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**PARTICIPATION - WHO OWNS IT?**  
**Enhancing community participation**  
**on Bohol Island, Philippines**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of**  
**the requirement for the degree of**  
**Master of Philosophy in Development Studies**  
**at Massey University,**  
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## **ABSTRACT**

Community participation has been seen as a means of improving project outcomes with participatory development practices being mainstreamed by most multilateral development agencies. However, 'participation' remains an overused, poorly understood and subjectively defined concept with various partners in the development process concurrently exhibiting different understandings of the concept. A critique of participation also suggests that the rhetoric of participation not only exceeds the practice but that practitioners can use participatory development in an unjust and abusive manner. A problem development organisations in the Philippines face is how to enhance community participation in project communities.

Using a case study approach, this research studies a non-government organisation (NGO) and a rural community in the Philippines, partners in implementing two development projects during 1995 - 2003. Research on Bohol during June - July 2004 sought to understand the factors which influenced the willingness and ability of community members to participate in the projects, and the strategies used by the NGO to enhance community participation.

This research finds that project participation was enhanced by the community's social cohesion, the NGO's authentic planning and implementation with the community, and the project personnel's respectful and trusting relationships with community members. Similarly, the manner in which project components explicitly met felt need, the enthusiasm generated by the NGO, and the high degree of community ownership of the projects, led to community participation. In contrast, community conflict, the community's negative experience of historical events, selective participation, and the high perceived costs of participation led to non-participation.

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## ACRONYMS

AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BPA	Barangay Power Association
BOHECO-I	Bohol Electric Cooperative
CD	Community development
CHNM	Chocolate Hills Natural Monument
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CO	Community organising
CPP	Communist Party of the Philippines
DA	Department of Agriculture
DENR	Department of Environment and Natural Resources
DOLE	Department of Labour and Employment
IRRM	International Rural Reconstruction Movement
KLLEP	Katipunan Livestock and Livelihood Enhancement Project
LGC	Local government code
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIPAS	National Integrated Protected Area System
NPA	New People's Army
NZ\$	New Zealand dollar
P	Philippine peso
PACAP	Philippine-Australian Community Assistance Program
PECCO	Philippine Council for Community Organisation
PKP	Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas
PO	People's organisation
SNRMP	Sagbayan Natural Resource Management Project
SWCF	Soil and Water Conservation Foundation, Inc.
UKA	Uswag Katipunan Association

## GLOSSARY

<i>abono</i>	an association for emergency loans
<i>alayon</i>	work groups
<i>bakya</i>	wooden clogs
<i>barangay</i>	a political area/unit of less than 1,000 people
<i>biray</i> or <i>dayong</i>	organisation that raises funds for funeral expenses
Boholano	a native of Bohol and the language thereof
<i>boluntario</i>	voluntary work
<i>bukas na</i>	procrastination
<i>camote</i>	sweet potato
<i>carabao</i>	water buffalo
<i>centro</i>	the centre of the barangay
<i>datu</i>	chief or king
Filipino	a native of and language of the Philippines
<i>gabi</i>	taro root
<i>gala</i>	family groups that contribute to their son's wedding expenses
<i>kaingin</i>	shifting cultivation
<i>kanya-kanya</i>	self-centredness
Katipunan	name of the local case-study barangay
<i>mañana</i>	procrastination
<i>mogotes</i>	residual limestone hills
<i>pamilya</i>	family or extended family
<i>purok</i>	a subdivision of a barangay
<i>ripa</i>	a rotating credit association
<i>sitio</i>	a subdivision of a barangay
Tagalog	the official Filipino national language
<i>tinginit</i>	dry season
<i>tingulan</i>	wet season
<i>utang na loob</i>	indebtedness

# **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

## **RESEARCH BACKGROUND**

Following World War Two, the focus of much worldwide development effort, initially in the West, was on infrastructure projects and economic growth (Long, 2001:6). Soon thereafter, the idea of 'Third World' development began to emerge following the successful rebuilding of Europe (Brohman, 1996:10). However, as countries began to implement a range of projects, it was not always clear why some development projects succeeded while others failed. One of the methods social scientists recommended in the mid-1970s to improve project outcomes was the increased participation of communities (Gonzales, 1998:2).

While community participation became a broad cure-all for improving project outcomes in the 1980s, the 1990s saw multilateral agencies such as the World Bank place more emphasis on 'stakeholder participation' so as to ensure development sustainability (Gonzales, 1998:2). Now participatory approaches are recognised as being crucial for achieving sustainable development. Participation has become 'mainstreamed' by most multilateral agencies with its use in development discourse and inclusion in project proposals commonplace (Brohman, 1996:251; Fisher and Urich, 1999:256). But the concept of participation is often elusive with it being subjectively defined, overused and poorly understood (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:41).

A critique of the language and process of participation has also emerged in recent years. This critique indicates the potential to exercise 'participatory development' in an unjust and ultimately abusive manner. Governments have also seen participation as a means of making projects more efficient with participation used as a means to achieving project aims rather than as an end in itself (Fisher and Urich, 1999:256; Hall, 1986; Long, 2001:5; Morrissey, 2000:63; Oakley, 1991b:160).

Narayan (1995:41) contends that the rhetoric of participation far exceeds the practice. Many projects, while espousing participatory approaches, practice more non-participatory, 'top-down' development. Unfortunately, participation has its costs – it takes more time to enact, requires more project personnel to manage, can lead to an ill-

defined project cycle, and people, on being consulted, may begin to oppose a project (Oakley, 1991b:14).

## **RESEARCH JUSTIFICATION**

Why the interest in participation and the desire to base a research topic around the subject? It started one afternoon reading Robert Chambers' (1984) *Rural Development: Putting the last first*. The book fascinated me and I ended up reading it well into the night. Apart from being well written and digestible, the book seemed to make so much sense. Chambers contends that those 'outsiders' involved in rural development had limited understanding of the real world of the rural poor and that much rural development was skewed by an outsider's impressions and priorities. He advocates a reversal in learning - where outsiders sit, listen, learn and put the rural poor first in their thinking. Chambers suggests a radical change in the development process. In previous development experience in the Philippines I had also observed that the *process* of development was at least as important as the *product* of development. Understanding what encouraged communities to engage in the development process seemed to be critical in appreciating why some development seemed to 'work' while other development seemed to flounder. Hence, the topic of participation - what it is that encourages communities to participate in development - seemed to be an obvious research topic.

While there is much support for the use of participatory approaches to development, there is a surprising paucity of empirical research regarding community participation in development projects. Further, most of the research has been conducted about the costs and benefits of participation rather than about the process, or the 'how to', of participation. This research aims to address this gap by seeking to understand, within the context of a case study, the factors influencing community participation in development projects. How does the economic, socio-cultural and political context of a community affect participation in development projects? How can a development organisation improve participation given this context?

By using a case study approach to analyse three 'development actors' - a community, a development NGO, and two development projects - some of the key factors influencing

participation in development projects are uncovered. The research seeks to understand context-specific variables that influence participation, for example the status of environmental resources, level of community cohesion, and the influence of local politics.

## **PROBLEM STATEMENT**

The rhetoric of ‘participation’ discourse and ‘bottom-up’ development has a 30 year history. Project proposals are routinely expected to espouse participatory philosophy and outline participatory approaches that will be followed during project implementation. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the Philippines also have a substantive history of enacting participatory forms of development over the last three decades. However while there is significant rhetoric about ‘participation’ within the international and Filipino development community, the actual enacting of participatory practices in many development projects is sadly lacking. It is this gap between participatory discourse and the participation observed within projects that is the crux of the problem. More specifically, the problem development organisations face in the Philippines is how to enhance community participation with project communities.

## **CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION**

Given the research justification and problem statement, the following research question presents itself: “How can a development organisation in the Philippines enhance community participation?”

## **Objectives**

The objectives were to undertake a case study to:

- Discover the types of indigenous participation that were currently operating in the community prior to arrival of the projects.
- Describe those factors that have influenced community participation in two development projects.
- Examine the processes and strategies adopted by the development organisation to influence community participation in the two projects.

- Find the reasons for non-participation in the projects and possible strategies for encouraging participation.

## **OUTLINE OF THE THESIS**

The literature review in Chapter 2 presents the theoretical history, typologies, and definitions of participation, the cases for and against participation, and the factors influencing the participation of people in development. Chapter 3 presents the history of participation within the Philippines together with a description of the three actors in the case study - the 'community', the 'development organisation', and the 'development projects'.

The research methodology, found in Chapter 4, includes the research approach, the process for selecting the case study, the research methods used, together with a discussion of various ethical issues faced in the field. This chapter also outlines various research limitations discovered while in the field and an explanation of the data analysis process adopted. Chapter 5 presents the results of the field research in the Philippines using a 'development actor' framework of community, development organisation, and project. The discussion in Chapter 6 compares and contrasts the literature on participation with the results together with implications for enacting participatory forms of development. Finally, Chapter 7 offers a series of conclusions to the thesis and suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER 2. THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

### INTRODUCTION

Participation is a complex and elusive concept and, like 'development', is difficult to define and measure. Given its elusive nature, why then does the concept of participation seem to garner such widespread support with practitioners of development? Perhaps it is because a diverse range of development actors understands participation so differently. Conceivably, because it is such a subjectively defined concept, many understandings of 'participation' can and do coexist (White, 1996:7).

It is widely expected that project documents exhibit some participatory component in their content. Project personnel are routinely expected to use participatory methodologies such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) in their work with communities. In recent years the World Bank has 'mainstreamed' participation in its development projects and practices. Moreover, participation has become the 'sacred cow' of various international development agencies – it cannot be 'sacrificed' under any circumstances (Blackburn and Holland, 1998:2).

Development practitioners have conceived of and practised participatory approaches in development for over half a century. Starting with the early community development and rural cooperative movements post World War Two, governments and other external development agencies have been enacting various forms of 'participation' amongst communities to the present day (Gow and VanSant: 1983:428). But various development actors can use participation to manipulate development outcomes. Governments may use participatory practices in their efforts to indoctrinate communities, compel communities to work on projects, or deliver pre-existing public services that do not meet the felt needs of communities (Smith, 1998:198). Perhaps, given its innumerable definitions, and widespread appeal, 'participation' has also lost its *raison d'être*, its ability to affect development practice in any significant extent.

Fundamentally, the rhetoric of participation seems to differ significantly from the practice of participation (Chambers, 1998:xiv). Projects prioritising participation can be delayed, having initially higher set-up costs; community expectations may be unduly raised, and communities may oppose projects once they have been consulted. Authentic

participation sometimes involves a painful transfer of power from 'upper' external development agent to 'lower' community (Chambers, 1997).

But there is hope yet for participation with all its costs, pitfalls and misinterpretations. Development practitioners now see participation more as an objective and end in itself rather than as a means to achieving project objectives. Development agencies are using participatory approaches to build capacity and to enable communities to define and enact their own forms of development. Moreover, the philosophy of participatory approaches are causing some development agencies to significantly review their practice of participatory development.

## **HISTORY OF PARTICIPATORY DEVELOPMENT**

Following World War Two, the primary consideration of post-war rebuilding efforts was on economic and infrastructural development. The delivering of development to poor countries was the prime objective of most bilateral and multilateral development agencies (Long, 2001:6). These were 'top-down' development strategies, that is, development planned by people well away from the 'beneficiaries' of the intended development process (Long, 2001:5). However, a new approach to development began to emerge in the early 1950s. The terms 'participation' and 'participatory development' began to be used by those concerned with the 'top-down' approach (Botchway, 2001:136).

Participatory development was known under three main movements - rural cooperatives, community development and *animation rurale* (Gow and VanSant: 1983:428). Rural cooperatives were groups that, while controlled by its members and focused on national rural development, were initiated by the government (Korten 1980:481). Community development initiatives commenced in India and the Philippines in the late 1940s. The objective of these initiatives was to create a multi-functional village-based worker who would organise village groups and assist them in identifying their own needs (Gow and VanSant, 1983:428). The approach was oriented at finding and meeting felt needs at the village level, finding self-help approaches to raising agricultural production, and building rural infrastructure (Korten 1980:481). Finally, the French-based *animation rurale* approach returned to a more prescriptive

programme. Here, the community selected a progressive villager to attend a regional training centre and receive training on the planning and implementation of projects (Gow and VanSant, 1983:428).

However, each of these three approaches had problems which significantly curtailed their usefulness. Firstly, they were top-down government-initiated interventions. In effect these programmes became vehicles for delivering government programmes rather than supporting community initiatives. Secondly, bureaucratic rivalry amongst government departments involved in development efforts had the effect of sidelining economic goals over competing departmental objectives. Thirdly, many of the new programmes proposed were not technically sound and in the effort to meet project deadlines, local elites were relied upon for distributing benefits. Finally, these approaches focused on individual villages rather than on the broader goal of rebuilding rural society (Gow and VanSant, 1983:429).

Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, emerged in the early 1970s with a theory for the education of the poor and marginalised members of society. In his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), he introduced the notion of 'conscientisation' whereby adults, via education, could begin to understand their own oppressive circumstances (Long 2001:7). Through conscientisation the 'oppressed' were spurred to participate in creating their own future and process of development (Botchway, 2001:136; Burkey, 1993:53).

Following Freire's writings, the discourse on 'participation' took hold and support for community participation became commonplace (Gonzales 1998:2). Participation became the new force and panacea in development literature (Oakley, 1991a:256). To ensure sustainability, it became compulsory for development projects in the 1980s and 1990s to have community participation as a component of their programmes (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992; Briscoe and de Ferranti, 1988). Today, participation has been 'mainstreamed' by agencies like the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and other multilaterals, but some believe this incorporation of participation is a form of control (Brohman, 1996:251; White, 1996:7).

## **THE JOURNEY TO ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT**

While the formal discipline of development studies, which emerged soon after World War Two, primarily focused on studying global macroeconomic problems (Brohman 1996:9), what led to the emergence of the discourse on participation within development theory?

### **Growth and Modernisation Theory**

Growth theory, based on a range of neo-classical models for economic growth, became popularised in the 1940s and 1950s. However, the theory was rather narrowly focused on economic development objectives using technical scientific knowledge (Preston, 1986:xiv). The Keynesian model that dominated this period also stressed a strongly interventionist approach by nation states in cooperation with multilaterals. However, growth theory fell into disrepute primarily because the Keynesian models, developed by economists within industrialised developed countries, could not properly address the numerous problems of Third World economic and political development (Brohman, 1996:11-14).

Modernisation theory, building on the conceptual basis of growth theory and analysing separate nation states, saw humanity moving from 'traditional' to more 'modern' forms of society (Brohman, 1996:15-23). However, by the early 1970s it was clear that the transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' societies had failed to occur and that economic stagnation and a growing level of social and political injustice was occurring. By the early 1970s it was clear that modernisation theory could not provide an adequate answer for the social, economic and political ills that the developing world was experiencing and as to how development could be realised (Hulme and Turner, 1990:46). Development theorists needed another theory to explain the growing inequalities that much of the developing world was experiencing.

### **Dependency Theory**

Dependency theory, emerging in the late 1960s and early 1970s, contended that development and underdevelopment were a part of the same economic process at a global level. This theory asserted that capitalism was a world trading system and unequal economic exchange between 'core' industrialised countries and 'periphery' (or

'semi-periphery') developing countries maintained the inequalities in the world trading system (Harrison, 1988:97-98; Hulme and Turner, 1990:47). Dependency theorists such as Frank and Wallerstein argued that development, in the form of self-sustaining economic growth, was not possible for developing countries given this unequal means of economic exchange and that developing countries were thus 'dependent' on industrialised countries. They further contended that multinational companies were the main mechanism by which economic surplus was extracted from the periphery and concentrated toward the core (Harrison, 1988:97-98).

Dependency theory offered better explanations for the poor economic performance, ongoing poverty, social ills and poor project outcomes that the developing world was experiencing. However dependency theory could not offer answers for dealing with the troubles of developing countries and, after a brief period, also began to be robustly criticised (Hulme and Turner, 1990:53).

### **Neo-liberal Theory**

Growing anti-Keynesian conservatism through the 1970s and the election of conservative political parties in the United States, United Kingdom and Germany, substantially aided the demise of the modernisation paradigm (Brohman, 1996:27). Cold War rivalry increased during this period as well. Many developing countries experienced greater economic problems following the oil crisis of the early 1970s. It was in this climate that neo-liberal theory regained centre stage as the substantive development paradigm of the period. The world saw a focusing on export-oriented economic development together with private initiative, and away from state intervention and import-substitution (Brohman, 1996:27).

Since the 1980s until the present time the neo-liberal development paradigm has continued to dominate multilateral development efforts. It contends that states should allow the market to operate effectively via privatisation, deregulation, encouraging free trade, controlling the money supply, and balancing budgets (McMichael, 1996:xx-xxi). It believes that misdirected internal policies cause the economic and political crises experienced by developing countries rather than global systems of unequal exchange. It promotes minimal state intervention and a return to more neo-classical market-oriented practices. But some development economists argue that the neo-liberal paradigm has

not offered significant relief from the social, economic and political problems that the developing world continues to experience (Brohman, 1996:28). These economists suggest that neo-liberalism and economic globalism only exacerbates the global and national inequalities it seeks to minimise. Others argue that neo-liberalism causes economic cleavages in societies and creates further injustice (Brohman, 1996:28).

### **Alternative Development and Participation**

The 'alternative development' paradigm emerged in the early 1970s as a response to the perceived shortcomings of the top-down development approaches of mainstream modernisation and neo-liberalism (Brohman, 1996:251). While dependency theory and neo-liberalism were 'grand theories', in that they endeavoured to explain the world in totality, the strength of the alternative development paradigm is the acceptance that heterogeneity is a fundamental characteristic of developing countries (Hulme and Turner, 1990:66).

Part of the alternative development paradigm, the 'development-from-below' tradition, contends that people need to be intimately involved in their own development. Communities are not some homogenous, consensual group but diverse. Participation is a fundamental concept of this paradigm as it is from people that felt needs emerge together with the idea that people should be involved in planning for and meeting their own needs (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:12; Overton and Storey, 2003:18-21).

Yet 'participation' has remained an intangible concept (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:41; Brohman, 1996:251; Hintjens, 1999:385). It is subjectively defined, being all manner of things to all manner of people. Given that participation is a multi-dimensional and complex concept, it requires defining before it can be studied.

### **WHAT IS 'PARTICIPATION'?**

Development organisations and professionals have offered innumerable definitions of participation over the years. Below are a range of examples:

Contributions by people to programmes but excluding decision-making (ECLA in Kumar, 2002:23).

People's involvement in the entire decision-making process (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977:6).

[A] process of change in which the members of the project group by common effort, gain an increasing influence in the decision making of their organisation (Buijs in Carroll, 1992:78).

...the organised effort to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations on the part of groups or movements hitherto excluded from such control (UNRISD in OECD, 1997:88).

...an active process by which beneficiaries influence the direction and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance and other values they cherish (Paul, 1986:2).

...the contribution of beneficiaries to the decisions or work involved in the [project] (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989:575).

...a process by which people, especially disadvantaged people, influence decisions that affect them (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:177).

Note that some of the earlier definitions, even until 1989, suggested participation predominantly occurred through contribution. Many of the early forms of participation were thus conscribed. The Bhatnagar and Williams (1992) definition, indicates a substantially more proactive and central role by people over the decisions that affect their lives. For the purpose of establishing a working definition for the thesis, the definition of participation found in the 1994 *The World Bank and Participation* is constructive:

...a process through which primary stakeholders influence and share control over their own development initiatives, decisions, and resources which affect them (World Bank, 1994:1).

Note that the term 'primary stakeholders' is used to refer to the participation of the people directly targeted by a development initiative. Fundamentally, meaningful

participation is concerned with control and power relations (Burkey, 1993:59; Fowler, 1997:16; Galjart, 1981:145; Stiefel and Wolfe, 1994:4). Eversole (2003:791) suggests that power is an essential factor in development relations. This power is the ability of people to intimately influence the decisions that affect their livelihoods (Oakley and Marsden, 1984:25). Arnstein (1969:216) contends that the redistribution of power enables those currently excluded from economic and political processes to be actively included in the future. Economists would suggest that participation involves the process of sharing in the economic benefits of projects (Brohman, 1996:252).

In practice, a 'participation continuum' seems to exist. At one end, participation could mean simply the agreement of a community to predetermined plans or voluntary contributions to project activities. Here, there may be little if any influence by people on the direction or substance of a project. At the other end of the continuum, participation is closely linked to people's empowerment and their control over decision-making. It is this continuum of participation that various typologies of participation have sought to describe in further detail.

## **TYPOLOGIES OF PARTICIPATION**

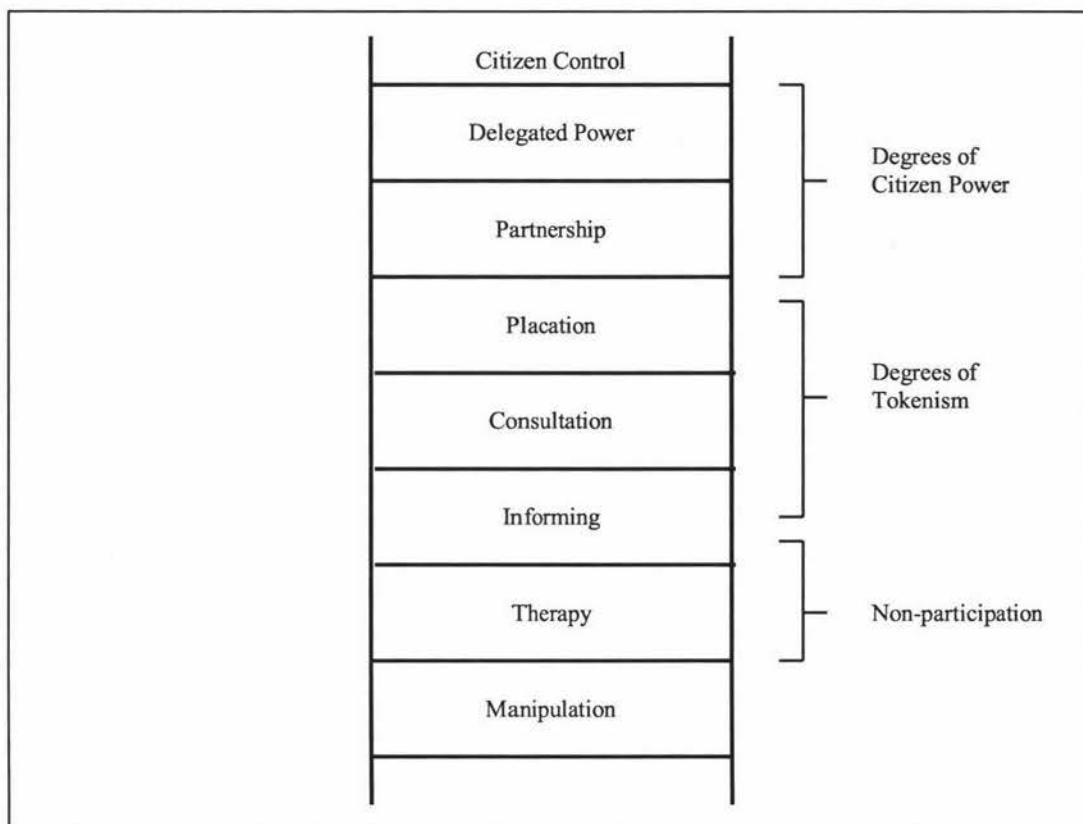
Arnstein's (1969) 'ladder of citizen participation' is one of the earliest typologies of participation to be constructed. This ladder of eight rungs, presented in Figure 2.1, sought to describe various levels of participation ranging from exclusion, through consultation, toward authentic citizen control.

At the 'non-participation' end (manipulation/therapy), the holders of power instruct and 'educate' the participants. 'Degrees of tokenism' (informing/consultation/placation) indicates that while power holders may be listening, there is no compulsion to act on the views expressed. 'Degrees of citizen power' implies that not only can citizens negotiate with power holders but that they can obtain full decision-making power.

Deshler and Stock's (in Michener, 1998:2106) typology of participation focuses on the relative power exercised between external agents of development and 'beneficiaries'. Like Arnstein, they suggest a sliding scale of participation, ranging from 'pseudo-participation' - essentially beneficiary manipulation by external agents - to genuine participation, where 'participants' have managerial control over a programme. Fisher

and Urich (1999:256) also indicate the potential to use cosmetic or token participation in development projects.

**Figure 2.1: Ladder of Citizen Participation**



Source: Arnstein, 1969:217

Other authors describe further sliding scales of participation. In ‘weak participation’, no transfer of power to primary stakeholders occurs and informing or ‘consulting’ are the main forms of participation. However, ‘strong participation’ involves the genuine ceding of power and the forming of true partnerships (Brett, 2003:5). Paul (1987:4) distinguishes between four levels of participation all of which may coexist in a project at the same time. These are information sharing, consultation, decision-making and initiating action. Oakley (1991a:116-117) similarly distinguishes between participation as contribution, participation as organisation, and empowering participation. Pretty (1994) suggests there are seven levels of participation ranging from ‘passive participation’ through ‘obtaining material incentives’ toward ‘self-mobilisation’. Biggs (1989:3-8), in studying farmer participation in agricultural research, delineates between contractual, consultative, collaborative and collegiate participation. All these authors

classify different types of participation based on the level of involvement in decision-making.

White (1996:7) describes four types of participation dependent upon the various interests of different stakeholders. Whereas ‘beneficiaries’ display bottom-up expectations of a project, planners exhibit top-down interests and attitudes. Participation also ranges from nominal to transformative - defined later in the chapter. This classification reveals that various stakeholders can and do hold concurrently differing understandings of participation and that only at the level of transformative participation are all stakeholders involved in the empowerment of stakeholders.

Cohen and Uphoff (in Michener, 1998:2107) constructed a comprehensive typology (see Table 2.1) to include not only the kind of participation but also who and how people participate. The *kind* (type) of participation is closely related to when people participate in the traditional project cycle; the *who* are the various actors or stakeholders in development; and the *how* of participation are the mechanisms by which participation can occur.

**Table 2.1: Dimensions of Rural Development Participation**

Kinds of participation	Participation in decision-making Participation in implementation Participation in benefits Participation in evaluation
Who participates?	Local residents Local leaders Government personnel Foreign personnel
How is participation occurring?	Basis of participation Form of participation Extent of participation Effect of participation

Source: Cohen and Uphoff, in Mitchener, 1998:2107

A more recent typology suggests participation can have either an instrumental or a transformative dimension. Instrumental participation has been called 'nominal', 'cosmetic' and 'pseudo-participation' and 'participation as a means to an end'. Here, participation, an element of usually technically oriented projects, is used as a tool to achieving project goals and realising better project outcomes. Local people, who often have a rather limited role in project design and decision making, are only co-opted into implementing a pre-existent project (Dudley, 1993:7; Fisher and Urich, 1999:256; Long, 2001:5; Morrissey, 2000:63; Oakley, 1991a:160).

Transformative participation is also known as 'developmental', 'educative', and 'genuine' participation. It sees participation as an end or goal in itself and as a fundamental basis of a project. Transformative participation has a significant empowerment objective, facilitating people and communities becoming self-reliant and being intimately involved in their own development. In this perspective the process of achieving project objectives is as important as the objectives themselves (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:44; Dudley, 1993:7; Fisher and Urich, 1999:256; Gonzales, 1998:15-16; Michener, 1998:2108; Morrissey, 2000:63). There has been some dispute between those that favour the instrumental and transformative perspectives. Some contend that genuine and transforming participation will only occur when participation is a goal in and of itself. Others see participation as being much more a means to achieving project objectives and improving efficiency along the way.

The power communities wield in the development process is central to many of the typologies on participation. All of the typologies suggest a 'continuum of participation' ranging between nominal, cosmetic or pseudo-participation to empowering, self-mobilising and transformative participation. The more recent typology describing instrumental and transformative participation clearly indicates that participation can be both a means to an end and an end in itself.

But is participation all that it purports to be? With the above definitions and typologies in hand, it is now pertinent to enquire about the potential benefits and disadvantages of participation.

## **THE CASE FOR PARTICIPATION**

Uphoff (in Oakley, 1991a:15) suggests that there are many reasons why governments may be keen to encourage participation. These may include gaining access to more accurate information, being able to adapt programmes to meet local need, lowering public access costs to government services, using local indigenous knowledge, and the mobilisation of local resources. This latter aspect of 'cost-sharing' together with the likelihood of greater project sustainability is where many governments focus attention (Dudley, 1993:8).

One argument favouring the use of participation in development suggests that top-down approaches to development, which leave people out, have been clearly unsuccessful at substantially improving rural poverty. Thus a shift to using more bottom-up approaches should be utilised (Castillo, 1983; Rahnema, 1992:117). Another contends that people's participation is vital as a countervailing force to elitist power and may often reverse these power structures (Oakley, 1991a:16).

Apart from these broad arguments, a number of more specific reasons have been forwarded for viewing participation as being vital for development project success. Oakley (1991a:118-119) has enumerated these as follows:

***Efficiency:*** People's participation offers the opportunity for project resources to be used more efficiently. By involving local people, participation can reduce costs and minimise misunderstandings. However governments, in an effort to minimise cost, may reduce the amount of funds available to projects.

