningful and substantial change came with the adoption of a new constitution in 1987 that contain stipulations that explicitly promote popular participation in development efforts. The most pertinent provisions (The Constitutional Commission 1986, 3; 50). on the theme of "participatory development" in the new charter are:

- ART. II: SEC. 3: The state shall encourage non-governmental, community-based, or sectoral organizations that promote the welfare of the nation.
- ARTXIII: SEC. 15: The State shall respect the role of independent people's organizations to enable the people to pursue and protect, within the democratic framework, their legitimate and collective interests and aspirations through peaceful and lawful means.
- ART. XIII: SEC 16: The right of the people and their organizations to effective and reasonable participation at all levels of social, political, and economic decision-making shall not be abridged. The State shall, by law, facilitate the establishment of adequate consultation mechanisms.

In consonance with the letter and spirit of the 1987 constitution, a new local government code also took effect in January, 1992. The Local Government Code of 1991 devolves the

[1] Corazon C. Aquino, the widow of slain opposition leader Benigno Aquino, was catapulted to power in 1986 to serve a six-year term that ended in 1992. The ensuing first national electoral exercise for the presidency was won by a small margin by Fidel V. Ramos, a former general in the military and first cousin of Ferdinand E. Marcos. Ramos played an important role in the 1986 "People Power Revolution" against the Marcos dictatorship.

administration of national governmental services in health, social welfare, public works and agriculture to local governments (IBON. 1992, 5-8). The village or *barangay*[2] is the smallest unit at the local level. Moreover, the 1991 code recognizes people's participation in development efforts. Consequently, development councils (at village, municipal and provincial levels) were created and mandated to form and consolidate annual development plans.

Another shift in Philippine development strategy is the growing recognition of the contribution of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to the development agenda in the post-Marcos regime. NGOs are defined by the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA)[3] as "nonprofit voluntary organizations committed to the task of socio-economic development and established primarily for service" (NEDA 1990, 237-40). In this study, however, I prefer to define NGOs as private, nonprofit, organizations that are registered and whose main function is to help facilitate the planning, implementation and evaluation of development projects favouring the popular or grassroots sector. The activity of NGOs in development work has been formally encouraged and institutionalized in the policymaking process through the following:

- Article II, Section 23 of the 1987 Constitution mandates that "The state shall encourage non-governmental organizations, community-based or sectoral organizations that promotes the welfare of the nation."
- The Local Government Code of 1991 institutionalized the role of NGOs in local governance through representation in local legislative and policy-making bodies.

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[2]A Malay term for boat; also came to be used for the communal settlements established by migrants who came from the Indonesian archipelago and elsewhere. The term replaces the word *barrio*, which was formerly used to identify the lowest political subdivision in the Philippines.

[3]The NEDA coordinates the preparation of an action program to implement national development plans based on the implementation programs of the government agencies.

- The Medium Term Development Plan of 1987-1993 (under President Aquino) and 1993-1998 (under President Fidel Ramos) called for greater popular involvement in decision-making, planning and implementation of programs along with a greater scope for private initiatives in pursuing economic growth. (NEDA 1987; 1993)

- Government has signed several international conventions, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Development's "Peasant Charter," (FAO 1979, 6-8) and the International Labor Organization's Convention 141 (ILO 1992, C141) that recognizes active NGO participation at the national and international levels.

These changes in public policymaking underscore a basic confidence on micro or grassroots initiatives in development work development policy. A premium has been placed on the relevance of indigenous knowledge and local people's active participation in the development process. Government institutionalized the policy through the promotion of NGOs and/or area-based development consortia (usually composed of a state university, government agencies and NGOs) and as catalysts and partners for local and national development. Through this, the government expects such organizations and groupings to help communities faced with area-specific development problems to achieve self-reliant development through stronger community/local organization.

NGOs are now playing a prominent role in contemporary social movements due to a number of advantages, namely:

a. They have access to funds from abroad;
b. They can generate the mass leaders needed to sustain social movements; and,
c. They can use their direct experience in providing services to beneficiaries as a platform from which to engage in more political activity.

Moreover, NGOs have been able to occupy a certain amount of "space" within the general institutional arrangement (both national and local), due to some practical features of that arrangement. In particular, this arises from the fact that the party-political system in the

Philippines is not strong. Consequently, political parties have weak political platforms, weak institutional linkages between leaders and supporters, and weak internal discipline. An editor of a national newspaper wrote three days before the 1992 election that the political party system in the Philippines has disappeared:

> This partyless democracy is chaotic and gives rise to situations like having seven presidential candidates and hundreds of senatorial, congressional, gubernatorial and mayoral candidates identified with formless political groups and riding makeshift vehicles without any political philosophy to guide them and bond their members. (Doronilla1992, 1)

NGO influence in the Philippines is also due to a low quality of government intervention in the economy, especially with respect to service delivery. This is particularly the case in health service delivery. The two case studies presented in this study illustrate active NGO activity in health delivery as well as in livelihood projects. Both these institutional arrangements permit NGOs to operate freely in Philippine society. It is estimated that there are 18,000 organizations registered as NGOs in the country. Of that number, approximately 2,000 agencies make up the "development NGO community" (Constantino-David 1992, 138).

Development NGOs are found throughout the country, operating by both salaried and voluntary staff. They are largely dependent on donor agencies and function as intermediaries that service the need of people's organizations.[4] The idea behind the NGO inspired development strategy appears in general to be that of "empowering" the people by encouraging them to tap into their indigenous knowledge base, local resources and participate

[4]People's organizations include cooperatives, community associations and unions that operate mainly on a voluntary basis.

actively in development programs and projects.[5] Despite the promise of bottom-up development strategies in the Philippines, where "public welfare" is the main concern, we actually still know little about the status of participatory development initiatives at the grassroots level. This study will show that, beyond the rhetoric, a yawning gap remains between the aspirations of popular participatory development and the reality of its implementation and results.

B. Aims and Objectives

This study examines the distance that exists between the policy and practice of "participatory development" and the realities of community participation in development projects/programs in a rural community in the Philippines.[6] The research site chosen to illustrate this is Relocation Centre 1 or *Barangay Lumangan* in the southwestern portion of the *University of the Philippines in the Visayas* (UPV) campus in the municipality of Miagao, Iloilo Western Visayas, Philippines. The focus group in the interviews was comprised of residents from Barangay Lumangan. Villagers from Barangay Lumangan comprise a majority of residents in Relocation Centre 1. Thus, municipal records indicate that Relocation Site 1 is now

[5]Considering the extensive confusion of language regarding these issues, I will discuss in a later chapter some of the above mentioned central concepts often used in development studies.

[6]A rural community, for the sake of simplicity, refers to individuals or families with commonality of interests and purpose living in a geographical area away from large urban settlements and towns. Rural communities engage in a mixture of rural and urban activities in varying proportions. They may or may not work in the rural or village area, but inhabit the area. They may or may not own land or means of production. They may be engaged in various work activities and people may or may not be engaged in the production of farm crops and animal products. The rural community in this study is a relocated farming community with well defined boundaries inside a university campus. Houses and dwellings are made of concrete and/or light materials, and are concentrated round a central "square" and "main street" (to form the physical condition for a community).

Barangay Lumangan.

Operating in Relocation Centre 1 is an area-based development consortium composed of government organizations (GOs), an NGO and a state university. The relationship between the policy and the practice of "participatory development" initiatives was explored in the research site by inspecting levels of community participation and the effectiveness of an area-based development consortium in strengthening local organizations in Relocation Centre 1. Specifically, the following questions guided this research:

1. Do households from Barangay Lumangan (who comprise the majority of Relocation Centre 1 residents) participate in the planning, implementation and monitoring (including benefits acquisition) of agricultural development programs/projects?
2. What is the scope and depth of household participation in development programs/projects among Barangay Lumangan households?
3. How effective is the area-based development consortium at helping to strengthen local organizations in Relocation Centre 1?

I argue here that "participatory development" does not come in simplified models and these differ from place to place and from one period to the other. This study shows that development programs/projects, specifically in Barangay Lumangan, that subscribe to "top-down" models of development, almost invariably lack community participation. Moreover they are also are ineffective in strengthening local organizations and in improving daily conditions of life.

C. Thesis Outline

The policy and practice of "participatory development" in a Philippine community will be explored in the following sections and chapters. This chapter introduces the study by

providing background on the field setting, research design and methodology. Chapter 2 focuses on conceptual considerations utilized in this research. Chapter 3 defines and explains the concept of 'participation' in the development literature. Chapter 4 provides a survey of the role of local institutions in the Philippines. Chapter 5 introduces the research site, Barangay Lumangan. Chapter 6 presents and discusses community participation in two programs/projects set up by an area-based development consortium in Barangay Lumangan. The chapter also looks into the process of strengthening local organizations. The final chapter concludes with a discussion and analysis of the distance between the policy and the practice of people's participation in development activities.

D. Research Design and Methodology

Research undertaken as part of this study includes a review of the literature on "participatory development" and the analysis of data obtained during a four-month field research from June to October 1995, in the Philippines. The research site in this study is the village of Barangay Lumangan (or Relocation Site 1)[7] located inside the UPV university campus in Miagao, Province of Iloilo, Philippines. The major sources of qualitative and quantitative data include household interviews, participant observation and analysis of written documents produced by institutions and organizations involved in development activities in the village of Barangay Lumangan.

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[7] Relocation Site 1 is home to 5 villages affected by the establishment of UP in the Visayas (a state university). The majority of residents in the site came from Barangay Lumangan. Consequently, Relocation Site 1 is also popularly known as Barangay Lumangan.

1. Selection of Research Site

Barangay Lumangan was chosen as the research site for three reasons. The first is the presence of an area-based development consortium (composed of the local government of Miagao, UPV and a nongovernmental organization) in the area. The consortium is promoting development programs and projects which are aimed at encouraging popular participation. Barangay Lumangan therefore represents an enclave experiencing the policy shifts and institutional cooperation, between government and nongovernment entities, which has presumably swept Philippine development thought and practice since the 1986 "People Power" revolution that toppled the Marcos regime.

A second consideration concerns homogeneity and shared history. Twelve villages were affected by the setting up of the World Bank-funded UPV campus that cover a 1,200 square hectare area in Miagao. Among the villages affected by the establishment of UPV in 1979, almost all (48 of the 51 households) of the Barangay Lumangan residents opted to transfer to Relocation centre 1. This can be explained by the fact that the original location of Barangay Lumangan is just a few hundred metres north of Relocation Site 1. Spatial proximity therefore proved more favourable to Lumangan households than to non-Lumangan residents. Thus, Barangay Lumangan tends to be more organized (due to shared experiences and history) than other barangays affected by the transfer. Consequently, all of the duly elected village council members for Relocation Centre 1 or Barangay Lumangan consider themselves as original residents of the pre-UPV Barangay Lumangan.

Finally, on a more personal note, as a UPV teacher (residing inside the Miagao university campus) I found that it was both convenient and enlightening to do research in familiar terrain

after two years of academic life at McGill University.[8] In the end, however, I believe that my own experience of being uprooted from Manila to Miagao in 1987[9] galvanized my intention to pursue research among resettled families. The shared experience of being relocated (and the travail that accompanies change) by UP created a form of understanding, comparable to that of kinship, felt between myself and the people of Lumangan. The research process was therefore marked with greater empathy and mutual respect among those whose lives were affected by the establishment of UPV in Miagao.

2. Gathering Data

Before the data collection and interviews, I paid courtesy calls to the various leaders and representatives of the area-based development consortia operating in Relocation Site 1. Informal and individualized talks were also conducted privately with elected local officials of Barangay Lumangan, a representative of the Mayor and the head of the UPV relocation program. These talks provided a venue to share ideas and solicit feedback about my research design. Such informal meetings continued throughout the research process and helped to clarify many issues about the research topic and design.

My professional link as an Instructor in Political Science at the University of the Philippines in the Visayas in Miagao was an advantage in most of my dealings with provincial

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[8]Funding for my MA in Geography degree program came from a scholarship provided by the Food Systems Development Project (FSDP). The FSDP is a joint collaboration between the University of the Philippines in the Visayas and McGill University of Canada with funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). The project, adopting participatory approaches to community development, was implemented from August 1988 to June 1994 in three coastal villages in Batan, Aklan in the Philippines.

[9]My family was transferred from UP Diliman Quezon City to UPV Miagao in 1987 to enable my father, Prof. Pepito M. Fernandez, to continue teaching in the UP College of Fisheries.

and local government officials. Those interviewed showed a sense of cooperation, deference and respect to the institution I represented. Interviews were conducted on the spot. I was also furnished copies of important documents related to the study. An administrative assistant of the municipal mayor of Miagao even gave me my first tour of Relocation Site 1, using a jeep assigned to the mayor's office, and introduced me to one of the village officials.

My status as a UPV academician and the contacts I made at the municipal office were useful in my dealings and interviews with village officials. The ordinary villager, on the other hand, could care less whether I had municipal or local official approval to do the research. Some of the household respondents even expressed disdain of research and census studies done in their village because such activities impinged upon their privacy and were considered basically useless in alleviating their plight.

During my early encounters with the original residents of Barangay Lumangan my UPV connection was, in fact, a disadvantage. People from Lumangan are disgruntled with UPV due to its inability to deliver "promesa" or promises[10] given prior to relocation. During the initial part of the research I had the impression that I was seen by residents as a spy who was out to inform UPV about the landless who were squatting on university property. Moreover, residents were already fed up with "surveys" conducted by the national and local government, and by UPV. A male teenager once approached a member of the research team and irritably remarked "daw ginahimo nyo lang tamon nga experimento" (we are made into experiments by you people). Apparently, the young man was unemployed and was fed up with research projects that had no impact on the communities livelihood opportunities The reluctance to

[10]A more detailed discussion of this issue will be given in later sections. Suffice to say that tensions between relocated families in Miagao and UPV policy makers still persist.

participate in the research persisted for a couple of weeks even after I circulated a text outlining the objectives of the research and requesting permission to conduct interviews. I than realized that a more personalized approach was needed to introduce the research to community members.

To counter the negative impression about the research activity I had to explain to each targeted household the purpose of the research. Moreover, I also had to express the affinity I felt to the community by narrating that my family also underwent the physical and emotional difficulties of "relocation"when we transferred to UPV Miagao from Metro Manila in 1987.[11] After providing my personal testimony on the matter, it was satisfying to note that the respondents became more cooperative and willing participants in the research process. Moreover, the research participants seemed to have appreciated my suggestions on how to speed up their petition for UPV to provide a "right of residence" document to them.[12] Before data gathering and interviews could run smoothly, a lot of empathy and patience was exercised. This involved informal talks and sharing periods among people, myself included, whose lives were changed and bound together by the establishment of UPV in Miagao, Iloilo.

To understand the many aspects of rural life in Barangay Lumangan, a literature search was conducted covering the history, politics, economics, culture and environmental aspects of the area. In addition, the research team collated documents, reports, maps and other

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[11] I also requested my research assistants to narrate my personal experience to households they interviewed in my absence.

[12] As of the writing of this thesis, the "right of residence" document being asked by affected families is still being processed. According to UPV officials, the UPV campus in Miagao is still not titled due to lack of funds (to pay some landowners who sold their land to UPV) and a host of environmental and bureaucratic requirements in the processing of documents (such as the requirement to submit an updated impact assessment study and other licensing papers). Thus, UPV is still not the official owner of the entire campus site and is not able to disburse documents of residency to the affected families, however unjust this appears.

pertinent literature on Barangay Lumangan. Of keen interest were data on development programs/projects during the past twelve months. Such documents were obtained from the Iloilo provincial office, the municipal office of Miagao, UPV and non-governmental agencies operating in Barangay Lumangan and its environs.

The focus group for the interviews is from the original site of Barangay Lumangan. The key informants, and the first group to be interviewed, were village leaders or *barangay* officials in Relocation 1 elected in the 1995 local elections. The village officials, all of whom are from the old Lumangan site, provided valuable information on the location and family background of the targeted group of residents. The residents in turn, led our research team to other original Barangay Lumangan residents. The interviews continued until we noticed that we were getting the same reactions and sentiments from the residents. A total of 36 of the 48 relocated residents from the old Barangay Lumangan site was interviewed Also interviewed were eight (8) residents of non-Lumangan origin who also reside in Relocation Site 1. Interviews were also conducted with key local and provincial officials, as well as administrators of the area-based development consortium.

A crucial part of the research was the selection of a research assistant, fluent in the written and spoken language of English, Filipino and the *Kinaray-a* dialect, but who preferably should also be from outside the target community so as to enhance impartiality in the research. I found such a researcher in the person of Ms. Jojie Alcaparas who lives in the nearby town of Bacauan. Jojie had been a researcher at the College of Fisheries when it was still in UP Diliman, Quezon City. She has experience of community-based research and survey of coastal communities and was a sales representative for a local drug company upon our encounter. I

spent three interview sessions with her, each lasting for more than two hours, until I was convinced that she was also ready to listen and learn from the rural community. Another research assistant, a political science student from UPV who resided in the *poblacion*, was hired in the middle of the field interviews. Ms. Eleonor Bayug is a political science undergraduate student from UPV who took a keen interest in the research project and gained the opportunity to do her first field work. The research assistants became important partners in surveying the development experience of Barangay Lumangan.

The research team conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews during the rainy months of July to September 1995. The household social and economic profiles were also gathered during the interviews (see Appendix I and II). The interview guide and questionnaire were translated into the *Kinaray-a* dialect. Although the research team was guided by the theme of the study throughout the interviews, further questions emerged according to responses received from the household members. The interviews were conducted in an informal and relaxed setting inside homes, underneath shady trees, in waiting sheds and in the village plaza.

The aims and objectives of the research were clearly outlined for the household members present during the interviews. The respondents were assured of anonymity and given the option not to answer or react to questions or issues that would compromise their positions at home or in the community. Care was taken to ensure that both male and female heads of the family were informed of the interviews in advance. It was also made clear to the residents that a copy of the thesis would be sent to the community. In that way, community members felt comfortable with the sincerity of my intentions. By being sensitive to relations of authority inside the household and the community, strains in power and gender relations were

largely avoided throughout the interview process.

3. Assessing Household Participation

Household interviews lasted from fifteen minutes to several hours, depending on the enthusiasm of the discussants. The first part of the interview focused on the household's demographic and socioeconomic profile. Included in the profile are respondent's perceptions of issues and problems facing the village and the projects and programs that are in effect to address them. The second part probed into the extent of household participation in development programs and projects during the last twelve months (see interview schedules).

A major focus of analysis in this study is the level of community participation in development programs and projects conducted by an area-based development consortia. Development initiatives are deemed successful if local resources are used to bring the greatest possible benefits to the greatest number of households. If participation can facilitate achievement of this aim than it can be assumed that the more community members and households found actively involved in more aspects of the program, the greater will be the program benefits.

Data on the various levels of household and community participation in development programs and projects provide a clear picture on the scope and depth of participatory development processes at work in Barangay Lumangan. The depth of an individual's participation in programs/projects can vary in intensity from that of merely providing labor or inputs to one of active collaboration in the development process. The same is true with the scope of household participation. Community members may involve themselves with projects or programs whose focus of interest may vary from dealing with health issues to embracing

a more holistic approach in dealing with community problems and concerns.

Finally, community member perceptions of development structures and processes at work in Barangay Lumangan provide a window on the dynamics of "participatory development" in a small village community.

4. Effectiveness of GOs and NGOs in Strengthening Local Organizations

The third part of the interview covered major issues regarding household dealings with GOs and NGOs in development work and the effectiveness of the area-based development consortium in strengthening local/grassroots organizations. In the course of the interviews, household members were encouraged to bring into the discussion those aspects and concerns that interested them. Questions were open-ended and further inquiry depended on the answers received. Moreover, respondents were encouraged to use their own analysis in assessing their experience in community development activities. In the spirit of "participatory rural appraisal," (quoted in Chambers 1994a, 353) the writer and his two researchers also sat, listened and learned from the local people. The research team consistently tried to apply the principles of participatory analysis, deference to local knowledge and sharing of information.

5. Quadrangulation of Data Sources

Throughout the interviews, direct observation was also employed to assess the level of household participation and the performance of the area-based development consortium in strengthening local organizations. This strategy helped in forming preliminary ideas about activities or processes at work in the village. Observations were supplemented and enriched through the use of visual diagrams and maps during discussions and interviews with the

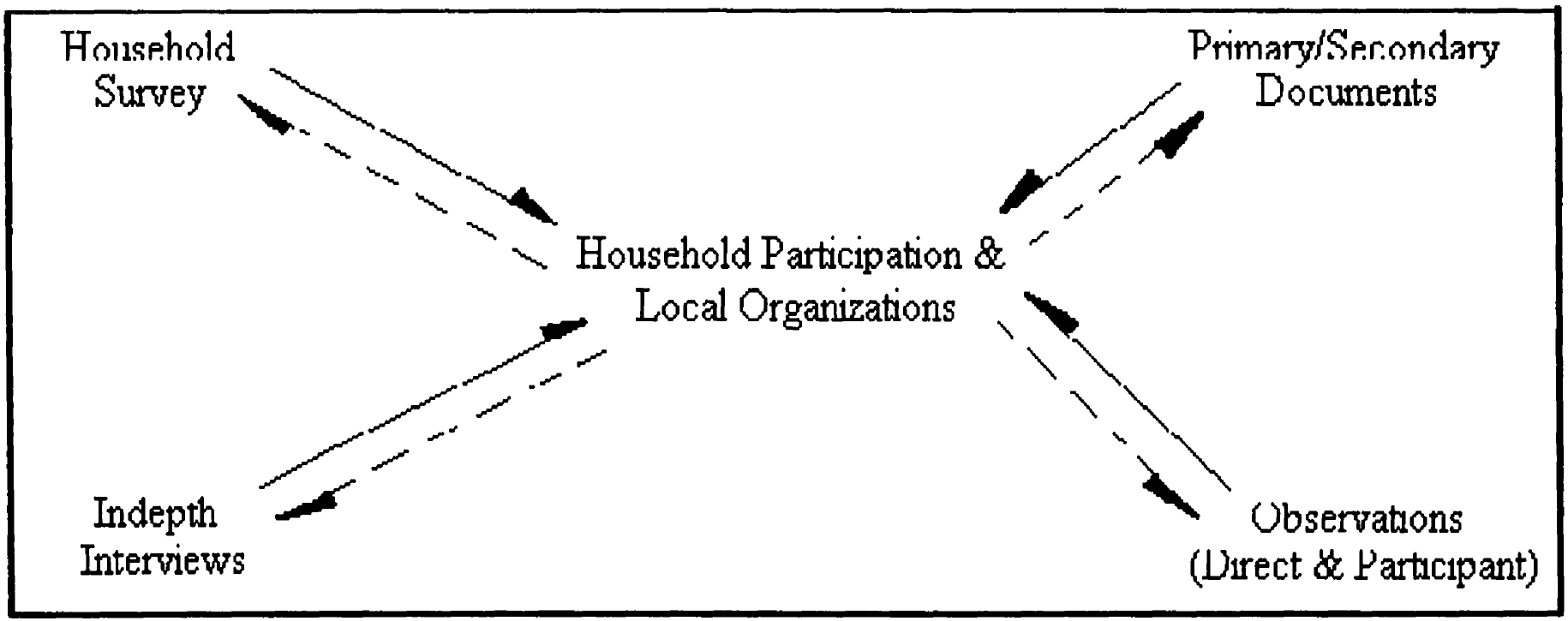
household and village members. Aside from adding detail to verbal discussions the supplementary data also facilitated creative exchange of views and the discussion of related issues of importance to different households or village members, both literate and illiterate.

The use of multiple sources of evidence led to a better understanding of development thinking and development processes at work in Barangay Lumangan. The household profile and the primary/secondary document review permitted the gathering of quantitative information about the households and local development programs and projects. On the other hand, the in-depth interviews with households, the interviews conducted with administrators and officials (in and out of government), and the strategy of direct/participant observation, (accomplished with the active collaboration of household members and villagers) yielded more qualitative findings on participatory development in Barangay Lumangan.

All sources of information were reviewed and analysed together so that the case study's findings are based on the convergence of information from different sources. The development of converging lines of inquiry through the process of quadrangulation allows for the corroboration of evidence. Figure 1 illustrates the two-way strategy of multiple sourcing used in this research. The unbroken lines are input loops that represent the four research strategies and are my contributions to the research process. The broken lines, on the other hand, are feedback loops that represent the contribution of households and sectors of the development consortium in the research process.

The primary goal of this research is to help understand the divide that exists between the theory and practice of participatory development in a periurban community. The research method attempted to induce participation and involvement of people. The views and opinions

Figure 1. Convergence of Multiple Sources of Information in Assessing Household Participation in Development Programs/Projects and the Performance of an Area-Based Development Consortium in Strengthening Local Organizations



of the community members gave indications of their indigenous knowledge, interest and possible involvement in development activities. I hope that this research approach can help community members to realize and confront their shared problems and coordinate actively with the area-based development consortium to meet their own needs and aspirations. In the same vein, the idea is to encourage development programs and projects to move beyond doleouts and to tap into the potential of the community members to frame their own vision of development and empower themselves to achieve it (see Armstrong 1991).

2

Participation: Some Conceptual Considerations

The purpose of the review of literature is to assist in understanding the various perspectives expressed by observers on "participatory development." The concept of *participation* in development research and programs/projects is examined. Also, a model to assess community participation in social development activities is presented. Moreover, a conceptual framework is provided to help understand the various perspectives about community participation in social development. It will be demonstrated that authentic participation can take place if power-holders, both in the government and non-government sector, are prepared to share power with ordinary people in projects and programs.

A. Approaches to Social Development Research

Literature on development research is characterised by the quantitative-qualitative dichotomy that is characteristic of much research writing. However, there is a considerable consensus

of opinion that quantitative measures can no longer claim supremacy in the evaluation of social development programs/projects which have qualitative objectives (Marsden & Oakley 1991).

In reviewing the debate on Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) in rural development, Oakley (1988, 6) argues that conventional approaches of economic cost-benefit analysis are inadequate in evaluating the performance of rural development projects. He contends that participation can be measured through a thorough a description and interpretation of the project's activities:

> The M&E of such projects should be a collaborative venture and the project beneficiaries should have a role in describing the process involved, analysing the result and making a judgement upon the outcome of the project's activities.

Cohen and Uphoff (1980) assert that rural development projects which seek, implicitly or explicitly to measure participation, will have two main areas of activity or sets of objectives:

1. tangible aspects of project activities, and;
2. non-material/educational aspects whose aim is to prepare beneficiaries to be better able to participate in such projects.

Rural people will therefore decide to participate in a project on the basis of what they perceive as the benefits of that project which may be distinct or different from those perceived by the experts.

Anyanwu (1988) reminds us that it is important to note that the concept of community development (CD) is based on the premise that if people are given the opportunity to work out their own problems, they will find solutions that have lasting affect. It is in light of this fact that such efforts cannot be considered narrowly in quantitative terms; rather they should be judged primarily on the basis of the changes that have taken place on the beneficiaries and

stakeholders. This can be captured through the experiences of the beneficiaries themselves for they are the only source that can tell us whether or not fundamental changes have occurred in their lives.

Marsden and Oakley (1991) identify two approaches to the evaluation of rural development projects/programs: instrumental or technocratic and interpretative approaches. The instrumental/technocratic approach does not address the political nature of evaluation. It is fundamentally linked with that school of thought which perceives the task of management as the development of rationally designed and operational tools for the realization of predominantly instrumental objectives. With this approach the authors assert that:

> The investigation should be done by outsiders who can, because of their distance (intellectual, physical and emotional) retain "objectivity"..... Evaluation in this context is primarily a tool of management used to attempt to gain increased control. Such control is seen as a prerogative of management and is seen as essential for the effective implementation of policies, and for the organization of institutions (p. 135).

The interpretative approach, on the other hand, places subjectivity at the centre of research and challenges the whole purpose of positivist social science. The position adopted by interpretative approach is that "truth" is relative and that the evaluation of development projects and programs cannot be neutral. This is because development programs and projects involve issues of "control over direction and resources" (Marsden & Oakley 1991, 320). Therefore, social development research is very political in nature. It is upon this fact that respondents are likely to give you information that they believe you want especially if you do not identify your political persuasion with regard to their issues. In the context of development program/project evaluation a researcher's own political values and biases will affect the study in one way or the other.

B. Assessing Participation

It is clear from the preceding discussion that attempts at assessing or measuring participation need to be based on the experiences of the people or target groups themselves. In keeping with this basic tenet, I propose a model to facilitate a better understanding of participation. The model is based on the work of Cohen and Uphoff (1980) who maintain that participation is a complex concept that cannot be measured with a single instrument because it consists of a wide range of assembled dimensions.[13] They assert that "participation is an overarching concept best approached by looking at specific, more concrete components." (p. 218)

According to Cohen and Uphoff the first concrete component of participation is derived from analysing the nature of participation that is to be measured. Here, one has to look at the participation of target groups in the decision making process, implementation of decisions, the kind of benefits derived and the evaluation of the project. The first three elements are the focus in this thesis.

Other questions have to be asked to clarify participation in the above processes. At the decision-making stage, three kinds of decisions are made: initial, ongoing and operational decisions. 'Initial decisions' refer to what may be called the identification of 'needs' stage. Who identified the problem(s) that is(are) being addressed by the project? Was(were) this(these) problem(s) identified by the community or outsiders? 'Ongoing decisions' refer to decisions made after the people realized the existence of a problem and/or a need.

[13]Parts of the Cohen-Uphoff model of assessing people's participation in development activities were adopted in this study. For a comparison see Uphoff. N. and J. Cohen. 1980. *"Participation's Place in Rural Development: Seeking Clarity through Specificity."* World Development, 8(3):213-236.

'Ongoing decisions' may be more crucial than initial decisions because it is at this point that priorities are set on how to deal with the problem; this offers the people a further opportunity to deliberate on initial decisions. Finally, 'operational decisions' refer to the involvement of people in actual execution of the steps taken to address their problem and felt needs. Operational decisions may be executed through formal or informal organizations. Here, other issues arise. What is the composition of this group? How are its leaders elected? How are its meetings conducted? What is the overall structure of the group?

In the implementation stage, Cohen and Uphoff identify three ways in which the target group may participate; namely; 'resource contribution' (labour, cash, material goods and information to the project), 'administration and coordination' (by being employed or compensated to run the project or by joining in advisory committees), and 'programme enlistment activities' (involvement in selection of services offered by the project).

The authors also identify three types of benefits that come from social development projects---material, social and personal benefits. Material benefits may be in the form of increased consumption and income received by individuals for their involvement in the project. Social or public benefits refer to benefits that serve the whole community and not just the target group. For example, when a community development committee undertakes the construction of water wells, this does not benefit the members of this organization alone, but also individual community members. Finally, personal benefits refer to the sense of self-esteem and political efficacy that one feels after accomplishing an important mission. At this stage, community members begin to accomplish their individual roles in the development process and decide whether their participation is making a difference.

The second component of participation pertains to the issue of who are the people and institutions involved in the above processes (i.e., decision-making, implementation and benefits). Local citizens, local leaders (elected, religious or traditional) and professionals may be involved in the various stages of the project. Among professionals, there may be outsiders (nationally based organizations) and/or international development workers who may have been involved in the project in one way or the other

The third component of participation focuses on how participation occurs. Here, prevailing patterns of participation are established. Is participation voluntary or coerced? Who initiated this participation? Is participation from the top or from the grassroots? Did participation processes focus on individual or collective effort? Was participation for a short-term or long-term purpose?

C. Strengthening Local Organizations: Some Indicators

In the analysis and assessment of levels of participation, several other studies are relevant which complement the modified Uphoff-Cohen model used in this study. Biggs (1989, 3) identifies four levels of community member participation (in problem diagnosis and technology testing stages of on-farm research) in development projects/programmes in ascending order of intensity:

1. Contractual---community members are asked to provide inputs (land, labour), but their opinions are not actively sought;
2. Consultative---community members are actively sought by researchers who then develop solutions to their problems.
3. Collaborative---the community members and change agents (i.e., researcher and/or development worker) are partners in the research process, and;

4. Collegiate—community members and change agents (i.e., researcher and/or development worker) interact as equals, and researchers aim to strengthen the informal research and development activities in rural areas.

This simple classification suggests that the depth of interaction is an important dimension by which participation in development activities can be analysed. However, individuals and/or communities often are faced with a very broad livelihood context.

In this light, Farrington and Bebbington (1993, 104) argue not only for an analysis of "depth" in farmer participation, but also for a second dimension---the "scope" of the subject matter. The intersection of these two dimensions, depth and scope, is presented in a simple quadrant diagram in Figure 2. The diagram depicts not only the possible extent of community participation in development programs/projects, but also the corresponding role played by government and nongovernment institutions. According to Farrington and Bebbington (1993) the upper left quadrant exemplifies shallow participation with a narrow subject matter focus and is considered less successful in promoting development goals. The lower right quadrant, on the other hand, depicts profound participation with a broad subject matter focus and is considered more successful in achieving development objectives. The remaining two quadrants depict the characteristics of other combinations of depth and scope. I have attempted to show that the Farrington-Bebbington model may provide indicators of the depth and scope of community participation, but it may also provide information on the impact of GOs and NGOs in local development organizations.

In trying to understand and assess the effectiveness of GOs and NGOs in strengthening local organizations, the Farrington-Bebbington framework may also provide important insights. Based on Figure 2 they offer these general guidelines in carrying out such assessment

Figure 2. Depth and Scope of People's Participation in Development Activities.[14]

SUBJECT MATTER SCOPE

Narrow

■ Focus on a limited range of development activities ■ Limited scope for clients to influence experiment ■ Preference for individual over group approaches ■ Limited feedback of results into research service	■ Focus on a limited range of development activities ■ Lengthy interaction with clients to ensure that options for experimentation meet their needs, and that they "own" the process of change ■ Enhanced capacity of clients to interact upstream (e.g. input supply) and downstream (e.g. processing) with public and private commercial sector in support of the technical options ■ GO/NGO passes increasing management responsibilities to the clients
■ Broad focus on a range of development options, in and beyond agricultural change ■ GO/NGO interaction with local groups is limited to, e.g. using them as a source of ideas ■ Role for GO/NGO continues unchanged	■ Broad focus on a range of development options, in and beyond agricultural change ■ GO/NGO work with groups in long-term conscientization and empowering modes; work on agricultural change emerges from this process and is set in the context of other economic and social change ■ GO/NGO work to develop links among local groups and create a capacity to draw on public and private sector services ■ GO/NGO passes increasing share of management responsibilities to the clients

SUBJECT MATTER DEPTH

Shallow — Profound

Wide

[14]Figure 2 is a modified interpretation of previous research on agricultural technology development. The original material on this matter is found in Farrington, J., A. Bebbington with K. Wellard and D.J. Lewis. 1993. Reluctant Partner? Non-governmental Organizations, the State and Sustainable Development. Routledge: London and New York. See also a book written by the same authors, Between the State and the Rural Poor: NGOs and Agricultural Development. Routledge: London (1993).

that include the:

a. level of household and community exposure to livelihood and development options beyond agricultural concerns;

b. level of household and community exposure to *conscientization* and *empowering*[15] modes to enhance long-term adaptation to social and economic change.

c. Provision of assistance to the household and the community for networking purposes to draw in public and private services and/or funding.

d. Household perception of the level of management responsibilities (in development efforts) transferred from the area-based development consortium to the household and/or community.

Consequently, a development group or agency can be considered as effectively strengthening the capabilities of local organizations if the project or program being promoted increases the capacity of the community to pursue self-reliant development strategies.

People have to be organized in order to participate substantively in development programs and projects. A number of successful participatory models and strategies conducted in developing countries maintain that community or local organization is a necessary or desirable condition for participation and the success of development programs and projects.[16]

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[15]Conscientization and empowerment strategies towards development loosely refer to a process that enables people to articulate and assert (by words and deeds) their desires and thinking. A quantitative element of these two strategies is the level of a peoples' control over economic resources. The essential qualitative elements include organization (under the control of the disadvantaged and underprivileged), social awareness of the disadvantaged (collective self-inquiry and reflection of the social environment) and self-reliance (does not refer to autarchy but is a combination of material and mental strength to enhance collective identity and assert self-determination). For a more detailed discussion see Rahman, Md. A. 1993. People Self-Development: Perspectives of Participatory Action Research; A journey through experience. University Press: Zed Books: Atlantic Highlands, NJ. pp 202-211.

[16]For an exhaustive introduction on the relationship of community organization and participation in development programs/ projects in the Philippines see Manalili, A. 1990. Community Organizing for People's Empowerment. Kapatiran-Kaunlaran Foundation, Inc.: Manila. For a short discussion on participatory development initiatives and community organizing among "developing countries", see Ghai, D. 1988. Participatory Development: Some Perspectives from Grassroots Experiences. UNRISD, Discussion Paper No. 5. See also Schmale, M. 1993. The Role of Local Organizations in Third World Development. Avebury: Aldershot and Clark, J. 1991. Democratizing Development. Earthscan: London.

Organization is essential to ensure that participation is fostered on a collective foundation to promote equitable access to project benefits and decision making. This is a far better alternative to that of local elites monopolizing the benefits or authority and thus reinforces factionalism and stratification.

Internal to the community, organization is essential so that a community (or group) can act in concert as a unit in mobilizing and coordinating its members (and their social and material resources) toward collective action to meet common interests. When it comes to external relationships, an organized community will be more successful in expressing shared concerns and interests. Hence, an organized community will be more capable of articulating its demands to the appropriate government and nongovernment agencies in order to influence or challenge their policies and decisions. Community organizing is therefore a crucial component in the success of programs/projects pursued by various development groups.

This chapter has shown that qualitative research is relevant for measuring a concept such as participation. A framework is suggested to assess community participation and strengthening of local organizations.

3

Understanding Community Development Through Participation

Many questions have been raised about more orthodox strategies and models of community development. Among the critics, a certain convergence exists between the concerns of those who talk of good governance and democracy, those who talk of empowering the poor[17], and those who stress the need to respect the poor as human agents who can (and should) take active roles in fashioning the contexts in which they live. All elaborate an argument that development should be participatory, diverse and far more inclusive than in the past. In this sense Participatory development proposes an alternative politics, a politics that is non-impositional, non-manipulative and respectful of the will of the people.

In this study, I attempt to assess participation in the context of a community. This is born

[17] This refers to the creation of an environment in which people question and challenge the structural reasons for their poverty through learning and action.

of the premise that social development projects/programmes are generally developed for people as a collective. Thus, attempts to influence the responsiveness of these programmes depend upon effective 'collective action'. The foregoing literature review is an attempt to understand the concept of participation in social development.

A. *People-Centered Development*

In recent years, greater confidence has been placed in the inherent ability of the poor and marginalized to rise to the occasion when given the right opportunity. In development studies, attention has shifted to indigenous knowledge, skills and cultural practices as vital contributions to the success of development programs/projects. Studies by Paul Richards (1985) in West Africa reveal the depth and breadth of indigenous agricultural knowledge that could be available for development. The work of Werner and Bower (1982) has shown the existence of indigenous knowledge in health prevention and cure, which should be the central part of health development activities. Cultural values conducive to self-help and self-reliant development have also received closer attention. For example, some studies in the Philippines have shown that it is a natural tendency ingrained in Philippine culture to organize voluntarily and participate in community-based activities. In observing the common occurrence of farmer-built irrigation systems in the Philippines, Robert Siy (Korten & Siy 1989, 20) notes that "a tradition of collective action" exists in the country. This indigenous appreciation of participatory development is termed *bayanihan.*[18] Some analysts argue, however, that

[18] Literally, bayanihan means "people-carrying-a-house"---a phrase that depicts an image of cooperation, solidarity and strong group orientation.

bayanihan is set up only for short-term purposes of aiding or helping a fellow member of the community (see Lapeña 1980, 79-83). Nonetheless, due to its inclusive characteristic the 'bayanihan spirit' has the potential to be a valuable cultural foundation to promote development activities in the country.

This readjustment and rethinking of development strategy is articulated through the concept of 'alternative' development as explained in an early study of the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation entitled What Now? Another Development (1975, 28-43). This perspective is based on the 'basic needs' paradigm and accepts the "traditional" as a necessary part of the development process. Key features of the concept reveal that it is:

1. Need-oriented or geared to meet human needs, both material and nonmaterial. It begins with the satisfaction of the basic needs of people (especially those who are dominated and exploited). It also ensures the humanization of people by the satisfaction of their needs of expression, creativity, equality, conviviality and to understand and master their own destiny;

2. Endogenous or stemming from the heart of each society, which defines in self-determination its values and the vision of its future. Since development is not a linear process, there could be no universal model, and only the plurality of development patterns can answer the specificity of each situation;

3. Self-reliant or implying that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members' energies and its natural cultural environment. Self reliance clearly needs to be exercised at national and international levels but it acquires its full meaning only if rooted at the local level;

4. Ecologically-sound or utilizing rationally the resources of the biosphere in full awareness of the potential of local ecosystems as well as the global and global outer limits imposed on the present and future generations. It implies the equitable access to resources by all as well as careful, socially relevant technologies;

5. Based on structural transformations that are required in social relations, in economic activities and in their spatial distribution, as well as in the power-structure so as to realize the conditions of self-management and participation in decision-making by all those affected by it, from the rural (or urban) community to the world as a whole, without which the above goals could not be achieved.

Implicit in the people-centered development approach is the active participation of community members in the development agenda. This approach contrasts with the capital-investment growth approach. Instead of relying on top-down planning, as in the latter, the former gives more attention given to decentralized, local approaches to development. In this theoretical and practical context, popular participation becomes a necessary, though not sufficient, element to achieve local development goals. Together with a strong and equal partnership with GOs and NGOs, popular participation can help promote local development goals.

B. Defining Participation

Many definitions of *participation* are used in development studies and there is a great deal of confusion about what the term stands for. To make the concept more incomprehensible and elusive, "the rhetoric of participation is frequently used by planners to justify, through reference to frequently perfunctory consultation, decisions already taken" (Farrington & Lewis 1993, 23). This is especially true in previous conceptions and practices of participation in centralized government development programs (Lele 1975). The earlier understanding of participation represents differing perspectives on the relation of participation to development and range on a continuum from a lesser to a greater role of the people in the participation process. Consequently, the role of the community in "top-down" development programs is limited to implementing governmental decisions. A rethinking of development strategies, however, has prompted calls for increased grassroots or people-centered definitions of participation. In defining participation a group of scholars led by R. Chambers, M. Cernea

and N. Uphoff (World Bank. 1992, 117) asserts that:

> Popular participation is a process by which people, especially the disadvantaged people, influence decisions that affect them....not simply involvement in the implementation or benefits of a development activity.

This suggests that communities and their subsections must be involved in the planning, organization, operation and monitoring of development activities. Here, participation is seen as a countervailing element against forces that seek to maintain dependence, inequality and the maintenance of centralisation (and bureaucratisation) of state administration. Thus, participation promotes the idea of an "encounter" between excluded groups and those entities from the outside. Furthermore, participation also promotes the principle of inclusiveness in the development process. It reflects a value premise that people are not only passive consumers of goods and services but also producers of their varied needs. Recent themes in development studies have therefore placed more emphasis on the values associated with self-initiated, autonomous choice and self-responsibility for the success of development activities.

Pearce and Stifle (1979) also view participation as a social process involving groups of people (living in a defined geographic area) who actively pursue the identification of their needs, take decisions about them and establish mechanisms to meet these needs. They assert that:

> Participation is concerned with...the organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control (Wolfe 1983, 2)

This definition has the advantage of being simple and practical and can serve as a basis upon which to assess the merits and limits of participation in development. It implies that participation embodies some form of empowerment of the population. This conception thus

has a political connotation, because it views participation as linked to democratisation.

Therefore, participation does not cater to a pre-formulated agenda. In its broadest sense it means taking part in the production of collective meanings, and not exclusion from it. For example, since language is the heart of culture, the ultimate medium for the production of collective meanings (Fishman 1972), its suppression (as has been the case in the building of nation states) is necessarily exclusionary.[19] In class societies the production of culture (i.e., history, ideas, literature, music and technology) is typically exlusionary (Freire 1973; Braverman 1974). Some modern philosophers, for example, Habermas (McCarthy 1978) have argued that in a more fundamental and deceitful way, technical or bureaucratic rationality embedded in industrial production process has overwhelmed what is called "practical rationality", the rationality embedded in the cultural practice of living. Exclusion has been legitimized and even institutionalized by the tremendous material success of technical rationality as gleaned by the unprecedented affluence in industrial societies. The principle of participation therefore implies a struggle for inclusion, and affirmation of practical reason (the capacity of a people to live in accordance with their culture, and to speak in their own voices).