***Effectiveness:*** Projects which encourage people to be involved in determining their own needs, preparing meaningful objectives and investing their own knowledge and resources are likely to be more effective.

***Self-reliance:*** Participation encourages 'conscientisation' and empowerment whereby people become aware of their circumstances and then determine priorities. Participation seeks to halt the cycle of development dependency and promotes greater control of livelihoods.

**Coverage:** Participation increases the coverage of development projects such that more people have access to development benefits.

**Sustainability:** Given that external agents initiate many development projects, participation is a way of sustaining projects after the removal of external inputs. Participation sees local people maintaining and sustaining the project beyond its formal completion date.

While there has been substantial rhetoric on the benefits of using participation in development projects, the relative paucity of research on participation would suggest that there is limited basis for being sure about its real advantages. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) review of project documents from eight major bilateral organisations in 1997 found that few evaluations have focused specifically on participation (OECD, 1997:86).

One study, reviewing small farmer projects in ten African and Latin American countries, found there was a link between "... small farmers' involvement in project decision-making and the willingness of farmers to make a resource commitment to the project" (Morss et al. in Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:3).

A World Bank report, reviewing twenty-five agriculture and rural development projects five to ten years after completion, discovered a positive correlation between people's participation and project sustainability. While only half of the projects had achieved long-term sustainability, the participation by grass-roots organisations and beneficiaries was found to have significantly affected project sustainability (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:3).

In 1990 the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) conducted a study of 52 project evaluations and found a positive relationship between participation and project success (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989). However, the report also found a high correlation between project success and the skills required to enact participatory development and that development success may be limited because poor people sometimes have few of these participatory skills.

Uphoff, in his exhaustive analysis of the Gal Oya irrigation scheme in Sri Lanka, observed a strong relationship between the use of participatory approaches and the success of farmer organisations and projects (Uphoff, 1992). In the Philippines an internationally acclaimed development programme, the government-initiated National Irrigators Association, successfully linked engineering works for a communal irrigation system with participatory social development efforts (Bagadion and Korten, 1991:75; Hulme and Turner, 1990:206)

One of the most compelling studies, conducted in 1995 by the World Bank, involved the review of 121 completed water supply projects in 49 developing countries. The research clearly demonstrated that "... beneficiary participation contributed significantly to project effectiveness" (Narayan, 1995:1). The study also found that participation encouraged a sense of individual and community empowerment.

### **THE CASE AGAINST PARTICIPATION**

While much development literature lauds the benefits of participation in development, there are some strong arguments against the use of participatory approaches in development. Some of these criticisms are described below.

Significant delays can occur where people are actively involved in the identification and design of projects. Moreover, people, once consulted, may oppose the project because the initial project design does not reflect their needs and aspirations (Oakley, 1991a:14). Engaging with communities early in the project cycle can raise expectations unduly, causing people to believe that projects will deliver certain outcomes even when it has been clearly articulated to a community that a project may not be implemented at all (Bhatnagar and Williams, 1992:4).

Projects that use participatory approaches also tend to incur higher initial transaction costs (Bhatnagar and Williams 1992:4). One example is the need to train staff well in participatory methods such as Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA). Initial PRA training can be lengthy, requiring data gathering exercises to 'ground' the theory. Further, PRA training has often focused on learning methods rather than changing behaviours and attitudes (Kumar, 1996:71). Participatory evaluation can also incur

more cost because of the greater variety of stakeholders involved in the process. Weinberger and Jutting (2001:1401-2) contend that there can be large opportunity costs for the poor to participate in projects. 'Participation' may involve lengthy meetings at times of the day when people could be involved in livelihood activities.

Various critiques of participation and participatory practices emerged over the 1990s. These critiques arose partly as a response to the strong rhetoric advocating for participation. Simply, is participation all good? The widespread use of Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methodologies has led a number of authors to challenge the laudatory aims behind these methodologies. Many of the critiques caution about the uses, abuses and paradoxes of participation. Cooke and Kothari (2001) speak of the 'tyranny' of participation since they contend that the critique of participation to date has failed to substantially affect the quality or quantity of participation in development.

One of the fundamental criticisms of 'participation' is the propensity for there to be a gap between the strong rhetoric (the talk) of participation versus the practice of participation (the walk) in development (Oakley, 1991a:117; OECD, 1997:86). Rather than the notion of participation being at fault, it is possible that practitioners of 'participatory development' have been enacting forms of non-participatory development?

A further critique of participation revolves around the elusive nature of the concept. Dissimilar actors with diverse values and interests variously define participation. The apparent transparency of the term and its ability to entertain such a wide range of interests explains why participation has such a broad following (White, 1996:7). Midgeley (1986) speaks of "... an emotionally appealing case for participation". Participation has been praised and written into most recent project documents but its 'mainstreaming' has exacted a price as well. While the World Bank now requires the incorporation of participation in all Bank-funded projects, the participatory movement, representing a valuable historical dissent against mainstream orthodox practices, has now been assimilated by the mainstream, perhaps as a means of control (Hintjens, 1999:385; White, 1996:7). Though development literature specifies people-centred forms of development, the top-down, market-based neo-liberal approach still remains

the dominant operational paradigm used by many large development agencies (Chambers, 1995:33; Hintjens, 1999:385).

Another critique of participatory approaches is the way in which communities are treated as homogenous (Botchway, 2001:36; Burkey, 1993:40). The reverse is in fact true - gender, age, caste, health status and a wide range of other factors divide communities (Chambers, 1997:183; Cohen and Uphoff, 1977:69-77). White (1996:10) suggests that even families are not homogenous in their interest about, and expectations of, participation. Cooke and Kothari (2001) observe the way that development practitioners use participatory methodologies (predominantly PRA techniques) to produce homogenous local viewpoints, while in the process privileging certain groups in communities.

The PRA methodology, having become popularised in recent years, also requires investigation. Chambers' work tends to group the 'poor' as competing with an undefined 'elite'. Kapoor (2002:105) contends that once participants have commenced a PRA meeting, there are no unambiguous guidelines for governing and guiding interactions - thus coercion and marginalisation are still possible. In fact,

...poorly conducted PRA...often through cutting corners to save time...may be worse than conventional questionnaire or other survey methods (Simon et al., 2003:49)

Leurs (1998:128) laments that a chronic problem amongst development organisations is how participatory processes have not become institutionalised within these organisations and that PRA becomes "... something for the 'field' rather than for the organisation initiating it".

Brohman (1996:271) contends that internal community relations substantially affect authentic participation and that the sources of inequity within local communities have either been neglected or poorly considered. As he suggests, many development projects "... fail to take account of the complexities of local structures" (Brohman 1996:272). Many local institutions and organisations display an undemocratic and often exclusive approach to community development. This exclusivity is based around a range of criteria which include class, gender and ethnicity.

Few projects initiate discussions with local people about their needs and aspirations prior to the preparation of project designs. Shah (1995:83) contends that most rural development projects treat farmers as informants or data collectors. Most projects seek the 'participation' of people upon reaching the project implementation phase. Thus, genuine participation in determining project design is illusory. Many projects commence by trying to convince the community of their needs and the relevance of already-prescribed project components, suggesting that the concerns and priorities of external agents should also be the community's concerns. External agents are really enacting pseudo-participation here (Michener, 1998:2111). Just as pervasive is the propensity for local information to be sought in a 'top-down' and non-participatory manner (Uphoff, 1991:492).

Participation as a discourse also has significant legitimising effects for development agencies. This discourse can blind outsiders to the reality of power relations within development projects and communities. Participatory discourse "... becomes central to the presentation of project activities to audiences of powerful outsiders" (Mosse in Williams et al., 2003:164). Kothari (2001) also contends that participatory methods can leave the responsibility for development projects firmly in the hands of beneficiaries rather than all project stakeholders.

It seems that 'participation' is both *The Beauty and The Beast* at the same time. However, many practitioners of development would agree that there is still a strong case for participation and participatory approaches in development. But while the development industry has acclaimed participation for more than 30 years, why don't we observe more of it happening at a community level? To robustly answer this question, we examine the issues influencing community participation.

## **FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION**

While much literature lauds the impressive objectives of participation, relatively little research has actually been conducted about the topic. Some research evaluates the outcomes of groups of projects, whereas other research is based on case studies and is thus context specific. This section details findings from both types of research in an effort to find some commonality between projects.

The following framework is used in an effort to meaningfully represent the research findings in the literature to date. The factors influencing participation are firstly categorised as being either:

- Internal - issues internal to the project community.
- External - issues external to the project community - for example factors associated with the development organisation or the development project.

\* Each of these categories are further sub-categorised as follows:

- Socio-cultural
- Economic
- Political
- Other

While there is an attempt to categorise the factors influencing participation using the above framework, it is clear that these classifications are somewhat subjective in nature, and open to debate. Additionally, factors may occur in more than one sub-category simultaneously. The following then, rather than being an exhaustive list, is simply an explanation of the main issues as noted in the literature.

### **Internal Factors**

These are the factors explicitly related to the community which affect the manner in which communities participate in development projects. They include socio-cultural, economic, political and other factors.

#### ***Internal Socio-Cultural Factors***

An important factor influencing the ability to participate is gender (Mosse, 1994). However, genuine attempts at improving the participation of women have not met the expectations of women themselves (Mayoux, 1995:236). In a study of Kalhor nomads of western Iran, one factor limiting women's participation during the spring was the extended work hours that women bore – seventeen hours per day compared to ten hours for men (Haidari and Wright, 2001:59).

Many women in developing countries face significant hurdles to becoming involved in development activities. Existing cultural norms and gender roles which strongly

prescribe women's activities may render them unable to 'participate' in spite of them desiring to do so (Oakley, 1991a:14). Interestingly, a study in Brazil found that while men tended to dominate rural organisations, women tended to have a greater 'associative mentality' than men. This resulted in women participating more actively than men in meetings and other association activities (Costa et al., 1997:142).

A study reviewing how women participated in development projects in Chad and Kashmir, found that having strong existing social networks was an important determinant in women wanting to participate (Weinberger and Jutting, 2001:140). Another study of India's Employment Assurance Scheme noted how maintaining existing social networks was one of the livelihood strategies for rural poor and that being available to work for elites was more important to people than project participation (Williams et al., 2003:187).

Freire introduced concepts such as 'oppression', 'dependence' and 'marginalisation' and suggested that the rural poor have limited access to participate in development (Kumar, 2002:29; Oakley, 1991a:11-13; Oakley and Marsden, 1984:30). I also observed first hand in the early 1990s the 'culture of silence' that oppressed and marginalised indigenous tribal groups exhibit in the Philippine uplands. People who have been subjugated and exploited by generations of 'outsiders' - even fellow Filipinos - may be unwilling to voice injustice and demand even basic human rights.

Intra- or inter-group conflict within heterogeneous communities can also lead to reduced community participation. Njoh (2002:243) observed that in a water supply project in the Cameroon, internal conflicts led to the inability of 'native and non-native' groups to work together and the dissolution of a project committee.

A final reason for the lack of participation in, an indeed failure of, development projects, is the supposed 'lack of interest' that community members display. This may be because of the past experience of development or that there is no social tradition supportive of participation (Paul, 1987; Walters et al., 1999). In Cameroon for example, the constant demand for cash-contributions from local residents resulted in less interest and participation in the latter stages of a water supply project (Njoh, 2002:245).

### ***Internal Economic Factors***

Lise (2000:388-390) in his study of participatory forestry management in India found a strong correlation between the quality of a resource and participation - when the condition of the resource was good, participation increased. A similar relationship also existed for the degree of forest dependence – as dependence increased, so did the participation.

The scarcity of labour or cash also influences the ability of people to participate in projects. Williams (1997:158-159), in the Sierra Leone study, found that there were times of the year where fewer people were available for project activities. This was especially true at planting and harvesting periods of the year and was a serious constraint to project activities and the ability of people to participate. He concludes that where cash contributions are a required project input by a local community, there is the need to schedule project activities toward times where a cash surplus is actually available.

### ***Internal Political Factors***

Powerful elites are often gatekeepers of development initiatives. They can determine if participation of communities will occur, who participates, how they participate and who reaps the benefits of development outcomes. Suggestions for development interventions often originate from people with greater influence or social status. Hence, if community leaders are supportive of a project, there is generally a better chance of its success (Williams, 1997:157). Kumar and Corbridge (2002:49), in their study of a development project in India, found that pre-existing elites or richer farmers captured most of the benefits of project interventions. Elites may also frustrate attempts for development organisations to engage with marginalised groups in the community because the development process threatens the power that they wield (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:49). Research in Brazil indicates that attempts by community based organisations to be involved in local development were frustrated by elites who tried to control projects and resources for their own ends (Costa et al., 1997:140).

Conflict may also arise between various stakeholders because of scarce development resources. Prioritising needs or objectives within the context of a heterogeneous community, while simultaneously promoting community participation, can be a delicate

process (Gow and VanSant, 1983:431). Competition can also occur amongst development organisations working within a community due to the different development visions and objectives that they hold. For example, a study of development projects in Sierra Leone found that while one organisation required stakeholder contributions in cash or in labour, another organisation nearby was offering free handouts (Williams, 1997:161). I also experienced this phenomenon in the Philippines where an NGO working in an adjoining area was offering payment for labour rather than requiring local labour as a community contribution. Interestingly, villagers involved in the former project began to demand payment as a requirement for their future 'participation'.

Narayan (1995:48-54), in his study of 121 water supply projects, found that the degree of beneficiary organisation was important in determining participation. Successful projects used traditional organisations, tapped local knowledge and skills, and simultaneously co-opted elites and village-wide groups. The communities of these projects also displayed strong leadership and had minimal conflict and factionalism. Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin's (1989:585) study of 52 USAID projects found that people tended to participate more in projects when they had previously self-generated and democratic organisations. Research on rural development in Sierra Leone also found that where "... existing income-generating functional self-help organisations ..." existed, efforts at encouraging community participation were more successful (Williams, 1997:160). Development NGOs in Brazil were found to be more influential in communities where effective community-based organisations already occurred (Costa et al., 1997:141).

Burkey (1993:159) suggests that poor participation occurs where there is insufficient group confidence or where projects prematurely initiate group activities. Uphoff (1991:495) observes that local organisational structures that are either weak or non-existent can limit any real participation in development projects.

### ***Other Internal Factors***

Uphoff (1991:494) contends that historical experiences affect the desire of people to become actively involved in projects. For example, resistance to participation may be due to unfulfilled expectations from previous development initiatives (Williams,

1997:51). Walters et al. (1999:193), in their study of Filipino farmer behaviour in a soil conservation project, found that historic events such as migration, conflict, physical isolation and exposure to development agents had profound effects on community participation.

Research in Brazil found that mutual dependency can exist where a client-patron relationship exists. While mutual reciprocity occurred between client and patron, this form of interdependent relationship tended to stifle community participation (Costa et al., 1997:139).

### **External Factors**

These are factors external to the community which influence community participation including factors associated with the development projects, development organisation or its development workers.

#### ***External Socio-Cultural Factors***

Socio-cultural factors not only include the gender targeting of development projects but the culture and attitudes of development agencies and their workers. While targeting of women has become more commonplace in recent years, much historical development has implicitly targeted men (Burkey, 1993:65). Research in Iran for example, showed that even with project components targeting women, government officials implementing the components spoke predominantly to men (Haidari and Wright, 2001:59). Another water supply project in Tanzania found that while Village Water Committees co-opted women members, women seemed to have little real input regarding decisions about water scheme activities (Therkildsen, 1991:87). An analysis of participatory development interventions in Mozambique found that it was difficult to involve women and children in project identification. Here, even though PRA exercises occurred in single-sex groups, men tended to dominate combined discussions and final decision-making (Pijnenburg and Nhantumbo, 2002:196). Thus even projects targeting women's participation have difficulty attaining their gender objectives.

Other projects have struggled to obtain the participation of young people and children. One project in Cameroon saw women and teenagers conspicuously absent from project committees responsible for implementation of a water supply project, yet these

'stakeholders' were principally responsible for familial water requirements (Njoh, 2002:242). Costa et al. (1997:144) also found that there was limited participation of young people in some Brazilian development projects. Given that adults are often the target of many projects this is hardly a surprising finding.

The all-seeing, all-knowing development expert may create a culture of dependence. Such dependence inhibits initiative and creativity (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:43; Rahman, 1993:153). The giving and withholding of funds can cause dependency amongst 'beneficiary' communities (Uphoff, 1991:499). Rahman (1993:59) describes a rural development project in the Philippines where the promises of staff led people to distrust their own ability to fight for their own rights. He further observes that there are relatively few development organisations genuinely committed to enacting transformative participation in development projects (Rahman, 1993:153). Some communities become so dependent on externally induced development or development agents, that they lose confidence in their own abilities and look 'outward' for development solutions (Michener, 1998:2113).

Paul (1987:10), in his analysis of 50 World Bank projects in a range of countries, found that community participation was more difficult to achieve where communities relied upon government to implement projects. One rural development NGO in Bangladesh tried to use as few organisers for their projects as possible so as to reduce the community's dependence on them and achieve more community self-reliance. This NGO found that recruiting organisers from the same area helped these workers to adapt to the conditions of the villages they worked in - one presumes, with subsequent benefits in their ability to sustain work in the communities (Harland, 1991:119).

In the past, the paternalistic and often patronising role of the 'development expert' has led to the failure to genuinely consult communities (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:42). A water supply project in Cameroon saw the ruling political party and government departments designing and implementing the project without any community consultation (Njoh, 2002: 241). In many cases development professionals have considered themselves the sole owners of development expertise, underrating local people's knowledge and capabilities. A Zimbabwean case study of two government extension services found that prior to the implementation of participatory approaches,

farmers' knowledge and experience had been considered backward and irrelevant (Hagmann et al., 1998:48). Many development professionals, especially those technically oriented and involved in urban and infrastructural development, have a 'hard-issue' bias. These professionals often lack the attributes necessary to elicit genuine community participation. Participation then simply becomes a short-term means to achieving project objectives (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:47).

Watt et al. (2000:121) recommend that project communities be consulted early in a project given that they know most about their own situations. Swanson (in Oakley, 1991a:28), commenting on agricultural development, observes that when farmers are genuinely consulted, provide input into project structure, and their felt needs are met, they are more likely to participate in project activities.

However, authentic participation in the identification and design of many projects is largely illusory, and even projects with empowerment objectives rarely involve people in planning (Bunch, 1983:58). In a soil conservation project in Lesotho for example, no effort was made at prior consultation with villagers regarding project design, and while every effort was made to 'inform, educate and involve the people', little ongoing maintenance was achieved after project completion (Sanders, 1991:89). This suggests that community consultation prior to project design could have yielded more sustainable results. Constantino-David (2001:238), in her critique of development efforts in the Philippines, contends that the large majority of foreign donors identify their own projects with little or no consent of 'recipient' communities.

Much historical development has been technically oriented and paternalistic, treating people as objects to achieving development (Smith, 1998:198). At times, 'consulting' with villagers, rather than being a genuine attempt at seeking guidance on development initiatives, is a way of 'selling' preconceived projects (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:43; Smith 1998:198). Real 'participation' only occurs during the implementation phase of the project when there is little real power to affect project design (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:43). More broadly, all development agencies have a *modus operandi* - organisational structures, attitudes and ways of behaving - which either stimulate or inhibit participation (Uphoff, 1991:500-501).

Selective participation occurs when the elite and powerful members of communities are preferred as partners in the development process, and there is little serious attempt to engage marginalised groups (Njoh, 2002:242; Young, 1993:148). Gaigher et al. (1995:239-231) contend that the failure to engage the poor in development projects is one of the main obstacles to community participation. More perniciously, 'community renting', one of the unethical manifestations of selective and manipulative participation, is where development organisations purchase the 'participation' of powerful groups in the community (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:46).

Carroll (1992:85), in his study of thirty development NGOs, found that respectful and sensitive dealings by development workers with communities was more critical to project participation than formal mechanisms for participation such as in community boards. Cohen and Uphoff (1977:20) suggest that the "...intensity of staff interaction with local people..." is likely to affect the level of community participation. One study of 22 development organisations in Mozambique, found that insufficient staff knowledge, deficient skills and work attitudes, and improper behaviour, led to distrust between a development organisation and the project community (Pijnenburg and Nhantumbo, 2002:193). Bunch (1982:32) suggests that the willingness and ability of development workers ('outsiders') to live close to, and build genuine trusting relationships with communities, is critical to building participation. In broader terms, there has been a growing realisation amongst development professionals that it is the attitudes and behaviours of development workers that are the essential foundation of participation (Holmes, 2001:10; IDS Workshop, 1998:146; Kumar, 1996:70).

The desire of development organisations to show measurable success in projects, especially if external donors fund them, may result in inappropriate or untimely interventions within communities. There may be the perception that 'beneficiaries' lack the skills, knowledge, and means to improve their own condition, together with the assumption that external agencies have superior knowledge and wisdom. These attitudes and perceptions then, justify violating a community's decisions about its own priorities (Rahman, 1993:153). The pressure on development organisations and their workers to deliver immediate tangible benefits can result in prioritising project 'product' over project 'process'. The requirement to display results can create 'top-down' and non-participatory approaches among development workers with the need to

complete project objectives within the term of the project cycle leading to poor project outcomes. Not only are donors, politicians and project managers looking for time-bound results, communities themselves can only take so much 'process' before action and results are expected (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:50). An example of the product-versus-process problem occurred in a water supply project in Cameroon where, in the haste to meet predetermined deadlines, the project paid labourers to complete construction activities rather than using the community (Njoh, 2002:243-4).

Narayan (1995:54-60), in his study of 121 World Bank water supply projects found that a development agency's responsiveness to community feedback was a critical factor influencing stakeholder participation. Carroll (1992:90) found that the most effective development NGOs were highly responsive to their communities and tried to resolve project problems whenever possible. Narayan (1995:54-60) also found that community participation was enhanced where agencies had relative autonomy to respond to communities, used a learning-process approach to development encouraged the use of local knowledge, had the goals of local participation and capacity building, and responded genuinely to participants' feedback. Related also to agency responsiveness to communities is the finding that enhanced community participation occurs where development agencies reward staff by making participation a monitored and evaluated goal (Narayan, 1995:3).

### ***External Economic Factors***

The degree of community commitment (or demand) to a project prior to implementation was a significant factor influencing participation in a study of 121 World Bank rural water supply projects (Narayan, 1995:2). Successful projects were ones that matched affordable services with the felt needs of the community and in such projects beneficiaries participated more readily in project activities and ongoing maintenance costs (Gow and VanSant, 1983:433; Narayan, 1995:2).

Costa et al.'s (1997:142) study of development in Brazil found that some community members were attracted to 'participate' by the arrival of new project finances and that conversely, when finances ceased, so did people's involvement. Hence, the participation was somewhat transitory in nature. They concluded that what influenced most people's involvement in project activities was 'pragmatic individualism' – what

people could gain for themselves. Other research indicates that where people accrue tangible and immediate benefits in collaborating with development, they are more likely to participate in development projects (Burkey, 1993:160). Research on village development in Sierra Leone indicated that where people felt their involvement with the project would benefit them directly, they were more likely to be actively involved in a project (Williams, 1997:160).

In the recent past, discussions on development projects have predominantly had a 'hard-issue' bias - that is, about finances, technology, or building infrastructure. Governments and donor agencies complain that 'software' such as participation, governance and capacity building, rarely moves as much project finance compared to the 'hardware' of bridges, roads and buildings. Such organisations deem participation to have a more minor status because it requires less financial resource to implement (Uphoff, 1991:489).

### ***External Political Factors***

In Latin America some states have used 'community participation' as a means to maintain existing political systems and power relations within communities. The commitment to genuine participation in these states can be very limited because of the potential effect on power relations (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:43; Gaventa, 1998:161; Khan and Begum, 1997:263; Rahman, 1993:226). There may be a tension between the centrally-planned and controlled delivery of services and more localised forms of development which arise via non-government development organisations (NGOs). Included in this tension is the potential for substantial state influence on the direction of NGO-generated development projects (Oakley, 1991a:11).

Oakley and Marsden (1984:30) suggest that "...excessively centralised planning structures, inadequate delivery mechanisms, lack of local coordination...lack of local structures..." and other operational obstacles inhibit participation within projects. They further contend that the local, national and international "... relations of power and production ..." result in an anti-participatory environment (Oakley and Marsden (1984:31). Gow and Morss (1988:1407) recommend that national governments incorporate policies of decentralisation and participation in project planning. An analysis of 52 USAID projects again found a decentralised project and agency structure aided community participation (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989:587).

National policies can significantly influence externally funded development efforts and the ability of people to participate in development projects. Governments can utilise rural populations to implement government policy and this 'participation' may be a means of control of rural populations (Gow and VanSant, 1983:430). At times 'participation', as conceived by governments, may be little more than improving access and distribution of public services (Smith, 1998:198). Williams (1997:164) believes that an authentic commitment to community participation at the national level is vital for facilitating robust participatory approaches.

'Participation' can also be the means by which governments and development agencies transfer the full responsibility of development onto local communities. While it is important for communities to own the process of development, governments may see this transfer as the means to devolve themselves of accountability to their constituents (Smith, 1998:198). Government agencies, rather than being responsive to people's felt needs, can have a service-delivery and bureaucratic mentality. Many extension services continue to have a transfer-of-technology approach and are rather inflexible and sluggish to respond to real community needs. This 'agency focus' has the effect of discouraging genuine community participation (Gow and VanSant, 1983:430).

### ***Other External Factors***

Embracing and learning from errors assists organisations to build a process-approach to development (Aparicio and Garrison, 1999:12; Bond and Hulme, 1999:1341). Drijver (1991:138), in his study of participatory environmental development projects in Cameroon and Kenya, found successful projects were those that were flexible and open to adjustment based on local needs.

Bunch (1982:11-31) contends that give-aways destroy real participation and that instilling enthusiasm is the only means of avoiding paternalism in development. He also argues that improving the quality of participation is a gradual process. Creating early recognisable success and starting with projects that have few and 'simple' components, leads to constructive participation. Gow and Vansant (1983:433) also suggest that effective participation is created where communities are a critical part of implementation activities, are required to make resource commitments, and where projects are initiated with a few simple components truly responsive to felt need.

Alternatively, an agency's unwillingness to relinquish control over the details of project implementation inhibited participation (Narayan, 1995:5).

The technical simplicity of a project and the ability of farmers to easily test and replicate technologies affects the desire of people to participate. A study of development in Sierra Leone found that technically-oriented infrastructure projects such as the building of public toilets, culverts, and community centres aided project implementation and participation (Williams, 1997:160). Another project in Eastern India found that community participation best occurred with farmers "... choosing, testing and developing innovations" (Jackson, 1997:238).

The above discussion has summarised some of the main factors that influence community participation in development projects. However, the discussion to date has been predominantly about factors 'out there' in project communities, how development organisations deal with communities, and how communities respond to outside development interventions. But how do development organisations practice and institutionalise participation?

### **INSTITUTIONALISING PARTICIPATION IN NGOS**

With the tendency during the last three decades for bilateral and multilateral development organisations to contract out much of their fieldwork, non-government organisations (NGOs) have gained increasing importance in international development efforts. In fact the status of NGOs grew so much that the 1980s was termed the 'decade of the NGOs' (Bratton, 1989; Brohman, 1996:253). Why the current opinion that NGOs are somehow more effective at development than both national and international development agencies? In part, a general dissatisfaction with the results of multilateral development efforts exists, but more fundamentally, NGOs have been in the forefront of a paradigm shift toward more bottom-up development and active forms of peoples' participation (Bratton, 1989).

NGOs have earned the perception of being 'grassroots' organisations - physically and philosophically closer to the communities that they work with. They generally seek to use participatory approaches in their development efforts. NGOs are perceived as being

more independent and freer from political interference. They are often more innovative, responsive and flexible with less bureaucracy than state led development agencies (Bratton, 1989).

However, the focus of participatory approaches to date has been on community-level operational participation rather than the internal organisational changes required for successful projects (IDS Workshop, 1998:145). There has been growing concern that:

...bureaucratic institutions try to embrace participatory approaches without changing their operation procedures and organisational culture (Thompson, 1994).

A significant amount of development literature now emphasises the importance of organisational structure - for example policies, procedures, and governance - in influencing how development workers enact participatory approaches. The theory is, if the 'structure' is right, staff will implement policy appropriately in their fieldwork (Holmes, 2001:8). But while changes in operational and organisational culture are possible, these changes are difficult to achieve and take time (Thompson, 1994:57).

Clearly, the two broad objectives of management and participation can be rather contradictory in nature. For example, the planning and management of development projects requires project goals, objectives and action plans, procedures, reports and deadlines (Craig and Porter, 1997:229). The use of participatory approaches, in contrast, may require more fluidity with deadlines as communities become involved in the process of designing, managing and evaluating projects.

Blackburn and Holland (1998:3) observe that "complex organisational changes" are needed before participatory approaches can be effectively institutionalised. But Chambers (in Holmes, 2001) argues that it is the attitudes of development professionals that determine how participatory approaches are used in the field. Similarly, Blackburn and Holland (1998:5) contend:

"The way we act and more particularly the behaviour we display and the attitudes we hold, have profound effect on others".

If this statement is true, development worker attitudes and behaviours can significantly affect the willingness of communities to participate in development projects.

It is this institutionalising of participation with which the development industry is more recently concerned. There are significant changes required in both development organisations and their workers to effectively institutionalise participatory approaches in projects. These include:

- personal skills and attributes – the awareness of the aims of participation, openness to change, willingness to learn from mistakes, and engaging in mutual learning;
- procedures – having flexible project timing, rewarding in-house and in-field participatory behaviour, and using ‘multiple feedback mechanisms’ including bottom-up community evaluation; and
- systems and structures - encouraging learning groups, allowing for flexible accounting systems, and modelling flat management structures (Drijver, 1991:138; IDS Workshop, 1998:146-151).

Many questions regarding the enacting of participatory approaches by development organisations remain. What are the characteristics of organisations that effectively encourage transformative participation in development projects? How do these organisations encourage transformative participation? How do they encourage community ownership and control of development projects? It is these questions, infrequently considered by empirical development research thus far, that this research will seek to answer.

## **CONCLUSION**

The history of participation indicates that development practitioners have used participatory approaches since the 1940s, starting with community development efforts in India and the Philippines. Other approaches such as rural cooperatives and *animation rurale* were also tried and found unsuccessful. These approaches were predominantly government generated, focusing on delivering pre-existing services with limited regard to the real needs of communities.

As with development, 'participation' is both a complex and elusive notion. It seems that early definitions were about the contributions of 'beneficiaries' to development projects. More recent definitions have focused on building capacity and empowering communities to enact their own development. A continuum of participation exists from non-participation, through degrees of tokenism and finally empowerment. More recent typologies of participation include the tension between instrumental participation (as a means to achieve project objectives) and transformative participation (participation as an end in itself). While it is clear that instrumental forms of participation have been more regularly adopted in development projects over recent decades, can practitioners embrace more genuinely transformative approaches to participation in the future?

While there is limited empirical data on participation, the research suggests a correlation between participation and project success. Participation enhances efficiency, effectiveness, self-reliance and improves sustainability. However there are significant critiques of participation. It involves more up front cost, raises expectations unduly and high opportunity costs may arise for people to participate. More subtly, there is a gap between the rhetoric and the reality of participation, communities are treated as homogenous, and genuine participation is rarely sought by development agencies.

Finally, there are numerous factors influencing both the desire and ability of people to participate. These are both internal and external to communities and involve socio-cultural, economic, political and other issues. More recently the emphasis of development organisations has been on institutionalising participation within their approaches to enacting development.

What is the history of participation in the chosen case study? Moreover, is there a link between the history of participation in the Philippines and the choice of the case study for this research? The following chapter outlines this link in the context of Filipino participatory development.

## **CHAPTER 3. THE PHILIPPINES AND CASE DESCRIBED**

### **INTRODUCTION**

What is it that makes the Philippines such a relevant country for studying community participation in development projects? Does its colonial and cultural history have any impact on how development organisations and communities interact in development projects? This chapter explores these questions.

Situated in a country with such cultural diversity, Filipinos are a community-centred society with strong familial ties and obligations. Having been colonised over nearly 400 years, they are a country with a relatively recent sense of nationhood and independence. While post-independence has sometimes brought corrupt or dictator-style leaders together with various insurgency campaigns against incumbent governments, the Philippines represents a unique style of political participation through its various 'people power' uprisings. More recently, the government has enacted laws providing for a range of non-governmental stakeholders to be intimately involved in regional development initiatives.

This chapter is divided into four sections and provides a background to the history of community participation in Filipino development and a description of the chosen case study. The first section reviews the geography and culture of the Philippines. The second section provides a brief history of the Philippines together with a history of participatory development. The third section reviews the contemporary Filipino NGO movement. In the fourth section, a detailed description of the various 'actors' in the case study includes a description of the case study NGO, the island of Bohol and the project area, the case study community and development projects.

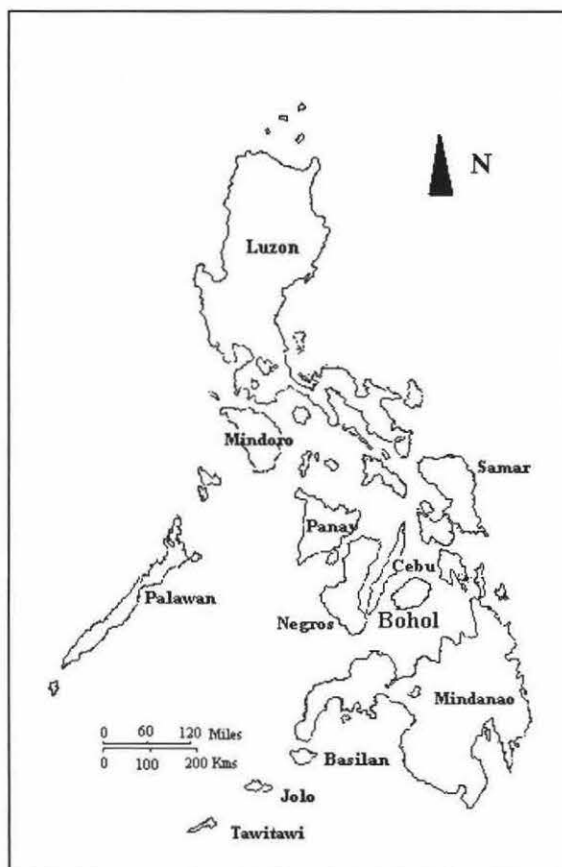
### **THE PHILIPPINES**

#### **Geography**

The Republic of the Philippines, consisting of approximately 7,100 islands, is the world's second largest archipelagic nation. The country extends 1,840 kilometres north to south, with its northern apex 240 kilometres south of Taiwan, and its southern tip

only 24 kilometres north of Malaysia (Arcilla, 1998:11; Balisacan and Hill, 2001:247; Davis, 1987:1). See Figure 3.1 showing the Philippine archipelago.

**Figure 3.1: Map of the Philippines**



Source: adapted from Spencer, 1954

The country is divided into three geographical areas. Luzon, being the northern-most region, is the largest at 141,395 square kilometres; the Visayas, the central region, is the smallest at 56,606 square kilometres; Mindanao, the southern and second-largest region, totals 101,000 square kilometres. Eleven of the Philippines' numerous islands account for 96 percent of the total land area (Arcilla, 1998:11; Davis, 1987:1; Government of the Philippines, 2004).

With a population exceeding 80.0 million in 2002 and a 2.1 percent population growth rate, the Philippine population is expected to reach approximately 150 million people before stabilising (Balisacan and Hill, 2001:246; World Bank, 2004).

## **Filipino Culture, Traits and Values**

While people from Spain, China, India and North America have settled in the Philippines, Filipinos essentially originate from the Malayo-Polynesian region (Davis, 1987:1; Steinberg, 1986:30). Tagalog is the official language and English is widely spoken and understood, however Cebuano is another significant language, being used in the central Visayas, the site of the case study (Government of the Philippines, 2004).

Filipinos are a gregarious and community-centred people who display significant group loyalty (*pakikisama*) and a cheerful approach to life. They can be strongly family focused and feel significant obligations (*utang na loob*) to extended family (*pamilya*). However, despite their communal and familial orientation, Filipinos can display a significant self-serving attitude (*kanya-kanya*) with graft and corruption interspersed within Filipino society. Viewing their world predominantly in terms of their personal relationships, Filipinos are an adaptable people who display a casual attitude to time (*bukas na* or *mañana*). There is a propensity to procrastinate, lacking in initiative and creativity at times (Dy, 1994:24; Licuanan, 1994:38-40; Quito, 1994:58-60).

A lasting legacy of Spanish colonialism is that Filipinos are a deeply religious people, with 85 percent professing Roman Catholicism and Islam the dominant religion in significant sections of Mindanao (Davis, 1987:2-3; Government of the Philippines, 2004).

## **A BRIEF HISTORY OF FILIPINO PARTICIPATION**

### ***Spanish Colonialism***

The Spanish, under explorer Ferdinand Magellan, were the first Europeans to arrive in the Philippines in 1521. They received a somewhat hostile reception from local Filipinos with Magellan himself killed near Cebu later the same year. Finally, in 1565, the Spaniard Miguel Lopez de Legazpi returned to try and colonise the Philippines. Again, the Spanish experienced significant hostilities from Filipino 'natives' before finally establishing a permanent settlement in the central Visayan town of Cebu (Hellingman, 2004).

The Spanish aimed to gain a share of the lucrative spice trade that the Portuguese predominantly controlled at that time. Ironically, after settling in the Philippines, they found little in the way of spices and gold to meet their domestic requirements. Spanish presence throughout the Philippines remained minimal, being predominantly limited to coastal settlements. Spanish Catholicism however not only influenced the education system of the time, but essentially dominated the social, economic and political life of the colony (Hedman and Sidel, 200:7; Wurfel, 1998:4). Few Filipinos were allowed to relate closely to their Spanish colonisers, so a peculiar culture emerged in the Philippines over three centuries, one which had little connection with either Europe or Asia. It is a cultural legacy still evident in the Philippines today (Davis, 1987:32).

### ***Revolutionary Struggle***

It is widely held that the Philippine Revolutionary period began with the Katipunan Revolt<sup>1</sup> in August 1896 (which proclaimed the end to Spanish rule) and ended when the Philippines was annexed by the United States in 1899. However, early nationalist sentiment began to emerge from 1872 with the execution of prominent native priests and continued until 1901 when revolutionary fighters under General Aguinaldo ceased the armed struggle against the United States and a civil government was formed (Wurfel, 1988:6). It was during this period of revolutionary armed struggle that a significant sense of nationhood emerged amongst Filipinos, this being an important step toward "...rebuilding the cultural self-confidence destroyed by the Spanish" (Wurfel, 1988:7).

### ***American Dependency***

When America proclaimed war on Spain in May 1898 - eventually procuring the Philippines in 1899 - it also crushed the Filipino revolutionary struggle that had been hoping to free the Philippines from Spanish control (Bello et al., 1982:7). While the war thwarted Filipino aspirations for independence, the American era brought many benefits in the form of an expanded educational system, significant infrastructural upgrading, major improvements in health care, and progress toward a democratic form of government. With the aim of developing a form of self-government, Filipinos started to assume leadership positions at all levels of government (Friend, 1986). In 1907 the first Filipino elected legislature was formalised and, with the Nacionalista Party

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<sup>1</sup> Kataastaasang Kagalanggalang Katipunan ng mga Anak ng Bayan, which can be translated as "Highest and Most Honourable Society of the Sons of the Nation".

advocating independence, the electorate expanded in 1916 to include all literate males (Wurfel, 1988:8).

Filipinos were also starting to participate in civil institutions by forming their own national organisations. The National Union of Peasants for example, a people's organisation formed in 1919, assisted rural poor directly and successfully lobbied government on their behalf (Micalat-Teves and Lewis, 1993:229). By the early 1920s effective control of Philippine administration was, for the first time, in Filipino hands. Via the Filipino elite, there also had been strong advocacy for independence and in November 1935, the Philippine Commonwealth was instituted. The progress toward indigenous formal political participation is one of the most favourable legacies of the American era. It was also clear however that single-party politics was allowing rich, landed families to retain effective political power within the Philippines (Wurfel, 1988:9-12).

But the Americans also exploited the Philippines. Duty free entry of American goods remained. The United States (US) thoroughly monopolised foreign trade with American investors having significant influence in all sectors of the economy. The Americans also formed strong alliances with the ruling landed elites of the time, expanding the landlord-tenant system at the expense of freehold tenancy and causing significant unrest in many parts of the Philippines. Americans believed that to some extent, Filipinos neither had the ability, culture nor civilisation to manage their own affairs (Bello et al., 1982:7; Davis, 1987:10; Government of the Philippines, 2004; Wurfel, 1988:38).

### ***Japanese Domination***

The Japanese thwarted the plans for an easy transition from a Philippine Commonwealth toward an independent nation when they attacked the Philippines in December 1941. While many of the elite collaborated with the Japanese, a vigorous 'peasant rebellion' was fought by Filipinos, in part, because they had enjoyed a form of self-government and also, because they had been so close to independence prior to the Japanese arrival (Wurfel, 1988:12).

### ***A New Government Struggles***

While independence brought a constitutionally elected form of government in 1946, a significant threat to the government of the time was the communist *Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas* (PKP) together with the National Peasants Union<sup>2</sup> and the *Hukbalahap*<sup>3</sup> (Huk) movement. The Huk movement, initially a guerrilla army fighting against the Japanese during World War Two, demanded a system of land reform and commenced an armed revolt against the Philippine government. As a counter to these groups, a number of farmer and worker organisations were founded together with the Catholic Church establishing the Federation of Free Farmers (FFF) and the Federation of Free Workers (FFW) (Batistiana and Murphy, 1996:17). With significant military assistance from the US and US-sponsored rural development efforts, the PKP and Huk movements had essentially disintegrated in the early 1950s.

It was during the 1950s and 60s that the community development (CD) approach was developed by Dr James Yen who founded the International Rural Reconstruction Movement (IRRM). This was a national programme that sought to deliver a series of social services to *barrios*<sup>4</sup> while simultaneously trying to encourage community participation. The focus of the CD programme was the formation and development of the barrio council, the means through which rural people could make demands of the political system (Castillo, 1983:354).

While the late 1950s saw a period of relative national stability, the 1960s brought an increase in political activity in the Philippines. During the 1960s, where dependency theorists challenged modernisation theory, the PKP was revived in the form of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) (Constantino-David, 1998:32).

### ***The Dictator and People Power***

When the country elected Ferdinand Marcos in December 1965, the first term of his administration received broadly favourable support within the country. However 1968 saw the establishment of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), with its military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), and a growing support base which

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<sup>2</sup> Pambansang Kaisahan ng mga Magbubukid (PKM).

<sup>3</sup> Hukbo ng Bayan Laban sa Hapon, which means "People's Anti-Japanese Army".

<sup>4</sup> In Spain and countries colonized by Spain, a village, ward, or district outside a town or city to whose jurisdiction it belongs.

included the middle class (Pertierra, 2001:90). It was during the civil unrest of the 'First Quarter Storm' rallies in early 1970 that the Philippine Council for Community Organisation (PECCO) used the concept of community organising (CO) (Batistiana and Murphy, 1996:28). During the late 1960s and early 1970s ideologically driven non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were formed which started to focus on community self-reliance - a national ideology of people power and participation was forming (Liamzon, 1984:76).

During this period of civil unrest, which included Muslims demanding autonomy for Mindanao, President Marcos declared martial law in September 1972. While some NGO programmes ceased operating and the Marcos government co-opted other NGOs, new NGOs were established emphasising social development at a community level. The Filipino NGO network gained more global support during the late 1970s and early 1980s as the Marcos regime began to be isolated internationally (Constantino-David, 1998:34-35)

The final chapter of Marcos' regime saw ex-senator Benigno Aquino assassinated upon his return to the Philippines from the United States in 1983. This internationally denounced action spurred significant coalition building and protest from NGOs, people's organisations (POs) and a range of church and civic organisations (Constantino-David, 1998:35; Pertierra, 2001:91). In his final grasp for power Marcos declared a snap election in which both Marcos and his opposition contender, Corazon Aquino claimed victory. The well-known mass protests after this election led to the popular uprising of February 1986 together with Aquino being propelled into the presidency. This uprising subsequently became known as the 'People's Power' revolution and 'EDSA-1' because it was on Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (EDSA) that the protests were held (Karnow, 1989:417; Pertierra, 2001:91-93). Mass political participation seemed to have reached its zenith in the Philippines.

### ***Aquino Euphoria Dashed***

There was substantial hope and expectation that President 'Cory' Aquino's administration would deliver a variety of political reforms. She had re-established a formal democracy and had been highly supportive of the roles of NGOs in Filipino development. The redrafted 1987 Constitution explicitly encouraged NGOs to

participate in the national development agenda (FAO, 1994:1; Silliman and Noble, 1998:17). It was in this period of political triumph, international support, and an encouraging democratic environment in the late 1980s that NGOs became a significant development 'phenomenon' (Constantino-David, 1998:37; Salamon, 1994)

While there was massive initial support for political reform by Aquino, expectations were frustrated because the administration seemed unable to pass crucial reforms in agrarian policy or foreign debt restructuring (Constantino-David, 1998:37). A series of attempted coups further weakened the Aquino government, leading the administration to further strengthen the role of civil society through the 1991 Local Government Code (LGC). The LGC transferred significant fiscal and administrative responsibilities to the regions and provided for substantial participation by a range of stakeholders in local governance issues such as planning and implementation (Fisher and Urich, 1999:260). Not only does the LGC provide for significant NGO participation in local governance, but it is clear that the Philippines now has the "...most supportive statutory environment for local political participation in all Southeast Asia" (George, 1998:225).

### *Post-Aquino Challenges*

Fidel Ramos took office in May 1992. His administration was noted for its stability and for bringing economic growth to the country. Subsequently, the 1998 administration of Joseph 'Erap' Estrada was cited for its ineptitude together with being encumbered by charges of graft and corruption (Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia, 2004). In January 2001 a popular uprising known as 'EDSA-2' toppled him. Following Estrada's subsequent arrest in April 2001 on charges of corruption and economic plunder, his own supporters tried to overthrow the incumbent government of President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo in what was termed 'EDSA-3' (Reid, 2001:778-786; Rodell, 2002:215-236).

In June 2004 Gloria Arroyo started her first democratically elected term in office however a comment from Silliman and Noble (1998:20), while dated, perhaps best sums up the present state of affairs in the Philippines:

Today the Philippine state remains one of the weakest governing structures in Asia, as evidenced by its inability to maintain order, implement decisions and extract resources from society.

### ***Summary***

The Philippines, having been colonised by the Spanish, Americans and Japanese, struggled to establish a sense of national self-identity in the early years of independence. Some contend that the Philippines remains strongly influenced by post-colonial economic dependency with the United States. Participation in national political struggles, while in its infancy in the post-dependence years, grew substantially during the Marcos Presidency. Subsequently, the 1991 Local Government Code, enacted following a return to more democratic government, provides for substantial participation for a range of stakeholders (including NGOs) in local governance issues and in regional development.

### **Contemporary NGOs in the Philippines**

The Philippines has been described as having "...probably the largest non-governmental organisation density in the world" (Hilhorst, 2003:11). While a survey in 1982 found about 16,000 NGOs registered in the Philippines, this number rose to approximately 30,000 in 2000 (Liamzon, 1984:71; Ortigas, 2000:8). With diverse roles and political persuasions, NGOs have become highly organised, forming strong coalitions which are politically active.

The term NGO is difficult to define for there seems to be so many types and permutations within the Philippines. Using a simplified definition, development NGOs in the Philippines will refer to non-member organisations that are "...independent of both the government and private business sectors" (Silliman and Noble, 1998:6). NGOs in the Philippines often support and provide services to community-based people's organisations (POs). The latter, often referred to as 'grassroots organisations', are usually membership-based. Apart from their political representations, Filipino NGOs have been predominantly known as "...intermediary organisations who support grassroots work through funding, technical advice and advocacy" (Edwards and Hulme, 1992:14). Filipino NGOs can be classified depending on whether they engage in policy advocacy, service delivery to communities, alliance building, consciousness raising or popular education (Putzel, 1998:78-79). However, most Filipino NGOs are indigenous in nature, have few staff, utilise foreign funding sources, are locally based, and live in or near the communities they seek to partner (Ortigas, 2000:8; Putzel, 1998:78-79).

## **THE CASE DESCRIBED**

The chapter has presented a broad account of Filipino culture, history and NGOs. A detailed case description now follows. The case involves the study of three development 'actors'. Two of these actors - the 'community' and the 'development organisation' - have been partners in implementing the third 'actor', two development projects on the island of Bohol, Philippines. The first section, reviewing the community, provides an overview of Bohol's history, geography and livelihoods before describing the project community itself. The second section reviews the development organisation involved in the case study. Finally, the third section provides details of the two projects implemented in the community.

### **Development Actor One: The Community**

#### ***Bohol History***

The Spaniards under the explorer Miguel Lopez de Legazpi first arrived on Bohol in early 1565, having been thwarted in their landing on Cebu and blown to Bohol while trying to reach the southern island of Mindanao. On arrival they received a hostile reception from local Boholanos, having mistaken the Spaniards for marauding Portuguese that had plundered their island less than two years previously (Hellingman, 2004). Finally, after convincing the local *datu* (chiefs) that they were not Portuguese and that they had come in peace, a blood compact or treaty of friendship, was signed between the chieftains and Legazpi (BoholIsland.com, 2004:2). While the name 'Bohol' has various possible derivations the one most commonly touted suggests that it originates from the locality of Bool, the site of the blood compact. A few months later the Spanish founded their first permanent settlement in the Philippines - the city of Cebu. In 1596, thirty years after establishing themselves on Cebu, the Jesuits arrived in Bohol forming a settlement in the coastal locality of Baclayon (Hellingman, 2004).

Two significant rebellions helped shape the history of the parochially-minded Boholanos of today. The Tamblot Uprising of 1621 saw approximately two thousand Boholanos try to liberate themselves from the religion of the Jesuits and return to their native religion. When this revolt was put down over a year later, the Spanish gained firmer control over the island by establishing six settlements around the perimeter of the island. The second and much more significant Dagohoy Rebellion started in 1744. This

rebellion, thought to be the longest in Philippine history, lasted for 85 years, a period over which more than twenty Spanish governor-generals tried unsuccessfully to quell the uprising (Hellingman, 2004; Urich, 1997:32). Following this rebellion, a period of relative peace returned to Bohol until the end of the Spanish occupation.

After annexing the Philippines from the Spanish in April 1899, Americans landed on Bohol in March 1900. After a few months of bloody struggle with the followers of the Philippine Revolution, peace returned to the island. It was during the American administration that the province of Bohol was created, with roads and schools being established on the island. The Japanese invaded the capital Tagbilaran in May 1942 and three challenging years ensued for Boholanos who were liberated again by American forces in April 1945 (Hellingman, 2004).

While relative peace and gradual development returned to Bohol after the Philippines became a Republic in July 1946, a nation-wide communist insurgency started to impact the island in the late 1970s. During the 1980s more and more Boholanos living in the interior began to support the New People's Army (NPA) forces. Military campaigns during the late 1980s considerably weakened these forces and non-combatants were forcibly resettled into 'strategic hamlets', the NPA effectively losing its mass support (Urich, 1997:33).

### ***Bohol Geography***

Bohol, comprising an area of 4,117 square kilometres and the 10th largest island in the Philippines, lies 50 kilometres off the eastern coast of the Philippines' second largest city, Cebu. Both Bohol and Cebu islands are part of the Central Visayas region (Fisher and Urich, 1999:252; Green, 2002:1). Refer to Figure 3.1 (page 41) to locate Bohol Island within the Philippines. Bohol Island is located just north of the large southern island of Mindanao.

The 2000 census established Bohol's population at 1,137,268. The average family size at that time, estimated to be 5.41 people, was somewhat higher than the national average of 4.99. With an annual population growth rate of 2.92 percent, again higher than the national growth rate of 2.36 percent, the population of Bohol is estimated to double in approximately 24 years (Fact Index, 2004).

Approximately half of Bohol is covered with limestone, creating a karstic<sup>5</sup> environment which has been widely modified by human activity for the purposes of cultivating rice and corn. The south-west quadrant of Bohol, the site of the study area, consists of coastal plains rising to an interior limestone (karst) dominated plateau of between 100-600 metres in elevation.

The interior of Bohol has numerous ‘haycock’<sup>6</sup> hills or *mogotes* which are conical limestone elevations approximately 70-100 metres in height (Pesocard, 2004:2; Urich, 1997:28; Urich et al., 2001:311). Voss (1970 in Urich, 1989:97) devised the term ‘Chocolate Hills’ as a description of the hills after old pastures have been burnt and prior to the rainy season (see photograph, page 138).

### ***Bohol Livelihoods and Poverty***

The predominant livelihoods on Bohol are agriculture (rice and corn farming) and fishing. Limestone has been a substantial export in recent years in addition to some rice. Tourism is a significant income generator on the island, tourists being drawn by white-sand beaches, scuba diving, historic churches, the Chocolate Hills, waterfalls, and native flora and fauna including the tarsier, one of the smallest primates in the world (Provincial Government of Bohol, 2004).

Wet rice is the predominant crop grown across the island with two crops grown per year. The first crop, planted during May-July at the start of the rainy season (*tingulan*), is harvested in October-November (see photographs, page 138). The second crop, planted in November-December, is harvested in March-April before the start of the dry season (*tinginit*). The month of May, prior to rice-planting once again, is the *fiesta*<sup>7</sup> month for Bohol. It is estimated that more than 80 percent of cultivated rice land is tenanted, that is, owned by absentee landlords. This high rate of tenancy is inverse that of the beginning of the twentieth century when almost all rice land was locally owned (Urich, 1999:478-479).

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<sup>5</sup> A type of topography that results from dissolution and collapse of carbonate rocks such as limestone and dolomite and characterized by closed depressions or sinkholes, caves, and underground drainage ([water.usgs.gov/pubs/circ/circ1166/nawqa91.e.html](http://water.usgs.gov/pubs/circ/circ1166/nawqa91.e.html)).

<sup>6</sup> A conical pile of hay in the field.

<sup>7</sup> A festival or religious holiday, especially a saint's day celebrated in Spanish-speaking or colonised countries.

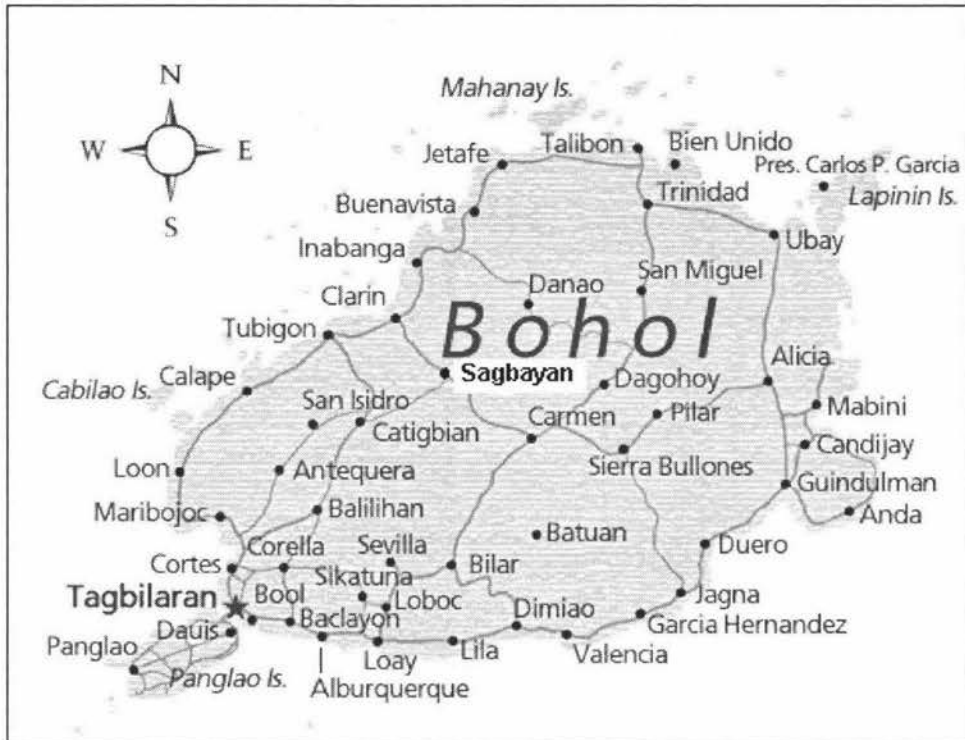
The Philippines poverty threshold measures the annual income required by a family to meet food and non-food basic needs. The Philippines average annual per capita poverty threshold was estimated at P11,605 in 2000 - this equates to P58,025 annual income for a family of five. The Philippines government estimated that 28.4 percent of families fell below the poverty threshold in the Philippines. In Bohol the poverty threshold was P9,125 in 2000 (annual income of P45,625 for family of five) but 47.3 percent of families were estimated to be below the threshold in 2000 (NSCB, 2004). Thus, substantially higher rates of poverty exist within Bohol compared to the average for the Philippines.

### ***Sagbayan Municipality***

The town of Sagbayan is located approximately 40 kilometres north-east of the capital Tagbilaran and 15 kilometres east of the coastal town of Tubigon. The municipality of Sagbayan, with a population of 16,668 in 2000, covers 6,920 hectares or about 1.7 percent of Bohol province. Limestone with clay topsoil covers a significant proportion of the municipality. Land elevations in the municipality range from 190-300 metres. Approximately 89 percent of the population speak Boholano and 87 percent profess Roman Catholicism (MPDO, 1995; PPDO, 2000). The principle industries of Sagbayan are agriculture, firecracker manufacture, mat weaving, and *bakya* (wooden clogs) production (Provincial Government of Bohol, 2004). See Figure 3.2 for a map situating the township of Sagbayan on the island of Bohol.

Sagbayan municipality lies within the Chocolate Hills Natural Monument (CHNM), this monument being a part of the National Integrated Protected Area System (NIPAS). The NIPAS, an Act inaugurated in 1992, is designed to categorise and administer all protected areas in the Philippines. The CHNM, constituted in 1997, is managed by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and incorporates 1,776 residual limestone hills (*mogotes*). While endeavouring to protect these *mogotes*, the CHNM also encompasses the area between the hills, thus covering some 14,435 hectares. Resulting from the declaration of the CHNM, the land previously designated and cultivated as private land instantly became state-owned generating significant local animosity and ultimately leading to the formation of the Chocolate Hills Command of the New People's Army (NPA), the armed wing of the Communist Party of the Philippines (Urich et al., 2001:312-318).