The operational definition of participation means that community development planners and agents do not begin a project/program with preconceived notions either of the problem afflicting the people or of its solution. Instead, an attempt should be made to elicit and heed the felt needs of the people. It means that the people themselves must be engaged from the initial stage of problem definition through whatever other steps might have to be taken toward problem resolution.

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[19]In the Philippines during the American occupation in the early 1900s, school children were forbidden to speak anything other than English. See Hakuta 1986.

The process of participation in development activities is therefore grounded on the premise that by acting as agents from the beginning, people can regain or reaffirm their shared identity and code of conduct, as well as their capacity to order their world or have the capacity to define themselves as opposed to being defined by others. In sum, people's participation in development initiatives is more of a learning process than an institutional palliative measure, and; it is less a *means* than an *end* in itself, though there need not be any conflict between these two characteristics.

1. The Means and Ends Debate

The instrumentalist conception of participation as a *means* emphasizes the resource contribution (labor, money, materials) that individuals and communities can and do make toward achieving development goals or objectives. This argument holds that the state and the market are limited as mechanisms for organising society and the economy. Giving people and their groups a stronger role and rights can help to make up for market and government failures. Participation as a *means* emphasizes the results of participation because the achievement of predetermined targets is considered more important than the act of participation. More often than not, organizations and groups see participation as a *means* to improving the delivery systems of the projects they seek to carry out. In these situations outside forces through training and resource assistance facilitate participation. A local population is mobilised and there is direct involvement in the task at hand. However, participation wanes once the project's development goal is achieved.

There is also the teleological conception that views participation as an *end*, in that it places people in a position of power to take control over their own welfare and productivity.

Genuine participation in everyday economic and social activities is viewed as a major dimension of human, legal and political rights. Here, participation is seen as a process that unfolds over time and whose purpose is to develop and strengthen the capabilities of rural people to intervene more directly in development initiatives. Such a process may not have predetermined and measurable objectives or even direction. Conceptualizing participation as an *end* suggests a long-term process that enables communities to play an increased role in development activities.

Instrumentalists, then, judge participation favourably to the degree that it leads to effective and efficient decisions or actions, whereas teleologists grant only secondary importance to efficacy. Political militants committed to egalitarian participation on ideological grounds accept project/program delays in order to engage in full consultation, whether or not the practice proves effective. For them participation is primarily a goal or an end in itself.

This dual conception of participatory development corresponds to the view that participation is both an end and a means. Those who adhere to the utilitarian function are satisfied with the achievement of project goals. On the other hand those who focus more on the moral dimension of participation can still console themselves with the fact that participatory approaches to development provides a potential mechanism to achieve their end. If participation is used only as an instrument, however, the chances are that development will remain driven from the "outside,"— the development process is therefore not "owned" by the people and therefore will have a low level of sustainability or a limited effect on the lives of the people.

I subscribe to the idea that participation is a hybrid reality that has the characteristics of

both ends and means. This perspective accepts the idea that a constructive tension should exist between the character of participation as a means to a particular goal and as an end in itself. Paulo Freire (1973, 91-164) explains this view eloquently when discussing agricultural extension. For Freire the ideal to be sought in agricultural extension is true communication or reciprocal dialogue, not the mere issuance of "communiques" by expert agronomists to farmers and peasants. Therefore, extension agents must accept that "time be wasted" in order to engage in active dialogue with the final utilizers of the knowledge that is being extended or disseminated. This dual character of participation is evident in most development settings and contexts.

2. Arenas and Sources of Participation

Besides its dual character, participation can also be classified or understood in terms of the scope or arena in which it operates. Participation sometimes exists in small arenas like in the domestic affairs of the family when children and spouses all have a voice in decision making. Or it can occur in much larger contexts. Under Mao Zedong, the Chinese government resorted to the practice of mass participation covering numerous aspects of life in society at large including political campaigns, health programs, education, collective labor, and ideological education. Depending on the scope of the arena or field in which participation occurs, its impact on development will vary accordingly.

Still another way to classify participation is to determine its source. Participation can start from three distinct sources. Participation can be induced from above by some authority or expert, generated from below by the non-expert populace itself or promoted by some external third agent or grassroots support organizations (GSOs). Diverse social actors pursue quite

different objectives when they initiate participation. Elite groups, governmental or otherwise, usually seek some measure of social control over the process and the agents of participation. Classic examples of such control was the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines (Wurfel 1988; Hawes 1987) and the Velasco regime in Peru (Palmer 1980). Moreover, some observers note that state promoted participation usually aims at getting people to produce more efficiently; it focuses on inputs from those who participate (Wolfe 1983; Hollnsteiner 1985). Basically, authorities view participation as a way of getting subordinates to help them achieve their own purposes.

Things are different, however, when participation is generated from below or from the grassroots. Usually participation springs from below during a crisis and in response to some threat to a community's identity, survival or values. With no prior plan, perhaps even with no precedent, some formerly passive group mobilizes itself to protest and to resist. Unplanned or spontaneous mobilization does not, however, exhaust the range of possibilities covered by participation from below. Bottom-up participation may also result from deliberate initiatives taken by members of a community to obtain, or pressure others to obtain, some benefit from society at large or some particular group. Unlike most state initiated participation, which usually seeks to increase production or illicit new inputs, the type generated from below seeks consumer benefits or greater output.

However, I tend to be cautious about the assertion that participation in popular organizations can come into being and flower from within through natural processes, unadulterated by action from without. New insights in participatory development efforts point to the important role played by third party agents (i.e., technicians, community organizers,

missionaries, researchers, or militants of some movement) or grassroots support organizations (GSOs) and other development consortia that stand behind underprivileged members of society. For example, Carroll (1992, 159) notes that most staff members of these GSOs forge important linkages and networks among various interest groups as they move back and forth in the realm of government, politics, business, and universities. Such dynamism and cooperation among staff members and various government and nongovernment entities have spurred the growth of various area-based development consortia. In a wider social context (characterized by conflict, rivalry and tension) such alliances across traditional groupings and class boundaries can be beneficial to the development process. Thus, community members, with the assistance of support organizations, are able to converge with outside forces to debate and even resolve structural and institutional impediments to development.

Support organizations and change agents adhere to ideologies that view self-reliance in poor people as desirable (Rahman 1983; Hirschman 1984). Accordingly, they see their role in the development process as that of facilitators toward self-reliance. Ideally, the presence of GSOs in communities is destined to disappear after the people awaken and utilize their capacities to decide and act for themselves. Like the form of participation from below, third party participation usually aims at empowering and mobilizing powerless people to make demands for goods and services (and not to contribute to someone else's purpose). Frequently, external facilitators not only mobilize people but also assist to organize them (Carroll 1992b). Mobilizing leads to joint action around some discrete and limited objective seen as important. On the other hand, organizing is a longer term pattern of collective action. A major assumption is that there is a need to meet and build solidarity even without specific

tasks to conduct. The broader purpose of organization is to make people conscious of their strength (potential or actual) as a group. That strength is to be used not only to resist injustices, but also to gain a deeper understanding of one's situation and consider alternative plans of future or contingent action (Dharam 1988).

C. Pros and Cons of Participation

Several substantive qualitative arguments can be made for 'participation' as an essential ingredient for the success of development activities and projects. Burkey (1993), Farrington and Bebbington (1993) and Uphoff (1992), among others(Carroll 1992b; Midgley 1986), cogently argue the virtues of *participation.* Esman and Uphoff (1984), on the other hand, provide quantitative data showing that people's and local organizations' participation in development activities are associated with higher agricultural productivity and improved rural welfare. Most of the literature, however, lacks empirical data to support conclusions in favour of popular participation in various development efforts. Nonetheless, a review of the literature indicates that popular participation in development efforts will generally produce potential benefits. First, more accurate and representative information about the needs, priorities and capabilities of local people can emerge. Second, scarce resources can be employed more efficiently. Third, is the lower cost of access to the public for agricultural extension programs, nutrition education, immunization, supervised credit, etc., through local organizations and institutions. Fourth, local technical information can be tapped that may otherwise be costly to obtain or to learn about the fact that rural people have more technical expertise than usually recognized. Fifth, is the mobilization of local resources to augment or

even substitute for central government resources. Sixth, is the improved utilization and maintenance of existing local facilities and services. Finally, cooperation in new programs is more likely to occur when local organizations, having the confidence of rural people, share responsibility for the innovation (Bamberger 1988; Uphoff 1986).

Obviously the achievement of the above, arising from popular participation, can promote local development and consequently improve the welfare of the community. Nevertheless, there are also potential risks and costs in greater participation, especially in conventional strategies that promote it. These could include: project start-up being delayed by negotiations with people and increases in staff required to support participation. There is also the possibility that, when consulted, people might oppose a project. Sometimes, participatory methodologies may even result to unwanted byproducts. Also, there may be over involvement of less experienced people. Moreover, it is possible that the project might be coopted by a powerful economic, social, or political group so that most of the benefits do not reach large sections of the intended target population (Oakley 1991, 14). Therefore, policymakers and funding agencies must be prepared to take into consideration these factors if the intention is to promote genuine participation in development programs/projects

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide a review of the concept of participatory development. It was argued that authentic participation can take place if power-holders are willing to share power with ordinary people and grassroots organizations. Participatory development is therefore development from within rather than from above or from the outside. Changes in the attitudes and behaviour of those involved in the participatory development process is therefore crucial. Moreover, objectives should be negotiated with all

concerned rather than set from above or from the outside. The benefits of participation range from individual self-development to conscientization, and the provision of needed services. On the other hand, the major disincentives of using participatory development processes include project delays and increased resource expenditures.

4

The Role of Local Institutions in the Philippines

The concept of community participation is not new in the Philippines. Considerable evidence (UPLB 1991) suggests that Filipinos have always taken an active role in the deliberation and implementation of communal self-development in their villages. Participation in the development process is facilitated through an ancient Filipino spirit of community effort required at harvest or socially determined moments called *bayanihan*. This cultural appreciation of group effort has been an important driving force in the success of local development efforts led by local institutions.

The role of local institutions in community participation and development is crucial considering that as front line institutions, they are the first links in the chain connecting the country's development programs with the people. Therefore, they can spell success or failure for any development program/project. Indeed, if local or community development is to be more responsive to the needs of communities, then participation (in various forms) should be

a key feature in any of the phases of that strategy.

A. Participation through Bayanihan

Prior to Spanish colonization in 1521, land in the Philippines had been held communally through a system of reciprocity between landlord and tenant. This communal agrarian existence, strengthened by the importance of the kinship system in social interaction, became the basis of *bayanihan*. Bayanihan denotes team spirit, an atmosphere of unselfish cooperation, and a sharing of labour and spirit for the common good. This symbol of shared involvement in the rice cycle is at a sharp variance with the reality of modern land ownership and economic interest. As mentioned earlier, bayanihan means "people-carrying-a-house." In rural areas, where most houses are constructed of lightweight material like bamboo, a family that wants to move its residence to another locale may give a party for its friends or neighbours. At the end of the party, all those who have joined in the festivities pick up the family's house and carry it to the new site. Today the term "bayanihan" refers to any endeavour calling for the participation of the community. It means having a special responsibility to family, neighbours, and the community at large. Bayanihan signifies an indigenous appreciation of people's participation in community affairs and democracy that has been a pre-colonial Filipino tradition.[20]

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[20]Filipinos lived in scattered *barangays*, or communities, of some 30 to 100 households, based largely on kinship. Each Barangay was an independent social, economic, and political unit that was generally self-contained and economically self-sufficient. The Barangay was organized roughly along the model of the family. At the head of the Barangay was the *datu* who was the paternal and political leader. The leaders relationship with the *cabarangay* (relatives, including distant once in both the mother and father side, and other people in the community) was marked by reciprocal rights and obligations and by the leaders authoritarian responsibility and power to impose accepted rules of conduct in the community. Succession to the *datuship* was hereditary along the male line although stratification in the community was not rigid. See Jocano, F.L. 1975. The Philippines at the Spanish Contact: Some Major Accounts of Early Filipino Society and Culture.

Bayanihan or *dagyaw*, continues to be a popular practice among communities. Community-based organizations in Barangay Lumangan (i.e., the village council and a cooperative) still subscribe to the practice of *dagyaw* in meeting the labor needs of development programs and projects. The concept of *dagyaw* is also a forerunner of the ideals and principles that a labor-pool organization in Barangay Lumangan, called *samahan*, exemplifies.

It should be noted, however, that discussions of grassroots participation in development work in the Philippines is dominated by a bureaucratic perspective that does not adequately represent the opinions of the people themselves. A bureaucratic perspective is usually preoccupied with the way extension workers and/or change agents improve their strategies to mobilize and stimulate local communities to participate in development programmes. Consequently, administrators and bureaucrats end up designing programmes for the people rather than with them. Nonetheless, local institutions remain to be an important cog in the development process. This is the case in the Philippines where local government has been given increased political and fiscal powers under the Local Government Code of 1991.

B. Local Governments

Local governments are corporate bodies, political subdivisions, and general-purpose organizations with definite territories and governing bodies of their own. However, this definition is actually an idealized vision because the national government defines and delimits

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Manila: MCS Enterprise, pp.176-77. See also Constantino, R. 1975. The Philippines: A Past Revisited. Quezon City: Tala Publishing Corp., p. 34).

the criteria and manner of their creation, their roles, powers and organizational structure, the rule for selecting their leaders, and the modes of citizen participation.

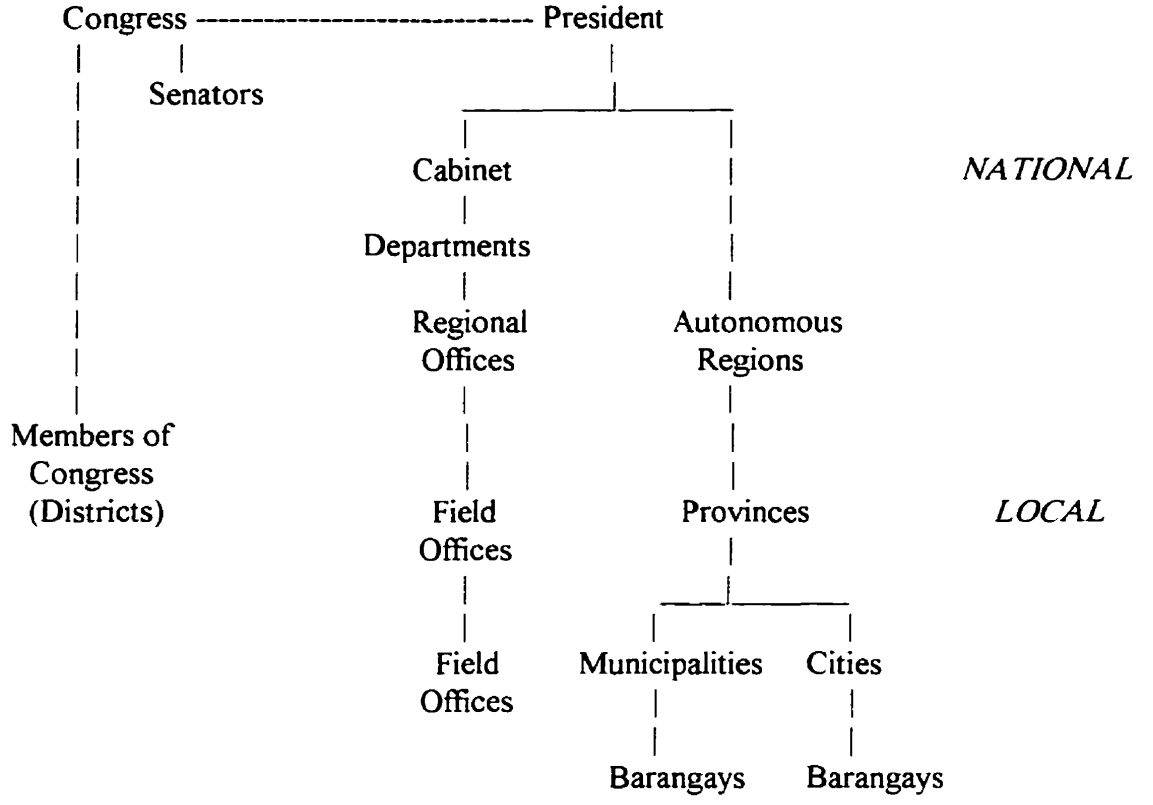
Whereas the national government has the general responsibility for formulating the broad overall framework for the implementation of a comprehensive development program, local governments, as front line institutions, have the major responsibility for their successful implementation. The only exposure to the government for many people in rural or perirural areas are through local state agencies/institutions.

The Philippines Constitution (1987) provides that the various levels of governments in the country are the provinces, cities, municipalities and barangay. The Local Government Code (1991) defines the roles of each level of government in terms of delivery of the various services at the local level. The *barangay* is the basic political unit in the country and ideally it serves as the primary planning and implementing unit of government programs, projects and activities, and as a forum in which the collective views of the people in the community may be crystallized and considered. The *municipality*, consisting of a group of barangays, serves as a "general purpose government", for the coordination and the delivery of basic, regular and direct services within its jurisdiction. *The city*, on the other hand, is a political unit covering more urbanized communities and its role is similar to that of the municipality. Comprising municipalities and component cities are *provinces* that ideally serve as an effective mechanism in the development process and assume basically area-wide functions, roles and actions.

The various levels of local governments are responsible for providing basic social and economic services to their clientele. These cover basic sectors that include infrastructure, agriculture and general social services. Such local government personnel have to work closely

(mostly in terms of coordination) with other agencies and institutions also operating at the local level for the efficient delivery of services. Figure 3 below displays the formal organization of national and local governments in the Philippines. The village council of Barangay Lumangan falls under the umbrella of this organizational chart.

Figure 3. Organizational Chart of Government in the Philippines



C. Nongovernmental Organizations

Traditionally, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) are also concerned with development work in the country. Since the early 1900s, people's organizations have advocated socio-economic development and even revolted to promote it both in the rural and emerging urban areas (Sturtevant 1976). But it was in the 1950s that development institutions (e.g., the

Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement and the International Institute for Rural Reconstruction) mostly based in rural areas and run by NGOs, became more prominent (Constantino-David 1992, 147). These movements influenced the government to look closely into community development issues and to create "development-oriented" offices like the Presidential Arm on Community Development. Today, the 1987 Constitution encourages the participation of hundreds of registered development NGOs in national development. One such NGO is BIDANI which helped set up a multipurpose cooperative in Barangay Lumangan.

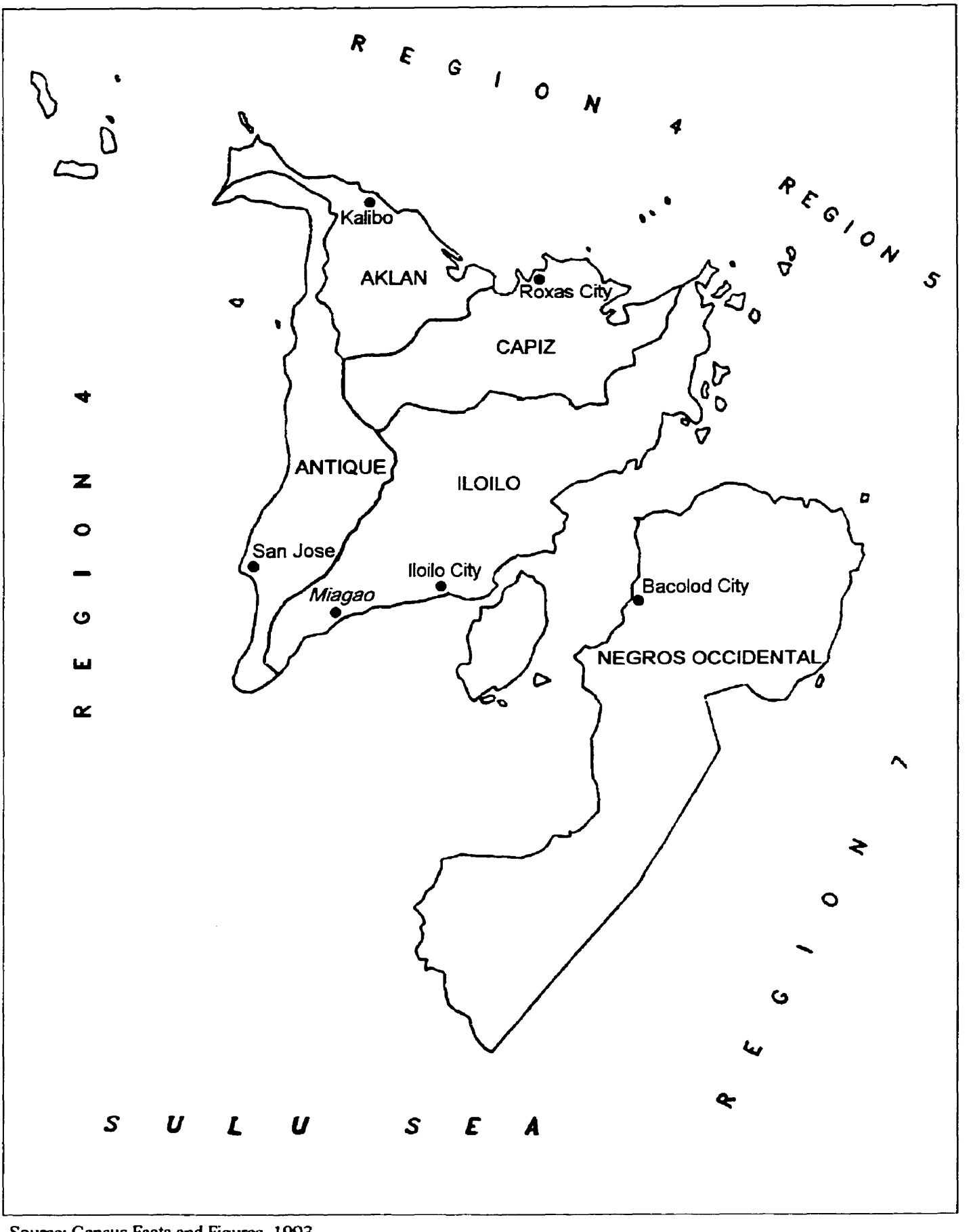
5

Introducing the Research Setting

The research site lies in the western portion of the Visayas group of islands in the Philippines, between 9 degrees and 13 degrees latitude, and at 121.5 degrees longitude east from Greenwich. The Western Visayas region[21] is bounded on the north by the *Sibuyan Sea*, on the south by the *Sulu Sea*, on the east by the *Kanlaon* mountain range, and on the west by the Cuyo East Pass. Administratively, Western Visayas is a part of Region VI (Map 2). Of the

[21] The cultural history of Western Visayas is a story woven from traditional lore and scientific studies. Mythology, archeology, and history combined to dramatize the richness of the local culture. The drama begins with the marriage of the land breeze and the sea breeze, out of which union the first man and woman were born. Then it moves onto archeological discoveries that reveal the presence of humans in the region some 50,000 years BC. The story returns to the legend of the Bornean *datus* (petty rulers) who purchased *Panay* from the *Aetas* and established the first political confederation in the country during the 12th century AD. From hereon, history takes over the narration of events. Documented history starts with the coming of the Spaniards in 1521, the revolution against Spanish rule in 1896, the fight against American imperialism in 1898, the establishment of civil government under American tutelage in the early 1900s, the Japanese invasion during the Second World War from 1941-45, the post-war period of decolonisation, the Marcos regime from 1965-1986, and the current post-Marcos period of efforts toward nation-building and development. See Jocano, L.F. 1983. The Hiligaynon: An Ethnography of Family and Community Life in Western Visayas Region. Asian Center, University of the Philippines System: Diliman, Quezon City. See also Steinberg, D.J. 1994. The Philippines: A Singular and Plural Place, 3rd ed. Westview Press: Boulder, San Francisco, Oxford.