**Figure 3.2: Map of Bohol**



Source: modified from <http://www.bohol.ph/overview-bohol.php>

***The Project Community: Barangay Katipunan***

*Barangay*<sup>8</sup> Katipunan, a political unit of Sagbayan municipality, is located five kilometres north-east of Sagbayan township. See Appendix 3 for a map of Sagbayan municipality displaying *barangay* Katipunan in the north-east corner of the municipality. With an elevation of 220 metres above sea level, access is via a rough limestone road over which passenger motorcycles predominantly travel (SWCF, 1996b). The *barangay* had a population of 547 (115 households) in 1998 and 622 (127 households) in 2003 (Labonite et al., 2003). In 2003 the *barangay* had an 82 percent literacy rate, 19 percent of the population had attended elementary school, 10 percent had attended high school, and three percent had graduated from college (Divinigracia et al., 2003; MPDO, 2003). Approximately 60 to 70 percent of *barangay* Katipunan members are related either by blood or marriage.

The major crops include wet rice (approximately 30 percent of total land area) and corn (approximately 60 percent of total land area) with coconut, banana, cassava, *camote* (sweet potato) and *gabi* (taro root) as minor crops. The Chocolate Hills, together with

<sup>8</sup> In the Philippines, the *barangay* is the small political area, consisting of less than 1,000 people, into which cities and municipalities are divided ([www.gov.ph/aboutphil/general.asp](http://www.gov.ph/aboutphil/general.asp)).

various waterfalls and springs, are a significant tourist destination in the area (MPDO, 2000). *Barangay* Katipunan has gently rolling hills with small pockets of flat land in between the hills which are used for wet rice production. On one edge of the *barangay* there is a large deeply eroded gully partly covered in jungle and used for *kaingin* (shifting cultivation).

*Barangay* Katipunan has various voluntary indigenous community organisations. *Biray* are family groups that raise funds to assist families to pay for funeral expenses. Contributions may be in the form of voluntary labour - for example, to prepare food and wash dishes - and in the supply of wood, rice, meat and cash. *Biray* members also attend and support a prayer vigil<sup>9</sup> held for the deceased over a seven-day period. Another indigenous community organisation is the *gala*. These consist predominantly of family groups which contribute funds for their son's wedding expenses. Some *gala* organise their members to give a monthly contribution while other *gala* donate money when a wedding is imminent.

*Barangay* Katipunan also has *ripa* and *abono* associations. The *ripa* is a rotating credit group allowing members to receive lump sums of cash. Members regularly contribute small amounts of money and receive cash based on the drawing of lots. The *abono* is a group where members receive a loan for emergency needs or to take up an investment opportunity. Members contribute money to the pooled fund three times per year and receive pool funds once in the lifetime of an *abono* (Urich and Edgecombe, 1999).

A more recent community organisation in *barangay* Katipunan, formed in 1984, is that of the Barangay Power Association (BPA). All families using electricity have to become members of the BPA. The BPA oversees the usage of power and the collection of fees within the *barangay*. Any profits generated by the BPA are used for emergency loans by members and for the provision of free 'give-aways' - such as household items - at the end of the financial year. In 2002 it became apparent that fraud had been occurring within the BPA board. A public meeting, called by *barangay* members, led to a changing of all BPA officers due to the lack of credible evidence against any specific individual. Fraud was also discovered in one of the case study projects and is discussed later in the thesis.

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<sup>9</sup> A period where vigil attendees pray for the deceased, often going without significant periods of sleep.

There is substantial religious homogenisation within the *barangay*, with all families apart from one being Catholic. A small church is located in the centre of the *barangay* and several smaller chapels are scattered throughout the *barangay*. Religious celebrations such as baptisms, marriages and funerals are important events celebrated by much of the community. The *barangay* also has a number of prayer and service organisations under the church's umbrella that exist predominantly to encourage and support parishioners.

*Barangay* elections, held every three years, elect a *barangay* captain and councillors who administer the running of the *barangay*. *Barangay* members tend to closely support either of two political parties - LAKAS-NUCD or the KPP - and a member's political affiliations are generally common knowledge to all *barangay* members.

Based on a community survey completed in 1995, the average annual income (farm and off-farm) for a family of five was P19,502. Average total expenses were estimated to be P27,752 with the shortfall presumably being borrowed from family or indigenous credit organisations. The average annual income in the *barangay* for a family of five during 1995 (P19,502) was well below the estimated poverty threshold for Bohol in 1995 of P33,985<sup>10</sup> (NSCB, 2004). The community survey also indicated that 76 percent of the *barangay* families were tenants,<sup>11</sup> only 24 percent being land owners. Given these high rates of tenancy, the *barangay* was perceived as being 'economically depressed' prior to the arrival of the development projects.

Historically, there had been substantial forest cover in many parts of *barangay* Katipunan. Original forest cover had been removed over time leaving large areas of relatively unproductive native grass which was grazed by goats, cattle and *carabao* (water buffalo). Substantial soil erosion had occurred in the cultivated areas cropped for maize, sweet potato and cassava<sup>12</sup> as these crops were usually cultivated on rolling land somewhat prone to erosion. The community had significant dependence upon the land for subsistence and cash crops. Access to potable water resources was limited and

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<sup>10</sup> Estimated by taking the 1997 NSBC figure (P7,885), subtracting 8 percent per annum increase, and multiplying by five.

<sup>11</sup> Farmers who work the land owned by someone else. Rental for the land is usually paid in the form of part of the product harvest from the land.

<sup>12</sup> A tropical plant with edible starchy roots.

water born diseases such as cholera and diarrhoea were substantially affecting the health status of the Katipunan community.

An initial planning meeting held in June 1995 between *barangay* Katipunan residents and the NGO, the Soil and Water Conservation Foundation (SWCF), highlighted that the *barangay* needed a local organisation to ensure the sustainability of any development projects implemented within the *barangay*. Community members felt that because *barangay* officials changed every three years, there would be no guarantee that newly elected council members would support the objectives of the projects. Thus, the community formed the people's organisation (PO), the Uswag Katipunan Association (UKA). Initially formed with thirty (30) community members, the UKA partnered SWCF in planning and implementing the development projects outlined later in the chapter. Becoming a UKA member was the only means by which *barangay* residents could access the project components.

### **Development Actor Two: The Development Organisation**

#### ***Soil and Water Conservation Foundation (SWCF) Inc.***

The Soil and Water Conservation Foundation (SWCF) Inc. is a non-stock, non-profit NGO located in the Central Visayan city of Cebu. Incorporated and registered with the Philippine Securities and Exchange Commission in March 1988, the Foundation was conceived through "...an informal network of individuals of several nationalities concerned with the global ecological challenge..." (SWCF, 2004b). SWCF was formed partly due to significant problems Foundation members were having in getting timely supplies of project materials to farmers in various project sites on Cebu Island. Delays were often due to the late release of funds for predominantly government-sponsored projects. The Foundation became an alternative option for routing project funds and meeting project requirements and community expectations in a timely manner.

SWCF could be described as a development NGO with an environmental focus - that is, while focusing on natural resource management with its partner rural communities, it also uses a range of income-generating projects to enhance community livelihoods. SWCF is an NGO providing services to grassroots organisations; it is a non-member service organisation which is value driven; it is active in service delivery, alliance building and popular education. In relation to the typologies of participation presented

in chapter 2, SWCF can be described as having predominantly used instrumental participation in the case projects - that is, using participation as a means to achieving project goals and implementation plans. However, it is also clear that SWCF achieved some forms of transformative participation as evidenced by the people's organisation being trained and empowered to continue its own development process.

SWCF describes its purpose as, firstly, to assist the management of natural resources in a sustainable manner, and secondly, to help teach a conservation ethic in dealing with natural resource management. It also sees itself as assisting the work of local government by ensuring the protection and proper management of natural resources (Hartnell, 2003:1). Its mission statement is as follows: "Promotion of natural and human resources development through implementation of activities, projects and programs which are participatory, cooperative, community building and sustainable" (SWCF, 2003:i).

As of September 2004 SWCF had 57 employees, nine of whom were office/administrative staff and the remainder field-based staff predominantly located on Bohol Island. SWCF's strategy is to hire field staff as much as possible from the same province - thus most of the field staff located in Bohol are of Boholano origin. The executive director of SWCF has been in the role for 15 years since the NGO's inception and, while born in the United States and the only non-Filipino on staff, is a permanent resident of the Philippines with over 30 years experience in Philippine upland natural resource management. He is also married to SWCF's development officer, a Boholana,<sup>13</sup> who has had over ten years' experience with SWCF.

Prior to project implementation, SWCF's development officer has consultations with targeted communities. These discussions, which primarily seek an expression of significant interest from the community, then reach agreement on the objectives and components of the project. Before their technicians move to their assigned communities, SWCF provides a one-month comprehensive training programme regarding community development principles and practices. Field technicians live in the communities in which their projects are located with one permanent field technician living within *barangay* Katipunan during both the case study projects.

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<sup>13</sup> Woman from Bohol.

SWCF believes that communities participate in projects when they have a sense of ownership in the development activity - that is, communities will participate if and when they have a positive vested interest in an activity and see that an outcome will last. SWCF observes that while people may initially participate in projects for 'immediate gratification' - with rather more self-oriented or family-centred motives - they hopefully move to more community-oriented reasons for participation in project activities.

### **Development Actor Three: The Projects**

The UKA and SWCF co-implemented two development projects over the course of an eight year period, these being the Rotary Project (1995-1997) and PACAP project (1998-2003).

#### ***'Rotary' Project: 1995 - 1997***

The Sagbayan Natural Resource Management Project (SNRMP), located in *barangay* Katipunan, ran from January 1995 until February 1997. While the predominant funding donor was Rotary International, a matching donor was the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Informally, the project is known as the 'Rotary' project. The project focused on the sustainable management of natural resources together with the improvement of livelihoods. According to the initial project proposal, the purpose of the project was:

...to begin a stabilisation process for part of the Abatan River watershed as well as the implementation of natural resource management activities which will teach the farmers more productive on-farm technologies while increasing family incomes (SWCF, 1994:1).

The initial problems identified by SWCF in the project proposal were denuded hillsides, poor farm income, the need to stabilise cultivated lands, and the need to diversify the current farming systems. Project objectives included coaching farmers how to manage natural resources sustainably; raising farm income through trainings in other, more productive farm activities and; to involve at least forty-five percent of the households in one or more of the project activities (SWCF, 1995b).

Prior to implementing the project, *barangay* Katipunan residents completed a Rapid Rural Systems Appraisal (RRSA) survey<sup>14</sup> to determine key problems for the project to address. Project implementation activities, as identified by the project proposal, would include conducting an animal dispersal regime for cattle and swine; to develop agroforestry so as to integrate livestock with annual and perennial crops; to establish a potable supply of water by identifying springs and develop them into potable systems with their own water-users associations; to educate farmers by upgrading farmers' skills and their ability to transfer technology amongst themselves; to improve soil and water conservation via training and establishing soil erosion control technologies and; to establish a farmer instructor program by training selected farmers and teaching them skills in technology transfer (SWCF, 1994:2-3).

The RRSA survey found that the key problems as experienced by the community were lack of capital, poor potable water supply, unproductive farming, uncooperative climate, lack of farm tools, crop infestation by insects, and insufficient time for income-generating activities other than field preparation (Barangay Katipunan Council, 1994). See Appendix 1 for the survey results in detail.

Eighty six (86) of the approximately one hundred and thirteen (113) families in the *barangay* - or 76 percent of the *barangay* - benefited directly from one or more components of the project during the two years. SWCF felt however that two years had been insufficient time for the project to provide significant benefits to the Katipunan community and sought further funding from another project funder. See Appendix 2 for Rotary project accomplishments, Appendix 4 for a social map of *barangay* Katipunan prior to the Rotary project, and Appendix 5 for a social map of *barangay* Katipunan following the completion of the Rotary project.

#### ***'PACAP' Project: 1998 - 2003***

Formally titled the Katipunan Livestock and Livelihood Enhancement Project (KLLEP), this project was also located in *barangay* Katipunan. KLLEP's duration was October 1998 until April 2003 and funded through the Australian Agency for International

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<sup>14</sup> A community survey conducted by six community members appointed by the *barangay* council. The group was given a one-day training on how to conduct an RRSA which was conducted prior to the start of the Rotary project.

Development's (AusAID) Philippines-Australia Community Assistance Programme (PACAP). Informally, the project was known as the 'PACAP' project.

The project sought to address key problems such as poor farm incomes, low soil fertility, poor access to costly informal credit facilities, poor access to improved livestock, poor livestock health, and a "...poor attitude to development..." amongst farmers (SWCF, 1997). In many ways the PACAP project endeavoured to implement similar types of project components as the Rotary project. Hence the project targeted "...natural resource management, livestock integration into the farming system, livelihood, infrastructure and agri-support, and post-harvest facilities" (UKA, 2003).

Short term objectives for PACAP included the establishment of a communal piggery and goat herd for the ongoing provision of improved livestock; to provide training in animal husbandry; to increase the diversity of forages (mainly grasses and legumes) available to farm animals; to train Uswag Katipunan Association (UKA) leaders and members in the management and operation of the UKA; to provide micro-business training for women; and to develop revolving funds to support fertiliser, small business (women only) and *carabao* loans (SWCF, 1997). See Appendix 2 for PACAP project accomplishments.

The long term objectives of the project were to boost the active participation of UKA members and to develop the UKA's capability in programme implementation; to achieve a sustainable increase in members' incomes through the integration of livestock into farming and having access to credit; and to improve *barangay* planning including programme implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (SWCF, 1997).

The PACAP terminal evaluation concluded that more than 90 percent of UKA members were actively participating in the implementation of the PACAP project; membership grew from thirty (30) to seventy two (72) members; the capacity of UKA to implement the project was greatly improved with the UKA being an active partner-implementer of the project with SWCF; the community's average annual income through the project rose by 14 percent through livestock integration into their farms and access to credit; the ability of the UKA to plan, implement, monitor and evaluate the project had improved slightly through the project; the project had trained UKA members and leaders to

operate and manage the people's organisation; finally, the project sustained the liquidity of the micro-credit loan scheme (Divinigracia et al., 2003:27). Altogether, the PACAP project had received a highly favourable evaluation for achieving the objectives it had established at the start of the project. See Appendix 6 for a social map of *barangay* Katipunan following the completion of the PACAP project.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

The Philippines displays a cultural legacy quite dissimilar to that of its Asian neighbours. Its colonisation by the Spanish, Americans and Japanese over a nearly 400 year period has brought significant impacts on the religious and cultural values of the people. However Filipinos remain a gregarious and community oriented people with a deep sense of commitment to their families.

Becoming independent in 1946, the country initially struggled to establish a sense of national unity and identity through the post-war Marcos years. However, as the extremes of the Marcos regime grew, broad participation in a national political struggle also grew commensurately, finally propelling 'Cory' Aquino into the Philippine presidency through the 'people's power' uprisings in 1986. While the country has seen economic and political instability since those days, the government has sought to encourage the participation of a range of stakeholders in regional development efforts through its 1991 Local Government Code.

Bohol Island has also seen its share of political unrest with two major uprisings occurring through the Spanish colonial period, one of these lasting nearly nine decades. This heritage has brought with it a strong sense of parochialism and independence to native Boholanos. In the 1980s, a significant communist insurgency affected many inland rural areas of Bohol, one of these being the case study area of Sagbayan municipality.

The case study involves the interaction of three 'development actors' - the community (*barangay* Katipunan), the non-government organisation (SWCF), and the development projects (Rotary and PACAP). Field research, conducted on Bohol Island during June-July 2004, sought to determine how SWCF enhanced community participation in the

Rotary and PACAP projects. However, prior to presenting the findings of the field research, the rationale for the research methodology follows.

## **CHAPTER 4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Whether researchers use quantitative or qualitative research methods, it is apparent that research is an intensely personal experience. This is especially so for first-time researchers conducting fieldwork in a country and culture much different from their own. The researcher becomes dependent on the good will of a wide range of people and research outcomes are as much about the attitude and personality of the researcher as about the peculiarities and context of the communities they study.

The first section of this chapter explains the research approach adopted for the Philippines field work while the second section outlines the process for selecting the case study. The third section presents the fieldwork methods used and their effectiveness for the purposes of this research. The final section of the chapter discusses the issues requiring ethical consideration together with the process of data analysis.

### **RESEARCH APPROACH**

Habermas (1978) divides scientific approaches into the empirical-analytical, historical-hermeneutic and critical traditions. The historical-hermeneutic tradition contends that human perception and experience fundamentally influences the interpretation of 'facts'. Rather than the prediction of patterns, the historical-hermeneutical tradition seeks to interpret patterns and processes. Given the contention that the interpretation of facts is influenced by human perception, it was apparent to me that my white, middle class, New Zealand, male background, would or at least could affect my interpretation of the data. While I was hopeful that the qualitative methods chosen for the research would allow the participants' stories and interpretations to emerge as much as possible, a robust process of qualitative data analysis on returning to New Zealand also allowed for interpretations to be comprehensively challenged and modified appropriately. Triangulating the data by reviewing a summary of the results with the project community and the NGO would allow for flaws in data and their interpretation to be rectified while in the field.

The case study approach, chosen for this research, focuses on some contemporary social phenomenon or series of decisions within a real-life context, especially where the separation of phenomenon and context is not clear (Babbie, 2004:293; Robson, 2002:89; Yin, 1994:13). Case study research typically sees researchers located in or near the research site, spending extended time with local people and gaining a detailed understanding of the "...activities and operations of the case" (Stake, 2000:455). Thus a clear objective of the research had been to live within the project community (*barangay* Katipunan) for the predominant part of the research.

I felt that a range of qualitative research methods would be the most appropriate means to answer the research question posed. Given the research question focuses on 'participation' it seemed logical that more participatory, interactive and ultimately qualitative research methods (where the participant in part guides the research process) would be appropriate rather than using more extractive methods such as in structured questionnaires and surveys.

### **CASE STUDY SELECTION**

Having worked as a non-government organisation (NGO) development agriculturist in the Philippines from 1991-1993, and having retained a good working knowledge of one of the main languages (Tagalog), I had been interested to broaden my understanding of Filipino rural development issues. The Philippines has an extended colonial history, but unlike many of its Asian neighbours, there has been a significant history of participation by civil society in the political, social and economic development of the Philippines. One example is the demonstration of 'people's power' which catapulted 'Cory' Aquino into the presidency in 1986. The context of the Philippines seemed an ideal country to study the process of participation in development projects.

There were approximately 30,000 NGOs registered with the Philippines Securities and Exchange Commission in 2000 (Ortigas, 2000:8) and it is apparent that Filipino NGOs have been significant players in the country's recent development. Given the perception that Filipino NGOs have used predominantly participatory approaches in their development efforts, researching a NGO-implemented development project utilising

participatory approaches seemed appropriate in order to answer the posed research question.

Initial email contact made with a range of researchers and organisations in New Zealand and the Philippines sought NGO contacts and expressions of interest in the research topic. Two researchers from separate institutions had independently recommended contacting the Soil and Water Conservation Foundation (SWCF), a Filipino development NGO focusing on natural resource management. On contacting SWCF, the organisation made an initial expression of interest in the research topic. The reply to a further email enquiring about the organisation's participatory processes indicated that SWCF had been endeavouring to enact broadly participatory forms of development in their projects and a research partnership with SWCF formed.

## **THE FIELDWORK**

As with constructivists who believe that the researcher must get as close as possible to research subjects so as to understand the subjects' constructed reality (Gray, 2004:3), my objective was to live within the research community so as to observe and gain an in-depth understanding of the reality of *barangay* residents. Prior to arriving in the Philippines, I used an SWCF field technician to explain to the community what the research would involve and sought specific permission from the community to research and live within the *barangay*.

On arrival in the *barangay*, the chairman of the local people's organisation (PO), the Uswag Katipunan Association (UKA), offered his time as a translator. While initially wondering whether this would be a good choice, it was soon apparent that he was well liked and respected throughout the community. This translator was used for UKA member interviews and a non-member translator used for non-member interviews. As Leslie and Storey (2003:131-135) recommend, spending time with both translators prior to starting interviews helped develop personable working relationships with them. I held discussions with both translators communicating how to facilitate Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) methods such as group or semi-structured interviews, and more significantly, about the types of attitudes required for research - such as a genuine desire to learn, being respectful, listening, and giving constructive feedback to one another.

A potential weakness of the research was the need to obtain feedback from research participants about project events or experiences that had occurred up to eight years previously. Memories fade over time. Conducting various semi-structured interviews until important issues were repeatedly validated helped overcome this problem. Another weakness, discovered on returning from the fieldwork, was not validating certain issues in the field. Examples included failing to ask if husbands hindered the participation of some women or checking if there were reasons for non-membership in the UKA such as a lack of kinship ties.

### **Methods Used**

Data gathering predominantly occurred in two locations. The first, Cebu City, is the location of SWCF headquarters, and where I gathered most of the secondary and some primary data. The second location, Bohol Island, is the location of *barangay* Katipunan, the two projects studied, other secondary stakeholders involved in the projects, and other development NGOs, and where I gathered most of the primary data.

Yin (1994:81-90) recommends six sources of evidence for gathering robust data - these being documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation, and physical or cultural artefacts. Following Yin's recommendations, I adopted a range of research methods. Documentation included SWCF field trip reports, quarterly project updates, administrative documents, and Rotary and PACAP project evaluations. Archival records included social maps prepared by *barangay* Katipunan, SWCF and UKA organisational records, survey data from the Katipunan community, and municipal and provincial survey and planning records. Forty eight (48) semi-structured interviews were undertaken - the semi-structured interviews represented 30 percent of the UKA member families and 15 percent of the non-member families. Group meetings included two (2) timeline meetings - one with old people and the other with the UKA board; two (2) group interviews - both with UKA board members; and two (2) 'feedback' sessions - one with the whole *barangay* and the other with SWCF staff. Direct observation included casual walks around most parts of *barangay* Katipunan having informal 'chats' with residents about their lives and activities and taking some photographs of residents and the local scenery.

### ***Social Maps***

These describe the layout of the *barangay* and show various project components implemented during the course of the two projects. The UKA had already previously prepared these maps to show visitors the yearly project achievements. The maps in Appendices 4.0, 5.0 and 6.0 illustrate the state of the *barangay* before the first (Rotary) project began, the changes following the Rotary project, and the changes after the completion of the second (PACAP) project.

### ***Timeline***

While potentially useful in understanding the recent social, economic and political context of the community, *barangay* residents found this tool difficult to relate to. The most humorous research experience occurred during the second week in the *barangay*. A group of about eight old people (half men, half women) had been invited to meet in the *barangay* office to work on a timeline by sharing important events or experiences they could remember in the *barangay* (or wider Philippines) since World War Two. Immediately, a few of the men started talking avidly about their World War Two experiences and, even an hour later, it was proving difficult to move them on to discussing other memories. Half an hour after this, one of the men who had arrived late motioned that he would like to say something - he proceeded to explain his concern that I might be a communist agent or an NPA<sup>15</sup> sympathiser! Soon after re-explaining the objectives of the research, it was time for the participants to head home and feed their livestock before darkness descended.

A few weeks later, I retried the timeline on a group of *barangay* officials with similar poor results. While the meetings seemingly achieved little, one of the lessons from this experience was that in future meetings all participants, even late arrivals, should clearly understand the purpose of the research and have an opportunity to ask me questions. Asking participants specifically what events affected community cohesion and participation over the years, and not starting the timeline at World War Two, could have also led to more refined results. See Appendix 7 for summarised results of the two timeline groups.

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<sup>15</sup> New People's Army.

### ***Semi-structured Interviews***

These were the main research tool used, conducted predominantly in the houses of interviewees so as to ensure participants were as relaxed as possible. The interview participants included SWCF staff, *barangay* officials, UKA members and leaders, and non-participants in the projects. Other participants included secondary stakeholders such as the mayor of Sagbayan, Department of Agriculture (DA) officials, other *barangay* captains, and other NGOs which knew SWCF well.

Having arrived at the start of the rice planting season, most of the men were busy preparing their rice fields, often from dawn until dusk. Thus, most of the community participants, interviewed predominantly during daylight hours, were women. While I conducted some night-time interviews with men, the men were often very tired from the day's labours and understandably, wanted to rest. Whilst arriving one or two months earlier during the dry season would have mitigated this potential research limitation, the literature review and research methodology would have been incomplete, significantly limiting the research outcome.

Another potential weakness with the research was that while I made efforts to engage a woman translator for interviews with women, child responsibilities prevented this occurring. Interviews with women therefore occurred using the male translators. While being conscious of how this may affect the responses of women participants, it was apparent that women were relaxed at discussing their experiences, probably because both translators were well liked within the community.

### ***Observational Records / Participant Observation***

After writing up interviews from the previous day in the early morning, the late mornings were spent 'wandering with intent' in different directions of the *barangay* - observing farming systems, the fauna and flora, and simply talking to residents about their lives and daily activities they were involved in. This was helpful in getting to know people, gain acceptance by the community, and find out more about the context of the case study.

### ***Photographic Records***

Photographs of various project components, research participants, and tasks associated with the planting season were taken during the 'wanderings with intent' and visiting

various parts of the *barangay* for interviews. Some photographic records are located in Appendix 8.

### ***Taped Records***

While the interviews conducted in English with SWCF staff were taped, interviews conducted in Boholano/Tagalog in the *barangay* were not taped because my impression was that the taping process would have added formality and made people more hesitant to talk.

### ***Personal Diary***

A separate personal diary was used recording daily impressions. The first day in *barangay* Katipunan was a significant entry for example. While these impressions were ‘triangulated’ with the working journals so as to qualify how the personal/emotional experience could have affected the research findings, I mostly used the diary entries as a means to reflect at a deeper level on the community, culture and various personal experiences. One such experience, and the only low point of my time in the community, was where one resident, intoxicated at a post-baptismal lunch, started verbally harassing me on a variety of issues. After twenty minutes of listening to this, I extricated myself and returned to my accommodation, quite upset about what had happened. Later, my host family asked what was wrong and the whole story emerged. While they and the rest of the community were angry at the perpetrator, this experience helped deepen and strengthen my relationships with community members even further.

### ***Field Notebooks and Field Working Journal***

Small field notebooks recorded interview responses with these entries transferred to larger A4-sized working journals on a daily basis together with any additional annotations or memos to aid in later data analysis. A separate small notebook recorded a) interviewee names and their contact details – with each person assigned an interviewee number and b) photograph details. Carbon copies made of the working journal were kept in a separate location from the working journal just in case the working journals were somehow lost.

### ***Language***

While the local language was Boholano, I had good functional usage of Tagalog which most residents could understand. Many community members specifically commented that my use of Tagalog was of significant help to communicating and building deeper relationships with community members than would have otherwise been possible. However, a limitation, due to the language also occurred. Initially, when asked a question in Tagalog, many respondents would try and answer back, often with difficulty, in Tagalog. After requesting participants to respond in Boholano, we obtained significantly more in-depth interview responses. The translator would then translate the responses from Boholano into Tagalog.

A weakness of the semi-structured interviews was that while I had a good understanding and usage of Tagalog, it was not exhaustive. Consequently, the more abstract questions, easily asked in English, were not possible in Tagalog. While I considered hiring a fluent English-Boholano translator from outside the community during the first two weeks in the *barangay*, I concluded that because the main translator was so well liked in the area, this afforded good access to a wide range of community members - wider access than would otherwise have been possible using a translator from outside the community.

### ***Reviewing and Disseminating Findings***

The on-going review of findings occurred in two forms. Firstly, leaving the community after three weeks to review and reflect on the findings gathered, allowed the preparation of an interim summary and to decide where information gaps still existed. Secondly, I reviewed research findings separately with the UKA members and SWCF staff as a means of data triangulation and dissemination of the research findings.

### ***Secondary Data Sources***

Secondary data sources included project proposals from the project site, journal articles, SWCF project reports, project evaluation documents and information gathered from the SWCF website.

### ***Relationships***

In reflection, forming personable relationships with SWCF staff and *barangay* Katipunan residents was perhaps the single most important achievement of the research. While the end result of research is a product, it is my opinion that the research process is more important than the end result. Has the researcher shown genuine respect for the participants? Is there real interest in the person rather than just the information they hold? The depth of relationship with the main translator and his wife were the most significant and special to me - allowing us to work together in ways which would not have been possible otherwise. Such respectful and warm relating with the community, made possible in part through the use of Tagalog, also allowed research participants to relax and enjoy the research process and for significant issues to emerge more easily.

### **ETHICS**

While the formal human ethics process required by Massey University prior to leaving for field research was presumably in place to protect the research participants and researcher, I was grateful at only having to submit a low risk notification to the Human Ethics Committee. The internal-departmental process for discussing ethics issues was however helpful in reviewing the chosen research strategy and asking questions that needed consideration prior to leaving for the Philippines.

While my desire had been to live with a family in *barangay* Katipunan during the research, the community chose to accommodate me in the local *barangay* office. While feeling initially ambivalent about this arrangement, it became apparent that the office would be ideal, allowing a quiet space to write up interview notes, reflect on findings, prepare for research activities, and offering some break from the discussions that residents were always keen to engage in.