Map 2. Western Visayas (Region VI)

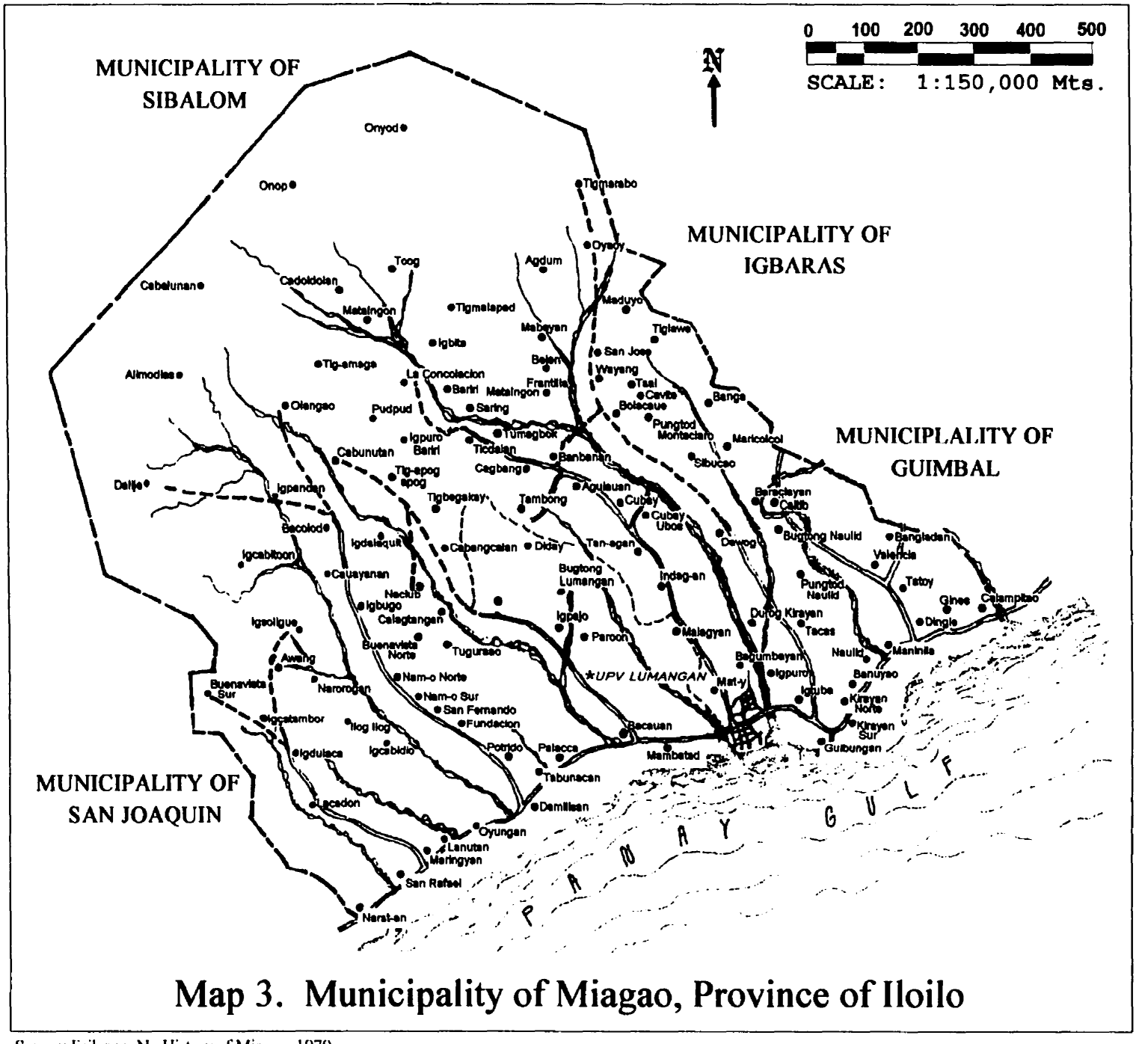


Source: Census Facts and Figures. 1993

islands comprising the region, Panay is the largest. Shaped like an equilateral triangle the island has an area of 11,520 square kilometres. A chain of mountains extends in a curve from the north to the southern points of the island, and is joined in the middle by another chain of low ridges, running toward the northeast and dividing the island into three parts. The provinces of Aklan and Capiz, covering an area of 4,410.11 kilometres, occupying the northern part of Panay. The Province of Antique, for its part, embraces a total land area of 2,679.27 square kilometres of narrow mountain slopes and deep valleys, stretching along the entire western coast of the island. Finally, the province of Iloilo covers the southeastern part of Panay with a total land area of 5,304.49 square kilometres. It is in this province that the municipality of *Miagao* lies (Map 3). Miagao is home to the residents of Barangay Lumangan, a relocated village within the University of the Philippines in the Visayas campus grounds.

The *University of the Philippines* system, founded in 1908, is the premier state university in the Philippines. Set up during the American colonial period, UP has produced leaders ranging from Ninoy Aquino (slain politician and husband of former President Corazon Aquino), Ferdinand E. Marcos (dictatorial ruler from 1965-1986), Jose Maria Sison (exiled founder of the maoist-leninist New People's Army) and Nur Misuari (leader of the MNLF a Muslim secessionist movement).

In 1975, an interdisciplinary team within the university conceived of an autonomous unit that would become the country's leading institution for fisheries and marine science education and research. Such plan was supported by the national leadership and the establishment of this new academy was embodied in the Philippine five-year Development Plan of 1978-1982.



Map 3. Municipality of Miagao, Province of Iloilo

Source: Tailagao, N. History of Miagao. 1979

A provision stipulated that Region VI (Western Visayas) would be the site of this new UP unit. On 31 May 1979, the Board of Regents (the policy making body of UP) approved the establishment of an autonomous *University of the Philippines in the Visayas* (UPV). Consequently, Executive Order No. 628 was issued by President Ferdinand Marcos on 30 October 1980 to officially open UPV in Miagao, Iloilo. The UPV Miagao campus site extends from the southern part of Mt. *Congcong* down to the coast facing *Panay Gulf* and covers a total area of 1294 hectares of mostly agricultural lands. The area lies at Long. 122 degrees fourteen minutes east and Lat. 10 degrees thirty-eight minutes north (Office of the Chancellor 1994, 4).

A. The Relocated Villages

Directly dislocated with the establishment of UP in the Visayas (UPV) in 1980 were twelve barangays comprising 610 households and most physical structures (i.e., a chapel, a barangay hall, a multipurpose hall, chicken houses, etc.) in the area (UPV Miagao Environmental Impact Assessment Team 1995, 146). These are the barangays of *Mat-y, Igpajo, Mambatad, Sapa, Palaca, Diday, Bacauan, Bugtong Lumangan, Malagyan, Sag-on* and *Lumangan*, all are rural villages, save for Mat-y. Table 1 provides information on the population and number of households affected by the relocation.

Besides monetary compensation, the university gave residents in these areas the option of moving to either one of the two relocation sites built; namely, Barangay Lumangan in Relocation Site 1 or Barangay Malagyan in Relocation Site 2. The newly constituted village of UPV Lumangan covers a land area of 22.2 hectares and is on the southwestern side of the

Table 1. Population and Number of Households Among the Relocated Barangays Affected by the Construction of the UPV Campus in Miagao, Iloilo (1979).

Affected Barangays	Population	No. of Households
1. Mat-y	1340	225
2. Mambatad	422	81
3. Sapa	345	64
4. Lumangan	381	51
5. Igpajo	207	32
6. Palaca	1370	245
7. Diday	585	97
8. Bacauan	516	103
9. Malagyan	320	50
10. Sag-on	321	41
11. Paro-on	241	43
12. Bugtong-Lumangan	227	31
TOTAL	3,580	610

Source: UPV Miag-ao Environmental Impact Assessment Team 1995. 1995. p.146.

campus (Map 4). Barangay Mambatad, on the other hand, covers a 9.9 hectare area and is on the eastern part of the campus. Table 2 provides data on the area coverage and number of lots in the relocation sites.

Table 2. Area Coverage and Total Number of Lots in the UPV Relocation Sites, 1993

Location	Area (ha.)	Total No. of Lots	No of Assigned Lots
Relocation I	25.2*	327**	167
Relocation II	9.9	162	88
TOTAL	35.2	489	253

* *includes open spaces reserved for the proposed communal fishpond*

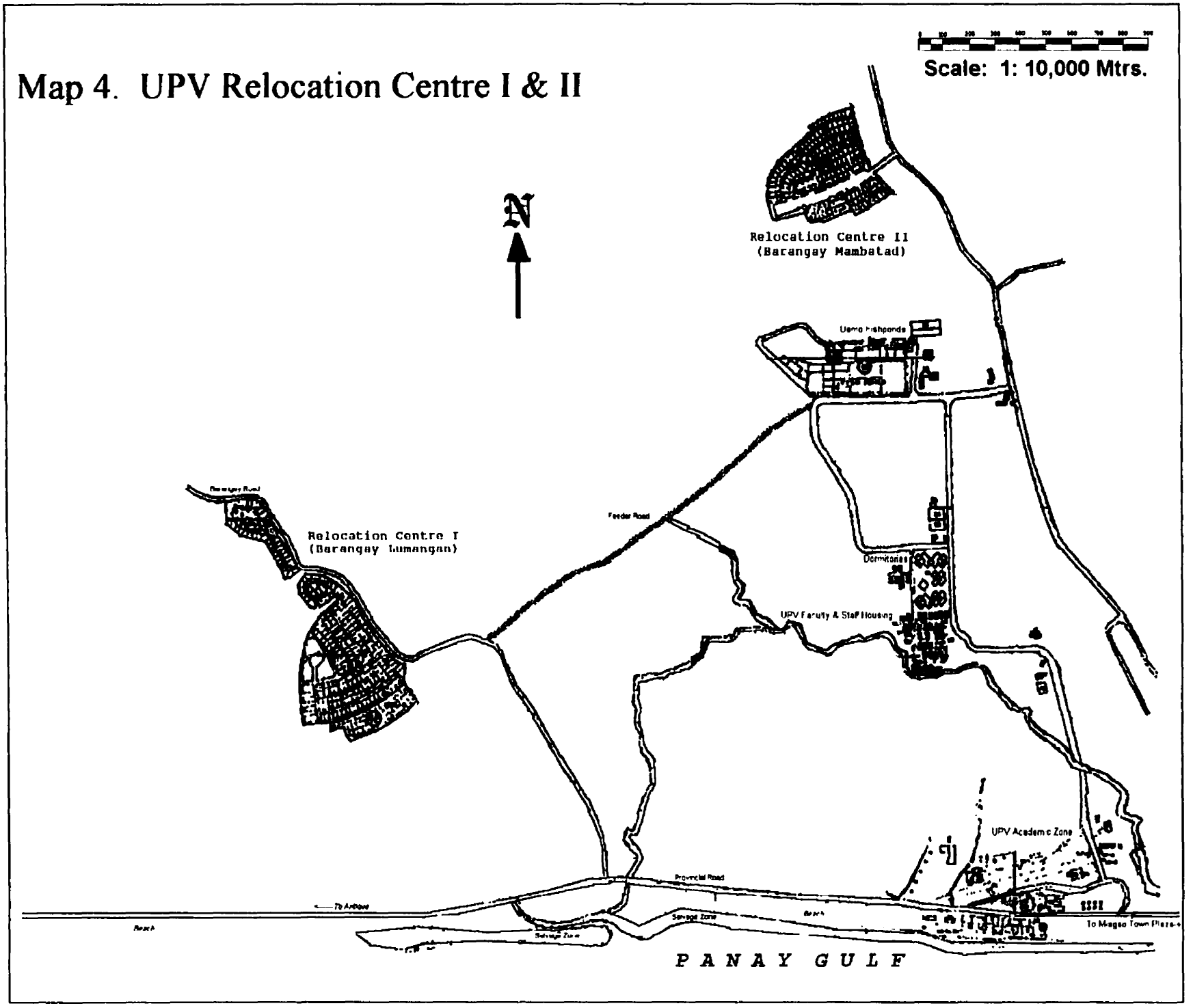
** *50 lots cannot be assigned due to different topography and the presence of hardwood trees*

Source: UPV.

One of the important guidelines for residential land ownership in the new communities stipulates that landowners who were also house/structure owners had to barter an equivalent area in the relocation centre with the land they owned. This meant that if a landowner had a 1,000 square metre land in the campus, monetary compensation would only be equivalent to 700 square metres. The remaining 300 square metres were bartered with a residential lot in the relocation centre. Landowners who did not own a house in the campus site at the time of purchase by UPV were not given the privilege of acquiring a lot in the relocation area.

House owners who were tenants or squatters and did not own a piece of land in the campus, on the other hand, were assigned lots in the relocation centre. They were asked to pay a lease of one peso per month. Thus, only families and individuals who resided in the

Map 4. UPV Relocation Centre I & II



Source: P.B. Ortigas & Associates (Architects and Planners). 1995

campus site at the time of the purchase were given the privilege of enjoying residential rights in the relocation centres. The lots assigned to individuals or groups affected by the establishment of UPV in Miagao cannot be sold by tenants and transference of the right to occupy residential lots is based on direct family lineage or heirship. These terms of residential ownership were accepted, with encouragement from local officials of Miagao, by residents of the twelve affected barangays.

B. Barangay Lumangan

Relocation Centre 1 is found in the Bacauan Valley, two kilometres from the national highway and five kilometres from the main *plaza* and municipal offices of Miagao. It is nestled in the southwestern corner of the UPV campus and is surrounded by wide open spaces. The immediate vicinity of Barangay Lumangan was reforested with hard wood.

Relationships in Barangay Lumangan, as in most parts of the Philippines, are to a great degree defined in a "we-they" framework. Loyalty is placed on the plural identity of the family within a web of kinship and fictive-kinship ties. The sense of obligation, however, lessens gradually as people are further removed from the nuclear family and close associates.[22] Extending beyond real and fictive family are bonds that tie individual Lumangan residents to

[22]Each Filipino child traces his or her lineage bilaterally and because each child usually has a large number of siblings, a youngster moves through the world with a wide network of family. In addition, the base of relations is further broadened by ritual kinship, although urbanization and rural mobility is weakening this institution. Both sought after acquaintances and close friends can become fictive-kin by integrating the pre-Spanish custom of blood compacts and the Roman Catholic concept of ritual god parenthood (*compadrazco*).

others who belong to their community. Most of the original Lumangan households affected by the establishment of UPV are related (real or fictive)[23] and are still neighbours by choice.

1. Village Facilities

An unasphalted "provincial road" through rolling plains provides accessibility to Relocation Site 1 but travel is difficult during the rainy season. Only a few public utility vehicles (jeeps and motor tricycles) ply the route to and from the site. One would have to wait at least twenty minutes for a ride in fair weather and around thirty minutes to an hour during the rainy season. Opinions as to the future of the road are mixed: Manong Junie, a tricycle driver, hopes that the feeder road can be asphalted so that he will suffer fewer flat tires that ruin his transportation business; Manong Ernie, on the other hand, would also like some improvement on the road network to facilitate the transport of his rice harvest to the town proper.

The village is equipped with a sewerage system, a recreational area, a plaza and a multipurpose area. Each residential lot has an area of around 300 square metres and was awarded to house/structure owners affected by the UPV project. Awardees were qualified to have one residential lot of their choice in any of the relocation areas; however, the lots were strictly for residential purposes only. Social and cultural factors were considered in the assignment of lot such that relocated families had the option of being neighbours with relatives and close friends.

Barangay Lumangan has no healthcare centre. Community members travel more than 5 kilometres to the Rural Health Centre located in the town proper. Some residents, on the

[23]Only two household respondents, who were migrants to Lumangan, had no real kinship ties with other families in the community.

other hand, prefer self-medication and the use of local herbs. This lack of health facilities and personnel, is not limited to Barangay Lumangan. Miagao's health delivery system is mostly town-centre based. Although there is a plan to build a medical centre in the town proper, there are only a few health facilities to service the 119 barangays in Miagao. Based on a 1990 study, more than 51,700 residents avail of the limited health facilities that include two rural health centres, 16 barangay health centres, two hospitals/infirmaries (one is accessed only by UPV students, faculty and staff) and six dental and medical clinics. There is also a lack of medical practitioners to cater to the health needs of Miagawanons (excluding UPV faculty, staff and students) and medical services are provided by two (2) doctors, two (2) nurses, three (3) sanitary inspectors, fourteen (14) midwives, one (1) dentist and a dental aide (UPV Miag-ao Environmental Impact Assessment Team 1995, 98; 150).

There are no schools near Barangay Lumangan. Grade school and high school children travel, mostly by walking, from 1.3 to 3 kilometres from the relocation site to the nearest school.[24] There is a barangay hall where meetings, seminars and the hearing of Sunday mass and social activities in the relocation site are held. There is also a village peace/order and information booth and a paved basketball court where residents congregate during *fiestas*.

Barangay Lumangan is located in the western section of the university campus and is far from the main water source.[25] Residents obtain their water from three pumps and one artesian

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[24]Aside from UPV, the Southern Iloilo Polytechnic College is another tertiary level educational institution. There are also six (6) secondary schools, twenty nine (29) elementary schools and ten (10) preparatory schools.

[25]Water supply for the UPV faculty and staff housing comes from the *Tumagbok* River which does not traverse the campus and is found on the eastern side of the site. The water collected from the river is disinfected by chlorination. Water is than pumped into a 680 cubic metre reservoir for gravity distribution.

well. Secondary data show that 84 percent of Lumangan households use the water pumps for drinking and personal hygiene while the rest have private wells. Around, 74 percent of residents use water pumps for washing clothes while 26 percent use the Bacauan River (BIDANI. 1990).

Because dug wells are generally shallow and vulnerable to contamination, the water supply for Barangay Lumangan residents is unsafe. A survey of surface and ground water quality undertaken in 1994 show that there is a high coliform count of water samples from Relocation Centre I (UPV Miag-ao Environmental Impact Assessment Team (1995, 34-5). Low dissolved oxygen levels, suggest poor hygiene and sanitation in adjacent communities. The presence of domestic animals (i.e., cows, pigs, goats, dogs and cats) may also contribute to the high coliform count. In general, the surface and ground waters are contaminated and not suitable for domestic use unless prior disinfection is done. During the rainy season, data indicates that water quality further deteriorates with lower dissolved oxygen levels and higher coliform counts in water samples.

During the dry season, however, insufficient water is available to meet the community needs. Since families moved into the relocation site during the early 1980s, Barangay officials have requested UPV for access to the UP water system. Some barangay officials insist that UPV promised to provide them sufficient water way back in the late 1980s. Manong Rod, a long time councillor in the village, is fed up and says that "they always promise us things they could not deliver." The UPV, on the other hand, needs two million pesos to construct an estimated two-kilometre pipe system that would permit Barangay Lumangan to tap into

the UPV water system. This is one of several issues that has soured relations between UPV and Barangay Lumangan.

Most houses in Barangay Lumangan consist of light materials such as bamboo and nipa[26]. The home of Manang Remedios and her husband is typical, though her floor is not cemented like that of her neighbour. There are also homes made of strong materials like hardwood, cement and galvanized iron. Such homes are owned by families with relatives working overseas. Manang Malou, for instance, is left home to take care of the kids while her husband, who is a contract seaman, "rides boats for a living." Most of the homes in the village have toilette facilities. Data shows that 33 percent have water sealed toilettes, 22 percent use open pit, 17 percent closed pit and 22 percent of the population have no toilette facility (BIDANI 1990). Most of the households also enjoy electric power; at least 67 percent of households use electricity in their homes, while 33 percent use kerosene for their lighting needs.

2. Demographic Profile

A total of 38 households[27], originally from the old Barangay Lumangan site, was interviewed in this study from July to August 1995.[28] Most of the interviews were conducted inside the respondents homes, thus giving me a close glimpse of local living conditions. An average of

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[26]Nipa is a creeping palm that predominates in Southeast Asia. Its sap is a source of sugar and its leaves are used for thatching. Nipa is a popular as roofing material in rural Philippines.

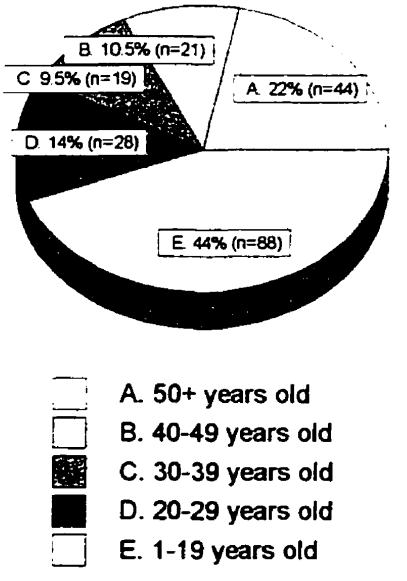
[27]Five households had two families living in one or more houses in a given residential lot.

[28]There are 105 households in Relocation Centre I with a total of 115 families and a total population. of 553 individuals. These people came from various barangays affected by the setting up of UPV. Of all the barangays who moved to Relocation Centre I, Barangay Lumangan residents comprise the majority with fifty one (51) households. Field data on the households was cross-checked from a survey conducted by the municipal government of Miagao in 1993.

6.1 individuals comprised a household which can include members of the extended family. Manong Tonio for example shares his residential lot with his son who built a small nipa hut beside his house. The average family includes 5.2 individuals, which is approximately equal to the national average. The population is relatively young with 48 per cent of the population below twenty years of age (36 percent is thirteen years old and below). Moreover, 36 percent of residents are between twenty and fifty years old. Those fifty years old and above comprise 16 percent of the population.

As shown in Chart 1, 44 percent of individuals covered by the interviews, are children and/or school youths below 20 years old; at least a third of this group is comprised of pre-schoolers and elementary level students.

Chart 1. Composition of Respondent Households by Age Class



Source: Household interviews, 1995.

A majority may be categorized as members of the labour force (13-60 years of age). However, it should be noted that those who are 50 years old and above, 22 percent, also comprise a large group. Most of the older folks, like Manang Saturnina and husband Manong Jesus, were relocated to the new Barangay Lumangan site during the early part of the 1980s.

3. Economic Situation

Barangay Lumangan, like most villages in Miagao, suffers from low standards of living. This is readily apparent if we look at the high incidence of poverty (loosely defined as the inability to meet basic needs) in Miagao and the rest of Western Visayas (Region VI) as compared with the rest of the country. In 1988, the Western Visayas Region ranked second in terms of poverty incidence in the whole country with 61.8 percent of families considered as poor as compared with the national average of 49.5 percent (Regional Development Council, Region VI and NEDA, Region VI 1993, 1).[29] Household incomes were estimated from municipal records and my own knowledge of government salaries and minimum wages. Given an exchange rate of approximately 19 pesos for every Canadian dollar in 1995, low income households were those households earning less than 30,000 pesos annually. Middle income households were those with annually family incomes from 30,000 to 70,000 pesos. Finally, families with annual income exceeding 70,000 pesos were considered as high-income group. Chart 2 shows that 53 percent of the respondents can be considered as low-income villagers. The number of low income households, however, is even much lower if not for the help or

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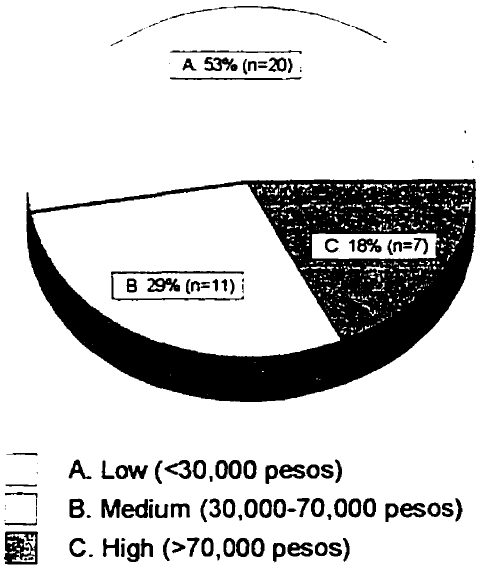
[29]Statistics on incidence of poverty varies widely. The World Bank calculated that 12 million Filipinos entered the ranks of "absolute poor" between 1975 and 1985. In the Visayas region of the central Philippines, the poverty rate jumps to 70 percent. See, World Bank. 1988. The Philippine Poor: What Is To Be Done. World Bank: Washington D.C., p. 1 of chapter 1.

Chart 2. Income Levels Among Barangay Lumangan Respondent Households



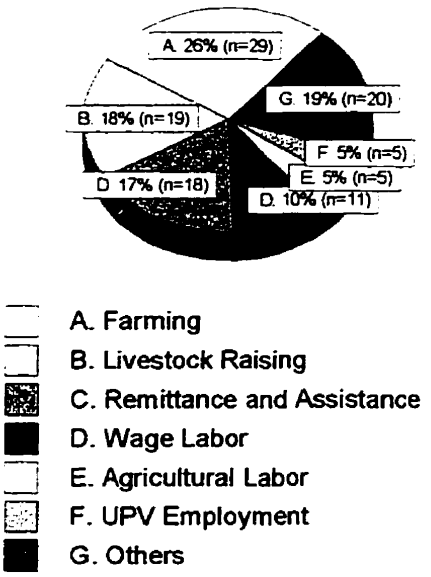
Source: Household interviews, 1995

remittance/assistance from relatives. For example, Manong Gener only earns 1,900 pesos annually from his small tract of land; however, his daughter Aida, who serves as a domestic helper in Iloilo City, sends him more than a thousand pesos a month for household expenses.

Although Chart 3 indicates that employment is quite diversified in Barangay Lumangan, farm-based livelihood activities is still dominant among the respondent households. Hence, 26 percent rely on farming and 18 percent rely on livestock raising. Though most residents have already sold their farmlands they continue to till idle tracks of land and/or use it for livestock grazing. However, farmers like Manong Vic complain of low productivity[30] due to

[30]In the first place the university campus site lies on a geologically young sedimentary soil surface and has low agricultural productivity. The area is characterized as elevated with rolling to flat terrain, is underlain by terrace gravel deposits. Based on available data the soils in the site can be classified as *vertisol*. Vertisols develop deep cracks when dry and are generally unstable and cause erosion. Nevertheless, this soil material can still be used for crop production. Generally, the soil (also categorized as clay-loam and sandy-loam) has poor-to-fair water-holding capacity, is moderately alkaline, and has low organic content. See, Synergistics Consultant Incorporated (SCI). 1980. *An Environmental Impact Assessment Study on the Construction of*

Chart 3. Percentage Distribution of Primary Type of Employment Among Barangay Lumangan Respondent Households



Source: Household interviews. 1995.

the lack of an irrigation system. An indigenous irrigation system in and around the relocation site used to exist but was bulldozed to make way for an educational complex and a demonstration freshwater pond system for the UPV College of Fisheries. Residents were incensed when the project was abandoned due to the lack of sufficient freshwater sources. By then, building construction had already started and part of the irrigation system damaged. But most farmers argue that the high cost of inputs in the use of high-yielding varieties is the main culprit for low productivity. According to Mang Isko:

> Rice varieties today need more fertilizer, insecticide and weedicide inputs to increase production. Our pockets can barely afford it. In the end, we end up producing just enough for our own subsistence.

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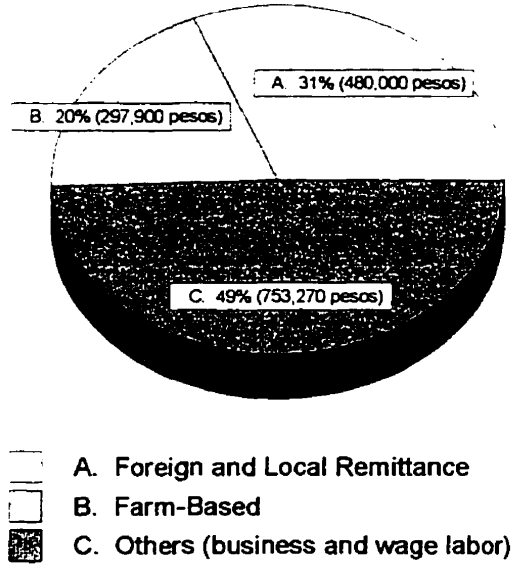
the UP in the Visayas Campus in Miagao, Iloilo. SCI: Manila, pp. 20-31.

Nonetheless, residents continue to rely on farming although they know that they stand to lose such a livelihood source once UPV finds some use for those tracts of land. Other residents like Manong Rene and his nephew Gil farm land outside the UPV campus and are forced to travel long distances to secure a livelihood. According to Manong Rene "that is the only way for us to make ends meet." Aside from farming many households also engage in animal husbandry and receive monthly remittance and assistance from relatives as shown in Chart 4.

Chart 4. Major Types of Employment as Percentage of Estimated Annual Income for Barangay Lumangan Respondent Households



Source: Household interviews. 1995.

Residents of Barangay Lumangan face a general lack of employment and livelihood opportunities. The majority of the households interviewed complain of high local unemployment. One of the major grievances of Barangay Lumangan residents is the perceived reneging of UPV on its *promesa* (promise) to provide preferential employment to

to relocated community members. The UPV, however, responds that most villagers are not suited for jobs available. Nevertheless, it should be noted that UPV has not fulfilled its part to prepare residents for the possibility of employment in the university. In 1979 the Synergistics Consultant Incorporated (SCI) group, which did an environmental impact assessment study on the establishment of UPV in Miagao, recommended that training courses and extension services be instituted in anticipation of job-openings in UPV so as to match the acquired skills of the relocated villagers with the job requirements of UPV (Synergistics Consultant Incorporated 1980, xxiii) It was hoped that such programs can match the acquired skills of the relocated persons with the job requirements of UPV and would maximize employment prospects. The UPV administration, as yet, has been unable to follow through with the SCI recommendation. For the residents of Barangay Lumangan, UPV has broken an important *promesa*. This remains to be a major obstacle in improving Barangay Lumangan-UPV relations.

4. Social Conditions

Residents of Barangay Lumangan, and neighbouring villages in the municipality of Miagao, often suffer from poor health. A study conducted in 1990 revealed that 71 percent of preschoolers (aged 1 to 6 years) in Barangay Lumangan suffer from first to second degree malnutrition. Another 3 percent suffer from third degree malnutrition (BIDANI. 1990). These findings were especially surprising for I never suspected malnutrition to be present in the lives of the smiling children I met and played with throughout the research process. Table 3 provides a summary of the findings.

Table 3. Nutritional Status of Children Below Six Years of Age in Barangay Lumangan

Nutritional Status	Number	Percentage
First Degree	48	55%
Second Degree	14	16%
Third Degree	3	3%
Normal	23	26%
TOTAL	88	100%

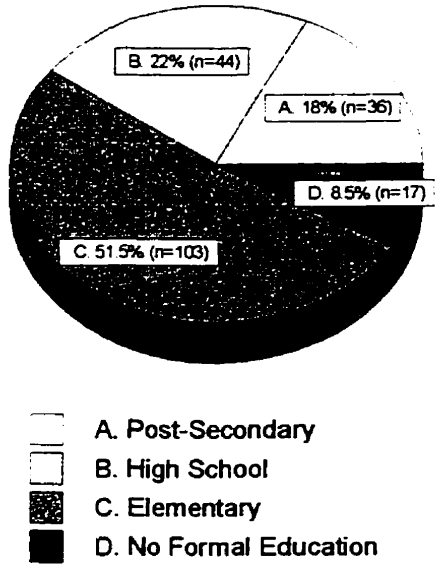
Source: BIDANI study, 1990.

Respondents in the interviews have a low level of formal education. Only 18 percent of the household members in this study are reported to have gone to post-secondary education, as shown in Chart 5. This is coupled by the fact that a majority of household members (51.5 percent) has only reached elementary level of education. Formal educational attainment among household heads is even much lower. A majority of the household heads[31], 73 percent only managed to reach elementary education: on the other hand, only 23 percent managed to achieve secondary level of education.

Low levels or the absence of formal education causes a sense of inferiority among some household heads. Manong Apo for example, refuses to join formal discussion sessions during village assembly meetings because he feels inadequate "to discuss and debate issues properly" since he has no formal education. The situation is compounded by the fact that more educated villagers like Rene, who has a college degree, frown at people like Manong Apo for not having formal education. It should be noted, however, that more and more households are

[31] The number of household heads ranged in number from one (in cases where spouse is deceased) to four (in cases where two families shared lived together in a household).

Chart 5. Educational Background of Barangay Lumangan Respondent Households



Source: Household interviews. 1995.

investing on education. The Lopez family, for example, is heavily investing on the education of the eldest son Marco. It is hoped that once Marco lands a job upon graduation, he can than fund the education of his three younger brothers and sisters who had to stop their schooling due to lack of family resources.

5. The Political System

The political system at Relocation Site 1 is best understood in terms of level of social awareness, organizational structures and leadership and decision-making processes. Formal and informal discussions with individuals and groups in the community revealed a good sense of awareness and understanding of community problems and issues. Community members attribute poverty and problems prevailing in the community either to lack of employment

and/or loss of farming livelihood due to the UPV land purchases. The people seem capable of relating their personal and local community problems to systemic structures affecting and contributing to their situation. To cope with the problems many young residents opt to seek employment elsewhere. Manang Trining, a government employee who was a former village official observes that:

> Many people go out of this place. They go to Manila or abroad. Those who are left here are those without work and those who are old. There is nothing to eat here. In your research you will find out that life here is difficult especially during these lean months (August-October) when people only eat vegetables and bamboo shoots.

In terms of personal traits, many residents would identify industriousness and perseverance, better education for their children, and prayers as keys to survival and to a better life. For Manong Isko, a successful businessman:

> It is all a matter of strategy. I only finished Grade VI but I think I know a lot about earning a living. The key is to persist in looking for new ways and ideas to earn money. If you lack ideas then you will starve. But someone who has a lot of ideas will always find ways to earn a living.

Still some look to overseas employment and remittances as solution to problems of poverty. This perception is based on the experiences of neighbours and relatives who receive remittances from abroad or from other parts of the country.

Formal and informal groups exist to resolve issues/problems facing the community. The informal groups include social organizations (youth groups) and religious organizations (Catholic associations) which are mostly involved in organizing dances, sportsfests and prayers. These groups are especially active during religious fiestas at the municipal and village levels. In Barangay Lumangan, like many villages in the Philippines, residents are deeply

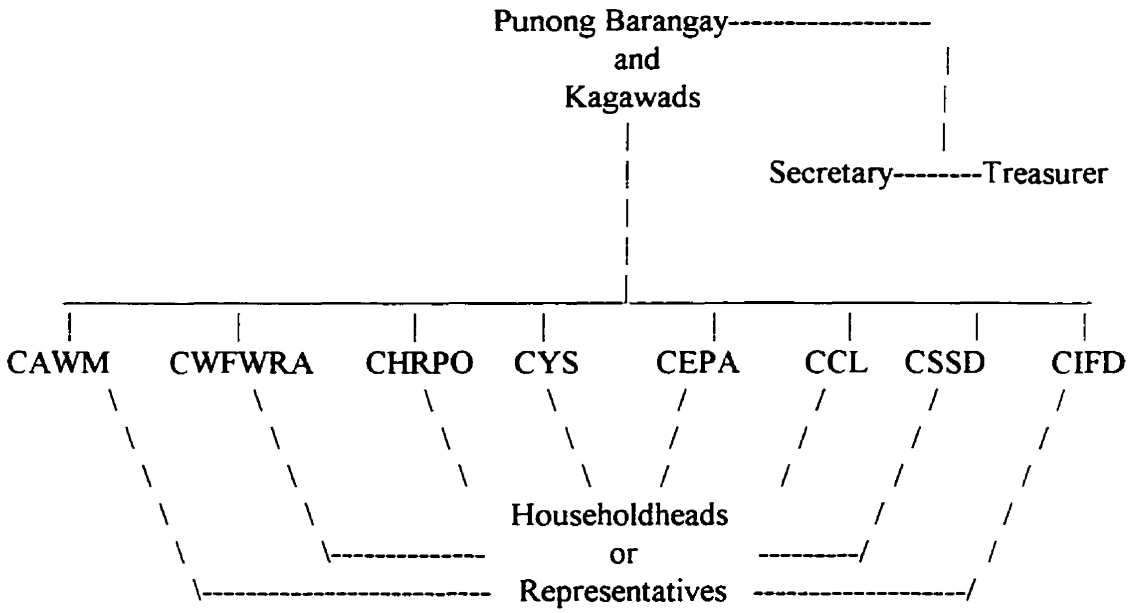
devoted to Folk Catholicism which combines Roman Catholic beliefs and folk religion. Except for these occasional activities, there seem to be no sustained programs in these groups.

A major formal group in the community is the Barangay Council or *Sangguniang Barangay*. The Barangay Council is a "duly constituted legislative body organized by law" and "is primarily tasked to enact, pass and adopt ordinances, resolutions and such other legislative measures, in the effective administration of the affairs" of the village (Barangay Lumangan 1994, 1). The *Sangguniang Barangay* is composed of the *Punong Barangay* (village head), 7 *Kagawads* (councillors) and a *Kabataang Barangay Chairman* (KBC) who meet during the first and third Saturday of each month. The term of office for the village officials is three years. Registered voters in the village popularly elect all barangay officials while the KBC is duly elected by registered *Kabataang Barangay* voters (village youths). The *Punong Barangay* serves as presiding officer of the group who also appoints a secretary and treasurer, (duly confirmed by the Village Council). The council is divided into eight (8) committees with each council member and the KBC serving as chair. For purposes of representation, jurisdiction and division of responsibilities the village is divided into seven (7) zones with each council member covers 10 to 13 households under their supervision.[32] Figure 4 illustrates the organizational structure of the Council.

Based on secondary data, village officials are economically well off and educated compared with their constituents: of the nine elected village officials seven had earned household incomes estimated at between 40-80,000 pesos annually whereas two councilors had annual household incomes that exceed 80,000 pesos. On the other hand, four officials (all

[32]During the field research the various committees in the village council did not convene leading me to suspect that they do not meet on a regular basis.

Figure 4. Organizational Structure of the Sangguniang Barangay (Village Council)



Note:
CAWN=Committee on Appropriation, Ways and Means
CWFWRA=Committee on Women, Family Welfare and Religious Affairs
CHRPO=Committee on Human Rights, Peace and Order
CYS=Committee on Youth and Sports
CEPA=Committee on Environmental Protection and Agriculture
CCL=Committee on Cooperative and Livelihood
CSSD=Committee on Social Services and Development
CIFD=Committee on Infrastructure and Facilities Development

female) have a college degree, two went to vocational school, one is a highschool graduate and two have elementary education.

Most villagers show apathy and passivity about the decisions of the barangay leaders. When asked about possible courses of action to help address or resolve problems or issues facing the community, villagers often remark: "*Bahala na ang mga opisyales*"(It is up to the officials); most residents argue that village and town officials will inevitably convince them to pursue certain policies that are not popular anyway. For residents, bitter memories of being relocated to give way to the founding of UPV still linger. Manang Tess, a long time resident

of Lumangan says that:

> People in the local government convinced us that selling our land to UP is good for they will give us jobs. But the thing now is that if you have no formal education you have to settle for menial jobs. But before you can be hired you have to have clout or connections ("lapit sa luwag"). They were good in persuading us to sell our land. They said that if we help them they will help us. But now they have abandoned us.

Such a feeling of resignation, however, is also coupled by a sense of distrust of local officials. This is revealed indirectly by a local government survey conducted in 1993 that asked what character traits residents preferred when choosing candidates for political office. Of the 127 household heads interviewed, 32.3 percent said that they had lost confidence on the ability of elected officials to promote their interests. Two respondents of this study even dared to comment that development programs/projects in Barangay Lumangan only materialize immediately before an impending national or local election.

Individually, most of the barangay officials seem to have a good grasp and perspective of development issues facing the community. During interviews most consider land titling, lack of employment opportunity and lack of a regular water source as the major problems facing the village. However, the group's approach to development (as shown by the development projects and programs they pursue) is mostly focused on physical infrastructure (i.e., pavement of roads, waiting shed and barangay hall construction, church decoration) rather than matters that directly affect the long term social development of the community. For example, important matters concerning skills training and proper information dissemination to residents concerning development issues remain unattended. Often, skills/livelihood training is not made available to most residents.

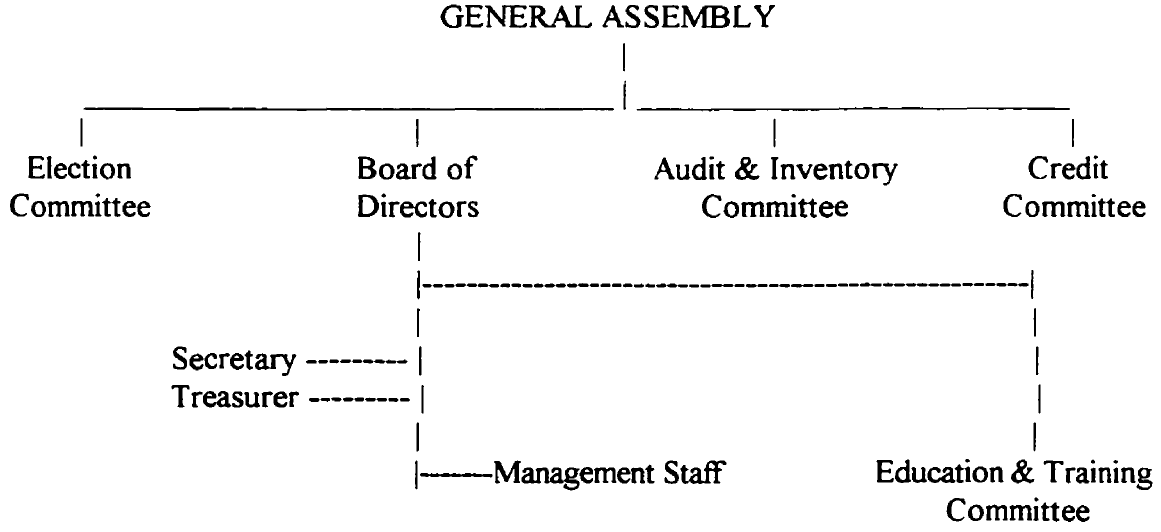
As is often the case in Lumangan, GO and NGO sponsored development programs/projects often enlist village officials and leaders in their management and skills training seminars. This gives village leaders and officials more opportunity to expand their information and even material resource base. In fact, during the interviews a Lumangan resident charged that a village official is having sole use of community-owned (through donation) carpentry tools to benefit his own furniture-making business.

I also noticed that although village meetings are well attended and held regularly (at least once every second Saturday or Sunday of the month), residents are not highly participative during the discussions and previous decisions made by the village council are not systematically fed back to the community. During barangay assemblies, the people mostly serve as an audience to oral readings of municipal resolutions, lengthy speeches and reports (mostly by village officials) and detailed discussions among a few villagers. Manang Julia, who is an active member of Barangay Lumangan's Committee on Environmental Protection and Agriculture, requests that, "newly elected officials should explain new policies, rules and regulations clearly so we can understand and that we will not feel ill towards them." Still some residents revealed that they are uncomfortable with the use of the English language in discussions and official policy statements in the village level. As an important cog in the local policymaking process, the village council seems to be wanting in organization, management and communication strategies that is suited to the community.[33] Also wanting is the political will to genuinely promote the interest of the majority of the residents.