Prior to arrival, the plan had been to develop a list of potential participants using recommendations from the local people's organisation (the Uswag Katipunan Association) together with suggestions from key informants in the *barangay*. What transpired is that the translator and I contacted participants in a much more informal fashion. We visited different parts of the *barangay* each day and asked the families or individuals that were available on arrival if they were available and interested in an

interview. My own personal details and a background to the research was then given and the participant given time to ask any questions. While obtaining written research consent from a small number of NGO participants who were conversant in English, I felt that asking for such consent from *barangay* participants was unnecessary, would have added undue formality, and potentially led people to be nervous or fearful about having an interview.

The plan had been to inform participants that their names and all other information would be kept strictly confidential, however the issue rarely needed raising with participants as it was felt this would have also added formality and 'distance' with participants where none existed. Both translators signed a confidentiality agreement, predominantly for their own benefit but also for the sake of research participants so that if fellow *barangay* residents had asked the translators to give information about what participants had said, they could rightly claim their agreement to retain strict confidentiality.

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

This was, by far, the most difficult part of the whole thesis and I am unable to convey in words the rigor that especially one supervisor, but more broadly, the process of qualitative data analysis required of me. I would also caution all first-time researchers using qualitative methods to consider that qualitative methods could, and perhaps should, require more effort than other seemingly more structured methods, and to see qualitative data analysis as requiring substantial rigor if the researcher desires meaningful and robust results.

Yin (1994:103) contends that the researcher should have a strategy in place to analyse data before any data is collected. Prior to arrival in the Philippines therefore, I decided to try and summarise and analyse the data throughout the fieldwork so that common themes and patterns could emerge. I had formed a set of research propositions and found these helpful for guiding appropriate questions and ensuring that important topics were covered.

Walsh (1996:127) suggests that arguing not only for but against the initial conclusions is a means of robustly testing the data. Lacking an independent third party to rigorously debate the results, it was sometimes difficult to argue against some of the conclusions I had reached in the *barangay*. These types of debates however occurred on return from the field. Retreating from the project community after three weeks allowed for an initial research summary to be completed and determined further data that needed to be gathered. Later, I reviewed the summarised research findings with *barangay* Katipunan residents and with SWCF head office staff to triangulate findings and correct any misunderstandings or misinterpretations of the data.

On returning from the field, the hard work of data analysis began. Firstly, I re-analysed and annotated the field working journals twice to determine the factors influencing participation. I then updated the initial summary of the results prepared in the Philippines and completed a final results summary. A draft results chapter was then prepared, but in retrospect, this was only a description of what participants had said. On presenting this 'description' to my supervisors, it was clear that much more robust data analysis was needed. I held a number of discussions with one supervisor in particular who asked probing questions about the description I had written. These discussions allowed a system of logic to be imposed on the data, the assumptions driving the initial data description to be uncovered, and the data to be categorised and clustered/connected (see Gray, 2004). A revised chapter structure was prepared and the data chapter written with further supervisory discussions modifying the section headings as appropriate.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

No amount of planning can prepare the researcher for what they are going to face on arrival in a country and culture substantially dissimilar to their own. Prior to arrival in the Philippines, the literature review had presented a theoretical framework for the research and assisted with the formation of a set of research propositions guiding research questions. A qualitative set of research methods based around a case study approach was determined to be most appropriate for answering the research question.

Most significantly, it became apparent that the quality of research data was highly dependent upon my relationship with the research community. A working knowledge

of Tagalog, together with translators who were well known and liked by *barangay* Katipunan residents, facilitated easy relating and discussions with participants. Despite having research objectives and a range of qualitative research methods, being flexible and showing genuine interest in participants resulted in constructive interactions with people, and hopefully, allowed 'their story' to emerge in the research findings.

The stage for presenting the research results has now been set. The stage setting involves an introduction to the research problem, the theory of participation and participatory development, together with the justification for researching in the Philippines and a description of the case study. Finally, the fieldwork methodology has been presented. Now under the spotlight is the presentation of the research data.

## **CHAPTER 5. PARTICIPATION IN ACTION**

### **INTRODUCTION**

How does the social, economic and political background of a community affect the manner in which they participate in development projects? In what ways do development organisations influence the desire of communities to participate in such projects? These and other questions are addressed in this chapter through the presentation of data collected from fieldwork in the Philippines.

To briefly review, the research seeks to answer the following central question: “How can a development organisation in the Philippines enhance community participation?” The literature review on participation in Chapter 2 presented the theoretical history, typologies, definitions, the cases for and against participation, and factors influencing people’s participation in development.

This chapter describes the data collected under the umbrella of three development ‘actors’ - the ‘community’ (*barangay* Katipunan), the ‘development organisation’ (the Soil and Water Conservation Foundation), and the ‘development projects’ (Rotary 1995-1997 and PACAP 1998-2003). The first section describes the community characteristics influencing participation in the development projects. These are the ‘internal’ factors - related to the community and its history - that affected the way in which the community participated in the development projects. The second section describes the factors related to the development organisation and its workers that influenced the desire of the community to participate in the projects. Finally, in the third section, we review the characteristics of the development projects that influenced the ability and willingness of the community to participate in the development projects.

### **THE COMMUNITY**

The most significant community factors influencing participation in the two projects were the high degree of social cohesion within the community and the significant level of economic need expressed by the community. In contrast, the main community-related factor associated with non-participation in the projects was the experience of historical events within the community.

## **Extent of Social Cohesion**

The high degree of social cohesion within *barangay* Katipunan prior to the arrival of SWCF produced significant community participation in the two projects. Factors enhancing social cohesion included the existence of indigenous and other community organisations, significant community ‘relatedness’, and the support of high-calibre community leaders for the projects. Conversely, political tensions within the *barangay*, especially during the election period, decreased collaboration within the community and reduced participation in the projects.

### ***Degree of Existing Community Organisation***

The high degree of membership in the indigenous credit and support organisations (such as the *biray* and *gala*), the Barangay Power Association (BPA), and the Catholic Church, maintained positive community relationships and enhanced the social cohesion of the community. This group orientation encouraged residents to choose membership of the people's organisation (the Uswag Katipunan Association or UKA), collaborate with one another in running the UKA, and to cooperatively participate in the development projects. Membership in these existing organisations helped to develop a range of management and problem-solving skills that would have led to the relatively ready formation and smooth operation of the UKA.

### ***Degree of Relatedness***

With 60-70 percent of *barangay* members being related by birth or marriage, the high level of relatedness within the *barangay* would have enhanced *barangay* relationships, led some non-members to join their ‘cousins’ who were already UKA members, and assisted the running of the UKA. There were various opinions as to whether the high level of ‘relatedness’ assisted the running of the people’s organisation. Some felt that having so many ‘cousins’ impeded discussions and decision making, with members not raising delicate issues, offering alternative opinions, or challenging any perceived mismanagement of the UKA. Mostly members felt that the high level of relatedness led to a certain ‘harmony’ amongst UKA members with discussions being more easily held and decisions being more readily made by the UKA members and the board of directors.

### ***Extent of Political Conflict***

Political tensions within *barangay* Katipunan led to decreased collaboration and non-participation in the projects, at least to some extent during municipal and *barangay* elections. While some UKA members believed that interpersonal tensions associated with political affiliation did not affect the running of the UKA, there was significant evidence of the opposite being the case. For example, personal relationships in one water-users group<sup>16</sup> were severely strained during the 2004 municipal elections resulting in water-users fees not being paid by some group members. Another example is where relationships between some UKA board members had been strained during the 2002 *barangay* elections. This may have affected the smooth running of the UKA board or the relationships amongst *barangay* members during this period, resulting in non-collaboration in project implementation.

### ***Quality of Community Leadership***

The high calibre and support of the *barangay* leadership, especially the *barangay* captain who was widely respected, encouraged *barangay* residents to join the UKA and participate in the projects. In fact the captain's intelligence and enthusiasm was a significant reason for SWCF choosing *barangay* Katipunan for initial screening as a potential project site. The Rapid Rural Systems Appraisal (RRSA) survey, conducted at the start of the Rotary project, indicated that the dynamic leadership of the *barangay* council was one of the community's assets. More significantly, the *barangay* captain, possessing a strong community-centred nature, also mobilised the *barangay* council members to support the project. At one point the *barangay* captain told the councillors that the project needed volunteers to work in the community tree farm - either planting or weeding. He then told each councillor that they had to raise a certain number of volunteers from each *sitio*,<sup>17</sup> whether the 'volunteers' were UKA members or not.

A further factor encouraging the participation of *barangay* members in the Rotary project (1995-1997) was the then incumbent municipal mayor attending at least one *barangay* General Assembly.<sup>18</sup> During that meeting he apparently convinced some of the residents to support the project activities. This 'official' support by the mayor

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<sup>16</sup> Groups established for the maintenance of hand pumps constructed during the Rotary project. Water users' fees were paid by members once a month.

<sup>17</sup> *Sitio* (or *purok*) is a part of a *barangay* usually denoted by a small group of houses.

<sup>18</sup> Meeting for all *barangay* members regardless of UKA membership.

seems likely to have influenced some community members to support and participate in the project.

Interestingly, the lack of mayoral support for municipal development projects in *barangay* Katipunan further encouraged *barangay* Katipunan to host and participate in the more recent PACAP project (1998-2003). The current mayor of Sagbayan municipality<sup>19</sup> (in office since 2001) is a member of the ruling LAKAS-NUCD party. However, the opposing candidate obtained the most votes in *barangay* Katipunan in the 2001 municipal elections. Subsequently, there was a strong conviction amongst Katipunan residents, actually corroborated by the current mayor, that he had neglected the municipal development of *barangay* Katipunan compared with other *barangays* who had voted for and supported him.

### **Extent of Community Need**

The high degree of economic need within the community was a significant ‘push factor’ encouraging residents to participate in the projects. Specifically, overt economic hardship and resource dependence within the community, together with relatively poor resource quality and limited access to other development projects, increased the desire of the community to participate in the projects.

### ***Degree of Economic Hardship***

Many of the residents in *barangay* Katipunan indicated that one of the significant reasons for joining the UKA and participating in the various components<sup>20</sup> offered by the projects was to reduce the hardship faced by their families. Others mentioned that they simply wanted to improve the livelihood status of their family. It was common to hear the following comments during informal discussions held with farming families:

...we are poor...people find it hard to make ends meet...we needed the project for our livelihoods (field notes, June 2004).

When asked why they had joined UKA, the economic imperative was close to the hearts of many UKA members. The following were common responses

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<sup>19</sup> An urban district having corporate status and powers of self-government.

<sup>20</sup> For example, the women’s small business loan, fertiliser loan, *carabao* loan, and goat dispersal scheme.

“... to improve our lives ... to improve our financial situation ...” (field notes, June 2004)

The high level of tenancy in the *barangay* and the relative hardship associated with this status (compared to ownership) also encouraged farming families to join the people's organisation (the UKA), to participate in the available project components and to adopt farming strategies that would likely raise the livelihood status of their families.

### ***Degree of Resource Degradation and Resource Dependence***

The relatively degraded nature of the environment - especially land and water resources - and the high community dependency on those resources, encouraged the community to participate in the projects. One Katipunan farmer indicated that prior to the arrival of SWCF:

... just about everything [environmentally] was bad. People simply didn't realise the importance of the environment ... we just cut down trees, killed birds and didn't worry about the rivers or caves ... no-one was aware and no-one was making us aware that what we were doing was bad (interview 18/6/04).

Prior to the arrival of SWCF and the projects, there had been a substantial amount of environmental degradation. No specific soil conservation techniques had been used alongside cropping practices and it was noted that soil degradation, caused by soil erosion, was leading to decreasing harvests even though chemical fertilisers were routinely being applied.

### ***Access to Other Development Projects***

The limited availability of municipal projects in the *barangay* and the *barangay's* lack of access to other development projects was a significant factor strengthening the desire of *barangay* Katipunan to partner with SWCF and implement the projects. While the *barangay* had a kindergarten and primary school, a basic road for the transport of primary products, electricity connected to most houses and two deep-well pumps, the general impression by most *barangay* residents was that the municipal government had rarely implemented projects in the *barangay*. No other development organisations were offering projects in the area at the start of the Rotary project. Consequently, *barangay*

Katipunan leaders expressed a keen desire to partner SWCF and to access the project components initially discussed with them.

### **Degree of Trust in External Projects and Organisations**

Factors leading to distrust in the development organisation and non-participation in the projects included the poor experience of previous government-initiated development projects and, more significantly, the somewhat distressing experience of communist insurgency within the community prior to the arrival of the projects.

#### ***Experience of Development Organisations and Projects***

The experience of previous municipal development projects led some community members to distrust SWCF and initially choose a 'wait-and-see' or non-participation approach, especially with the first (Rotary) project. Some Katipunan residents said the projects might be like other 'government' projects they had seen. In their experience, government projects would start off well but then subsequently, come to a halt. Often, if construction of a project was completed, there would be no on-going maintenance provided by the government. This was the case with two government deep wells constructed in the *barangay* and which the PACAP project eventually maintained. The late arrival of project materials would often delay government or municipal projects affecting the subsequent enthusiasm of those communities for the projects.

The community's experience of a 'failed' municipal project in the *barangay*, which had promised much, but delivered nothing, encouraged the community to collaborate even more with SWCF. This project was the proposed construction of a solar drier<sup>21</sup> on the land adjacent to the *barangay* captain's house. The UKA members levelled the site and the local Department of Agriculture (DA) had promised to supply materials such as sand, reinforcing bars and cement. However, according to the incumbent mayor at the time, the procurement of materials was delayed "... due to the multifarious problems facing our country today" (SWCF, 2001a). The same mayor later commented that the project was delayed because of "... the temporary moratorium on all government projects due to the elections" (SWCF, 2001b). According to *barangay* Katipunan members, the incoming mayor was so upset at the *barangay* having supported the

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<sup>21</sup> A cement platform for drying rice and copra in the sun.

opposition candidate that the DA did not deliver the promised materials and the solar drier was never completed. The incumbent mayor's refusal to support the *barangay* thus indirectly enhanced the community's relationship and collaboration with SWCF.

Lack of previous SWCF projects near the Katipunan community led some residents, while reserving judgement on SWCF, not to participate in the Rotary project. Especially at the start of the Rotary project, there was no means for community members to objectively determine whether SWCF was going to be a reliable and trustworthy development organisation for them to partner. As one *barangay* resident aptly stated:

I wanted to monitor first what would happen [in the project] and if [the project] could have been bad for me (interview 18/6/04).

However the generally favourable community experience of the first (Rotary) project in the *barangay* had a positive influence on the desire of community members to participate in the second (PACAP) project.

Some UKA members chose a form of 'non-active participation' in the Rotary project due to their previous experience of municipal projects. A 'dependency mentality' had arisen among some community members associated with previous municipal projects in the *barangay*. Here, community members expected to receive a range of benefits with little or no personal investment being required. An example was the deep wells that the municipality had constructed. Once the Rotary project started some new UKA members queried the reason for having to pay water-user fees or the need for voluntary labour. Community members and SWCF held many discussions about the benefits of actively participating in the project rather than expecting 'everything to be free' as in previous government projects.

### ***Experience of Armed Conflict***

A substantial number of community members initially chose non-participation, especially in the Rotary project, due to concerns about the political affiliation and development motives of SWCF and their inability to initially trust SWCF. Background to the distrust were concerns about the political orientation of non-government organisations (NGOs). Some community members mentioned that in the late 1980s the

New People's Army (NPA) had set up 'bogus' NGOs in the Philippines as a means of infiltrating communities - but predominantly with the aim of gaining popular support for their struggle against the incumbent government of the time. There had also been communist insurgency activities occurring within the *barangay* with the NPA active in the Katipunan area from 1980 until approximately 1992. These activities predominantly consisted of house to house visitations at night - especially in the extremities of the *barangay* - for the purpose of obtaining food. It was exceptionally dangerous to refuse such 'requests'. Thus many wondered if SWCF was a communist or a 'bogus' organisation acting as a front for the NPA. On enquiring further what was associated with the word 'communist', community members mentioned 'Vietnam' and spoke of farmers there working as a collective, sharing everything and having few individual rights and freedoms.

One community member remembered SWCF staff offering to meet with *barangay* residents at night simply because people would be working in their fields during the day. Unfortunately, some residents wondered if SWCF was an NPA organisation because of their experience of the NPA requesting food at night. Another resident thought SWCF may be communist because the funds for the project were 'from overseas'. A previous *barangay* captain had also suggested SWCF may be communist during the Rotary project and his views dissuaded many people from becoming members of the UKA.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION**

The most significant development organisation factor influencing the desire of the community to participate in the projects was the degree to which the community was able to trust SWCF and its workers over time. Additionally, the degree of enthusiasm generated and maintained by SWCF, the extent of community ownership of the projects, and the sense of compulsion on the community to participate were also significant factors.

### **Degree to Which Development Organisation is Trusted by Community**

Various factors affected the ability of community members to build trust in SWCF and participate in the projects. Among these were SWCF's ability to clarify the objectives

of their organisation and the project's objectives to the community, the extent to which SWCF and community clarified and negotiated their expectations, and the degree of financial accountability of both SWCF and the UKA.

#### ***Ability to Clarify Development Organisation and Project Objectives for Community***

The process SWCF used to clarify and explain the objectives of the organisation and the projects to the community encouraged community members to participate in the projects. A few Katipunan residents were initially hesitant to participate in the Rotary project because they wondered if SWCF was secretly aiming to covertly explore and mine for gold in the *barangay*. However, a number of residents commented that they had become UKA members and participated in the projects because it was clear to them what the objectives of the projects were.

Apparently, SWCF field technicians spent considerable time trying to clearly explain - throughout both Rotary and PACAP projects - the objectives of the projects and SWCF to non-members. Sometimes this would occur during targeted house to house visitations to non-members. At other times, discussions with non-members would occur during informal gatherings such as weddings, baptisms and other celebrations. The fact that UKA members assisted in the formation of project plans for the year ahead would have led the community to more widely understand, adopt, and 'own' these project objectives.

#### ***Ability to Ensure Clarity of Expectations by All Parties***

The process that SWCF used to check and set expectations with the Katipunan community would have created clarity about what the project and SWCF technicians could achieve, with resultant willingness to participate in the project. Prior to the start of the Rotary project, SWCF explained what the project could and couldn't deliver. For example, SWCF said that it could not build roads or purchase insecticides. SWCF also explained that at least half of the fertiliser purchased would be organic and that the community would need to make a 30 percent counterpart contribution<sup>22</sup> toward the project.

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<sup>22</sup> Counterpart refers to labour, materials and cash - even rice and vegetables for farmer trainings. For example, the counterpart for the *carabao* (water buffalo) loan was a) the yearly insurance premium, b) a constructed *carabao* shed, c) labour for the shed, d) contour hedgerows constructed and e) borrower is an active member of the UKA.

SWCF field technicians also listened to the expectations of the community soon after their arrival in *barangay* Katipunan. The technicians did this by meeting with the *barangay* General Assembly and asking the assembly how they expected them to work. This process of ‘levelling off’ with the community led to less surprises and reasons for conflict later in the project and thus maintained the willingness of the community to participate in the projects.

### ***Financial Accountability and Transparency by All Parties***

Various systems for financial transparency and accountability in the projects assured high levels of trust amongst all project stakeholders, thus ensuring ongoing enthusiasm for and participation in the projects. For example, at the start of each project year SWCF technicians endeavoured to explain the project components, what actions were required for each component, and the required budgetary needs. As one field technician at Katipunan stated:

I needed to be very transparent about the budget so that [the UKA members] would not worry about the money (interview 27/6/04).

During the Rotary and PACAP projects UKA members were also encouraged to ask questions of the UKA board or SWCF technicians if they were unclear about any project finances or transactions. The reporting of financial statements to the monthly UKA General Assembly<sup>23</sup> occurred throughout both the Rotary and PACAP projects with members encouraged to seek clarification on any issue.

While the SWCF technician was responsible for coordinating any project purchases, they could not make these purchases alone. The technician would initially ‘canvass’ the prices of a required project input (for example, fertiliser or farm tools) from various suppliers. A request, presented to the *barangay* captain, detailed the exact purchases proposed and the budget requirement for each purchase. Money for the purchases was withdrawn when two signatures on the appropriate bank withdrawal slip were obtained - one from the technician, another from the *barangay* captain. Following the purchases, the original receipts were then submitted for inspection and any surplus funds returned to the appropriate project account.

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<sup>23</sup> A meeting for UKA members only.

## **Development Workers' Ability to Build Community Trust**

Choosing skilled field technicians indigenous to Bohol who were skilled, having those staff living within *barangay* Katipunan, retaining staff of high ethical standard, having constructive technician relationships with the community, and allowing the technicians to assist all community members regardless of UKA membership status all encouraged community participation in the projects.

### ***Development Worker Origin and Skills***

Field staff who were socially acceptable to the community, and who had valuable skills to offer, enhanced community trust in the technicians thus encouraging participation in the projects. Specifically, the technicians were Boholano graduates from the provincial/Bohol state college with one of the technicians having livestock/veterinary training while the other had experience in forestry. Both technicians therefore had significant skills to offer the community as well as having an excellent knowledge of the local language and customs. The SWCF development officer who had the initial discussions with *barangay* Katipunan to determine the community's interest in the Rotary project, is also a Boholana and thus able to speak the Boholano dialect. Her Boholano background was a substantial advantage when introducing SWCF to *barangay* Katipunan and in the on-going monitoring of the projects.

### ***Development Worker Commitment to Community***

The SWCF technicians, being required by SWCF to live within and become part of the Katipunan community, showed a high degree of commitment to *barangay* Katipunan, gaining community trust and encouraging collaboration with the projects. The Katipunan community became the sole focus of the technicians. By living within the community, the technicians were able to form positive relationships with the residents and better understood the factors that impinged upon the management of local natural resources within the *barangay*. Being on-site also allowed community members more access to the technicians so problems were addressed more immediately than if they had resided off-site. It was interesting to note however, that the Katipunan technicians often found this '24/7 availability' quite demanding, with potential implications on worker sustainability.

### ***Ethical Standards Exhibited by Development Worker***

The high ethical standards that both SWCF technicians had within the *barangay* built trust and respect for them as individuals and engendered a willingness of community members to join the projects. For example, while both technicians lived within *barangay* Katipunan, they also lived *separately* from community members in a small staff house constructed next to the communal nursery area. This living arrangement existed because in previous projects, technicians had sometimes paid excessively for the needs of their host families and these families had occasionally asked technicians for special favours. Previous projects had also found that issues of jealousy sometimes arose if a single technician lived with a married couple.

Both technicians also maintained high ethical standards during their time in the community. This meant for example, no alcohol while working, not drinking to excess after hours, and being completely honest. Neither technician attended cock-fighting meetings - where gambling occurred - as the community would have frowned upon this activity. Both were mostly unbiased in their treatment of community members and tried to encourage both male and female participation in the projects.

### ***Quality of Development Worker Relationship with Community***

The high degree of credibility and high quality of relationships that both technicians achieved with community members ultimately resulted in community members being able to trust the workers and enhanced community participation in the projects. Both SWCF technicians in Katipunan were accepted via the process of 'working and doing' - for example, assisting the community in building the nursery or helping water-user groups building pump sites, weeding the community tree farm or helping an *alayan* (work group) plant a soil conservation hedgerow (see photograph, page 138). Most UKA members interviewed spoke of both technicians as being "... hard-working ... active ... helpful ... a good leader ..." (field notes, June/July 2004). Residents also found the technicians "... understanding ... open ... approachable ... disciplined ... respectful ... like brothers ..." (field notes, June/July 2004). The technicians together with UKA leaders would often model an industrious and participatory spirit by being the first to start voluntary work. The impression of other development organisations on Bohol was that SWCF field staff were generally very capable, good at dealing with people, and keen to learn.

While UKA residents found SWCF's development officer rather frank<sup>24</sup> and strict regarding project implementation, there was also substantial respect for her as well. UKA members told stories of being somewhat apprehensive of the development officer's visits but also recognised that she had a strong commitment to, and desired the best for, their community and the projects. There was also significant respect for SWCF's executive director with comments such as "... always smiling ... loves people ... doesn't speak a bad word ..." being routinely expressed. A number of UKA members were impressed when the executive director taught contour farming in Katipunan, feeling pleased that he would personally attend to them in this manner. This personal effort by the executive director encouraged further participation in the projects.

Early attitudes of the one of the field technicians seem to have initially constrained community participation. Some Katipunan farmers found this technician to be rather boastful, tactless, and somewhat dictatorial at times. He tended to preside over UKA meetings and initially complete many UKA work activities by himself, not enlisting the participation and assistance of UKA members. This same technician admitted he found it initially difficult to 'convince and organise' the community. Thus SWCF's development officer, responsible for field personnel, had some visits to the *barangay* to work through these performance-related issues. Interestingly, the same technician, having livestock training, later earned substantial respect by immediately attending to urgent veterinary requests in the *barangay*.

#### ***Degree of Worker Assistance to All***

The extent to which the SWCF technicians assisted all *barangay* residents, regardless of UKA membership status, encouraged some non-members to participate in the projects. While the technicians spent time with UKA members personally demonstrating how to use technologies introduced by the project to the community - such as the establishment of contour hedgerows to halt erosion - the technicians would also make an effort to help non-members as well. For example, many *barangay* members commented that one of the technicians was especially helpful in attending to sick animals regardless of membership status. A number of non-members were very impressed with this assistance and soon thereafter, became UKA members, thus gaining full access to the project components. Everyone, regardless of membership status, was also welcome to

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<sup>24</sup> Not a typical Filipino trait.

attend the animal clinics,<sup>25</sup> though non-members were required to pay more for animal services than non-members.

‘Selective participation’ by one of the technicians may have impacted unfavourably on the willingness of non-members to join the Rotary project or in the enthusiasm of other UKA members to collaborate with the project. The technician seemed to have a selective approach to the residents with whom he worked, with an evaluation finding that he was working almost solely with identified leaders of the community. Furthermore, there also seemed to be a tendency for some of these leaders to influence the better judgement of the technician so as to support their private interests. The recommendation from SWCF’s senior management to the technician at the time was to spend more time with other community members.

### **Degree of Enthusiasm Generated by Development Organisation**

SWCF generated enthusiasm for the projects by allowing direct access to project funding by local field staff and the UKA, creating early and ongoing success, solving problems quickly, and treating project ‘failure’ as learning experiences.

### ***Degree to Which Project Commitments Delivered***

The direct access that SWCF field staff and the UKA had to project funding, and the subsequent success of the project in delivering on project commitments in a timely fashion, was fundamental to retaining enthusiasm for, and participation in, the projects. SWCF placed project funds as near as possible to the *barangay*, in this case depositing project funds into a bank account at the First Consolidated Bank of Bohol, Sagbayan five kilometres from the *barangay*. This system of having funds locally based allowed quick funds access, saved significant time and expense for local SWCF staff and UKA leaders, and guaranteed more reliable implementation of project components. Funds could be easily withdrawn to make appropriate project purchases so as to deliver in time on project commitments. This stands in contrast to another Filipino NGO in the area which used a more centralised budget administration. This resulted in their field staff spending significant amounts of time travelling to Bohol’s capital from the field,

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<sup>25</sup> Predominantly for deworming and injecting ‘vitamins’ into animals.

justifying their need for funds, and obtaining necessary finances for purchases. The result was that 'less was achieved' in the projects partnered by this NGO.

### ***Ability to Achieve Early and Ongoing Success in Project***

Achieving early and on-going success in the projects built enthusiasm for, and encouraged participation in, the projects. One example of early success was the relatively early capping of a number of open wells in the Rotary project together with the associated construction of shallow-well pumps connected to the wells (see photograph, page 138). This resulted in an immediate decrease in water-borne disease in the community. Another example was the training Katipunan farmers received in contour farming technology for controlling soil erosion. Feelings of success and confidence followed as farmers quickly saw how the contour hedgerows not only halted erosion but provided high quality feed for their livestock. A number of UKA members also commented on the value and encouragement they received in having 'cross-visits' to other successful projects and training institutions.

Starting with a few, simple, attainable project components in the first (Rotary) project not only led to success in this project but also led to enthusiasm for participating in the second (PACAP) project. Hence, through the Rotary project, the UKA learnt to effectively manage and accomplish relatively simple project plans, giving them the ability to plan and manage larger goals in the PACAP project.

The PACAP project found that celebrating success led to further enthusiasm for participating in the project. For example, Farmers' Field Days were held in Katipunan during Year 1 and 2 of the PACAP project. Each of the *sitios* constructed a display of all their products. The invited guests from Sagbayan were 'amazed' that *barangay* Katipunan could generate such products. As the PACAP project progressed, the Department of Agriculture (DA) began treating *barangay* Katipunan as a potential development model which other parts of the municipality could follow. The DA held trainings and conferences in the *barangay* and consequently more people became aware of the project. According to SWCF, this raised UKA members' self-esteem and enthusiasm for the projects.

### ***Ability to Successfully Manage Problems in Project***

Dealing quickly and successfully with problems that arose in the projects - problems predominantly associated with relationships or people - retained enthusiasm and collaboration with the projects. The SWCF development officer in her regular visits to Katipunan, especially during the early phases of each project, would monitor SWCF field staff performance. She then would immediately raise performance issues with the technicians and agree on a plan of action with the workers. This was helpful in the case of one worker whom the community found to be rather dictatorial.