[33]It should be noted, however, that a more Americanized or Western-oriented bureaucratic culture prevails in all levels of Philippine bureaucracy.

Another formal group in the community is the UPV Relocation Centre 1 Multipurpose Cooperative. Based on the Coops's records, five of the nine Barangay Lumangan officials are also members of the cooperative. The bylaws of the Cooperative (a standard document is furnished by a government agency) mandate that the General Assembly, composed of all Coop members, has the final decision-making power on all matters concerning the Coop as well as the authority to elect and remove coop officials and members with cause. A General Assembly meeting is held once a year to discuss and vote on matters pertaining to the Coop, and to elect among themselves members of the Board of Directors and the various committees of the organization. Between General Assemblies, the Board (with five members) supervise and control the affairs of the Coop. It appoints a management staff that takes care of the day to day operation of the Coop. Figure 5 illustrates the organizational structure of the Cooperative.

Figure 5. Organizational Structure of the UPV Relocation Centre 1 Multi-Purpose Cooperative



Source: BIDANI records.

I observed that some village officials are inflexible in meeting problems/issues facing the community. A village official, for example, thought that important issues concerning the Multipurpose Cooperative and its operation in the village cannot be raised during the general assembly meeting of Barangay Lumangan because not all of the villagers are members of the Coop. Apparently, a rigid and compartmentalized perspective of issues/problems facing the community prevails in the management style of the village council. Manong Jose, a resident of the Barangay Lumangan relocation centre since 1980, in comparing the current and previous leadership style observes that:

> During the time of the previous leadership all residents were involved in running the affairs of the village. This is no longer the case today.

Another villager, Manong Pedro, who withdrew from the Coop a few months after it was founded in the early 1980s, alleges that:

> The village leadership does not know how to manage and handle people. For example, there seems to be a lack of appreciation of the practice of *dagyaw* and the fact that village members help one another for the betterment of the community. And than there is this matter on wages for hired labourers who do construction work for the community. A barangay leader has pushed for the practice of paying 100 pesos to supervisors, because the leader is also a supervisor, rather than 60 pesos just like all the other labourers. This is in contrast with the practice of the previous leader who spent his own money to finish a job that will benefit the community.

Such negative sentiments may be isolated cases but I did observe that villagers in general did not express overwhelming support and satisfaction with the current organizational setup and leadership style prevailing in the community. One resident nastily commented that some village officials "will not win a reelection bid even if he/she runs as a janitor."

In contrast to the sense of disunity and dissatisfaction prevailing in the village, however, there remains an informal bond among some male household heads in the village that manifests the community's continuing tradition of unity, collective action and democracy.

6. The 'Samahan'

Like most parts of the Philippines during the American colonial period (early 1900s), Barangay Lumangan and its vicinity were a homestead area based on farming and weaving. Through the years people from neighbouring provinces migrated to this region. Early settlers later became land owners. More migrants came and, in the process, expanded the population in the villages. The land was cultivated and the area was mostly devoted to rice and corn. Today, rice and corn are the main crops of the villages; coconuts, beans, peanuts, onions rootcrops, mangoes and vegetables are secondary cash crops. In this homestead area, agricultural villages evolved with the following characteristics:

a. ownership of the land belongs to the early settlers;
b. political power is controlled by the landlords;
c. a patron-client relationship prevails and is reinforced by the close blood relations among residents;
d. *Bayanihan*, through labor exchange, and communal systems of labor are popular.

The gradual erosion of farming as a major source of livelihood[34] and the widespread use of high yielding varieties (especially in rice)[35] by residents who still engage in this livelihood

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[34]In a 1980 study (Synergistics Consultant Incorporated 1980, 158) 56% of Miagawanons relied agriculture as a major source of livelihood. See). In comparison, only 31% of respondent households in this study rely on farming and farm labor as a major source of livelihood as shown in Chart 3.

[35]In an informal talk with a group of farmers they admitted their increased reliance on the use of new rice varieties, and the use of fertilizers and pesticides/herbicides. Mang Eulogio observes that the increased use of fertilizers and pesticides, which is essential for high rice yields, also leads to the emergence of more pests and weeds. On the other hand, the emergence of such hardy pests and prompts farmers to use pesticides and weed killing agents. Mang Eulogio explains that even though pests and weeds are controlled by these chemicals, those same chemicals are absorbed by the agricultural crops we harvest and eventually eat.

has brought considerable changes in agricultural relations inside the Barangay Lumangan relocation site. Due to a shift in livelihood options and shorter production cycles involved in the in the use of the new technology, labor processes are also changing. The villager's previous reliance on *bayanihan* is slowly being replaced by organized hired labor that I will call *samahan* (or "grouping").[36]

An interview with Manong Oca, a respected member of a *samahan* reveals how the organization emerged. Its origins lay in the farm workers' and labourers' need to cooperate and help one another in agricultural production. Amid the uncertainty caused by displacement from their original homes and farms with the setting up of the UPV university campus in 1978, the *samahan* system gained popularity. The *samahan* is an organized form of hired labor in response to the changes in land use patterns (i.e., the decrease in the importance of farming as a livelihood source) and agricultural production inside the relocation site. In its current state, the organization is guided by a specific set of principles, values and expectations.

A major characteristic of the *samahan* is that it appears to be mass-based, popular and adheres to collective leadership. It is an organization of farm workers who hire out their labor power. According to Mang Oca "the *lider* (leader) of the group is one who is principled, hard working and stays firm in his conviction to uphold the welfare of his constituents. He is good at handling people and must know how to get along with others." The *lider* remains so for as long as he meets his members' expectations. Trust and credibility are also important traits which he must possess. The responsibilities of a *lider* are that he:

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[36]The labor pool that I observed in Barangay Lumangan did not have a formal name locally.

1. Negotiates with farmers and skilled labourers regarding job for the job for the whole *samahan*. For this, the *lider* has to relate with farmers and landowners/cooperatives who need hired hands.

2. Fosters good working and interpersonal relationship among the members of the *samahan*.

3. Encourages active participation of each and every member of the *samahan*'s tasks and activities.

4. Looks after individual conditions and needs of each member in case of illness, and leads in the group discussions on how they can help the member in need.

5. Must not expect to receive a bigger share of the group's income. The *samahan* receives the same amount/share that every member gets.

This fifth characterization of a *samahan*, however, is inconsistent with the observation of a village council member who said that some labor pool groups give a higher wage to individuals who negotiate on behalf of the labor pool and the more skilled members of the group like carpenters. But then again, changes in the livelihood pattern of Barangay Lumangan may have promoted this emerging pattern which is inconsistent with the old practice of the *samahan*. Another village member alleges that some village leaders, who are themselves leading labor pool groups, encouraged this new practice. The source insists that in the past, labor power was freely given by residents in the spirit of *bayanihan*

But there is no doubt that the *samahan* forges unity among its members. According to Mang Ben such solidarity among the members is guided by the following principles:

1. *Kabalaslan/Utang na loob* (gratitude). The *samahan* provides each member the opportunity to work and thus, earn a living. Therefore, one is expected to perform his tasks and responsibilities inside the *samahan* to the best of his/her ability. Members must give due importance to the organization.

2. *Pagupdanay/pakikisama* (regard for one another). One should get along well with each and every member of the group.

The *samahan* is not a typical community organization. According to Nong Oca, the *samahan* does not have an organizational structure complete with a set of officers, constitution and bylaws, registration permits and regular meetings. Although no formal organizational structure exists they do have discussions during drinking sprees or *imnanay* during weekends, christening, weddings, fiestas or other social occasions. It is during these occasions that they talk about community issues and thresh out organizational matters. On one occasion, I was able to join such *imnanay*. Together with some old menfolk of the village we discussed their grievances and problems over bottles of rum and soft drink (cigarettes and a meat dish were offered to go with the drinks).

It is at this point that I noticed that most of the grievances/problems presented to me involved UPV. The most common complaint was that of slow land titling and the lack of job opportunities that the University promised but has not been kept. At this point of the research I was seen as a friend who can better articulate their plight to the UPV central administration. Villagers like Manong Julio who wants to buy back his land from UPV, asserts that the university administrators promised a lot of things to them but often failed to deliver. Nong Oca observes that they just "passed through here like smoke" living us in our misery.

6

People's Participation in Development Programs and Projects in Barangay Lumangan

Two major development programs and projects were underway in Barangay Lumangan during field research.[37] The Barangay Integrated Development Approach for Nutrition or BIDANI, which started in 1990, is an action-research program for the improvement of nutrition in the community. A couple of years later, presumably in response to the devolution of central government functions to the local level under the 1991 Local Government Code, the focus of the project was shifted to strengthening the Barangay Development Council. Funding for the project comes from various foreign sources, particularly from the Netherlands. BIDANI's active involvement in Barangay Lumangan development efforts ceased in 1994, but its lasting

[37] Two other projects/programs were being initiated during the field research period but will not be covered by this study. The Community Gardening Project aims to involve community members in small-scale, plot-based corn and vegetable gardening. This project was initiated by Prof. Lopez of the UPV School of Technology and is tied to the reforestation program of UPV. The Barangay Day Care Program, a brainchild of the local municipal government, provides preparatory schooling and morning snacks to children between 3 to 5 years old. At the time of field research it was too early to assess these projects.

legacy is the multipurpose cooperative it helped set up. A second project, focusing on health issues, is the Community-Based Health Program that started in 1991. The UP in the Visayas and UP Manila, College of Medicine spearhead this effort. The project aims to train community members to become Barangay Health Workers.

A. BIDANI Project

The Barangay Integrated Development Approach for Nutrition Improvement or BIDANI is an "interdisciplinary holistic development-oriented approach for improving health and nutrition in a sustained manner" (quoted in a BIDANI flier). Called Nutrition Improvement Model (NIM) in 1978, the approach was developed in the College of Human Ecology (CHE) at University of the Philippines in Los Baños (UPLB) with the expressed goal of contributing to national efforts in "solving" nutritional problems. BIDANI is now a network project that has expanded and is institutionalized in eight regions in the country.

1. Background of the Project

The BIDANI project is spearheaded by state colleges and universities (SCUs) all over the Philippines. Now, ten SCUs are promoting the project which covers a total of 474 villages, eighty-four municipalities and twenty-four provinces. Two autonomous campuses of the UP System are actively involved in the BIDANI project, namely UPLB and UPV. Other SCUs promoting the project are Isabela State University (ISU), Central Luzon State University (CLSU), Bicol University College of Agriculture (BUCA), Visayas State College of Agriculture (ViSCA), Eastern Samar State College (ESSC), Western Mindanao State University (WMSU) of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), Central

Mindanao University (CMU) and Don Severino Agricultural College (DSAC). Table 4 provides the area coverage of each educational institution under BIDANI.

Table 4. BIDANI Network Program Area Coverage (February 1994)

State Colleges and Universities	AREA COVERAGE			
	Region	Province	Municipality	Village
a. ISU	II	4	14	37
b. CLSU	III	7	25	169
c. UPLB	IV	2	11	102
d. BUCA	V	2	9	30
e. UPV	VI	2	8	36
f. ESSC	VIII	1	3	6
g. ViSCA	VIII	2	4	32
h. WMSARMM	IX	1	2	15
I. CMU	X	2	7	41
j. DSAC	IV	1	1	6
Total		24	84	474

Source: BIDANI pamphlet. 1994.

One of the main objectives of BIDANI is to "develop a package of participatory services at the village level." The project also hopes to establish a practical "model," at the local level, for improving nutritional levels of the rural poor. Another goal is to develop a practical training course for barangay leaders and trainers. Finally, BIDANI ultimately aims to institutionalize its nutritional improvement model for fast, sustained and wider implementation at the local, regional and national levels. The planning and implementation of projects and activities in the barangay and municipality levels focus on a number of concerns which include:

- food production and environmental sustainability;
- income generation and employment (livelihood);
- health, nutrition, family planning and sanitation;
- infrastructure development;

- education and training;
- institutional support development;
- youth and sports development;
- peace and order;
- spiritual development;
- women-in-development;

Different governmental and nongovernmental agencies, both local and foreign, have extended financial assistance for the modelling, expansion and development of the BIDANI Network Program. These include the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), German World Hunger Assistance Program (GWHA), the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) in the Philippines, United Nations Childrens Fund (UNICEF), Philippine Council for Agriculture Research Resources and Development (PCARRD), European Communities (EC) through the Institute of Tropical Medicine (IMT), and Belgium, among others. From 1990-1995, the Directorate General for International Cooperation (DGIS) of the Netherlands Ministry of Development Cooperation through the Royal Tropical Institute (KIT) funded the program.

The BIDANI project officially started in Miagao in July 1991. The project followed a well-defined operational strategy. As an initial step the UPV-BIDANI team, composed of at least three UPV faculty consultants and six staff members, coordinated planning activities with the municipal mayor and municipal government offices. They sought the assistance of the municipal local government to identify nutritionally depressed areas or areas where there is a high incidence of malnutrition. With the assistance of the Municipal Nutrition Officer, they

identified Barangay Lumangan as one of the six (6) target villages of the BIDANI project in the province of Iloilo.[38]

Having identified Barangay Lumangan as a target area for the project, a "situational analysis" was conducted with the active involvement and support of the Barangay Development Council (BDC)[39] headed by the Barangay Captain. The BDC was than organized as a Program Planing and Implementing Committee (PPIC) which formulated and approved the annual Barangay Integrated Development Plan (BIDP). Subsequently, an orientation session was held with the other village officials and household members to solicit their opinions about the project. In that meeting the residents of Barangay Lumangan approved the operation of the BIDANI approach in their community. In the next General Assembly meeting of the Barangay Development Council, a planning workshop was conducted. The residents were divided into seven planning groups that include:

1. Health, Nutrition and Environmental Sanitation Committee;
2. Education and Training Committee;
3. Infrastructure Committee;
4. Sports and Youth Development Committee;
5. Income Generating Committee;
6. Food Production Committee; and,
7. Justice, Peace and Order Committee.

The objective of the planning conference was to activate the different development committees and use them to implement the various development programs/projects being

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[38]The BIDANI approach is also being conducted in 49 other barangays covering seven (7) other municipalities all over Panay Island.

[39]Members of the Barangay Council are ex-officio members of the Barangay Development Council whose members include NGO representatives operating in the village. The Barangay Council is composed of six committees, namely: infrastructure, appropriations, peace and order, agriculture, religious affairs and health/sanitation. Each household in Barangay Lumangan is encouraged to be represented in at least one of the six committees.

pursued by the village. The immediate goal of the workshop was to elaborate an action plan for one fiscal year that identified and addressed important problems/needs facing the community. Table 5 presents the output of the seminar. Issues pertaining to UPV affairs, food production projects, income generating projects and health/nutrition were some of the dominant themes that came out of the discussions. Topping the list of concerns was the matter of acquiring land titles and additional residential space for villagers and relatives affected by the relocation program of UPV.

Other concerns raised include the need for livelihood projects, and the need to improve the health, nutrition and sanitation status of the community. This was the first time that a formal planning conference was conducted among representatives of each household in the village. A UPV-BIDANI consultant hoped that this approach would "expose them to this kind of planning activity so that they will do it annually."

The UPV-BIDANI project is divided into three phases. Phase I involved project modelling at the village level. Here, a Barangay Nutrition Scholar-Development Worker (BNS-DW), was selected from among the community members. The BNS was trained for two weeks in UPLB, in the island of Luzon. The original BNS in Barangay Lumangan took on a permanent job at the municipal office and was promptly replaced by a new one whom they had trained for six days in Iloilo City. In describing her function the BNS, who receives 100 pesos monthly allowance, explains that:

> We (BNS-CD in all the 49 barangays covered by BIDANI in Panay Island) have monthly meetings at the UPV Campus in Iloilo City. BIDANI covers our transportation expenses. Our job is to monitor the weight of preschoolers (aged 3-6 years old) and to follow up the progress of BIDANI projects in our respective villages.

Table 5. UPV-Relocation Centre 1 Barangay Action Plan for 1990

I. Problems/Needs That Require Immediate Attention

Problem or Need	Plan of Action	Objective	Who will benefit?	Support coming from persons	Support coming from agency	Strategy to get assistance	Target date of implementation	Counterpart project by Lumangan villagers
1. Secure land titles	Dialogue with Mayor and UPV Officials	To assure residents of lot ownership	All residents in Relocation Centre	Village Officials	UPV, Mayor, BIDANI	Coordinate with legal counsel and top UPV officials	Sept. 1990	
2. Lots for gardening	Request for communal garden from UPV	To have a space to do backyard gardening	All residents in Relocation Centre	Village Officials	UPV	Coordinate with UPV	Sept. 1990	
3. Housing for new families at the Centre	Request for vacant lots for housing needs	To provide housing for new residents	Families who stay with or beside their relatives house/lot	Village Officials	UPV	List down the families who are in need of housing	Sept. 1990	
4. Vegetable planting	Ask for good quality seeds	Provide healthy and nutritious food to children and family members.	All residents especially those who are sickly and poor.	Village Officials	Dept. Of Agric., Bureau of Plant Industry	Coordinate with proper agencies and use of new technologies	1991	Residents will help in planting various plant vegetables
5. Supplemental feeding	Ask for additional food for malnourished children	To improve the health of malnourished children	Malnourished children	Mothers, Barangay Nutrition Scholar-Dev. Worker	Dept. of Social Welfare, Dept. of Health (DOH)	Coordinate with proper agencies	Sept. 1991	Permit children to attend supplemental feeding sessions
6. No toilette facility in homes	Request for the installation of toilette systems	To prevent the spread of diseases	Residents without toilette facility	Village Health Comm.	DOH	List residents without toilette facility and coordinate with proper agencies	Sept. 1991	Well off residents should help in securing the necessary materials.

Problem or Need	Plan of Action	Objective	Who will benefit?	Support Coming from persons	Support Coming from agency	Strategy to get assistance	Target date of implem-entation	Counterpart project from Lumangan villagers
7. Need for sports facilities	Do a fund-raiser	To promote a strong and healthy youth and to prevent them from engaging in vices	Youths, especially those who are out of school	Village Sports Comm.	Dept. Of Educ. Culture and Sports (DECS), NGOs	Seek the assistance of various agencies and wealthy patrons	1991	Assist the Committee
8. No uniform, nightstick and whistle for peace and order officers	Seek help from private agencies	To identify and properly equip peace officers	Village Peace Officers	Village Peace and Order Comm.	NGOs, GOs	Solicit funds	1991	Assist in soliciting funds
9. Help residents with no jobs	Create an animal husband-ry project	To provide supplem-entary income to residents	Residents who have the skills to tend for animals like goats, pigs etc.	Income Generat-ing Comm.	Dept. of Agric.	Link up with the proper agencies and individuals	1991	
10. Need to market weaved mats and baskets	Coordinate with UPV and set up some form of display centre of finished goods.	To provide added income to residents	All residents in the village	Those who have weaving skills	UPV	Contact people who are knowledgeab le about this project	1991	
11. Safe water supply	Install a deep well as a source of safe drinking water	To have a safe source of water for daily needs	All residents	All residents	NGOs, Dept. Of Public Works and High-way (DPWH)			*Bayanihan* system

Problem or Need	Plan of Action	Objective	Who will benefit?	Support Coming from Persons	Support Coming From Agency	Strategy to get Assistance	Target date of implem-entation	Counterpart project from Lumangan villagers
12. Need for a village hall	Build a multi-purpose hall	To have a place to hold meetings and seminars	Village officers and residents	All residents	Mayor, DPWH, NGOs	Pass a village resolution and coordinate with the proper agencies	1991	Residents will assist in the construction
13. Need for nutritious and clean food preparation	Provide education and training to parents	To provide knowledge on nutrition and to prevent the spread of disease	Parents who lack know-ledge on nutrition and food prepar-ation	Health and Nutrition Comm.	DOH	Wait for seminars and training	1991	
14. Problem of ncreased young marriages	Practice Family Planning	To control the number of children and to protect the health of mothers	Parents especially those with many children	Parents	DOH, Pop. Comm-ission, DSWD	Invite a speaker on family planning	1991	

II. Other Problems in Barangay Lumangan

Problem or Need	Plan of Action	Objective	Who will benefit?	Support Coming from Persons	Support Coming From Agency	Strategy to get Assistance	Target date of implem-entation	Counter-part project from the village
1. Artesian well in disrepair	Contact DPWH	To make use of this useless well	All residents	All residents	DPWH	Coordinate with DPWH	1991	
2. Women are not organized to promote their needs	Install a woman's organiza-tion	To form a woman's movement using their own abilities	All women	Eduction and Training Comm.	UPV-BIDANI	Coordinate with UPV to address this issue	1991	Have women join a woman's organization and have them participate in its projects
3. Roads are in disrepair	Build or repair the roads	To improve the transport-ation system of the village	All residents	All residents	UPV-BIDANI	Pass a resolution from the village calling for such repair	1991	
4. People in Relocation Centre 1 are not united because they come from different villages	Dissolve the existing village setup and create a new one	To unite the residents of the relocation site	All residents	All residents	Office of the Local Govt..		1991	Residents should unite and register as one village
5. Need for a schoolhouse	Set up a school-house even if it is just for primary schooling	To promote the safety of young school-children who have to travel long distances to go to school	Young children	Village Officials	DECS	Village resolution and cooperation from BIDANI	1991	

Source: Barangay Lumangan files.

The project helps the village to establish linkages, ideally through the use of indigenous extension and communication approaches, with government and private agencies. With the BIDANI program in place, Phase II was set into motion in which barangay projects were then carried out and consequently monitored and evaluated.

Among the BIDANI-sponsored initiatives were an animal husbandry project, a livelihood loan project and a sanitation project. For the animal husbandry project, interested households were provided female hogs or goats which BIDANI artificially inseminated. The original female hog/goat and two of its offsprings were than distributed to other interested households, and the cycle continues. Three households that were interviewed had participated in this project. BIDANI also started a livelihood loan project. Each interested household was given the option to avail of a 500 or 100 peso loan at three percent interest that was payable in three to five months, respectively. Two households I interviewed sought this loan package. Under the health and sanitation project, residents would buy affordable toilette bowls from BIDANI. Most residents complained that the animal husbandry project and the loan package had limited coverage in that a lot of interested households did not avail themselves of it. But according to Cely, a coop member, the amount that was generated (or had remained from these projects) was used to help set up a multipurpose cooperative.