SWCF also dealt swiftly with a case of fraud occurring within the Rotary project. Here, a UKA member had 'siphoned off' finances for personal use. Due to the status of the perpetrator in the community, and the potential repercussions on *barangay* families of challenging the perpetrator, UKA members felt they were unable to confront the individual involved. Two senior SWCF staff took on this role and demanded formal redress from the perpetrator.

### ***Degree to Which Technology Implementation is Supported***

The high standards set for technologies introduced through the projects together with the strong degree of support by the development organisation generated and maintained enthusiasm for the technologies and aided project participation. An example was the soil conservation contour hedgerows where SWCF had observed farmers in other project sites sometimes labelling the technology as a failure when soil erosion continued to occur. It seemed that one bad experience with the technology tended to spread faster than many success stories. On visiting farmers' fields, common failures observed were either that the intra-row hedgerow cuttings had been spaced too widely allowing soil to erode through the hedgerow or that the hedgerows had not been continued to the extreme edge of the field - allowing surface flow of soil around the end of the hedgerow. SWCF technicians and senior staff spent considerable time checking hedgerows in *barangay* Katipunan and ensuring that the implementation of hedgerow technology achieved a high standard.

### ***Degree to Which a Learning-Process Approach is Used***

The ability of SWCF to treat project failures as opportunities for learning rather than 'catastrophes' maintained enthusiasm for the projects and the desire of the members to

participate further in the projects. While project ‘failures’ occurred throughout both projects it seemed that neither SWCF senior staff, field technicians, nor community members saw these poor outcomes as ultimately ‘negative’ experiences but rather, as opportunities to learn and improve future project implementation.

The communal piggery<sup>26</sup> is one example of how ‘failure’ was treated as ‘learning’ in the PACAP project. Here, the association found over a two year period that this component was non-profitable due to a) the high death rate of piglets b) the excessive remuneration going to the caretakers and c) the relatively high cost of commercial feeds. At the end of two years this project component was simply ‘realigned’ to a fattening scheme where piglets could be purchased by members via a loan. The piglets were then fattened, sold for a profit, and the loan repaid.

Another example at the start of the Rotary project is that of the fertiliser loan. The fertiliser loan (for rice or maize production) was initially ‘in kind’ whereby the UKA purchased the fertiliser on behalf of the farmers and the farmers paid back cash at harvest time. The UKA determined the number of bags for purchase by the quantity of bags ordered by the farmers. Unfortunately during one season the UKA had to carry over a number of bags of fertiliser when some farmers chose not to uplift their fertiliser orders. From then on the fertiliser loan was ‘realigned’ to a cash-only basis where farmers could only take out a cash-based fertiliser loan.

### **Extent to Which Development Organisation is Able to Establish Community Ownership of Projects**

Community involvement in terms of need assessment, projects design and implementation, all led to enhanced community ownership of, and participation in the projects.

### ***Degree to Which Community is Involved in Determining Needs***

The significant extent to which the community was involved in determining their own needs led to a high degree of ownership and encouraged community participation in the projects. SWCF felt that the Katipunan community should be intimately involved in the

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<sup>26</sup> The farming of sows and a boar in a communal piggery to produce piglets.

process of identifying their own problems and complete its own initial needs assessment. At the start of the Rotary project, six community members were given a one-day training on how to conduct a Rapid Rural Survey Appraisal (RRSA) - the survey results are contained in Appendix 1. The survey allowed the Katipunan community to determine the key problems affecting the community. The information became the basis for deciding what project components to prioritise in the Rotary project.

### ***Degree of Consultation with Community Regarding Project Components***

SWCF consulted the community regarding project components and displayed a willingness to modify these components. This resulted in a better match between felt needs and project components, creating a higher level of ownership and participation in the projects. For the first year of the Rotary project SWCF prepared an initial proposal and budget for approval by Rotary International even though it was not immediately clear which specific *barangay* in Sagbayan municipality was going to be selected as the project site. However, after selecting *barangay* Katipunan, the *barangay* leaders and SWCF held discussions regarding the specific project components and implementation plans. While the *barangay* members had 'basically agreed with what was in the budget', SWCF and the UKA modified some of these plans. This included removing the proposed *carabao* (water buffalo) dispersal scheme and assigning more funds to water development and pig fattening. The community also asked for adult literacy classes and these were added to the project implementation plan.

A significant number of UKA members interviewed commented that they felt SWCF had consulted UKA members well during the project so that "... it wasn't SWCF's project any more" (community leader; interview 15/6/04). This implies that some UKA members had developed some sense of ownership in the project. From the second year of the Rotary project and throughout the entire PACAP project there were intensive consultations with UKA members to ensure that the UKA had a significant degree of impact on the project's direction and such that the project components matched members' felt needs. AusAID/PACAP's programme officer observed that one of SWCF's strengths was how it facilitated the community's analysis of its own needs and helped it determine the types of project components needed to meet those needs.

### ***Degree to Which Community is Involved in Project Decision-Making, Implementing and Monitoring***

The increasing responsibility of the community in project decision making and its critical role in project implementation and monitoring built authentic ownership and participation in the projects. While the SWCF field technicians made or significantly influenced a large number of the early implementation decisions, this reduced substantially as they handed over more of the responsibility and direct running of the project components to the UKA. However, while most of the activities were theoretically the responsibility of the UKA chairman and board toward the end of the projects, the field technicians, especially in the first (Rotary) project, still had a considerable amount of influence on the project decisions and direction.

One means by which active participation in the Katipunan projects occurred was by the creation of various committees to oversee implementation and monitoring of the project components. UKA board members were responsible for chairing and overseeing the functions of each committee. The committee structure provided an opportunity for members to run a section of the people's organisation with its challenges and problems, taught people how to collaborate with each other, and gave a critical sense of project ownership.

The UKA was central in the process for deciding who would be the initial recipients in highly sought-after project components. An example was the *carabao* (water buffalo) loan component. The UKA board meetings were the forum for initially identifying farmers who wanted to take out *carabao* loans. The number of farmer applicants was always greater than the loan funds available so applicants would then be short-listed and those farmers presented to the UKA General Assembly for final consideration and approval. Once the assembly agreed upon the final list, it gave farmer recipients the opportunity to participate in the selection of their respective *carabao*. Farmer involvement in the selection process prevented accusations that either UKA leaders or SWCF technicians had chosen inferior quality animals.

UKA participation in the monitoring of the projects occurred primarily through the UKA committees and SWCF technicians taking responsibility for the day-to-day monitoring of the various project components. For example, the credit committee

would monitor loan repayments and, in association with the SWCF technician, following up any loan defaulters.

### ***Level of Commitment Required from Community***

SWCF required certain commitments or investments of the UKA throughout the projects and while this led to a form of instrumental participation in the projects, the community also gained a sense of ownership in the projects. SWCF asked *barangay* Katipunan leaders, in the context of pre-project discussions, whether they would like the Rotary project or not. Such a question and discussion, while possibly of some surprise to the community, is likely to have led the community to make a clear commitment to proactively partner SWCF in implementing the projects. In order to clarify the level of community interest, SWCF also required a *barangay* council resolution welcoming them to the community.

One investment required of the community was the need to form a people's organisation. SWCF recommended the formation of some form of community organisation in the *barangay* at the start of the Rotary project. In the case of *barangay* Katipunan, the community members formed the Uswag Katipunan Association (UKA) in 1995 with the UKA seen as the primary vehicle for the sustainability of the project. SWCF believed that the UKA would be less open to political influence than local political structures and that the UKA could develop a set of community leaders that transcended *barangay* or municipal elections.

Given that water had been predominantly sourced from open wells prior to the arrival of the Rotary project - with resultant diseases - one of the early needs expressed by community members was for safe water supply in the *barangay*. Prior to well development and the construction of shallow-well pump sites, the establishment of water-users associations was required - another example of an investment required by the community. These membership-based associations contributed voluntary labour to construct the pump sites and were required to pay P2.50 per month per family to establish a pump maintenance fund.

SWCF also alerted the Katipunan community, in initial discussions about the Rotary project, that nothing would be given away in the project without a community

'counterpart' or investment being required of the UKA. The objective was for UKA members to gain a sense of ownership, achievement and participation in the Katipunan project. While training farmers in planting contour hedgerows and supplying initial cutting material, SWCF staff would request the farmer to demonstrate the technology to their neighbour and furnish the same amount of cuttings plus ten percent in the process. SWCF also believed that counterpart contributions would measure how sincere and determined the community was to make this particular component work. Having to 'work hard' for a project component also seemed to ensure that the particular component would be well cared for in the future. An example was the Katipunan elf truck for which the UKA had to raise ten percent of the P350,000.00 purchase price. It was apparent during the research (occurring one year after the end of the PACAP project) that the UKA was using this truck carefully and maintaining it well.

### ***Degree to Which Community is Compelled to Participate***

At times a significant degree of compulsion on the community enforced instrumental participation by UKA members in the projects. The impression was that the field technicians felt reasonably driven to accomplish the yearly project implementation plans and associated quarterly work plans. This was probably because SWCF linked the technician's work progress and performance to the successful completion of quarterly work plans. One technician stated for example that, prior to holding a training, he would visit each house and 'convince' the people to attend. A UKA board member indicated that towards the end of the PACAP project

“... [the technician] would complete the accomplishment reports. He would pressure us because he was being pressured by SWCF” (interview 6/7/04).

Some UKA leaders mentioned that SWCF could have transferred to another area if there had been insufficient community interest in the projects. The AusAID/PACAP programme officer also mentioned that in her second visit to the PACAP-funded project that she had continued to observe relatively low community participation in the project. She mentioned to participants during the evaluation that this was unsatisfactory and that community members needed to participate because “...this project is for you, not for us” (interview 19/7/04).

The threat of 'removal of benefits' was made during the early stages of the PACAP project. This occurred when some members of one water-users group were reluctant to pay the P2.50 per household per month fee for pump maintenance. This group was only 'convinced' to pay up when the field technician arrived with a spanner to remove the pump handle so that the pump could no longer be used.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

The large extent to which the projects met the felt needs of *barangay* Katipunan was the most significant project-related factor encouraging community participation in the projects. Other factors included the extent to which non-member targeting occurred, and the degree to which strategic incentives and disincentives motivated member participation in project components. In contrast, the perceived high costs associated with membership led to non-membership in the UKA and non-participation in the projects.

### **Degree to Which Project Meets Felt Needs**

The high degree to which the range of project components explicitly met community needs substantially encouraged community participation in the projects. Many UKA members commented that they felt that SWCF and the project components had specifically met their needs. An example was the need for potable drinking water within the *barangay*. The community survey and early discussions with *barangay* Katipunan residents indicated that lack of water was a major problem, with residents having to walk up to a kilometre to obtain potable water during the summer. Other *barangay* residents indicated that, prior to the start of the project, many open wells were unsafe to drink from and that many people became sick through water-borne disease such as cholera. Given the undisputed need for potable water, this was a factor strengthening community participation in water-users groups and the construction of pump sites.

Implementing technologies that were most appropriate to the needs of the community also engendered participation within the community. The initial community survey had indicated that most farming families were tenants rather than land owners. Rather than focusing on land-based technologies that would add significant benefit to land owners,

the projects focused on predominantly livestock-based project components. These project components allowed the tenants to retain the benefits of the projects rather than the land owner taking a proportion of the benefits. Hence the projects undertook pig, cattle and goat dispersals together with loans for *carabao* and pigs. The project also pursued some appropriate land-based technologies that also met felt need. Possibly the best example of this was the use of contour farming. SWCF demonstrated how to plant a variety of forage species (predominantly Napier grass) along the contour of sloping land together with crops such as maize planted between these contours. This technology was being widely used by *barangay* members during the research.

Many residents chose to participate in the projects because a number of project components - such as the *carabao*, fertiliser, and women's small business enterprise loans - specifically met the need for regular, low-interest, no-collateral loans within the *barangay*. While various forms of informal credit were available in the local municipality of Sagbayan,<sup>27</sup> it was apparent that most Katipunan residents rarely used these credit sources. This may have been due to the minimal collateral that these predominantly tenanted farmers could offer. A further disincentive to availing themselves of local credit was that these sources charged up to 20 percent interest per month. While *biray* and *gala* associations met large familial credit requirements through borrowing from relatives, these funds were not regularly available to families.

Interestingly, the relatively high interest originally charged by the credit/loan components of the Rotary project led to only few UKA members desiring to initially participate in these components. For example, the fertiliser loan programme, implemented in November 1995, found that by early 1996 only a few UKA members had availed themselves of loans. This was predominantly because the interest rates (10 percent per month or 120 percent per annum) were similar to that of existing informal sources. SWCF commented that poorer members of UKA would find it difficult to repay such loans and recommended to the UKA to lower the interest rates so as to be more competitive with local lenders. Subsequently, the UKA lowered the interest rate to five percent, payable at the end of four months, and significantly more members began to avail themselves of loan funds.

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<sup>27</sup> The "five-six" being the most spoken of - in which, if five parts are borrowed, six are returned in one to three months' time. Other credit schemes such as *pantanto* and *araw-araw* were also available.

Many UKA members commented that simply having access to project components was a substantive incentive for them to become members of UKA and to participate in the project itself. A range of comments from UKA members indicated that there was a clear incentive for joining the UKA:

If you're not a member, you can't get hold of money...if you're not a member you don't enjoy the benefits...people became members if they wanted to take advantage of the projects...there were lots of projects and that's why we joined [the UKA]...when it came time to plant rice, [people] would become members to get loans for fertiliser (field notes, June 2004).

### **Degree of Community Inclusion**

While the membership selection process and perceived lack of sufficient project information resulted in some residents not joining the UKA and participating in the projects, the high degree to which women were targeted in the second project encouraged many women to participate.

### ***Process for Membership Selection***

The membership screening process, instigated by the UKA board to determine whether residents could become UKA members (and therefore participate in the projects), prevented some residents from participating in the projects. During the selection process, non-members were required to complete an application form outlining reasons for wanting to join the UKA. The UKA board then considered the application. Some UKA board members commented that it was 'quite obvious' that some community members were applying for entirely selfish reasons - predominantly to access personal loans. Board members felt that these individuals neither had plans to 'grow the UKA' nor be involved in the volunteer work that was required to maintain the organisation and project components so membership was denied. In other cases, the UKA allowed community members to join and their membership revoked if they were clearly not assisting the progress of the people's organisation.

### ***Degree to Which Non-Members are Informed of Membership Benefits***

Many non-members of the UKA felt uninformed about the benefits of membership and elected not to become UKA members. Most non-members expressed the opinion that

the SWCF projects 'seemed to come and go'<sup>28</sup> hearing little news or information about the projects. Other non-members felt poorly informed about the projects and even ignored by UKA members and SWCF despite SWCF field technicians living in *barangay* Katipunan having an active programme of non-member house to house visitation during both projects. Some non-members also mentioned that members had simply exhorted them to 'become a member' rather than clearly explaining the benefits and the process of becoming a member. Other non-members explained they had never been asked to become members. Presumably if a question like this had been put to these non-members, a discussion may have ensued persuading some to join the UKA.

Some non-members suggested that SWCF could have held a specific meeting to explain what UKA membership involved. One non-member related that in the early stages of the Rotary project, while a brief discussion about UKA membership was held as part of the *barangay* General Assembly (open to all *barangay* residents regardless if UKA membership), those *barangay* residents who were interested were invited to attend a future UKA meeting. The same non-member suggested that spending more time at a *barangay* General Assembly explaining the project objectives and the process of membership could have encouraged more non-members to join the UKA.

### ***Degree of Gender Targeting***

The extent to which the PACAP project explicitly targeted women led directly to a significant number of women electing to participate in this project. During the Rotary project, SWCF observed that women mostly did *not* work in the fields with their husbands and, moreover, that women often had spare time during the day - time that could potentially be invested into the development of small businesses. Hence, the PACAP project proposal incorporated a women's small business loan<sup>29</sup> component. Many women participated in this project component making it, with a 100 percent repayment rate, one of the most successful components in PACAP project.

One lady in the women's small business loan project, making very little profit from manufacturing and selling rattan mats, when asked if she really wanted to continue with

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<sup>28</sup> Even though the Rotary and PACAP-funded projects were operating over approximately six and a half years of an eight-year (1995-2003) period.

<sup>29</sup> Loans were used for example in vegetable production, cooking fried bananas, rattan mat weaving, and the purchase of piglets for fattening.

her business, responded “I am already a business woman ... I am selling mats” (interview 6/6/04). It was apparent that this lady and many other women had gained significant self-esteem and self-confidence from being able to run their own businesses and to provide more income so as to supplement the livelihood needs of their families. It was clear there was strong desire by many women to participate in this component of the project.

### **Degree to Which Incentives or Disincentives were Used with Members**

While the use of strategic non-financial incentives encouraged UKA members to participate in voluntary work activities, a range of financial disincentives also provided motivation for members to participate in UKA meetings and voluntary work sessions.

#### ***Degree of Incentive for Member Participation***

SWCF successfully used some non-financial incentives to encourage participation of members in ‘voluntary’ work sessions<sup>30</sup> of the UKA. Early in the Rotary project SWCF noted that, at times, participation in communal project activities requiring voluntary labour was ‘sagging’. According to community members, this non-attendance was in part due to no ‘representation allowance’ (wages for labour) being available for attendees. To compensate, the field technician suggested that SWCF would supply ‘snacks’ during the day for participants. Subsequently, attendance and punctuality improved and people worked with more passion during these voluntary activities.

An innovative idea introduced by AusAID into their PACAP-funded projects involved SWCF receiving up to a maximum of 50 percent of the capital for income generating projects.<sup>31</sup> SWCF eventually requested and received approximately 30 percent of the capital fund prior to handing complete control of project funds to the UKA. While it is likely that the sharing of capital funds was a significant incentive for SWCF to obtain successful outcomes in the Katipunan projects, it unclear if or how this would have enhanced community participation.

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<sup>30</sup> ‘Voluntary’ in the sense that members were not paid, but attendance was compulsory nonetheless. This work included labour in the *barangay* communal forest, UKA nursery, rice mill and other activities.

<sup>31</sup> Examples of qualifying project components were all revolving funds (such as the fertiliser and women’s small business loans), income generating infrastructures (rice mill and warehouse) and income from the elf truck.

### ***Level of Penalty for Member Non-Performance***

Assigning penalties or disincentives for those UKA members not performing or participating to previously agreed standards was an effective means of motivating participation in various voluntary aspects of the projects. An example was the system of infringement fines. Sometimes members would not attend voluntary work sessions and failed to present a significant reason for absence. Here, the UKA established a P25.00 (NZ\$0.71) fine for non-attendance at the nursery and a P60.00 (NZ\$1.71) fine for non-attendance at rice mill duty. Another example was the disincentive for late payment of loans. During the PACAP project a P20.00 (NZ\$0.57) per day fine was established for late-payment of *carabao* loans. There were subsequently no problems with late payment of *carabao* loans.

During the Rotary and PACAP projects the SWCF technician together with a UKA board member would visit loan defaulters. The visit would uncover the circumstances of the loan default and agreeing on a payment plan. If further non-payment occurred, the loan defaulter would be taken to the *barangay* captain with the last resort being prosecution at the municipal level. This last level of disincentive was never used in the project.

### **Extent of Cost to or Demands of Membership**

The perceived excessive financial cost of UKA membership, time and social costs associated with voluntary work obligations, physical demands on older residents, and the aversion to financial risk, led to some non-membership in the UKA and non-participation in the projects.

### ***Extent of Financial Cost to Membership***

Some non-members were discouraged from participating in the projects due to their perception that the financial costs of membership were excessive. Most non-members were aware of the membership fee required for joining the UKA. While the membership fee was a relatively small P35.00 (NZ\$1.00) in 1995, this was subsequently raised in 1999 to P150.00 (NZ\$4.29) to recognise the substantial hours invested by early UKA members into the many start-up activities<sup>32</sup> requiring voluntary labour. A capital

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<sup>32</sup> For example, building the nursery house and planting the communal tree farm.

build-up fee<sup>33</sup> of P150.00 (NZ\$4.29) was also instigated in 1999 as a means of building the capital base of the UKA and acquiring further funds for loaning. Thus the total capital required for initiating membership from 1999 onward was P300.00 (NZ\$8.57).

Some non-members mentioned they were discouraged from becoming members due to the P20.00 (NZ\$0.57) fines imposed on members for non-attendance at UKA meetings while other non-members were dissuaded from membership by the fines for non-attendance at voluntary work sessions.

### ***Extent of Time and Social Costs to Membership***

Some non-members were dissuaded from joining the UKA because of the perceived time requirements and social costs associated with attending compulsory UKA General Assemblies and 'voluntary' work. Some non-members, especially those toward the extremities of the *barangay*, felt it would be difficult for them to attend meetings, especially meetings called at night, where access along dark and sometimes slippery walking tracks could be an issue. A few non-members similarly observed that most of the members of the UKA were people living nearer to the centre of the *barangay*. Another key participant indicated that they knew of a farmer interested in joining the UKA but had chosen not to join because of the relative distance to the *centro*<sup>34</sup> to attend UKA meetings.

Some non-members commented that if 'voluntary' work was required of UKA members that those living far from the *centro* might find it difficult to attend. Other non-members indicated that the voluntary work requirement specifically discouraged them from joining the UKA. They felt the progress of work on their own properties would be disadvantaged if they had to attend voluntary work sessions or that they didn't want to add to their current work load. Some women felt that it would be impossible for them to attend voluntary work sessions, adequately care for children, and attend to household chores at the same time while other women were concerned about not being able to meet social obligations such as hosting unexpected visits from distant relatives.

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<sup>33</sup> The purpose of this fee was to have further funds available for loaning.

<sup>34</sup> The centre of the *barangay*.

### ***Physical Demands Required of Community***

Older non-member respondents, thinking they would be unable to bear the physical demands of some forms of voluntary labour, especially work in the communal tree farm, chose to remain non-members of the UKA. One farming couple mentioned:

One person initially thought that [SWCF] were communists and would not join the UKA and by the time he was comfortable with SWCF, he felt he was too old to join (interview 15/6/04).

Another older resident said her eyesight was too poor to be able to undertake physical work. Interestingly, on clarifying this 'frailty' issue with several UKA board members, it was clear that even older/frailer community members could be assigned non-demanding physical tasks - such as food preparation - or their children could be sent to undertake voluntary work on their behalf.

### ***Financial Risk Required of Community***

One cost associated with membership, and a significant reason for some non-membership, was the risk that members had to bear in accessing the loan components of the projects. Some residents were extremely hesitant to go into any form of debt, even relatively minor debt with local *sari-sari*<sup>35</sup> stores. The hesitancy to have any debt is inferred in the following statement from one non-member of the UKA:

Members can get a loan but they have to pay back the debt; even though I am not a member, I have no debt (interview 21/6/04).

Interestingly, the provision of loans<sup>36</sup> was a key objective and focus of many of the Rotary and PACAP project components. However, a number of non-members expressed concern that they may be unable to repay loans in time due to lack of fixed income. The repayment of *carabao* loans for example, while attracting no interest at all, was required on a monthly basis. The uncertainty of generating monthly income (in between rice harvests) to service such debt probably led to this concern.

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<sup>35</sup> Small store selling a variety of small household goods.

<sup>36</sup> Such as a fertiliser loan, women's small business loan and *carabao* loan. The fertiliser and women's small loans charged between 5-10 percent interest payable in four months' time, for example after rice harvest or a piglet being sold.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

High social cohesion was most significant community-related factor encouraging membership of the UKA and participation in the projects. Factors influencing social cohesion included the long history of indigenous organisations, the significant religious homogenisation, the large degree of *barangay* 'relatedness', and the high calibre *barangay* leadership. The significant community need, poor resource quality, high resource dependence, and limited access to other development projects were other drivers encouraging community participation in the projects. Some residents' experience of previous government-funded development or insurgency led to initial non-participation in the Rotary project and to others joining without being willing to make personal resource investments.

A range of factors associated with SWCF influenced the desire of *barangay* members to join the UKA and participate in the projects. The degree of trust in SWCF and their workers had the most bearing on the participation by *barangay* members. Most significantly, the ability of SWCF to clarify its own objectives and the objectives of the projects were important in encouraging participation. The NGO workers' local background, accommodation within the community, their relationship to the community, and their assistance to all community members were all significant issues affecting participation in the projects. The degree of enthusiasm generated by SWCF, the extent of community ownership of the projects and the degree of compulsion were also influencing factors.

A variety of project characteristics also affected community participation, the most significant of these being the ability of the projects to meet felt needs, generating further interest within the community. Others included the process of membership selection, the degree to which non-members felt informed of membership benefits, and the extent of gender targeting. A variety of incentives and penalties also motivated participation in the projects.

The factors leading to non-participation in the projects were predominantly concerns about the costs of membership and concerns about compulsory labour or meeting attendance. Non-members also mentioned old age and the inability to meet the perceived physical demands of membership, personal work obligations and other

familial responsibilities as reasons for non-membership. The following discussion chapter will compare and contrast the existing literature on participation with this case study. Given the relative paucity of empirical research to date on participation, there are some interesting implications from the research for enacting participation in development projects.

## **CHAPTER 6. ACTION AND THEORY EXAMINED**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The literature review in Chapter 2, presented the theoretical history, typologies, and definitions of participation, the cases for and against participation, and the factors influencing the participation of people in development. Chapter 5 presented the results associated with the field research in the Philippines using a framework of three development 'actors'. In this framework, the nature of participation in the development projects is dependent upon the 'community' - its history, culture, previous development experience, the resource base and its dependency on it; upon the 'development organisation' - the type and style of development organisation and their workers; and upon the 'project' - its structure and form and how the project is identified, implemented, and evaluated.

It is apparent that much development literature on participation explores the pitfalls, problems and inconsistencies of participation. However the literature rarely offers substantive guidance as to how to practice participatory development in a more robust, transformative fashion. Nor has there been much empirical research determining what it is that enhances community participation. In an effort to redress this imbalance, and as a means to answer the research question, the following discussion, by comparing and contrasting the literature with the gathered data, provides some insights into theory and practice for participation in development projects. To provide consistency and linkage to chapter 5, the three-actor framework of 'community' (*barangay* Katipunan), 'development organisation' (Soil and Water Conservation Foundation) and 'projects' (Rotary and PACAP projects) is used for discussing the results.

### **THE COMMUNITY**

#### **Extent of Social Cohesion**

Previous research found that efforts to encourage community participation in development projects were more successful where community-based organisations already existed in the community (Costa et al., 1997:141; Williams, 1997:160). This case concurs, finding that membership of the existing community organisations

produced the participatory and organisational mindset needed for individuals to effectively collaborate with each other in the development projects. Also, membership in the existing indigenous credit organisations would have provided some financial management skills helpful for managing the credit components of the projects. While Paul (1987) found that some communities may not have a social tradition supportive of community participation, in this case such tradition was very supportive of community collaboration within the projects.

Interestingly, much of the literature to date uses the term 'beneficiary' in referring to target communities (Bond and Hulme, 1999; Botes and van Rensburg, 2000; Carroll, 1992; Cooke and Kothari, 2001; Eversole, 2003; Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989; Uphoff, 1991; Williams, 1997; Williams et al., 2003). Similarly, Narayan (1995:48-54) suggests that successful projects are those that have greater 'beneficiary organisation', this term being used to describe pre-existent community organisations. The 'beneficiary' terminology, used predominantly by external development agents and the 'development industry', tends to reinforce a giver-receiver, upper-lower and an ultimately non-participatory mindset especially within the external organisations implementing development projects. The use of the term 'existing community organisations' here and in chapter 5, while significantly more simplistic, seems to be a more inclusive terminology.

While Narayan (1995:48-49) found that successful projects were those where traditional organisations were used, this research finds that, due to the high degree of social cohesion in the community, *not* using existing community organisations did not constrain participation in the development projects. Instead, the formation of a people's organisation (PO) as partner-implementer (with the NGO) of the projects, and requiring membership of the PO to access the projects, may have achieved a broader inclusion of various community groups than existing community organisations given that the projects had a livelihood and natural resource management focus. In my experience it is not unusual for NGO-initiated development projects in the Philippines to form new community-based organisations such as a PO as part of a project implementation strategy rather than using existing community organisations. This may be because NGOs desire some control or influence over the development process or the perception

that project-initiated POs may more effectively achieve the objectives of development projects.

None of the literature commented on how 'relatedness' - the degree to which community members are related by blood or marriage - can impact on the willingness of communities to participate in development projects. However Narayan (1995:53) observes that community conflict and factionalism can have significant implications for community solidarity and their ability to implement projects successfully. Njoh (2002:243) found that internal conflicts led to the inability of 'native and non-native' groups to work together. This research indicates that the high level of community relatedness ensured minimal conflict resulting in good community collaboration in the projects. While this research indicates that relatedness aided community participation *in this context*, it alternatively could have led to significant non-collaboration in the projects if there had been clan-based or other types of conflict within the community. What was unexplored in the research process was how non-members and members were related and whether 'relatedness' hindered participation in any manner. While members or non-members never raised relatedness as an issue hindering membership, it may be that a high proportion of PO members were related and that non-members were being excluded due to familial issues or that they viewed themselves as 'outsiders'.

Gow and VanSant (1983:431) indicate that historical differences between community members can constrain effective participation within communities. This research also found this to be the case where participation was constrained especially during local election periods. Like Brohman (1996:271), this research supports the contention that internal community relations can substantially affect participation.

Like Narayan (1995:53), this research finds that 'strong leadership' within the community was a significant factor initiating community participation in the projects. The 'strong leadership' characteristic occurred predominantly through one individual, especially at initiation of the first project. Similar leadership qualities grew within the community as the projects progressed. Like Williams (1997:157), this research observes that the projects were more successful because of community leadership support for the projects. Previous literature suggests that leaders can be 'gatekeepers' - determining if and how participation will occur, who participates and how they

participate (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:49; Costa et al., 1997:140). In this case however, a key community leader (the *barangay* captain), rather than being a 'gatekeeper', acted more like a 'gate-opener' in terms of attracting the NGO to the community, and by encouraging PO membership and broad community participation in the projects. That the development organisation formed constructive relationships with supportive community leaders was also found to be important for achieving project participation.

### **Extent of Community Need**

The extent of economic hardship is not generally analysed in literature on participation or in empirical research. Nevertheless, meeting community felt need has been long recognised as an essential prerequisite to communities desiring to participate in development projects (Oakley, 1991a). Like Narayan (1995:2), in this case the demand for 'project services' greatly influenced community participation, indicating that the high level of tenancy and significant economic hardship in the community led residents to participate in the projects. However, the level of demand or the 'intention to participate' only became 'active participation' because project components genuinely matched the felt needs of the community. The case supports Narayan (1995:2) who found that communities participated in project activities more readily where affordable services matched felt need. This research also suggests that if the level of economic hardship in the community had been minimal, that participation in the projects may also have been substantially lower due to less need.

Lise (2000:388-390), in a study of participatory forest management in India, found that as resource dependency and resource quality increased so did participation in a communal forestry project. The case study similarly indicates that the high resource dependency of the community led to participation in the project components with the objectives of both enhancing natural resources and lessening resource dependency. Unlike Lise however, this research found that participation increased as the quality of land and water resources *decreased*. While this finding suggests that decreasing resource quality can substantially motivate those dependent on such resources to find resource-improvement solutions, this research does not confirm, as Lise suggests, if increasing resource quality through the course of the two projects also enhanced participation. The research also suggests that the NGO's awareness of the poor resource

quality was a significant factor influencing their desire to work with the community - given that the NGO had a primary focus on natural resource management (NRM). This NRM focus affected the type of components desired or planned by the NGO for incorporation into the projects - for example, the soil conservation technology used within both projects.

There is little research on how the availability of other development initiatives to a community affects community participation in a development project. Clearly though, if community need is already being substantively met by an incumbent project or through government services, there will be less incentive for a community to access another project. Williams (1997:161) observed in Sierra Leone that some development organisations gave free 'handouts' in their projects while other organisations required community labour or cash contributions. Associated with Williams' findings, this case found that the potential tension that could have existed between competing development organisations did not exist in the community as there were no other development organisations and projects concurrently available to the community. This observation that the NGO was successfully operating potentially *because* there were no other competing organisations concurs with my own previous development experience. It is not uncommon to find Filipino NGOs working in geographically separate locations from one other - possibly to avoid inter-organisational tension, perhaps to 'brand' their form of development and development philosophy within communities, or for other reasons.

### **Degree of Trust in External Projects and Organisations**

In this case, as with Uphoff (1991:494) and Williams (1997:51), the community's exposure to previous development projects affected the willingness of the community to trust the NGO and participate in projects. Previous research indicated that governments can use development projects as a means of social control or that development can occur in a top-down non-participatory manner in which communities become dependent on externally-induced development (Gaventa, 1998:161; Khan and Begum, 1997:263; Rahman, 1993:226). Similarly, this research found that the withholding of municipal development projects and funds was a means of political 'payback' and social control by the local government over the community. Like Uphoff (1991:499) who indicates that the giving and withholding of project funds can cause dependency amongst

communities, this research also found that prior to the arrival of the NGO, irregular externally-induced municipal development projects had induced a dependency mentality within the community. This dependency led to a 'handout' rather than a 'hand up' expectation with some residents - especially when the first project commenced - with the NGO needing to alter the expectations of some PO members so that members became more proactive in the projects.

The research also concurred with Walters et al. (1999), finding that the experience of historical events can have significant implications on a community's willingness to become partners in a development project. In this case the previous occurrence of communist insurgency in the community meant many community members were suspicious and distrusting of the NGO, initially choosing non-participation in the first project and monitoring the NGO and project outcomes before making more informed decisions about project participation.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION**

### **Degree of Trust in Development Organisation**

Although there seems to be little reference in the literature discussing the ability of development organisations to clarify their organisational and project objectives and the resultant participation of communities, there is an understandable linkage between the two. While Bunch (1982:11) contends that no project should define goals without community participation, this case illustrates that the initial lack of collaborative project objective setting with the community seems to have had no unfavourable impacts on community trust in the NGO and subsequent participation in the projects. This may have been due to the significant desire of the community to host the development projects. Once implementation of the first project had commenced, the ongoing process the NGO workers used to explain the NGO and project objectives, together with the annual setting of project plans in collaboration with the community, encouraged community participation in the projects. The implication is that significant collaboration in objective setting between the NGO and the community occurred at some stage near the start of the first project, and encouraged the community to trust and partner the NGO.

Philosophically however, if a goal of development projects is to support and empower communities in the development process, then there should be less need for development organisations themselves to clarify *their* project objectives with communities and more emphasis instead be placed on assisting a community to clarify and implement its own objectives. However, even when project objectives were robustly negotiated with the community, it was apparent that some community members were not convinced of the NGO's intentions in the short term and that it was the longer-term 'actions-speak-louder-than-words' that convinced these individuals to become PO members and access the projects.

Although there has been no direct linkage made in the empirical research relating 'expectation checking and setting' with levels of participation in development projects, Watt et al. (2000:121) recommend that project communities be consulted early in projects because they know most about their own situations. Similarly, this research found that early clarification of both NGO and community expectations ensured the community was clear about what the project could and could not deliver. This avoided potential disappointment and frustration later in the project and ultimately maintained community trust in the NGO.

Whereas the literature makes no specific connection between the level of accountability between development partners and the extent of participation by communities, it is apparent that there can be a direct correlation between the two. Gow and VanSant (1983:431) suggest that historical differences between community members can constrain community participation and cause conflict over the prioritisation of project funds. This case indicates that there seemed to be general unanimity among PO members about where to allocate funds within the project. A communal brainstorming session - held between the NGO and PO - reached agreement on project components for the year ahead and the budget was derived from these plans. This research also found that the setting up of robust financial accountability systems was necessary for building and maintaining high levels of trust within the community and between the community and the NGO. In broader terms, the experience of economic hardship in a location, together with the occurrence and view of graft and corruption within a culture, can be significant drivers to requiring such systems of accountability.

### **Degree of Trust in Development Workers**

Previous research in Bangladesh found that recruiting development workers from the same area as their employment assisted worker adaptation to their respective assignments (Harland, 1991:19). In related fashion, this research found that choosing local NGO field staff who had significant knowledge of the language, customs and development issues significantly aided the 'social acceptability' of, and trust in, the development workers. While an implication of the finding is that the community could have preferred local workers, this does not necessarily signify that 'non-local' workers would have been inappropriate. Rather, the background of workers was important because developing long term trust between the community and workers was an objective. Given the history of insurgency within the community, using local workers may have assisted in more speedily removing community concerns about the workers' political affiliations.

Bunch (1982:32) contends that the willingness and ability of development workers to live close to project communities and build genuine trusting relationships is critical to building community participation. This research indicates that having the NGO staff living *within* the project community greatly assisted in building trust between staff and community members. It points to the principle that the closer workers can identify with and understand the communities in which they work, the more likely communities are to trust them. However this case also identified that, for the development workers living within community, their '24/7' availability to the community raised the potential issue of worker sustainability. Another challenge was for the NGO's workers based in the field to develop support systems within the community. Being from the same ethnic and linguistic background, in this case, probably mitigated this difficulty.

As with Pijnenburg and Nhantumbo's (2002:196) research, who found that improper staff behaviour led to distrust between a development organisation and the project community, this research found that the worker's real and *perceived* ethical standards needed to be consistently high to engender and maintain the trust and respect needed for continued community collaboration with the projects. The research also indicates that the community defined what were culturally appropriate norms and ethics for the NGO workers to meet. This research also suggests that the standards for judging the workers' ethical standards were higher than those used by community members for judging each

other - not unheard of in situations where a community holds a person's position with respect or authority.

Botes and van Rensburg (2000:42) observe that much development is still initiated by 'external development agents' who may be paternalistic, patronising, and consider themselves the sole owners of development expertise. Sometimes external agents assume they have superior knowledge and believe that 'beneficiaries' lack the skills and abilities to improve their own situation (Rahman, 1993:153). In this case at least one development worker's short-term inability to treat community members equitably and with respect led to community members being unwilling to respect the worker, thus constraining participation in one of the projects. This worker had technically-oriented skills, but, as Botes and van Rensburg (2000:47) suggest, this individual may have initially lacked the character attributes necessary to encourage community participation because of this technical orientation. This research corroborates with Blackburn and Holland (1998:5) in finding that workers' attitudes and behaviours profoundly affected community members and the community's ability to collaborate with the projects.

Chambers (1997:213) observes that upper-to-upper bias can occur when development workers predominantly consult particular members of a community. Similarly, 'selective participation' occurs when community elites are preferred as development partners and where there is little serious attempt to engage marginalised communities (Botes and van Rensburg, 2000:45). Similarly, this research found that initial short-term selective participation of community leaders in project activities constrained wider community participation in the projects. However, the NGO workers' generally equitable treatment of both PO members and non-members, regardless of gender, substantially encouraged new PO membership. Like Carroll (1992:85) and Cohen and Uphoff (1997:20), the research also concluded that the quality of the NGO managers' and workers' interactions with the community was highly significant in influencing levels of participation in the projects. Paralleling the positive influence of a single, high calibre community leader, this research highlighted the fact that one high calibre *development worker* can have significant impacts on the outcomes of a development project.

## **Degree of Enthusiasm Generated by Development Organisation**

Like Gow and VanSant (1983:438) who found that local control of projects is a key by which effective participation is encouraged, this research concludes that the local control of, and easy accessibility to, project funding allowed the timely delivery on project plans and commitments. This research also supports the finding that a decentralised project structure can aid community participation (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989:587). While Uphoff (1991:499) suggests that the withholding of project funds can cause dependence amongst 'beneficiary' communities, this research alternatively found that having a localised funding system significantly affected the ability of the NGO to deliver on project commitments and was critical to generating on-going enthusiasm for the projects.

Like Bunch (1982:32), who believes that creating enthusiasm through early recognisable success is a necessary prerequisite and the essential driving force behind constructive participation in development programmes, this research similarly found that achieving early success was essential for generating enthusiasm. As with Gow and VanSant (1983:433), in this case having a few simple components in the first project aided success and built enthusiasm. Enthusiasm was also encouraged via farmers using proven technologies successfully, working together on their farms and communal projects, the stimulation of visits to other project sites, and public celebration of project achievements. This research, like Burkey (1993:160), supports the notion that people are more likely to participate when they accrue tangible and immediate benefits to project participation.

Research on participation does not specifically comment on the way problems and the process of dealing with them affects project enthusiasm, though there is an apparent correlation between the two. This research found that it can be appropriate for a 'third-party' to deal with problems between people who are participating in projects so as to retain or re-establish community cohesion and maintain enthusiasm for development initiatives. Take for example the occurrence of fraud within the project. The community in this case found it difficult to resolve the issue due to the status of the perpetrator. While the PO may have learnt valuable management skills by *having* to deal with this issue, it could have lost more social cohesion if forced to do so. The 'third-party' NGO, acting on behalf of the PO, confronted the individual and sought

appropriate reparation. The research also indicates that dealing quickly and effectively with problems associated with development workers or problems associated with project implementation can significantly aid enthusiasm for a development project.

There is no direct mention in the literature of the relationship between the standards set for project implementation and the resultant enthusiasm of communities to participate in projects. On first consideration, one might suspect that if high standards are set for project implementation this may result in a lower enthusiasm for project implementation due to the perceived difficulty in achieving such standards. This research found however that the high quality of technology and project implementation generated high levels of enthusiasm for using the introduced technology due to good project outcomes achieved by such technology.

Previous research found that participation was encouraged in projects that 'embraced' errors and used a process or learning approach to development (Aparicio and Garrison, 1999:12; Bond and Hulme, 1999:1341; Narayan, 1995:54-60). This research concurred, finding that treating project 'failure' as an opportunity to learn and 'realign' future project procedures or components in accordance with project learning, maintained community and NGO enthusiasm for the projects.

### **Degree of Community Ownership of Projects**

Watt et al. (2000:121) recommend that, because communities know most about their situation, they require early consultation in a project about their own needs. The literature also confirms the importance of authentic consultations with communities about their needs and the influence these discussions have on community participation in development projects (Bunch, 1983:58). Yet Constantino-David (2001:238) in her critique of Filipino development contends that development organisations often complete the identification of community needs prior to consulting with communities. This research found that while the NGO had already completed an assessment of what the community's felt needs might be prior to arriving in the community - mostly due to the substantial experience the NGO had in implementing projects in the region - the community's involvement in identifying its own needs (through a community survey) was crucial to achieving ownership in the projects. A critical analysis might contend that the NGO may have used this survey process as a means to convince the community

that the project components the NGO had already predetermined were most suitable. Whatever the motivations behind the needs-identification process used, this research continues to support the notion that, like Watt et al. (2000:121) suggest, *early* involvement of the community was critical to significant community ownership of projects.

In addition to communities seldom being involved in needs analysis, Bunch (1983:58) contends that communities are rarely involved in the design of projects. Constantino-David (2001:238), in her critique of externally-induced development efforts in the Philippines, observes that foreign donors rarely identify and design projects with the consent of 'recipient' communities. This research found, like Narayan (1995:54-60), that an agency's responsiveness to community feedback enhanced stakeholder participation. The NGO had prepared the initial project design prior to community consultation, but the discussion of project components with the community and subsequent modification of some project components, enhanced community ownership of the projects. This concurs with Samaranayake (1998:79-80), finding that identifying projects based on community requests was a successful participatory strategy. The research also found that consultation with the community, especially when preparing the annual project budget and proposal for the year ahead, was an effective method of ensuring that the proposed project components reflected the desires of the community, enhancing community ownership of the project components.

The issue of development organisations predetermining community need is a particular challenge to the development industry. In my experience, many development organisations seek - via a project proposal - a funding commitment from a 'donor' for a potential project prior to consulting a community. Thus, prior to the community being 'consulted' the essence and structure of the project is predetermined. If the donor then agrees to the project proposal, the NGO, like Smith (1998:198) suggests, may only consult the community as a means to sell a preconceived project. The challenge then is how development organisations either hold genuine community consultations prior to project design or renegotiate project design with donors after prior negotiation with the community. This research found that when the community conducted its own socio-economic survey, determined its own felt needs, and discussed project components with the NGO, some components were removed and others implemented that were more

appropriate to the needs of the community, enhancing community ownership in the process.

Bunch (1982:23) contends that especially at the start of a project, development organisations should only implement what the community cannot or will not implement themselves. This research concurs with Bunch's recommendation, finding that it would have been difficult initially for the community to implement many of the project components without the direct assistance or support of the development workers. However the research also indicates that the gradual and proactive transfer of decision-making responsibility (from the NGO workers to the PO) enhanced ownership by the community of the projects. Though community participation in initial project decision-making was passive, instrumental, and quite limited, the NGO constructed a process for empowering the community to receive such responsibility over time. The creation of various project committees, communal decision-making regarding project recipients, and community monitoring also assisted this process.

According to Bunch (1982:19-20), handouts to communities are not only ineffective, they are counterproductive. He contends that people don't tend to value the things they have not had to work for and they may become dependent. Similarly, Gow and VanSant (1983:433) found that participation is encouraged where communities are required to make resource commitments. Likewise, in this case the various forms of commitment or investment that were required of the community by the NGO led the community to not only taking responsibility for, but ownership in, the development process. Examples included the creation of the people's organisation, the required formation of water-users groups, and the compulsory provision of 'counterpart' cash, labour, and materials for infrastructure projects. These forms of commitment, examples of instrumental participation, built a sense of community ownership in the projects over time and encouraged the community to value project infrastructural assets.

Participation can at times be destructive - for example, by the emergence of dominant leaders (Bunch, 1982:28). This case indicates that while the hesitancy of community members to assume leadership responsibility effectively constrained the development of new leaders within the community, it did not hinder broad community participation in project components. There has been little change in its people's organisation (PO)

leaders since its inception in 1995. While many PO members said they would be hesitant to replace such 'hard-working and effective' board members, the PO leaders suspect that a major reason for the 'hesitancy' of members to become leaders is the responsibility and work load the current leaders have to shoulder. But will a leadership elite form in the community which will ultimately be anti-participatory?

This research found, like Rahman (1993:153), in the desire to show measurable results in the projects, sometimes the development workers compelled the community to implement project components to a strict timetable - prioritising project 'product' over project 'process'. While the effect of compulsion on participation does not arise in empirical research, this research found that compulsion was a factor engendering instrumental community participation in the projects. Examples include community members feeling that the NGO could have transferred to another site if there had been 'insufficient project interest', and that the removal of water access, threatened on one water user's group, was effective at getting 'cooperation' with the payment of water-users maintenance fees.

These types of 'enforcement', used by the NGO to achieve instrumental participation, while potentially improving the 'quantity' (the amount) of participation, had unknown effects on the 'quality' (the motive) of participation. For example, did the reasons for non-payment of water user fees disappear when the NGO used compulsion? Possibly. More fundamentally, can compulsion engender long term transformative participation in projects? Perhaps - but only if genuine discussion, negotiation and agreement between all parties accompanies compulsion. This research suggests that compulsion can change the nature of participation within development. Craig and Porter (1997:229) contend that "...the aims of participation and effective project management can be deeply contradictory...generally projects tend to be 'managed' rather than 'participatory'". This research similarly found that the NGO effectively used compulsion to 'manage' the project.

## **THE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

### **Degree to Which Project Meets Felt Needs**

Much development literature comments that successful projects are those that genuinely seek to understand and address felt needs and that people participate more readily in projects when they feel their needs are being met (Uphoff, 1991; Watt et al., 2000; Williams, 1997). This research concurred, finding that community participation was enhanced when projects specifically addressed needs identified by the community. The projects met the need for safe drinking water, had predominantly animal-based project components that suited tenant farmers, provided low-interest no-collateral credit arrangements, and made these components widely available to community members.

Interestingly, while the project components addressed needs as determined by the community, PO membership was not required for residents to have some felt needs met. For example, all community members could have their rice milled at the project rice mill and attend animal clinics although non-members paid more for having their animals seen. Membership of water user groups (for the purpose of gathering water user fees and maintaining pumps) was compulsory for all families accessing water from shallow and deep wells whether they were PO members or not.

Cohen and Uphoff (1977:77) observe that the distance between a resident and a project component is a factor affecting who participates in development. If the costs associated with accessing projects are greater than the benefits, people are less likely to participate. With implementation of most of the project components occurring 'on-farm', this research similarly found that, because project components were generally highly accessible to community residents, 'distance' was only raised by non-members (as a reason for non-membership) in relation to compulsory aspects of the projects. This finding seems to suggest that while private needs were predominantly met by the projects, the process by which members were corporately required to meet project needs or obligations (such as PO meetings and communal work) also impacted significantly on the willingness of non-members to join the PO.

## **Degree of Community Inclusion**

Previous research indicates that selective participation occurs when the more vocal, articulate and wealthier community members are preferred partners in the development process (Young, 1993:148). This research similarly indicates that the board of the people's organisation (PO) was applying a form of 'selective participation' through the membership screening process for non-members. This screening process seemed somewhat subjective in nature, mostly dependent upon the board's assessment of how 'community minded' and 'selfless' an applicant was. New PO members had their membership revoked if they did not display appropriate 'participatory attitudes'. While this subjective membership process was in place to encourage participatory attitudes and to build an effective and participatory PO, it also could have led some community members (especially those with declined membership applications) to feel permanently excluded from participating in the community projects and to elitism. The project may have found that using more objective measures for assessing residents' applications would have been more effective at enhancing community participation - for example, agreeing within the application to attend compulsory communal work or to repay loans - all with specific remedies for non-performance. How valid was the screening process, especially where predominantly subjective measures of assessment were used?

None of the literature reviewed indicated how non-participants' exposure to information about projects affected project participation. Not surprisingly, this research found that community residents who felt uninformed or poorly informed about the benefits of PO membership and project components chose non-membership, and therefore, non-participation in the projects. This research also indicates that while the NGO workers had a strategy of household visitation, with a high degree of relatedness and minimal community conflict, these factors did not translate into project participants informing non-participants in a significant enough manner about PO membership and project benefits. However, this research did not determine if there were specific reasons for members not informing some non-members - potentially some project participants felt the role of 'informing non-participants' was the domain or role of the development workers.

Mayoux (1995:236) contends that the genuine attempts at enhancing women's participation in development have failed not only the expectations of development

agencies but women themselves. Previous research found that women's participation was limited by the extended work hours that they bear and the existing cultural norms and gender roles which prescribe their activities (Haidari and Wright, 2001:59; Oakley, 1991a:14). Similarly, while women's participation in the first project was initially limited because no components specifically targeted women, the inclusion of a women's business component in the second project substantially enhanced women's participation. This research seems to support Burkey's (1993:65) contention that much historical development implicitly targeted men. Many of the initial project components unintentionally targeted men due to the fact that men were predominantly involved in livelihood issues that the components targeted - for example, rice and maize farming.

### **Degree to Which Incentives or Disincentives were Used with Members**

While previous literature observes that there is a correlation between participation and how well felt needs are met (Oakley, 1991a; Samaranayake, 1998), it does not mention the effect of financial and other incentives on participation. This research found that providing small strategic incentives motivated participation of PO members - for example, providing snacks during the day encouraged significantly more members to attend voluntary work sessions. What is somewhat surprising is that the provision of such minor incentives was so effective at improving work-session attendance. This finding tends to support the notion that the benefits to participation must outweigh the costs - in this case, the member participants were being required to provide 'voluntary' (non-paid) labour for the communal nursery or tree farm - for this work, there was little to no material benefit to the volunteers. PO members perceived even small recompense in the form of snacks as a significant benefit. This research also suggests that the donor's provision of significant financial incentives to the development organisation helped achieve successful project outcomes - the NGO in this case receiving 30 percent of the capital invested into income generating projects. However, the research is less clear about how these financial incentives to the NGO affected community participation in the projects.

The literature makes no mention of the effect of penalties in motivating participation in development projects. In this case a range of fines levied on members for non-attendance at meetings or 'voluntary' project activities, and for the late payment of project loans, was effective in achieving instrumental participation (performance) in the

projects. While these fines were successful in achieving compliance with a range of project rules, and thus obtaining instrumental participation, it is difficult to be sure if or how these measures effected transformative participation in the projects. Some of the fines for late payment of loans, being relatively large in relation to average family income, were effective at getting repayment compliance. For example, the NGO and PO levied late water buffalo loans at P20.00 fine per day during the project and achieved a 100 percent repayment rate. Once the PO took over complete control of the project at the end of the second project, the PO board felt this fine regime was too harsh and reduced the fine to P20.00 per month. Subsequently, substantial arrears problems affected this project component. The issue of disincentives raises debate about what motivates people to participate in development projects. While disincentives may be effective in obtaining instrumental participation and performance to agreed expectations, unless projects deal with the underlying reasons for non-participation or non-performance, perhaps the symptoms rather than the cause are treated.

### **Perceived Costs to or Demands of Membership**

Carroll (1992:92) suggests that unless the perceived benefits to participation are greater than the costs, individuals are less likely to participate in development projects. This research found the perceived costs to joining the people's organisation (PO) led to non-membership in the PO - membership of the PO being the only means by which community residents could access and participate in the project components. In this research, the various costs included the perceived size of the membership fee, distance to attend compulsory PO meetings, compulsory attendance at 'voluntary' work sessions, perceived physical demands of voluntary work on the aged, and the aversion of non-members to assume financial risk.

The issue of PO membership raises the broader issue of the nature of participation in development projects - in this case, access to and participation in, the project's components was governed by membership in the people's organisation. In many respects, participation equated to PO membership, although the NGO also measured and targeted broader participation in project components. PO membership created a certain 'homogeneity' in the community because residents were required to become members of the people's organisation so as to access project components. Like Chambers (1997:183) and Cohen and Uphoff (1977:69-77), this research indicates that the

community, while containing strong social cohesion and being reasonably homogenous, was still differentiated by gender, age, and distance to the centre of the community - and that these differentiating factors affected the ability of residents to participate in the project components.

Interestingly, a significant number of PO members expressed the opinion that some non-members were either selfish or lazy, leading the latter to choose non-membership in the PO. Some PO members felt that some non-members were ambivalent about doing voluntary work, this being the main reason for their hesitancy in joining the PO. Other members felt that a few non-members were self-serving, not having a cooperative spirit and rather uninterested in helping other people. Other members wondered if some non-members found extra responsibility difficult. Given the relatively negative view that PO members held of non-members it is possible that some non-members may have felt that they were incurring significant social costs to non-membership in the PO. If this was the case however, how this social cost could have influenced participation in the projects is unknown.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

Much of the literature presents participation theory, recommends how to achieve participation in development programmes, or alternatively, offers a substantive critique of participation development in the context of case studies of development projects. Little research has been conducted on how robust forms of participation in development projects are enacted - for example, how the process for determining community need, or the personal attitudes and behaviours that NGO workers use, either enhance or discourage participation in development projects. This research indicates there are many obstacles to, and effective strategies for, achieving participation in development projects. This research also indicates that there is much agreement between this case and the research on participation presented to date and that this case provides further detailed evidence supporting many of the previous research findings on participation.

It is interesting to review how the participation in the case compared to the definition of participation in the literature review. The definition proffered was as follows:

...a process through which primary stakeholders influence and share control over their own development initiatives, decisions, and resources which affect them (World Bank, 1994:1).

Judged by this definition, participation of the 'primary stakeholders' (the case community) occurred. However, while community participation in this case was initially often instrumental in nature and defined by the NGO, the NGO had goals for transformative participation, seeking to empower the community over time.

The final chapter of the thesis briefly restates the findings of the research, contextualises the findings in the Philippines setting, forms various research conclusions associated with the research findings, and offers suggestions for future research activity.

## CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has sought to answer the question about how a development organisation in the Philippines can enhance community participation. The case study involved two development projects co-implemented on the island of Bohol by a Filipino NGO (the Soil and Water Conservation Foundation [SWCF]) and the local community (*barangay* Katipunan, Sagbayan). The research objectives included exploring the types of indigenous participation operating in the community prior to the projects' arrival, the factors influencing community participation in the projects, the processes and strategies adopted by SWCF to influence project participation, and the reasons for non-participation in the projects.

From the research findings, the factors influencing participation in the two development projects centred around the community, the development organisation, and the development projects. In regard to the community, the high degree of social cohesion, the significant unmet community need, and the limited access to other development projects were substantial drivers for community participation. However some residents' negative experience of previous community events led to initial non-participation and to some community members participating but unwilling to make resource investments.

With respect to the development organisation, the degree of trust in SWCF and their workers had the most significant bearing on community participation. In addition, the degree of community enthusiasm generated by SWCF, the extent of community ownership of the projects, and the degree the community was compelled by SWCF via monetary and other disincentives, influenced participation.

A variety of project characteristics also affected community participation, the most significant of these being the ability of the projects to meet felt needs and be accessible to the community. The people's organisation (PO) membership screening process, the perceived lack of project information available to non-members, and the initial lack of a women's component dissuaded some community members from participating. A variety of incentives and penalties affected the motivation of community members to participate in the projects. Other obstacles to participation in the projects included

concerns about the financial, time and social costs of participation and peoples' aversion to financial risk.

To contextualise these findings, we remember that the Philippines, following colonisation by the Spanish, Americans and Japanese, had growing political participation by civil society in national political struggles especially during the repressive regime of the Marcos Presidency. Mass political protests by NGOs, and a range of civic and church organisations, culminating in the 'people power' uprising of 1986, saw a return to more democratic forms of government and a political environment open to a greater role for civil society within the Philippines. More recently the 1991 Local Government Code has enhanced the participation of a range of civil society stakeholders in local governance issues and regional development. With an excess of 30,000 NGOs registered in the Philippines in 2000, and with diverse roles and political persuasions, NGOs are actively involved in the process of development within the Philippines.

## **RESEARCH IMPLICATIONS**

This research has identified several key issues for development organisations in the Philippines to consider when seeking to enhance community participation in development projects. Some factors are within the control of the organisation. Others are determined by the community.

### **Organisation and Project Factors**

Development organisations which encourage community ownership of projects, aim for early project success, build quality community relationships, and ensure participation benefits outweigh the costs are likely to enhance project participation.

#### ***Ownership***

Development organisations which genuinely consult the community at the start of the project cycle will likely design projects more attuned to the needs, aspirations and characteristics of the community. This is done by determining the community's felt needs and negotiating project components. Enhanced project ownership can be anticipated where communities are crucial partners in implementation activities and

where they are required to commit resources to the implementation process. Communities trained and supported to assume gradual but complete control of projects over time are more likely to feel a stronger sense of ownership and responsibility in the development process.