The UPV Relocation Centre I Multipurpose Cooperative was founded in May, 1993, and began operations in August 1993. Under the provision of Republic Act 6938 (known as the Cooperative Code of the Philippines) the coop is exempt from all forms of taxes, duty, fees and other charges by the National and Local Government for accumulated reserves and net

savings of not more than ten (10) million pesos. According to a village council member, the idea to build a cooperative came from the BIDANI project. The councilor relates that:

> At the start BIDANI asked the people to tend the animals. It was their idea and the people merely took care of the animals. The idea of setting up a coop also came from them.

In the same vein, a coop member explains:

> We were trained as members. We attended a seminar in UPV on how to organize members of a cooperatives in the UPV campus. We set up the coop and recruited new members.

BIDANI originally recruited and trained three core members to help establish a cooperative store. Eventually residents of UPV Relocation Centre I, mostly from Barangay Lumangan, would comprise the founding members of the cooperative; membership, in fact, was originally limited to Relocation I residents. In early 1994, however, membership was opened to all interested individuals who complete a one day seminar and who patronize the services of the Coop. After two years, four more members had joined the enterprise. A coop member, in explaining the rationale for the cooperative, asserts that:

> The coop is a good idea. It teaches people to earn and save money, and enables people to be more knowledgeable of cooperativism. I also attended training sessions and seminars to know more about cooperatives. I enjoyed them for I learned that in a Cooperative there is no discrimination based on religion, looks, educational background. I like the concept of unity among the members. I especially like the idea that I can help myself and my community to progress.

To help set up the multipurpose coop, BIDANI framed a feasibility study, duly approved by the members of the Cooperative. As a financial package to the fledgling organization BIDANI donated 650 pesos and issued a loan of 6,000 pesos (payable in one year at three percent interest). Each member of the coop paid a 25 pesos membership fee. Shares were issued, valued at 200 pesos each, to raise capital for the multipurpose coop store. Each

member could own up to 20% of the total share capital of the coop.[40] This level of share capital ownership, however, is no longer supported by some members. For instance Manang Sebia, a Coop member who is also a member of a credit cooperative, now thinks that such policy does not reflect the spirit of cooperativism in that:

> If you are a Cooperative there are no rich and poor people (low and high shares) like what you have in a corporate setup where the idea is to buy lots of stock. What we have in our credit coop, led by a person who was a Coop trainer for 23 years, is equal share capital for each member.

The Coop store was built on the Barangay's plaza complex.[41] The members voluntarily provided building materials such as wood, bamboo and nipa to build the store. Labor was provided through the *dagyaw* system and the store was built in a week. Manang Glo, a coop member and village official, narrates:

> We just helped each other to build the coop store. Each member contributed a bamboo pole and ten layers of nipa. We then just practised dagyaw (assistance that is freely given without monetary payment) for the labor needed to set up the store. All the members, men or women, participated and offered a weeks worth of labor through dagyaw.

After the completion of the coop store, a home-farm-market survey was conducted and goods were bought from wholesalers. A ten percent mark-up was set on the consumer goods before they were finally made available to the buying public.

Based on the Articles of Cooperation of UPV Relocation Centre I Multipurpose Cooperative (pp. 3-9), the General Assembly (comprised of coop members) was the policy-

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[40]At the time of the field research most of the coop members had a 900 peso initial share capital. One member, on the other hand, owned 2,000 pesos worth of share capital. That member is a relative of a high ranking Coop official who is accused by some members of using the Coop for personal gain.

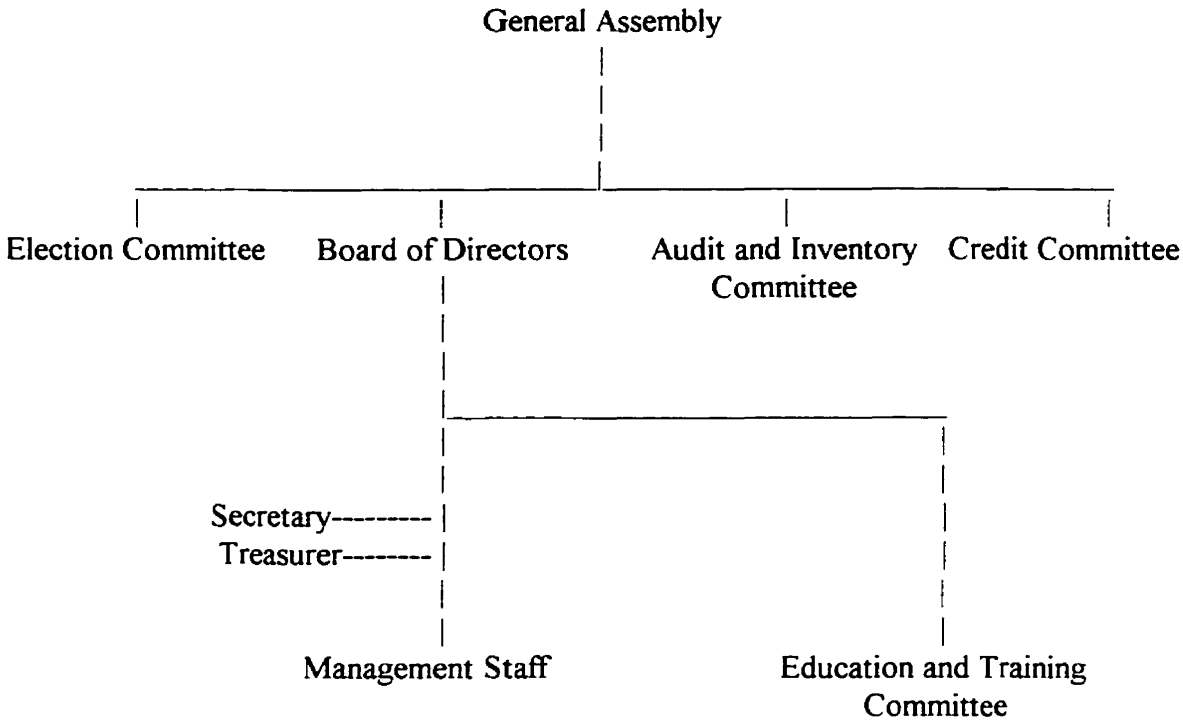
[41]The town plaza complex is the centre of social and political activity in the community. a multipurpose hall (barangay meetings and Sunday mass are held here), a village outpost and the basketball/volleyball court are built beside each other.

making body of the Cooperative. It also had the power to elect and remove elected officers. On the other hand, the business of running the coop was the responsibility of popularly-elected Board of Directors composed of five (5) members. The Board is authorized to prescribe policies that are consistent with the coop's bylaws and the resolutions of the General Assembly. Moreover, it appointed a management committee (composed of a manager, clerk and cashier) that is assigned to pursue policies and guidelines set by the general Assembly and the Board of Directors. Figure 6 provides a diagram of the organizational structure of the Multipurpose Cooperative.

By the end of the first year of operation in 1994, the Coop had achieved a measure of success. Four more members had been taken in. The 6,000 peso loan from BIDANI had been paid back and a brand new refrigerator had been bought for the store. Records show that the Cooperative had total assets of 51,753 pesos whereas liabilities stood only at 14,217 pesos. Consequently, each member earned interest on his/her share capital. Although each coop member had a patronage refund most opted to reinvest the money back into the Cooperative as share capital.[42] All these positive developments, however, were 'superficial' according to Manang Sebia—a Coop member who was also critical of the policy of giving as much as 20 percent share capital. Her disfavour was due to a planned 100,000 peso loan that the Cooperative was negotiating with a government agency. Manang Sebia felt that the Coop at Lumangan relies too much on loans (in fact the Coop was set up through a loan) and is therefore still unstable. I personally agree with her observation. I think that the Coop should

[42]Fifty percent of net savings/profit of the coop is divided among the members based on their share capital and the total purchases made to the store. Thus the higher the capital share and the more purchases made in the store, the higher the patronage refund.

Figure 6. Organizational Structure of the UPV Relocation Centre I Multipurpose Cooperative



Source: BIDANI records

first tap it's human and financial resource before seeking loans which may put the organization in financial problems.

On paper, Phase III of the BIDANI project involved the institutionalization of village-based programs. The plan here was to gradually phase out the SCU from the BIDANI villages and gradually phase in the municipalities to assume full responsibility of implementing the program. Phase III, as the approach goes, moves for the regionalisation and expansion of the BIDANI Model to a Network Program. Here, lessons learned from pilot UPLB-Project are applied in other regions through different agricultural colleges and universities. The Network Program aims to train and assist the key regional SCUs, which include UPV,

for them to establish the BIDANI model project in their respective areas. This plan to institutionalize the BIDANI approach in Miagao has yet to be realized.

The project phases I have just described are standard in setting up a BIDANI project in communities. The approach is to organize and train the village officials to plan, implement and evaluate development programs. They eventually assist the village in establishing linkages with government and nongovernment agencies. According to a BIDANI consultant, the projects' approach "follows certain steps": the "needs of (various) communities maybe different but the approach can still address the needs of the community."

2. Analysis

Participation in Planning

The idea of strengthening the Barangay Council and improving the nutrition level of Barangay Lumangan residents was initiated from outside, specifically from BIDANI. The initial strategy for the selection of Barangay Lumangan as a target community for the BIDANI project involved coordination with the municipal government to pinpoint nutritionally depressed villages. Thus, selection of Barangay Lumangan as a target community was "top-down." Once the village of Lumangan was pinpointed, BIDANI staff members and consultants contacted barangay leaders to establish rapport and to assess their interest in the project. They also conducted a baseline survey to determine the health and community problems/issues facing the community. Training on the principles of BIDANI and community organizing was then promptly provided to members of the Barangay Council. Community members of Barangay Lumangan had little or no involvement in the selection of these trainees for the project. Based on the interviews, this fuelled disinterest in the project among community

members especially since at least two thirds of the villagers had lost confidence with some village leaders.

There is also a clamour for proper training and orientation of members of the Consumer's cooperative. Some members, who are knowledgeable of cooperative systems, complained that they lack proper training and orientation about the policies and bylaws of their cooperative. Only one day (instead of three as observed by Manang Sebia) was devoted to discuss important matters pertaining to profit sharing schemes, rights and responsibilities among members of the Coop. Indeed, such observation is significant for during the course of field interviews many coop members were unfamiliar with the workings of the Coop. According to a municipal official, the lack of proper training and information dissemination among Cooperatives in Western Visayas is rampant. Coops are also infamous and unpopular in the area due to cases of corruption by a few people.

However, it should be acknowledged that the community planning conference initiated by BIDANI during its initial operation provided an opportunity for Lumangan residents to analyse and assess problems and issues facing the community. Thus although participation of community members was low during the initial stage of the decision making process, participation of villagers in the ongoing and operational decision-making process was present. Therefore, the participation of community members in the initial, ongoing and operational decision making stages of the project is collaborative wherein the BIDANI staff gave community members a chance to discuss their felt needs/problems in an action planning conference.

Participation in Implementation

Ideally, institutions for enabling participation should be created by members of the community. During the first year of the BIDANI project there were in-depth discussions between the village development council and the community; consequently, a lot of interest was generated in the livelihood projects that were set up. However, as BIDANI transferred the organization of planning conferences and livelihood projects to the three core members, the village council and later the Multipurpose Cooperative, the participation of community members in framing action plans and community organizing weakened. In fact, at least four original members of the cooperative have withdrawn their membership, citing the lack of proper feedback to the membership as an error they saw in the organization. Villagers on the other hand posit a "wait and see attitude" before committing to the Coop. A BIDANI consultant narrates that:

> It is our assumption that since we have exposed and trained key village officials/leaders on how to set up a planning conference they will do this on an annual basis with the entire community. But usually what happens is that they return to their old practice of planning without the participation of the entire community. It would be ideal for us to return and help them set up the planning conference annually but it becomes too expensive for the project in terms of time, resources and money.

Leadership within the project was shared between the BIDANI team and leaders of the village council, leaders of the cooperative were included (three of the five Board members are also village officials). Discussions were held between BIDANI and the leaders of each local organization during training workshops; however, due to the rigid and compartmentalized organizational structures of the village council and the cooperative there was no venue wherein these two local organizations could coordinate their efforts. The BIDANI team also shared much of the workload in implementing the livelihood projects and in setting up the coop. The views of village members were accepted and considered. The BIDANI team acted

as a facilitator and modeller of the project approach. Members of the community shared joint responsibility and credit for the completion of an action plan during the first year of BIDANI's operation. Such, however, was not the case as the project progressed.

In the development plans of the village development council a marked streamlining of needs/problems is noted as compared with initial action plans. Moreover, some issues identified in initial action plans are absent in later plans. For example, residents during the 1990 planning conference and during the field interviews frequently expressed concern over the lack of livelihood and job creation. Another common and important concern was the lack of unity between and among villagers from the original Lumangan site and non-Lumangan residents in Relocation Centre 1. Such concerns, however, was not incorporated in the 1995 action plan of Barangay Lumangan which focused on:

a. securing land titles from UPV;
b. application for right of way;
c. housing for new families at the Relocation Centre;
d. need for backyard vegetable gardening;
e. need to market weaved mats and baskets;
f. need for supplemental feeding for preschoolers;
g. need for additional artesian wells;
h. need to prepare nutritious food at home;
i. family planning; and,
j. women not organized to promote their needs.

The leadership and management of the Multipurpose Coop were shared between BIDANI and the coop members during its initial formation. Discussions were held between project team and the prospective coop members during seminars and training workshops. It should be noted, however, that key documents for establishing the Coop were primarily framed by BIDANI for Barangay Lumangan. Such documents include a feasibility study for the

formation of the multipurpose cooperative and the constitution and bylaws of the cooperative. A former Coop member commented that:

> Most of the assumptions and projections for the coop that are outlined in the feasibility study have not been met. It seems that BIDANI overestimated the capacity of the cooperative to achieve preset goals.

Two coop members, for their part, observed that the rules and regulations found in the constitution and bylaws are not observed and that many violations are often committed by Coop officials themselves. They accuse a high ranking Coop official of unauthorized access to large loans from the Coop treasury and of not following operational guidelines set by the Board of Directors in program activities and purchases. This charge is corroborated, in detail, by two other Coop officials whom I interviewed. I believe that the leadership and management style of the BIDANI livelihood and Coop project, as embodied in key documents, were designed to encourage people's participation, but increased reliance on leaders and intermediaries who may have hidden agendas, lack of education and training to Coop members and the deficient monitoring schemes installed by BIDANI did not encourage the creation of sustainable and responsive participatory structures.

In terms of resource mobilisation for the BIDANI project, most of the villagers and their leaders/representatives saw participation as primarily a contribution in cash, in kind or in labor to the predetermined, planned activities of outsiders. This outlook grew out of the fact that decisions on how to mobilize resources and how most of the resources are to be used was done by BIDANI and a core group of village intermediaries. The main financial fund, especially in the livelihood project stage, was held by BIDANI; later, financial contributions were collected from prospective Coop members. In-kind resources were in the form of

provision of food for visiting BIDANI staff and for villagers who practised *dagyaw*. Coop members also contributed building materials like bamboo poles and nipa to build the coop store. The community, especially those who availed of the livelihood program, provided labor to tend to animals while village trainees monitored the results. The Coop members, on the other hand, provided labor through *dagyaw* in the building of the coop store. BIDANI trained villagers/brokers provided instruction to villagers on health-related, livelihood related and cooperative related issues.

Participation in Benefits

The underlying philosophy and objective of the BIDANI project was to activate local organizations like the village development council and to teach them the "BIDANI approach" to a sustainable health and nutrition program in the community. Village leaders were encouraged to adopt the BIDANI approach and involve villagers in the framing of annual action plans for the community. However, the unpopularity and 'top down' management style of some village leaders/intermediaries and BIDANI trainees did not sustain the momentum of popular participation in development initiatives.

It cannot be denied that the BIDANI approach utilized empowerment techniques to help improve the living condition and educate/train people in the community. Their attempts to first develop the economic well-being of community members (through a lending and livelihood scheme) before introducing the multipurpose cooperative as an alternative local organization is highly commendable. But BIDANI lacked the resources to sustain the momentum of participatory development. A BIDANI consultant admitted that financial constraints prevented them from following up on the participatory process they introduced.

In the end, village leaders and intermediaries perhaps benefitted the most from the BIDANI project through leadership and management training. This increased their chances of diversifying their livelihood strategies and improving their socio-economic network.

The common complaint from the residents, however, is that the benefits from projects such as the lending scheme and animal husbandry program were available to only a few residents. Manang Tasing, who earns a living by washing the clothes of students staying at the UPV dormitories, asserts that:

> I heard about the livelihood project from dome friends in the village. I wanted to try it because I know how to take care of pigs. But where are those pigs now? Nobody has a record as to where all the mature and young pigs went. And why is it that Coop members can avail of personal loans from the Coop but we non-members cannot do the same?

Nonetheless, many residents agree that BIDANI did a "good thing" by helping the community build the Consumer's Cooperative. Barangay Lumangan residents, in particular, are appreciative of the fact that they no longer have to travel three kilometres to town to buy basic household and farm needs. That sentiment is not shared by non-Lumangan residents who were interviewed. Manong Lucio, a former Barangay Bacauan resident who is now residing in Relocation Centre 1, captures the sentiment of the non-Lumangan group when he said that:

> We are not happy of the fact that only residents from Lumangan benefit from most of development projects intended for this relocation site. If you noticed, all the infrastructure they built (i.e., village hall, church, artesian wells, coop store etc.) are conveniently located near the homes of original Lumangan residents in the northern end of the relocation site. But we don't care. We know that they just promoting their own interests. So instead of joining them we go to our old villages and participate in development activities there. We feel much more welcome and a part of a community in the current setup.

Depth and Scope of Participation

In general, the BIDANI project exposed some village members to a wide range of development options, in and beyond agricultural change. This was achieved through a lending scheme (although only a few villagers could get access to this benefit) for livelihood purposes and an animal husbandry program (which also had a limited scope). These initiatives provided villagers alternative sources of income to compensate for decreased farm revenue and lack of employment opportunity inside the relocation site.

BIDANI also worked with the community in conscientization and empowering modes. The planning conference was a venue from which the people could articulate and assert (by words and deeds) their aspirations. But, this annual planning conference is often not conducted with the community, according to a BIDANI consultant. Thus, the positive impact of the BIDANI project may be limited in that there was no long-term attempt to help establish a local organization that would enhance social awareness and self reliance among community members. During the interviews some villagers complained of poor communication with village officials and intermediaries. Some residents find certain leaders and intermediaries "difficult to deal with", while others would prefer informal gatherings and meetings with their leaders/intermediaries so that they can articulate themselves better through the use of Kinaray-a (local language).

Although BIDANI developed the networking capacity of Barangay Lumangan to draw on public and private sector support/services it appears that only a small section of the community, i.e., the Coop members, are taking full advantage of it. And although the prevailing sentiment of the community is that BIDANI has passed an increasing share of

management responsibilities of the project to them, many allege that they were not able to avail of economic benefits and that only a few people gained access to such benefits.

B. Community-Based Health Program

The Community-Based Health Program (CBHP) in Relocation I (and II) is a joint venture between the UP in the Visayas (UPV) and the UP Manila College of Medicine (UPCM) that started in 1991. During each academic year, medical interns from UPCM acquire their six-week community medicine exposure in Miagao. The aim of the program is to provide quality health care to relocated barangays inside the UPV campus, to train Barangay Health Workers (BHWs) on primary health care and also to provide training to medical interns on community health and medicine. The CBHP, like the BIDANI project, espouses an interdisciplinary approach to achieve its goals. The success of the program depends on the cooperation and coordination between and among the UPV, UPCM, NGOs and GOs.

1. Background of the Project

Since the CBHP began, planning, implementation and evaluation of the programme have been handled mainly by Manila-based medical interns from the UP College of Medicine in Manila (UPCM).[43] During the first week of their training, the medical interns are oriented by various groups including their respective supervisors at the UPCM, and upon arrival in Iloilo, by the CBHP coordinator (the principal supervisor of rotating interns), the UPV physician and the municipal health officer. The intern is also given a tour of the relocation site where a meeting

[43]The University of the Philippines, Manila (another autonomous campus of the UP system) College of Medicine is considered to be the best school of medicine in the country.

is set with the village officials and BHW volunteers. During the second to the fifth week, the intern performs medical duties at the UPV Infirmary, the relocation sites and various rural health units in Miagao. On the sixth and last week, the interns complete a report of their experience. The performance of the interns is then evaluated by the CBHP coordinator with the help of the village officials and RHWs.

The role and function of the medical interns since the inception of the project have been varied. The interns served as health-care providers to the relocated barangays (and to UPV and non-UPV employees) by diagnosing and managing common illnesses and injuries, and also referring clinical cases for further attention at the nearest health facilities. Towards this end, the medical interns saw patients at the Miagao Rural Health Unit (RHU) and the UPV Infirmary. They also made house calls to patients in the Relocation Centres and UPV academic and non-academic staff.

The young and aspiring medical doctors also became educators to barangay-based community health workers. They provided training to BHWs (five in Barangay Lumangan) on the diagnosis and treatment of common illnesses and injuries, as well as the identification of referrable cases to other health units. According to a BHW:

> Training is continuous the whole year round under different interns. They start coming to train us at the start of the school year (June) and it ends after the school year (April). We are well trained and our skills are constantly polished with the arrival of new interns. Their goal was for us to be proficient and self-reliant.

The interns also planned and conducted seminars on preventive medicine which covered nutrition, immunization and prenatal care. To date, BHWs in the relocation sites have been adequately equipped with basic medical knowledge and skills. In fact, the RHU of Miagao have exempted BHWs from Barangay Lumangan from further training. The proficiency of

the UPCM-trained BHWs has reached a point where they are now being asked to instruct new BHWs:

> We are disqualified for training given by the municipal health workers because according to them we are already well-trained by the interns. They say that we can now give lectures to BHWs who have had no training yet.

This is a clear indication of the success of the training program for the BHWs.