### ***Successful Outcomes***

Communities are more likely to participate in projects where there is significant unmet need within the community. Projects that explicitly address this need and provide community members with immediate and on-going benefits from project collaboration are more likely to encourage community participation. Development organisations which initiate projects with a few achievable project components will enable communities to realise early success, thus building the confidence and ability of communities to implement projects. Development organisations which view failure as a learning experience and model a process-approach to development can expect to encourage community enthusiasm for project participation.

### ***Relationships***

Quality relationships based on trust and respect between project personnel and community members is a critical foundation for encouraging community acceptance of, and collaboration with, development projects. If project personnel are able to deal sensitively with all members of the community and resolve project problems quickly, this will maintain enthusiasm for participation. Development organisations whose project personnel genuinely treat communities as equal partners in the development process and have community participation as a specified objective will encourage greater community participation.

### ***Costs and Benefits***

Invariably a development project will make demands additional to those of day to day livelihoods. The higher the perceived time, financial, or social costs of participation, the more likely it is that community members will be discouraged from project involvement. Community members must perceive that the benefits to participation significantly outweigh the costs.

The above factors, amply supported by the literature, are generally within the control of development organisation. There is a second group of factors reported by the literature and generally outside the direct control of development organisations which influence the degree of community participation in development projects. These factors centre around the characteristics of the community itself.

### **Community Factors**

The extent of social cohesion and the community's previous development experience will determine how willing and able a community is to participate in the development process.

#### ***Social Cohesion***

Communities possessing strong indigenous community organisations and minimal community conflict are likely to experience higher levels of community participation. Such communities are generally able to collaborate more effectively with each other in implementing development projects. This was demonstrated in the case study, where strong social cohesion was evident in the community, which itself is nested within a community-oriented culture. The presence of quality leaders, who facilitate the community's engagement with the project, increases the likelihood of community participation.

#### ***Community History***

Communities with a positive experience of previously-implemented development initiatives are more likely to see greater early participation of community members. While many development organisations may invest considerable effort in trying to convince communities with poor historical development experience of their good intentions, achieving early and on-going project success is a more effective strategy.

It seems then, as far as development organisations are concerned, that there are communities that have promising characteristics for participation, while other communities carry higher risks. Development organisations are more likely to choose the former communities than the latter. While strong community cohesion is likely to have been a factor in the selection of the case study community, it is questionable whether the development organisation would seriously have considered this location if

there had been poor social cohesion or if there had been a history of community conflict. Does this suggest that there are some inadequacies with the ethos of participation? Do some development organisations pre-select communities with positive participation factors to the extent that communities without these factors are marginalised?

There is a need for further research determining how communities with little history of participation or cultures with limited participatory traditions respond to participatory development projects. Such research could suggest what development organisations can do to enhance community participation in such situations.

## APPENDIX 1. RAPID RURAL SYSTEMS APPRAISAL (RRSA)

### Barangay Katipunan, June 1995

Area covered	Barangay Katipunan
No. of households interviewed	106 (94 percent)
Average annual gross income (farm)	P15,270.00
Average annual gross expenses(farm)	P 2,476.00
Average annual gross income (off-farm)	P 4,232.50
Average annual gross expenses(off-farm)	P 766.00
Total net income (farm and off-farm)	P16,260.00
Average annual household expenses	P24,509.76

<b>Educational Level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Elementary level	236	43.1
Elementary graduate	61	11.2
High school level	71	13.0
High school graduate	40	7.3
College level	17	3.4
College graduate	7	1.3
Vocational course graduate	3	0.6
Not attend school	96	17.0

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Farming	88	16.1
Hired labour	9	1.6
Carpentry	8	1.5
Barangay officials	11	2.0
Barangay health workers	5	0.9
Teaching	4	0.7
Motor service driver	4	0.7
Day care worker	1	0.2

<b>Land Holdings</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Tenant	81	76.4
Owner / tiller	25	23.6
Owner / tiller / tenant	50	47.5

<b>Farm Size (hectares)</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Below 1.0	43	40.6
1.0 - 1.9	34	32.0
2.0 - 2.9	14	13.2
3.0 - 3.9	11	10.3
4.0 +	4	3.9

### **Main Crops Grown**

1. Corn
2. Rice
3. Coconut
4. Banana

<b>Animals Raised</b>	<b>Owned</b>	<b>Leased</b>	<b>Consumed/Utilised</b>
Water buffalo	89	12	Farming
Cattle	59	80	Market
Horses	3	3	
Goats	33	90	Fiesta, market
Pigs	124	52	Wedding, birthday, fiesta, market
Chickens	1007	15	Birthday, fiesta, market, home consumption
Ducks	49		
Turkeys	3	4	

### **Key Farm Problems**

1. Money - lack of capital
2. Water - a) no source of potable water and b) not enough water for rice irrigation
3. Farming - unproductive
4. Climate - not cooperative with crops planted
5. Farm tools - lack of farm tools
6. Insects - infestation on crops
7. Field preparation - too much time on field preparation that there is little time to start other income generating activities

(Source: SWCF, 1998a)

## APPENDIX 2. ROTARY AND PACAP PROJECT ACCOMPLISHMENTS

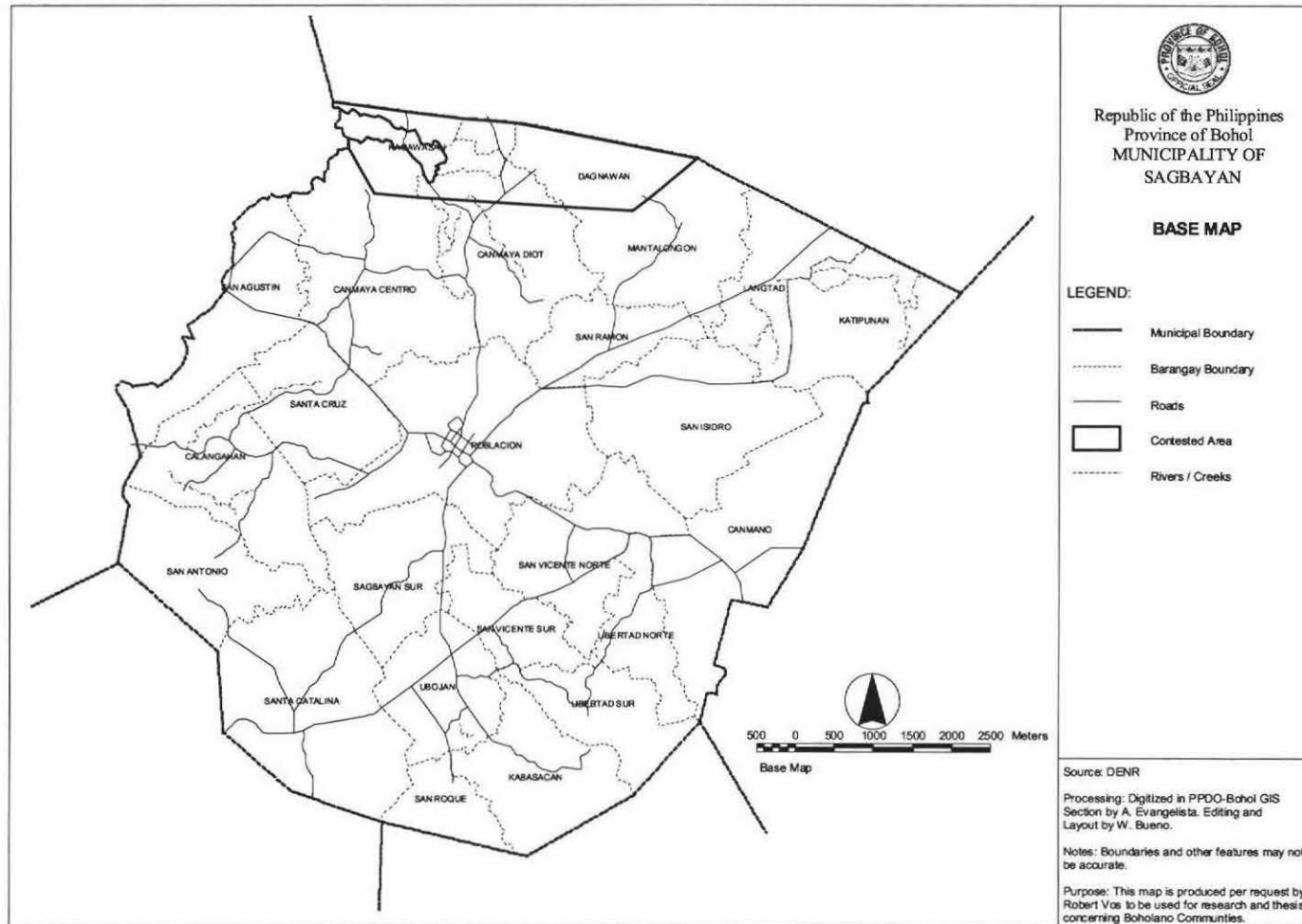
<b>Project Component</b>	<b>'Rotary' Project 1995-1997</b>	<b>'PACAP' Project 1998-2003</b>
Water system development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» 6 shallow wells capped and jetmatic pumps sites connected</li> <li>» 1 deep-well pump renovated</li> <li>» 7 water-users groups established with maintenance fund system benefiting 65 households</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» 2 shallow wells capped and jetmatic pumps connected</li> <li>» 1 deep-well pump renovated</li> <li>» 2 water-users' groups established</li> </ul>
Agroforestry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» 5,000 seedlings of assorted forest tree species produced</li> <li>» A 1.5 hectare communal tree farm (predominantly g-melina, mahogany and narra) was established in a sinkhole as a water-recharge area</li> <li>» Contour farming/alley cropping - 14 farmers practised contour farming and alley cropping on their farms. Contour lines were planted with napier grass and leguminous hedgerows</li> <li>» Vegetable and fodder production - a nursery house and nursery area with vegetable and animal forage (grasses and legumes) plots established in the local elementary school yard. Approximately 8 participants replicated vegetable production in own backyards</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» The UKA maintained the tree farm by brushing, ring weeding, mulching, fertiliser application, pruning and replanting</li> <li>» Contour farming - most previously established hedgerows were maintained; 34 extra farmers implemented contour hedgerows on their farms</li> <li>» The nursery house was maintained; vegetable seedlings were produced by UKA women and sold; 39 women produced organic vegetables either in their own gardens or at the nursery</li> </ul>
Livestock integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» 1 communal piggery (farrowing unit) was established</li> <li>» 19 piglets of improved breed dispersed</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>» 2 communal piggeries (farrowing units) were established</li> <li>» 69 piglets of improved breed were dispersed</li> </ul>

Project Component	'Rotary' Project 1995-1997	'PACAP' Project 1998-2003
	<p>» 12 animal clinics were held for water buffalo, cattle and goats to support the dispersal programme</p>	<p>» The communal farrowing unit was changed to a Swine Revolving Fund where members could borrow to purchase and raise piglets. 16 farmers borrowed.</p> <p>» Animal clinics were continued on a six-monthly basis</p> <p>» Loan scheme for chicken raising was established with 20 farmer beneficiaries in the first batch</p> <p>» Goat dispersal scheme was established with 41 goats being dispersed</p> <p>» Carabao loan scheme established with 21 farmers receiving <i>carabaos</i></p>
<p>Trainings conducted</p>	<p>» Trainings on: Rapid Rural Systems Appraisal (RRSA), nursery management, soil and water conservation measures, livestock production and management, artificial insemination on livestock, heat/mating synchronisation on livestock, simple bookkeeping and accounting, reflexotherapy</p>	<p>» Trainings on: livestock (goat, cattle and carabao) and poultry production, leadership and values formation, bookkeeping, good governance, transportation care and management, spiritual upliftment, project proposal writing, barangay justice and policy enhancement, gender awareness and sensitivity training, forage and pasture crop production, vegetable production, swine and goat production, marketing and market information system seminar, post-harvest handling and warehousing of cereal products, women's enterprise training, basic chicken production, self-transformation and leadership</p>

<b>Project Component</b>	<b>'Rotary' Project 1995-1997</b>	<b>'PACAP' Project 1998-2003</b>
	» 2 cross-visits conducted	» 4 cross-visits to other project sites and training facilities were conducted
Development of a people's organisation	» Uswag Katipunan Association (UKA) was established with 30 active members	» UKA leadership and general assembly was provided on-going support; UKA membership increased to 72 members
Infrastructure		» 1 rice mill purchased and warehouse constructed » 1 elf/cargo 6-wheeler truck purchased » 1 elf truck garage constructed
Micro-credit loans		» Fertiliser revolving fund established with 67 beneficiaries » Women's small enterprise revolving fund established with 70 beneficiaries
Other	» Adult literacy class conducted and school library established	» Farmers' Field Day was conducted to celebrate project achievement and reinforce best practices

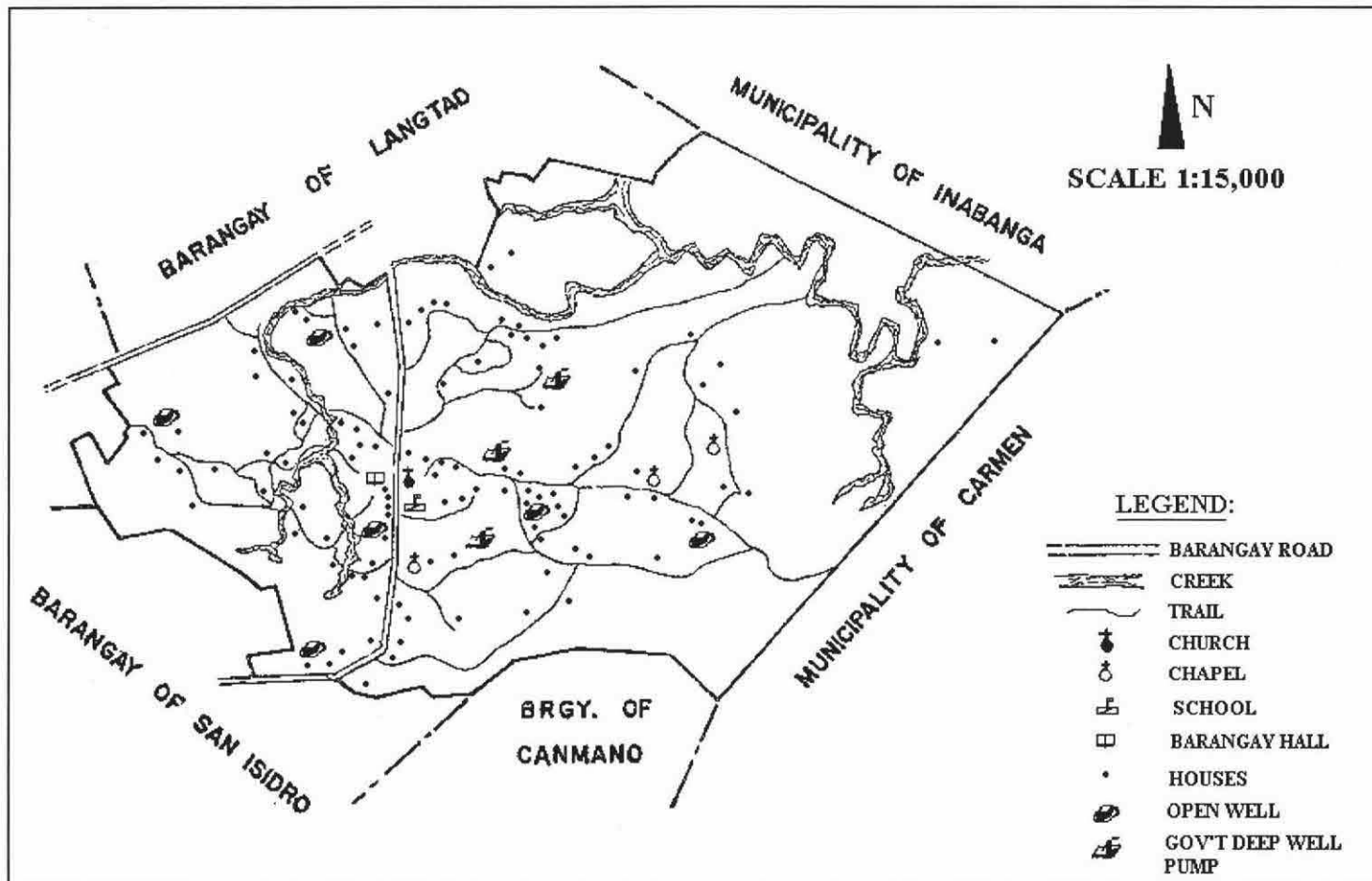
(Source: Divinigracia et al., 2003; SWCF, 1995b; SWCF, 1996a; SWCF, 2003a; UKA, 2003)

## APPENDIX 3. MAP OF SAGBAYAN MUNICIPALITY



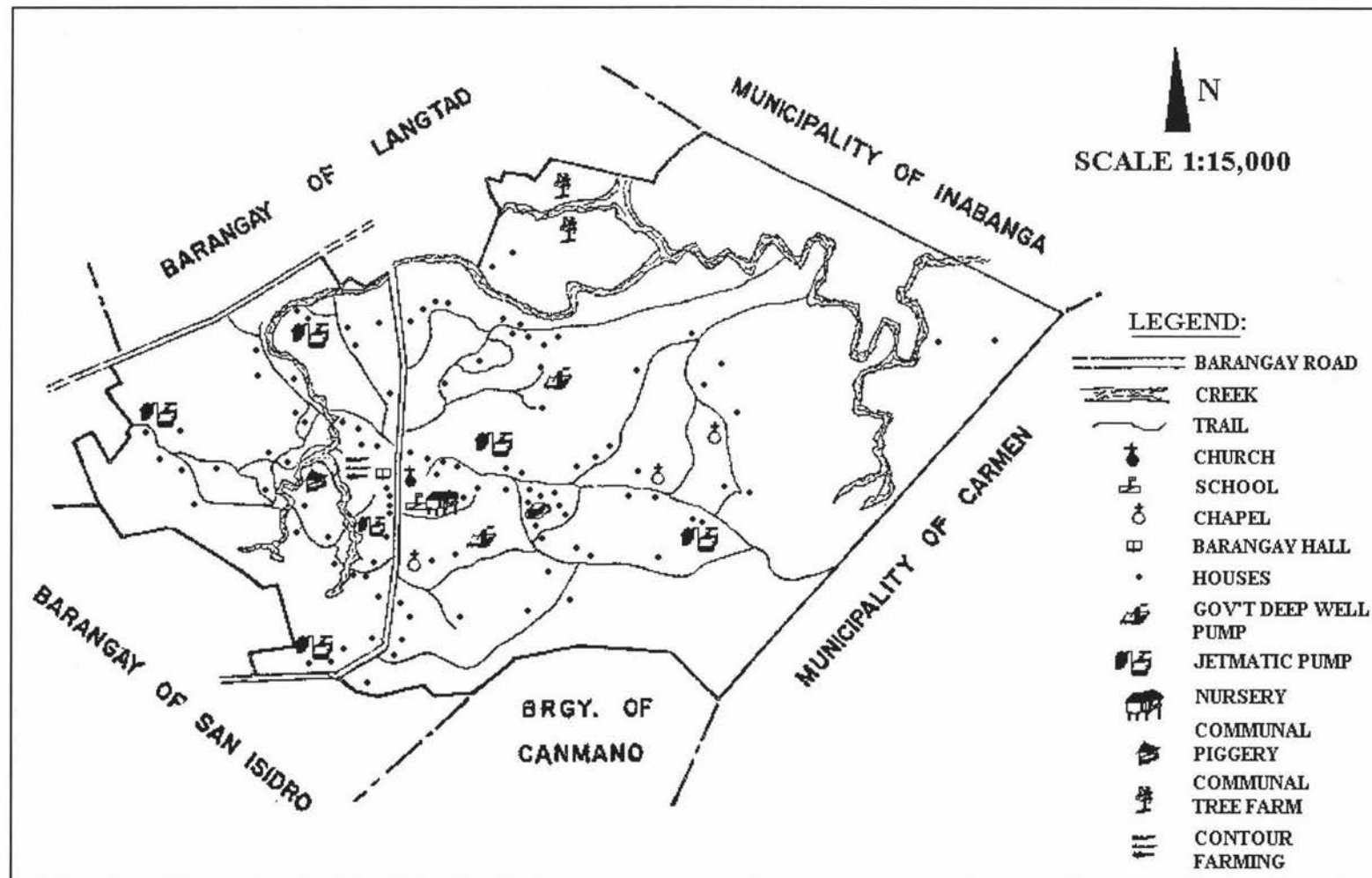
Source: Bohol Provincial Planning and Development Office, 2004

## APPENDIX 4. BARANGAY KATIPUNAN: PRE-ROTARY PROJECT (1995)



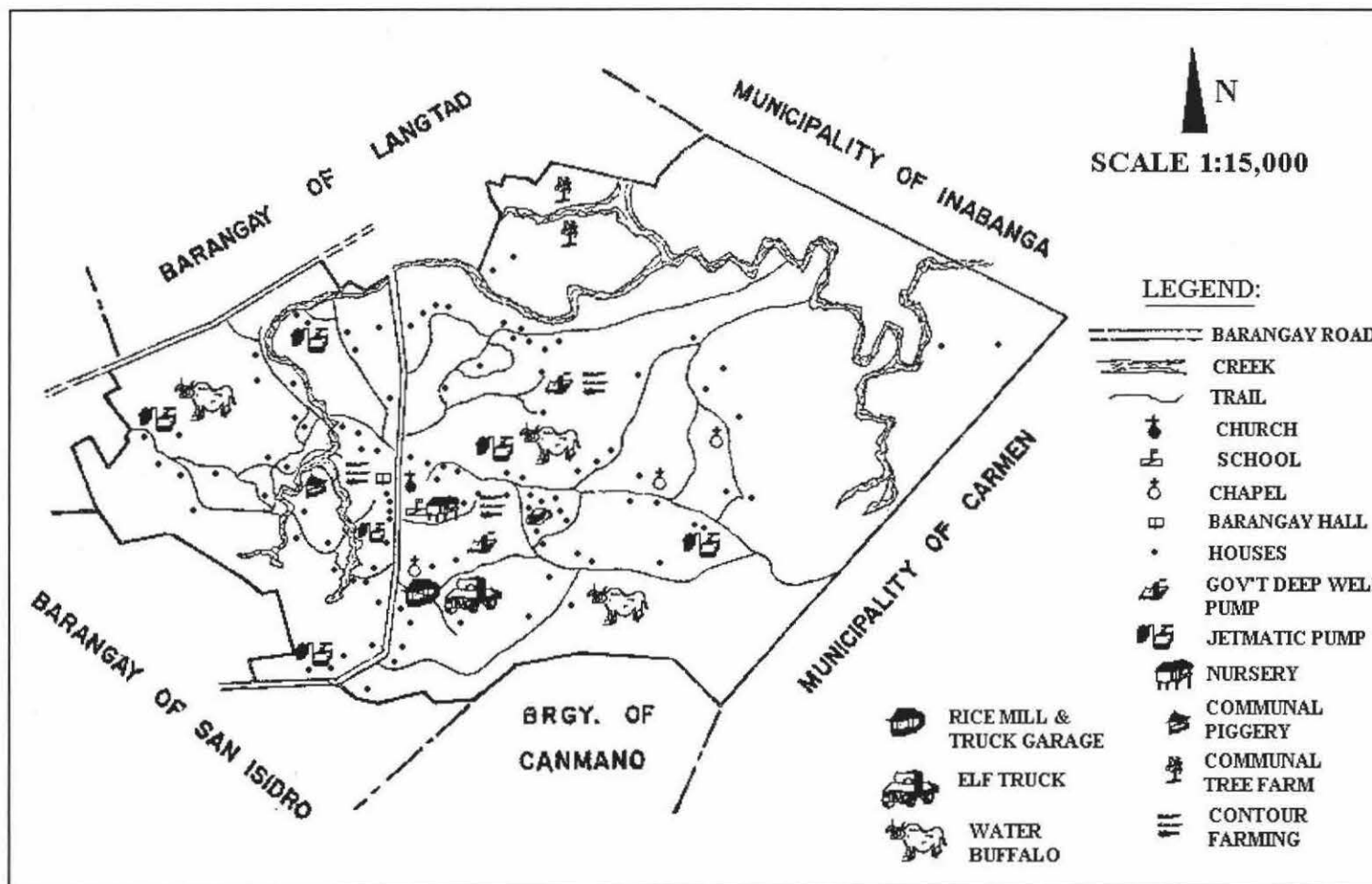
Source: modified from Barangay Katipunan, 2004; Diaz, 2004

## APPENDIX 5. BARANGAY KATIPUNAN: POST-ROTARY PROJECT (1997)



Source: modified from Barangay Katipunan, 2004; Diaz, 2004

## APPENDIX 6. BARANGAY KATIPUNAN: POST-PACAP PROJECT (2003)



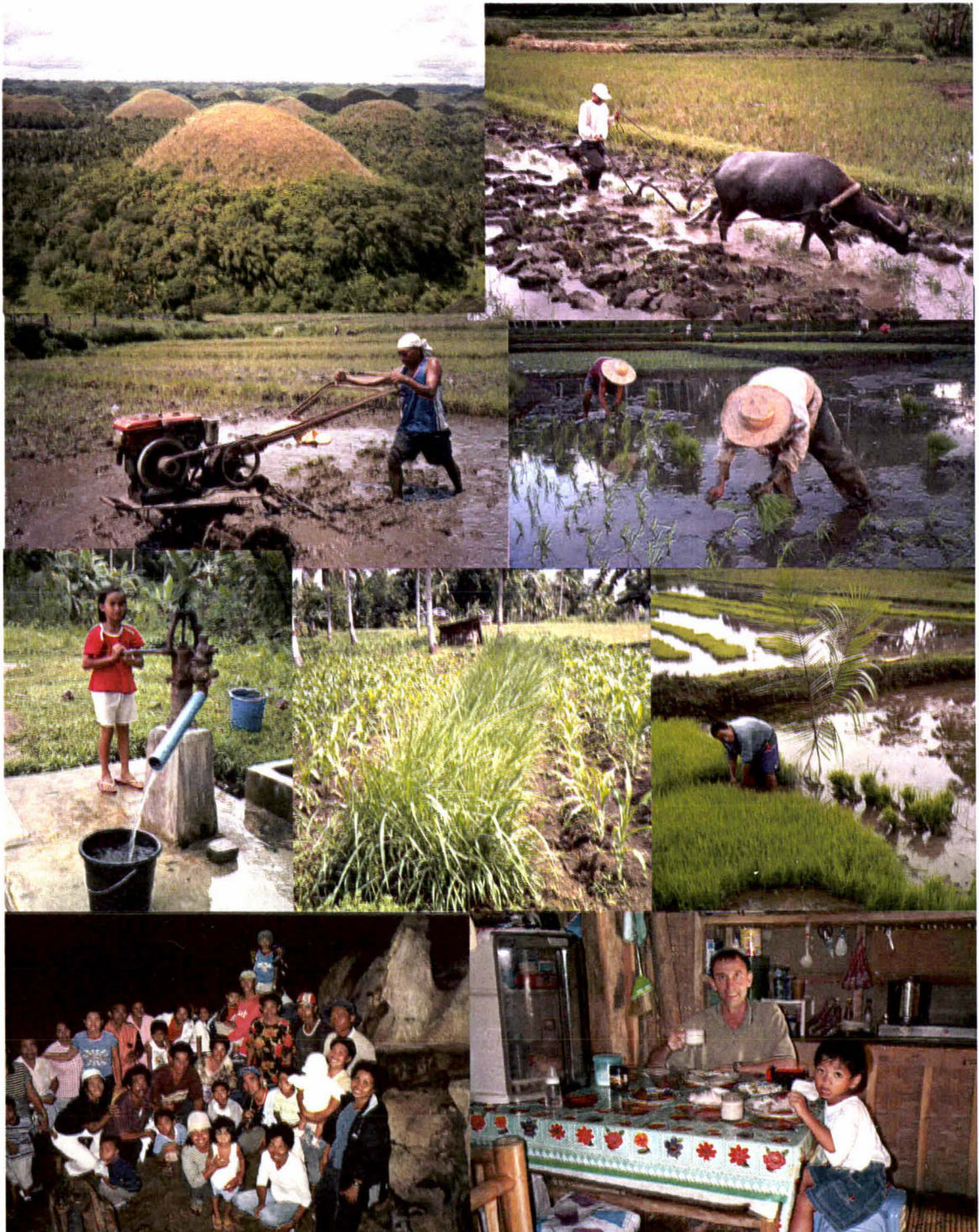
Source: modified from Barangay Katipunan, 2004; Diaz, 2004

## APPENDIX 7. BARANGAY KATIPUNAN TIMELINE



Source: constructed using two timeline meetings, *barangay* Katipunan, June/July 2004

## APPENDIX 8. PHOTOGRAPHS



*L-R starting at top:* Chocolate Hills; ploughing with water buffalo; harrowing with hand tractor; planting rice seedlings; hand pumping water; soil conservation hedgerow and maize; tying rice seedlings in bunches; Katipunan residents in tourist cave; researcher and young friend.

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