The Manila-based interns also became facilitators in establishing a community *botica* (pharmacy) inside the relocation site starting in November 1992. A BHW was chosen by the interns to manage the pharmacy as a pseudo-cooperative in which over-the-counter drugs and medication, donated to the community pharmacy, are sold to patients at very affordable rates. According to a BHW volunteer:

> Each intern that came left some medicines for us to keep. I was the one responsible for securing and disbursing them. We were instructed by the interns to sell some of the medicines at minimal cost. This started our small pharmacy programme which we are building as a cooperative.

To ensure the success of this 'pharmacy project,' BHWs were given formal training as pharmacy aides. The interns also coordinated with Community Development students from UPV and formal training on the concepts and management of cooperatives was provided to BHWs. Assistance was also sought from the Miagao RHU to ensure a sustained supply of the most commonly used medication in the relocated communities. To promote self-reliance and sustainable health care among community members, the interns actively promoted the use and propagation of herbal medicines for common diseases; this was very much appreciated by community members who already use local herbs to treat minor cuts and ailments.

Finally, the medical interns also became development workers as they involved themselves in the needs/problems of the community. Manang Rica, a member of the Consumers Cooperative, says that she was pleased at the help a medical intern provided. She narrates:

> I shared with the intern some of the problems we were encountering in the Coop. He than gave me a postcard of Senator Roco with a contact address and suggested that I write the senator and seek his help. I did just that and I was pleasantly surprised to receive a reply. Now we are waiting to see if the senator can deliver his promise to assist us.

Because the CBHP is also a venue for service-training, the medical interns have also ventured out as health science researchers, doing community-based studies since 1994. There is a plan to synthesize the various researches and incorporate them as policy guidelines for health care programs inside the relocation sites. It is felt, however, that such research should be a joint undertaking between and among interns, UPV students and RHUs.

Future plans for institutionalization of CBHP in the relocation sites include the forging of close coordination between the BHWs and the municipal health units to further community health goals. Plans also exist to move beyond community health concerns and strengthen community organizations to address other development concerns.

2. Analysis

Participation in Planning

The idea of providing health care to Barangay Lumangan and the training of BHWs was initiated outside the community, specifically from the UPV and UPCM. All relocation sites of UPV were the targeted by the Community-Based Health Programme (CBHP). Thus, selection of Barangay Lumangan as a target community was "top-down." The CBHP was introduced to Barangay Lumangan through the village council. With the cooperation of the

village officials, the medical interns proceeded to lead and manage the project. The selection of BHWs was on a voluntary basis with five community members agreeing to be trained by the medical interns from Manila. Therefore, the participation of community members in the initial, on-going and operational decision making stages of the project was essentially collaborative in that ideas of community members, especially the BHWs, were actively sought by the interns who then develop solutions to their problems.

Participation in Implementation

The CBHP project team is made up of a CBHP coordinator, various medical interns and five BHWs from the community. A brief orientation session and meeting between the interns and the BHWs provide an opportunity for members of the team to know one another and to become acquainted of the process and goals of the programme. Throughout the project period, there were in-depth discussions and much sharing of ideas and information between and among the medical interns and BHWs concerning a number of issues. Decisions were often made by a consensus through the facilitation of the CBHP coordinator who acted as the team leader of the group. It should be noted, however, that the team members were more responsible to the team leader than to the community, through the BHWs.

Financial resources for the project come entirely from outside the community. Medical supplies and medicines used for the programme, for example, were mostly provided by the UPCM and the rural health units. It should also be pointed out that the project was primarily a training program that required very little financial support. The UPCM provided the medical interns to serve as resident doctors in the relocation sites. The medical students, for their part,

provided their skills and talents to fulfill their medical internship at UPCM. They personally absorbed all their expenses related to the six-week stay inside the UPV campus.

While doing house-to-house calls and consultations among the villagers, the interns provided on-the-spot training to the BHWs. The BHWs were instructed on the diagnosis and management of common illnesses and injuries, and also the referral of clinical cases for further attention at the nearest health facilities. In turn, the BHWs are expected to train and educate village members. During the field research I did not observe any attempt by the BHWs to pass on the knowledge they gained on a systematic basis.

Although the BHWs were properly trained in primary and preventive health care, they and community members had limited control over how to mobilize and use resources. More often than not, the interns managed the acquisition and use of resources such as medical supplies. It is hoped that the setting up of a small pharmacy cooperative, under the management of a BHW, will encourage the community to organize its own medical resources.

The proper implementation and evaluation of the CBHP was also hampered by the lack of coordination between the interns and the municipal health unit. Marlyn, a BHW who managed the mini pharmacy of the village complained that:

> I originally thought that I would be working under the supervision of UP since UP interns were giving us training and medicines. But I just received a notice that I should register at the municipal office. I think they should clarify first where our responsibility begins and ends and whether it is UP or the RHU that should supervise us. Because of this confusion, I did not renew my registration as a BHW.

Participation in Benefits

The CBHP project aimed to promote self-reliance in health care in Barangay Lumangan. Toward this end it appears that the project has been successful in forging a partnership and

active participation of the BHWs[44] who have volunteered their time and effort. Based on an unofficial report (Fernandez 1995, 1-3) written by the CBHP coordinator, the project concentrated more on diagnosing and providing medical treatment. Of equal importance, the report continues, "is to provide community members with training and education on preventive medicine." The report also notes that as a whole the project had a limited impact in the cultivation of an interdisciplinary approach to holistically address the health problems of the community. Moreover, the report stresses that:

> The role of the physician as part of and integral to the community has not been emphasized in past years. He/she can take on a passive role where he/she participates in the daily activities of the community (housekeeping, farming, production, cultural celebrations and ceremonies) or he/she can take on an active role by seeing oneself as an agent of social change: by evaluating the situation and by planning, suggesting and implementing actions that will improve the health (and health-related) status of the community.

There was also no active effort to relay feedback of the results of the various reports and experiences of the various intern groups who worked in the community. In fact, it was difficult for me to secure primary data on the project because medical intern activities in the barangays were not properly recorded. However, the attempt to set up a self-sustaining pharmacy and the popularization of the use of herbal medicining is a step toward an interdisciplinary understanding of the health issues/ problems facing Barangay Lumangan.

But the project was clearly successful in its training program. The five BHWs that were trained in Barangay Lumangan have become proficient in providing basic health care among community members. They have been exempted from further medical training by the municipal health office and are in fact earmarked to train new BHWs in neighbouring villages.

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[44]The BHWs get 50 pesos a month as allowance from the Barangay Lumangan treasury.

It is safe to say that the BHWs have become adept at managing the health program of the community as well as the small pharmacy cooperative that the interns helped install. According to a BHW the lengthy interactions she had with the interns gave her the impetus and confidence to address problems/issues relating to health related as well as non-health related matters affecting the community. However, no active attempt was made by the interns and BHWs to involve and also instruct community members in preventive health care practices. Active involvement of community members to the project was therefore limited to the BHWs.

There are mixed reactions from the household respondents about the CBHP. Most residents think that the medical interns did a fine job attending to their health problems and in reintroducing herbal medicine to the community. In fact, a BHW testifies that a medical intern went beyond the call of duty and provided her with key information on how to contact a key government official who can serve as a key resource in helping resolve the community's Coop problems. But than again, expectations of what the project can do is high for some residents. Manong Apolinario, who is 68 years old and is suffering from vision loss, asks: "What good are these doctors who come to this community if they cannot cure ailments such as what I have?"

Depth and Scope of Participation

As part of a health extension programme, the CBHP was limited in scope in that there was a narrow focus given to the development options offered by the project. However, an attempt was made to broaden the impact of the project by setting up a village pharmacy cooperative. The CBHP did not actively pursue a conscientization and empowering strategy. The brief

orientation sessions at the start of each rotation of interns did not provide the opportunity for the community members to articulate and assert their sentiments and ideas about the project. However, there were instances when some interns went beyond their role as health providers and provided ideas and information on how to meet needs and resolve problems facing the community.

Although networking with GO and NGO agencies was common throughout the project the lack of coordination between and among them tended to confuse the BHWs. Rose, a BHW volunteer who manages the mini-pharmacy project, is planning to step down from her post for she does not understand why she has to provide records and financial reports to both the municipal health office and the CBHP coordinator. A clarification of the roles of the respective agencies in the project will therefore help resolve, and perhaps eliminate, miscommunication and duplication of functions among the area-based health consortium.

7

Conclusion and Policy Implications

The purpose of this study was to explore the extent of community participation and the effectiveness of an area-based development consortium in social development projects at the local level. This has been done through a case study of two development projects in the village of Barangay Lumangan in Miagao, Province of Iloilo, Philippines that espouse the "empowerment" of the people. Empowerment is achieved when the majority of the community members are involved in decision-making toward assessment of their needs, the implementation (i.e., mobilization of resources) and access to benefits in development programmes/projects. Empowerment also implies an increased ability of the people to take active leadership positions, to form their own organizations and, to be involved in actions which leads to capacity building, awareness and consciousness-raising.

It should be stressed that the intention of this thesis was to examine the practice of community participation by village members, in relation to ideal notions of participatory

development or grassroots development work. There are certain similarities and differences between the two projects analysed in Barangay Lumangan. Both could be referred to as "participatory development" projects because they encourage the active participation of community members. Both are also NGO projects operating in one particular village. The BIDANI project was the bigger endeavour of the two, involving many staff members and many villages, and which operated for five years at the time of the field research. The CBHP, on the other hand, only had a core group of medical interns who provided quality health care to people in Miagao, especially to UPV residents. The project, on its fourth year of operation, provided training in basic health care to BHWs in the relocation sites.

The purpose of the analysis is not to asses the relative success of one project over the other. Differences in the nature of the two projects hinders a ready comparative analysis. Nonetheless, one lesson that can be learned from both is that the level of participation achieved depends to a great extent on the interpretation given to "participation" at the onset of the project. In the case of the BIDANI project, participation was conceptualized in a holistic context that encompassed the active involvement of community members in the planning, implementation and benefits acquisition of a development project. The CBHP project, on the other hand, had a limited conception of participation that involved the training of some community members to provide health care to the entire community.

This thesis, has revealed that the participation or non-participation of community members to development programmes/projects, which may extend to other spheres of social life, may be a function of inequalities of wealth, social status, sex and also age. Within a group of persons recruited on the basis of common socio-economic background, it should be noted that

there will exist inequalities in skills, entrepreneurship, connections with the outside and so forth. Failure to take this into account when designing development interventions may result in the negation of equitable participation in the development activity. The BIDANI case illustrates this point. The recruitment of local leaders and intermediaries (who are more educated and had higher annual household incomes) to lead the planning and implementation of the project isolated a majority of the community members. The organizational and communication style utilized by the local leaders/intermediaries did not fully take into consideration indigenous culture, technology and wisdom that tended to be informal and based on extended kinship ties.

I believe that the rigid and compartmentalized value systems embodied in bureaucracies and administrations tend to filter out and negate socio-cultural and even linguistic information in the planning and management of development programs and projects. The result is a lack of local interest and confusion among target groups. The BIDANI and CBHP projects are a case in point. Both projects followed an organizational blueprint that tended to be inflexible and was unable to incorporate indigenous leadership and communication systems found in Barangay Lumangan. It is, therefore, highly recommendable for bureaucracies and organizations to change their orientation and incorporate the social, cultural and linguistic realities of their prospective beneficiaries so as to cultivate and sustain participatory development.

Participatory processes prosper where communities have adequate information. The *"Samahan,"* a community labor pool in Lumangan is a case in point. Here the members of the labor pool did not need outside intervention to organize themselves, they had an informal

networking system that provided them workload opportunities. In relations beyond the village, however, the community behaves passively and adopts a clientelistic attitude because it lacks information about these systems. The passive behaviour of most of the members of the UPV Relocation Centre I Multipurpose Cooperative illustrates this point. The Coop members have a general attitude of complacency for they were not given enough information about the workings of the cooperative.

More often than not village intermediaries or trainees, whose orientation, skills and motivation are qualitatively very different from those of village leaders, mediate between the village and external systems of resource flow such as the aid system. In the case of local organizations that depend heavily on external aid flows, intermediaries assume positions of power and masquerade as village leaders. The skills of the village intermediary derive from his/her knowledge of both the workings of the external systems and the micro-level processes and dynamics of the village. The broker uses this knowledge to ensure that the external resources are distributed in such a way as to obtain the results that qualify the village for another round of aid. It is often the case that the benefits of development activity are inequitably distributed and participation is controlled by the broker, while the majority remains silent because the costs and risks of protest are high in relation to the economic stakes.

Participation in grassroots development activities that depend on external aid is a function of a political negotiation between different agendas of three major actors: the donor, the intermediary NGO and the village intermediary who wields power in the local organization. Conventional community development approaches to grassroots-level leadership training further strengthen the power of village intermediaries, equipping them with more tools and

information to impede the participation of the members in development activities. I subscribe to the idea that such resources available for leadership training will be better used if they are destined to train members to control their leaders/intermediaries and to disseminate information about external systems among members.

Participation of people in development activities is at its highest when the resource environment of the project/program is favourable (i.e., more tangible benefits are apparent to the individual). In practice though, donors tend to stretch a limited package of aid too far, so that the benefit derived per family is very limited to make any meaningful dent in the gap that separates aspiration from reality. The limited scope of both the animal husbandry project and the livelihood loan of BIDANI illustrates this point. In such cases where resource is scarce, the potential for active participation in development work is limited. But when access to the resources of a project is available and when such project can help fulfill the hopes and aspirations of a community, the potential beneficiaries will take the initiative to participate in decision making about project implementation, as means of ensuring that they share in the benefits of the project. When the economic stakes are high (and law and order prevails) people struggle to participate. The interest that is generated will then prevent a small group from limiting the participation of the others in order to draw the greater share of the benefits to themselves. This trend is apparent in the BIDANI-inspired Consumer's Cooperative where some members call on their leaders to become more accountable in their financial dealings and more responsive to the needs of the community

There are no universal models or guidelines to follow in the practice of community participation. However there is a broad strategy that could be applied. As a general guideline

participation should not only address the physical problems in the context of a project but also the structural issues affecting people's participation. Moreover, emphasis should be placed on how to empower the poor and not strictly on the agency that initiate or direct the empowerment process. A community should be encouraged to initiate and maintain control over the empowerment process, and approach GOs and NGO for support. Where people are not capable of doing this, an external facilitator may prove to be an efficient agency. Nevertheless, the primacy and interest of the people should remain intact. Meaning, the people should actively be involved in the plans and decisions concerning a development program/project. Moreover, a development agency cannot push a community to go at a faster pace than they are capable of. The BIDANI case proves this point. The BIDANI project, due to lack of sufficient resource, was unable to provide adequate support towards the success and sustainability of the participatory process they initiated (i.e., planning conference). The promotion of genuine participation is a long process. Long term commitment is critical in achieving authentic community participation.

As grassroots systems are being progressively drawn into regional, national and international social spaces, the function of development initiatives is to provide mechanisms that illuminate the possibilities and constraints brought by outside forces and thereby provide confidence to the grassroots-level participants. The goal is for key players (GOs, NGOs, donors, and most important, local people) to be active participants in the development process. This involves enabling them to influence and share control over development initiatives, decisions and resources that affect them. With genuine participatory processes in

place, it is hoped that the gap between aspirations and realities in the lives of community members can be bridged.

APPENDIX 1. HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW GUIDE

PART I. Household Participatory Indices on Policy/Organization Decision Making, Implementation and Benefits Acquisition in Development Programs and Projects

1. Did you or any adult member of the household take part in the planning and design of the following development programs or projects? If yes, specify the extent of involvement.

2. Were you or any adult member of the household consulted before the following development programs or projects were implemented? If yes, specify the mode of consultation.

3. Have you or any adult member of the household attended any of the following organized meetings? If yes, specify the frequency of attendance.

4. Did/do you or any adult member of the household contribute voluntary labor for any of the following community programs/projects? If yes, provide estimate of length of labor contribution.

5. Did/do you or any adult member of this household contribute paid labor for any of the following community programs/projects? If yes, provide estimate of length of labor contribution.

6. Did/do you or any member of the household contribute money for any of the following community programs/projects? If yes, provide estimate of the amount.

7. Did/do you or any member of the household contribute materials (specify) for any of the following community programs/projects? If yes, specify.

8. Did you or any adult member of the household acquire agricultural and/or management skills from any of the following programs/projects in your community? If yes, specify the skill/training acquired.

9. Did you or any adult member of the household acquire non-agricultural skills and/or management training from any of the following programs or projects? If yes, specify the skill/training acquired.

10. Did you or any adult member of the household acquire livelihood tools or materials from any of the following programs/projects? If yes, specify.

11. Did you or any adult member of the household receive funding or loans from any of the following programs or projects? If yes, specify the type of funding or loan involved.

12. Are you or any adult member of the household involved in the monitoring/assessing of any of the following program/projects? If yes, specify the mode of monitoring/assessment done.

PART II. Household Perceptions on the Effectiveness of the Area-Based Development Consortium in Strengthening Local/Grassroots Organizations: Major Themes

1. Level of household and community exposure to livelihood and development options beyond agricultural concerns;

2. Level of household and community exposure to conscientization and empowering modes to enhance long-term adaptation to social and economic change.

3. Level of assistance provided to the household and the community for networking purposes to draw in public and private services.

4. Issue of whether the household notes the increased transfer of management responsibilities in development efforts from the area-based development consortium to the household and/or community.

5. Other comments on the relationship between the household/community and the area-based development consortium.

APPENDIX 2. HOUSEHOLD SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE

Name of Respondent/s: Barangay: -

Name	Relation to Head	Date of Birth	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Religion	Educ.	Occupation	Employer	Gross Annual Income
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										

A. HOUSEHOLD INCOME (Annual Basis; Estimated)

Sources	Amount (Philippine pesos)
salaries/wages	
farm produce	
support/remittances	
others (specify)	

B. INVESTMENTS (Annual Basis; Estimated)

Item	Kind	Amount (Philippine pesos)
fixed assets		
appliances		
income generating projects		
others (specify)		

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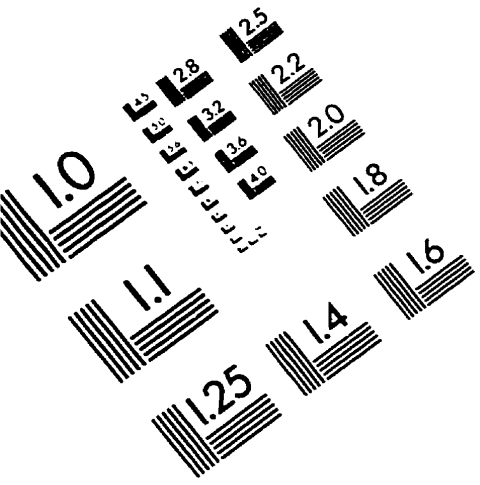
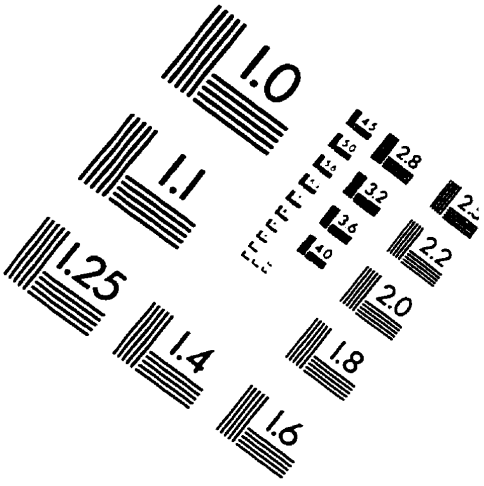
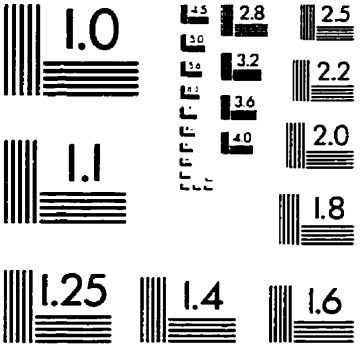
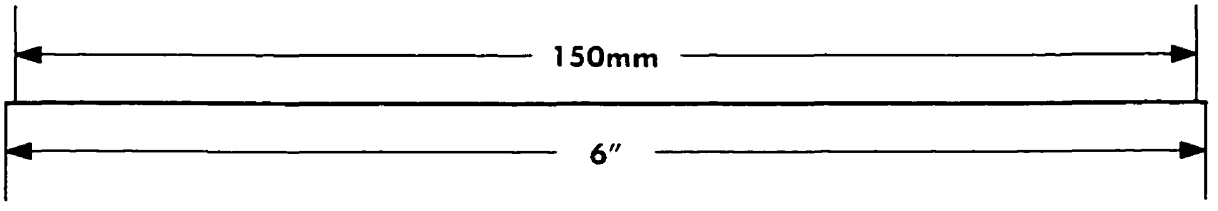
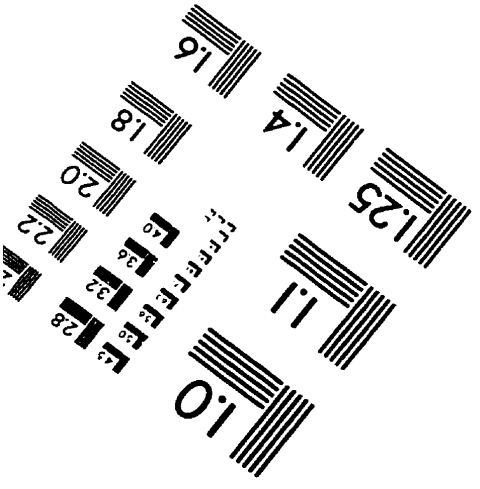
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

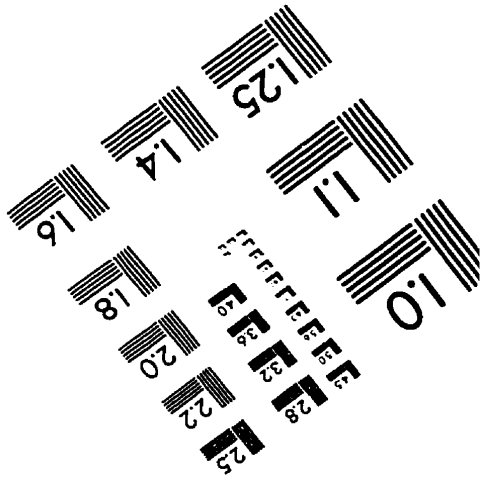












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